Child Domestic Labour: The Impact of Child Domestic Work on the Psychosocial Wellbeing of Children from a Human Rights Perspective

A Case Study of Lusaka City in Zambia

Master’s Programme in Social Work and Human Rights

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Dedication

This degree report is dedicated to Swedish Institute (SI) for awarding me the Swedish Institute Study Scholarship; the University of Zambia for allowing me to serve as Staff Development Fellow, my siblings and the entire family whom I want to follow in my footsteps.
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Abstract

The challenge posed by child domestic labour remains very large in Zambia. Children forced out of school and into labour to help their families to make ends meet are denied schooling opportunities and skills needed for gainful future employment, thereby perpetuating the cycle of poverty in the family. Child labour therefore not only constitutes a serious violation of the rights of the children concerned, but also impacts on social development of Zambians. This study therefore sought to investigate and analyze the impact of child domestic work on children’s psychosocial wellbeing from a human rights perspective. An explorative qualitative single case study design was used. Data collection methods included semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions and document analysis. Child domesticics, parents and key informants were purposively sampled for study. Snowball sampling was also applied to locate child domestics in hidden homes.

The findings show that child domestics come from poor families and households affected by HIV/AIDS. The children are not satisfied with their jobs because they earn very little money despite the huge tasks that they perform. Further, child domestics are not pleased with their jobs because it deprives them of schooling opportunities and enjoyment of social and family life. Nevertheless, domestic work enables children to find money to pay school fees and continue schooling; a situation that appears difficult to resolve. Child domestic work perpetuates child poverty as it deprives children of schooling opportunities and lifelong skills which they can use to fight poverty along the life course. However, domestic work enables children and their families to earn money to sustain their livelihoods. Inadequate child protection policies pose a challenge to protection of the rights of children from child labour and abuse. The only way children can be protected from exploitative domestic work is to educate and equip them with vocational skills which they can use to fight poverty.

Key words: child, domestic work, psychosocial wellbeing, case study, qualitative research
# Table of Contents

Table of Contents..................................................................................................................4

Dedication................................................................................................................................1

Acknowledgement..................................................................................................................2

Abstract................................................................................................................................3

Acronyms and abbreviations....................................................................................................8

1.0 Chapter One: Introduction and Background......................................................................9

1.1 Introduction......................................................................................................................9

1.2 Background.....................................................................................................................10

1.2.1 Global Context.............................................................................................................10

1.2.2 The Zambian Context.................................................................................................13

1.2.3 Key International Instruments Pertaining to Child Domestic Workers......................15

1.2.4 The Legal and Policy Frameworks Pertaining to Child Domestic Workers..............17

1.2.5 Institutional Frameworks Pertaining to Child Domestic Workers............................18

1.3 Definition of Concepts....................................................................................................18

1.3.1 Child.........................................................................................................................18

1.3.2 Child domestic work.................................................................................................19

1.3.3 Child domestic worker.............................................................................................19

1.3.4 Child labour.............................................................................................................20

1.3.5 Psychosocial Wellbeing...........................................................................................21

1.4 Statement of the Research Problem................................................................................22

1.4.1 Relevance of the Study..............................................................................................23
1.4.2 Objectives of the Study

1.4.2.1 Aim of the Study

1.4.2.2 Specific Objectives

1.4.2.3 Research Questions

2.0 Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1 Previous Research

3.0 Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework

3.1 Human Rights-Based Approach

3.1.1 Contextualizing a Human Rights-Based Approach

3.2 Intersectionality Theory

3.2.1 Contextualizing Intersectionality Theory

3.3 Capability Approach

3.3.1 Contextualizing the Capability Approach

4.0 Chapter Four: Research Methodology

4.1 Research Design

4.2 Research Participants

4.3 Sample and Sampling Design

4.3.1 Inclusion and Exclusion criteria

4.4 Pilot Study

4.5 Data Collection

4.5.1 Primary and Secondary Sources of Data

4.5.2 Data Collection Techniques
4.5.2.1 Interviews

4.5.2.1.1 Interview Settings

4.5.2.2 Focus Group Discussions

4.5.2.3 Document Study

4.6 Reliability and Validity of Research Instruments

4.7 Data analysis

4.8 Ethical Considerations

4.8.1 Beneficence, non-maleficence and autonomy

4.8.2 Informed consent

4.8.3 Confidentiality and Disclosures

4.8.4 Privacy

4.8.5 Fidelity and inclusivity

4.8.6 The research relationship

4.9 Limitations of the Study

4.9.1 How the Limitations were dealt with

5.0 Chapter Five: Presentation of Research Findings

5.1 Introduction

5.2 Characteristics of Key Informants and Respondents

5.3 Research Findings

5.3.1 Feelings of Children about Domestic Work

5.3.2 Effects of Child Domestic Work on Children’s Schooling

5.3.3 Effects of Child Domestic Work on Poverty among Children and their Families
5.3.4 Challenges of Protecting the Rights of Child Domestic Workers

5.4 Discussion of Research Findings

5.4.1 Introduction

5.4.1 Feelings of Children about Domestic Work

5.4.2 Effects of Child Domestic Work on Children’s Schooling

5.4.3 Effects of Child Domestic Work on Poverty among Children and their Families

5.2.4 Challenges of Protecting the Rights of Child Domestic Workers

6.0 Chapter Six: Conclusion and Recommendations

6.1 Conclusion

6.2 Recommendations

6.3 Areas of Further Research

References

Appendices

Appendix 1: Letter of Introduction

Appendix 2: Research Participation Consent Form

Appendix 3: Interview Guide: Child Domestics

Appendix 4: Interview Guide: Parents/Guardians

Appendix 5: Interview Guide: Key Informants
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronyms</th>
<th>Abbreviations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASI</td>
<td>Anti-Slavery International</td>
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<td>CDWs</td>
<td>Child Domestic Workers</td>
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<tr>
<td>CEDAW</td>
<td>Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women</td>
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<td>CSOs</td>
<td>Civil Society Organisations</td>
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<td>HIV</td>
<td>Human Immunodeficiency Virus</td>
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<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organization</td>
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<td>IOM</td>
<td>International Organisation for Migration</td>
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<td>MLSS</td>
<td>Ministry of Labour and Social Security</td>
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<td>NAP</td>
<td>National Action Plan</td>
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<td>NCLP</td>
<td>National Child Labour Policy</td>
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<td>NGOs</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisations</td>
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<td>OHCHR</td>
<td>Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights</td>
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<td>OVCs</td>
<td>Orphans and Vulnerable Children</td>
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<td>REPSSI</td>
<td>Regional Psychosocial Support Initiative</td>
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<td>TB</td>
<td>Tuberculosis</td>
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<td>UHDWUZ</td>
<td>United House and Domestic Workers Union of Zambia</td>
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<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
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<td>UNCRC</td>
<td>United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child</td>
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<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZMK</td>
<td>Zambian Kwacha</td>
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</tbody>
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1.0 Chapter One: Introduction and Background

1.1 Introduction

Child domestic labour is one of the most widespread and exploitative forms of child work in the world today, and is also one of the most difficult to tackle (Blagbrough, 2008). The situation of children in domestic work has been compared to a new form of slavery in the ILO Convention No. 182 on the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour. In this regard, child domestic work has been recognized as one of the most intolerable forms of child work, and is a sector that has been identified by the International Labour Organization (ILO) as a priority sector for removing children from work (Save the Children UK, 2006.p.1). Flores-Oebanda (2006) asserts that child domestic workers (CDWs) comprise the largest population of working children, and they often work in conditions that can be considered a worst form of child labor.

The basic characteristic of domestic work is that it takes place in the private space of the home, which is not the child’s own home but that of another person, the employer (Save the Children UK, 2006.p.1). To this effect, child domestic workers are hard to reach not only because they work behind the closed doors of their employers’ homes, but also because society sees the practice as normal, and in relation to girls, domestic work is considered as an important training for later life (Blagbrough, 2008). By and large, the characteristic of invisibility that is commonly assigned to child domestic work despite its widespread existence is not because it is socially invisible as it is known to exist, but because of its confinement in other people’s homes (Save the Children UK, 2006). As a result, children who work as domestics outside the family home are amongst the most vulnerable and exploited. They are also mostly girls and begin work at an early age (Flores-Oebanda, 2006; Save the Children UK, 2006). According to Flores-Oebanda (2006.p.2), child domestics (i.e. children in domestic labor) are people under the age of 18 who work in households of people other than their closest family doing domestic chores. Child domestic workers are expected to perform skilled tasks such as childcare or caring for the elderly with minimum training and are severely punished for their mistakes.\footnote{Anti-Slavery International, Compliance with ILO Convention No. 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour: Child domestic workers in Peru, Anti-Slavery International, London, 2009; p.2} More so, these children shoulder excessive
responsibilities such as washing, gardening, cooking amongst others, and work for long hours with no rest period, with little or no remuneration, work at the mercy of the employer and frequently suffer from gender and sexual violence. These children include those who are paid for their work, as well as those who are not paid or who receive ‘in-kind’ benefits, such as food and shelter (Save the Children UK, 2006; Flores-Oebanda, 2006).

Child domestic work is therefore a child labor issue, a children’s rights issue, and gender issue. It is a child labor issue as it involves economic exploitation and hazardous working conditions. It is a children’s rights issue because the nature and condition of the work is unfavorable for child development. Finally, it is also a gender issue as it relates to sexual abuse, risk of sexual assault, and family perceptions about the limited value of girl’s education (Flores-Oebanda, 2006).

1.2 Background

1.2.1 Global Context

Throughout the world, thousands of children are working as domestic helpers, performing tasks such as cleaning, ironing, cooking, minding children and gardening (ILO, 2011). In many countries this phenomenon is not only socially and culturally accepted but might be regarded positively as a protected and non-stigmatized type of work, and therefore preferable to other forms of work, especially for the girl-child. The perpetuation of traditional female roles and responsibilities within and outside the household, and the perception of domestic service as part of a woman’s apprenticeship for adulthood and marriage, also contribute to the low recognition of domestic work as a form of economic activity, and of child domestic labour as a form of child labour (Ibid). Thus, doing domestic work in a household other than their own is seen as merely an extension of children’s duties, and the concept of employment is missing. In this regard, knowledge about child domestic workers remains patchy because in certain societies using children as domestic workers is not recognized as ‘child labour’ but as a normal feature of society (UNICEF, 1999). Generally, child domestic work is invisible because each child is separately employed and works in the seclusion of a private house, unlike children in a factory or on the street. More so, child domestics do not exist as a group and are difficult to reach and to count. Their jobs are invisible since domestic work is part of the informal labour market which is unregistered and does not show up clearly in employment statistics.
While it is not easy to give precise and reliable statistics about the number of children who are engaged in domestic work, the International Labour Organization (ILO) estimates that there are more girls engaged in domestic work than in any other sector of work (Anti-Slavery International, 2013). In absolute terms, 2.5 million boys are involved in domestic work within the age group 5 to 14 years, compared to 4.9 million girls. Globally, the ILO estimates that there are currently 15.5 million children (aged 5 between 17 years) engaged in domestic work. Empirical studies carried out in many countries have attempted to estimate the prevalence of child domestic work. In Haiti for example, of an estimated 250,000 child domestic workers, 20% are 7 to 10 years old, and in Indonesia’s capital, Jakarta, alone, an estimated 700,000 domestic workers are under age 18 (UNICEF, 1999). In Brazil, 22% of all working children are in domestic service, while in Venezuela, 60% of working girls aged between 10 and 14 are domestic workers (Ibid). Other surveys found that 11 percent of child domestic workers were 10 years old in Kenya; and 16 percent were 10 years old or less in Togo.

Empirical evidence has also asserted that there are many root causes of domestic child labour, include poverty and its feminization, social exclusion, lack of education, gender and ethnic discrimination, violence suffered by children in their own homes, displacement, rural-urban migration and the loss of parents due to conflict and/or disease such as HIV/AIDS (ILO, 2011). The available research suggests that child domestic workers most commonly come from poor, often large, rural families. However, other factors that determine the likelihood of children becoming domestic workers must also be taken into account, such as orphanhood (UNICEF, 1999). The time-series study conducted by Anti-Slavery International (2013) into the psychosocial wellbeing of child domestic workers (CDWs) revealed that HIV/AIDS and poverty have an important impact on the reality of child domestic work. High proportions of orphanhood and the resulting poverty combine to propel children into domestic work in Tanzania. Another similar study shows that the high incidence of child labour in sub-Saharan Africa could be explained, among other things, in terms of the high incidence of poverty, the

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3 Ibid.
predominance of a poorly developed agricultural sector, high fertility rates leading to high population growth, and low education participation.\(^5\)

According to Hesketh et al (2012), child domestic work is often accepted in the societies where it exists, and it is often viewed as a safe form of employment. However, child domestic workers may be especially prone to exploitation and abuse due to the invisibility and inaccessibility of the work setting. The ILO has identified a number of hazards to which domestic workers are particularly vulnerable (ILO, 2011). Some of the most common risks children face in domestic service include, long and tiring working days; carrying heavy loads; handling dangerous items, such as knives, axes and hot pans; insufficient or inadequate food and accommodation, and humiliating or degrading treatment, including physical and verbal violence, and sexual abuse. These hazards need to be seen in association with the denial of fundamental rights of the children such as access to education and health care, the right to rest, leisure, play and recreation and the right to be cared for and to have regular contact with their parents and peers (ILO, 2011). In Togo and India for example, the multi-country study conducted by Anti-Slavery International (2013) revealed that a significant proportion of child domestic workers are clearly harmed by the situation in which they are working. In these two countries physical abuse is common, children work long hours for little or no pay and this full time work often completely excludes them from the education system, leaving them with little opportunity for social mobility. These factors can have an irreversible physical, psychological and moral impact on the development, health and well-being of the child (ILO, 2011). Largely because of this, there have been calls for child domestic work to be classified as a ‘worst form of child labour’, as defined in ILO Convention 182. This would put domestic work among the forms of child labour which are a “priority to eliminate without delay”. One of the factors influencing the debate around classification as a ‘worst form of child labour’ is the potential psychosocial impact of work on children. Therefore, the ILO Convention No. 189 on decent work for domestic workers calls on member States to take measures to ensure that work performed by domestic workers under the age of 18 and above the minimum age of employment does not deprive them of compulsory education, or interfere with opportunities to participate in further education or vocational training (ILO, 2011).

\(^5\) African Development Bank, Explaining the High Incidence of Child Labour in Sub-Saharan Africa, Published by Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, 2002; p.251
1.2.2 The Zambian Context

Children from rural parts of Zambia are trafficked into domestic servitude in urban areas, where some may be starved, and physically and psychologically abused. In urban areas, girls engaged in domestic service may initially expect to attend school in exchange for their work, but they are often prevented from going to school and denied pay (United States Department of Labor, 2011). Child labour therefore constitutes an important obstacle to achieving Universal Primary Education and other Millennium Development Goals in Zambia. It not only harms the welfare of individual children, but also slows broader national poverty reduction and development efforts (ILO, UNICEF and World Bank Group, 2012). Children forced out of school and into labour to help their families to make ends meet are denied the opportunity to acquire the knowledge and skills needed for gainful future employment, thereby perpetuating the cycle of poverty in the family. Moreover, child labour can lead to social vulnerability and social marginalization, and can permanently impair the attainment of personal and productive potential, in turn influencing lifetime patterns of employment and earnings, and generating important constraints to national development goals (Ibid).

The Government of Zambia does not provide public schools in every village because of the country’s topography and widespread communities, so some communities must contribute their own labor and resources to fill this gap. While government primary schools are free, schools are understaffed and parent-teachers association and other associated fees prohibit students from attending. In addition, Zambia’s high HIV/AIDS rates impact child labor, as children orphaned by HIV/AIDS work to survive, or those with a parent or relative infected with the virus work to support them (United States Department of Labor, 2011).

According to ILO, UNICEF and World Bank Group Report (2012), the challenge posed by child labour remains very large in Zambia. Although there has been recent progress in reducing child labour, over one-third of children aged 7-14 years, some 950,000 children in absolute terms, were at work in employment in the 2008 reference year. Many of these children worked in hazardous conditions, and experienced greater difficulties than non-working children in attending and benefiting from school. Child labour not only constitutes a serious violation of the rights of the children concerned, but also has clear broader consequences for national social development. Children growing up compromised educationally and developmentally by early involvement in work will be in a poor position to contribute to Zambia’s growth as adults (ILO, UNICEF and World Bank Group, 2012).
Studies on child domestic labour in Zambia have tended to focus either on the nature of child domestic work, causes of domestic work, or reasons why children engage in domestic work and gender differentiation in this kind of work (Oyaide 2000); and the working conditions of child domestics in Zambia (Matoka 1993 and Mushota 1989 cited by Oyaide, 2000). In Zambia, 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'(Oyaide, 2000.p.8-9). The privacy of the work makes them invisible workers. Their dispersal among various households, the lack of legal recognition for the work as well as lack of standardized wage regimes, its absence from systematic research, and from official statistics, all combine to reinforce its invisibility. Oyaide (2000) asserts that the acquiescence of the public at large to child domestic work in Zambia seems to be because of traditional socialization, 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. This view point is prevalent even when domestic work involves children. As a result, some tend to regard it as a better alternative to poverty and destitution, and therefore employers are performing a social obligation. According to Oyaide (2000), 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. Child domestic workers are also exposed to psychological, physical and sexual abuse. The children generally suffer from verbal abuse, get very low wages, and work very long and irregular hours (Mushota 1989 and Matoka 1993). 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 (Oyaide, 2000).

Studies conducted by (Matoka 1993, Mushota 1989 and Oyaide, 2000) have attempted to investigate issues related to child domestic work with the main focus on causes of child domestic work, conditions of work and gender dimension of child domestic work in Zambia. Another study conducted by Global Network (2011) attempted to investigate the vulnerability and decent work deficits, including the right to social protection of domestic workers in Zambia. This study generally focused on all domestic workers in Zambia, and hence, the study did not specifically aim to unravel the issues related to child domestic work. Based on the information provided by these studies, none of the studies conducted in Zambia specifically examined the impact of child domestic work on children’s psychosocial
wellbeing. In view of the foregoing, there is a general lack of empirical evidence on the impact of child domestic work on children’s psychosocial wellbeing. There are no empirical studies that have examined and analysed the psychosocial consequences of child domestic labour in Zambia. Hence, there seems to be a dire need for investigating and analyzing the effects of child domestic work on the psychosocial wellbeing of children in Zambia. The main objective of this study, therefore, was to investigate and analyze the impact of child domestic work on the psychosocial wellbeing of children from a human rights perspective.

1.2.3 Key International Instruments Pertaining to Child Domestic Workers

From an international law perspective, children who have reached the minimum working age in their country but are below 18 and are “legitimately” involved in domestic service are entitled to the rights guaranteed both by labour laws and standards, and by the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (Save the Children UK, 2006). When they are working under exploitative conditions or are under the legal minimum working age they are recognised as child domestic workers, and in some cases they are considered to be in one of the worst forms of child labour, against which specific instruments and provisions have been adopted (Ibid). The CRC defines a child as a person under the age of 18. According to the CRC, children under the age of eighteen have a fundamental right to education and a healthy standard of living, and states should use the “best interest of the child” standard in evaluating laws regarding children. The CRC also provides for the implementation of penalties and sanctions if these rights are violated. Article 32 (of the UN CRC) recognizes "The right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development" (Save the Children UK, 2006,p.2). Thus, children's work should not jeopardize any of their other rights, including the right to education, or the right to relaxation and play. 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 (Oyaide, 2000).

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7 Ibid.


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One of the most important conventions on child domestic labour is the 1973 ILO Convention No. 138, concerning the Minimum Age for Admission to Employment. In addition to establishing a minimum age for work conditions appropriate for children, the Convention sets a minimum age for joining the workforce. Article 2 of the ILO Convention (No. 138) provides that the minimum age for admission to employment “shall not be less than the age of completion of compulsory schooling and, in any case, shall not be less than 15 years.” An exception to the minimum age of fifteen is made only for a state “whose economy and educational facilities are insufficiently developed,” which may “initially specify a minimum age of 14 years.” The ILO Recommendation No. 146 provides that states that have a minimum age below 15 should, as a matter of urgency raise the minimum work age to 15. Article 2 (b) of the ILO Recommendation No. 146 also provides that it is open to a State Party to set its minimum age above 15. Secondly, a comprehensive definition of child domestic labour should be adopted. Article 1 of the ILO, Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182) provides that effective elimination of the worst forms of child labour requires immediate and comprehensive action by governments, taking into account the importance of free basic education and the need to remove the children concerned from all such work and to provide for their rehabilitation and social integration while addressing the needs of their families. The ILO Convention No. 189 and Recommendation No. 201 on decent work for domestic workers promote the right to decent working and living conditions of workers (International Labour Organization, 2011). The ILO Convention No. 189 lays down basic rights and principles, and requires States to take a series of measures with a view to making decent work a reality for domestic workers, including child domestics. Domestic Workers Recommendation No. 201, supplements Convention No. 189, and provides practical guidance concerning possible legal and other measures to implement the rights and principles stated in the Convention.

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10 Ibid.
11 Op. cit
1.2.4 The Legal and Policy Frameworks Pertaining to Child Domestic Workers

The Zambian government has adopted a number of legal and policy frameworks aimed at addressing child domestic labour and protecting the rights of child domestic workers (United States Department of Labor, 2011, p. 731). The Constitution and the Employment Act set the minimum age for employment at 15. The Apprenticeship Act regulates the employment of minors as apprentices but does not include a minimum age for apprenticeships or specify the types of work that apprentices can perform. The Employment of Young Persons and Children Act bars children under age of 18 from engaging in hazardous labor. The Government provides free education up to the seventh grade and has reported to the UNESCO Institute of Statistics that education is compulsory until age 14 (United States Department of Labor, 2011, p. 731).

