

percent at independence in 1964 to US \$ 250 by 1991 with inflation risen to 100 percent. The result is high level of poverty, which has not been made better by the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP). By 1985, Zambia was re-classified from a low middle income to a low-income country. Current classifications by the World Human Development index (1999) suggest that it is in the class of very impoverished and least developed countries of the world.

4.7 According to the Living Conditions Monitoring Survey (LCSM, 1996), two thirds of the population is living below the poverty line. The same report indicates that over 78 percent of the population live below the poverty line or fall in the category of extreme poverty with the large majority, 66 percent being extremely poor. The introduction of cuts in government spending on social services such as education and health and in closures of government parastatals and companies resulted in mass retrenchments, unemployment and reduction of social amenities including education.

Education

4.8 Zambia has a three-tier education system, that is, 7 years of primary education, 5 years secondary, with 2 years junior secondary and 3 years senior secondary; and a 4-year university education. In addition to these, there are vocational or technical schools ranging from two to three year certificate or diploma courses. According to the Living Conditions Monitoring Survey (LCMS, 1996) more men have been to school than women and is consistently so for all age groups. The data also show that for children between age 7 and 13, for which education is compulsory, school attendance rate was 69 percent. This means that 31 percent were not in school. Children in the rural areas, like those from poor urban households, have a much lower attendance rate than children in

urban centres. Girls also consistently fair worse than boys. Although primary education from age 7 is compulsory, government had to introduce the payment of the Parents Teachers Association fee, a method of sharing the cost of education with parents because of the prevailing adverse national economy.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

CAUSES OF CHILD DOMESTIC LABOUR

Introduction

5.0 This chapter presents the findings of the study on the causes of child domestic labour and discusses the issues that arise from it. The initial presentation about the personal characteristics of the child workers such as age and sex help to lay the foundation for a better understanding of subsequent findings. These are followed by other reasons why the children are working.

Age of child workers

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

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

Age	Frequency	Per cent	Cumulative per cent
11	1	1.2	1.2
12	3	3.6	4.8
13	13	15.7	20.5
14	25	30.1	50.6
15	41	49.4	100.0
Total	83	100.0	
Age of relative workers			
Age	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative per cent
7	1	1.3	1.3
8	2	2.6	3.9
9	5	6.6	10.5
10	2	2.6	10.5
11	4	5.3	18.4
12	5	6.6	25.0
13	18	23.7	48.7
14	18	23.7	72.4
15	21	27.6	100.0
Total	76	100.0	

According to Table 2, out of the eighty-three employed workers that were sampled, seventy-nine (95%) were between thirteen (13) and fifteen (15) years old. Similarly, majority of relative workers, fifty-seven (75%) were also between the ages of thirteen and fifteen. Though there was one eleven year old and three twelve year olds, the overall trend was that there were more children between the ages of 13 and 15 years old. This same age group which was affirmed by Mushota's (1989) study was also re-affirmed in an interview that was conducted by a Times of Zambia publication of 7 March 1998. These three confirmations indicate that age 13 to 15 is the characteristic age of employment.

5.2 According to the national child policy, age 14 is the age of work. Although the same age marks the end of primary schooling, the study applied age 15 as the age limit for work. This is because due to failure, repetitions, and inadequate places for admissions to school some children finish at age 15. The choice of age 15 was further reinforced by the provisions of the Employment Act (Cap 512) of the laws of Zambia. The law that was passed in 1971 provides for the minimum age for employment as 15 years except those who have failed to secure admission to school, or whose admission to school has been terminated for a good cause. The 1973 ILO Convention (No.138) also recommended a minimum age of 15 years for work and the Zambian Education Act (Cap 234) additionally provides for a school leaving age of 16 years. Although the younger the age the greater the vulnerability of the child worker, the concern of this study is that children below the age of fifteen, who are out of school and working, are a social concern.

Sex of child workers

5.3 According to Table 3 below, there are more girls than boys in domestic child labour. While girls were 88 percent of the respondents, boys were only 12 percent. The same is confirmed by the data in Table 1. In Table 1 (a) a total number of boys in domestic employment in the entire research site was ten, as opposed to a total of one hundred and fifteen girls. Furthermore, the figures in both Tables 3 (a) and (b) showed that girls predominated whether they were relative or employed workers.

Table 3: Sex of Child Workers

(a) Sex of employed child workers

Sex	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percent
Female	73	88.0	88.0
Male	10	12.0	100.0
Total	83	100.0	

(b) Sex of relative child workers

Female	54	71.1	71.1
Male	22	28.9	100.0
Total	76	100.0	

5.4 The finding implies that child domestic labour in Lusaka is a female dominated area of work. Although Matoka's (1993) study found that there were more girls than boys the incidence was however lower in 1993 than the finding of this study. It is possible that boys are increasingly engaging in other work such as on the streets, than in the homes. This tendency is supported by Lungwangwa's (1996) study, which found that more boys are on the streets than girls. This tendency could be attributed to the traditional attitude that housework is for girls and not for boys (Reynolds 1989).

5.5 This finding seems to confirm the findings in other countries that domestic child labour is uniquely a gender-segregated work. For example, in the Philippines, a 1997 study found that nine out of ten child domestics were girls (UNICEF ICDC, 1999). The

same review indicates that in Togo, 95 percent of child domestics were girls. Along the same trend, this study found that 88 percent of child domestics in Lusaka are girls. Such a finding establishes child domestic labour as a gender concern.

Cultural Gender Discrimination as a Cause of Child Labour

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

Table 4: Number of siblings currently in school by gender

Occupation of parents	Siblings	No of siblings by gender		No in school	
		Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Peasant farmers	9	6	3	Nil	1
Peasant farmers	9	6	3	Nil	1
Night guard	7	2	5	Nil	1
Unemployed	8	1	7	Nil	1
Retrenched miner	6	4	2	1	2
Construction worker	7	2	5	1	3
Retired clerk	11	5	6	1	2
Unemployed	8	5	3	1	1
Petty trader	8	6	2	Nil	1
Petty trader	4	3	1	Nil	1
Unemployed	3	2	1	Nil	1
Unemployed	8	4	4	Nil	1
Total	88	46	42	4	16

The data indicates that though girl siblings outnumber boys, more boys were schooling. This suggests that son preference underlie the choice of the child that is sent to school.

5.7 More light was shed on son preference by qualitative discussions. For example, the girl in case study 2 (*appendix II*) said that her parents had to sell cows to send her brothers to school but would not do the same for her and her sister who were both given

out to work in Lusaka with two different employers. Additionally, parents who were interviewed indicated that they would rather send a boy to school than a girl because she would get married and leave them but that a male child would take care of them and his sisters later in life. All parents who participated in the study shared the same view.

5.8 The implication is that where parents are faced with financial constraints, male children take priority over female children. As a result, apart from poverty, gender is a determining factor in the choice of which child was sent to work when the family was too poor to send all their children to school. The result is that more girls are found in domestic child labour not only because of parental poverty, but also the higher value for boys. This seems to be one of the reasons why girls were found by previous studies, such as Kamocha, Munalula & Miti (1997) to outnumber boys in child labour.

5.9 The prevalence of girls in domestic child labour and among relative workers can also be attributed to the preference of parents for domestic work for daughters. According to Matoka (1993) parents in early colonial days regarded it as a protected form of child work, therefore, historically, there have always been more girls in domestic work. Such preference is rooted in cultural socialisation, which segregates children into stereotyped gender roles. During socialisation, girls are expected to do domestic chores with their mothers, aunts and grandmothers. Boys on the other hand work more with their fathers.

5.10 The foregoing data indicate that girls are the most disadvantaged by poverty. The data also establishes gender discrimination as the reason for the prevalence of girls in domestic child labour. It additionally suggests why there were more boys than girls in schools. The finding contradicts the vision that was expressed in the national policy on

education document (1996) cited in the National Gender Policy 2000, that education be provided for all Zambians irrespective of gender, religion, ethnic origin, or any other discriminatory characteristic and thereby make the work a gender concern.

Other reasons why children are working

5.11 Responses by child workers in Table 5 below shows that the majority, sixty-seven (81%) child workers said they were working due to lack of money. Nine (11%) said that it was due to death in the family, three (4%) said that it was due to failure at school, another three (4%) said it was due to lack of admission to school while one (1.2%) attributed it to long distance to school.

Table 5: Reason why children are working (employed child workers)

	Lack of money	Death in the family	Failure at school	Lack of school admission	School location too far	Total
Sex						
Female	59	8	2	3	1	73
Male	8	1	1			10
Total	67	9	3	3	1	83
Percentage	80.72	10.84	3.61	3.61	1.2	100.0

Parental poverty as a cause of child domestic labour

5.12 Lack of money suggests that parental poverty is the main reason why most of the children are working. Parental poverty in this study is defined as the inability of the parents to meet basic daily needs such as food, clothing and shelter. Although the study did not attempt to assess the income of parents, to obtain information on the economic status of the family, employment status of the parents were examined. According to the CSO Census Report (1990), unemployed persons are those who are either looking for work or are available for work.

Table 6: Employment status of parents of employed child workers

Mother's employment	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percent
Yes	11	13.3	13.3
No	54	65.1	78.3
Not applicable	18	21.7	100.0
Father's employment			
Yes	19	22.9	22.9
No	31	37.3	60.2
Not applicable	30	36.1	96.4
Does not know	3	3.6	100.0
Total	83	100.0	

5.13 According to Table 6, the majority of parents, fifty-four mothers out of sixty-five (83%) and thirty-one out of fifty (62%) fathers of child workers were unemployed. To start with, the data reveals gender imbalance in the employment status of parents, as more mothers were unemployed. Many who were unemployed had lost their jobs through retrenchments and retirements from closed government parastatals and companies. This was due to the effect of SAP, the World Bank recommendation on closure of government companies in order to reduce government spending. The nineteen fathers who were working were only involved in low skilled or unskilled jobs. They worked as welders, bricklayers, plumbers, drivers, cooks and stewards. Others were petty traders, gardeners, subsistent farmers and security guards. These jobs seem to have such little earning power, that parents, most of the time, found it difficult to meet the family's basic daily needs.

5.14 The mothers also were either unemployed or full-time housewives or were engaged in the same low skill or unskilled labour as the fathers. The data however further suggest gender imbalance in that only one mother claimed to have been retired and none was retrenched as the fathers. The mothers who worked were also engaged mostly in work such as petty trading, domestic service or subsistent farming. On the

whole, the responses from parents corroborated the responses of the children on poverty. All of the ten parents who took part in the survey said that their children were working due to “financial problems,” they also said that children stopped going to school for the same reason. One parent remarked, ‘I am poor, what do you expect me to do? My child has to go out to look for work, to help the family, instead of starving.’

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

5.15 The background to parental poverty in these findings is the adverse economic conditions in the country, the direct result of which is children having to work because parents are too poor to sustain them. The situation indicates that the conditions of children cannot be disassociated from the family on which they depend for their existence, while that of the parents is dictated by the condition of the society. Parental

poverty resulting from societal poverty in turn gives rise to child poverty and child labour. While societal poverty generates parental poverty, parental poverty generates child labour. Most parents confessed that the wage earned by the child contributes to the family budget suggesting therefore that child domestic labour is a way of coping with poverty for many families.

