



Child Domestic Labor in Egypt

TASK ORDER I, TASK III:
IN-COUNTRY MIXED-METHODS RESEARCH AND DATA COLLECTION

January 2012 | Final



Submitted to:
United States Department of Labor
Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor, and Human Trafficking
Frances Perkins Building
200 Constitution Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20210

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Funding for this report was provided by the United States Department of Labor under contract number DOLJ099K29549. Points of view or opinions in this report do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the United States Department of Labor, nor does the mention of trade names, commercial products, or organizations imply endorsement by the United States Government.

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1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

There is broad consensus that child labor remains widespread in Egypt. Several organizations, for example the International Labour Organization (ILO), the United Nations Development Programme, and the U.S. Agency for International Development,¹ have chronicled the phenomenon in recent years. The situation with regard to children working in domestic service in Egypt has received rather less attention, probably in part because it reportedly accounted for a very small segment of child labor as a whole.² Although insightful, the few studies initiated specifically to look at child labor in domestic service in Egypt have been limited in scope. Geographical coverage was limited, and the research was limited to girls. There was therefore a strong case for looking afresh at the domestic child labor phenomenon, building on the findings of earlier work, and broadening coverage.

Accordingly, a study that aimed to gather data on child labor in the domestic service sector in Egypt was designed. The research seeks to address the pathways into and the risk factors associated with child domestic work, the types of work performed, the working and living conditions, the supply chain, the market demands, and the prevalence of the phenomenon of child domestic labor in Egypt. The study used a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods, including in-depth interviews (IDIs) with formal experts and other key informants merged in the analysis, as well as data from a quantitative survey of children in domestic work.

This 2011 Child Domestic Labor Study in Egypt collected data from 214 children who were interviewed in different governorates. The sample comprised Cairo and Alexandria, where the phenomenon is widespread, in addition to four main sending governorates (i.e., governorates where the majority of domestic workers originate): Assiut, Behera, Fayoum, and Sharkia. In addition to the interviews with children, 53 IDIs were conducted with formal experts and other key informants to gather information and data about the methods and consequences of child labor, as well as to explore the characteristics, nature and impact of child labor. Since referrals (also known as snowball sampling) were used to locate children engaged in domestic work, the sample of children in this study is not—and does not claim to be—statistically representative of the population under study.

The main conclusions of the study are summarized below.

Characteristics of Child Workers

Among child workers, domestic service work is an overwhelmingly female phenomenon; some 9 in 10 of those interviewed were girls. Approximately one-third of the interviewed children came from Fayoum; one-fourth from Cairo; one-fifth from Sharkia; one-tenth from Giza; and the remainder from Alexandria, Assiut, and Behera.

A majority of the interviewed children were under 14 years of age. Although most had experienced some schooling, approximately one in three had not. Part-time work was the norm, and very few lived child workers with their employer. Overall, the mean age at which the children started to work in domestic service was 10.3 years.

Education Levels of Child Workers

Girls working in domestic service tend to be less educated than boys; almost all the boys interviewed had attended at least some school, compared with approximately two in three of the girls. The younger the children, the more likely it is that they had attended at least some school.

¹ For relevant references please consult the literature review.

² Itani (2009) notes that almost four-fifths of child workers are to be found in agriculture, with only approximately 1 percent in the service sector.

Children who were working part time were more educated than those working full time, no doubt in part because they had more time available for them to attend school. Approximately half of children working full time never attended school, which is approximately twice as many as those working part time.

Children living at their employer's home were much less likely to have attended school than those living elsewhere.

Among those children who had never attended school, the overwhelming majority failed to do so for economic or financial reasons, mainly to help with family income. The low priority given by children's families to education prevented others from going to school.

Approximately half of the children who had ever attended school were working as well as going to school. In total, approximately one in five of these children reported that their work was affecting their education, full-time workers more so than part-timers.

The broad consensus among experts was that children working in domestic service were unlikely to be attending school on a regular basis, if at all. The formal experts had the most definite views: "They don't go to school. It's rare that a girl would go to school and then go to work. Those who live with their employers get no education at all" (Integrated Care Association)— with a greater diversity of opinion coming from the informal interviewees. As an agent remarked, "Most [children] don't work and study at the same time. Some could work in the holidays to cover some expenses, but most don't go to school."

Pathways into and Risk Factors Associated with Child Labor

Economic need was the primary driver for working in domestic service. The vast majority of children reported that they work to help with family income.

The younger the children, the more likely they were to work in order to support their family financially. Some 9 in 10 of those under 14 stated that they did so, compared with approximately three-fourths of older children.

Family and friends were instrumental in obtaining placements for children. Organized sources, such as domestic service offices and agencies, were rarely used. Children paying money in order to get their job was rare, and no child had to make any other kind of financial arrangements.

While the experts and key informants agreed that family and acquaintances took the lead in trying to place children, they did not underplay the role played by agents and service providers, who often worked together with the families. As an agent in Fayoum observed: "If someone wants a helper, they tell me or others and we ask around and get him someone."

Working and Living Conditions

Most of the children interviewed said they had lived all their life in the place where they were interviewed; therefore they did not have to move when they began to work. Living at home was by far the most common pattern, with just 1 child in 10 reporting having lived at an employer's home. Although there are no reliable statistics to corroborate this, the fact that the research team was unable to interview children in their employer's home may have depressed coverage of live-in child workers. Nevertheless, both the research team and the formal experts thought that day work was by far the most common pattern.

Almost all interviewed children reported that their work involved cleaning the house and washing dishes. Other tasks included washing clothes, cleaning windows, and buying groceries. Girls tended to be given a wider range of activities than boys did.

The great majority of child domestic workers interviewed were active all year round. Girls tended to work longer hours than boys did. The lower their level of education, the more likely children were to say they had worked all year round.

It was very common for children to say that they worked on 6 of the 7 days of the week, with Fridays being for many a normal work day.

Payment for Work Done

Overall, cash payments were by far the most widespread method, with almost all children reporting receiving cash. Approximately half of the children interviewed said they were paid monthly, with approximately one-fourth paid upon completion of a task.

Payment of a child's wages to another person was not uncommon; almost two in five children saying that someone else gets paid on their behalf. Younger children were more likely than older children to report this, and boys were more likely than girls to have their wages paid to a third party. The mother was by far the most likely person to receive payment on the child's behalf.

