Rapid Assessment on Child Domestic Workers

SPARC

Preface

Child labor is one of the most pressing child rights issue in Pakistan, and child domestic labor one of its more prevalent forms. Although increased attention to the situation of children in recent years has served to bring the issue to the forefront, challenging the traditional notion that in some ways employing children is beneficial to children and their families, children continue to be a source of cheap labor for families across the country.

The Rapid Assessment gives only a quick look at the situation of child domestic workers, and cannot be considered in any way a national picture. It needs to be followed up by a more in-depth study which looks into the behavioral and attitudinal aspects of the various stakeholders involved in child domestic work, the child worker, parents/guardians, employers, concerned policy makers and the community in general.

Interventions can only be successful when they offer viable and realistic options that take into account the perceptions and needs of the child workers and their families. Nor can they be successful without the cooperation of the employers. During the RA process, many employers refused to permit their child worker for an interview and were non-cooperative with the research team. Co-opting employers will certainly not be an easy task and until it is supported by skilled social mobilization, advocacy, and political commitment from the top level. Regulations and standards will contribute significantly in bringing about the change.

It is hoped that the information presented in this report leads to a better understanding of the situation of children domestic workers and provides a basis for interventions that lead to safer and better opportunities for these children.

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INTRODUCTION

The long history of child employment in developing countries has given the practice widespread social acceptance and legitimacy. It is still considered a form of 'social service' although with increasing urbanization, social alienation and greater economic insecurities, this so- called mutually beneficial arrangement has given way to commercialization of child work and a more exploitative form of servitude. In the past decade and half, the attention to the situation of children has helped to place child labor among the most pressing child rights issues of our time, and only recently have child

domestic work been recognized as worthy of attention. Increased media coverage has helped to uncover many of the abuses that take place in the 'safe 'environment of a home, but it has yet to make an impact on public consciousness.

Child domestic workers are defined as children under the age of 18 who work in other people's households, doing domestic chores, caring for children and running errands, among other tasks. Live-in domestics are those who work full time in exchange for room, board, care and sometimes remuneration. In practice it amounts to an absolute control of the employer over the child employee's living and working conditions, health and well-being. All these things are in contravention of the rights of the child as enunciated in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and violation of the 1956 Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery.[1] More recently, child domestic work is considered in many parts of the world as a worst form of child labor, as defined by the ILO Convention 182.[2]

In Pakistan, as in most other societies, domestic child labor is widely prevalent but particularly difficult to uncover and regulate. It remains outside the scope of national child labor legislation, has widespread social acceptance and there is lack of public awareness as to its exploitative and harmful nature. The sector has only recently become part of the national debate on child labor, but a policy environment that can lead to a systemic change is sadly lacking.

Child domestic workers are called the 'invisible' workforce due to the nature of their workplace- the seclusion of a private home, the nature of their jobs- domestic child work belongs in the informal sector, remains unregistered and does not show up in any employment statistics.[3] But child domestic workers are invisible in more ways than the traditional use of the term would suggest. The society does not recognize them as employees, their economic contribution does not count and they do not show up even in the national planning process or program. The only relief that is offered to child domestic workers is through very limited direct interventions, mostly by civil society organizations that, at best, reach out to only a handful of child domestic workers.

The forces that compel families to send their children into homes as practical slaves of their employers are complex, challenging and common to most developing countries. Many Asian societies are still bound by traditional notions of child employment and patterns of social hierarchy, experiencing the stresses of urbanization but without the support of modern time- saving technology. Child domestic work has thus become a part of a trend that is growing with increasing urbanization in most Asian countries. The pressures of living in urban areas, with more women working and an increasing trend

[1] [1] The Innocenti Digest 5, Child Domestic Work, UNICEF International Child Development Center

[2] Sharma, S.; et al; Nepal Situation of Domestic Child Laborers in Kathmundu: A Rapid Assessment: ILO-IPEC Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labor No. 3; November 2001.

[3] Child Workers in Asia. CWA Newsletter Volume 20, Number 1/2, January April 2004.

towards nuclear families are creating a demand for cheap and safe domestic help.[4] At the same time increasing poverty, high populations, low social development, and the breakdown in the traditional family system provide a steady supply side boost to the practice.

Sustained by widespread poverty, unemployment and lack of educational and skill development opportunities, child domestic work offers to many poor families the only way to supplement household incomes and at the same time feed and clothe their children in a relatively safer environment. For many families 'one less mouth to feed' is a major consideration.

These considerations have a particular significance for girls. Socially constructed obstacles to their mobility and visibility have not only withheld educational opportunities from them, but also propelled them into situations such as domestic servitude where they take on the role of breadwinners for the family. Domestic work offers increasing opportunities to involve girls in income generating opportunities. The relative privacy of homes as workplaces and the female head of the household as a guardian, provide a sense of security to parents of the female domestic worker. For the employer, she serves as a non- threatening helping hand, less demanding, easy to control and most suitable for the labor- intensive household chores.

Young girls form the bulk of the child domestic work force and increasingly so in large urban centers that draw on slums within the city or nearby areas for cheap domestic help. Lack of employment opportunities in rural areas has prompted many families to migrate to urban area in search of livelihood. When entire families migrate, the pressures of urban life make it imperative to employ children in order to supplement household incomes. Girls with little or no education or livelihood skills find employment in urban homes.