Inadequacy of the school system

5.16 The foregoing suggest that poverty and child work are mutually reinforcing. However, work that has negative correlation with schooling leads to poverty because lack of education limits lifetime earnings. The study examined the contribution of the inadequacy of school system to child work. In Tables 5 and 7 responses to why children were working and why they were not in school seem to suggest the inability of the system of education to sustain children at school. The reasons include parental inability to afford the cost of schooling, death in the family, failure at school, lack of school admission, and long distance to school. It also included pregnancy and never enrolling in school.

Table 7: School Attendance

(a) All Child Domestic

Sex of respondent	In School	Not in School	Total
Female	1	72	73
Male	0	10	10
Total	1	82	83
Percentage	1.2	98.8	100.0

(b) Why the child worker stopped school

Sex	Failure	School too expensive	School too far	Got pregnant	Never been to school	Death in the family	Total
Female	8	40	3	3	17	2	73
Male	1	8			1		10
Total	9	48	3	3	18	2	83

© Why the child worker had never been to school.

Sex of respondent	Too expensive	School too far	Lack of admission	Got pregnant	Does not know the reason	Have been to school	Total
Female	5	1	3	3	5	56	73
Male	1					9	10
Total	6	1	3	3	5	65	83

(d) Why the relative child was not in school							
Sex	Too costly	Too far	Lack of admission	Got pregnant	Never been to school	Death/illness in the family	Total
Female	11	1	1	2	7	32	54
Male	3				4	15	22
Total	14	1	1	2	11	47	76

5.17 A comparison of Tables 5 and 7 shows that the reasons that were given by the children for working in Table 5 seem to correspond with the reasons for dropping out of school in Table 7 (b). Those who have never been to school in Table 7 (c) repeated the same reasons. The Tables further confirm poverty as the single most important reason why children are not enrolling and dropping out of school and working. They also show that dropout rate among children in domestic work is very high. Additionally it indicates a high correlation between reasons for dropping out of school and for engaging in child labour. More importantly, the data additionally suggests that the inadequacy of the school system to cope with its obligation to enrol and to sustain all children in school is contributing to the vulnerability of children already made vulnerable by poverty.

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

5.19 Table 7 (a) shows that only one out of eighty-three (1.2%) employed child workers was schooling part-time. The girl said that she was attending night school at St Patrick's Catholic Church in Kabwata. None of the Community Schools or Vocational Training Schools such as those being run by the Local Council in the area had children who are engaged in domestic work as part-time students. This finding suggests that child domestics would probably only be able to attend evening, night or weekend schools. The findings on the whole suggest that there is a lack of correlation between school attendance and child domestic labour and that working is an alternative activity to schooling. The finding is however at variance with previous finding by Matoka (1993) that 13 percent of girls and 15 percent of boys in his samples were schooling part time. The indication of this finding is that the number of children who are unable to go to school, even on part-time basis, is increasing over the years, most likely in consonance with increasing poverty in the society. With increasing adverse economic conditions, it seems children are increasingly engaging in full time work. The finding also contradicts findings by Kamocha et al that only thirty-four percent (34%) of child workers were not attending school. The latter suggests that non-attendance at school is higher in child domestic labour than other forms of child labour.

5.20 On the high cost of school, child workers and relative workers complained during group discussions, that their parents were not able to pay the Parents Teachers Association (PTA) fees. PTA fee, according to Kelly (1998) was a method that was devised by the government to share the cost of education with parents. The PTA seems to be an additional burden on parents who could not afford to buy even school essentials such as school texts or writing materials. Kelly found that extremely poor parents

especially in the rural areas could not afford even the most minimal cost. The PTA is therefore an added burden, which is forcing many children out of school.

5.21 The data suggest that the PTA scheme is partly responsible for children dropping out of school and going into child labour. The implication is that it is alienating the children of the poor from school and thus making education available only to those who can afford it. Another suggestion is that the children of the poor are out of school and serving the rich. Since according to Giddens (1997) education is the major avenue for the poor to attain 'upward mobility,' the children of the poor, who are denied the opportunity and the right to education, can hardly aspire to improve their social status. With the existence of son preference, the PTA seems to compound the vulnerability of girls.

5.22 The inadequacy of the education system denies children of their human right to education. Article 26 of the UN Declaration on Human Rights states that "Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages" and Zambia is a member state of the UN. The reaffirmation of the same that "primary education shall be compulsory and available to all free" by the UN CRC (1990) which was ratified by Zambia in 1991 carries with it an obligation to make primary education free and compulsory. The same idea was emphasised at the World Conference on "Education for All" in Jomtien Thailand (1990) and was contained in the Zambian Conference on Education for All (EFA) in 1991. For the same reason, the decision at the EFA was that all children of primary school level should be in school. This decision is yet to be fulfilled. Since many children claimed to be out of school because of poverty, if primary school is made free and compulsory, working as an alternative activity to schooling will be drastically

reduced if not eradicated. The underlying problem rather than poverty is the lack of prioritising education by government

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

Family dysfunction due to death or divorce/separation

5.24 The responses of the child workers to the marital status of the parents indicate negative roles of family cohesion or dysfunction in generating child domestic labour.

Table 8: Marital Status**(a) Marital status of the parents of child workers**

Sex	Married	Divorced	Separated	Orphaned	Never married	Total
Female	26	19	3	25	2	73
Male	4	1		3		10
Total	30	20	3	28	2	83
Percent	36.00	24.00	3.60	33.70	2.40	100.0

(b) Marital status of parents of relative workers:

Sex	Married	Divorced	Separated	Orphaned	Never married	Total
Female	11	9	1	32	1	54
Female	4	2	1	15		22
Male	4	11	2	47	1	76
Percent	19.7	14.5	2.6	61.8	1.3	100.0

Table 8 (a) shows that parents of thirty-six percent of child workers were married, thirty-four percent were orphans, while another thirty percent were from broken homes. The data shows that child workers were equally orphaned, poor, and children made vulnerable by family disintegration. This means that the social backgrounds of the children are important in whether they work or not. The data also suggests that family dysfunction, just like orphanhood and poverty, is an important reason why child workers are working. Additionally, the data shows that 18 percent of relative workers were from dysfunctional marriages. This indicates that children from dysfunctional homes constitute a sizeable portion of vulnerable children in the society.

5.25 Additional revelations at the group discussions further confirm the finding that divorce and separation is a source of child domestic labour. For example, one girl from a divorced home said that due to the cruelty of her stepmother, she ran away from Kitwe to Lusaka with a friend who helped her to get a job as a maid. Two others said that they ran away to Lusaka to look for work because their stepmothers did not like them while, another two, it was because of stepfathers who did not like them. The story of the girl in

case study 4 (*Appendix II*) serves to illustrate family dysfunction as a potential source of child domestic labour. According to the girl, her parents were divorced and had both remarried. She does not know the whereabouts of her mother whom she misses very much and would like to trace. Her father had to send her to work in Lusaka so as to be away from home because her stepmother did not like her and her sister. Her sister was also sent to live with uncle somewhere unknown to her. These examples show that children from broken down marriages become disadvantaged and are made vulnerable by it. The social implication is that there is a growing problem of dependency.

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

Orphanhood in child domestic labour

5.27 A comparison of the two sets of data in Table 8 on marital status on pp. 32-33, suggests that orphans constitute one third of employed workers (34%) and that the larger percentage of relatives, (62%) are also orphans. The increasingly large numbers of orphans from the HIV/AIDS pandemic has added a new twist to the issue of dependency in Zambia. Recent global estimates indicate that the total number of people living with HIV/AIDS is 34.3 million with 24.5 million of them in sub-Saharan Africa and that there are at least 13.2 million HIV/AIDS orphans. The AIDS epidemic in Zambia, according to the UNICEF Zambia report on orphans in Zambia (1998) is among the most serious in the world. The estimated proportion of children under the age of 15 who are orphans (23%), actual figures are not known, suggested at 520,000 by the Ministry of Health (1999) is regarded as one of the highest in the world. This is regarded as the second largest population of HIV/AIDS orphans. If orphans from other causes are added, the figure is much higher. Orphans in this study are orphans from any reason, including HIV/AIDS.

5.28 The indication is that there are three categories of dependants. Dependency is increasingly becoming a serious social concern with 92 dependants to every 100 adults (World Population Data Sheet of the Population Reference Bureau Washington D. C.). In addition to the problem in magnitude, the report by the Ministry of Health (1999) adds that deaths due to AIDS tend to target young parents, leaving aged grandparents as caregivers. Not all orphans are however children of poor parents. Some, such as orphans in case studies 6 and 8, are children whose parents were not poor but who have been rendered poor by death. The source of vulnerability therefore transcends poverty alone.

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

5.30 The findings reveal some of the major social problems associated with death of parents. For example the girl in case study 8 was an AIDS orphan. According to her, her parents were not poor when they were alive. Following the death of the parents, her father's relatives came and collected all the family property leaving the children stranded. This case illustrates the vulnerability of orphans who lack the support of extended families. It additionally illustrates the problem of grabbing the property of dead relatives by the extended family without any consideration for the orphans. The practice of "property grabbing" is currently a gender issue that many organisations, including *'Women in law in Southern Africa,'* (WILDAF) are mounting an advocacy against.

5.31 Another problem that was revealed by the story in case study 6 is that of uncaring family members. An aunt who uses them to do housework without providing their basic needs had adopted the two girls. They complained of being overworked, maltreated, ostracised and verbally abused. While this case does not indicate the lack of capacity by

the caregiver, it however indicates that some caregivers are uncaring. This case also illustrates the diminishing commitment of extended family to vulnerable family members. In support of this finding, the Ministry of Health (1999) found that the traditional extended family is already disintegrating due to urbanisation among other things.

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

5.33 In addition to these findings, the large sample of orphaned girls as unpaid houseworker makes the issue of orphaned girls, a social and a gender concern. Cultural gender differentiation seems to underlie the finding. While twenty-five, (25) orphaned workers were girls, only five (5) were boys. In addition, while thirty-two, (32) orphaned relatives were girls, only fifteen (15) of them were boys. This data shows that majority of orphans

in the study are girls, and that more orphaned girls than boys are adopted. The dearth of boys among relative workers could however indicate that more orphaned boys are in school, most likely due to male preference.

5.34 However, orphanhood sometimes initiated poverty as demonstrated by the stories of the girls in case studies 6 and 8 or compounded existing poverty. For example, an orphaned boy said that his family was not rich when his father was alive as his father only sold charcoal for survival. According to him, his father's death only compounded the family poverty. In some cases however, children claimed that their families were well off and that the death of their parents initiated poverty. On the whole, evidence from the data suggests that while poverty is the main reason why employed children are working, orphanhood is the major cause of relative children working for relatives, though orphanhood sometimes merely worsens existing condition of poverty or initiates it.