Risks Faced during Domestic Work

Children report that they are exposed to hazards and the risk of injury in their domestic service. Three in five children say they are exposed to risk. All experts, formal and informal, agreed that the risks and hazards potentially faced by children working in domestic service were many and varied.

Nevertheless, very few children considered their work to be dangerous, indicating a possible lack of awareness about the full range of hazards involved.

Given their heavier involvement in domestic work, girls were much more likely than boys to be exposed to all risks asked about. Overall, approximately one child in three reported that they had been hurt while working.

Carrying heavy loads, being exposed to dust, the risk of slipping or falling and having to use dangerous tools were most likely to be identified as likely risks and hazards. Being exposed to chemicals or substances that can cause rashes, burns or other skin problems was of less concern. Against that background of possible dangers, it was to be expected that injuries would be common; approximately one child in three reported that they had been hurt while working, with the great majority of these sustaining wounds to the head or hands.

Despite their injuries, most children reported that their injuries did not interfere with their work, with only a minority saying that they had received treatment. Hardly any mentioned that they had to stop work completely due to injury.

The picture with regard to work-related illness was somewhat different. Although much less common than injury, illness was nevertheless more likely to be treated, with most of those experiencing such illness saying they had received treatment. Work-related illness, therefore, seems more likely to be treated than injuries received at the workplace.

Physical, Emotional and Sexual Abuse

Probably as a consequence of the circumstances of the children interviewed, most reported that they do not consider their work stressful at all. Nevertheless, children did report instances of punishment and abuse, largely physical or verbal. Instances of sexual harassment or abuse were quite rare, with only a handful of children reporting that they had been exposed to sexual harassment. The older the girls, the more vulnerable they were to sexual harassment.

The IDIs with key informants highlighted a range of opinions, from the extreme view that all domestic workers suffer from abuse to those who believe that it doesn't happen at all. The most widespread, serious, and hidden abuse was felt to be psychological.

Forced Child Labor

There was little sense among the informal experts that coercion of children was rife in domestic service, and trafficking was hardly mentioned at all. A doorwoman from Bani Saleh explained: “There is no forced labor here, and no trafficking. My daughter offers to help me when she sees that I’m tired. If she doesn’t want to, I don’t force her. Some force their daughters to work because of poverty.”

Formal experts were less sanguine on the question of coercion. Where it existed, they saw it largely as originating from families rather than employers. The Integrated Care Association, for example, noted that any coercion depends on economic conditions and that families may force their children to work through beatings

When asked if they had been forced in any way to work in domestic services, very few of the children reported that this was the case, which may be a consequence of the nature of the sample.

Girls were more likely than boys to mention that obstacles were placed in their way if they wanted to leave their work. Some said that payment of wages had been delayed, others that they might get a bad reputation, but the majority simply stated that their family would not permit it.

2. INTRODUCTION

The Office of Child Forced Labor and Human Trafficking (OCFT) is part of the U.S. Department of Labor's (USDOL's) Bureau of International Labor Affairs (ILAB). The office was created in 1993 in response to a request from Congress to investigate and report on child labor around the world. As domestic and international concern about child labor grew, OCFT's activities significantly expanded. Today, these activities include research on international child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking; funding and overseeing cooperative agreements and contracts to organizations engaged in efforts to eliminate exploitive child labor around the world; and assisting in the development and implementation of U.S. Government policy on international child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking issues.

OCFT plays an active role in research and policy initiatives relating to international child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking. Pursuant to congressional requests, OCFT has published annual international child labor reports since 1994. In 2000, Congress adopted the Trade and Development Act, which requires the Secretary of Labor to issue an annual report on the efforts of approximately 140 U.S. trade beneficiary countries and territories to meet their international commitments to eliminate the worst forms of child labor (WFCL).

OCFT also performs a research, monitoring, and reporting role as directed by the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2005 (TVPRA). The TVPRA directs ILAB to carry out a number of activities to monitor and combat forced labor and child labor, including publishing a *List of Goods Produced by Child Labor or Forced Labor*. OCFT published this report in 2009 and published updates in 2010 and 2011.

Another OCFT research and reporting mandate derives from Executive Order (EO) 13126 on the Prohibition of Acquisition of Products Produced by Forced or Indentured Child Labor, signed on June 12, 1999. The EO 13126 is intended to ensure that federal agencies enforce laws relating to forced or indentured child labor in the procurement process. It requires USDOL, in consultation with the Departments of State and Homeland Security, to publish and maintain a list of products, by country of origin, which the three Departments have a reasonable basis to believe might have been mined, produced, or manufactured by forced or indentured child labor. Under the procurement regulations implementing the EO, federal contractors who supply products on a list published by USDOL must certify that they have made a good faith effort to determine whether forced or indentured child labor was used to produce the items listed.

Through these research activities as well as technical cooperation programming, ILAB-OCFT promotes international labor standards aims to comply with the meeting of the U.S. Government commitments under ILO Convention 182 to work with other countries to assist in efforts to combat WFCL.

U.S. State Department's Trafficking In Person Report 2011 listed Egypt as a source, transit, and destination country for women and children who are subjected to conditions of forced labor and sex trafficking. The report mentions Egyptian children being recruited for labor in domestic and agriculture sectors. Some of these children face conditions indicative of forced labor, such as restrictions on movement, nonpayment of wages, threats, and physical or sexual abuse. A large number of foreign women from South and Southeast Asia may also be subjected to forced labor conditions in domestic service in Egypt according to UN sources. These conditions include no time off; sexual, physical, and emotional abuse; withholding of wages; and restrictions on movement. Employers may also use domestic workers' illegal status and lack of employment contracts as tools for coercion.³

Young girls, usually but not exclusively from rural areas, are sent to work for families, often in more urban areas. Girls as young as eight or nine years old start working as domestic workers in Egypt. Data is not available on the number of child domestic workers across Egypt, however qualitative studies find that

³ U.S. Department of State Trafficking in Persons Report 2011 <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/164454.pdf>

domestic labor can potentially expose girls to physical, psychological, and sexual abuse.⁴ While child labor in Egypt has attracted attention of scholars, policymakers, and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) over the last few years, the conditions of child domestic workers in Egypt still have not been well studied. One possible factor which contributes to the lack of data on the number of working children in this sector is that Egypt's labor law criminalizes children under the age of 15 working in harmful jobs and the law states that housekeeping is one of the harmful jobs.