However, as the survey reveals, there are areas where cultural constraints have prevented large-scale entry of girls into private homes as domestic help. In two cities covered under the survey, Peshawar and Quetta from the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) and Baluchistan respectively, the majority of child domestic workers (CDWs) are boys. The strong cultural and tribal traditions in these provinces place high value on family honor, which is inextricably connected to the conduct of female members of the family. In this context it works both ways, protecting girls from exploitative situations as well as preventing access to educational opportunities at the same time.

Pakistan's major cities are rapidly growing urban centers attracting rural migrants from across the country. In contrast, the rural areas, due to decades of neglect, are characterized by seriously inadequate education, health and other development infrastructure and few opportunities for economic advancement. In each province, the

[4] Pflug Bharati, 'An Overview of Child Domestic Workers in Asia', ILO/Japan/Korea Asian Meeting on Action to Combat Child Domestic Labor, Chiang Mai, Thailand, October 2002.

provincial capital city thus becomes a major destination point for rural migrants in search of employment opportunities.

Each city has its own particular character conditioned by its history, economic and development status, social and ethnic mix and influenced to a great extent by the cultural traditions of its home province. Quetta and Peshawar, the capital cities of Baluchistan and North West Frontier Province (NWFP) respectively, in particular are strongly representative of the deeply entrenched cultural and tribal traditions of their provinces. Strong kinship and village ties and adherence to tribal codes of honor and hospitality are the cornerstones of these cultures, maintained even in urban settings. In contrast, larger more developed urban centers such as Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad/Rawalpindi are more cosmopolitan, where economic considerations rather than cultural values play a relatively more important role in the lives of people.

These economic and cultural variations give an insight into the different patterns in the prevalence of child domestic labor across the major cities. In Quetta and Peshawar, despite extreme poverty in the rural areas, families remain reluctant to involve their female members in economic activities outside the homes and there is relatively less involvement of girls in domestic labor. The situation in Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad is more representative of the economic pressures of more modern and urbanized lifestyles.

2. The Rapid Assessment

This Rapid Assessment (RA) has been conducted by SPARC (Society for the Protection of the Rights of the Child) with technical assistance from ILO/IPEC, for the purpose of determining and developing effective and beneficial programs for the child domestic workers. In Pakistan, ILO-IPEC's project on Child Domestic Work aims to prevent and eliminate child domestic work in three cities of Pakistan: Islamabad, Rawalpindi and Lahore. The project proposes to use 1) Direct interventions with the children and the communities to ensure that children get access to non-formal education and skill enhancement training 2) Upstream interventions by creating an enabling environment through relevant policy and legislation and 3) Awareness raising and advocacy.

2.1 Study Scope

Islamabad, the federal capital, and four provincial capitals, Lahore, Peshawar, Quetta and Karachi were surveyed for the RA. In each city, two localities were selected after initial investigations regarding the prevalence of CDWs in that particular area. The low-income locality (supply side) was from where the children came out to work, i.e., their residential area or where their parents/guardians resided, while the other posh locality (the demand side) was where the children were employed.

In the case of Islamabad, areas of the adjoining city of Rawalpindi were included in the survey for the low- income area, as most of the domestic child workers commute between the two cities.

The target was to interview a maximum of 100 CDWs in each locality, and a minimum of 60, depending on their availability. In Karachi, Lahore and Peshawar, due to non-availability of required CDWs in a single locality, adjoining localities were also included to complete the minimum number of interviews.

The target respondent was a child working in a house other than her own and under the age of 18 years and above the age of 6 years. It was assumed that below six years, respondents might not be able to comprehend some of the interview questions.

2.2 Methodology

A pre-coded structured questionnaire was used for data gathering by a team of two field interviewers in each city. The researchers covered all possible lanes/streets of the locality, knocking at each door to locate a CDW. The gender of the respondent was not predetermined in the sample size, not only because there is no data available on the prevalence of male and female CDWs, but also as a means to identify the CDWs according to their gender.

The interviewers were provided training in each city regarding the methodology, sampling and the questionnaire by the study coordinator, after which the questionnaire was pre-tested and finalized.

Purposive sampling was used for data collection, reason being to look at a rough prevalence of CDWs in the selected locality. The interviewers were instructed to interview all CDWs they came across in the houses they visited in selected localities. In none of the localities except one in Karachi, the interviewers were able to interview maximum 100 children.

City wise details of the number of children interviewed are given in Table 1. A total of 646 children were interviewed in the five cities. The largest number of children interviewed, in both the slum and posh areas, was in Karachi (166), followed by Lahore (127), Quetta (126), Peshawar (102), and Islamabad (63). Altogether these represent an average of 60 in each area. Female CDWs constituted 62% of the total respondents as compared to 38% male respondents. The largest sample size was in Karachi, out of the total, 25.7% children were interviewed in the city. The lowest number of children interviewed were in Peshawar.