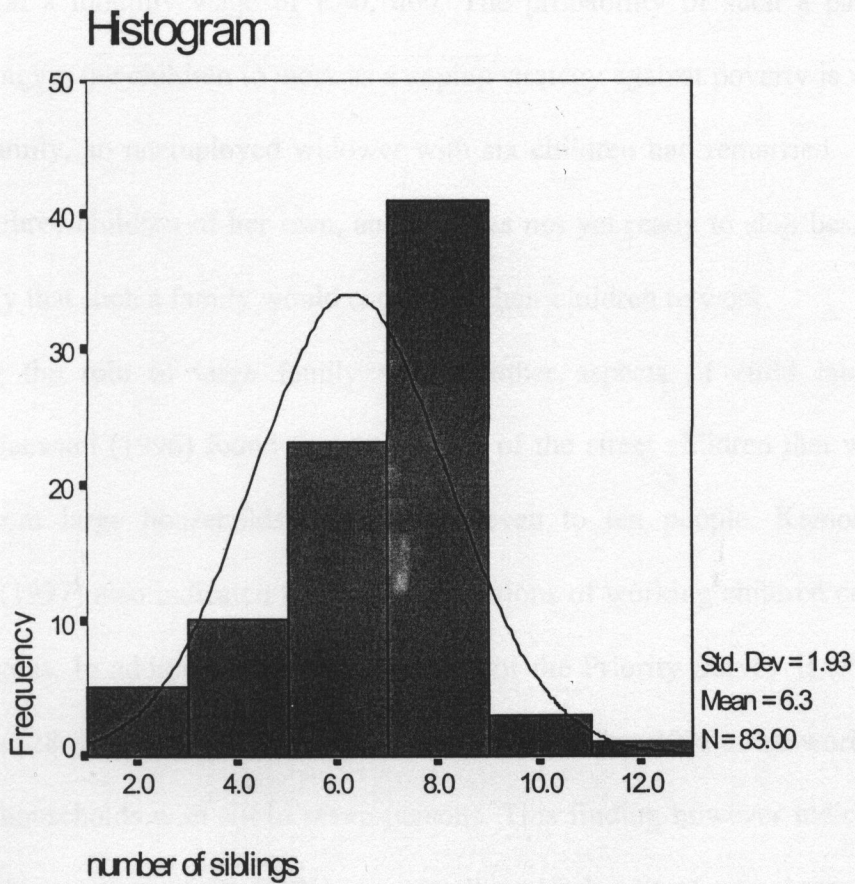
Family size as a cause of domestic child labour

5.35 Poverty is likely to be higher among families with many children because of the higher dependency ratio. Large numbers of children in the families of the respondents tend to increase poverty especially with their poor economic background.

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

5.37 The revelations from this finding are that the highest concentration of families (69%) had between six, seven and eight children. Based on the data, the average size of the family of the child workers therefore, according to the data, is 6.3 per family. This is against the national average of 6.7 (CSO 1990). According to demographic studies, Zambia is considered one of the countries with the highest birth rate in Sub-Saharan Africa. The root of large family size can be traced to the traditional need for valued labour of children and women in subsistence agriculture. The practice seems to have persisted despite the shift from agriculture by many families and the reduced need for such large family size without the financial resources to continue the trend. The practice of large family not only continues in rural but also in urban settings.

Figure 1: family size



5.38 Large family size in the midst of adverse economic family conditions puts a strain on the already tight or non-existent family budget. As a result, both the parents and their children are forced to seek avenues to cope with the situation. One likely avenue is employment for children or sending them to live with relatives who are better off, and domestic work is usually the work that girls are more easily recruited to do. Large family size therefore, is a major cause of domestic child labour, especially in a declining economy like Zambia where parents cannot easily find incomes to support big families.

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

5.40 Confirming the role of large family size in other aspects of child labour, Lungwangwa & Macwani (1996) found that 49 percent of the street children that were surveyed, were from large households of between seven to ten people. Kamocha, Munalula, & Miti (1997) also indicated that large proportions of working children come from large households. In addition to these, the results of the Priority Survey II (PSII) further indicate that 28 percent while those of the LCSM show that 30% of all working children are from households with six to seven persons. This finding however indicates that a high proportion of respondents (69%) large families. High cost of school together with a large family increases financial obligations of parents; the result is children engaging in child labour as an alternative activity to schooling. The sample of this study being largely girls, suggest that girls are more vulnerable in large families than boys.

Rural factor as a cause of child domestic labour

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

came from the rural areas to work in the capital city.

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

5.43 The findings of the study supported by past literature suggest three trends. One, a high illiteracy level is expected in domestic child labour. Two, there is a high proportion of rural to urban hiring of workers in child domestic labour. Three, the finding tends to link the rural to urban trend in adult migration for employment as indicated in chapter four p. 18 on population trends in Zambia. This finding indicates that the trend in adult migration is being replicated in the hiring of child domestics. On the other hand, it is

also possible that the hiring of children from rural areas could be due to economic constraints on employers and the need for cheaper labour.

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

5.45 Nevertheless, the data on the number of children who originated from the rural areas notwithstanding, there could have been more urban poor children involved with employed domestic work. Children who lived around Lusaka tended to find it easy to resign from work because they would simply go home for the weekend and not return especially when they were not pleased with the conditions. This could indicate a greater availability of the more stable ones, the rural ones, who would not find it easy to resign or simply leave work without any notice. Therefore urban-based children might be more, but more difficult to locate because they tend to be more migratory. On the whole, the foregoing findings indicate that though poverty is the main cause of child domestic labour, orphanhood, breakdown in marriages, large family size, and inadequate educational system also either initiate or compound situations that give rise to it.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS
CONDITIONS OF WORK

Live-in or live-out

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

Table 9: Whether child workers live-in or live-out

Sex	Yes	No	Total
Female	66	7	73
Male	1	9	10
Total	67	16	83
Percent	80.70	19.30	100

6.1 According to Table 9, sixty-seven, (81%) employed child workers were living with their employers while only sixteen, (19%) were not. The sixteen who lived-out included nine of the ten boys in the sample thereby showing that while the majority of girls lived with their employers, most of the boys (90%) lived out and came to work from home everyday. A comparison of this data and Table 3 (on p. 21) reveals a high degree of correlation between the two sets of data. The indication is that there is a relationship between the number of girls in the work and the number of them that live with employers.

6.2 According to the data, most of those who lived with the employers were girls,

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

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

Types of work

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

Table 10 (a): Types of work done by employed child workers, by gender

Sex of respondent	Fetch water, garden, errands	Cook	Clean house	Do the Laundry	Care for kids	All the above	Total
Female	2	2	21	1	5	42	73
Male	9			1			10
Total	11	2	21	2	5	42	83
Percentage	13.30	3.00	25.30	3.00	6.02	50.60	
(b) Types of work done by relative child workers, by gender							
Female	4	5	12	2	10	21	54
Male	15		4	3			22
Total	19	5	16	5	10	21	

Percentage	25.0	6.6	21.0	6.6	13.2	27.6	100.0
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To begin with, the findings suggest that there are no specific job descriptions in the employment. A few regular features however exist. While 98 percent of boys did garden work, 98 percent of girls did household tasks. Moreover, while boys in both categories were involved only in external work with occasional laundry work, 51 percent of girls were involved in every work type. The list of the routine daily work of girls was much longer than that of boys, suggesting that girls have heavier workloads than boys. Only girls did caring for infants and young children.

6.5 Child-care was however cumbersome according to child workers. Those who did both child care and housework formed 36 percent of the total sample. Child workers were used as surrogate mothers when the mother of the child was at work herself. Those who would escape childcare in homes with young children would be children who had a separate worker for cooking and other housework and another for childcare. Apart from only three girls said that they found childcare rewarding, most of the girls did not enjoy caring for babies. The three said that the work was good tutelage for their future aspirations of marriage and motherhood. The study additionally found that when child workers slept in the same room as the children, work continued throughout the night suggesting a 24-hour nature of child domestic work in Lusaka.

6.6 Other gender differentiation in Table 10 suggests that girls are employed into domestic work because they are preferred to boys for the job. For example, the only boy who worked inside the house was employed by an employer of Asian origin in Madras as a playmate to a male child of the same age. This suggests the historical trend of hiring children to play with the children of colonial masters (Hansen 1985). The findings

suggest sexual role segregation in child domestic labour. It also suggests that the traditional process of socialisation, which was indicated in Matoka (1993), underlies child domestic labour. Traditional role differentiation between girls and boys tends to translate into stereotyped roles in the work that children do in employment.

6.7 The context of traditional socialisation is however different from employment conditions. To start with, socialisation is preparation for adult roles in a subsistence existence and the children learn by working. This informal socialisation however is inadequate for needs of modern day living. Secondly, though the amount of work is the same as socialisation, mothers in traditional socialisation are not routinely absent from home everyday, housework is more of collective effort, and the child is not isolated. Moreover, children in traditional setting are prepared for subsistence existence only, a situation which is no longer sufficient in modern society. It is interesting to note that though girls had heavier workloads, there were no wage differentials between girls and boys (Table 18 p. 63). As a result of working outside, boys additionally enjoy being freer, less supervised, and less circumscribed by the employer. Relatives were found to be engaged in the same work as the employed workers, and relative girls were indicated by the data to be more overworked than the boys.

6.8 Role segregation that takes place in adult employment (Anker, 1998) has been a central theme of feminist advocacy. According to feminists, gender role segregation is a major instrument for the oppression and domination of women by men. While feminists such as Chafez argue that the sexual division of labour within the home must be abolished before women could be liberated, the finding of this study suggests that segregation of children must stop before it can stop in adulthood. It therefore suggests

that the issues of the girl-child must be part of feminist struggles for adult advocacy to be meaningful. Another revelation from the finding is that like adult women, girls are segregated to work that keeps them in-doors (private) while boys work out-doors (public). Concern about the negative effects of keeping women in the 'private,' which has been the focus of feminist struggles, seem to be replicated in child domestic labour.

Hours of work

6.9 The difficulty of quantifying the amount of work that child workers do necessitated investigation into the number of hours they worked and whether there was regularity in working hours. The examination further helped to highlight the exploitation of the children by employers. Table 11 below shows the number of hours that employed child workers spend on the job daily.

Table 11: Working hours

		Starting time		Closing time				
			17.30	18.30	20.30	21.30	22.30	Total
Live -in	05.00	3			15	10	14	42
	06.00	2			2	10	1	15
	07.00	1	1 (b)		4		2	8
	08.00		2					2
	Total		6	3	21	20	17	67
Live -out	06.00	3	4					7
	07.00	6 (b)	1 (b)					7
	08.00	1(b)			1(b)			2
	Total		10	5	1			16
Grand total			16	8	22	20	17	83

(B-boys)

6.10 According to the data, 42 live-ins (51%) started work at 05.00hours, 15 (18%) started at 06.00hours, 8 (10%) at 07.00 and only two (2%) at 08.00hours. Out of a cumulative number of 67 live-ins, only one was a boy and he started work at 07.00hours.

On closing time, six of those who lived in (9%) closed by 17.30, three (4.5%) by 18.30 and the largest majority of fifty-eight, (70%) closed after 20.30 hours. On the other hand, none of the live-outs started work before 06.00hours, seven started at 06.00 hours, 8 at 07.00hours and one at 08.00hours. While 80 percent (8 out of ten) live-outs were boys, only 9 percent (7 out of 73), of girls lived-out.

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

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

host family, the girls worked the same hours as the live-in girls.

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

6.14 While differences exist between live-out and live-in workers, gender differences further exist between girls and boys who live-out. Live-out girls continued working at home in the evenings while boys would close from work and go to play with their friends. Therefore, most girls unlike most boys, whether they live-in or live out, work for prolonged hours. On the average, live-in workers tend to work five and half-hours longer than live-outs. In conclusion, most of the children who live with their employers work round the clock. The number of hours and the amount of work, leave little or no room for schooling or skill training and mental and physical fatigue are likely to result from such long hours of work. The National Gender Policy (2000) suggests that these roles tend to make girls more submissive and to develop inferiority complex.