The Government of Zambia enacted the Minimum Wages and Conditions of Employment (Domestic Workers) Order, 2011, which has been published as Statutory Instrument No. 3 of 2011 (7 January 2011). The Order fixes a minimum wage and also addresses working time, sick leave and maternity leave, and severance pay. It also sets 15 years as the minimum age for admission to domestic work.  

In the specific context of child labour, a National Child Labour Policy (NCLP) was adopted in 2010 and officially launched in 2011 (ILO, 2012). The policy establishes an action plan and designates responsible agencies to address child labor issues (United States Department of Labor, 2011, p. 732). More so, the NCLP recognizes education as the key to reducing children’s premature entry into the labour market and contains a number of policy objectives relating to improving the education system and children’s access to it. Recognizing the need for filling the gap between Zambia’s international obligations and national action, the Ministry of Labour and Social Security developed the National Action Plan (NAP) for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour (NAP) in 2009 (ILO, 2012). The NAP envisages the active involvement of government structures, international organizations, NGOs, community-based organizations, faith-based organizations, donors, the private sectors and media organizations (Ibid).

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1.2.5 Institutional Frameworks Pertaining to Child Domestic Workers

With regard to institutional frameworks, there are many institutions dealing with children’s rights and child labour in Zambia. Institutional arrangements include; the Ministry of Sport, Youth and Child Development which plays a role in coordinating programmes that are aimed at fostering child rights and development (Ministry of Sport, Youth and Child Development, 2006). The Ministry Of Community Development and Social Services deals with child welfare services through public welfare assistance rendered to vulnerable children. The Ministry of Labour and Social Security (MLSS) is the lead agency coordinating government efforts on issues of the worst forms of child labor. The MLSS is responsible for labour related matters and ensures that appropriate employment, labour and social security policies are formulated so as to foster labour rights of workers in Zambia. The ministry creates awareness of the worst forms of child labor and monitors the implementation of child labor programs at the district and village levels (United States Department of Labor, 2011).

1.3 Definition of Concepts

1.3.1 Child

In Zambia, there is no standard definition of a child, as interpretations differ according to the context and legal provisions (ILO, IOM and UNICEF, 2010). The Constitution defines a young person as anyone under the age of 15, while the Employment of Young Persons and Children Act (2004) defines a child as any person under 15 years of age and a young person as anyone between 15 and 18 years old. The Ministry of Sport, Youth and Child Development (2006) defines a child as any person below the age of 18 years. Furthermore, the 2004 Child Policy and Anti-Human Trafficking Act of 2008 define a child as any person below 18 years of age (ILO, IOM and UNICEF, 2010). Article 1 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child defines a ‘child’ as a person below the age of 18, unless the laws of a particular country set the legal age for adulthood younger. To this effect, the Committee on the Rights of the Child, the monitoring body for the Convention, has encouraged States to review the age of majority if it is set below 18 and to increase the level of protection for all children under 18. To this effect, the Committee on the Rights of the Child, the monitoring body for the Convention, has encouraged States to review the age of majority if it is set below 18 and to increase the level of protection for all children under 18.15  

This study used the Constitution of Zambia, the Employment of Young Persons and Children Act (2004) definition of a child which define a child as any person under the age of 15. The study investigated the impact of child domestic work on the psychosocial wellbeing of

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children aged between 10 and 14 years old because the minimum age for children to work in Zambia is 15.

1.3.2 Child domestic work

Work, particularly that which is aimed at socialization and training in a protected environment, is not necessarily bad for children as long as the work is not dangerous and does not interfere with the child’s health, education or normal physical, moral or emotional development (ILO, IOM and UNICEF, 2010). Zambian law (the Employment of Young Persons and Children Act, 2004) permits children aged 13 years old to 15 years old to do work that is light and does not negatively affect a child’s school attendance, health or development (Ibid). Art. 1(a) of the ILO Convention No. 189 defines “domestic work” as “work performed in or for a household or households” (ILO 2011). Domestic work may involve a range of tasks, including cooking, cleaning the house, washing and ironing the laundry, general housework, looking after children, the elderly or persons with disabilities, as well as maintaining the garden. According to ILO (2013), “child domestic work” refers to “domestic tasks performed by children (i.e. persons below 18 years) in the home of a third party or employer”. The term “child domestic work” also refers to domestic tasks performed by children aged 5 to 17 who work in the home of a third party or employer (with or without remuneration). This study used the ILO (2013) definition of child domestic work which defines child domestic work as domestic tasks performed by children (i.e. persons below 18 years) in the home of a third party or employer.

1.3.3 Child domestic worker

A “domestic worker” is defined in Convention No. 189 as “any person engaged in domestic work within an employment relationship” (Art. 1(b)). This definition includes domestic workers engaged on a part-time basis and those working for multiple employers, nationals and non-nationals, as well as both live-in and live-out domestic workers (ILO, 2011). According to Save the Children UK (2007), a child domestic worker refers to a child engaged in domestic chores in a home outside their families for a wage in cash or kind. This definition includes all those children who run errands for their employer and offer support to

homemakers for a wage. It does not include children who stay out of school and help in home making or those who support employers in commercial ventures such as catering and laundry. UNICEF (1999) defines child ‘domestics’ or ‘domestic workers’ as “children under the age of 18 who work in other people’s households, doing domestic chores, caring for children and running errands, among other tasks. This definition focuses mainly on the situation of live-in child domestics, that is, children who work full time in exchange for room, board, care, and sometimes remuneration.

Child domestic workers (CDWs) are “persons under 18 years who work in households other than their own, doing domestic chores, caring for children, tending the garden, running errands and helping their employers run their small businesses, amongst other tasks. This includes children who ‘live in’ and those who live separately from their employers, as well as those who are paid for their work, those who are not paid, and those who receive ‘in-kind’ benefits, such as food and shelter” (Blagbrough, 2010 cited in Anti-Slavery International, 2013). This study used the Blagbrough (2008) definition of child ‘domestics’ or ‘domestic workers’ as it includes children who are paid and live separately from their employers (‘live-out’). The study used this definition because it focuses on live-out child domestics, and not live-in child domestic workers. According to Blagbrough (2008) ‘live-in’ child domestic workers refer to children, who are living with, as well as working for, their employers while ‘live-out’ Child domestic workers refer to children who come to their employers’ house to work, but who live separately from them. The study focused on live-out child domestics because they were easier to locate than live-in child domestic workers who are always found in hidden private homes.

1.3.4 Child labour

According to ILO/IOM/UNICEF (2010), child labour constitutes work that is likely to harm the safety, morals, physical, mental or emotional health of a child. Child labour is also defined as work that hampers access to education, involves too many hours of work, too many responsibilities, irregular payment or lack of wages, low income, and sexual, physical and psychological abuse leading to income and capability poverty (Oyaide, 2000.p.9).

In Zambia, ILO Convention No. 182 in 2001, the Employment of Young Persons and Children Act, 2004 prohibit the employment of children below 15 years old (but allows children 13 years old to 15 years old to perform light work that is not hazardous and does not interfere with their schooling) and prohibit the employment of children under 18 years in hazardous work (Ibid). The ILO Convention No. 138, which specifies the age above which a
person may participate in economic activities and the UN Convention on the Right of the Child are used as benchmarks for providing a working definition for child labour. The overriding principle in these conventions is that work should not interfere with the education and the fullest mental and physical development of the child. The ILO/IOM/UNICEF (2010) definition of child labour was adopted in this study because it states that child labour constitutes work that is likely to interfere with the education, harm the safety, morals, physical, mental or emotional health of a child.

1.3.5 Psychosocial Wellbeing

The term ‘psychosocial’ is frequently used as a catch-all for aspects of children’s psychological development and social adjustment. In the study of child work, a distinction is often made between ‘physical’, ‘educational’ and ‘psychosocial’ impacts. Physical impacts refer to environmental hazards and associated ill-health, injuries or disease, while Educational impacts are about access to schooling and effects on achievement in literacy, and numeracy. In terms of Article 32 of UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), psychosocial might be taken to cover “mental, physical, educational, psychological, spiritual, moral or social development” (Woodhead, 2004).

In order to understand psychosocial wellbeing of child domestics, the term wellbeing needs to be defined. For the purposes of this study, the term ‘well-being’ refers to the quality of people’s lives. In this study, measures of objective wellbeing and subjective wellbeing were used to establish psychosocial wellbeing. Objective well-being refers to those environmental factors such as poverty, income, education, health and employment, which are associated with a good life. Subjective well-being refers to the feelings of happiness or life satisfaction experienced by people, despite their objective circumstances. In this study, ‘subjective well-being’ refers to those intangible aspects of life, such as good peer and family relationships, self-esteem and resilience, that contribute to a child’s happiness, and are only really experienced from the child’s own perspective.

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17 African Development Bank, Explaining the High Incidence of Child Labour in Sub-Saharan Africa, Published by Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, 2002; p.251
20 Ibid.
1.4 Statement of the Research Problem

Child domestic workers (CDWs) remain invisible because of the very fact that domestic work is performed in the home (Anti-Slavery International, 2013, p. 8-9). Even though domestic 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, child workers are usually subjected to very long hours of work (Oyaide, 2000). They are also exposed to various forms of abuse, including verbal, physical and sexual. Child domestic work is therefore a child labor issue, a children’s rights issue, and gender issue. It is a child labor issue as it involves economic exploitation and hazardous working conditions. It is a children’s rights issue because the nature and condition of the work is unfavorable for child development. Finally, it is also a gender issue as it relates to family perceptions about the limited value of girl’s education (Flores-Oebanda, 2006).

In Zambia, the acquiescence of the public at large to child domestic work seems to be because of traditional socialization, 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 people tend to regard it as a better alternative to poverty and destitution, and therefore employers are performing a social obligation (Oyaide, 2000).

Empirical studies conducted on child domestic work in Zambia have attempted to establish the nature, causes, conditions and gender differences in child domestic work (Oyaide, 2000). Studies by Oyaide (2000) attempted to specifically examine the characteristics of child domestic work such as the reasons why the children are working, conditions of the work and the gender implications in the work with regard to the rights of the child in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC 1990) and the Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). Other studies conducted by Mushota (1989) and Matoka (1993) on child labour, attempted to establish the nature, causes and conditions of child domestic work in Zambia (Oyaide, 2000). Another study conducted by Global Network (2011) attempted to investigate the vulnerability and decent work deficits, including the right to social protection of domestic workers in Zambia. Despite that empirical studies (Oyaide, 2000; Mushota, 1989 and Matoka, 1993) have attempted to investigate issues related to child domestic work with the main focus on causes of child domestic work, conditions of work and gender dimension of child domestic work, none of them examined the impact of child domestic work on children’s psychosocial wellbeing and health in Zambia. In this regard, nothing significant has been done on the effects of child domestic work on children’s psychosocial wellbeing in Zambia. Therefore,
there is need for systematic investigation into the effects of child domestic work on children’s psychosocial wellbeing. There is need also to investigate and analyze the challenges of protecting the rights of child domestic workers. It is this gap in information which formed the basis of this study. Consequently, the main objective of this study was to investigate and analyze the effects of child domestic work on children’s psychosocial wellbeing from a human rights perspective.

1.4.1 Relevance of the Study

Child domestic workers like any other categories of workers need decent working conditions, and more so have human and labour rights that all stakeholders should adequately promote and protect. Therefore, this study is justified on a number of grounds. Firstly, it would respond to global concerns about the working conditions and exploitation of child labour, Convention 182 on the Intolerable Forms of Child Labour and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). Secondly, the findings would generate interest and create awareness about the impact of child domestic work on children’s psychosocial wellbeing among child rights advocates, social workers, 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 impact of child domestic work on children’s psychosocial health and development. The findings can generate awareness and interest in this area of child labour and contribute to the general body of knowledge and therefore act as a basis for policy and legal frameworks (Oyaide, 2000).

To this effect, this study can provide information on the effects of child domestic work on children’s psychosocial wellbeing. The study can also provide information on the challenges of protecting the rights of child domestic workers. It is anticipated that the findings from this study would be relevant to legal and policy initiatives to combat child domestic labour. In view of the above, the study will be used to generate and document recommendations that may be utilized by stakeholders to develop policy and legal frameworks that would protect the rights of child domestic workers. In this regard, the study can contribute to knowledge generation in promoting and protecting the rights of child domestics. According to Noyoo (2000,p.90) empirical evidence through research “enables social work practitioners to promote social justice by lobbying for institutional changes in favor of the marginalized and also the passing of government policies that are responsive to the needs of vulnerable groups.” Advocacy and lobbying can thus help in overcoming the structural inequalities that
characterize many spheres (such as child domestic work) of the Zambian society. A study on the effects of child domestic work on children’s psychosocial wellbeing was thus appropriate in the field of Social Work.

1.4.2 Objectives of the Study

1.4.2.1 Aim of the Study

The main aim of this study was to investigate and analyze the impact of child domestic work on the psychosocial wellbeing of children from a human rights perspective. The study focused on the impact of child domestic work on the psychosocial wellbeing of children aged between 10 and 14 years. The rationale for choosing this age group was that the Zambian Constitution and the Employment Act set the minimum age for employment at 15. Thus, children aged 15 years and above are allowed to do work as long as it does not exploit and subject children to hazardous conditions. In this regard, children below 15 years are not allowed to engage in any form of employment.

1.4.2.2 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of the study were: (i) To explore the effects of child domestic work on the subjective well-being of children; (ii) To explore the effects of child domestic work on children’s schooling; (iii) To investigate and analyze the effects of child domestic work on poverty among children and their families; and (iv) To examine and analyze the challenges of protecting the rights of child domestics.

1.4.2.3 Research Questions

The study was guided by the following research questions: (i) What are the feelings of children about domestic work? (ii) What are the effects of child domestic work on children’s schooling? (iii) What is the impact of domestic work on poverty among children and their families? (iv) What are the challenges affecting the protection of the rights of child domestic workers?

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2.0 Chapter Two: Literature Review

This section reviewed previous studies that have been done on child domestic work in Zambia and other parts of the world.

2.1 Previous Research

Child domestic labour is a big concern for many NGOs, international organisations and countries, including Zambia. A number of studies have been conducted on issues related to child domestic labour in Zambia and other parts of the world.

Save the Children UK (2007) conducted a quantitative study on the characteristics of child domestic labour in Leh and Kargil districts of Jammu & Kashmir in India. The study attempted to ascertain the relationship involving different aspects of child domestic work and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). The study was conducted with a wide group of stakeholders in Leh and Kargil towns. Information was elicited using interview schedules and focus group meetings amongst the children, parents and employers, community leaders, councillors, schoolteachers, labour officers, police officers, NGO representatives, and Anganwadi Workers. Child domestic workers participated in the study based on their identities such as residential areas, communities (Muslims/Buddhists), rich/poor, farmers and vegetable growers so that the varieties of life style of child domestic workers (CDWs) could be studied.

The study revealed that 53.4% CDWs are girls as compared to 46.6% boys, 88.35% are tribals and 56.31% of them are Muslims working in the Muslim households. The study also revealed that 73% of child domestic workers’ families lack economic self-sufficiency and are below the poverty line (BPL) population. Furthermore, the study revealed that 20% of child domestics have no idea about their wages and 33% CDWs don't get any wages or receive less than 200 Indian Rupees per month. In the case of ailments, 67% children only manage to get health care support when they fall sick, 5% get treatment facility only in case of serious sickness and 9% never get any such support. Only 51% of child domestic workers manage to go to schools with employer's permission (Save the Children UK, 2007). This was a quantitative study which was conducted with the aim to ascertain the relationship involving different aspects of child domestic work and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). However, it had been observed that the study conducted by Save the Children UK (2007) generally aimed to understand the characteristics of child domestic labour in Leh and Kargil towns in India. The study also focused on the socio-economic and cultural factors responsible for leading children
into domestic work. In this regard, the study did not specifically aim to unravel the psychosocial impacts of child domestic work. Hence, the study did not give any details pertaining to the impact of child domestic work on children’s psychosocial wellbeing. This created a gap in knowledge on the effects of child domestic work on psychosocial wellbeing of children. These gaps justified the need for the study to be conducted on the impact of child domestic work on children’s psychosocial wellbeing in Zambia.

Another study was carried out by ILO/UNICEF/World Bank Group (2012) on child labour situation in Zambia and how it is changing over time. The study revealed that child involvement in employment remains very high in Zambia. Statistically, more than one out of every three children aged 7-14 years were at work in economic activity in 2008. The study also showed that child labour constitutes an important obstacle to achieving Universal Primary Education and other Millennium Development Goals in Zambia. It not only harms the welfare of individual children, but also slows broader national poverty reduction and development efforts. Children forced out of school and into labour to help their families to make ends meet are denied the opportunity to acquire the knowledge and skills needed for gainful future employment, thereby perpetuating the cycle of poverty. Moreover, child labour can lead to social vulnerability and social marginalization, and can permanently impair the attainment of personal and productive potential, in turn influencing lifetime patterns of employment and earnings, and generating important constraints to national development goals. This has a long term bearing on children’s future aspirations and social development in the country. The study concluded that child labour not only constitutes a serious violation of the rights of the children concerned, but also has clear broader consequences for national social development. Children growing up compromised educationally and developmentally by early involvement in work will be in a poor position to contribute to Zambia’s growth as adults. Child domestic labour therefore contributes to the vicious cycle of poverty among children and their households since children drop out of school and engage in the lowest paid form of informal employment. In this regard, child domestic labour has been recognized as one of the most intolerable forms of child labour since it involves economic exploitation and violations of children’s rights.

In view of the foregoing, the study conducted by ILO/UNICEF/World Bank Group (2012) generally focused on child labour in Zambia. Although the study attempted to investigate general child labour situation in Zambia, it made an important revelation that child labour perpetuates the cycle of poverty among families and the country at large as it denies children schooling opportunities and vocational skills which they can use to fight poverty. This finding
is relevant to the current research questions which intended to explore the impact of domestic work on poverty among children and their families, as well as the effects on children’s schooling opportunities. However, the study did not specifically aim to investigate the impact of child domestic work on children’s psychosocial wellbeing. This therefore created a gap in knowledge on child domestic work in Zambia and its effects on psycho-social wellbeing. Above all, the study did not indicate the research design and methods that were used in data collection and analysis. To this effect, it justified the need to conduct the current study on the impact of child domestic work on children’s psychosocial wellbeing in Zambia by using appropriate research design and methods of data collection and analysis, especially that the study involved children as subjects under investigation.

Global Network (2011) conducted a study on general domestic work in Zambia. The study aimed to investigate the vulnerability and decent work deficits, including the right to social protection, of domestic workers. The study used both primary and secondary sources. Primary data came from interviews with domestic workers, trade union officials, civil society activists and labour officers. Secondary sources included the review of literature obtained from the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, National Pension Scheme Authority, Central Statistical Office and the trade union organizing domestic workers. The study revealed the worsening working and living conditions of domestic workers and that domestic work continues to be the most vulnerable section of the labour force. For instance, the study revealed that domestic workers’ working hours are from 7:00hrs to 17:00hrs. According to government policy, domestic workers have to work a total of forty-eight hours a week and each day’s work should not exceed eight hours. The study further indicated that even recent establishment of the minimum wage by the Zambian government does not meet the cost of living needs of domestic workers. According to the current Minimum Wages and Employment Conditions Order, domestic workers are entitled to ZMK250, 000 (US$50) per month. As regards job security, the study revealed that domestic workers have no job security as one can be fired without notice and no benefits at all (Global Network, 2011). In view of the forgoing, the study conducted by Global Network (2011) generally focused on all domestic workers in Zambia. Hence, the study did not specifically aim to unravel the issues related to child domestic work. In this regard, the study did not give any details pertaining to the impact of child domestic work on children’s psychosocial health. This therefore created a gap in knowledge on child domestic work in Zambia and its effects on psycho-social wellbeing of children.
One of the previous studies relevant to child domestic work is the study conducted by the International Research on Working Children (2010) on child domestics. The study explored the overall quality of life and the experience of child domestics in Dhaka, Bangladesh. In-depth qualitative research over a period of time was carried out among 20 working girls. The studies revealed that child domestics experienced discrimination, exclusion, disrespect, ingratitude, and other assaults on their emotional needs that truly hurt them. This study made it clear that child domestic workers run a high risk of long-term mental health problems, regardless of their material and physical security. The mental and emotional impact on the child domestic worker is at least as nefarious as the physical impact and the exploitative relationship. Although this study attempted to explore the overall quality of life and the experience of child domestics in Bangladesh, the study did not give detailed explanation of the impact of child domestic work on children’s psychosocial needs. In this regard, the study gave minimal focus on the impacts of child domestic work on the psychosocial health of children. Therefore, this gap in knowledge warranted the current research to take a different approach from previous studies. To that effect, this study focused on the impact of child domestic work on children’s psycho-social wellbeing in Lusaka City of Zambia.