2.3 Research Limitations

Conducting any research with children always requires patience and definite skills. Child respondents need permission from their adult family members, employers or guardians to participate in a study or any other related activity. Secondly, it is difficult to communicate with child respondents, as their comprehension level is different from adults. Questions that might appear simple and clear to an adult respondent can possibly be confusing for a child. Furthermore, mostly research studies focus on child workers, who are always occupied with some task or the other and many times are unable to give sufficient time to

the researcher. Several times during this study, the field researchers had to shun away adults, who had decided to take a supervisory role on behalf of the respondent.

The reasons for a varying sample size amongst the respondents of the five cities were multiple. Each city has its own particular socio-cultural and economic conditions, which determine the life styles of its residents. In Peshawar, the research team had difficulty in finding CDWs in the supply side areas, from where the children came to work. According to the local residents, in the NWFP CDWs are usually hired as full time workers, rather than part time, which means that the employers determine work timings. City residents bring young children from their villages to work in their homes, therefore it was difficult to find children who both lived and worked in Peshawar.

Whereas in Karachi, due to the security situation in the city, people in the demand side localities were inaccessible for the researchers. In some cases, the families refused to allow the interviewers to hold a dialogue with their domestic help, thus creating hurdles for the study team. Similarly, in Lahore and Islamabad areas, many employers refused to give permission to CDWs for the interview.

3. Rapid Assessment Results

3.1 Prevalence of CDWs

The results of the rapid assessment indicate an overall prevalence rate of 26%, with every fourth house in large urban areas of Pakistan employing a child domestic worker (CDW). However, the prevalence of child domestic work varies according to the particular socio economic and cultural background of the cities. It is highest in Karachi, where almost every third house has a CDW, followed by Lahore, 28.4%, Islamabad 26.3%, Quetta 22.0% and Peshawar 21.7%. (Table 1)

Table 1: Prevalence Rates of CDWs

Cities	No. of Households Visited	Number of CDWs	Prevalence rate (%)
Karachi	530	166	31.3
Lahore	446	127	28.4
Islamabad/ Rawalpindi	475	125	26.3
Quetta	572	126	22.0
Peshawar	469	102	21.7
Overall Prevalence	2,492	646	26

3.2 Prevalence by Gender

The results indicate an overall higher prevalence of girls in domestic work. (Table 2). Of the 646 CDWs interviewed, 400 were girls. As such the result indicate that 62% of CDWs are girls. The highest number of girls was found in Karachi. In Peshawar and Quetta, however, the trend is the opposite. A considerably less number were found in the two cities belonging to the more traditional and conservative provinces of NWFP and Baluchistan.

Table 2– City-wise Distribution by Gender

City	Boys		Girls		Total	
	No.	% Of boy CDWs	No.	% Of girl CDWs	No.	% Of total CDWs
Karachi	29	11.8	137	34.3	166	25.7
Lahore	32	13.0	95	23.8	127	19.7
Islamabad/ Rawalpindi	51	20.7	74	18.5	125	19.3
Quetta	76	30.9	50	12.5	126	19.5
Peshawar	58	23.6	44	11.0	102	15.8
Total	246	100.0	400	100.0	646	100.0
Overall prevalence by gender	38%		62%		100%	

3.3 Gender-wise Distribution by City

The survey indicates that within cities the composition differs substantially. In Quetta and Peshawar, the majority of CDWs were boys. In Peshawar out of total respondents, 43.1% were girls and in Quetta 39.6% were girls. In the other three cities the trend is to employ girls. In Karachi, out of all the respondents, 82.5% were girls, in Lahore 74.8% and in Islamabad/ Rawalpindi 59.2% of the respondents were girls (Table 3)

Table 3- Gender-wise Distribution by City

City	Total	Boys		Girls	
	No.	No.	%	No	%
Karachi	166	29	17.46	137	82.53
Lahore	127	32	25.19	95	74.80
Islamabad/ Rawalpindi	125	51	40.80	74	59.20
Quetta	126	76	60.31	50	39.69
Peshawar	102	58	56.86	44	43.14

Total	646	246		400	

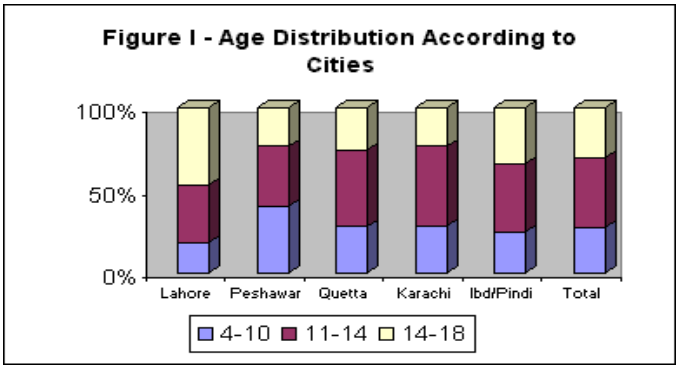
4. Profile of CDWs

4.1 Age

The survey indicates that the majority of CDWs, 41.8% of the total, are in the age group 11-14 years. A significant number of children between 6-10 years are also involved in domestic labor, out of the entire sample, 27.2% belonged to this age group. Children between 15-18 years accounted for 30.2% of the CDWs. More than 40% of the respondents had been working for 2-5 years already, suggesting that very young children are initiated into domestic labor. Within different age groups, there were no significant gender differentials. A uniform pattern is reflected among boys and girls with the same proportion of girls and boys in the various age groups. (Table 4)