6.15 The gender differentiation in time use between women and men has been the focus of gender concerns for a long time. For example, findings of a World Bank

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

6.16 Such long hours of work are a condition that is unusual even in adult labour (Boyden, Ling, & Myers 1998). According to the Employment Act (Cap276 volume 15) work should be between 1900 hours and 0600 hours or maximum of forty-eight hours in a week, and that any work in excess or after 0900 hours to be compensated double the normal hourly rate. Domestic workers are however exempted from the provisions of the Act and they definitely did not apply to children. Despite exempting domestic workers, adult employed domestic workers have had to use their own initiative to apply its provisions to their employment. Child workers were not able to attempt this because they are not recognised as workers.

6.17 Several negative consequences, both physical and psychological, which are outside the focus of this study, have been identified with this condition of work. According to papers that were presented at a World Health Organisation (WHO) conference in Nairobi, Kenya, in 1987, serious health related problems result from prolonged hours of work by child domestics. This study could not attempt professional assessment of the full extent of the physical and psychological implications of the work. Easily visible observations revealed that children appeared to be frustrated, tearful, many showed signs of anxiety, while some showed signs of being withdrawn. During group

discussions, children complained of the amount of work and the excessively long hours of work. Some of their remarks included, "I am busy most of the day," "this work is not suitable for children of my age," "most of the day I am busy with work, I rarely have time to relax." Ninety-two percent of them described their typical day as "working throughout." Three of them, wept openly during the group discussions. From all indications, the conditions described above are not likely to favour the physical and psychological well being of children. The findings on the types and hours of work indicate parallels with women's household roles.

6.18 In conclusion, girls tend to be more exploited by employers because when children live-in with the employers, they are taken advantage of and made to work round the clock and such children happen to be girls only. The large majority of the boys, according to the findings, were exempted from such practices, since they did not live-in. Even where the boy lived in, he had separate accommodation.

6.19 Cultural gender division of labour, which ascribes domestic roles to women as their destiny, perpetuates gender imbalances and has been identified as one of the areas of oppression of women and an aspect that must change before gender equity can be achieved in the society (Chafez 1989). The basis of son preference is the superior value that the society through tradition ascribes to the male child as opposed to the inferior status ascribed to the girl-child. The underlying premise however is the power relations between men and women. Such power is asserted through the concept of male superiority and female inferiority to control and to dominate women and the segregation of girls and women into household duties is one of the ways of restricting them. In this instance, when boys receive education and girls are only educated when it is convenient,

men will ultimately continue to dominate women. The segregation of adult women to the household also known as the 'private' versus the 'public' sphere of life commences in childhood. The finding indicates that child domestic labour is a replica of the gender concerns about the domestic roles of women and the negative effects on their lives. The foundation of the low status of women is laid in childhood issues.

Regularity of working hours

6.20 The study additionally examined regularity of working hours. According to Table 12 below, the majority of child workers, fifty-eight, (58) did not have regular working hours. Furthermore, out of the ten employers who were interviewed, four said that their workers had regular hours, while six said they did not.

Table 12: Regularity of working hours

Sex	Regular hours	No regular hours	Total
Female	15	58	73
Male	10		10
Total	25	58	83

6.21 The hours of work were found to be influenced by whether the child lived with the employer or not with the employer. Most live-in girls said that they found it difficult to estimate closing time because they had no fixed closing time. One of the employers said his worker closed 'anytime.' Those who were sure of fixed working hours were mostly those who came daily to work from home.

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

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

Rest breaks

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

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

Table 13: Rest Breaks

(a) Employed child workers

Sex	Yes	No	Total
Female	25	48	73
Male	9	1	10
Total	34	49	83
Percent	41.0	59.0	100.0
(b) Relative child workers			
Female	28	26	54
Male	17	5	22
Total	45	31	76
Percent	59.2	40.8	100.0
Grand total	79	80	159

Boys said that they were able to rest in-between work because they are less supervised.

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

Family visits or days off

6.26 In Table 14 below, thirty-four workers (41%) indicated that they had at least one day off while forty-nine (59%) did not.

Table 14: Days Off and Family Visits
(a) Had Days Off During the Week

Sex	Yes	No	Total
Female	25	48	73
Male	9	1	10
Total	34	49	83
(b) Opportunity to play with peers in the neighbourhood			
	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percent
Yes	14	16.9	16.9
No	69	83.1	100.0
Total	83	100.0	
(c) Whether child workers had annual leave			
Sex	No	Total	
Female	73	73	
Male	10	10	
Total	83	83	

6.27 According to Table 14 children who lived with employers seem to miss out on family life. The most disadvantaged in this regard, were children whose parents lived outside Lusaka. The latter were mostly girls, that is twenty-seven girls and only one boy. While live-outs saw their families daily, live-ins whose families lived in Lusaka and who had off days saw their families, even though occasionally. The majority of those who

could visit home, (24) went off monthly, two said they went home weekly, four said they expected to visit home once a year and fourteen who visited anytime, were the live-outs. A total of twenty-seven (33%) never visited. The latter consisted of live-ins whose families were far away and were cut off from their families for the duration of the work. Discussions about family visit were very disturbing for such girls. It made many of them tearful and very emotional. An eleven years-old girl had not seen her parents in over one year and did not know when she would see them.

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

6.29 Lack of family contact for the twenty-seven (27) girls will most likely aggravate the stress of other negative working conditions, increase their exploitation, and reinforce the hazards of the work. According to the UNICEF ICDC their needs for care and love will be better met by their own families. In addition to this, most of the children said that

visits from relatives to the workplace were not permitted. Relative workers understandably had no off days, since they were adopted into the homes.

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

Play and Recreation

6.31 Quantitative data in Table 14 indicate that sixty-nine (83%) did not have the opportunity to play while only seventeen (17%) did. In addition, all live-in workers consistently said that they were not allowed to play with children in the neighbourhood except for a few, who had secret friends. Most of them could play with children in the house but said that they were too busy to do so.

6.32 The foregoing further indicate marked differentiation between live-out workers and live-in workers. While live-out workers were able to play on their way to and from work, live-in workers were not able to play. The data indicate that there are more constraints on child workers who live with employers. Since the opportunity to go on home visits provides time for them to interact with others, children who had relatives nearby were not as disadvantaged as those that did not. This means that when child workers live with employers far away from their parents and relatives, they are more likely to miss out on family life, play and recreation.

6.33 Since the majority of live-ins are girls, the findings indicate marked gender differentiation in relation to whether girls and boys could play. While the girls could not play, boys on the other hand, are able to play as they work since they are not under

constant surveillance by the employer. They usually have the opportunity to work at their own pace and could snatch rest breaks in-between work. They also have time to play at home with their friends after work and at weekends. Girls did not enjoy such opportunities.

Leave/ public holidays

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

Opportunity for Educational Development

6.35 Another aspect of the conditions, which the study found to be very strongly lamented by most of the respondents, was the lack of schooling opportunities.

Table 15: Level of Schooling

(a) Last grade obtained at school by employed child workers

Sex	Grades 1-4	Grades 5-7	Grades 8-10	Not applicable	Total
Female	25	16	15	17	73
Male	4	5		1	10
Total	29	21	15	18	83

(b) Last grade obtained at school by relative child workers

Sex	Grades 1-4	Grades 5-7	Grades 8-10	Not applicable	Total
Female	14	16	15	9	54
Male	2	12	6	2	22
Total	16	28	21	11	76

To begin with, only one employed child was found combining work with schooling. In order to find out the level of schooling and literacy levels of employed child workers, the last grade that was attained at school and whether the child could read or write were

examined. Table 15 above suggests that the majority of child workers, sixty (82%) dropped out before grade seven, thereby indicating a high level of illiteracy among child domestic workers.

6.36 Compounding illiteracy was evident. Fifty-two (63%) child workers said that though they had been to school, they could neither read nor write, while only twenty-seven per cent (27%) said they could. Furthermore, 15% of relatives and 33% of employed workers had never been to school and could neither read nor write. These figures suggest that on the whole, the level of illiteracy in child domestic labour is high. Compared with this finding, Kamocha's 1997 study indicated that 68% percent of all economically active children could read and write while 31% were illiterates. The suggestion from the latter is either that literacy among child workers seems to have deteriorated since 1997, or that it is worse among domestic child workers per se. On the whole, the finding establishes a relationship with son preference, which results in more girls being out of school and reflecting in this gender segregated child labour.

6.37 The inability to go to school was a very touchy subject for most of the children, both girls and boys. Many looked very anxious and worried and though none cried it was evident that it was a painful subject. This finding however reveals a contradiction between the reaction of children to lack of schooling and their willingness to help their parents by working to earn money. This paradox between the obligation and willingness of the children to work and the pain at not being able to go to school is a dilemma. It shows that children seem to succumb to working because they have no choice. The work therefore, though not forced, is not voluntary. Additionally, the lack of schooling completes the social isolation of the child worker. Another disadvantage of inability to

read and write is that it reinforces the isolation of the child worker from communicating with her family if they lived far away. A major long-term disadvantage is that it limits the opportunities opened to the child later on in life and has negative consequences on social development in the country. Both the parents and children lamented the inability of children to go to school. Except for two fathers who said they did not see the relevance of education because they needed the wages of the children, and one who did not think that education was necessary, all others regretted the lack of money to send their children to school. On the whole, despite the benefits of working, since domestic work denies children the right to education, it is not in the best interest of the children.

Table 16: Level of education among informal workers in 1993

Level of formal education	Boys	Girls	Total
No school at all	4%	20%	12%
Grade I-VII	61%	62%	61.5%
Grade VIII-XII	35%	18%	26.5%
Total	100%	100%	100%

(Matoka 1993 pp 126)

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

6.39 Lack of schooling however contravenes the laws of the land. For example the Employment Act that the only exemptions to children below the age of 15 who are schooling would be granted by the Minister for Education. They would be children who failed to secure admission to a suitable school or whose enrolment has been terminated or

cancelled by the school authorities or for a good cause by the parents. The conditions are supposed to complement the provisions of the Education Act (Cap 234) which provides for a school leaving age of 16 years. In addition to these, the National Constitution about the education of children contains the same stipulation as the Employment Act. Despite legislation, 98% of these child workers are out of school and working without approval from the Minister, and there seems to be no prosecutions or any attempt at enforcement, making the legislation of no effect. Though child work happens in the context of culture and poverty, the lack of enforcement is however a violation of the human rights of the children to education.