One exploratory study on child domestic workers in Egypt conducted by the Center for Forced Migration and Refugee Studies attempted to understand complex working and living conditions of child workers in this sector as well as advantages and risks associated with their work. The study focused on domestic workers 16 years of age or younger and provided information on employers, children's families and employment offices. One of the conclusions of the study was that, although employers usually prefer servants of 16 years of age and older, they nevertheless still employ servants as young as 9 years old. These young girls work as servants to provide financial support for their poor families, mostly resident in rural areas. Girl domestic workers are vulnerable to sexual, verbal, physical and psychological abuse, especially those live-in domestics who live far from their parents and are hidden in their employers' households.⁵

Against this background, a detailed study was needed to collect and analyze data on child labor in the domestic sector in Egypt by examining the processes by which children find themselves in domestic employment and what happens to them in the course of such employment. The study seeks to capture information on child workers characteristics and socioeconomic status, living and working conditions, reasons for working in the domestic labor sector, supply channels and market.

2.1 Study Objectives

This study aims to gather exploratory data on child labor in the domestic labor sector in Egypt. The research seeks to address issues including, but not limited to, pathways into and associated risk factors of child domestic work, types of work performed, living and working conditions, perceptions of the situation by those involved, and the prevalence of the phenomenon within the domestic labor sector in Egypt.

The general objectives of the research study are—

1. To raise awareness about the issues related to child domestic labor in Egypt;
2. To contribute to international discourse on child labor;
3. To inform current and future child labor/forced child labor technical assistance efforts of the U.S. Department of Labor's (USDOL) Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor, and Human Trafficking (OCFT).

The specific objective of this research is to collect data on the characteristics, nature, incidence, risk factors, and consequences of child domestic labor in Egypt.

2.2 Introduction of the Research Team

The ICF International team for this study consisted of ICF International staff based in Calverton, Maryland, and the Egyptian field team in Cairo. The Calverton team comprised the officer in charge, the project director, and one research manager. Throughout the planning and implementation processes, the officer in charge and the project director provided guidance on research design and project management to ICF International staff and to the Cairo-based international consultant, Dr. Fatma El-Zanaty of

⁴ U.S. Department of Labor's 2010 Findings on the Worst Forms of Child Labor <http://www.dol.gov/ilab/programs/ocft/PDF/2010TDA.pdf>

⁵ An Exploratory Study on Child Domestic Workers in Egypt, Yasmine M. Ahmed and Ray Jureidini, Centre of Migration and Refugees Studies, 2010. <http://www.aucegypt.edu/GAPP/cmrs/Documents/Child%20Domestic%20Workers%20Report.pdf>

El-Zanaty & Associates. Prior to full fieldwork implementation, the research manager traveled to Egypt to provide guidance on training on methodology and to participate in some pilot interviews to ensure that field protocols were followed and adjusted to local context when appropriate.

El-Zanaty's team was responsible for carrying out the field tasks as required in the study and for compiling the interview notes and child interview dataset. The team consisted of a lead research consultant, four research assistants, a fieldwork coordinator and one data processor. Dr. Fatma El-Zanaty is an experienced social science researcher and demographer with a Ph.D. in statistics. She offers more than two decades of work experience in executing field research and consultations. Dr. Fatma El-Zanaty is the president of El-Zanaty & Associates, a leading research and consulting firm. Dr. El-Zanaty has been the technical director for the Egypt DHS since 1995. Also, Dr. El-Zanaty has acted as the principle investigator in an enormous amount of research in various fields including child labor.

2.3 Limitations of the Study

This study is concerned with a sensitive topic, which brings with it some significant limitations:

1. There are no statistics available on the numbers of children in domestic labor in Egypt, and consequently, no sampling frame is available to permit proper random sampling. Accordingly, referrals, also known as the snowball sampling technique, were used to locate children engaged in domestic work. In this method, contact details of suitable subjects were obtained from people who know them—typically NGOs and other children. Referrals were also used to identify formal and informal experts. Since snowball sampling is not a form of probability sampling, the resulting sample of children cannot and does not claim to be statistically representative of the population under study. The results cannot therefore be extrapolated to the population as a whole.
2. Since child labor is forbidden by law, there were difficulties in collecting information from informal experts (recruitment offices, domestic service offices, concierges/doorkeepers/ guards, parents, older servants), which was reflected in the high refusal rate. The fact that the research was asking about activities that were largely illegal also means that it is likely that some answers may have been formulated so as not to incriminate the respondent.
3. Interviews could not be conducted at employers' homes. This is because no formal or informal experts were in a position to help get consent from employers to participate in the study. In addition, previous studies have shown that employers who agree to an interview being conducted at their home and for children to be observed during work were those who had a good relationship with the domestic worker, which would have made it difficult to capture any forced labor. Thus, child domestic workers could not be observed while working in employers' homes. This means that the study almost certainly did not fully capture all forced child labor experience.
4. The field team comprised both male and female interviewers. All were highly-trained and experienced in working with and interviewing children. However, given the sensitive nature of some of the subject matter, the fact that some of the girls would have been interviewed by male interviewers may have affected the willingness of some interviewees to respond fully.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW ON THE TOPIC OF CHILD DOMESTIC LABOR IN EGYPT

Egypt is the most populous country in the Arab world and the second-most populous on the African continent. Most of the country's over 80 million people live in Cairo and Alexandria, elsewhere on the banks of the Nile, in the Nile delta, and along the Suez Canal. Small communities spread throughout the desert regions of Egypt are clustered around oases and historic trade and transportation routes. The proportion of the population living in rural areas has continued to decrease as people have moved to the cities to search for employment and a better life. (El-Zanaty & Associates, 2006).

Studies show that poverty is the main reason behind the child labor phenomenon. Families send their children to work to help increase the family's income to a level that permits them to survive. However, this only helps to increase poverty in the long term, since it prevents children from getting a level of education that enables them later to find more suitable work opportunities with a higher income and better working conditions. Poverty also renders the child a cheap source of labor that is attractive to employers, hence increasing unemployment rates among adults. Children are considered better workers than adults because they are more obedient and easier to control, accept lower wages, and are particularly suitable for certain kinds of work (e.g., being the right height for inspecting cotton plants). (Itani, N., 2009).

There is a strong negative correlation between children's work responsibilities and educational attainment; this has led development experts and child advocates to call for the elimination of child labor. (Assaad, et al., 2005).