Table 4 – Age Distribution by Gender

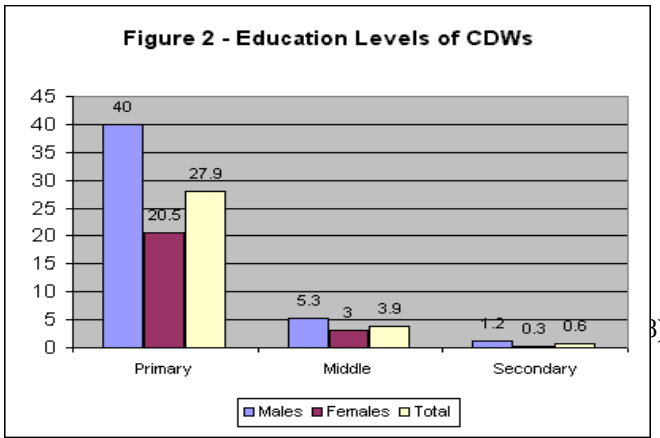
Age Groups	Boys (%)	Girls (%)	Total (%)
6 – 10 years	26.8	27.5	27.2
11 -14 years	41.9	41.8	41.8
15 – 18 years	30.9	29.8	30.2
Others	-	.3	.2
Not mentioned	.4	.8	.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



Among the cities, Peshawar, where CDWs are predominantly boys, has the highest percentage of children between the ages of 6 to 10 years (40%), which closely co-relates to the employment status of the children. Of the total workforce, 56% children lived with their employers. This is reflective of the level of rural poverty as well as recruitment patterns. Families with strong rural links bring home children from their ancestral villages to work in their homes. Figure I further illustrates the details of CDWs age brackets according to cities.

4.2 Education

As expected, the education level among the respondents was quite low; only 36 % children had ever attended school. Gender

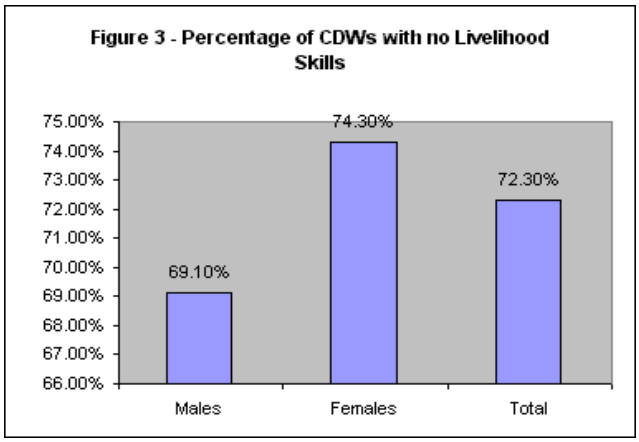


3)

differentials in education levels reflect the national picture. Among boys only 52% had ever attended school. The levels were even lower among girls, with only 27% ever having attended school. Only 3.3% girls had gone beyond primary level and that only up to middle (8th grade) and secondary levels (9th to 10th grade). Among the boys, 6.5% had reached middle and secondary levels. Only one boy respondent had reached 10th grade. (Figure 2)

The highest percentage of children with no education was in Karachi (82%), and corresponds with the gender composition; a large majority of CDWs in the city is girls. This was followed by Quetta (64.3%); literacy levels in Baluchistan are the lowest in the country, and in some rural areas girl literacy levels are the lowest in the world. The highest percentage of children who had attended school was in Islamabad and Rawalpindi (51.2%) and then Peshawar (40%). Lahore had the highest percentage of CDWs with middle and secondary education, 27%, and the lowest number of children with primary education (27%).

None of the interviewed children was currently attending any educational institution, suggesting that the majority had dropped out of school mostly at the primary level. Economic pressures were the main reason given for quitting school. More girls left education due to economic reasons, because the family was unable to afford their education (20.5% girls as compared to 25% boys), while a higher number of boys said they quit school because their parents wanted them to work (11.8%). Out of the total sample, only 2 % girls were asked to leave school in order to work for an income. This is quite understandable in context of the socio-cultural values that discourage family girls to work for income unless there is a dire need.



4.3 Livelihood skills

Considering the nature of domestic work, the relatively young age of recruitment and low education levels, it is not surprising that a large majority of both boys and girls had no livelihood skills. The number of girls without skills was higher than boys. Boys had some skills, based presumably on previous work experience as carpenter (2.2%), motor mechanic (3.3%), waiter (2%) or transport assistant (2%). Livelihood skills among girls included cooking (7%) and tailoring (2.5%), presumably learnt at home.

4.4 Family Structure

Most of the respondents in the survey came from nuclear families where both parents were alive, and more than one earning member was needed to sustain the family. In the sample, majority of the children lived in nuclear families (64.2%). There was little difference between the boys and girls regarding their family structure. The majority of the respondents (82%) had both parents alive.