On the related issue of psychosocial effects of child domestic work, Mulili (2010) conducted the study on the psychosocial consequences of domestic labour on children in Machakos District of Kenya. The study aimed to investigate child domestic labour and its outcomes on the psychosocial wellbeing of children engaged in domestic work. It also addressed the cause, extent and nature of child domestic labour in Kenya. The study combined quantitative and qualitative data collection methods. A sample of 100 children aged between 10 to 18 years was selected randomly within 4 divisions. The study revealed that the root causes of child domestic labour are multiple. 52% of the children cited that their parents had no financial capacity to support them. Additional factors included orphanhood, domestic violence and inaccessibility of quality education. Furthermore, the study revealed that child labour has serious social and psychological consequences that stay with the child long after their childhood. The findings showed that the poor terms of employment and the unfavourable working conditions create the feelings of dissatisfaction with domestic work and unhappiness among child domestics. Children expressed displeasure because the working environment is both hazardous and exploitative. The children work in households for up to 18 hours, with no scheduled rest. Their work includes a combination of labour intensive indoor and outdoor tasks such as cooking, washing and gardening among others.
Additionally, the study showed that there are numerous hazards in domestic work such as severe burns from gas explosions, boiling water, chemicals and electricity. Others are dangerous cuts and injuries from handling sharp objects, carrying heavy items and falling on slippery floors. Most of the workers are hardly treated in humane ways, they are excluded from family social functions and when they get sick, they rarely get adequate medical attention. The workers are overly criticized for simple mistakes. In the study, the workers said they experienced wide-ranging negative feelings; 46.4% said they had suicidal feelings, 34% felt unwanted and worthless while another 8.2% had other feelings such as being resentful and hostile towards others. Child domestic workers earnings are little and far below the minimum wage below (Kenyan Shilling-Ksh 500) in Kenya per month. They enjoy no work benefits; have no job security and the work has no defined terms of service, and they may be fired for small infractions. Child domestics have strict work schedules which deprive them of enough time to form meaningful social relationships. Thus, their social support networks are minimal. The study also found out that there are major gaps in eliminating child domestic labour. One of the major gaps is that there is delay in implementing the Child Labour Policy initiated in 2004. The other challenge is for the Government of Kenya to step up programmes that monitor and withdraw children working in the domestic front. More so, there is a gap in providing viable alternatives such as formal and informal education that would empower child workers with vocational skills. In this regard, the study recommended that the state should implement the Child Labour Policy. Besides, there is also an urgent need for the Government of Kenya to step up programs that monitor and withdraw children working in the domestic front, providing viable alternatives such as formal and informal education and empowering them with vocational skills. Moreover, technical and financial support should be provided to parents and guardians to come up with alternative means of earning so that they can allow children to go to school. Finally, the Study recommended that all actors should strengthen child participation and inter agency cooperation as a means of preventing entry in to child labour and increasing opportunities to withdraw children from domestic labour.

From the findings above, it was known that the study conducted by Mulili (2010) aimed to investigate child domestic labour and its outcomes on the psychosocial wellbeing of children engaged in domestic work, as well as address the cause, extent and nature of child domestic labour in Kenya. To this effect, it was observed that the study mainly focused on the psychosocial consequences of domestic labour on children in Kenya. However, the study was conducted in Kenya, the context which is different from Zambia. This therefore justified the
need for the current study to be carried out to investigate and analyse the impact of child domestic work on children’s psychosocial wellbeing in Lusaka City in Zambia.

A similar study was conducted by Hesketh et al (2012) on psychosocial impact of child domestic work in India and the Philippines. The aim of the study was to explore the effects of domestic employment on the psychosocial wellbeing of child domestic workers (CDWs) in India and the Philippines. The study consisted of a cross-sectional survey of child domestic workers (CDWs) and school-attending community controls carried out under the auspices of the NGO Anti-Slavery International (ASI), and in collaboration with two local partner organisations: The National Domestic Workers Movement in India, and Visayan Forum in the Philippines. A questionnaire was developed for the study building on qualitative research previously conducted by Anti-Slavery International, research into the psychosocial effects of child labour by Woodhead (2004) and a study exploring appropriate tools for psychosocial measurements in child labour. Woodhead’s work identified potential vulnerability and protective factors which could affect a child’s psychosocial wellbeing in the work setting. These factors include: consistent settings, secure relationships, peer support and solidarity, physical environment and daily schedule, and opportunities for participation in school and other community activities. The questionnaire incorporated questions about these areas. In addition, a scoring system for the measurement of psychosocial well-being was developed, drawing on Woodhead’s framework for child labour, which identifies the following factors as contributing to psychosocial well-being: sense of personal competence, social integration, personal identity and valuation, and emotional and somatic expressions of wellbeing. A questionnaire was administered to 700 CDWs and 700 school-attending controls in the two countries. The results indicated that it is not domestic work that is intrinsically harmful, but rather the circumstances and conditions of work, which resulted in psychosocial effects. It is therefore observed that these empirical studies conducted in India and Philippines attempted to unravel the impact of child domestic work on the psycho-social wellbeing of child domestic workers. The aims of this study, therefore, were to provide a more generalisable understanding of the effects of domestic employment on children’s psychosocial well-being, and to explore specific determinants of poor psychosocial status, with a view to informing policy in this area (Hesketh et al 2012). However, these studies did not give detailed information on the psycho-social impacts of child domestic work. The findings of the study were too general. Moreover, the context in which the study was conducted is different from the Zambian context. To this effect, there is a gap in knowledge on the nature and scope of the effects of child domestic work on psychosocial wellbeing of children in Zambia. Thus,
this justification warranted the current research to be conducted on the impact of psychosocial wellbeing of children.

Anti-Slavery International (2013) conducted a time-series study (multi-country study) into the psychosocial wellbeing of child domestic workers (CDWs) across three continents. The study was conducted in Peru, Togo, Tanzania, India and Philippines with 3,000 children, mostly between the ages of 10 and 17; half of whom work as paid or unpaid domestic workers. A multidisciplinary research team including psychologists, anthropologists and epidemiologists used a specifically designed questionnaire to explore the nature and circumstances under which child domestic work is performed in order to understand how this affects the psychosocial wellbeing and health of child domestic workers. A total of 1,465 CDWs and 1,579 neighbourhood controls were interviewed on a one-to-one basis to quantitatively assess their socio-demographic and family situation, working life, conditions, cognitive abilities and psychosocial wellbeing in what is the first study of this nature and scale.

The study revealed that a significant proportion of child domestic workers (CDWs) in Togo and India are clearly harmed by the situation in which they are working. In these two countries physical abuse is common, CDWs work long hours for little or no pay and this full time work often completely excludes them from the education system, leaving them with little opportunity for social mobility. For those who combine work and school, their performance is not good. Moreover, the enrollment rate is also affected in that children opt for domestic work at the expense of schooling. To this effect, the right to education for children is affected negatively. Our data suggests that many of these children are seriously harmed on a psychosocial level. The child domestic workers interviewed in Tanzania are also frequently victims of abuse in their place of work; some children in this study reported being whipped and caned by their employers but despite this and their similarly harsh working conditions they are less affected on a psychosocial level. In view of the foregoing, it was observed that these empirical studies attempted to investigate the psychosocial wellbeing of child domestic workers. However, these studies did not give detailed information on the psycho-social impacts of child domestic work. This is because the findings of the empirical studies were so general that detailed and rich information on the subjective wellbeing of child domestics could not be given. To this effect, there is a gap in knowledge on the nature and scope of the effects of child domestic work on psychosocial wellbeing of children in Zambia. Thus, this justification necessitated the current research to be conducted on the impact of psychosocial wellbeing of children.
One of the previous studies relevant to child domestic work in Zambia is the study conducted by Oyaide (2000). Oyaide (2000) conducted an exploratory study which applied both quantitative and qualitative methods in order to investigate 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. The study involved 159 children below the age of 15 who were employed as child domestics. The research was conducted in Lusaka City of Zambia. On the one hand, with regard to gender differentiation in the work, the findings revealed that child domestic labour is a female dominated area of child labour in Lusaka. On the other hand, the findings indicated that the fundamental reason why children are engaged in domestic work is because child domestic labour is one of the ways that families cope with poverty. The poor economic condition of the country is resulting in many children having to work instead of being in school. Therefore, child domestic work is good as it removes children from streets and destitution. As a result, some tend to regard it as a better alternative to poverty and destitution, and therefore employers are performing a social obligation. Many child workers considered themselves lucky to have something to do. They were also happy with earning wages to help their families and themselves.

The findings also revealed that conditions of work are characterized by too many responsibilities, physical, verbal and sexual abuse, humiliation and psychological torture. 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, the low payment, denial of or irregular payment of the wages, verbal and sexual abuse of the child, combine to make the work near-slavery, hazardous, and exploitative. Child domestic workers were very emotional about the lack of schooling opportunities and loss of family and social life. However, children seem to succumb to working because they have no choice. The implications are that the work is harmful and not in the best interest of the children involved. In this regard, the major long-term disadvantage is that it limits the opportunities opened to the child later on in life and it is harmful on the long run to the society at large because it generates a reservoir of future illiterate and unskilled labour force. 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. Furthermore, the study revealed that domestic workers expressed dissatisfaction with terms of employment and poor working conditions such as low pay, lack of payment of wages, ill treatment within the household, and the verbal attacks. They also complained of
other abuses such as sexual abuse, and insults from employers, heavy workload, long hours of work, no paid leave days and lack of rest or play. From the findings of the study carried out by Oyaide (2000), it was observed that the study revealed that many child workers felt happy with domestic work because it enables them to earn wages to help their families and themselves. However, child domestic workers were very emotional about the lack of schooling opportunities and loss of family life. Furthermore, the study revealed that domestic workers expressed dissatisfaction with terms of employment and poor working conditions which are characterized by humiliation and psychological torture. In this case, the study indicated some of the feelings that child domestics have about domestic work. These findings are relevant to the research questions of the current study which attempted to investigate the feelings of children about domestic work. The current study also sought to explore the impact of child domestic work on poverty among children and their families, as well as the effects of domestic work on children’s schooling. Despite that Oyaide’s (2000) study revealed issues that are relevant to the research questions of the current study, it did not intend to investigate the psychosocial consequences of domestic work. Mainly, it focused on reasons why children engage in domestic work, terms of employment and conditions of work and gender differentiation in this kind of work. Hence, Oyaide’s (2000) study didn’t specifically aim to unravel the impact of child domestic work on children’s psychosocial wellbeing.

Similar studies were conducted by Mushota (1989) and Matoka (1993) to unravel the working conditions of child domestics in Zambia (Oyaide, 2000). Both studies conducted exploratory qualitative investigations, using interviews and case studies. The aim of these studies was to specifically examine child domestics and to analyze the current conditions of work in relation to the terms of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). The studies found that the children were working in 'undesirable conditions' in Zambia. Both studies found that child domestics work very long and irregular hours. The children generally suffered from verbal abuse, their wages were very low, and that poor relatives from the villages were preferred as unpaid labour. In addition, Matoka (1993 as cited in Oyaide, 2000) found that child domestics did not go to school, and their wages were irregular, dependent relatives were treated harshly, and that the children felt insecure and lonely.

From the findings above, it was therefore observed that empirical studies conducted in Zambia by (Oyaide, 2000; Mushota (1989) and Matoka (1993) attempted to investigate issues related to child domestic work with the main focus on causes of child domestic work,
conditions of work and gender dimension of child domestic work. However, none of the studies conducted in Zambia specifically examined the effects of child domestic labour on children’s psychosocial wellbeing from a human rights perspective. To this effect, nothing significant has been done on the psycho-social wellbeing of child domestics in Zambia. There is therefore a gap in the knowledge on this subject matter. More so, previous studies did not give any details of the challenges of protecting the rights of child domestic workers. Specifically, the studies conducted by Oyaide (2000); Mushota (1989) and Matoka (1993) did not give details pertaining to the rights of children, even if these studies attempted to put light to the working conditions of child domestic workers, and the abuses that they experience (Oyaide, 2000).

After the review of previous research on child domestic labour, the researcher concluded that there are few empirical and analytical studies that provide detailed information on the impact of child domestic labour on children’s psychosocial wellbeing. To date the focus of research has primarily been on the causes or reasons for engagement in domestic work, nature, working and living conditions of child domestic work. While these empirical studies provided important context concerning some of the most vulnerable children, the studies didn’t reflect on the subjective wellbeing or the feelings of the overwhelming majority of child domestic workers. Therefore, research into psychosocial issues has been limited. In the Zambian context, there is a shortage of empirical literature on child domestic work since very few studies have been conducted on issues related to child domestic work in Zambia resulting in knowledge gaps. Moreover, there is no research that specifically explores the effects of work and living conditions on the psycho-social wellbeing of child domestic workers (CDWs) in Zambia. There is, therefore, a vast lack of information on the impact of child domestic work on children’s psychosocial wellbeing and development. To this effect, sufficient reliable and comprehensive knowledge is not available. Hence, the current study endeavored to investigate and analyse the effects of child domestic labour on children’s psychosocial wellbeing in Lusaka City of Zambia from a human rights perspective. By and large, the review of empirical studies provided the researcher with adequate information on the research design and methods of data collection and analysis that were used in the previous studies. This in turn enabled the researcher to use an appropriate research design and suitable methods of data collection and analysis in that the current study involved children as the main subjects under investigation.
3.0 Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework

3.1 Human Rights-Based Approach

As described by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), a human rights-based approach is a conceptual framework for the process of human development that is normatively based on international human rights standards and operationally directed to promoting and protecting human rights (OHCHR, 2006; Johl and Lador, 2012). The human rights-based approach is based on principles of human rights, as provided by the United Nations (UN) Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international human rights documents. Fundamental to human rights-based approach is the principle that all human beings are equal in dignity and rights and that they are entitled to their human rights without distinction of any kind (Landmine Survivors Network, 2007). In other words, a human rights-based approach emphasizes the principle of equality and non discrimination. In this regard, “the basic idea of human rights is that every human being—man or woman, rich or poor, adult or child, healthy or sick, educated or not—is entitled to hold human rights.”

Consequently, human rights are about flourishing as a human being. They involve people being free to reason and imagine what they want to be, what they want to do with their lives and what they want to become; to plan according to their own hopes and needs and to be free to act on their plans, either by themselves or with others (Action Aid, 2006).

According to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights ([OHCHR], 2006), a human rights-based approach seeks to analyze inequalities and redress oppressive or discriminatory practices and unjust distributions of power that impede human development. This approach identifies rights-holders and their entitlements and corresponding duty-bearers and their obligations, and works towards strengthening the capacities of rights-holders to make their claims and of duty-bearers to meet their obligations (Ibid). Thus, a human rights-based approach focuses on the realization of the rights of the underprivileged, disadvantaged, excluded and marginalized populations, and those whose rights are at risk of being violated. More so, a rights-based approach recognizes that the cause of oppression, inequalities and injustice lies with human rights abuse, violations and exploitation of vulnerable groups of people. To this effect, the human rights-based approach helps in assessing how different groups of people experience discrimination or oppression, marginalization, exclusion and disadvantage in terms of human rights abuse and violations.

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Consequently, the human rights-based approach emphasizes the need to ensure that rights are claimed, secured and enjoyed in ways that are empowering, strengthen peoples’ ability to negotiate with the powerful, build dignity, and increase freedom and choice to imagine and pursue the lives, future aspirations and the rights they value (Action Aid, 2006). However, rights cannot be just handed out to people as charity; active agency and the actions of the rights-holders need to be an integral part of a rights-based approach.

3.1.1 Contextualizing a Human Rights-Based Approach

According to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights ([OHCHR], 2006), a human rights-based approach focuses on the realization of the rights of the underprivileged, disadvantaged, excluded and marginalized populations, and those whose rights are at risk of being violated. More so, a rights-based approach recognizes that the cause of oppression, inequalities and injustice lies with human rights abuse, violations and exploitation of vulnerable groups of people. To this effect, the human rights-based approach emphasizes the need to ensure that rights are claimed, secured and enjoyed in ways that are empowering, strengthen peoples’ ability to negotiate with the powerful, build dignity, and increase freedom and choice to imagine and pursue the lives, future aspirations and the rights they value (Action Aid, 2006).

In view of the foregoing, a human rights-based approach has been used to examine and analyse human development related issues such as poverty, health, education, social protection, disability, and gender equality. For example, a human rights-based approach has been used to analyse inequalities which lie at the heart of development problems and redress discriminatory practices and unjust distributions of power that impede development progress (OHCHR, 2006). According to Action Aid (2006), the human rights-based or rights-based approach has been used to explain how poverty is as a result of denial or violation of human rights, as well as the consequence of unequal power dynamics in the process of claiming and/or realizing one’s rights. With regard to child domestic labour, the researcher used a human rights-based approach to examine and analyse how poor working conditions and terms of employment, abuse and exploitation, power imbalances, job insecurity and lack of schooling opportunities result in violations of basic human rights of child domestic workers. Additionally, this study used the human rights-based approach to examine and analyse how the rights of child domestic workers are protected by laws and policies in Zambia. The legislation was assessed against international standards on the human rights of child domestic workers, including the human rights-based approach to addressing child labour embodied in
the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). In this regard, a human rights-based approach was used to analyse how rights can be claimed, promoted, protected, secured and enjoyed by child domestics as the right holders. By and large, the human rights-based approach was used in the current study to conceptualize and assess how child domestic labour impacts on children’s freedoms, that is, opportunities, privileges, choices, and access to human rights.

3.2 Intersectionality Theory

Legal scholar Kimberle Crenshaw (1989) developed the idea of intersectionality to analyze the relationship between race and gender in discrimination in the labor force (Josephson, 2002). Crenshaw initially used this analysis to highlight the problems that minority women experience in trying to demonstrate workplace discrimination on the basis of both race and gender. Crenshaw also used intersectionality to analyse the interaction of racism and sexism in the experiences and lives of women of color who are victims of domestic violence (Crenshaw, 1991, 1997; Josephson, 2002). However, the concept of intersectionality gained momentum in the 1990s when sociologist Patricia Hills Collins revisited the idea as part of her framework on Black feminism (Wilson, 2010). Collins (2000) used the concept of intersectionality to examine and describe the lived experiences of Black American Women within the oppressive intersecting realm of race, class, gender and sexuality. The aim was to show how the experiences and struggles of women of color could not be explained by feminist or by anti-racist theories.

McCall (2005) defines “intersectionality” as the relationships among multiple dimensions and modalities of social relations and subject formations. In this regard, intersectionality is a theory of knowledge that strives to elucidate and interpret multiple and intersecting systems of oppression and privilege. The theory seeks to disrupt linear thinking that prioritizes any one category of social identity. Instead, it strives to understand what is created and experienced at the intersection of two or more axes of oppression (for example, age, socio-economic class, illiteracy, ethnicity, culture, gender, and other critical dimensions of social inequality) on the basis that it is precisely at the intersection that a completely new status, that is more than simply the sum of its individual parts, is formed (Hankivsky and Christoffersen, 2008).23 Consequently, an intersectional perspective does not simply add social categories to one another in an attempt to understand diverse experiences. Instead, the methodology for an

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Intersectional paradigm seeks to uncover the convergence of experiences, including multiple forms of discrimination or oppression, and it does so without assuming these relations are predetermined (Hancock 2007; Hankivsky and Christoffersen, 2008). Intersectional analysis therefore aims to reveal multiple identities, exposing the different types of abuse, exploitation, marginalization and disadvantage that occur as a consequence of the combination of identities that perpetuate poverty and gender, social and economic inequalities. In other words, intersectional theory strives to illuminate the significance of the interacting consequences of many different, but interdependent and reinforcing social identities and systems. Paying attention to how axes of oppression affect one another and how various experiences of oppressions are simultaneous gives new insights into social locations and experiences of identity (Risman, 2004; Hankivsky and Christoffersen, 2008). To this effect, intersectionality starts from the premise that people live multiple, layered identities derived from social relations, history and the operation of structures of power. As a theoretical paradigm, intersectionality allows us to understand multiple systems of social and economic injustice, or inequalities and violations of human rights. Thus, intersectionality is an analytical tool for gender, social and economic justice.

3.2.1 Contextualizing Intersectionality Theory

Collins (1998) asserts that intersectionality offers a means for analyzing and describing the experiences of individuals within a system of interlocking hierarchies. Intersectionality thus provides a means of understanding the lived experiences of individuals within a context of hierarchical power relations, and is thus particularly useful in understanding the complexity of the lived experiences of people who are vulnerable to human rights violations, abuse and exploitation. In view of the foregoing, many of the scholars of intersectionality have used the idea of intersectionality to explore and describe the lived experiences of individuals located at multiple and intersecting systems of oppression, privilege and inequality (Josephson, 2002). For example, Crenshaw (1991b) used the concept of intersectionality to analyze the ways in which mainstream discourse on domestic violence, as well as services for victims of domestic violence are targeted towards white women, and ignore the particular nature of domestic violence for women of color. In the context of domestic work, Wilson (2010) used the concept of intersectionality to examine how class, gender, and ethnicity intersect with one

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24 Association for Women’s Rights in Development (AWID), Intersectionality: A Tool for Gender and Economic Justice, Women’s Rights and Economic Change No. 9, August 2004
25 Ibid.
another to perpetuate inequality. One of the primary reasons for using intersectionality as the main perspective was to analyse and criticize the existing system of power and privilege in society as reflected in social class (gender, economic and social inequalities) in Uganda.

With respect to child domestic employment, the researcher used the idea of intersectionality to examine and analyse how the intersection of multiple identities such as age, gender, low socio-economic status, abilities and poor educational background put child domestics in the position of vulnerability, and perpetuate oppression and inequality. Specifically, the concept of intersectionality was used to assess how different sets of identities impact on child domestic workers’ freedoms, privilege and opportunities, and access to human rights (such as the right to education, decent work and equal pay, adequate standard of living, protection from abuse and economic exploitation). The other aspect of intersectionality that makes it particularly useful for the purposes of this study is the concept of “structural intersectionality” developed by Crenshaw (1991b). In this case, the intersectional analysis was used to understand how the interaction of ineffective employment and social protection policies, poor working conditions and terms of employment perpetuate children’s vulnerabilities in society. The concept of structural intersectionality is also useful in understanding how the family and government structures fail to deal with child labour and promote child welfare. These analyses highlight the ways in which the particular social locations of child domestics based on age, gender, socio-economic status, ability, family background and low educational levels, shape their experiences of domestic work and demarcate the available policies and laws to address their vulnerabilities, human rights violations, abuse and exploitation at the hands of their employers. If the existing policies and laws do not respond to the particular abuses and human rights violations of child domestic workers in the urban communities, children are unlikely to be protected from child labour, abuse and exploitation. Therefore, understanding the means to provide intervention strategies to redress child domestic labour and all forms of abuse and exploitation of child domestics, requires understanding of the effective ways in which age, gender, socio-economic class, ability, educational level, and family background interact in children’s lives.