In Egypt, the Child Labor Law considers child labor to be all work or services obtained from a person under the age of 17. The Egyptian labor law prohibits children under the age of 17 from working in hazardous conditions, which entails any work that can jeopardize children's physical, mental, or moral health and safety (Act 12 in the Child Labor Law). The problem of child labor has been addressed in the 2003 Labor Law. The 2003 Labor Law, or Act 12, regulates the work conditions of children through, for example, limits on work hours and age limits. (Ahmed, Y.M., & Jureidini, R., 2010).

However, the Child Labor Law explicitly excludes domestic work. Similarly, while the Ministry of Manpower and Migration's Decree 118, Article 1 bars children from working in 44 specific hazardous occupations, dangerous tasks children perform as a part of domestic service are not covered by the list. (U.S. Department of Labor, 2010).

A study on child labor by Nadia Itani noted that Egypt has ratified both ILO Convention 138 (Minimum Age Convention) and ILO Convention 182 (Convention Concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labor). At the same time, it was difficult to gather accurate statistics on the number of child workers in Egypt. According to the study, the official statistics vary but, in general, the number of working children in Egypt is estimated at between 1.3 and 3 million. They accept the lowest wages as well as hard and inhumane working conditions. Child laborers in Egypt are divided between different sectors, with the agricultural sector representing the highest percentage (77.7 percent). In her study, Itani quoted from the annual activity report for 2007: "In the industrial sector 14.9 percent, in the commercial 6 percent, in the service sector 1.14 percent" (Itani, N., 2009).

Child domestic labor is a common strategy for households in Egypt's poorest rural and urban areas to reduce their costs and increase income. Families sending children to work also believe that it may offer opportunities for their children not available in their own households, overlooking or ignoring that it may subject their children to harsh working conditions. (Ahmed, Y.M., & Jureidini, R., 2010).

Most of the child domestic labor supply process is done through real estate and furnished apartments brokers, landlords, relatives, neighbors, acquaintances, and servants. Some of these suppliers, for instance Islamic institutions and churches, may seem to be acting with good intentions. Because of the increased

demand for domestic workers and the improvements in the social and economic life of Egyptian families, domestic services offices have emerged in recent years. They work as coordinators between employers and domestic workers or sending families. They charge commission and are more specialized in foreign domestic workers. In her study (2010), Halim estimated that CAPMAS figures indicate that there are about half a million domestic services offices in Egypt, mostly unlicensed, with 75 percent of them located in Cairo. (Halim, N., 2010).

Not only is there a risk to domestic child workers from their employers and working environment, but also from the coordinators involved in the supply process. Additionally, the lack of schooling completes the social isolation of the child worker. A major long-term disadvantage is that this lack of education limits the opportunities open to the children later in life and has negative consequences on their social development. The physical and arduous nature of the work; the opportunity cost of the work, such as social life, recreation, education, and long hours of work; isolation; ostracism and verbal and sexual abuse of the children, combine to make the work close to slavery, hazardous, and exploitative. These conditions deny children the opportunity to grow as children. They live premature adult lives and miss out on their childhoods. (Oyaide, O.K., 2000).

There are limited studies or statistics concerning child domestic labor, specifically in Egypt. One major cause of the lack of knowledge on the real numbers involved or statistics for child domestic workers is that the Labor Law criminalizes working in hazardous jobs before the age of 15 and classifies housekeeping (domestic work) as one of these hazardous jobs. Hence, providing this information can have legal consequences for the respondents. In addition, some families deny that their daughters work as servants for cultural reasons.

This chapter now summarizes the findings of three research studies conducted in Egypt regarding child domestic workers.

1. Center for Migration and Refugee Studies (CMRS) (2010)

In 2010, the CMRS conducted a study of child domestic workers in Egypt, with the overall objective of gaining an understanding of the phenomenon of child domestic labor in the country. The main research interest was to understand the conditions that child domestic workers face, and to examine the limitations and opportunities available for them. The study also aimed to estimate the prevalence of child domestic labor at the national level.

Since this was an exploratory study, the research team used an ethnographic approach. Both qualitative and quantitative research methods were used in collecting data. Qualitatively, the team members used IDIs, participant observation, case studies, and content analysis. They also examined the recruitment venues through which children enter the domestic service sector, the different work arrangements of child domestic workers, and the way these arrangements benefit or harm them. Moreover, the study sought to answer questions about the tools that international organizations, NGOs, and policymakers can use to make the lives and working conditions of child domestic workers more tolerable.

This study was concerned only with girl domestic workers under 16 years of age. The sample was taken from three governorates—Assiut, Fayoum, and Minya. In Assiut, the sample was taken from urban areas, while six rural villages were selected from the other two governorates in which child domestics were located.

Social workers who helped to reach child domestic workers in rural areas in the two governorates identified 98 domestic child workers, an average of 1.7 percent of such households per village, with an average of 1,200 households per village. As the rural areas in the three governorates have a total of 2.07 million households (CAPMAS, 2006), it was estimated that at the 1.7 percent level there will be approximately 35,000 child domestic workers in those rural areas alone. As for the urban areas in the three governorates, it was estimated there were approximately 53,000 child domestic workers in the population of 3.13 million households.

The study revealed that the girls who work in domestic service are vulnerable to sexual, verbal, physical, and psychological abuse. This vulnerability is amplified by the girls' lack of good communication channels with their families. The study findings indicated that most of the girls who work in the domestic sector either do not go to school or have dropped out. A common issue revealed during the study is that sending families are concerned that their daughters are vulnerable to sexual harassment or abuse in the employer's household. The study indicated the perception of sending families that the younger the girl, the fewer the risks, thereby disregarding other important issues like access to food, shelter, education, and physical and mental health.

Nonetheless, it was extremely difficult to access child domestic workers in Cairo because they are hidden in their employers' houses. Child domestic workers were mostly interviewed in their employers' houses; it was considered a bias in the sample because employers who allowed access to interview their child domestic workers were likely to have a positive relationship with them. There was a further difficulty in interviewing male recruiters who collect girls from villages for domestic work, since they refused to participate due to the disreputable nature of their work. It was also difficult to interview families who send their daughters for domestic work, as it is considered shameful for the family.