Remuneration

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

Table 17: Wages of child workers**(a) Whether child workers were paid**

Sex	Yes	No	Total
Female	70	3	73
Male	9	1	10
Total	79	4	83

(b) Persons who collected the wages of child workers

Valid	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percent
Parents	20	24.1	24.1
Guardians	4	4.8	28.9
Employers	4	4.8	33.7
Self	54	65.1	98.8
Not applicable	1	1.2	100.0
Total	83	100.0	

(c) Whether pay was regular

Sex	Yes	No	Total
Female	27	46	73
Male	7	3	10
Total	34	49	83
Percent	41.0	59.0	100.0

6.41 The large majority of workers (79) said they were paid, only four said that they were not paid. The mode of payment included cash only, kind only, part cash and part kind, while some were not paid at all. The large population of sixty, (79%) said that they were paid in cash. Payment in kind included: used clothes, shoes, or a bag of mealie meal (the local staple food of maize meal) to the parent of the child worker as payment for the labour of the child. On the whole, the data suggests that an overwhelming majority of the children are paid in cash while only very few of them are not. The finding that most workers are paid in cash contradicts findings in Kenya where 78 per cent of child workers were paid in kind. Qualitative discussions with officials of the National Provident Fund (NPF), the body that is responsible for collecting contributions from employers towards pension benefits, revealed that though officials were aware that children below the age of eighteen years were working, they were not included in the

ACT that governs its operations.

Wages

6.42 With such a large percentage claiming that they were paid, it is necessary to examine the amount that was paid in order to assess exploitation, if any.

Table 18: Amount paid to employed workers

Sex	Below 15.000	K15000	K25000	K35000	K45000	Above K45000	Not paid	Total
Female	8	17	14	28	3	2	1	73
Male	1	4	3	3				10
Total	9	21	17	31	3	2	1	83

The responses of the children about amount of wage were not very consistent. On the whole, while nine said that they earned below K15000 a month; twenty-one (21) earned K15, 000 a month; seventeen (17) earned K25, 000; thirty-one (31) earned K35, 000; five (5) earned K45, 000 a month; two earned above K45, 000 and only one said that he was not paid anything. Some of the latter were given money only occasionally as gifts. A rough average wage that is earned by child workers according to the data is therefore K26, 402 (that is \$7.9 at the exchange rate of K3, 350).

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

morning. The accommodation therefore usually benefited the employer more than the child. The quantity and quality of the food is also difficult to assess.

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

6.45 In addition to this, when compared with the stipulation of the Minimum Wage and Conditions contained in the Employment Act (1974), the average amount of K26, 402 a month is exploitative. According to the Act, a cleaner, handyman or a general worker is entitled to a minimum wage of K245 per hour. It therefore follows that if the employed child workers work an average of 15.30 hours daily, she or he is entitled to K110, 250.00 (\$33) monthly. The Act further stipulates that no one must be paid less than this wage. Any payment that is less is regarded as exploitative and a contravention of the laws of the land. This regulation, though outdated, does not apply to domestic child

workers. They are exempted from it because the children are not legally recognised as workers. The sum of the situation is that while the Employment Act stipulates legislation about lack of pay for adult workers, it fails to cover either adult or child domestic workers.

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

6.47 The study found that it was not easy to quantify exploitation of children based on the amount of their wages for several reasons. One is that although the Employment Act (Cap 276) recommends a minimum wage, there is no official government minimum wage in Zambia. Even if there was, domestic child labour is not a recognised form of employment and is not covered by any employment regulations, and so it might not be covered by any regulated minimum wage. Another reason is that the wages of adult domestic workers also varied widely depending on individual employers. It is therefore not possible to use adult wage as yardstick against which exploitation by the amount of wages could be measured. Additionally, since many laws proscribe child labour but are

not enforced, the children were working illegally, and employers were likely to take advantage of them and exploit them knowing that they had no legal backing. At the same time, the context of poverty in which the law is taking place would make the children accept anything because of the need to earn money. However, wages ought to be adequate to meet the basic needs of life, otherwise it is exploitation. The average wage shows very little worth with regards to meeting basic daily needs in modern day Lusaka. It therefore constitutes exploitation.

Persons who collect the wage

6.48 Persons who collect the wages were examined to further determine exploitation. The data in Table 16 shows that while fifty-four, (54) child workers collected their wages by themselves, a total of twenty-nine (29) workers had their wages collected by adults on their behalf. The majority of the latter were children who were recruited by the employers from outside. The indication that more than half of the workers collected their wages themselves contradicts findings in Rwanda and Kenya (UNICEF, ICDC, 1999). However, though the child worker is able to handle hers/his wage, in reality the child still gave a large proportion of the earning if not all to parents or guardians. Additionally, about one third of the sample do not enjoy such privileges indicating that in the case of one third of the sample, traditional authority and control over children is exercised by their parents and guardians and their right to selfhood and freedom (Article 13 of the CRC) is violated. On the other hand, while few of the children said they spent their wage on their own needs, majority of them claimed that they willingly gave a large proportion to their parents. Observations revealed that such child workers demonstrated a sense of pride and joy in doing so. Few of them were however not happy with it because

according to one of such children, her mother spends her wage on alcohol.

Regularity of payment

6.49 The fact that the worker expects to be paid is however only meaningful if the payment is on time and paid when due. According to Table 17 (p. 62), only thirty-four, (34) out of the fifty-four, (54) who said they were paid confirmed that they were paid regularly. Twenty-six, (26) said they were not. Irregularity of payment, like hours of work, heavy workload, and verbal abuse, were found to negatively affect stability at work. More importantly, the importance of the work was supposed to be the financial benefit to the child and her/his family, lack of payment therefore defeats the purpose for working and is bound to demoralise the child worker. Though few child workers expressed dissatisfaction with having to work, their frustration was not with the idea of working, but with the lack of payment, along with other negative conditions of work. In addition, according to section 1 (1) of the Minimum Wages and Conditions of Employment Act of Zambia (Laws Volume 15, Cap 276, gazette, 23rd October 1997) a worker must be paid by the 5th of the following month. The existence of such legislation, would have protected child workers but for the fact that they are legally exempted from its provisions.

6.50 On the other hand, the employers themselves are facing the same harsh economic realities in the country. Though the study did not assess the incomes of employers, some of the employers were engaged in low-income jobs. As a result of the latter, payment of wages would sometimes be difficult. However, not all the employers were of low income. The problem was that the well to do employers, such as in the Madras area of Kamwala, where most of the residents were Zambians of Indian descent, were not co-

operative, and so they could not be interviewed. The few workers that could be interviewed in that area were paid regularly, but some of them experienced other problems such as serious wage deductions as punishment for offences. The interview by *Zambian Sunday Times* (7 March 1998) revealed that highly placed government workers who could afford not only to pay child workers well but also to send them to school said they did not see any reason why they should do so. The findings indicate that the lack of or irregular payment is more of attitude in many cases than inability to pay.

Wage Deductions

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

Types of punishment

6.52 According to Table 19, forty-eight, out of eighty-three, (58%) said they were verbally abused, some of them very seriously. Only two said that they had never

been punished. Verbal abuse seems to be the most common form of abuse in Lusaka.

Table 19: Punishment types imposed on child workers

Sex	Physical beating	Denial of food	Wage deduction	Verbal abuse	Other	Not applicable	Total
Female	5		5	43	19	1	73
Male		1	1	5	2	1	10
Total	5	1	6	48	21	2	83

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

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

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

Feelings of Children about Domestic Work

6.56 This question was administered to employed workers alone because it could put psychological stress on the relative children. Revelations from group discussions indicated that many of the child workers considered themselves lucky to have something to do. They were also happy with earning wages to help their families and themselves. Despite these, they tended to be unhappy with many aspects of the work. The children were very emotional about the lack of schooling opportunities and loss of family life. Other terms of the work that they found distressing included lack of payment of wages, separate treatment within the household, and the verbal abuse.

6.57 Some, in addition to other problems, complained of other abuses such as sexual abuse. For those who lived with the employers, the above problems seemed to be compounded with heavy workload, long hours of work, and lack of rest or play. Only three out of the total sample of eighty-three employed workers said that they did not mind the work because it prepared them for future roles as full time housewives while one hoped to continue working in domestic career. Parents also did not think much about the work but said they had no choice. In response to the question whether they would in future allow their own child to engage in domestic work, all the respondents consistently said they would not, an indication that they did not think that the work was good. According to one of them, "this work is too much for a child of my age."

6.58 The majority of the children described their typical day as 'working throughout.' Some of the typical replies of girl child workers to the question on their typical day were as follows: "I work throughout the day," "I am busy most of the day," "I work all the time. This work is not suitable for children of my age." "Most of the day I am busy with

work, I rarely have time to relax." Although boys seemed to have fewer types of work, some of them complained of too much, while most hated the insults by employers.

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

Sexual abuse in child domestic labour

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

6.61 The very bad cases were recorded in case studies 3, 5 and 8. The girl in case study 3 was found being taken advantage of sexually by the man who helped her to find a job in Lusaka. In case study 5, a 13 year-old girl whom we met during the enumeration as a maid had been converted to a wife by the 34 year-old employer by the time we conducted

the survey. The girl in case study 8 complained of being molested sexually by the younger brother of the employer. Any time he wanted her he simply threatened to lie against her that she was playing while they were at work. Since she was afraid of being thrown out of work, she would subject herself to him. Some other girls confessed to being molested by the son of the house while some spoke about other men in the neighbourhood coming to take advantage of them when the employer was not at home with promises of marriage and gifts.

6.62 The major concern was that these girls did not have anybody to complain to. If there were known drop-in centres, children in such circumstances would seek refuge and help in such places. The girl in case study 5 said that her mother refused to help her because she was getting monetary rewards from the man. The orphan on the other hand had nowhere to obtain help while the girl in case study 3 was simply perplexed about her condition. A complication to the problem is the traditional training that makes any discussions of sex a taboo.

6.63 The revelations on sexual abuse indicate that sometimes the men of the house corrupt the girl child workers morally by sexually abusing them. In some cases the presence of the girl child worker creates tension in marriages and sometimes leads to marital breakdown. In the process, like the story of the girl in case study 5, the child loses her childhood and is caught up in the crisis.

6.64 For example, an 18 year-old prostitute said in a radio 2 interview (1999) that she took to prostitution because she was tired of the long years of sexual abuse that she suffered from her employers when she was a child domestic. Although this is not a finding in this study, it however illustrates the implications of this abuse on the moral

development of the child. Apart from prostitution, other implications of sexual abuse include early and unwanted pregnancy and the possibility of contacting HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases.

Duration of service

6.65 According to the data, sixty-nine (69) workers had worked for less than one year while only fourteen (14) had been working for over one year, suggesting a quick turn-over and lack of stability in domestic child labour. Reasons that the study identified as being responsible for this are the negative conditions of the work.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD AND CHILD DOMESTIC LABOUR

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

7.1 The negative correlation between child domestic labour and education, which is suggested by the findings, violate Article 28 of the CRC; the right of the child to education. The prolonged hours of work violate their right to be protected from physical or mental ill- treatment (Article 19); and the right to conditions of living necessary for their development (Article 27). It also violates their right to be protected from economic exploitation and from work that interferes with their education or is harmful to their

mental, spiritual or social development (Article 32). The long hours of work additionally violate the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on work. According to article 4 of the Declaration, everyone has the right to just and favourable conditions of work and the right to rest and leisure including limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

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

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

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

which states that everyone that works has the right to just and favourable remuneration.