Child domestic work was less common among those children who only had their father alive. One explanation could be that mothers have more access to domestic work and can find more opportunities for their children. It also common that in the absence of the mother, girls usually take over the workload in their own households and taking care of the father and other members of the family.

A total of 78% children said that two to four of their family members contributed to the household income, and in 58% cases, in addition to adult family members, other children in the house also worked for an income. In exceptionally difficult cases 3.1% children were the sole earners in their families. There was a very slight difference of one percent in the responses of the children according to their gender.

In the case of 77% children, the parents were living in the same city as the CDWs place of work, with 15 % parents living in villages and the rest living in other towns or cities. The highest percentage of children with families living in the rural areas was found in Peshawar (36%). The other four cities had less than 15 % children with parents in the villages.

4.5 Occupation of Fathers/ Guardians

In the survey a large number of children (37.5%) came from families where the father/guardian was a daily laborer, followed by 18% where the fathers were unemployed. Only 5.7 % children had fathers working in the agriculture sector, which shows that only a small percentage of CDWs have immediate families in the rural areas. Only a few fathers were engaged in business, the service sector or skilled labor. The 22% who listed 'Other' category included those children whose fathers were beggars, rickshaw and tonga drivers or were not alive. (Table 5)

Table 5– Occupation of Fathers/ Guardians

Occupation	Boys (%)	Girls (%)	Total (%)
Unemployed	19.9	16.8	18.0
Farmer	8.1	4.3	5.7
Daily laborers	37.4	37.5	37.5
Skilled laborers	4.5	5.5	5.1
Small business	4.1	1.5	2.5
Service sector	2.4	4.8	3.9
Domestic worker	4.5	7.8	6.5
Others	19.1	22.0	20.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

No. of CDWs	246	400	646

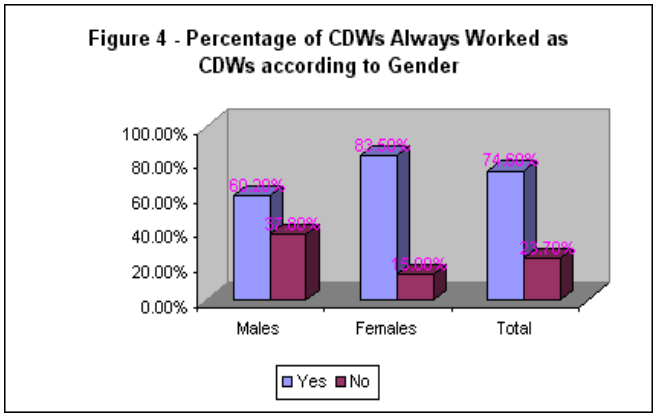
4.6 Occupation of Mothers

Over 62% of the mothers of CDWs were involved in some kind of income generating activity, the largest group being domestic workers (32.4%), thus supporting the assumption that mothers who are domestic workers themselves generally tend to accommodate their daughters in the same profession. The data reflects that mothers who worked for an income had fewer qualms about working daughters. A substantial number (17.3%) worked as daily laborers. Few mothers had any skilled work or were engaged in the service sector. Although, a small number (4.8%) mothers showed entrepreneurial skills and were doing small businesses like running small shops in the houses or stitching clothes etc. as compared to the fathers (2.5%). (Table 6)

Table 6 – Mothers/Guardians Occupation

Occupation	Boys (%)	Girls (%)	Total (%)
Housewife	47.6	31.0	37.3
Farmer	.8	1.0	.9
Daily laborers	7.7	16.3	13.0
Skilled laborer	2.0	1.8	1.9
Small business	8.1	2.8	4.8
Service sector	.4	.8	.6
Domestic worker	24.4	37.3	32.4
Others	8.9	9.3	9.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of CDWs	246	400	646

4.7 Work Experience



Domestic work can be considered an 'entry -level job' for most child workers, and parents usually dictate the choice of 'career'. The majority of respondents, 75% had only worked as domestic workers, in the case of girls the number was significantly higher (83.5%), than boys (60%). Domestic work is thus the first choice for girls. Considering the lack of experience and education, especially in case of girls, as well as the relatively young age of initiation of work, there is little choice for either parents or children. Domestic

work requires little training and the kind of chores these children are expected to perform at workplaces are similar to the household chores in their own homes and familiar to many. Many young girls are trained early in their life to assist their mothers in washing, cleaning and cooking as well as taking care of siblings.

Table 7 presents the previous experience of these children prior to becoming domestic workers. The highest percentage (47%) is that of children who were studying in schools and had to drop out mostly due to economic pressures. This was more prevalent among the girls (63%), while boys had experience as roadside café waiters or daily laborers. Surprisingly, many girl respondents also reported that they worked as daily laborers before starting work as domestic helpers.

Table 7- CDWs Previous Occupation by Gender

Occupation	Boys (%)	Girls (%)	Total (%)
Student	36.6	63.3	47.1
Labor work	16.1	15.0	15.7
Chota or assistant	12.9	6.7	10.5
Trainee	9.7	5.0	7.8
Others	8.6	1.7	5.9
Not mentioned	16.1	8.3	13.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of CDWs	93	60	153

The turnover rate for domestic workers was quite high among girls as compared to boys. Almost 87 % of the boys had only worked in one household as a domestic worker, while 36 % girls had worked in two to three households. However, among full time employed CDWs 95% respondents (including 95.4% girl CDWs) had worked in only one house. This can be perceived two ways; daily commuters have more freedom to decide or there is less job security for them.