2. Al Shehab Institution for Promotion and Comprehensive Development (2010)

In 2010, the Al Shehab Institution for Promotion and Comprehensive Development conducted a research study about female domestic workers in Egypt and their characteristics, problems, and protection mechanisms. The main research interest focused on explaining the characteristics of the domestic workers' sector, exploring the reasons for working in this field, discussing the problems from which domestic workers and employers suffer, and offering a number of social and legal regulations that can organize working relationships in the domestic sector. The researchers focused on female Egyptian domestic workers, regardless of their age, in three governorates: Cairo, Fayoum, and Helwan.

The study included 240 interviews with female domestic workers, 8 focus group discussions with 68 informants, and 10 IDIs with 10 case studies. Thus, the total sample size was 318 individuals involved in the domestic labor sector.

The study showed that only a minority of the sample—7.5 percent—was under 18 years of age, making it of limited value in trying to understand the phenomenon of child domestic labor. The study also showed that Fayoum governorate was the principal source of domestic labor, accounting for 32.5 percent of the sample.

This study showed that the main reason for the children entering domestic service is to cover their families' expenses, with all sending families suffering from poverty, sickness, disability, or unemployment. Domestic workers start to enter this sector from age of 9–10. Working in the domestic services sector was linked with giving up formal education. In-depth interviews showed that the heads of the household in sending families either abandoned their families, married another woman, were sick or unemployed, or had no regular income.

The study also revealed that the main risks that most domestic workers faced were verbal abuse (64 percent) and hazardous working conditions (52 percent), while workers living in employers' homes primarily faced physical abuse (26 percent) and sexual harassment or abuse (15 percent). The study also revealed that there is no limit on work hours or a minimum wage for domestic workers.

This study encountered difficulties in accessing domestic workers and in obtaining their approval to be interviewed. Furthermore, there was a reluctance to join in group discussions lasting 2–3 hours. Many sending families denied that their daughters were in domestic service. In addition, many domestic workers did not want to talk about their work in the sector, since they wanted to keep their work hidden. The study concluded that it was particularly difficult to locate domestic workers under the age of 18, since such work is illegal under Egyptian Labor Law.

3. ILO Study of Child Labor in Egypt (2004)

In 2004, the ILO conducted a study about child labor in Egypt, whose objective was to provide an analytical review of the existing literature of gender and the educational aspects of child labor in Egypt, looking in particular at linkages between child labor, gender and education. The study was concerned with children between 6 and 18 years old, in line with ILO Convention 182. The analysis included was based on the recent quantitative and qualitative studies available on this topic. The main sources of statistical data on working children and education mentioned in the literature include, for example, the Labor Force Survey (LFS) carried out by CAPMAS and Demographic and Health Survey (DHS).

As the study mentioned, Egypt was one of the first twenty countries worldwide to ratify the Convention on the Rights of the Child. In addition, the ILO International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour has been active in Egypt since 1996.

The ILO analysis reported that poverty was considered the chief cause of children's work, with 40 percent of the sample of working children surveyed by the United Nations Children's Fund and the National Centre for Sociological and Criminological Research in 2002 needing work to assist their families, and 33 percent needing work to support themselves. The study also stated that other factors contributing to child labor were the gender and educational level of the household head.

Child labor is rooted in poverty, and poverty is known to cause children to drop out of school. Thus a vicious circle is created between poverty and education, where low levels of school achievement lead to poverty, and poverty causes low achievement in schools.

This study highlighted that children work long hours without safety equipment and are subject to abusive treatment. Because of traditional gender differentiation, girls are responsible for the majority of household labor. The study also indicated that education is a powerful tool for reducing child labor.

One of the recommendations of the study was the need to increase the availability of reliable information on the size of the child labor problem, the types of jobs done by working children and their conditions of employment. Noting that there was little such information, the study recommended that this information not remain a monopoly of one government agency or department.

The review of the literature shows that while domestic child labor has been of interest to researchers in Egypt, many gaps remain in the knowledgebase. The experiences of male domestic workers have been excluded, and the research on child domestic work was highly limited in geographic scope. Additionally, there is a need for more specific information on the indicators of forced labor and trafficking in domestic child workers. The present study was designed to address these gaps.

4. METHODOLOGY DESIGN

This section discusses the design and methodology used in this study. Research methodology is discussed first, followed by a description of sample selection, sample size and a discussion of sampling procedures. Finally, a description of the research instruments and research questions are presented.

4.1 Description of Research Methodology and Design

This is a rapid assessment exploratory research project employing mixed methods. Similar to the majority of the studies presented in Chapter 2, both quantitative and qualitative methods were employed to obtain a holistic insight into the objectives of the study. The two methods complement each other in the analysis and discussions. Due to the exploratory nature of the current study, a qualitative approach was necessary to obtain the perceptions and the feelings of the participants.

The study comprises qualitative IDIs and quantitative data from a small-scale survey of working children. During the study, IDIs with two types of key informants were conducted: 1) formal experts, principally individuals working for nongovernmental organizations with a particular interest and involvement in issues of child labor; and 2) informal experts, defined as individuals engaged in various activities throughout the domestic service supply chain, such as recruitment offices, concierges/doormen/guards, parents and former servants.

The information provided by each of the two categories of experts is different. The formal experts, who tend to be qualified people with a professional interest in the field, are in a position to offer informed views on the phenomenon of child labor based on their involvement and experience. Their views and opinions are particularly useful in helping us understand policy and other macro-level issues. However, these experts do not always have direct day-to-day experience of child domestic workers as they go about their work. This is where the informal experts can help, since they are largely in direct contact with children, often come from similar backgrounds (sometimes from the same family) and can offer a level of insight that their professional counterparts cannot. Since the essence of qualitative research is to gain the widest possible range of insights and understanding, by using both categories of experts to gather information, we maximize both the breadth and depth of the data obtained.

The research team conducted a literature review and desk research to identify a primary list of formal experts in NGOs working in the area of child labor. This provided the initial list that was used in the snowball technique; during the interviews, additional NGOs were identified as candidates for interviews.

Given the hidden nature of forced child labor activities in particular, the study interviewed informal experts who are directly involved in the child domestic labor sector. Child workers were identified through NGOs and organizations that provide assistance and services to child workers and former forced child laborers. Interviews were conducted with key informants that have direct experience/knowledge of child domestic labor.

The research took place largely with reference to the metropolitan areas of Cairo and Alexandria. In addition, the study also covered some areas known to be the source of many domestic workers—the governorates of Fayoum and Assuit in Upper Egypt, and Sharkia and Behira in Lower Egypt. In order to facilitate the consent of parents and guardians, child domestic workers were interviewed mainly in those governorates even though some were mainly resident elsewhere.