Another way in which intersectional analysis can be useful is implicit in the concept of political intersectionality. In this case, intersectionality cannot only help us to see what is wrong, but also point the way towards policies that might be more effective in addressing inequalities, oppression and other forms of human rights violations (Josephson, 2002). For the purposes of the current study, the idea of intersectionality is useful in analyzing how the child protection policies can be scaled-up in order to offer maximum protection of children from
child labour, human rights violations, abuse and exploitation. To this effect, intersectional analysis highlights the way that policy responses could more effectively address the many and varied intersectional identities, abuse, exploitation and human rights violations of child domestic workers.

3.3 Capability Approach

The Capability Approach was first articulated by the Indian economist and philosopher Amartya Sen in the 1980s. Sen acknowledges that his approach has strong conceptual connections with Aristotle’s understanding of human flourishing (Wells, 2012). The Capability Approach is defined by its choice of focus upon the moral significance of individuals’ capability of achieving the kind of lives of which they have reason to value (Wells, 2012). This approach stipulates that an evaluation of individual or social status should focus on people’s real or substantive freedom to lead the lives that they find valuable (Sen, 1993). This real freedom is called a person’s capability. A person’s capability to live a good life is defined in terms of the set of valuable ‘beings and doings’ like being in good health, having shelter and food to eat, being educated, having a satisfying job, enjoying cultural activities, and being part of the community (Chattier, 2012; Wells, 2012). Sen (2001.p.5) therefore asserts that what people can positively achieve is influenced by economic opportunities, social powers, political liberties and the enabling conditions of good health, basic education, encouragement and cultivation of initiatives.

According to (Sen, 2001), capabilities approach focuses on people’s freedom, that is, people’s capabilities and more specifically to a person's actual ability to be or do something. Capability is thus a kind of freedom: the substantive freedom to achieve alternative functioning combinations. The unfreedom can arise either through inadequate process (such as the inadequate opportunities that some people have for achieving what they minimally would like to achieve (Sen, 1999). Therefore, capabilities are people’s potential functionings, and functionings are their beings and doings. In this regard, the concept of “functioning,” reflects the various things a person may value doing or being while a person’s “capability” refers to the alternative combinations of functionings that are feasible for him or her to achieve. The difference between a functioning and a capability is similar to the difference between an achievement and the freedom to achieve something, or between an outcome and an opportunity (Chattier, 2012). Robeyns (2011) asserts that the capability approach prioritizes certain of peoples' beings and doings and their opportunities to realize those beings and doings. These beings and doings are what Sen (1999, 2001) called functionings together that
constitute what makes a life valuable. According to Robeyns, (2005.p.95) what is ultimately important is that people have the freedoms or valuable opportunities (capabilities) to lead the kind of lives they want to lead, to do what they want to do and be the person they want to be. Once people effectively have these substantive opportunities, they can choose those options that they value most and this is what Sen, (1999, 2001) call freedom.

All in all, the capability approach posits that the ends of well-being, justice and development should be conceptualized in terms of people’s capabilities to function; that is, their effective opportunities to undertake the actions and activities that they want to engage in, and be whom they want to be (Robeyns, 2005). The capability approach therefore rejects normative evaluations based exclusively on commodities, income, or material resources. Resources are only the means to enhance people’s well-being and advantage, whereas the concern should be with what matters intrinsically, namely people’s functionings and capabilities. Resource-based theories do not acknowledge that people differ in their abilities to convert these resources into capabilities, due to personal, social or environmental factors (Robeyns, 2003). To this effect, Sen has criticized inequality approaches that assume that all people have the same utility functions or are influenced in the same way and to the same extent by the same personal, social, and environmental characteristics (Sen 1992.p.19). In this case, the capability approach acknowledges human diversity, such as disability, ability, race, age, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and geographical location, in evaluations of poverty, deprivation, and well-being (Chattier, 2012; Robeyns, 2003). In view of the foregoing, the capability approach is a theoretical framework that entails two core normative claims: first, the claim that the freedom to achieve well-being is of primary moral importance, and second, that freedom to achieve well-being is to be understood in terms of people's capabilities, that is, their real opportunities to do and be what they have reason to value. Therefore, the core characteristic of the capability approach is its focus on what people are effectively able to do and to be; that is, on their capabilities (Sen, 1999; 2001; Robeyns, 2003; 2011).

3.3.1 Contextualizing the Capability Approach

Sen’s capabilities approach focuses on people’s freedom, that is, people’s capabilities and more specifically to a person's actual ability to be or do something. He goes on to argue that what people can positively achieve is influenced by economic opportunities, social powers, political liberties and the enabling conditions of good health, basic education, encouragement and cultivation of initiatives (Sen, 2001.p.5). Robeyns (2011) asserts that the capability approach prioritizes certain of peoples' beings and doings and their opportunities to realize
those beings and doings. These beings and doings are what Sen (1999, 2001) called functionings together that constitute what makes a life valuable. According to Robeyns, (2005,p.95) what is ultimately important is that people have the freedoms or valuable opportunities (capabilities) to lead the kind of lives they want to lead, to do what they want to do and be the person they want to be.

In view of the foregoing, the capability framework has been used by different scholars to conceptualize and assess poverty, gender, social and economic inequalities and injustice in societies. For example, Robeyns (2003) used Amartya Sen’s capability approach to conceptualize and assess gender inequality in Western societies. Chattier (2012) also used the capability approach to conceptualize and assess gender inequality and women’s poverty within the household in Fiji. Specifically, the capability framework was used to explore the ways in which one could operationalize the methodologies for gender-sensitive measures of poverty, which are capable of reflecting the experiences of women and men. In the context of child domestic employment, the researcher used capability approach to conceptualize and analyse poverty and inequality among child domestics and their families in Lusaka city of Zambia. The capability approach was also used in the current study to help us understand how child domestic work limits children’s freedoms, that is, opportunities, choices, privileges, and the full development of their capabilities which they can use to realize their future aspirations. More so, the researcher used capability approach to examine and analyse how domestic work denies children schooling opportunities and acquisition of lifelong skills which they can use to fight family poverty. Basing on Sen’s capability approach, child domestics lack the freedoms or capabilities which may be regarded as possibilities or opportunities of realizing their full potential because they engage in domestic work at the expense of education. In the context of this study, children’s freedoms or capabilities maybe seen in terms of knowledge and vocational skills which they can use to find better employment opportunities. However, without these capabilities or opportunities, child domestic workers cannot be free from abuse, exploitation and more so they cannot access human rights such as the right to adequate standard of living, decent work and equal pay, social security and good health.
4.0 Chapter Four: Research Methodology

This section presents research methods that were used in the study.

4.1 Research Design

The study was non-experimental research as the investigations were conducted in Lusaka City of Zambia which is a natural setting. This study employed an exploratory case study approach and qualitative research study to investigate the impact of child domestic work on children’s psychosocial wellbeing. According to Key (1997), qualitative research study produces more in-depth, comprehensive information and seeks to understand people’s interpretations, perceptions and lived experiences. In the current study, the researcher used explorative qualitative case study in order to investigate the lived experiences of child domestics because very little is known about child domestics in Zambia. More so, there has not been any information available yet to indicate the impact of child domestic labour on children’s psychosocial wellbeing. Thus, the single case study approach and qualitative research study were applied because the design enabled the researcher to explore and examine in-depth the lived experiences of child domestic workers in Lusaka City of Zambia, instead of just observing and describing their situation. To this effect, the design enabled the researcher to get insightful information from respondents who are knowledgeable about the subject under investigation. Zainal (2007) also affirms that the case study method enables a researcher to closely examine the data within a specific context, and thus gives in-depth information on the subject under investigation.

All in all, this approach helped the researcher to explore the feelings of children about domestic work, as well as the effects of domestic work on children’s schooling. It also enabled the researcher to examine the effects of domestic work on poverty, and the challenges of protecting children’s rights. Consequently, the strength of the single case study is that it helped the researcher to focus on child domestics as the single unit of analysis. Another strength is that the case study approach also allowed the researcher to present data collected from multiple methods (i.e., interviews, document review, and focus group discussions) to provide the complete story. In this regard, qualitative case study allowed the researcher to use different sources of information (such as child domestics, parents and key informants), as well as different methods such as interviews, document analysis and focus group discussion in

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order to obtain in-depth information about the impact of domestic work on children’s psychosocial wellbeing. This design had another advantage in terms of data analysis since it allowed the researcher to sample only a smaller number of participants who had insightful information about the subject matter. This made it easier to do data analysis which produced meaningful and quality results.

However, the weakness of the explorative qualitative case study is that the results cannot be statistically generalisable because it is difficult to generalize from one case to another. The qualitative case study approach is also prone to overgeneralization, which comes from selecting a few research participants and assuming without evidence that they are typical or representative of the population. This would impact on external validity and the final data quality. Therefore, the weakness with this approach was that only a small sample of respondents was used. Hence, the results obtained from this study could not be statistically generalized to other sectors of the population with similar characteristics. Nevertheless, the purpose of this qualitative case study was not generalization of the results, but to ensure that quality results are produced. Thus, qualitative case study approach is not about numbers but meaning and results that reflect on the lived experiences and perceptions of people. In order to ensure that the results from this study were valid and reliable, the researcher employed triangulation. In this case, data and methodological triangulation were employed to ensure validity or quality of the results. The study applied different sources of information (such as children, parents and key informants), as well as different methods of data collection (interviews, focus group discussion and document analysis). The interview guides were also pretested in order to ensure reliability of results.

4.2 Research Participants

Creswell (2007) asserts the importance of selecting the appropriate candidates for interviews. He asserts that the researcher should utilize one of the various types of sampling strategies such as purposive sampling in order to obtain qualified candidates that will provide the most credible information to the study. Creswell (2007) also suggests the importance of acquiring participants who will be willing to openly and honestly share information or “their story”. Hycner (1999, p. 156 cited in Groenewald, 2004) affirms that “the phenomenological studies dictate not only the method but also the type of participants to be included in the

29 Ibid.
study.” In this regard, phenomenological studies dictate that participants with specific experiences or special expertise should be included in the study.

In the current research, participants were selected on the basis of their experiences and special expertise. In this regard, the study only sampled a small number of child domestic workers and parents from Lusaka City in Zambia. On the one hand, child domestics were selected because they were subjects under investigation in relation to the effects of child domestic work on children’s psychosocial wellbeing. Children were selected because the researcher intended to get insightful information about their lived experiences as domestic workers. On the other hand, parents whose children are engaged in domestic work were selected for the study. Parents were selected because they live with child domestics. So, they have in-depth knowledge about child domestic work. The study also involved key informants who included representatives from Children International Zambia, Regional Psychosocial Support Initiative (REPSSI) for East and Southern Africa, United House and Domestic Workers Union of Zambia (UHDWUZ), Plan International Zambia and Ministry of Gender and Child Development within the city. These stakeholders were selected because of their special expertise as they deal with issues concerning child labour, child welfare and children’s rights in Zambia.

4.3 Sample and Sampling Design

Mark (2010) asserts that samples for qualitative studies are generally much smaller than those used in quantitative studies. Ritchie et al (2003 as cited in Mark, 2010) provide a reason for this. This is because qualitative research is concerned with meaning and not making generalized hypothesis statements. According to Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2007), sample sizes in qualitative research should not be too large as it may be difficult for the researcher to extract thick and rich data. Marshall (1996) asserts that an appropriate sample size for a qualitative study is one that adequately answers the research question. He suggests that convenience technique involves the selection of the most accessible subjects, while purposeful sampling is used to study a broad range of subjects who have specific experiences or subjects with special expertise (key informant sample).

For this study, child domestics, parents and key informants were purposively sampled. Purposive sampling was employed because the researcher intended to get insightful information on the impact of child domestic work on children’s psychosocial wellbeing. Thus, only participants who were knowledgeable about issues of child domestic work were included in the study. Snowball sampling was also used since some child domestics were hard to find.
Bryman (2008) asserts that with this approach to sampling, the researcher makes initial contact with a small group of subjects who are relevant to the research topic and then uses these to establish contacts with others. Since child domestics were hard to find, the researcher asked gatekeepers (community youth coordinators), as well as other child domestics to identify other children who were willing to discuss their experiences with the researcher. To this effect, snowball sampling was employed as a back up to purposive sampling because child domestics were very difficult to locate in private homes in which they work. However, snowball and purposive sampling might result in sampling bias since only a small sample of respondents were sampled (Bryman, 2008). In the current research, the weakness with both snowball and purposive sampling had the potential to result in sampling bias in that they can only be used to select small samples. More so, they are non probability sampling methods which cannot allow results to be generalized to the whole population. Despite the weakness of sampling bias, snowball and purposive sampling allowed the researcher to select people who were knowledgeable about the impact of child domestic work on children’s psychosocial wellbeing. Thus, the purpose of using purposive and snowball sampling was to collect insightful information from respondents since the research was qualitative in nature.

The researcher purposively sampled 5 live-out child domestic workers. Specifically, children aged between 10 and 14 years were sampled for the study since the Zambian Constitution and the Employment Act set the minimum age for employment at 15. According to the Minimum Wages and Conditions of Employment (Domestic Workers) Order, 2011, the minimum age for admission to domestic work is 15 years. More so, the Employment of Young Persons and Children Act bars children under the age 18 of from engaging in hazardous labor. The Zambian Government provides free education up to the seventh grade and education is compulsory until age 14 (United States Department of Labor, 2011). Article 2 of the ILO Convention (No. 138) provides that the minimum age for admission to employment “shall not be less than the age of completion of compulsory schooling and, in any case, shall not be less than 15 years.” An exception to the minimum age of fifteen is made only for a state “whose economy and educational facilities are insufficiently developed,” which may “initially specify a minimum age of 14 years.” In this study, children aged 10 and 14 years were considered vulnerable and as a social concern because they dropped out of school and are working at the tender age. The study also selected 6 parents and 5 key informants. This sample size was easy

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to manage and come up with the good results since the study was qualitative in nature. In this regard, smaller sample was used to avoid complications during data analysis. However, smaller sample size meant that results could not be generalized to the larger population. So, smaller sample entailed that external validity would be affected. Nevertheless, qualitative research is concerned with smaller sample sizes as it makes it easier for researchers to collect in-depth information about the subject under investigation. Mark (2010) affirms that samples for qualitative studies are generally much smaller than those used in quantitative studies. Ritchie et al (2003 as cited in Mark, 2010) provides a reason for this. This is because qualitative research is concerned with meaning and not making generalized hypothesis statements. According to Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2007), sample sizes in qualitative research should not be too large as it may be difficult for the researcher to extract thick and rich data.

4.3.1 Inclusion and Exclusion criteria

The study only included a sample of key informants who deal with labour, child welfare and children’s rights in Zambia. In addition, the study included only parents whose children are engaged in domestic work. Child domestics were also included in order to gain in-depth information from their lived experiences as domestic workers. Thus, only live-out child domestic workers aged between 10 and 14 years were included in the study. This was because the researcher intended to gain insightful information on the lived experiences of child domestics, and the impact of child domestic work on children’s psychosocial well-being. To that effect, other categories of child workers aged 15 years and above, live-in child domestics, as well as children who are not domestic workers were excluded from the study. The rationale for choosing this age group was that the Zambian Constitution and the Employment Act set the minimum age for employment at 15. Thus, children aged 15 years and above are allowed to do work as long as it does not exploit and subject children to hazardous conditions. In this regard, children below 15 years are not allowed to engage in any form of employment because they have to finish compulsory education until the age of 14.

4.4 Pilot Study

According to van Teijlingen and Hundley (2002), 'pilot studies' or ‘feasibility’ studies are conducted to pre-test a particular research instrument such as a questionnaire or interview schedule. To this effect, an important element to the interview preparation is the implementation of a pilot test. Kvale (2007) argues that the pilot test assists the researcher in determining if there are flaws, limitations, or other weaknesses within the interview design
and will allow him or her to make necessary revisions prior to the implementation of the study.\textsuperscript{32} Therefore, a pilot test should be conducted with participants that have similar interests as those that will participate in the implemented study. For this research, the pilot study was conducted with child domestic workers, parents and key informants who were not part of the actual sample. In this regard, the pilot study was done to test if at all the research instruments would achieve the intended objectives. This helped the researcher to note any problems with the questions. This way, corrections were made to the research tools, thereby, increasing validity and reliability of the research instruments.

4.5 Data Collection

4.5.1 Primary and Secondary Sources of Data

For this study, primary data was collected from child domestic workers, parents and key informants who were part of the sample. In this regard, primary data allowed the researcher to collect data based on the lived experiences of child domestic workers. Primary data also enabled the researcher to collect insightful information about child domestic work from key informants and parents who were knowledgeable about child domestic work. However, the weakness with primary data was that it was difficult for the researcher to locate respondents, especially child domestics who were hard to find.

On the other hand, secondary data included the review of relevant documents, reports from the internet, and articles from the University Gothenburg library databases. Secondary data enabled the researcher to review previous studies carried out on child domestic work in Zambia and other parts of the world. All in all, secondary data provided empirical evidence on child domestic work. In this regard, secondary data allowed the researcher to find gaps in the existing literature. This in turn led to formulation of research questions which guided the current research. Nevertheless, the weakness with secondary data was that the method did not provide much needed information about child domestic labour in the Zambian context. It was difficult to find empirical evidence that covered psychosocial consequences of domestic work.

4.5.2 Data Collection Techniques

Data collection techniques involved the use of interviews (one-to-one), focus group discussions and document analysis since the study was qualitative in nature.

\textsuperscript{32} D. W. Turner, Qualitative Interview Design: A Practical Guide for Novice Investigators. The Qualitative Report, Fort Lauderdale, Florida USA: Nova Southeastern University, 15(3), 754-760, 2010
4.5.2.1 Interviews

Kvale (1996) asserts that qualitative research interviews enable researchers to understand something from the subjects’ point of view and to uncover the meaning of their experiences. Interviews allow people to convey to others a situation from their own perspective and in their own words. Thus, one-to-one interviews allow the researcher to capture participants’ views on subject under investigation. Kvale (1996, p.88) also affirms that conducting the interviews should be based on an interview guide and with a reflective approach to the knowledge sought. With regard to interview guide approach, the interviewer is free to explore, probe and ask questions to elicit information about specific topics. Berry (1999) also asserts that in-depth interviewing is a type of interview which researchers use to elicit information in order to achieve a holistic understanding of the interviewee’s point of view or situation. This type of interview involves asking informants open-ended questions, and probing wherever necessary to obtain data deemed useful by the researcher. According to Greene and Harris (2011), the one-to-one interview is the most commonly used direct technique to elicit the child’s perspective. The interview allows the researcher to collect detailed information from respondents based on their experiences, views and feelings.

In the current research, semi-structured in-depth interviews were used to collect data from child domestic workers and key informants. The researcher used the interview guide approach (commonly called guided interview) as suggested by Patton (1987:113 cited in Berry, 1999). The researcher employed the one-to-one interview with both the children and key informants. The one-to-one interview was the most appropriate research encounter to be adopted in the qualitative component of this study given that data collection from the child was to be done in the family home in the presence of the child’s parents as opposed to focus group discussions. This method allowed the researcher to ask open-ended questions, probe and ask follow questions in order to solicit for in-depth information from respondents. The responses were audio-recorded. This method also allowed the research participants to freely express their views, feelings, opinions and share experiences. The face-to-face interview also enabled the researcher to take fields notes during the interviews. These notes were compared with recorded interviews as a way of ensuring validity of the results. However, the weakness with one-to-one interview was that it made the researcher collect too much raw data such that the researcher had difficulties in processing it. More so, interviewing was time consuming and complex for the researcher since interviewees had a lot of information to share with the
researcher. To this effect, the researcher repeatedly listened to the recorded interviews in order to process raw data into meaningful information.

4.5.2.1.1 Interview Settings

Creswell (2007,p.133) asserts that it might be easier to conduct the interviews with participants in a comfortable environment where the participants do not feel restricted or uncomfortable to share information. In order to protect participants against any risks, the place of interviews was set away from the children’s workplaces and more so pseudo names were used to maintain confidentiality and anonymity.

In-depth interviews with key informants were conducted in English, while interviews with child domestics were conducted in Zambian language in order to give research participants an opportunity to express themselves in the language that they understand better. Thereafter, the recorded interviews were translated into English by the researcher after transcription. During interviews, the participants were given freedom and time to freely express their views and opinions on issues concerning child domestic work in Zambia. More so, interviews with children were held in the presence of their parents. Time is the limiting ingredient of the whole interview setting process. The less free time either the researcher or the respondent has, the more difficult conducting an interview becomes. In this regard, the researcher took all necessary measures to ensure that the interviews took less than an hour. Thus, none of the interviews lasted for more than one hour. This was aimed at making it comfortable and not exhausting for both the investigator and the interviewee.