The common reasons reported by the children for leaving their last occupation were mostly pressure of parents for the girls and better pay for the boys. However, among the girls, majority of the girls said that they did not know the reason for switching jobs (25%), followed by parents' pressure (23%) and then termination and completion of (labor) work (20%). For the boys, better pay (22%) was the main reason for changing jobs followed by parents' pressure to change work place (19.4%), and completion of (labor) work/termination from workplace (16%).

4.8 Recruitment Patterns

It is evident from the survey that parents or guardians are the prime agents for placing children in domestic employment, followed by relatives and neighbors or community members. In other cases it can be assumed that employers themselves recruited these workers. Many employers residing in urban areas and with strong village links often bring children from their native villages children to work in their homes.

More than half (61%) of the respondents had gotten their jobs as domestic workers through their parents. Relatives were also a significant source mentioned by the children. It is apparent that child domestic work is mostly referred through a close family network or someone trusted by the family. This seems to be especially relevant for the girls (65%). A noticeable number (11.3%) of boys reported that they had been recommended by an outside source. Table 8 shows details.

Table 8- Source for CDWs Employment

Source for CDW	Boys	Girls	Total
No one	2.8	2.0	2.3
Parents/guardians	54.5	65.0	61.0
Relative	17.9	18.5	18.3
Neighbor/Community member	8.9	8.8	8.8
Others	11.8	2.3	5.9
Not mentioned	4.1	3.5	3.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of CDWs	246	400	646

4.9 Residence Status of Child Workers

The survey also shows that the majority of child workers, 67%, live with their parents and daily commute to their workplace. In the case of girls it is evident that more parents preferred keeping their daughters in their homes. Over 74% girl domestic workers live with their parents. Among boys, over 55% live in their family home, although a substantial number lives with the employers. Among cities, Peshawar has the highest percentage of children living with the employers (57%), while Karachi the highest number of daily commuters (84%). Large urban slums in and around Karachi provide a steady supply of cheap labor.

Table 9 -Living Status of CDWs by Gender

Living with	Boys (%)	Girls (%)	Total (%)
Family	55.3	74.3	67.0
Guardians	2.4	3.0	2.8
Employers	42.3	21.8	29.6
Not mentioned		1.0	.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of CDWs	246	400	646

5. Working Conditions

5.1 Types of duties performed by CDWs

Domestic child workers perform multiple duties, with greater workload and longer working hours for those children who live in the homes of their employers. In 49% of the

cases a single child worker was the only employee in the household, in which case it can be assumed that there was greater workload. The data also reflects that there is a distinct difference in some of chores assigned according to gender. More girls were responsible for washing and ironing clothes, while a higher percentage of boys were doing grocery shopping and gardening. Duties of children based on gender reflect that boy CDWs were assigned more outdoor related work, which provided them opportunities with external channels of communication, while girls work was confined to the homes. (Table 10)

Table 10- Duties Performed by CDWs

Type of work	Boys (%)	Girls (%)	%	Number
Washing clothes	22.0	58.3	44.4	287
Ironing clothes	29.7	39.8	35.9	232
Cooking	13.4	13.0	13.2	85
Dish washing	62.2	63.3	62.8	406
Cleaning house	78.0	66.8	71.1	459
Baby sitting	29.3	32.8	31.4	203
Caring for elderly	6.5	9.5	8.4	54
Grocery shopping	50.0	15.3	28.5	184
Gardening	17.5	1.5	7.6	49
Others	11.8	4.0	7.0	45

(This is a multiple response Table)

In case of CDWs who resided in their place of employment the workload increased substantially; more children were performing multiple duties than part time workers. More girls were expected to take care of elder members of the family as well as do grocery shopping. (Table 11)

Table 11 - Duties Performed by Full-Time CDWs

Type of work	Boys (%)	Girls (%)	%	Number
Washing clothes	24.0	50.6	36.1	69
Ironing clothes	41.3	56.3	48.2	92
Cooking	25.0	32.2	28.3	54
Dish washing	66.3	73.6	69.6	133
Cleaning house	71.2	66.7	69.1	132
Baby sitting	33.7	69.0	49.7	95
Caring for elderly	9.6	26.4	17.3	33
Grocery shopping	61.5	26.4	45.5	87
Gardening	17.3	2.3	10.5	20
Others	8.7	3.4	6.3	12

(This is a multiple response Table)

5.2 Person Determining the Work of CDWs

According to 76% of the respondents, their female employer determined their work. Girl CDWs were more controlled by the female head of the household, (82%), while boy CDWs were also given directions by the male head of the household. Table 12 shows the distribution of those who determine the work of the CDWs.