Key Concepts and Definitions

The study is concerned with activities covered by the following definitions:

- **Child labor:** All work performed by a person under the age of 15. It also includes all work performed by a person under the age of 18 in the following practices:
 - a) All forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale or trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom, or forced or compulsory labor, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;
 - b) The use, procuring, or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic purposes;
 - c) The use, procuring, or offering of a child for illicit activities in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs; and
 - d) Work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety, or morals of children. The work referred to in subparagraph.
 - e) Is determined by the laws, regulations, or competent authority of the country involved, after consultation with the organizations of employers and workers concerned, and taking into consideration relevant international standards.
- **Forced labor:** All work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty for its nonperformance and for which the worker does not offer himself voluntarily, and includes indentured labor. “Forced labor” includes work provided or obtained by force, fraud, or coercion, including—
 - a) By threats of serious harm to, or physical restraint against any person.
 - b) By means of any scheme, plan, or pattern intended to cause the person to believe that, if the person did not perform such labor or services, that person or another person would suffer serious harm or physical restraint.
 - c) By means of the abuse or threatened abuse of law or the legal process.
- **Forced or indentured child labor:** All work or service 1) exacted from any person under the age of 18 under the menace of any penalty for its nonperformance and for which the worker does not offer himself voluntarily; or 2) performed by any person under the age of 18 pursuant to a contract the enforcement of which can be accomplished by process or penalties.
- **Determining forced labor:** ILO Convention 29 Article 2 (1) defines forced labor as “all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily.” In other words, there are two elements that make labor forced: The first is a menace of penalty. The second is the lack of consent on the part of the worker.
 - The *threat of a penalty* (which represents the means for keeping someone in forced labor) includes the actual presence or credible threat of—
 - ♦ Physical violence against the worker, family or close associate
 - ♦ Sexual violence
 - ♦ Threat of supernatural retaliation
 - ♦ Imprisonment or other physical confinement
 - ♦ Financial penalties
 - ♦ Denunciation to authorities (police, immigration officers, etc.) and deportation

- ♦ Dismissal from current employment
 - ♦ Exclusion from future employment
 - ♦ Exclusion from community and social life
 - ♦ Removal of rights or privileges
 - ♦ Deprivation of food, shelter, and other necessities
 - ♦ Shift to even worse working conditions
 - ♦ Loss of social status.
- Voluntary nature of work: Lack of consent to (involuntary nature of) work (the route into forced labor) includes—
 - ♦ Birth/descent into “slave” or bonded status
 - ♦ Physical abduction or kidnapping
 - ♦ Sale of person into the ownership of another
 - ♦ Physical confinement in the work location—in prison or in private detention
 - ♦ Psychological compulsion (i.e., an order to work, backed by a credible threat of penalty for non-compliance)
 - ♦ Induced indebtedness (by falsification of accounts, inflated prices, reduced value of goods or services produced, excessive interest charges, etc.)
 - ♦ Deception or false promises about types and terms of work
 - ♦ Withholding and non-payment of wages
 - ♦ Retention of identify documents or other valuable personal possessions
 - ♦ Voluntary participation in work situation is irrelevant in case of children under 18 working in a WFCL.

4.1.1 Research Design

A sample of 200 respondents was targeted, including formal experts, informal experts, and child domestic workers. The child domestic workers sample was identified through social networks using the snowball method. Child domestic workers were nominated partly by NGOs and partly by other organizations providing assistance and services to child workers in domestic labor. Subsequently, the child domestic workers contacted gave details of other child workers in domestic service. In addition, informal experts also nominated some children working in domestic service, and those children in turn referred the research team to other such children. At least 15 interviews with formal experts and 15 with informal experts were planned, together with at least 170 child domestic workers identified through snowball sampling.

The research team was asked to obtain consent from a child’s parents or guardians before the interview in addition to obtaining consent from the child. No interviews with children were conducted if consent could not be obtained from a parent/guardian of the child (approximately 30 interviews could not be conducted due to parent refusal). During data collection, consent in most cases was taken from the mother of the child. Data collected were kept private for research use only, and any information that could lead to an individual being identified was removed from the research instruments.

This research took place largely in the metropolitan areas of Cairo and Alexandria. The study was also designed to include areas known from previous research to be the source of many domestic workers, such as Fayoum and Assuit in Upper Egypt, and Sharkia and Behira in Lower Egypt. However, since there are no statistics on the size and characteristics of child workers in domestic labor in those governorates, no target sample was set for each governorate. Accordingly, the sample for this study is not a random or probability sample.

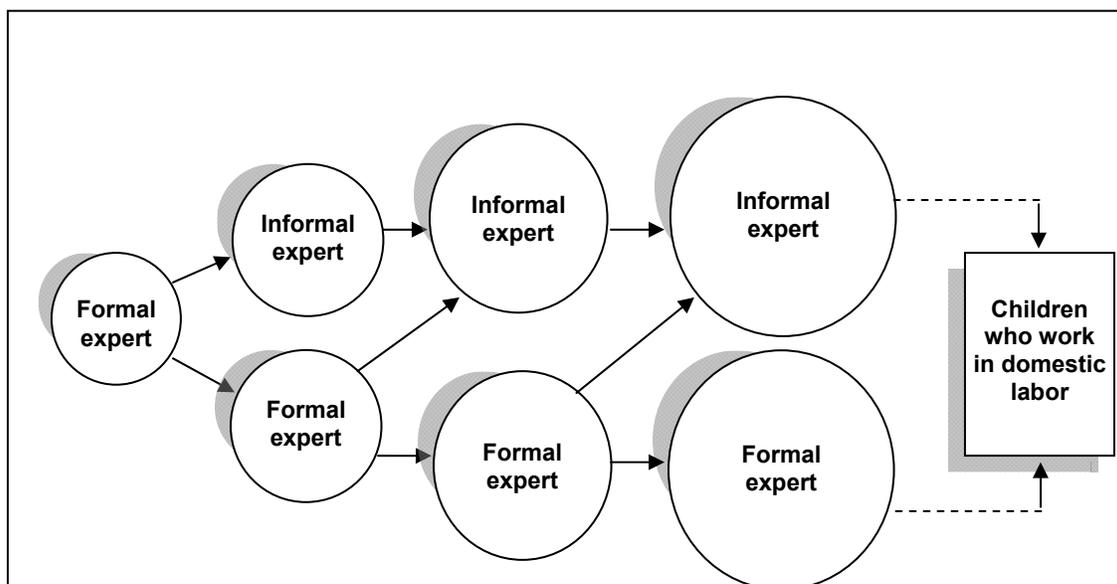
Because of the exploratory nature of the study and to the fact that child labor in domestic work may be part time or seasonal, it was decided to ask about domestic work in the last 12 months as a reference

period. However, other questions related to the number of work hours, days, and salary used a reference period of 1 week.