4.5.2.2 Focus Group Discussions

The focus group is a qualitative research encounter that brings together respondents in a group situation to discuss the research questions in an interactive group setting. In some cases, focus groups can be a useful method of alleviating the pressure created by a one-to-one situation by offering a more supportive, non-threatening climate for respondents (Greene and Harris, 2011). Depending on the individual nature of the parent or the child, a one-to-one encounter might be seen as intimidating and quite daunting. Some individuals may be more confident in

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34 D. Noy, Setting Up Targeted Research Interviews: A Primer for Students and New Interviewers, University of California, Berkeley, California, *The Qualitative Report* Volume 14 Number 3 September 2009 454-465
a group and find the focus group a more comfortable encounter. Research exploring young people’s views on how they would like to be consulted has highlighted that small discussion groups can help young people to feel less shy and that listening to other people’s ideas can prompt individuals to remember their own experiences or clarify their own thoughts (Stafford, Laybourn & Hill, 2003 as cited in Greene and Harris, 2011).

However, the use of focus groups with children in this study was not appropriate given the nature of the research questions, ethical issues of confidentiality and anonymity regarding individual answers, and the household contexts within which data was collected (Greene and Harris, 2011). In the current research, the weakness with the use of focus group meeting with children was that it would put children at risk of being fired from work once the employer discovered that they participated in the study. The other weakness was with ethical issues of confidentiality and anonymity regarding the lived experiences of child domestics. Some children cited that they had confidential matters that they wouldn’t want to be discussed in public. Therefore, children expressed concern that they didn’t want to share secrets such as poor working conditions, abuses such as physical, emotional and sexual abuse. In this regard, children felt uncomfortable to discuss their experiences in the presence of other children. So, this weakness warranted the researcher to use one-to-one interviews with children in order to uphold confidentiality and anonymity.

However, focus group discussion was used to collect data from parents and provided a back up to semi-structured in-depth interviews. One focus group meeting comprising 6 participants (parents) was held during the study. According to Kumar (1987 as cited in Escalada and Heong, 1997), the focus group discussion (FGD) is a rapid assessment, semi-structured data gathering method in which a purposively selected set of participants gather to discuss issues and concerns based on a list of key themes drawn up by the researcher/facilitator. In this regard, a focus group discussion guide was used to keep the session on track while allowing respondents to talk freely and spontaneously as suggested by Escalada, and Heong (1997). This technique was used so as to allow the researcher to collect divergent views from participants. Thus, focus group meeting with parents enabled the researcher to get opinions and perceptions of parents concerning the impact of domestic work on children’s psychosocial wellbeing. This helped in soliciting for in-depth information about lived experiences of child domestics.

4.5.2.3 Document Study
The researcher also conducted document study to collect data on the impact of child domestic work on children’s psychosocial wellbeing. In this regard, official and public documents, including reports from the Zambian government, articles, newspapers and organisational documents were used to give the researcher a deeper understanding of the impact of child domestic work on children’s psychosocial wellbeing. According to Bailey (1994 cited in Mogalakwe, 2006.p.221), the use of documentary methods refers to the analysis of documents that contain information about the phenomenon we wish to study. Payne and Payne (2004) describe the documentary method as the techniques used to categorize, investigate, interpret and identify the limitations of physical sources, most commonly written documents whether in the private or public domain. In the current research, document analysis provided access to empirical evidence based on the earlier studies carried on child domestic work in Zambia and other parts of the world. It also enabled the researcher to formulate and refine research questions based on the existing knowledge on child domestic labour. However, the researcher encountered the problem in using document analysis. Thus, the weakness with the use of document analysis was that the method did not provide much needed information about child domestic labour in the Zambian context. It was therefore difficult to find empirical evidence that covered psychosocial consequences of domestic work.

4.6 Reliability and Validity of Research Instruments

Joppe (2000) defines reliability as “the extent to which results are consistent over time and if the results of a study can be reproduced under a similar methodology, then the research instrument is considered to be reliable”. In this study, the researcher pre-tested and retested research instruments on a small number of people so as to ensure reliability of research tools. Joppe (2000.p.1) argues that validity determines whether the research objectives truly achieve what they were intended to or how truthful the research results are. According to Guion et al (2011), validity, in qualitative research, refers to whether the findings of a study are true and certain, “true” in the sense that research findings accurately reflect the situation, and “certain” in the sense that research findings are supported by the evidence. Kvale (1996.p.88) asserts that reliability refers to how consistent the results are, and validity means whether an interview study investigates what is intended to be investigated.

37 Ibid.
Triangulation is a method used by qualitative researchers to check and establish validity in their studies by analyzing a research question from multiple perspectives. On the one hand, data triangulation involves using different sources of information in order to increase the validity of a study.\textsuperscript{38} Thus, in order to ensure validity, data triangulation is done by comparing data to already existing literature, and the participants are requested to verify the recorded interviews on the recorder.\textsuperscript{39} In this study, the researcher used different sources of information in order to ensure validity of the findings. The sources of information for this study were child domestics, parents whose children are domestic workers and key informants who deal with child labour related issues. These sources provided in-depth information on child domestic labour which enabled the research to produce meaningful and quality results.

On the other hand, methodological triangulation involves the use of multiple methods to gather data (Guion et al, 2011). For this study, interviews, focus group discussions and document analysis were used to ensure that validity was established. In this regard, in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with children and key informants, while one focus group discussion was held with parents to gain insight into their perspectives on the impact of child domestic work on children’s psychosocial wellbeing. In addition to recorded interviews and focus group meetings, field notes were taken during interviews and compared with recorded interviews. More so, the researcher used analytical triangulation by involving research participants in reviewing the findings. While this method is popular, it generally requires more resources. Likewise, it requires more time to analyze the information yielded by the different methods. In the current research, triangulation made it difficult for the researcher to analyse data because data was collected using different methods and sources.

4.7 Data analysis

Thematic content analysis was used as a method for analyzing qualitative data (Lippincott, 1995).\textsuperscript{40} This involved content analysis to extract the meanings of the transcriptions of recorded interviews. Field notes and recorded interviews were the main sources of data. Audio-recorded interviews were first transcribed of which raw data was proof-read against audio-recorded interviews. During transcription of interviews, the researcher repeatedly listened to interviews noting and grouping key features together. Thereafter, data was coded

\textsuperscript{38} A.G. Mubuuke, et al., Current knowledge, attitudes and practices of expectant women toward routine sonography in pregnancy, Kampala, Pan African Medical Journal (Online) ISSN1937-8688. p. 2-8, 2009
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{40} Op.cit
into conceptual categories of similar meaning. This is called meaning categorization according to Kvale (1996). Meaning categorization implies that the transcribed interview is coded into meaningful categories. In this regard, categories were established, resulting into content themes, consistent with the value of thematic content analysis in qualitative methods. Themes such as feelings of children about domestic work, effects of domestic work on child poverty, impact of domestic work on children’s schooling, and challenges of protecting children’s rights were created. These themes summarized the meaning of the data which addressed the purpose of the study during interpretation of data. In the current research, thematic content analysis was used in order to allow the researcher to extract categories of data with similar meaning. These categories of data with similar meaning generated themes that were used to interpret data based on research questions. However, the weakness with thematic content analysis is that the method was time consuming and complex since a lot of data was collected during in-depth interviews and focus group meeting. Therefore, the researcher faced a lot of challenges in generating key themes. This problem was addressed by repeatedly listening to interviews noting and grouping key features together.

4.8 Ethical Considerations

According to Kvale (1996), ethical issues such as informed consent, confidentiality and consequences for the interviewee should be taken into account with any qualitative interview. Research subjects should be informed about the purpose of the investigation and the main features of the design. Subjects also need to agree to the release of the identifiable information and the risk of harming someone should be the least possible. In the current research, the risk to child domestics in taking part in the study was that they would lose their job once the employers discovered that they participated in the study. More so, the children were at risk to disclose confidential information about their experiences. Therefore, ethical issues were considered when carrying out this study, and permission was obtained from the Research Ethics Committee of the University of Zambia since the study was conducted in Zambia. All the research participants were informed about the purpose of the investigation and the features of research design.

Alderson & Morrow (2004 as cited in Greene and Harris, 2011) assert that ethical frameworks are typically concerned with duty, rights, harm and benefit. To this effect, the issues of ethics and safety must be considered when conducting research with children. The Children’s

41 A.G. Mubuuke, et al., Current knowledge, attitudes and practices of expectant women toward routine sonography in pregnancy, Kampala, Pan African Medical Journal (Online) ISSN1937-8688. p. 2-8, 2009
Research Centre, Trinity College Dublin, in its ethical guidelines, proposes five ethical principles of duty that the researcher must uphold, namely: beneficence, non-maleficence, autonomy, fidelity and inclusivity (Whyte, 2004; 2006 as cited in Greene and Harris, 2011).

4.8.1 Beneficence, non-maleficence and autonomy

Beneficence recognizes the researcher’s duty to protect the well-being of those participating in the research process. Non-maleficence concerns the researcher’s duty to do no harm, while autonomy recognizes the researchers’ duty to respect the rights of the participants, including the right of individuals to take responsibility for themselves (Greene and Harris, 2011). Thus, in order to minimise risks or harm in research with children, researchers must ensure that the children are protected, that their rights as individuals are respected at all stages of the research process, and that no harm is caused to the children by participating in the research (Greene and Harris, 2011).

In the current study, beneficence, non-maleficence and autonomy were promoted. The researcher ensured that there was no harm, prejudice, risks or any form of danger should the participants wish to withdraw or not to participate in the study. More so, the researcher ensured that participants expressed themselves freely during the interview. Additionally, the risk of children losing jobs for participating in the study was minimized by conducting the interviews with subjects in their homes where other people could not see them. Moreover, children were informed that the study was for their own benefit as it intended to investigate the impact of child domestic work on children’s psychosocial wellbeing.

4.8.2 Informed consent

One of the key issues in conducting research with children is obtaining the informed consent of both the individual child and their parent(s) to participate. Consent can only be informed when full information about what is involved in the study, what this means for the respondent and what potential risks might arise are explained and understood by the child. Lindsay (2000 as cited in Greene and Harris, 2011) affirms that the factors that must be considered in ensuring that the child is informed include: age, general cognitive ability, emotional status and knowledge. Whyte (2006 as cited in Greene and Harris, 2011) asserts that information leaflets should include: a description of the nature of the study and data-collection, how the child and family was selected to participate, how the data will be stored and who will have access to it, how the data will be used, and information on the ethical and safety requirements to which the researchers must adhere, including confidentiality.
In this study, informed consent was obtained from individual children and their parents in writing in the local language which research participants understand better. Participants were provided with consent forms and told about the purpose of the study, and their rights whether to refuse to participate if not comfortable. The child’s right to refuse to participate was respected even in the case where the parents consented for the child to participate (Greene and Harris, 2011). Furthermore, participants were assured of their rights to decline to answer questions which they felt uncomfortable with. Moreover, participants were informed that the entire interview was going to be tape recorded to facilitate collection of information as it was not easy to write everything and interview at the same time.

4.8.3 Confidentiality and Disclosures

Key informants, children and their parents should be assured that the information they give will be confidential and that their identity will not be revealed. Normally, concealment of identity is achieved by the assignment of ID numbers and by keeping identifying information in a secure location, which can only be accessed by researchers themselves (Greene and Harris, 2011). To this effect, the research ensured that confidentiality and anonymity were employed in which the information collected was strictly used for research purposes. More so, identities of children, parents and key informants were not disclosed. Pseudo names were used in order to ensure confidentiality and anonymity. The researcher ensured that unauthorized people didn’t have access to information collected from interviews.

4.8.4 Privacy

The context and location of the interview is an important ethical consideration for the researcher. With regard to the location of the research in the context of child protection, it is important to strike a balance between giving the child the privacy they need to express themselves comfortably and confidentially, and maintaining best practice in terms of child protection. Whyte (2006 as cited in Greene and Harris, 2011) asserts that to safeguard both the child and the researcher, it is important that the researcher does not spend time alone with a child; it is advisable that the research be conducted in a room where a trusted adult can easily see the researcher and the child.

In this study, qualitative interviews with the child were done in the family home, ensuring that a parent was present with the child and the interviewer as suggested by Greene and Harris (2011). However, Hill et al. (1996 as cited in Greene and Harris, 2011) found that the location of the interview in the home environment can affect the child’s ability to feel relaxed and
forthcoming. In this regard, the researcher ensured that the child felt relaxed by introducing different stories about children and the importance of education. This made the research participants to open up in the interviews.

4.8.5 Fidelity and inclusivity

Fidelity stresses the researcher's duty to adopt a child-centred approach and treat children fairly and respectfully, while inclusivity, highlights the need for the researcher to be inclusive and to support and enable the participation of children who might be at risk of non-participation without the availability of additional supports (Greene and Harris, 2011). In this study, the researcher made use of drawings and story-telling to solicit in-depth information from individual children and allow full participation of these children.

4.8.6 The research relationship

Each stage of the research process must promote an ethos of respect for the child and sensitivity to his or her individual needs and preferences. Westcott and Littleton (2005 as cited in Greene and Harris, 2011) suggest that the first step involves the researcher putting themselves in the position of the child. It is critical that the researcher establishes a rapport and gains the trust of the child. In the current research, a number of measures were devised to ease both parents and children into the research interview. For instance, at the outset of the interview, the researcher spent some time getting to know both the child and parent(s) through informal conversation, or playful interactions as ways of building rapport and reducing power imbalance as suggested by Greene and Harris (2011).

4.9 Limitations of the Study

The researcher had difficulties in accessing the respondents in their various homes and institutions since child domestic workers, parents and key informants were not easily traced. More so, the researcher found it to be time consuming and exhausting to follow respondents to their respective private homes and offices. The researcher also faced challenges in relation to sub-culture of domestic workers who are in the hidden, informal and unregulated
employment. The domestic workers did not want to be interviewed by the researcher because they are fond of hiding so that they are not identified as domestic workers. Another challenge was that the researcher had inadequate resources. As a result of inadequate resources, the research was only conducted in Lusaka City. By and large, there are few studies that have been done on the child domestic work in Zambia. More so, the few studies from other regions did not provide adequate data on child domestic labour since the contexts in which the studies were conducted differ from that of Zambia.

4.9.1 How the Limitations were dealt with
The researcher worked with local leaders and key informants to identify research participants who are not easily located in various homes. In order to minimize movements and save time, the researcher worked with research assistants who helped in data collection. With regard to challenges in relation to the sub-culture of domestic workers, the researcher got permission ensured that research ethics were taken into consideration. More so, the researcher relied on cultural competence as a social worker and thus embraced cultural diversity. In addressing the issue of inadequate studies on child domestic labour in Zambia, the researcher only relied on the few studies from other regions and more so empirical evidence from official documents from government ministries in Zambia.

5.0 Chapter Five: Presentation and Discussion of Research Findings

5.1 Introduction
This Chapter presents and discusses the findings of the study according to the research questions and major themes that came out of the transcription of the interviews. The presentation begins with the findings of the study on the characteristics of key informants and
respondents because personal data will be helpful in understanding the main findings according to themes and research questions. This study aimed to investigate and analyze the impact of child domestic work on the psychosocial wellbeing of children in Lusaka City of Zambia from a human rights perspective. The major themes that came out of the transcription of interviews include: feelings of children about domestic work, effects of domestic work on children’s schooling, challenges of protecting the rights of child domestic workers, and effects of domestic work on poverty among children and their families.

5.2 Characteristics of Key Informants and Respondents

The interviews were held with key informants and respondents from Lusaka City of Zambia. The key informants were 3 male and 2 female participants who included the Youth Programme Coordinator from Children International Zambia, Sub Regional Project Manager from Regional Psychosocial Support Initiative (REPSSI), Interim President from United House and Domestic Workers Union of Zambia (UHDWUZ), Child Protection Manager from Plan International Zambia and Child Protection Officer from Ministry of Gender and Child Development. These key informants were selected because they deal with issues concerning child labour, child welfare and children’s rights in their organisations. The key informants have in-depth information about child labour, abuse and children’s rights in Zambia. The research participants were children who perform domestic tasks such as washing, sweeping, cooking, babysitting and ironing in private homes. The study also included parents of child domestic workers. This study sampled 6 parents who comprised 4 females and 2 males, while 5 child domestic workers consisted of 4 girls and 1 boy aged between 10 and 14 years. According to the Minimum Wages and Conditions of Employment (Domestic Workers) Order, 2011, the minimum age for admission to domestic work is 15 years. The Zambian Constitution and the Employment Act also set the minimum age for employment at 15 years. More so, the Employment of Young Persons and Children Act bars children under the age 18 of from engaging in hazardous labor. The Zambian Government provides free education up to the seventh grade and education is compulsory until the age 14 (United States Department of Labor, 2011). In this study, children aged 10 and 14 years were considered vulnerable and as a social concern because they dropped out of school and are working before they attain the minimum age required for children to be employed as domestic workers.

The study’s findings showed that child domestics come from families whose income and education levels are very low. Mainly, children and their parents are illiterate as they can hardly write and read. Furthermore, the findings showed that child domestic workers include orphans and vulnerable children whose breadwinners have died of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, TB and other chronic diseases. Some children come from households headed by single mothers, grandmothers, and in some cases child headed homes. In this case, child domestic work helps children and their families to earn a living. The respondents come from George, Kamanga and Kanyama Townships of Lusaka City in Zambia. George, Kamanga and Kanyama Townships are high density (overcrowded) areas comprising people who do low class jobs in Lusaka City. The respondents work as domestic workers in the private homes in low density areas such as Chesltone, North mead, Kabulonga, Woodlands and Makeni in Lusaka City.

5.3 Research Findings

5.3.1 Feelings of Children about Domestic Work

This study explored the feelings of children about domestic work. The findings of the study indicated that children considered themselves fortunate to be employed as domestic workers. They were also very happy with domestic work because it gives them income to meet their basic needs such as food and clothes. More so, children expressed satisfaction with domestic work since it prevents them from stealing, begging or engaging in child prostitution. Therefore, child domestic work is good as it removes children from streets and destitution. In this regard, children expressed contentment with domestic work as a means to make ends meet. For example, one girl said:

“I am happy because domestic work enables me to earn money. So, I cannot go to the streets to ask for money from people.”

However, the findings of the study revealed that children are not happy with domestic work because it deprives them of opportunities to go to school. Children are therefore worried that they may not realize their future aspirations without acquiring lifelong skills through education. In this regard, child domestics felt sad that they may continue to work as domestic servants as long as they don’t attain higher education. All of the five child domestic workers were emotional about lack of schooling opportunities. One child remarked:

“I am not really happy because domestic work denies us the right to education. Without education, it means we cannot get better jobs than domestic work.”
The study also revealed that child domestics are not pleased with the terms of employment and working conditions offered by their employers. All of the five children said they are not satisfied with the terms of employment because they get very little money despite the amount of time they spend on work. More so, the workload is huge while the salary is very low. One of the children said:

“The workload is huge for me to handle at the age of 13. Moreover, it is not motivating because the salary is very low.”

The findings showed that children perform a lot of tasks such as washing, sweeping, cooking, babysitting, ironing and taking children to school without enough rest. Moreover, there are no paid or sick leave days for them. In this regard, children feel that employers take advantage of their age and vulnerability to overwork them and pay them very little money. On the whole, all of the five children indicated that they work because they do not have other better opportunities or other means of earning a living. If they had an alternative job or an opportunity to go to school, they would quit the current job because it is too exploitative.

On the related issue, the focus group discussion held with parents in Kamanga Township in Lusaka city from where many live-out child domestics were recruited, confirmed that children are dissatisfied with the terms of employment since they get as low as K150 Zambian Kwacha (28.22 US dollars) which is less than the minimum wage (K522 which is equivalent to 97.20 US dollars) set by the Zambian government for domestic workers. Sometimes, children do not receive the money in full as employers are fond of paying them in bits. Moreover, children work at the mercy of their employers because they do not have terms of agreements and signed contracts. In this regard, employers fire children at anytime without even prior notice. This is distressing for the children because they are not sure of their future. One of the parents remarked:

“My daughter earns 150 Zambian Kwacha which is equivalent to 28 US dollars per month. This money is very little to sustain our livelihoods since my family is very big. My child does not have terms of agreement and contract signed. The terms of employment and working conditions are very bad.”

In this regard, child domestic workers are not satisfied with their work because the terms of employment and working conditions are exploitative and not favourable for children. It is clear therefore that children are subjected to harsh conditions because employers seem to take advantage of children’s low socio-economic status. According to parents, child domestics are not pleased with unfavourable working conditions that violate their human and labour rights.
Children do domestic work because they have no any other means of earning a living. One of the parents also said:

“My child is not happy since the employer has no regard for the child because she is given a lot of work to do. She does not have enough time to rest. My daughter works like beasts of burden or slaves. If I had money, I would withdraw my daughter from domestic work and send her to school so that she can be educated. This would empower my daughter and free her from exploitative work and abusive situations.”

Consequently, the study revealed that the only way children can be protected from exploitative domestic work is to send them to school so that they can lead a happy life once they attain higher education. Thus, freedom and happiness is dependent upon their education since it is the only way they can be empowered and free from exploitative domestic work.

The findings of the study also showed that children strongly expressed sadness and concern that domestic work deprives them of family life, time to play, socialize, and interact with peers. Since child domestics spend most of their time at place of work, they do not have enough time to interact with their peers and be with family members. So, children are emotional about their isolation from families and friends. One child worker said:

“I am always lonely and depressed because domestic work deprives us of time to be with families and friends. We are therefore isolated from friends and family members.”

On the related issue, the in-depth interviews with key informants affirmed that child domestics are not pleased with their jobs because domestic work deprives them of opportunities to enjoy social and family life. The sub regional project manager said children do not have enough time to play and learn from their friends. Moreover, children do not have enough time to be with parents who can teach them what they are supposed to do in life. Parents’ attention is absent and thus children grow without love and affection from parents because they spend their time away from home. This affects their right to parental care, guidance, socialization, relaxation and play. In terms of judging what is right or wrong, they grow with mistrust because they have no one to share their grievances with. The response from the youth programme coordinator from the NGOs corroborated the information provided by the sub regional project manager. The youth programme coordinator said:

“Child domestics do not have enough time to play or socialize with their friends because they work whole day. They start work around 0700hrs and knock off at about 17hrs. They have to walk long distances and when they reach home, they are tired. Thus, children have no time to interact with their friends and family members because they are strictly engaged in work from morning to evening. They only rest during the
night when they are asleep. This affects their ability to socialize and interact with the community.”