Table 12- Person Determining the Work of CDWs

Person in Control	Boys (%)	Girls (%)	Total (%)
Female Employer	66.7	81.5	75.9
Male Employer	4.1	.8	2.0
Both	24.0	11.8	16.4
Other adult servants	1.2	1.0	1.1
Elderly family members	3.3	3.5	3.4
Not mentioned	.8	1.5	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of CDWs	246	400	646

5.3 Sleeping Arrangements

Among the children who stayed at the employer's house, sleeping arrangements varied with the gender of the respondents. Girls had more access to the inside of the house (11.3%), while most of the boys slept in the servant quarter (21.1%). But those girl CDWs who slept inside did not have any specified space. They slept either on the floor of children's room or any other carpeted floor in the house (20.6%). Even in case of boy CDWs, it can be assumed that older boys were not allowed to sleep inside the house, while younger ones did have similar arrangements as the girls. Table 13 presents details. The 'not applicable' shown in the table are for children who lived with their parents/guardians.

Table 13 -Sleeping Arrangements for CDWs

Place for Sleeping	Boys (%)	Girls (%)	Total (%)
Servant quarter	21.1	11.0	14.9
Children's room	9.3	11.5	10.7
Kitchen room	2.4	3.0	2.8
Any room carpet	17.0	20.6	19.2
Not applicable	50.0	54.0	52.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of CDWs	246	400	646

5.4 Working Hours and Days Off

A routine day for half of the children started between 7 to 8 am in the morning and ended between 10 pm to 12 midnight. One fourth of the respondents started work even earlier in the morning. On average, this makes a 14 to 16 hours working day.

Around 54 % children had one day off during the week, with a higher proportion of girls (60% girls as compared to 44% boys). However, what is alarming is that 15 % children had no days off. But what needs to be kept in mind is that half of these children went home towards the end of their workday. (Table 14)

Disaggregated data for the children employed full time shows that rather than weekly days off, they were mostly given monthly off days. 32% got one day off in a month, and 20.4% got off twice in a month. Table 15 below gives details according to gender of the child.

Table 14- Days off for the CDWs by Gender

Days – off	Boys (%)	Girls (%)	Total (%)
None	19.5	12.0	14.9
Once in a week	43.9	59.8	53.7
Twice in a month	10.6	9.0	9.6
Once in a month	11.4	10.8	11.0
Others	11.4	5.5	7.7
Not mentioned	3.3	3.0	3.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of CDWs	246	400	646

Table 15- Days off for Full time CDWs by Gender

Days – off	Boys (%)	Girls (%)	Total (%)
None	15.4	6.9	11.5
Once in a week	17.3	13.8	15.7
Twice in a month	16.3	25.3	20.4
Once in a month	22.1	43.7	31.9
Others	23.1	8.8	16.2
Not mentioned	5.8	2.3	4.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of CDWs	104	87	191

5.5 Punishments and Abuse Suffered by CDWs

Much of what happens to CDWs in the way of punishment for minor offences or omissions, or the abuse they suffer at the hands of their employers remains unknown. Children are reluctant to disclose, unable or unwilling to bear the consequences. Certainly the darker side of this 'safe employment ' is a cause of concern, especially as more horror stories emerge out of better and more sensitive media coverage.

According to the RA, significant number of children, 24.5% girls and 17.5% boys did not wish to disclose the punishment they received at the hands of their employers. Verbal abuse is common, 55% of CDWs have to bear it. Only 8 % children reported any physical punishment, only 1.3 % of girl CDWs said that they also got violent thrashing at times.

However, more alarming data is for the full time employed children. There is more physical abuse of these children especially girl CDWs. As also indicated in Table 16 given below, 18.4 % girls said they were slapped as a punishment, 3.4 % had received violent thrashing and 10.3 % reported in the others category, which included punishments like pinching, pulling hair and being physically pushed.

Table 16 - Type of Punishment for CDWs

Type of Punishment	Boys (%)	Girls (%)	Total (%)
Verbal abuse	60.6	48.3	55.0
Slap	9.6	18.4	13.6
Violent thrashing	-	3.4	1.6
Threats	7.7	8.0	7.9
Others	13.5	10.3	12.0
Not mentioned	8.7	11.5	9.9
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of CDWs	104	87	191

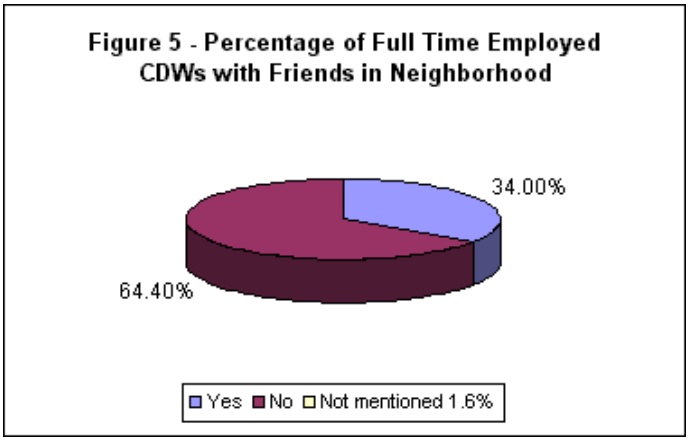
5.6 Medical and other Assistance Received by CDWs

More than 50 % of the respondents said that they received medical assistance from their employers in case of need. The percentage of full time employed CDWs who were provided medical assistance was higher (65%), with 25 % reporting that they did not know, as they had never needed any medical help yet.