4.1.2 Procedure for sampling

As mentioned above, the target was to interview at least 15 formal experts and 15 informal experts. Accordingly, a desk review was carried out to identify both NGOs and other candidates for the formal expert interviews, as well as informal experts.

Figure 1: Identifying Target Sample



An initial list of 30 formal experts (NGOs and international organizations) was prepared. Interviews with formal experts were conducted first, and these experts in turn identified for the researchers other formal experts and some informal expert candidates for interview. A total of 42 formal experts were identified and contacted, and 29 were successfully interviewed. In addition, 76 informal experts were identified but due to a high refusal rate, only 24 could be successfully interviewed.

With regard to the interviews with children, some NGOs had contact with a number of child workers in domestic labor. Those NGOs agreed either to ask children to come to the NGO’s offices for interviews there, or to obtain their addresses so they could be interviewed in their homes. All children identified by the NGOs and who met the criteria (working in domestic labor and less than 18 years of age) were interviewed. Children interviewed at NGOs’ premises were accompanied by one of their parents or an older sister/brother, so consent was obtained from the parent/guardian. With those interviews that took place at the child’s home, consent was obtained from the mother or father. As mentioned above, interviewed children nominated other children who were contacted and interviewed. Overall, 77 children were nominated by formal experts (i.e., NGOs) and successfully interviewed, 97 were nominated by informal experts and 40 children were nominated by other children. No quotas were set.

The table below summarizes the target and achieved samples

Target Group	Target Sample	Achieved Sample
Formal experts	15	29
Informal experts	15	24
Children in domestic service	200	214

4.2 Development and Description of Research Instruments

ICF International's research team developed an English-language draft of the instruments. Three different instruments were developed: 1) a formal expert interview guideline, 2) an informal expert interview guideline, and 3) a questionnaire for children in domestic work. El-Zanaty translated the instruments into Arabic and made minor modifications. A brief description of the instruments is presented below and the full versions can be found in Annex C.

Formal Expert Interview: This principally covered questions on the following items:

- The organization view or mission regarding child labor, forced child labor, and trafficking of children in general, and of children working in domestic service in particular
- Perceptions of the general population and attitudes toward child workers in general, and children working in domestic service in particular
- Regulations and policies in Egypt regarding child labor
- Nature of the work done by children in domestic service
- Environments of the worksites of children in domestic service
- Characteristics of children engaged in domestic service in Egypt
- Extent to which children are forced to work in domestic service
- Factors that may affect timing/seasons and locations where child labor occurs
- Factors influencing children to work in domestic service.

Informal Expert Interview: This principally covered questions on the following items:

- Nature of the work done by children in domestic service
- Working conditions of child domestic workers
- Characteristics of children engaged in domestic service in Egypt
- Extent to which children are forced to work in domestic service
- Factors that may affect timing/seasons and locations where child labor occurs
- Factors influencing children to work in domestic service
- People's perceptions of child domestic workers.

Child labor in domestic work questionnaire: Children between 5 and 17 years of age who had worked during the previous 12 months in domestic work were eligible to be interviewed. The information collected through the child questionnaire included the following topics:

- Background characteristics
- Child's education
- Type of domestic work performed, full-time or part-time, number of hours per day
- Working conditions, health and risk
- Remuneration
- Family background
- Forced labor
- Migration
- Interviewer observation.

4.3 Final Research Questions

The study aimed to answer the following questions that data collection sought to address:

1. How does the child domestic labor supply chain work in Egypt?
 - From where do the child domestic workers come?
 - During what seasons do child domestic workers work in employers' homes?
 - Who are the key players taking part in the child domestic labor sector (parents, family members, employers, employment recruiters, etc.)?
2. At what points of the supply chain are forced child laborers involved?
 - In which work activities are forced child laborers engaged?
 - Are child workers predominantly girls or boys?
 - What particular aspects of the domestic labor sector may encourage or discourage the use of forced child labor?
 - How may market demands in the industry be affecting the forced labor of children?
3. What are the conditions/environments of children's worksites?
 - Are the working environments open, closed, or semi-open/-closed to researchers' observation?
4. What are the conditions of children's work?
 - Exposure to hazards.
 - Work intensity (e.g., hours, days per week).
 - Treatment by employers.
 - Excessive physical requirements.
 - Other issues such as sexual abuse.
 - Are the children paid? If so, are they paid directly or through an intermediary? How much? In what forms (e.g., in food or other in-kind payment)?
 - What hours do children work?
 - Do children have educational opportunities?
5. How did forced child laborers come to be in this situation?
 - Are they orphaned or from families facing other circumstances?
 - Are they in this situation from family intent? If so, which family members contributed to this situation?
 - Are they brought into this situation by organized interests?
 - Where do they live? How are their living arrangements?
6. What social conditions may have led to their working in the domestic sector? For example:
 - Poor access to education
 - Family circumstances
 - ♦ Poverty
 - ♦ Family trauma (e.g., death of [a] parent[s])
 - ♦ Family structure (e.g., large number of children, single parent)

- Economic disruption
 - Civil disruption.
7. To what extent are children trafficked from within the country or from other countries into forced labor situations?
 - What are the means by which children are trafficked? (For instance, whether labor brokers, recruiters, etc. are involved).
 - From where are children trafficked?
 8. What is the estimated degree of presence of forced child labor in the domestic sector?
 - What is the distribution of forced child workers by activities?
 - What are the children's age distribution and other relevant characteristics?
 9. Who/which government agencies implement laws, regulations policies, and programs to combat forced child labor? What support programs exist in the specified localities to assist forced child labor victims in the domestic labor sector?

5. FIELDWORK

This chapter discusses the fieldwork and data collection activities that were undertaken in the course of the study. Recruitment of researchers, training and organization of work will be presented, and desk research activities will be discussed. The selection of interviewees will be described together with obstacles faced during fieldwork.