7.5 In an article titled *The survival of slavery*, Prior (1997) contends that millions of workers around the world are held in conditions of slavery or near slavery. The article specifically cited conditions of work in domestic employment as an example of work with conditions of servitude. ASI is concerned with servitude and slave-like conditions of child domestic labour. These findings justify such concerns in Lusaka. In addition to the findings of this study, the executive members of the Domestic Workers Union confirmed the existence of servitude in the conditions of work for adult domestics. The same holds for child work. The findings actually suggest a worse situation for children because of the vulnerability of their young age. The problem of implementing the CRC and other international instruments is the poverty and cultural context of child domestic work. However, like socialisation, the work prepares the child worker for a future of subsistence existence and domestic roles only, a preparation that is inadequate for the requirements of modern day life. It therefore results in a future of destitution for the child worker and also perpetuates such limitation in future generations in a vicious cycle. Due to the need for education, the UN has declared that the provision of at least basic functional education is a fundamental human right of every child. Moreover, without effort to ensure that children are educated the society will find it difficult to come out of poverty. In addition to this, since all other rights of the CRC are based on the 'best interest of the child' its provisions ought to supercede cultural provisions.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

8.0 The conclusions and the recommendations that derive from the findings are presented in this chapter. The presentation follow the order in which the findings were presented in the previous chapters, that is: causes of child domestic labour and conditions of work of child domestic workers. The conditions of work of girls and boys, relative and employed workers and live-in and live-out workers were compared and contrasted. The gender issues that arise from the findings are discussed at the end of the conclusions. The conclusions are followed by the recommendations.

CONCLUSION

8.1 The general objective of the study was to establish the nature, causes, and conditions of work especially with relation to the worsening economic conditions of the country. The study also attempted to establish the gender perspective of child domestic labour in Lusaka. The findings indicate that there is a complex web of economic and social factors that give rise to and sustain child domestic labour. Societal poverty resulting in parental and child poverty seems to be the most fundamental reason why children are working. However, other social issues such as orphanhood, family disintegration and large family size either initiate or compound existing poverty. These are further compounded by inadequate school system, which is helping to increase the vulnerability of children of the poor. While children of the rich can go to private schools, children of the poor are forced to dropout if school is too far or there is no admission. Tax systems, which ought to be proportional to earning so that inequality between the

rich and the poor is reduced. The equal Parent Teacher Association (PTA) levy for both the rich and the poor seem to be unfair to the poor. Income levels of parents ought to be a consideration in fixing the levy. Apart from the foregoing, government neglect and wrong policies are generating child domestic labour. The lack of schooling or skill training opportunities makes child domestic labour unacceptable as an alternative to destitution. Lack of education impedes empowerment to overcome poverty and so reinforces individual and societal poverty. Poverty and lack of education are therefore mutually reinforcing.

8.2 Several new trends indicate a negative effect of the worsening economic situations on the conditions of work. To begin with, Matoka's study found that more unpaid relatives were taken to work and fewer girls used to engage in domestic employment in the homes of strangers. The findings of the study suggest that there are many employed child workers, fewer relatives and more girls than boys in employment. The indication is that with the desperation of poverty not only are more girls in waged labour, but many of them are employed in the homes of strangers than in the homes of their own relatives.

8.2.1 Another current trend is that HIV/AIDS orphans and children from broken down marriages and who in the past were cared for by relatives, are fast becoming employed workers. Those who are not in waged employed are treated worse than employed girls, indicating a breakdown in traditional systems.

8.2.2 Matoka (1993) found that fewer girls than boys migrated from rural areas to work in the cities because parents did not easily allow their daughters to work far away from home for fear of 'being turned into prostitutes at an early age.' This shows the concern of

parents that domestic work is implicit with sexual abuse. Contrary to such fears, however, this study found that far more girls than boys had migrated from the rural area in search of waged domestic labour in the city. The indication is that parents are increasingly sacrificing the protection of their children and traditional family values and concerns due to increasing poverty.

8.2.3 While previous literature found that unpaid relative children were preferred to workers who were unrelated to the household, the new trend seems to be that more children are going into waged employment in the homes of strangers in order to earn wages and due to increasing poverty.

4.1 8.2.4 An additional new trend is that there are few part-time child workers combining school with work. For example, while this study found only one worker attending school, part-time, Matoka's 1993 finding indicated that 15% of boys and 13% of girl child workers were schooling part-time.

8.2.5 Additionally, this study found that there is increased workload for children in domestic work. For example, Hansen's (1986) study on domestic workers in Zambia found that during the colonial and early post-colonial days (between 1900 and 1985), most workers were adults while child workers were only hired to serve as playmates to the children of employers or served as helping hands to adult workers. Moreover, many workers were assigned to different aspects of the work within the household. While duties such as laundry, cooking and house cleaning had separate workers, the new findings indicate that one young worker did the work of about four to five adults. Instead of light work, they ran entire households on their own. Therefore, while the number of workers has decreased, the workload has increased, and the age of the worker has

reduced. These trends suggest that with increasing poverty the conditions of work are deteriorating. Such conditions of work are likely to impede proper development of children and deny them the right to grow as children.

8.2.6 On the whole, the conditions of work and the treatment of the child workers connote servitude, a condition that contradicts the basic human rights and suggest that the concerns of the Anti-Slavery International, (ASI) about servitude apply in the incidence of child domestic workers in Lusaka. Many aspects of the conditions of work are exploitative and establish the work as child labour and not child work as in socialisation. While socialisation is training for adult roles, child labour is not. Rather than prepare the child for a better future, it tends to impede modern requirement for adult roles.

8.3 The findings additionally reveal differences between the conditions of work of live-in and live-out workers, between live-ins with families in Lusaka and those whose families are far away from Lusaka and between girls and boys who live out and come to work from home. Live-in workers are mostly girls, they work very long and irregular hours, carry very heavy workload, and have little or no family life. Some live-ins with families in Lusaka are able to visit their families once a month and are able to abscond from work if the conditions are unbearable. Live-ins with no family in Lusaka have no such escape mechanism.

8.3.1 Relative workers belong to the category of live-in workers and the majority of them are orphans. While girl relatives are in the same condition as employed girls with no families in Lusaka, relative boys are as free as live out employed boys. Live-out workers are mostly boys, work short and regular hours, carry less workload than the girls, enjoy family life, play with peers after work and at week-ends and are therefore less

circumscribed by work and employer. Additionally, they are able to abscond from work if conditions are bad.

8.3.2 Live-out girls on the other hand, help their families in the morning before going to work and especially after work in the evening. They therefore work throughout the day like live-in girls. However, live-outs, both female and male, are able to abscond from work if the conditions are bad. Female live-in and relative workers, especially orphans, are the most disadvantaged of all child domestic workers.

8.3.3 In most instances, relative children differed very little from employed workers, indicating that the norms of kinship are most of the time non-existent. In fact the conditions of relative children fall in the category of the worst treated child workers. Their powerlessness due to total dependency on the patron family is likely to have very deep seated and long lasting psychological effect on them.

8.4 Findings additionally indicate gender differences in every aspect of the work. Since the majority of them, both employed and relative workers, are girls, the causes and conditions are gender based and are experienced by girls and not boys. The reason for this was found in the preference of poor parents to send boys to school and not girls and the work that girls easily found, was of the domestic nature. The implication of son preference is that where parents are faced with financial constraints, male children take priority over female children. The same tendency is likely to underlie not only poverty but also other conditions that generate vulnerability such as too many children in the family, death and divorce. As a result, gender is a cause of child domestic labour and most of its characteristics. The basic premise for son preference is a situation, which feminists contend is responsible for the oppression and low status of women. With

cultural gender discrimination as the basis of the work, the causes and conditions of the work are serious gender concerns.

8.4.1 The conditions of work such as living with employers, caring for children at night, working till late at night, and the resultant lack of rest, play, schooling and family life, are all gender based characteristics of the work. Parallels can be drawn between feminist concerns and girl domestics and adult women roles. These are low status, mostly poorly remunerated or unremunerated work. They work to release others for productive work while their own work is unrecognised. Despite being overworked, there is no upward mobility and they face a bleak future of domesticity and destitution.

8.4.2 In view of the findings and the conclusions drawn from this study, the society needs to appreciate the economic contributions of child domestic work to the society. The situation is that while adult women release men, child domestics release women to do productive work. However, an irony, that the findings suggests is that, while men exploit, undervalue and oppress women through domestic roles, adult women tend to do the same to young girls who they employ to assist them in the homes. Domestic child labour on the whole, is a gender issue, which ought to be part of gender advocacy and struggles. This is because, as implied by these findings, the institutionalisation of the low status of women commence in the issues of the girl-child.

8.5 The findings of the study show that a lot is wrong, not only with the work but also with the total prohibition and with the societal acquiescence. These child workers are not dropping out of school from truancy or because they were tired of schooling. Instead child workers find themselves in the painful dilemma of having to work instead of going to school. Though the government is right to prohibit child labour, the climate that is

generated by poverty however, makes prohibition impractical and renders any legislation unenforceable and untenable. The ineffectiveness of the laws is shown in the fact that though many children are working, no breach has ever been recorded. Silent acquiescence, which seems to be the present stand of government and policy makers is dangerous for the children because their best interest is being compromised. The situation is also dangerous for the future of the nation since the children of today are the future labour force. Though child labour should not be condoned, if children have to work due to poverty, their rights as human beings and as workers should be protected.

8.5.1 Human rights are rights of all by virtue of their humanity to live a life of dignity. Duty bearers such as government and the public at large must ensure that all children have the opportunity to dignified living. According to Ncube, African culture does not deny the dignity of children and if it does, like the pre-Industrial European culture which undervalued children and forced them in large numbers into child labour (Aries, 1962), it needs to be modified or changed. The Convention on the Rights of the Child's (CRC's) principle of the best interest and non-discrimination against children is a holistic approach which ensures a proper or near ideal psychological environment for all children to develop. Furthermore, it ensures that sustainable future development of the society is guaranteed. It is against this principle that the CRC is relevant to child workers.

8.5.2 On the whole, this study establishes many aspects of this work as child labour in that it hampers access to education and future development, it involves too many hours of work, too many responsibilities, irregular payment and sometimes denial of wages, thereby indicating exploitation. It exposes the child worker to psychological and sexual abuse and interferes with play, recreation and family life and therefore interferes with

social and moral development of the child. The overall effect is that they live premature adult lives, and the work is hazardous and intolerable. Due to their young age, psychological and mental abuse such as verbal abuse, isolation, ostracism and sexual abuses make children suffer more than adults and such experiences tend to be more devastating on them than on adults. Such negative conditions can damage the process of normal development of young children.

8.5.3 The concept of work hazard must therefore be child centred because beyond immediate jeopardy, lie negative impacts on emotional, cognitive, social and moral development, from lack of schooling, sexual abuse, isolation and denial of family contacts, play and recreation. Some of the conditions, like sexual abuse of the children, make the work intolerable. Moreover, the conditions of the work imply loss of potential contribution to the society, a high social cost to the society.

RECOMMENDATIONS

8.6 The best immediate intervention is to enact and enforce legislation for the protection of children at work and for the sake of the 'best interest' of the children. Such an action will be in line with the CRC to which Zambia is officially committed. Such an action will also be in line with the recommendations of the latest ILO Convention 182 (1999) which asks that states decide their minimum age based on the economic and social climate of each state. This implies that these conventions have come to recognize that it is not practical to prohibit child labour because of adverse economic conditions, and that child workers should be protected from exploitation and abuse instead of prohibition.