The interviewed children reported that their employers supported them by giving them used clothes (73%), sometimes food rations or eatables for the family (38 %), emergency help (25 %), medical help (35 %), and cash tips on celebrations etc. (32 %). Only 4.3 % children said that their employers gave them education related support like giving them books, writing pads and pencils.

5.7 Recreational Opportunities

One of the often-discussed concerns regarding the lives of child laborers and in specific CDWs is their lack of opportunities to socialize and play. In fact, CDWs get exposed to children's activities through their employers' children, but rarely get to participate in them. Among the surveyed children, only 25 % boys and girls had friends in the neighborhood. A higher number of boys, (31%), had friends as compared to girls (21%). Among these who did have friends, 80% were allowed by their employers to meet their friends during their free time (81% boys and 79% girls). Socialization was less among the full time employed CDWs as is apparent from the data. Figure 5 shows that only 34 % children had friends in the neighborhood (38.5% boys and 29% girls).



5.8 Income of CDWs

One of the main reasons for hiring young children for domestic work is because they cost less. Generally the level of remuneration for CDWs is less than that for adult employees, even though the work burden may be the same or even more. Employers often provide material help such as food, clothing and sometimes financial help to families of the children, presumably as a compensation for low salaries.

Table 17 presents data on the income levels of the children. All CDWs, with the exception of three, received salaries. However, there is a variation in the range of amounts of salaries, which are closely linked to the age and experience of the CDW as well as the city and locality of work. Lahore and Quetta indicate the highest level of salaries. In Lahore, 43 % respondents reported that they received Rs1000 to 1,500 per month salary, while in Quetta 19 % CDWs claimed to have a monthly salary of above Rs 1,500, which was reported by only 6 % in Karachi. (Table 7)

Girl CDWs were paid less than the boys, further confirming that girls were exploited more and had less value in the work force. The 'others' category includes children who did not know their salaries (3.7%).

The salary pattern was similar among the full time employed CDWs, with 31.4 % receiving Rs 500 – 1000 per month and 38 % being paid Rs. 1000 to 1,500 per month.

A significant number of children said that they received their salaries themselves (36 %), but in majority cases (57%), parents collected the salaries. The remaining 8% were

mostly cases of residential CDWs, in which cases the employer collected the salary on behalf of the child and handed it over when the child went on leave.

Table 17 -Income by Gender

Income	Boys %	Girls %	Total %
None	.4	.5	.5
Less than Rs. 500	17.5	14.3	15.5
Rs. 501 – 1000	32.1	43.3	39.0
Rs. 1,000 – 1,500	30.5	30.0	30.2
More than Rs. 1,500	14.6	4.0	8.0
Others	1.6	5.0	3.7
Not mentioned	3.3	3.0	3.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of CDWs	246	400	646

6. Conclusion

Given the long history of child domestic labor, its wide social acceptance and the prevailing socio economic conditions in the country, it is unlikely that the problem will be resolved unless practical steps are taken to break the cycle. The results of the Rapid Assessment show that child domestic work is more common among girls and is usually the first option for children with little or no marketable skills. The majority of children in the Survey came from families where more than one income was needed to meet living expenses. The low salaries, multiple duties and long hours suggest an informal yet exploitative arrangement. The results also indicate an abusive and discriminatory attitude of employers. Interventions designed to change the situation of domestic child workers must therefore work towards addressing these major issues.

Legislative Controls

Legal frameworks provide the foundation for social changes and as long as child domestic labor remains legal there is little hope for eliminating it. A law governing domestic labor is therefore the first step towards improving the situation of child domestic workers. However, given the current level of law enforcement in the country, it is unrealistic to expect that a law on domestic child labor will bring about an overnight change. It can, however, provide a basis for regulation of working conditions, including minimum wage, working hours, allowing for education, regular days off work etc. More importantly such a law can be used to protect children against violence and abuse.

Compulsory Education and Skills Enhancement Opportunities

In the case of child labor it is imperative that legislation regulating child work be supported by enforcement of complementing compulsory education laws. In the RA there is enough evidence that primary schooling has failed to retain children in schools and working is seen as the only option. It also revealed that most children in the survey had

no livelihood skills. A school system that can combine education, skill enhancement and work must be developed and made accessible to the vulnerable groups, especially girls.

Awareness Raising

The RA process not only confirmed the exploitative nature of child domestic work it also gave an insight to the mentality of the employers. Many employers refused to permit their child worker for an interview and were non-cooperative with the research team and access to domestic workers was not easy. This is indicative of the control employers have over their young employees. Awareness raising campaigns be must be designed to change the current perceptions about child domestic work and send a clear message to employers that child domestic work is a form of employment and as such certain employment standards must be upheld.

Poverty Alleviation

Domestic child labor is first and foremost a poverty -coping mechanism. Enhancing household incomes through increasing adult wages, access to income generating programs, better employment opportunities in rural areas and easier access to social safety nets can lessen family dependence of children's incomes and prompt them to send their children to schools.