All in all, child domestic work deprives children of their right to social life, parental love and guidance since children spend most of their time away from friends and family members. Moreover, children’s perception of self is affected because children start thinking like an adult and do things that are supposed to be done by adults. So, they skip the stage when they need parental care and learning. According to the child protection officer (the government official), children have feelings of dissatisfaction with work because it denies children leisure time or an opportunity to recreation. In this case, children’s social wellbeing is negatively affected because they are isolated from family members, school, relaxation and interaction with peers. Above all, the findings of the study showed that children complained of abuses such as physical, emotional and sexual abuse. All the children said that they are pinched and abused sexually by their employers. In this regard, child domestic workers experienced wide ranging negative feelings. Children felt worthless and not respected as they are abused and exploited at the hands of their employers. More so, child domestics were resentful at the way they are treated at the work place. The findings also revealed that children felt humiliated or degraded because they are shouted at and criticized by their employers for simple mistakes. One child remarked:

“My boss shouts at me when I don’t do things according her expectations. I always work with fear that my boss can fire me. I feel that my boss doesn’t give me the respect that I deserve as a human being.”

The in-depth interviews with the children protection manager from the local NGOs also confirmed that domestic work is not the safe avenue for children. The children protection manager said that child domestic workers are physically, sexually and emotionally abused by employers and family members in employers’ homes. They are shouted at and pushed in certain situations when children have not done things according to the expectations of their employers. In this case, children feel that they are neglected and not cared for by adults since they expect employers to act as parents in the absence of children’s biological parents or guardians. To this effect, children’s emotional wellbeing is affected because they are always worried about the forms of abuse that they experience at work places in these privates homes. Thus, domestic work is a form of child labour that needs to be addressed because it has negative consequences on children’s psychosocial wellbeing.

On the related issue, the interim president from domestic workers union affirmed that some employers do not give children guidance and safety measures to protect them as they do the
work in private homes. These children are left alone to handle heavy loads, fire, sharp instruments, knives, stoves and harmful substances without proper guidance. Hence, children feel that their health and safety are neglected by employers who abuse and do not care for them.

5.3.2 Effects of Domestic Work on Children’s Schooling

This study explored the effects of child domestic work on children’s schooling. The study revealed that domestic work has adverse effects on both boys and girls as they drop out of school to concentrate on work. All the key informants indicated that children are forced to go and do domestic work to supplement their family income. They therefore dropout of school since they have to work to find money to meet their basic needs such as food, clothes and help parents to pay house rentals. In this regard, domestic work negatively affects child domestic workers’ schooling as their attendance becomes poor and eventually children drop out of school to concentrate on work. For children who combine work and school, their performance at school becomes very poor as children cannot concentrate on their studies and work at the same time. Poor performance coupled with school drop outs entail that children’s educational advancement is affected.

The key informants added that enrollment is also affected as children opt for domestic work at the expense of education. To this effect, the right to education for children is affected negatively. The right to education is the key to enjoying other rights, and therefore if children are denied the right to education, it means they are deprived of other rights too. The youth programme coordinator from the local NGOs said:

“Both boys and girls aged between 9 and 14 years old drop out of school and engage in domestic work in order to earn a living. These children come from poverty stricken homes such as child-headed households because these children lost their parents to HIV/AIDS and other chronic diseases. Some children come from homes headed by very old grandparents.”

In this regard, domestic work has negative consequences on children’s schooling because child domestics stop schooling in order to work and make ends meet. Therefore, children consider domestic work as the only means of earning a living and sustaining their livelihoods. However, the child protection manager from the local NGOs said that children’s right to education is also positively affected to some extent in that domestic work enables children to find money to pay school fees and buy books, pens, pencils and other school materials. On the whole, the responses from child domestics confirmed the information provided by the child
protection manager. All of the five child domestic workers indicated that domestic work enables them to find money for themselves and to provide income for the families. Moreover, child domestics who look after their siblings provide money for their siblings to go to school. In this way, domestic work enables children to have access to education. For example, one of the child domestic workers aged 14 said:

“I dropped out of school and decided to take domestic work because my parents are very poor. Thus, through domestic work I help my family to raise money to buy books and pay school fees for my siblings at school.”

Furthermore, the respondents said that child domestic work has both positive and negative effects on children’s schooling. On the one hand, it makes children drop out of school to concentrate on work so as to earn a living. On the other hand, domestic work enables children to earn money to pay school fees, buy books and other school requirements; a situation that appears difficult to resolve.

In the interview with child protection officer (the government official), the child protection officer said that in terms of gender, girls drop out of school and are more engaged in domestic work than boys. This is because girls are perceived to be hard working, trusted, know how to cook, wash dishes or clothes, babysit and sweep better than boys. In this regard, employers want girls to work for them as compared to boys as there is more work for girls in private homes than for boys. On the related issue, the sub regional project manager remarked:

“From my experience, girls drop out of school and are more involved in domestic work than boys because girls are easily taken as domestic workers in private homes to do babysitting, cooking, sweeping, washing and doing other household chores. More so, domestic work is perceived to be employment suitable mainly for girls since they are considered to be humble and hard working.”

All the key informants said that it is the gender aspect that matters. Thus, more girls are employed as domestic workers than boys. Moreover, majority of these girls dropout of school while others never even enroll for education. This leads to high illiteracy levels, child poverty and feminization of poverty. In this case, girls’ rights are affected in that when children are forced to do domestic work for the up keep of the family, they drop out of school and for those who combine school and work, their performance is very bad. It also hinders inclusive education for all children as more girls than boys drop out of school because they have to work to supplement family income. In the end, there is gender inequality in achievement of education. When the majority of the girls are not educated, they are deprived of the capabilities or lifelong skills which can make them to be competitive in the labour market.
Consequently, domestic work denies children, especially girls better schooling opportunities which in turn result in family poverty as children will always be employed in low class jobs that perpetuate poverty among children and their families. This therefore perpetuates gender, social and economic inequalities in the long run and, hence feminization of poverty.

5.3.3 Effects of Domestic Work on Poverty among Children and their Families

The study investigated the effects of child domestic work on poverty among children and their families. The findings of the study revealed that child domestic work contributes to family poverty. Responses of key informants indicated that child domestic work perpetuates poverty among children and their families because it deprives them of opportunities to go to school and acquire lifelong skills. Consequently, domestic work results in capability poverty as children are deprived of capabilities or vocational skills which they can use to fight poverty and become socially and economically empowered.

All of the five key informants said that when children start to earn the little income, they think life is good, and forget about school that can help them move out of poverty. To this effect, child domestic work results in income poverty since the income that children get through domestic employment is not enough to sustain the livelihoods of children and their large families. Hence, children and their families hardly survive as they are not able to meet all their basic needs. In this regard, child domestic work results in family poverty, and eventually families remain in the vicious cycle of poverty. One of the key informants, the youth programme coordinator from the local NGOs remarked:

“Poverty becomes a vicious cycle because children are not going to school, and therefore they will not get education and appreciate the importance of education. This is because they consider domestic work as the best opportunity to earn a living. Even their children will grow up without valuing education although education is the key to enjoyment of other rights such as the right to health and adequate standard of living.”

Education therefore is the key to success and empowerment of individuals and communities at large. All in all, without education it is difficult for children and their families to come out of the vicious cycle of poverty. On further exploration, the responses from the child protection manager from the local NGOs corroborated the information that was given by the youth programme coordinator. The child protection officer said:

“Even if children work, the income is not enough to meet their basic needs or sustain their livelihoods. Moreover, at their age, they do not even know how to save money.”
Child domestic work therefore takes away children’s independence and opportunities as they cling to low class jobs that will perpetuate poverty in their families.”

On the whole, the responses from key informants revealed that most of the girls drop out of school, while others never even enroll for education because of poverty. This leads to high illiteracy levels in the country, child poverty and feminization of poverty. There is feminization of poverty in the sense that more girls than boys drop out of school to engage in domestic work in order to earn a living. There is also child poverty because children drop out of school and engage in exploitative domestic work which doesn’t give them enough money. In this regard, children’s rights are affected in that children are forced to do domestic work for the upkeep of the family. The child is doing work for the upkeep of the family at the expense of his or her future. To this effect, child domestic work jeopardizes children’s rights, including the right to adequate standard of living, health, education, and the right to psychosocial health and development. On the related issue, the government official (the child protection officer) said:

“Child domestic workers come from high density areas of Lusaka City, mainly from poor socio-economic background. Their parents are illiterate, unemployed and they hardly survive because their monthly income is not enough to cater for large families with an average of 8 members. Their Monthly income ranges between 100 and 200 Zambian Kwacha (equivalent to 18.50 and 37.00 US dollars, respectively).”

It is therefore evident that domestic work cannot help them move out of poverty as they remain illiterate and work in these low class jobs for the rest of their lives. In this regard, domestic work contributes to family poverty experienced by children and their families in Lusaka and its surrounding areas. However, the study also revealed that domestic work helps to keep children away from begging in the streets and indulging in vices such as stealing, child prostitution and drug abuse. Therefore, domestic work acts as a source of livelihood for most of the children from poor family backgrounds, especially orphans and vulnerable children who have no other means of sustaining their livelihood. The focus group meeting with parents from Kamanga Township which is one of the compounds from where many of the live-out child domestics were recruited, confirmed that domestic work is the only source of income for poor families who cannot find white collar jobs because they are not educated. All the six parents said that they survive through the money that their children get from domestic work. Parents further said that it is better for children to work than send them to go and steal or beg in the streets. They added that they know that child domestic work is not good for children as it denies them
chance to play and attend school. However, there are no any other alternatives than sending children to go and work so that families can buy food, clothes and pay rent for the houses that they live in. One of the parents remarked:

“My child has been forced to work because I am not employed and we have no money to pay house rentals, buy food, clothes and other basic needs. We have no any other means to sustain our livelihoods apart from sending children to go and work as domestic workers in private homes.”

The responses from sub regional project manager from REPSSI corroborated the information that was provided by parents. The sub regional project manager said that although domestic work perpetuates poverty among children and their families, it also enables children and their families to meet basic needs such as clothes, food, school fees and housing. Further, domestic work keeps away children from engaging in prostitution, stealing or begging in the streets of Lusaka City. The sub regional project manager affirmatively said:

“Imagine if children do not work, how can they survive? With this money, children are able to buy food, clothes, pay house rentals and buy books for school going children. In the end, children cannot be beggars, prostitutes nor become criminals because they have got a job to earn a living.”

Responses of child domestic workers confirmed that domestic work enables children to find money to pay school fees and buy books, pens and other materials required for school. Moreover, child domestics who look after siblings provide money for them to go to school. To that effect, domestic work helps children to raise money to support their parents and siblings. Children also rely on this work to earn money in order to buy food, clothes and other day to day requirements. For example, one child domestic worker aged 11 said:

“My parents are unemployed and they do not manage to find enough money to provide food, clothes and other basic necessities for the big family of 7 members. They hardly find money as their monthly income ranges between 100 and 150 Zambian Kwacha which is equivalent to 18.50 and 37.00 US dollars, respectively. Thus, I decided to get a job to earn money in order to supplement family income. I even help my siblings to buy books and pens for school.”

On further exploration, the youth programme coordinator said that in most of the communities in Zambia, some breadwinners have died of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, TB and other chronic diseases. Thus, single mothers or grandmothers look at children as the only helpers or people who can help in bringing income in the household, as well as look after their siblings and in some cases old aged grandmothers. In this case, child domestic work helps children and their
families to survive as they are able to earn a living even though domestic work is exploitative and unfavourable for children’s psychosocial wellbeing and development.

The interim president from the domestic workers union also corroborated the information that was provided by the youth programme coordinator. The interim president said that domestic work enables orphans and vulnerable children to make ends meet although child domestic labour is an exploitative form of employment. To this effect, even though child domestic work exacerbates child poverty and subsequent family poverty, it also enables children and their families to fight household poverty as they are able to earn money to make ends meet. Therefore, child domestic labour acts as a buffer for poverty reduction for poor households in high density areas of Lusaka City from where child domestics are recruited.

5.3.4 Challenges of Protecting the Rights of Child Domestic Workers

The objective was to examine the challenges of protecting the rights of child domestics. The findings of study revealed that the Zambian government and NGOs are faced with challenges in ensuring the best interest of the child. Despite the need for children to be protected from all forms of child labour that deprive them of their right to education and subsequent enjoyment of other rights, there are no effective mechanisms devised by the Zambian government. On the whole, all the key informants indicated that there are challenges faced by government and civil society organisations in their quest to protect children from work that is harmful to their education, psychosocial wellbeing and development. Key informants confirmed that the biggest challenge faced by NGOs and government institutions is inadequate govt policies on education and child protection to address child labour, abuse and neglect. This is because the existing policy on child protection doesn’t give maximum protection to children since the legal and policy frameworks for coordination, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of child welfare programmes are not adequately addressed. By and large, it is the intersection of ineffective education and social protection policies, programmes and laws that perpetuate children’s vulnerabilities.

In the in-depth interview with the youth programme coordinator from the NGOs, the youth programme coordinator said:

“The biggest challenge faced by government and NGOs is that government policies and programmes on social protection are inadequate to cover orphans and vulnerable children (OVCs) who opt for domestic work as a means of sustaining their livelihoods at the expense of schooling. More so, the policy or legislation on universal primary education is not effectively implemented by government and NGOs.”

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On the related issue, all the five key informants confirmed that even if Zambia has pledged to provide universal primary education to all citizens, ‘Education for All’ in terms of access and quality is not effectively implemented through existing educational and child policies. In this regard, children who come from poor families that cannot afford school fees are denied the right to education. There is therefore no opportunity for orphans and vulnerable children (OVCs) to access education because school fees are very high. More so, there are few facilities to cater for a large number of vulnerable children. In the end, these children opt for domestic work to earn a living. To this effect, it is the inadequate legislation on education and child protection which greatly hinders the protection and promotion of children’s rights in Zambia.

From the interviews with the child protection manager from the local NGOs, it was revealed that protecting children from the worst forms of child labour and promoting their rights pose a challenge since the welfare state in Zambia collapsed when state owned companies were privatized. The child protection manager said that the government has moved away from its responsibility of providing for children who are the most vulnerable in the Zambian society. The government has left the huge responsibility of taking care of children to NGOs which do not have the capacity or resources to deal with child labour related issues. The sub regional project manager corroborated the information provided by the child protection manager. The sub regional manager indicated that most of the vulnerable children and their households do not receive maximum social protection from the Zambian government despite that poverty levels are so high among people, especially child-headed households and homes headed by old grandparents. This entails there hasn’t been much effort from the Zambian government to ensure that the rights of children who are future leaders are protected.

The findings of the study also revealed that the social structure or the extended family system and its norms and values have been eroded. All of the five key informants said that families and communities, especially in urban areas no longer take the responsibility to take care of children of their relatives once their parents die. This leaves children alone without financial and social support. Thus, children take up domestic work to earn income in order to meet their basic needs, though their income is not adequate to sustain their livelihoods. As a result of lack of family and government structures to deal with child labour and promote child welfare, children are left at the mercy of the community, more so to fend for themselves. The child protection officer (the government official) said:
“The collapse of the welfare state in Zambia, as well as the disintegration of extended family system due to poverty and HIV/AIDS makes it difficult to address child labour issues in Zambia.”

The child protection officer further indicated that the family structure is breaking so fast, hence children do not have social safety nets where they can get financial and emotional support. In most cases, children lose parents to chronic diseases such as HIV/AIDS and TB, and they are left without anyone to send them to school, provide food, and no parental guidance. Sometimes, they are left with very old grandmothers who cannot provide food, parental guidance and school requirements. The social safety nets are affected in this context. Thus, children are left with only one option, which is to engage in domestic work at the expense of school and future aspirations. The interim president from the domestic workers union corroborated with the information provided by the government official. The interim president said that the effects of HIV/AIDS on children have not been addressed by the extended family system, the Zambian government and NGOs. Empowerment of children whose parents die of HIV/AIDS has not been addressed adequately, and hence children are left alone without support. Therefore, children decide to start work at tender age, while some become street kids and homeless, and end up engaging in ant-social vices.

On the whole, all the key informants said that the Zambian government, NGOs and other civil society organisations (CSOs) are faced with challenges of protecting children from the worst forms of child labour and promoting the rights of child domestic workers due to inadequate policies on Education for All and child protection. More so, social safety nets such as the welfare state and the extended family system have disintegrated because of liberalized economy, high poverty levels and HIV/AIDS which deprived children and their families of breadwinners who used to provide for them. In this regard, high poverty levels and HIV/AIDS have impacted negatively on the lives of children and their families. Therefore, the high prevalence of HIV/AIDS coupled with high levels poverty pose as a major challenge for the Zambian government and NGOs to deal with child domestic labour in Zambia.

5.4 Discussion of Research Findings

5.4.1 Introduction

This study sought to investigate and analyze the impact of child domestic work on children’s psychosocial wellbeing from a human rights perspective. The findings of the study revealed
that children are not satisfied with their job because they get very little money despite the huge tasks that they perform. Moreover, child domestics are not content with their job because it deprives them of opportunities to go to school, enjoy social and family life. Furthermore, the findings showed that while domestic work forces children to drop out of school to concentrate on domestic work, it also enables children to find money to pay school fees and continue schooling.

The study further revealed that child domestic work perpetuates child poverty because it derivates children of opportunities to go to school and acquire lifelong skills which they can use to fight poverty. However, domestic work also enables children and their families to earn money to sustain their livelihoods. Inadequate government legislation on education and child protection poses a challenge to protection of the rights of children against child labour and abuse. The only way children can be protected from exploitative domestic work is to send them to school so that they can be educated and lead a happy life. In view of the foregoing, the findings below are discussed in relation to previous studies, the intersectionality theory, capability approach and the human rights theoretical framework.

5.4.2 Feelings of Children about Child Domestic Work

This study aimed at exploring the feelings of children about domestic work. The findings of the study indicated that children expressed happiness because they have work which gives them income to meet their basic needs such as food and clothes. More so, child domestic work is good because it removes children from begging, child prostitution and destitution. In this case, children felt happy that domestic work enables them to earn a living. The findings of this study are affirmed by the findings of the study conducted by Oyaide (2000) on the conditions under which the children were working in Zambia. Oyaide found 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. Moreover, the study indicated that domestic work is good to some extent because it removes children from destitution.

However, all of the five child domestic workers were emotional about lack of schooling opportunities. The emotional expression of children was that they are not happy with domestic work because it deprives them of opportunities to go to school. Once children are denied their right to education, it entails their future aspirations would become unrealistic because they lack vocational skills which they can use to realize their desired goals and visions. In this regard, child domestics felt sad that they may continue to work as domestic servants as long as they don’t attain higher education. The major concern by children is that
domestic work deprives them of schooling opportunities despite that it enables them to earn a living. Lack of schooling opportunities creates a lot of uncertainties and hopelessness among child domestics because they are worried that their future is not bright and they may end up leading a miserable life. These feelings of unhappiness or dissatisfaction with work have long-term psychological or emotional effects on the child domestics. This finding is corroborated by the finding of the earlier study carried out by Oyaide (2000) that revealed that children were very emotional about the lack of schooling opportunities. To this effect, child work that denies children the right to education is not in the best interest of the children. The major long-term disadvantage of child domestic work is that it limits the opportunities opened to the child later on in life and has negative consequences on social development in the country.

The study also showed that child domestics expressed dissatisfaction with the terms of employment and working conditions offered by their employers. Child domestic workers are not satisfied with work because the terms of employment and working conditions are exploitative and not favourable for children. The conditions of work are not only poor, but also characterized by human rights violations, abuse, exploitation, humiliation and psychological torture. More so, children are not pleased with work because they receive very little money which cannot sustain their livelihoods. For example, children get as low as K150 Zambian Kwacha (28.22 US dollars) which is less than the minimum wage (K522 which is equivalent to 97.20 US dollars) set by the Zambian government for domestic workers. Sometimes, children do not receive the money in full as employers are fond of paying them in bits. In this case, domestic work creates a lot of uncertainties and anxiety among child domestics because it jeopardizes children's rights to social security and adequate standard of living. According to the human rights-based approach, domestic work denies children the right to adequate standard of living as the money that children get from domestic work is very little to meet all the basic needs of their large families. Child domestic work also deprives children of the right to social security as they cannot make savings from the little money that they get per month. In this regard, child domestics are not pleased with domestic work because they are exempted from social security and unemployment benefits which are human and labour rights for all workers. Without social security and unemployment benefits, child domestic workers would continue leaving in abject poverty because they cannot have a source of livelihood once they lose employment.

It is therefore evident from this study that children are subjected to poor terms of employment and working conditions that violate their human and labour rights. In this context, children
work at the mercy of their employers because they do not have terms of agreements and signed contracts, and hence they are not entitled to paid leave days and terminal benefits. In this regard, employers fire children at anytime without even prior notice. This is distressing for the children because they are not sure of their future. Moreover, children are economically exploited as they receive low wages despite that they perform huge tasks. Children perform huge tasks such as washing, sweeping, cooking, babysitting, ironing and taking children to school without enough rest. These children are left alone to handle heavy loads, fire, sharp instruments, knives, stoves and harmful substances without proper guidance. To this effect, children expressed displeasure that their health and safety are neglected by employers who do not care for them. In light of the above, it is clear that children are subjected to harsh conditions because employers seem to take advantage of children’s age, low socio-economic status and educational background. Despite these unfavourable conditions of work, children still engage in domestic work because they have no any other means of earning a living. Basing on a human rights-based approach, children’s work is harmful to their psychosocial wellbeing because it denies them the right to decent working conditions, and their protection from abuse and economic exploitation (article 36).