8.7 The recommendation by this study is therefore is that the state should make the

work less detrimental, by removing it from full to part-time and transforming it from harmful to beneficial. In order to fulfil these, both immediate and long-term programs are recommended. The long-term goals are designed to take children off the streets and work while the immediate interventions should make the work less detrimental. The following immediate interventions are hereby recommended:

- The first thing to be done is to remove the invisibility of the work. Further studies should be done to obtain a national picture of the incidence of child domestic labour. The study should include not only the national character of child domestic labour in Zambia but also the statistical data to establish its extent. This is because awareness begins with information.
- Efforts should be made at public enlightenment and sensitisation of the parents, employers, donors, policy makers and the general public. The attitude of employers needs to be targeted so that they can be sensitised to the needs and rights of the children as human beings and as workers. Parents need to be sensitised to the adverse negative conditions of work and to their responsibility to ensure that their children are properly treated. The general public needs to be sensitised to the harm implicit in the work. Policy makers need to be aware of the conditions of work so that interventions can be designed to help the situation of the children. Sensitisation will additionally create greater visibility for child domestic labour. Such sensitisation should be in the form of dramatic displays on the electronic media, the print media and other government bulletins and publications.

8.8 Support services should be provided to child domestics through children's NGOs, CBOs, churches and other interested organisations. Most NGOs, should be encouraged to

incorporate child domestics into their programs.

- They should be encouraged to visit existing successful interventions outside the country. The programs should be modified to suit local needs. An example is the Women and Child Labour Center in Nairobi. Another one is a program by the Kisumu Municipal Council in Kenya.
- They should enumerate child domestics in their area of operation, get acquainted with the employers, mediate in amount of pay, payment and working hours. These should be done with care in order not to scare employers at the same time protect the best interest of the children.
- The organisations should arrange to set up recreational facilities for child workers in every neighbourhood to come to play and interact with peers. Arrange contacts with families who are far away from Lusaka. Serve as arbiter between employer and child worker and a counseling and resource center for the children.
- Existing classrooms could be adapted for use after hours such as night schools; evening schools and weekend schools. Special curriculum should be developed to help child workers. Basic education including English and mathematics should be taught to all children. Vocational training should include courses that can give children a future trade. The school timetable should be flexible and adapted to suit working hours to be agreed upon with employers so as not to disturb their work but to give children time for training.

8.9 Current facilities for battered women, the Victims Support Unit, should be extended to incorporate abused child domestics. They should also serve as drop-in and rescue centers for children in conditions of sexual abuse and very bad conditions of work.

Counseling and legal support should be provided where needed and should be based on 'the best interest of the child.'

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

8.11 Legislation should be passed to protect child domestic workers. Though legislation has its limitation especially with hidden work, however the presence of legislation is better than its absence. The legislation should provide for:

- Adequate schooling if children below the age of school completion have to work.
- Tolerable amount and hours of work.
- Contracts for work with children should have legal backing.
- They should provide for negotiated wage, leave and days off to minimise exploitation.
- Free legal service to be provided for child domestic workers.
- Mechanisms must be put in place to enforce legislation.

8.12 This study recommends that institutions such as the YWCA and the Ministry of Social Welfare and Local Council Offices and the courts should endeavour to ascertain the future welfare of children from broken down marriages. Informal adoptions of such children and orphans should be registered and monitored since the traditional extended family is increasingly failing to cater for the needs of many children.

8.13 Since the short-term interventions are to make the work less detrimental, long-term objective should be to take children out of the streets and work place and to prepare them for a better future, and to ultimately prohibit child labour. The following long-term interventions should be pursued vigorously:

- Free and compulsory primary education should be a priority program in government spending because it would be part of the strategy to reduce the exploitation of child domestics, to drastically reduce, if not eradicate child labour. The current BESSIP program should therefore be a priority.
- Attempts should be made to empower parents of child domestic workers by giving them soft loans to help them to generate income through small-scale enterprises since the economic empowerment of parents will reduce or at least drastically minimise the incidence of child domestic labour.

8.14 The following recommendations are suggested to engage out-of-school-children in skills that will prepare them for a better future:

- The youth centres, which were expatiated by Matoka (1993) need to be re-opened and redesigned to suit modern day requirements. These youth centres should be developed to cater for the needs of out-of-school-youths. Programs should be designed to give them professional training in various fields of endeavour depending on their areas of interest and innate abilities.
- The current Songhai Centre, a program, which is currently being suggested by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), is related program, which could come under the umbrella on out-of-school-youth-programs. It is a program that will provide skills in various aspects of agriculture.
- Since the importance of agricultural development cannot be over-emphasised, farm-settlement schemes could also be set up for out-of-school children. These will not only take them out of exploitative work, it will provide training to both girls and boys in tapping the resources of the land and teach them to be self sufficient.

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Appendix 11

Case Studies

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

Case study 1 (employed female child worker aged 13)

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

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

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

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

Routine daily activities of the child:

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

Her perception of the work:

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

Case study 2 (employed female child worker)

This case highlights many of the features of child domestic labour especially employer and parental exploitation of the child and the denial of many of her rights. It shows gender preference of boys over girls to be sent to school and girls sent to work.

Both of her parents were peasant farmers in Choma with nine children, six girls and three boys. This case reveals gender discrimination in the choice of children to be sent to school. The three boys were schooling while none of the girls are school. Out of the six girls, none was currently in school due to lack of money.

Her parents had to sell cows in order to send the boys to school but they would not do the same for girls because "boys are more important in the family, than girls."

She had dropped out in grade four not only because there was no money, but also because of gender discrimination. Furthermore, she also found that she was too dull, a part of the inadequacy of the school system. She could neither read nor write a letter though she was of the opinion that schooling was very important. She was very disappointed that she stopped school in grade five due to lack of money because she was aware of the importance of schooling. Two of her sisters were working as maids.

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

The following were an account of her routine daily activities:

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

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

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

Case study 3 (Girl-worker aged 14years old)

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

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

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

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

the parents of the girl because the man refused to co-operate with us.

Case study 4 (Girl worker age unknown)

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

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

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

Case study 5 (Girl worker 13year-old)

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

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

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

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

Case study 6 (Relative girl 14yrs-old)

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

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

The following were an account of her routine daily activities:

The child says, "I wake at 0500 hours and go to bed around 22hours. I sweep the house and bathe the

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

Her perceptions of the work:

They always want me to be working for them and yet they cannot attend to my basic needs. I am planning to escape from home.

Case studies 7 (Relative girl 14)

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

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

The duties of the child at home include:

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

Case studies 8 (Girl worker 13)

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

According to the child, her daily duties were as follows:

"I wake up at 0500hours. I sweep the house and prepare breakfast for all the members of house. I wash the dishes. I bathe the children and get them ready for school. I take them to school. I sweep the surrounding of the house. Then I wash the blankets of the young ones because they wet their bed and the clothes of

everybody. I prepare lunch after this and serve lunch to everybody. I wash dishes and clean the dishes and then I iron the clothes for the children and their parents. Then I start preparing dinner and after everyone has eaten, I wash up and tidy the kitchen. I prepare packed lunch for school for the children for the following day. I lock the door after everybody has gone to bed before I can sleep. I go to bed at 23hours and sleep on the floor of the living room. My employer likes to shout at and insult me and is very rude.

My employer's younger brother takes advantage of me sexually. If I refuse, he threatens me that he will tell them that I went out of the yard instead of working.

The child's perception of the work:

I do not like my work or my employers. I am paid K30, 000 and they treat me as if I am not a human being."

Case study 9 (Boy worker 14yrs-old)

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

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

Duties of the child at work are as follows:

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

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

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

Case study 10 (Boy domestic worker)

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

The boy decided to look for a job to help himself. A friend who was already working introduced him to the current employer. Out of the K35.000 that he was paid monthly, he gave K15.000 to his parents to help

them. He said that his elder brother who had dropped out of school in grade six was serving a 15 year jail term in Lusaka prison for armed robbery.

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

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

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

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

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

Appendix III

SURVEY QUESTIONS INSTRUCTIONS TO INTERVIEWERS

The respondents should be told that the information that is given will be treated as anonymous and will be held in strict confidence.

Fill in the answers where necessary

SECTION A: INFORMATION TO BE PROVIDED BY EMPLOYED CHILD WORKERS

Use observation sheets to record noticeable behaviour or any other characteristics of the children.

Use the note pads provided to write extra information.

Questionnaire for female and male employed children

Interview Code No:

Date:

Respondents Code No:

House No:

Residential Area:

Personal details of the child:

Q1. Sex of respondent:

1. Female

[]

2. Male

[]

Q2. Age of respondent in years

1. 8-10

[]

2. 11-13

[]

3. 14-15

[]

Details of the socio-economic characteristics of the parents of the child:

Q3. Are both your parents alive?

1. Yes

[]

2. No

[]

Q4. If both parents are alive, are they married?

1. Married

[]

2. Divorced

[]

3. Separated

[]

4. Never married

[]

5. Widowed

[]

Economic background of the parents:

Q6. Is your father currently employed?

1. Yes

[]

2. No

[]

3. Don't know

[]

Q7. Is your mother currently employed?

1. Yes

[]

2. No

[]

3. Don't know

[]

Q8. How many brothers and sisters do you have? (Indicate how many in figures)

Q9. How many of them are currently in school

1. Girls

[]

2. Boys

[]

Q10. What is the main reason why you are working?

1. Lack of money

[]

2. Death in the family

[]

4. Failure at school

[]

5. 4. Lack of school admission

[]

6. 5. Long distance to school

[]

7. 6. Other

[]

Details about schooling: (these are likely indicators of reasons why children are working):

- Q11. Are you currently at school?
1. Yes []
2. No []
- Q12. If currently in school: what grade are you?
1. 1-4 []
2. 2.5-7 []
3. 3. 8-10 []
- Q13. If not in school, would you like to go to school?
1. Yes []
2. No []
- Q14. If you have been in school and stopped, why did you stop?
1. Failure []
2. School too expensive []
3. School too far []
4. Child got pregnant []
5. Lack of admission []
6. Sent to work []
7. Others []
- Q15. If you have stopped school, at what grade did you stop?
1. 1-4 []
2. 5-7 []
3. 8-10 []
- Q16. If you have never been to school, why not?
1. Too expensive []
2. School too far []
3. Lack of admission []
4. Child sent to work []
5. Pregnancy []
6. Child got married []
7. Parents not interested in school []
8. Other []
- Q17. Can you read a letter?
1. Yes []
2. No []
- Q18. Can you write a letter?
1. Yes []
2. No []
- Q19. Do you think that education is important?
1. Yes []
2. No []
- Q20. If not in school, would she/he like to go to school?
1. Yes []
2. No []
- Remuneration or not:**
- Q21. Are you paid?
1. Yes []
2. No []
- Q22. If yes, what is the mode of payment?
1. Cash only []
2. In-kind only []
3. Part cash part kind []
4. Others []