The findings of the current study are consistent with the findings of the study conducted by Oyaide (2000) on the conditions under which the children were working in Zambia. The study revealed that domestic workers expressed dissatisfaction with terms of work such as low pay, lack of payment of wages, heavy workload, long hours of work, and no paid leave days. The findings revealed that domestic work is not suitable for children at their tender age. Thus, children tended to be unhappy with many aspects of the work. The findings of this study are also corroborated by the findings of earlier research conducted by Mulili (2010) on the psychosocial consequences of domestic labour on children in Machakos District of Kenya. According to Mulili (2010), the poor terms of employment and the unfavourable working conditions create the feelings of dissatisfaction with domestic work and unhappiness among child domestics. Children express displeasure because the working environment is both hazardous and exploitative. The children work in households for up to 18 hours, with no scheduled rest. Their work includes a combination of labour intensive indoor and outdoor tasks such as cooking, washing and gardening among others. Child domestic workers earnings are little and far below the minimum wage below (Kenyan Shilling-Ksh 500) in Kenya per 

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month. They enjoy no work benefits; have no job security and the work has no defined terms of service, and they may be fired for small infractions.

In view of the foregoing, it is known that children have feelings of dissatisfaction with work because they are subjected to unfavourable working conditions and poor terms of employment. With such conditions, children work like beasts of burden or slaves. Children are therefore exploited economically because they perform huge tasks while the money that they earn is not enough to sustain their livelihoods. Employers take advantage of children’s tender age, vulnerability, abilities and low levels of education to exploit them. To this effect, children are not pleased with these working conditions that violate their human rights. It is thus evident from the findings that children work because they do not have better opportunities or other means of earning a living. If they had an alternative job or an opportunity to go to school, they would quit the current job because it is too exploitative. Child domestic work therefore borders on child labor and children’s rights issues. It is a child labor issue as it involves economic exploitation and harsh working conditions. It is a children’s rights issue because the nature and condition of the work is unfavorable for children’s age and psychosocial wellbeing (Flores-Oebanda, 2006). Consequently, the only way children can be protected from exploitative domestic work is to send them to school so that they can lead a happy life once they attain higher education. Thus, freedom and happiness is dependent upon their education since it is the only way they can be empowered and be free from exploitative domestic work. According to the intersectionality theory, it is the intersection of identities such as children’s tender age, low socio-economic status, low levels of education and capabilities or abilities that put children in the position of vulnerability and deny them the right to protection from abuse and economic exploitation. More so, it is the intersection of poor labour policies and laws, poor terms of employment and working conditions that interact and perpetuate social and economic inequalities or social injustice among domestic workers. In this regard, the implications of child domestic work for the psychosocial wellbeing of children is that children are subjected to pathetic terms of employment and working conditions which deny them the right to better salaries, rest days, and paid leave or sick leave. Domestic work therefore subjects child domestics to all forms of abuse and exploitation as employers take advantage of children’s vulnerability. Above all, child domestics complained that they experience all forms of abuse such as physical, sexual and emotional abuse by employers. Children felt that employers take advantage of their age and vulnerability to exploit them. All the children said that they are pinched and abused sexually by their employers. In this regard, child domestic workers
experienced wide ranging negative feelings. Children felt worthless and not respected as they are abused and exploited at the hands of their employers. More so, child domestics were resentful at the way they are treated at the work place. Mainly, children also felt humiliated or degraded because they are shouted at and criticized by their employers for simple mistakes. Consequently, children feel that they are neglected and not cared for by adults since they expect employers to act as parents in the absence of children’s biological parents or guardians. To this effect, children’s psychological wellbeing is affected because they are always worried about the forms of abuse that they experience at work places in these privates homes. Domestic work therefore is a form of child labour that needs to be addressed because it has negative consequences on children’s psychosocial wellbeing. The findings of the current study are consistent with the findings of the study conducted by Oyaide (2000) on the conditions under which the children were working in Zambia. The study revealed that domestic workers expressed dissatisfaction with conditions of work such as ill treatment within the household, the verbal attacks, sexual abuse, and insults from employers. Thus, children tended to be unhappy with many aspects of the work. The findings of the study also showed that children are emotional about loneliness since domestic work isolates them from families and friends. Children strongly expressed sadness and concern that domestic work deprives them of family life, time to play, socialize, and interact with peers. This is because children start work early in the morning (normally they start work at about 06:00 hrs) and knock off late in the evening (around 18:00 hrs). When they reach home, they are already exhausted and retire to their bed. In this regard, child domestics do not have enough time to relax, play and interact with their peers. More so, child domestic workers do not have enough time to be with parents who can teach them what they are supposed to do in life. Parents’ attention is absent and thus children grow without love and affection from parents because they spend their time away from home. This affects their right to parental care, guidance and their right to socialization. So, they skip the stage when they need parental care and learning. Hence, their ability to socialize and interact with the community is negatively affected which in turn affects children’s psychosocial wellbeing. Moreover, children’s perception of self is affected because children start thinking like an adult and do things that are supposed to be done by adults. Thus, child domestic work has serious social consequences because children lack adequate social support as they spend most of their alone doing domestic work. Domestic work therefore is a form of child labour that needs to be addressed because it has negative consequences on children’s social and psychological wellbeing. The findings of the current study are affirmed by the findings of the study carried
out by (Mulili, 2010) on the psychosocial consequences of domestic labour on children in Kenya. According to (Mulili, 2010), child domestics have strict work schedules which deprive them of enough time to form meaningful social relationships. Thus, their social support networks are minimal. The findings of the current are also corroborated by the study carried out by Oyaide (2000) on the conditions under which the children were working. The study revealed that child domestic workers were very emotional about the lack of schooling opportunities and loss of family and social life. Hence, children felt unhappy with work because it isolates them from friends and families.

According to a human rights-based approach, children's work which jeopardizes any of their rights, including the right to education, play, socialization, leisure time or recreation is not the safe avenue for children (article 32 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child). A human rights-based approach therefore states that children’s work is harmful to the psychosocial wellbeing of children and development because it deprives them of their right to form meaningful social relationships and enjoyment of family life. The implications of child domestic labour for children’s psychosocial wellbeing therefore is that it denies children happiness, schooling opportunities, right to enjoy social and family life. Consequently, the best interests of the child should be ensured in order to promote children’s psychosocial wellbeing and development as provided by article 3 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC).

5.4.3 Effects of Domestic Work on Children’s Schooling

The study explored the effects of child domestic work on children’s schooling. The findings of the study indicated that children’s right to education is positively affected to some extent in that domestic work enables children to find money to pay school fees, buy books, pens, pencils and other school materials. Above all, child domestics who look after their siblings provide money for their siblings to go to school. In this way, domestic work enables children to have access to education.

However, a human rights-based approach asserts that domestic work is harmful because it deprives children of their right to education. Specifically, article 28 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) provides that all children should have access

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45 Ibid.
to quality education. The human rights-based approach therefore posits that domestic work is a hindrance to enjoyment of the right to education because it negatively affects children’s schooling opportunities. This is because children drop out of school to concentrate on work. Enrollment is also affected as children opt for domestic work at the expense of education. For those who combine school and work, their performance becomes very bad. Poor performance coupled with school drop outs entail that children’s educational advancement is affected. To this effect, the right to education for children is affected negatively. The right to education is the key to enjoying other rights, and therefore if children are denied the right to education, it means they are deprived of other rights that are associated with educational achievement. The implication of domestic work for children is that it denies them privileges and opportunities to acquire knowledge and lifelong skills which they can use to move out of poverty. In this regard, child domestic work is a violation of children’s right to education even if children work in order for them to earn income to meet their basic needs. According to the capability approach, child domestics’ freedom to achieve their wellbeing is influenced by their capabilities, that is, their real opportunities to realize their aspirations and become who they want to be in life. Domestic work is therefore harmful to children’s wellbeing and development because it limits children’s freedoms or capabilities, more so schooling opportunities and subsequent skills training which they can use to achieve their desired goals. This is because children are forced to drop out of school to concentrate on work to make ends meet. The right to education is the key to capability development, and therefore if children are denied the right to education, it means they are deprived of other rights associated with educational achievement. This has long-term consequences on future aspirations, freedoms, privileges, choices and opportunities for children and the community at large.

In view of the foregoing, domestic work hinders inclusive education for all children since many children drop out of school because they have to work to supplement family income. Moreover, domestic work contributes to family poverty since children lack necessary education and vocational skills that they can use to fight poverty. Domestic work therefore is not in the best interest of child domestics. Consequently, the best interests of the child should be ensured in order to promote schooling opportunities that would enhance children’s psychosocial wellbeing and development. The findings of the current study are also affirmed by the findings of the study carried out by Oyaide (2000) on the conditions under which the children were working in Zambia. According to Oyaide (2000), child domestics miss out on schooling and skills training opportunities. The implications are that the work is harmful and not in the best interest of the children involved. The major long-term disadvantage is that it
limits the opportunities opened to the child later on in life and it is harmful on the long run to the society at large because it generates a reservoir of future illiterate and unskilled labour force. Similarly, a study conducted by Anti-Slavery International (2013) into the psychosocial wellbeing of child domestic workers (CDWs) in Togo and India, showed that child domestic work often completely excludes children from the education system, leaving them with little opportunity for social mobility since they lack skills required for them to compete in the labour market.

The findings of the current study also showed that in terms of gender, more girls drop out of school and are more engaged in domestic work than boys. To this effect, it is the gender aspect that matters because employers perceive girls to be humble, hard working, know how to cook, babysit, wash dishes, sweep, and do other household chores. Consequently, majority of these girls dropout of school, while others never even enroll for education since schooling is not appreciated by some families in the Zambian society. In this case, girls’ right to education is affected in that when children are forced to do domestic work for the up keep of the family, they drop out of school and for those who combine school and work, their performance is very bad. It also hinders inclusive education for all children as more girls than boys drop out of school because they have to work to supplement family income. Therefore, this affects the achievement of Universal primary education. More so, the achievement of gender equality in education is negatively affected as more girls than boys are engaged in child domestic labour to earn a living. This leads to illiteracy among girls and feminization of poverty. The findings of the current study are corroborated by the study conducted by Oyaide (2000) on the conditions under which children were working in Zambia. The study revealed that the acquiescence of the public at large to child domestic work seems to be because of traditional socialization, which gives the impression that domestic work is girls’ and women's destiny; something that they were born to do and therefore, domestic work cannot be harmful to their schooling and development.

In light of the above, the implication of domestic work for children, especially girls is that more girls than boys are forced to drop out of school to concentrate on work. This is because domestic work is perceived to be girls’ work by the Zambian society. In this regard, gender, culture and traditional values, poor family background and educational background perpetuate marginalization, discrimination and vulnerability of girls. As a result, this violates girls’ right to education and exacerbates feminization of poverty as more and more girls drop out of school and lack lifelong skills which they can use to fight poverty. This has potential to perpetuate gender, social and economic inequalities and injustice in the long run. According
to intersectionality theory, it is the intersection of multiple identities such as age, gender, culture, low socio-economic status, culture and traditional values, abilities and poor educational background that put child domestics in the position of vulnerability, and perpetuate oppression and inequality in society. Specifically, intersectionality posits that these different sets of identities impact on child domestics’ freedoms, privilege and opportunities, and access to human rights. This in turn deprives children of their right to education and enjoyment of other rights associated with educational achievement.

5.4.4 Effects of Domestic Work on Poverty among Children and their Families

The study investigated the effects of child domestic work on poverty among children and their families. The findings of this study showed that child domestic work perpetuates poverty among children and their families because it deprives them of opportunities to go to school and acquire lifelong skills which they can use to move out of poverty. Additionally, the study indicated that child domestic workers come from poor socio-economic background. Their parents are illiterate, unemployed and they hardly survive because their monthly income is not enough to cater for large families with an average of 8 members.

According to the intersectionality theory, domestic work perpetuates inequality and family poverty because lack of schooling opportunities and skills training deprives children of lifelong skills which they can use to move out of poverty. The intersectionality theory therefore states that poor family background and inadequate skills put children in the position of vulnerability and force them to occupy low class jobs that exacerbate poverty in their families. Thus, the implications of child domestic work for child welfare is that children are subjected to poor terms of employment and working conditions which deny them the right to better salaries, social and economic security. Hence, children are trapped in the vicious cycle of family poverty. In this regard, child domestic work is a violation of children’s right to adequate standard of living and psychosocial health as children and their families struggle to earn a living. In light of the above, the intersectionality theory posits that domestic work perpetuates social and economic inequalities and injustice among children. This in turn results in children becoming vulnerable to various forms of abuse, discrimination, marginalization and oppression in society.

Furthermore, the study showed that the majority of child domestics are girls who drop out of school. This leads to high illiteracy levels in the country and feminization of poverty. There is feminization of poverty in the sense that more girls than boys drop out of school to engage in domestic work in order to earn a living. In this regard, domestic work cannot help these
children to move out of poverty as they remain illiterate and work in these low class jobs for the rest of their lives. According to a human rights-based approach, domestic work jeopardizes children's rights, including the right to education, adequate standard of living and child welfare. Consequently, domestic work is not in the best interests of the children because it denies them schooling opportunities and skills training which they can use to fight poverty. The human rights-based approach therefore affirms that domestic work exacerbates feminization of poverty because it deprives many girls of the right to education which is the key to enjoyment of other rights. The implication is that these children remain poor as they lack vocational skills which they can use to find better employment with higher income. This therefore results in gender, social and economic inequalities among girls in society. This also has negative consequences on the social development of the country since majority of the people remain in abject poverty. The study conducted by ILO/UNICEF/World Bank Group (2012) corroborates the findings of the current study. According to earlier research conducted by ILO/UNICEF/World Bank Group (2012), child labour not only harms the welfare of individual children, but also slows broader national poverty reduction and development efforts. Children forced out of school and into labour to help their families to make ends meet are denied the opportunity to acquire the knowledge and skills needed for gainful future employment, thereby perpetuating the cycle of poverty in the family. Moreover, child labour can lead to social vulnerability and social marginalization, and can permanently impair the attainment of personal and productive potential, in turn influencing lifetime patterns of employment and earnings, and generating important constraints to national development goals. This has a long term bearing on children’s future aspirations and social development in the country.

It is clear from these findings that child domestic work perpetuates child poverty and eventually families remain in the vicious cycle of poverty. In this regard, domestic work results in capability poverty as children are deprived of schooling opportunities and lifelong skills which they can use to fight poverty. More so, child domestic labour exacerbates income poverty since the income that children get through domestic employment is not enough to sustain the livelihoods of children and their large families. Capability poverty is understood as capability deprivation, which expresses itself in restriction in freedoms or capabilities, inequality and denial of human rights” as conceptualized by Sen’s (2000). According to the capability approach, child domestic work limits children’s freedoms, that is, better opportunities, choices, privileges, and the full development of their capabilities which they can use to realize their aspirations. In this case, children do not have the capabilities or
opportunities to engage in better employment which can enable them to get enough money and have a sustained livelihood. Basing on Sen’s capability approach, child domestics are incapacitated by lack of education and vocational skills to fight abject poverty. The only opportunity or option that children have is domestic work which acts as source of livelihood for them and their families. Hence, children and their families hardly survive as they are not able to earn enough money to meet all their basic needs.

However, the findings of the current research revealed that domestic work acts as a source of livelihood for most of the children from poor family backgrounds, especially orphans and vulnerable children who have no other means of sustaining their livelihood. Domestic work therefore helps to keep children away from begging in the streets and indulging in vices such as stealing and child prostitution. Domestic work also enables children to find money to pay school fees, buy books, pens and other materials required for school. More so, child domestics who look after siblings provide money for them to go to school. Further, single mothers and old grandmothers look at children as the only helpers or people who can help in bringing income in the households. In this case, child domestic work helps children and their families to survive as they are able to earn a living although child domestic work is considered to be child labour by the Zambian government, civil society organisations and UN Agencies. Consequently, child domestic labour can be seen as the only option for vulnerable children and their families to make ends meet. The earlier research conducted by Oyaide (2000) in Zambia corroborated the findings of the current research. According to the study conducted by Oyaide (2000) on the nature of the work, the findings indicated that the fundamental reason why children are engaged in domestic work is because child domestic labour is one of the ways that families cope with poverty. The results also showed that the poor economic condition of the country is resulting in many children having to work instead of being in school. Therefore, child domestic work is good as it removes children from streets and destitution.

In light of the above, it is known that while domestic work perpetuates poverty among children and their families, it also enables them to earn a living as they are able to find money to meet their day to day needs. Thus, without engaging in domestic work, children and their households can hardly survive. In this regard, domestic labour enables them to meet their basic needs though it is not in a sustainable way. However, a human rights-based approach states that domestic work is not in the best interest of the child because it deprives children of schooling opportunities and lifelong skills which they can use to fight poverty. Domestic work therefore jeopardizes children’s right to education which is associated with enjoyment
of other rights such as adequate standard of living, health and psychosocial wellbeing (CRC). According to the human rights-based approach, domestic work perpetuates family poverty as it deprives children of their right to education which is the key to success and enjoyment of other rights. Moreover, the money that children earn through domestic work is not enough to address abject poverty that affects households and communities where these child domestics come from. To this effect, domestic work makes children to be trapped in the vicious cycle of abject poverty.

5.4.5 Challenges of Protecting the Rights of Child Domestic Workers

The study examined challenges of protecting the rights of child domestics. A human rights-based approach posits that children should be protected from work that is dangerous or harmful to their education, health or the right to relaxation and play (social and family life [article 31]). Consequently, the best interests of the child should be ensured in order to promote children’s psychosocial wellbeing, health and development as provided by article 3 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). For example, articles 32 and 36 of the UNCRC provide that governments should protect children from work that is dangerous or harmful to their health, education, welfare and development. Additionally, article 4 provides that governments have a responsibility to take all available measures to make sure children’s rights are respected, protected and fulfilled. In this regard, the best interests of the child must be the primary concern in making policies, programmes, laws or decisions that may affect children’s psychosocial needs and development.

However, the findings of the current study revealed that the Zambian government and civil society organisations are faced with challenges in their quest to protect children from work that is harmful to their health, education, welfare, adequate standard of living, psychosocial wellbeing and development in Zambia. The findings showed that inadequate government policies on education and child protection is the biggest challenge for the NGOs and government institutions to address child labour, abuse and neglect. In this regard, the existing policy on child protection doesn’t give maximum protection to children since the legal and policy frameworks for coordination, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of child welfare programmes are not adequately addressed. According to earlier research conducted by Mulili (2010) on the psychosocial consequences of domestic labour on children in Machakos

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48 Ibid.
District of Kenya, there are major gaps in eliminating child domestic labour. The major gap is that there is delay in implementing the Child Labour Policy initiated in 2004. The other challenge is for the Government of Kenya to step up programmes that monitor and withdraw children working in the domestic front. More so, there is a gap in providing viable alternatives such as formal and informal education that would empower child workers with vocational skills.

In view of the foregoing, the intersectionality theoretical model posits that if the existing policies and laws do not respond to the particular abuses and human rights violations of child domestic workers, children are unlikely to be protected from child labour, abuse and exploitation. Therefore, understanding the means to provide intervention strategies to redress child domestic labour and all forms of abuse and exploitation of child domestics, requires understanding of the effective ways in which age, gender, socio-economic class, ability, educational level, and family background interact in children’s lives. As a theoretical model, intersectionality explains that it is the interaction of inadequate policies and laws that negatively impact on children’s rights, privileges, abilities, opportunities, psychosocial health and development. Therefore, poor working conditions and terms of employment, ineffective labour policies and laws, as well as inadequate child protection policies perpetuate vulnerability, injustice and inequality, exploitation and violations of children’s human rights in society. Consequently, intersectionality analysis asserts that child protection policies should be scaled-up in order to offer maximum protection of children from child labour, human rights violations, abuse and exploitation.

Further, the findings of the current study revealed that another major gap in protecting children’s rights is that the Zambian government has left the huge responsibility of taking care of children to NGOs which do not have the capacity or resources to deal with child labour related issues. Thus, most of the vulnerable children and their households do not receive maximum social protection from the Zambian government despite that poverty levels are so high among people, especially child-headed households and homes headed by old grandparents. According to the intersectionality theoretical model, it is lack of poverty reduction and social protection policies that hinder the protection of children’s rights, and thus perpetuate the vulnerability of children. Therefore, absence of social protection policies and programmes contribute to social and economic inequalities, injustice, exploitation and

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49 Association for Women’s Rights in Development (AWID), Intersectionality: A Tool for Gender and Economic Justice, Women’s Rights and Economic Change No. 9, August 2004
50 Association for Women’s Rights in Development (AWID), Intersectionality: A Tool for Gender and Economic Justice, Women’s Rights and Economic Change No. 9, August 2004
violations of children’s human rights. This is because children who are the most vulnerable members of society are not protected by government through its policies and programmes that can address their vulnerability. In this way, children are left alone to fend for themselves since the social structure or the extended family system and its norms and values have been eroded. Mainly, social safety nets such as the welfare state and the extended family system have disintegrated because of liberalized economy, high poverty levels and HIV/AIDS which deprived children and their families of breadwinners who used to provide for them.

In the Zambian society beset with high levels of poverty and HIV/AIDS, families and communities, especially in urban areas no longer take the responsibility to take care of children of their relatives once their parents die. This leaves children alone without financial and social support. Thus, children take up domestic work to earn income in order to meet their basic needs, though their income is not adequate to sustain their livelihoods. As a result of lack of family and government structures to deal with child labour and promote child welfare, children are left at the mercy of the community, more so to fend for themselves. Above all, the empowerment of children orphaned by HIV/AIDS has not been addressed adequately, and hence children are left alone without support. To this effect, children decide to work at tender age, while some become street kids and homeless, and end up engaging in anti-social vices. In this case, children are neglected and their rights are violated since they are left alone without protection from exploitation and abuse.

According to a human rights-based approach, children have the right to help from the government through social protection if they are poor or in need (article 26 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child [UNCRC]). The human rights-based approach therefore states that children should be protected from domestic work that is harmful to their health, education, welfare and development (article 32). Thus, the best interests of children must be the primary concern in making policies, laws or decisions that may affect children’s psychosocial needs or health. In this regard, the only way children can be protected from exploitative domestic work is to send them to school so that they become educated and lead a happy life. By and large, the government should take all necessary measures to ensure the best interests of the child. Consequently, the Zambian government should devise effective child labour and education policies, and social protection programmes and policies that would cover orphans and vulnerable children (OVCs) who opt for domestic work as a means of sustaining their livelihoods at the expense of schooling. More so, financial support as well as skills training should be given to parents or guardians whose children are engaged in domestic work so that they can be self reliant and lead sustained livelihoods. According to earlier
research conducted by Mulili (2010) on the psychosocial consequences of domestic labour on children, the study recommended that the state should implement without further delay, the Child Labour Policy. Moreover, technical and financial support should be provided to parents and guardians to come up with alternative means of earning a living so that they can allow children to go to school.

From the findings of this study, it can be concluded that the biggest challenge faced by government and civil society organisations in protecting children from child labour is lack of effective implementation of child labour policies and programmes. More so, effective education policies that would promote compulsory education and provide children with lifelong skills which they can use to fight poverty are absent in Zambia. Therefore, the only way children can be protected from exploitative forms of child domestic labour is to put in place inclusive education policies and social protection programmes and policies that would cover all orphans and vulnerable children in Zambia.

6.0 Chapter Six: Conclusion and Recommendations

6.1 Conclusion

There is still a vast lack of information on the impact of domestic work on children’s psychosocial wellbeing in Zambia. This study therefore has attempted to fill that gap and provide information on the effects of child domestic labour on children’s psychosocial wellbeing.

What is revealed from this study is that child domestics come from households affected by HIV/AIDS, and families whose income and education levels are very low. More so, child domestic work perpetuates child poverty because it deprives children of opportunities to go to school and acquire lifelong skills which they can use to fight poverty. However, domestic work acts as a source of livelihood for most of the children from poor families, especially
orphans and vulnerable children who have no other means of sustaining their livelihood. It is therefore learned from this study that while child domestic labour exacerbates the cycle of poverty among children and their families, it also enables them to earn a living and survive. To this effect, domestic work acts as a means to make ends meet. It is also known from this study that domestic work deprives children of their right to education since children drop out of school to concentrate on work. Once children are deprived of the right to education, it means they are deprived of enjoyment of other rights that are associated with educational achievement. However, children’s right to education is also positively affected to some extent in that domestic work enables children to find money to continue schooling. This study also revealed that child domestics are not satisfied with their job because they receive low wages which do not meet the basic needs of their big families. In this regard, children only work because there are no any other options or alternatives to earn a living. Moreover, child domestics are not content with work because it deprives them of opportunities to go to school, play, socialize and interact with their peers. The implication is that children do not have enough time to be with parents who can teach them what they are supposed to do in life. In this case, children are denied their right to parental care, guidance and socialization. Furthermore, the study revealed that domestic work is not the safe avenue for children. What is known is that children are physically, sexually and emotionally abused by employers. Consequently, exploitation and abuse of children make them feel that they are neglected and not cared for by adults. The main issue of concern that the study revealed is gender inequalities which are perpetuated in domestic work. It is learned from the study that traditionally and culturally people consider domestic work to be work for girls since girls are trusted, hard working and know how to perform house chores. In this regard, more girls than boys drop out of school to work. Consequently, cultural practices and value systems perpetuate social injustice, gender, social and economic inequalities which put girls in positions of vulnerability in society. This in turn perpetuates feminization of poverty as more and more girls become poor since they remain in lower class jobs than boys. It is therefore a violation of girls’ right to education and enjoyment of other rights associated with educational achievements. To this effect, gender biases in domestic work is an issue which should generate interest and concern among child rights advocates, social workers, policy makers and the public. It is the serious issue that should attract adequate policy and legal frameworks to be put in place by the Zambian government. In view of the foregoing, domestic work is the violation of children’s right as it is not in the best interests of the child. It is the form of child labour, abuse and economic exploitation
because child domestics perform huge tasks at their tender age and the money they receive is very little. To this effect, the only way children can be protected from exploitative domestic work is to send them to school so that they can acquire the knowledge and vocational skills that are needed for better employment opportunities. However, inadequate education and child protection policies pose a challenge to protection of the rights of children from child labour and abuse. Moreover, social safety nets such as the welfare state and the extended family system have disintegrated because of liberalized economy, high poverty levels and HIV/AIDS. Thus, children are left with only one option which is to engage in domestic work in order to earn a living. The Zambian government should therefore devise effective education and social protection policies and programmes that would cover orphans and vulnerable children (OVCs) who opt for domestic work at the expense of schooling.

6.2 Recommendations

1. The Zambian government and local NGOs should devise and implement sensitization and education programmes on the dangers of child domestic work. More so, the government and NGOs should partner to provide training programmes for community workers in psychosocial support. This should be aimed at providing psychosocial support to vulnerable children in the communities. In this regard, community based interventions should be devised and strengthened so that communities are involved in addressing child labour and abuse.

2. The Zambian government and NGOs should scale up the already existing programmes and policies that are aimed at addressing child labour, abuse and economic exploitation. Specifically, the Minimum Wages and Conditions of Employment (Domestic Workers) Order, 2011, which fixes terms and conditions of work: a minimum wage and age, working time, sick leave and maternity leave, and severance pay should be scaled up so that it covers child domestic workers who are the most vulnerable among domestic workers.

3. The Zambian government through the Ministry of Labour and Social Security (MLSS) should ensure the active involvement of other government institutions, international organizations, NGOs, community-based organizations (CBOs), faith-based organizations (FBOs), donors, the private sectors and media organizations in addressing the worst forms of child labour that deprive children of their rights.

4. The Zambian government should ensure that employers abide by the national laws when they employ children. Furthermore, government should come up with clear
policies and laws on procedures for employment, whereby employers should be required to contact the Ministry of Labour and Social Security Inspectorate Unit before children are employed as domestic workers.

5. Employers should also be sensitized on human and labour rights of children. Moreover, there is also need to have a strong labour union for domestic workers.

6. The Zambian government should ensure that existing legal and policy frameworks aimed at addressing child domestic labour and protecting the rights of child domestic workers are effectively implemented. The Employment Act that sets the minimum age for employment at 15 and the Employment of Young Persons and Children Act which bars children under age 18 from engaging in hazardous labor should be strictly enforced.

7. The law enforcement agencies such as the Zambia Police Service (ZPS) through Child Protection and Victim Support Units (VSU) should implement the legislation on child abuse effectively. Thus, they should be proactive and establish child-friendly corners in all police posts and schools where children can freely report and discuss child abuse issues.

8. The government should ensure that employers help child domestic workers to go to back to school, instead of just using them to do a lot of work.

9. The Zambian government and NGOs should devise effective social protection policies and programmes that would cover orphans and vulnerable children (OVCs) who opt for domestic work as a means of sustaining their livelihoods at the expense of schooling.

10. The government should put in place good education policies that will help children to go back to school. The policy or legislation on universal primary education should be effectively implemented by government and NGOs. Specifically, Education for All in terms of access and quality should be effectively implemented through existing educational and child policies. Thus, the government should provide free education by helping vulnerable children who cannot afford to pay for education.

11. The Zambian government should devise poverty reduction policies and programmes aimed at addressing poverty and other vulnerabilities that lead children to engage in domestic work.

6.3 Areas of Further Research
This study looked at the impact of child domestic work on the psychosocial wellbeing of children from a human rights perspective. However, during data collection and analysis, it came out clear that there is feminization of poverty because girls are more involved in domestic work than boys. More so, reviewed literature indicated there has not been any research done on the effects of child domestic work on feminization of poverty in Zambia. Thus, this calls for a need to carry out research on the impact of child domestic work on feminization of poverty, owing to the perceptions that traditionally and culturally domestic work is considered to be work for girls and women.
References

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Appendices:

Appendix 1: Letter of Introduction

GÖTEBORGS UNIVERSITET

Faculty of Social Sciences
Department of Social Work

Letter of Introduction

Dear Sir/Madam,

This letter serves to introduce Mr. Chanda Patrick who is a Social Work and Human Rights Masters student in the School of Social Sciences under the Department of Social Work at University of Gothenburg, Sweden. He is undertaking a study as part of his thesis in Masters Degree on the topic of the impact of child domestic work on children’s physical and psychosocial well-being from a human rights perspective.

He would be very grateful if you would volunteer to participate in this study, by granting an interview that covers certain aspects of this topic. All information you provide is considered completely confidential. You may decide to withdraw from this study at any time by advising the interviewer or to decline to answer any of the interview questions if you so wish. Since he intends to make an audio recording of the interview, he will seek your consent, on the attached form, to record the interview, to use the recording or a transcription in preparing the thesis, on condition that your name or identity is not revealed unless with your permission.

Yours sincerely

Supervisor

Department of Social Work, University of Gothenburg, Sweden

Thanking you in advance.
Appendix 2: Research Participation Consent Form

Faculty of Social Sciences
Department of Social Work

Research Participation Informed Consent Form

Dear Respondents,

I want to thank you for taking your time to meet with me today. My name is Chanda Patrick, and I am a Social Work and Human Rights student who is doing a Master’s Thesis at the University of Gothenburg (Gothenburg, Sweden). I am doing a study on the impact of child domestic work on children’s well-being from a human rights perspective. The aim of this study is to investigate and analyze the impact of child domestic work on children’s physical and psychosocial wellbeing.

You are part of the respondents who have been selected to participate in this research. Therefore, I ask for your assistance by answering the questions in the interview guide. I would like to interview you so as to learn about your views on the experiences of child domestic work. Participation in this study is voluntary so you may decline to answer any of the interview questions if you so wish. In this regard, you have the right to participate or not to participate in the research. You are also free to withdraw from the research at anytime you think you cannot continue answering questions. Remember, you don’t have to talk about anything you don’t want to. Additionally, you are at liberty to ask questions for clarifications where you are not clear. The interview should take less than an hour.

With your permission, the interview will be tape recorded to facilitate collection of information as it is not easy to write everything and interview at the same time. Please note that all recordings will be destroyed upon transcription and prior to (and during) transcription, the recordings will be stored in a secure place. To this effect, the information collected will be
treated purely for academic purpose with highest confidentiality. Since we are tape recording, please be sure to speak up so that we don’t miss your comments.

There are no risks to you in this study. Your name, or any other personal identifying information, will not appear in the final paper resulting from this study. All responses will be kept confidential. This means that your interview responses will only be shared with research team members and we will ensure that any information we include in our report does not identify you as the respondent.

This thesis will likely be published. If you would like a copy of the study, please provide me with your email address and I will send you a copy in the future.

Are there any questions about what I have just explained?

Are you willing to participate in this interview?

I agree to be interviewed for this project. [Circle one]: Yes/No

I agree to be audio taped during this interview. [Circle one]: Yes/No

Thank you for your consideration. I will give you a copy of this form to take with you. If you agree to participate in this research project, please sign below:

Participant's signature: ____________________________

Legal guardian (if interviewee is under 18): _____________

Date of Interview: _________________________________

Time of Interview: _________________________________

Place of Interview: _______________________________

Investigator's signature: ___________________________

Date of Interview: _________________________________

Time of Interview: _________________________________

Place of Interview: _______________________________

Thank you for your assistance.
Appendix 3: Interview Guide: Child Domestic Workers

Dear Respondent,

My name is Chanda Patrick, and I am a Social Work and Human Rights student who is doing a Master’s Thesis at the University of Gothenburg (Gothenburg, Sweden). I am doing a study on the impact of child domestic work on children’s wellbeing from a human rights perspective.

The aim of this study is to investigate and analyze the impact of child domestic work on children’s physical and psychosocial wellbeing. This study will provide information on the impact of child domestic work on gender equality and empowerment of girl-children, as well as the impact on children’s physical and psychosocial wellbeing. Moreover, the study will provide information on the impact of child domestic work on income and capability poverty, as well as the impact on feminization of poverty. The study will also provide information on the challenges of protecting the rights of child domestic workers. In view of the above, the study will be used to generate and document recommendations that may be utilized by stakeholders to develop policy and legal frameworks that would protect the rights of child domestic workers.

Your child is part of the respondents who have been selected to participate in this research. Therefore, I ask your child for his/her assistance by answering the questions in the interview guide. I would like to interview your child so as to learn about the child’s views on the experience of child domestic work among children in Lusaka City of Zambia. The name of your child, or any other personal identifying information, will not appear in the final paper resulting from this study. All responses will be kept confidential.
Research Questions
i. What is the socio-economic background of child domestics in Lusaka, Zambia?
ii. What are the terms and conditions of child domestic employment in Lusaka city of Zambia?
iii. What are the effects of child domestic work on children’s physical and psychosocial well-being?

Interview Questions
A. Socio-economic background of child domestics
   1. Where is your home? In the low density, medium density or high density area?
   2. What is the occupation of your parents/guardians?
   3. What is your family’s monthly income? Is the family’s income enough?
   4. Why did you decide to take up domestic work?
B. Terms of employment
   1. How much does your employer pay you? Is the wage paid to you in full? How often do you get paid?
   2. Are there any items or things given in kind to you by the employer? (for example, food, clothes) If so, for what purpose?
   3. Was there any employment contract made between you and your employer? If so, was it made orally or in written?
   4. Did you make the agreement on your own? If not, who made the agreement? (Parents/guardian/employer?)
   5. Do you understand the contents of the contract?
C. Working conditions
   1. What tasks do you perform at your work place?
   2. How many hours do you work per day?
   3. Do you have any full rest days during the week? How often?
   4. Do you have any lunch breaks during the day at your work place? How often?
   5. How are you treated by your employer and members of his/her family?
D. Impact of Domestic Work on Children’s Physical and Psychosocial Well-Being
   1. Do you have any opportunities to play with your friends? How often?
   2. Do you spend time with your family at home? If so, how often?
   3. Have you suffered from any sickness or ill-health from the time you started work?
   4. Have you experienced any accidents or injuries at the work place? If so, how serious? Please explain what happened.
5. Do you receive any treatment when you are sick or injured? If so, what kind of treatment?
6. Are you sad or happy about your job?
7. Do you know how to write or read?
8. Do you have any access to education or training?
9. What are your parents’ views about education/schooling?
10. What does your employer say about education/schooling?
11. What do you plan to do in the future?

Thank you for your assistance.
Appendix 4: Focus Group Discussion Guide: Parents

Dear Respondent,

My name is Chanda Patrick, and I am a Social Work and Human Rights student who is doing a Master’s Thesis at the University of Gothenburg (Gothenburg, Sweden). I am doing a study on the impact of child domestic work on children’s well-being from a human rights perspective. The aim of this study is to investigate and analyze the impact of child domestic work on children’s physical and psychosocial well-being. This study will provide information on the impact of child domestic work on gender equality and empowerment of girl-children, as well as the impact on children’s physical and psychosocial well-being. Moreover, the study will provide information on the impact of child domestic work on income and capability poverty, as well as the impact on feminization of poverty. The study will also provide information on the challenges of protecting the rights of child domestic workers. In view of the above, the study will be used to generate and document recommendations that may be utilized by stakeholders to develop policy and legal frameworks that would protect the rights of child domestic workers.

You are part of the respondents who have been selected to participate in this research. Therefore, I ask for your assistance by answering the questions in the interview guide. I would like to interview you so as to learn about your views on the experiences of child domestics in Lusaka City of Zambia.

Your name, or any other personal identifying information, will not appear in the final paper resulting from this study. All responses will be kept confidential.

Research Questions

1. What is the socio-economic background of child domestics in Lusaka, Zambia?
2. What are the terms and conditions of child domestic employment in Lusaka city of Zambia?
3. What are the effects of child domestic work on children’s physical and psychosocial well-being?
4. What strategies can be put in place by the Zambian government to curb child domestic employment/work?

Interview Questions

A. Socio-economic background of child domestics
5. What is your area of residence? Low density, medium density, or high density area?
6. What is the monthly income of your family?
7. What is the relationship between you and the child domestic worker?
8. What is your occupation? (e.g., unemployed, or employed)?
9. What factors lead children to take up domestic work? (e.g., poverty)?
10. Do you send your child to take up domestic work? If so, why do you send your child to take up domestic work?
11. Did the child willingly take up domestic work or make that decision?

B. Terms of employment
1. How much does your child get paid? How often?
2. Does the child get the wage in full?
3. Are there any deductions made from the wage by the employer? If so, for what?
4. Is there anything that the child receives in-kind? (e.g., food, clothes)? If so, for what?
5. Did the child make any agreement with his/her employer? If so, what was the agreement?
6. Does your child have an employment contract? If so, is the employment contract oral or written?
7. Are you clear about the child’s terms of agreement? (e.g., paid leave/sick leave, rest days)?

C. Working conditions
1. What tasks does the child perform at his/her place of work?
2. What are the risks/hazards involved in those activities?
3. Has the child experienced any accidents or injuries at his/her work place? If so, what happened? How serious?
4. What time does the child start work? What time does the child knock off?
5. Does the child spend the whole day at the work place?
6. Does the child have any days off during the week? During the month?
7. Does the child have any opportunities to play with his/her friends during the week?
12. Does the child get any paid leave from the employer? If so, how much?
13. How is the child treated by the employer and members of the family?
14. How satisfied is the child with his/her employer?

D. Impact of Domestic Work on Children’s Physical and Psychosocial Well-Being

6. How would you describe the workload that your child undertakes per day? How would the work load affect the child?
7. How much time does the child spend with the members of his/her family during the week?
8. Does the child have opportunities to play with friends of its own age?
9. Has the child ever suffered from sickness or ill-health from the time she/he started work?
10. How is the child treated by the employer when he/she is sick, injured, or hurt?
11. Is the child sad or happy about his/her job? Is the child satisfied with his/her job?
12. Are there any complaints from the child about his/her job?
13. How much does the child earn per week or month? Is the money or income earned by the child enough to support the child and the family members?
14. What is the level of your child’s education?
15. Does your child have any opportunities to attend school?
16. Does your child know how to read or write?
17. Is the child aware of his/her rights at the work place? If so, what are those rights?
18. What are your views about the child’s education/schooling?
19. What would you like your child to do in the future?

E. Measures to Address Child Domestic Work

1. What do you think should be done by the Zambian government to address child domestic work?

Thank you for your assistance.
Appendix 5: Interview Guide: Key Informants

Faculty of Social Sciences
Department of Social Work

Dear Respondent,

My name is Chanda Patrick, and I am a Social Work and Human Rights student who is doing a Master’s Thesis at the University of Gothenburg (Gothenburg, Sweden). I am doing a study on the impact of child domestic work on children’s well-being from a human rights perspective. The aim of this study is to investigate and analyze the impact of child domestic work on children’s physical and psychosocial well-being. This study will provide information on the impact of child domestic work on gender equality and empowerment of girl-children, as well as the impact on children’s physical and psychosocial well-being. Moreover, the study will provide information on the impact of child domestic work on income and capability poverty, as well as the impact on feminization of poverty. The study will also provide information on the challenges of protecting the rights of child domestic workers. In view of the above, the study will be used to generate and document recommendations that may be utilized by stakeholders to develop policy and legal frameworks that would protect the rights of child domestic workers.

You are part of the respondents who have been selected to participate in this research. Therefore, I ask for your assistance by answering the questions in the interview guide. I would like to interview you so as to learn about your views on the experiences of child domestics in Lusaka City of Zambia. Your name, or any other personal identifying information, will not appear in the final paper resulting from this study. All responses will be kept confidential.

Research Questions

1. What is the impact of child domestic work on children’s rights?
2. What are the effects of child domestic work on children’s physical and psychosocial well-being?
3. What are some of the challenges affecting the protection of the rights of child domestic workers?

4. What strategies or measures has your organisation put in place to protect the rights of child domestic workers?

Interview Questions

A. Impact of Child Domestic Work on Children’s Rights

1. Are children’s rights affected in any way by domestic work? If so, how would you describe the effects of child domestic work on children’s rights?

2. Could you please state the gender/sex that is more engaged in domestic work?

3. How would you explain the effects of child domestic work on girls as compared to boys?

4. Are there situations or cases where gender-based violence has been experienced among child domestics? If so, please explain.

B. Impact of Child Domestic Work on Children’s Well-Being

1. How would you describe child domestic workers’ opportunities to participate in social life? (i.e., do child domestics have enough time to play with friends apart from work?)

2. How would you describe the environment in which children work?

3. Could you please describe the effects of child domestic work on poverty among these children and their families?

4. What effects does child domestic work have on the health of children?

5. Could you please state/describe the effects of child domestic work on children’s education?

C. Measures to Protect the Rights of Child Domestic Workers

1. Are there challenges that you face in trying to protect the rights of child domestic workers?

2. What measures has your organisation put in place to provide protection of the rights of child domestic workers?

3. Could you please describe the adequacy of your efforts in protecting the rights of domestic workers?

4. What do you think should be done to address child domestic work in Zambia?

Thank you for your assistance.