- Q23. If paid in cash, how much?
1. K10-20, 000 []
 2. K21-30, 000 []
 3. K31-40, 000 []
 4. K41-50, 000 []
- Q24. Is the payment regular?
1. Yes []
 2. No []
- Q25. Who receives your wage?
1. Parents []
 2. Guardian []
 3. Kept by employer []
 4. Self []
 5. Other []
- Q26. Does the employer ever deduct from your wages?
1. Yes []
 2. No []
- Q27. If yes, why?
1. Breakages []
 2. Lost items []
 3. Bad behaviour []
 4. Other []
- WORKING CONDITIONS:**
- Q28. Do you live with your employer?
1. Yes []
 2. No []
- Q29. How long have you been working?
1. Less than a year []
 2. Over 1 year []
 3. 2-3yrs []
 4. Over 3yrs []
- Q30. Can you give a list of the type of work that you do in the home?
1. Fetch water []
 2. Cook []
 3. Clean the house []
 4. Does the laundry []
 5. Care for young children and/ babies []
 6. Makes coal fire []
 7. Shop for the house []
 8. Wash the plates []
 9. Run errands []
 10. Others []
- Q31. What do you feel about the work that you do?
1. It is very good []
 2. It is good []
 3. I do not like it []
 4. It is not good []
 5. It is manageable []
 6. Others []

Hours of work:

- Q32. Do you have regular working hours?
1. Yes []
2. No []
- Q33. When do you start work?
1. 05.00 hours []
2. 06.00 hours []
3. 07.00 hours. []
4. Anytime []
- Q34. What time do you knock-off?
1. 17.30-18.30 hours []
2. 18.31-19.30hours []
3. 19.31-20.30 hours []
4. 20.31-21.30 hours []
5. 21.31-22.30 []
6. 22.31-23.30 []
7. No fixed time []
- Q35. Do you have any breaks during the day?
1. Yes []
2. No []
- Q36. Do you have any day off during the week?
1. Yes []
2. No []
- Q37. Do you have annual leave?
1. Yes []
2. No []
- Q38. Do you have any opportunities for play?
1. Yes []
2. No []
- Q39. Are you ever allowed to play with other children in the neighbourhood?
1. Yes []
2. No []
- Q40. How often do you visit family/guardians/or other relatives?
1. Once a week []
2. Once a month []
3. Once a year []
4. Anytime []
5. Never []

Punishment:

- Q41. How are you punished when you offend?
1. Physical beating []
2. Denied food []
3. Salary deducted []
4. Verbal abuses []
5. Other []

Relationship with the household:

- Q42. Do you have your personal sleeping area in the house?
1. Yes []
2. No []
- Q43. If you do not have, where do you sleep?
1. Children's room []
2. Living room floor []
3. Kitchen floor []
4. Other []

Relationship with members of the household:

- Q44. What is your relationship with your employer? []
1. Very good []
2. Good []
3. Satisfactory []
4. Not very good []
5. Other []
- Q45. If the relationship is bad: what are the reasons? []
1. Too much work []
2. Hours of work too long []
3. Poor pay []
4. Does not pay on time []
5. Physical abuse []
6. Verbal abuse []
7. Other abuses []
- Q46. Do you have any problems with other members of the house? []
1. Yes []
2. No []
- Q47. If yes, what type of problems? []
1. Sexual abuse []
2. Verbal insults []
3. Too many errands []
4. Others []
- Q48. Would you like to send your own child to do housework? []
1. Yes []
2. No []
- Q49. What would you like to do in future? []
1. Nursing []
2. Teaching []
3. Office work []
4. Trading []
5. Domestic work []
6. Get married []
7. Other []

SECTION B:

INFORMATION TO BE PROVIDED BY EMPLOYERS

Personal details of the employer:

Interview Code No:

Date:

Respondent Code No:

Residential Area:

House No:

Q1. Sex

1. Male []
2. Female []

Q2. What is your occupation/profession?

1. Trader []
2. Driver []
3. Gardener []
4. Housewife []
5. Farmer []
6. Unemployed []
7. Retired []

Details about recruitment:

- Q3. What is relationship with the child?
1. Related []
2. Not related []
- Q4. If not relation, how did you find her/him for employment?
1. Agent []
2. Friend []
3. Co-worker []
4. Other []
- Q5. Who arranged the work?
1. Parents []
2. Child []
3. Relatives []
- Q6. Who negotiated the terms of employment?
1. Parents []
2. Child []
3. Relatives []
- Q7. Is the child paid?
1. Yes []
2. No []
- Q8. Is the pay in cash or kind?
1. Cash []
2. Kind []
3. Both []
4. Unpaid []
- Q9. If in cash: how much do you pay the worker?
1. K10-20, 000 []
2. K21-30, 000 []
3. K31-40, 000 []
4. K41-50, 000 []
5. Over K50, 000 []
- Q10. How often do you pay?
1. Monthly []
2. Yearly []
3. Other []
- Q11. Who collects the pay?
1. Parents []
2. Child []
3. Relative []
4. Other []
- Q12. If not the child, does she/he get any part for her own use?
1. Yes []
2. No []
- Q13. How long has she/he been in your employment?
1. Less than 1yr []
2. 1yr 1month-2yrs []
3. 2yrs 1month-3yrs []
4. Over 3yrs []
- Q14. Has there been any increment in wages since he/she started working with you?
1. Yes []
2. No []

Details about working conditions:

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

SECTION C:

INFORMATION TO BE PROVIDED BY PARENTS OF CHILD WORKERS OR THEIR PROXY.

Personal details:

Interview Code No:

Date:

Respondent Code No:

Residential Area:

Code No:

Q1. Sex of respondent?

1. Male []
2. Female []

Q2. Are both parents of the child currently married to each other?

1. Yes []
2. No []

Q3. What is the occupation of the father?

1. Formal employment []
2. Informal employment []
3. Self employed []
4. None []
5. Retired []
6. Retrenched []

- Q4. What is the occupation of the mother?
1. Formal employment []
 2. Informal employment []
 3. Full time housewife []
 4. Retired []
 5. Retrenched []
 6. None []
 8. Other []
- Q5. How many children do you have? -----
- Q6. Why is this child working?
1. Financial problems []
 2. Retrenchment []
 3. Unemployment []
 4. Too many children []
 5. Marital break down []
- Q7. Who arranged the work?
1. Parent []
 2. Child []
 3. Relative []
 4. Family friend []
- Q8. Was the child involved in the decision to work?
1. Yes []
 2. No []
- Q9. Is she/he being paid for the job?
1. Yes []
 2. No []
- Q10. If paid, how is she /he paid?
1. In cash []
 2. In kind []
 3. Both []
 4. Unpaid []
- Q11. Who collects the wage?
1. Parent/s []
 2. Child []
 3. Relative/s []
 4. Other []
- Q12. How often do you exchange visits with the child?
1. Weekly []
 2. Monthly []
 3. None []
- Q13. What are your views about education/schooling?
1. Important []
 2. Not important []
 3. Not sure []
- Q14. If you had the chance, would you like to send your children to school?
1. Yes []
 2. No []
- Q15. If you had to choose, which of the children would you send?
1. Girls []
 2. Boys []
- Q16. If the child has been to school before, why did she/he stop?
1. Lack of finance []
 2. Death in the family []

- 3. Retrenchment []
 - 4. Retirement []
 - 5. Family break-up []
 - 6. Other []
- Q17. If she/he has never been to school before, why not?
- 1. Lack of finance []
 - 2. Death in the family []
 - 3. Retrenchment []
 - 4. Retirement []
 - 5. Family break-up []
 - 6. Other []
- Q18. Does the wage of the child contribute to your family?
- 1. Yes []
 - 2. No []
- Q19. What is your future aspiration for the child?
- 1. Nursing []
 - 2. Teaching []
 - 3. Office work []
 - 4. Trading []
 - 5. Skill training []
 - 6. Domestic work []
 - 7. Marriage []
 - 8. Not sure []

SECTION D:

INFORMATION TO BE PROVIDED BY RELATIVE WORKERS BOTH GIRLS AND BOYS

Personal details:

Interview No:

Date:

Respondent Code No:

House No:

Residential Area:

- Q1. Sex:
- 1. Male []
 - 2. Female []
- Q2. Age:
- 1. 8-11 []
 - 2. 11-13 []
 - 3. 13-15 []
- Q3. What is your relationship to the owner of the house?
- 1. Sister []
 - 2. Sister-in-law []
 - 3. Brother []
 - 4. Brother-in-law []
 - 5. Cousin []
 - 6. Cousin-in-law []
 - 7. Others []
- Q4. Is your natural mother alive?
- 1. Yes []
 - 2. No []
- Q5. Is your natural father alive?
- 1. Yes []
 - 2. No []

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

Economic back ground of the parents:

- Q7 is your father currently employed?
- 1. Yes []
 - 2. No []
 - 3. Don't know []

- Q8 is your mother currently employed
- 1. Yes []
 - 2. No []
 - 3. Don't know []

Q9. How many brothers and sisters do you have? -----

- Q10. How many are girls/boys
- 1. Girls []
 - 2. Boys []

- Q11. How many of these are currently in school?
- 1. Girls []
 - 2. Boys []

Q12. If the child's parents are alive, why are you not living with your parents?

- 1. Death in the family []
- 2. Retirement of parent []
- 3. Illness in the family []
- 4. Parents divorced/separated []
- 5. Retrenchment of parents []
- 6. Needed to working []
- 7. Other []

Questions about school:

- Q13. Are you currently attending any school/training?
- 1. Yes []
 - 2. No []

- Q14. If the child is not in school, why not?
- 1. Death in the family []
 - 2. Retirement of parent []
 - 3. Illness in the family []
 - 4. Parents divorced/separated []
 - 5. School is too expensive []
 - 6. School too far from home []
 - 7. Did not gain admission []
 - 8. Failure []
 - 9. Pregnant []
 - 10. Other []

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

- Q16. If you have stopped school, at what grade did you stop?
- 1. 1-4 []
 - 2. 5-7 []
 - 3. 8-10 []

- Q17. Can you read a letter? []
 1. Yes []
 2. No []
- Q18. Can you write a letter? []
 1. Yes []
 2. No []
- Q19. Do you think that education is important? []
 1. Yes []
 2. No []
- Q20. If not in school, would she/he like to go to school? []
 1. Yes []
 2. No []
- Q21. What work do you do in the house? []
 1. Fetch water []
 2. Cook []
 3. Clean the house []
 4. Do the laundry []
 5. Bathe the children []
 6. Feed the children []
 7. Take the children to school []
 8. Shop []
 9. Run errands []
 10. Others []
- Q22. What are your future aspirations? []
 1. To be a nurse []
 2. To work in an office []
 3. Trader []
 4. Doctor []
 5. Lawyer []
 6. Sportsman []
 7. Not sure []
 8. Others []

SECTION E:

INFORMATION TO BE PROVIDED BY GUARDIANS OF DEPENDANTS

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

- Q1. Sex: []
 1. Female []
 2. Male []
- Q2. Are you related to the child? []
 1. Yes []
 2. No []
- Q3. Is the child's mother alive? []
 1. Yes []
 2. No []
- Q4. If she is, where is she? []
 1. In Lusaka []
 2. Outside Lusaka []

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

APPENDIX IV

UNOBTRUSIVE OBSERVATION CHECKLIST-EMPLOYED CHILD WORKERS

1.Physical appearance	GIRLS	BOYS
Clean clothes		
Right size		
Not right size		
Bathed		
Hair not combed		
Hair combed		
Happy		
Sad		
Bold		
Timid		
Smiling		
Frowning		
Anxious		
Relaxed		
Sickly		
Healthy		
Emotional-tearful		
Withdrawn		
Lively		
Worried		
Others:		