5.1 Researchers' Recruitment and Training

El-Zanaty & Associates maintains a comprehensive database of interviewers, including their area of expertise and key skills. Using this database, five researchers (two females and three males) were selected to participate in both the training for the study and further data collection activities. Key to the selection was demonstrated expertise in administering questionnaires and mastering IDIs. Ability and skills in dealing with children were also important requirements, together with appropriate age and physical ability. One of the researchers selected had good connections in Assiut to facilitate his work in identifying key informants.

Prior to the training, the survey instruments described above were developed and prepared in cooperation with ICF International. Materials were also developed for use in training—a brief manual including general guidelines for conducting an interview, specific instructions for asking each of the questions in the child questionnaire, and a brief manual for the IDIs. Also, instructions for identifying key informants and snowball methodology were distributed to researchers. A 3-day training program was held at El-Zanaty & Associates' premises on July 17–19, 2011. This training program covered the following items:

- Basic interview techniques and specific survey topics
- The snowball technique for identifying key informants
- Concepts and definitions relevant to the study: child labor, forced child labor, and domestic service sector
- Application of child questionnaire and interview guide
- Application of informal expert and formal expert interview guides.

Following the training program, researchers were sent to the field with the first 2 days (July 20 and July 21) considered a pretest for the IDIs. The child questionnaire was edited and finalized using feedback and comments from pretests carried out on July 25 and 26.

5.2 Fieldwork and Desk Research Review

In order to complete the study, first a desk review of all relevant material and studies related to child domestic labor was carried out, followed by interviews with both key informants and child workers in the domestic service sector. Finally, data collected in the course of the study were processed and analyzed.

Desk Research Review

In order to gain an overall view about the situation with regard to child domestic labor in Egypt, a literature review of all research conducted in this area was initiated. All published studies conducted in Egypt on child domestic labor were collected during this phase, together with any studies related to the methodology of collecting data on child domestic labor and studies related to child labor in general, child labor in Egypt and child labor's impact on schooling in Egypt. In total, 12 studies and reports were gathered during the desk review, in addition to a report on Egypt's progress towards achieving the millennium development goals:

- Two on domestic child labor in Egypt
- Four on child domestic labor in general and in other countries
- One report on child trafficking
- Five reports on child labor in general and its implication on schooling.

All these reports and studies were thoroughly reviewed and key information summarized.

Fieldwork

Fieldwork for the Child Domestic Labor in Egypt 2011 project (FCDL 2011) began on July 20, 2011 and was completed in early September 2011. One researcher was assigned to work just in Assiut due to his expertise there. Of the other four researchers, each one worked in three to four governorates. They started working first in Cairo governorate and Giza. One continued to work in Cairo and the others started to visit the governorates outside Cairo. Three researchers (two males and one female) went to Fayoum to conduct interviews with formal and informal experts as well as with working children. Subsequently, one of the two male researchers was assigned to work in Alexandria and the other in Sharkia. Towards the end of the data collection period, all researchers went to work in Behira.

Prior to fieldwork, a detailed search for known NGOs was made by the El-Zanaty research team using the internet and interpersonal communication. Thus, a list of NGOs working the area of domestic child labor by governorate was developed and provided to the field team before fieldwork began. As mentioned before, this list contained details of 30 NGOs, subsequently increased to 42 NGOs during the period of data collection. However, during fieldwork only 29 were successfully interviewed. In most cases the director of the NGO was interviewed, but when this was not possible, another official member of the NGO was interviewed.

Researchers had to work hard to identify the informal experts. They read newspapers (i.e., job openings section) and *Al-Waseet* (a specialized newspaper for classified advertising) and consulted the local area telephone guide to identify domestic servants' offices and agents. They also collected a wide range of flyers and posters on the streets, in the Metro, in markets, and in other places. Finally, a fieldwork search was conducted to identify porters/concierges/doormen. Researchers were able to complete a total of 24 informal expert interviews. The informal experts comprised:

- Servant employment offices
- Porters
- Parents
- Servants who work as agents to find other servants.

Domestic child workers were identified mainly through the key informants with additional assistance from agents, other non-participating NGOs and workers in mosques. In total, 214 domestic child workers were successfully interviewed.

Due to the nature of the study, researchers in the field faced a number of obstacles, both in identifying their target sample and in interviewing it. These can be summarized as follows:

- People are aware that child labor is prohibited by law and is against children's rights; hence a lot of children under the age of 16 denied that they worked in domestic service. Also, servant employment offices and agents denied employing anyone under the legal age.
- Cultural reasons were also a barrier to identify domestic child workers. Some parents were reluctant to admit that their daughters worked as servants.
- Communicating with NGOs to identify the sample was labor- and time-intensive.

- Servant employment offices and agents were not cooperative and most of them refused to be interviewed. Of those who agreed to be interviewed, some refused to allow the interviews to be recorded.

Office Activities

Staff from the central office were responsible for frequently collecting questionnaires from researchers, both in order to start entering the child questionnaire data and to review the IDI notes against the recorded interview and summarize the key findings. Office editors were responsible for reviewing the child questionnaires for consistency and completeness and where necessary, questions were coded in the office prior to data entry. In addition, two research assistants were responsible for reviewing IDI transcripts against the recorded tape and then summarizing the main points to help in report writing.

6. FINDINGS

This chapter presents the main findings from all data collected from both the formal and informal expert interviews, as well as from children in domestic work. Fifty-three IDIs were conducted with formal and informal experts, aiming to gather information and data about the methods and the consequences of child labor, as well as exploring the characteristics, nature and impact of child labor. In addition, 214 child interviews were completed in different governorates. Whenever the child questionnaire and the expert interview guides explored the same subject matter, data from both sources will be presented together.

6.1 General Perceptions of Child Labor in Egypt

Although all of the formal experts interviewed were involved with child labor in some form, very few were working specifically in the field of child domestic labor, and none focused specifically on this topic. Views varied on how serious a problem child labor was in Egypt. Many conceded that as long as poverty remained rife, families would seek to supplement their incomes by putting pressure on their children to do work, although this pressure was generally not felt to amount to coercion. The Community Development Association conceded that domestic labor was a lucrative profession compared with cottage industries, like sewing. Concern seemed to be directed at mitigating some of the worst forms of known exploitation, and at seeking to amend legislation to offer children greater protection. Trafficking was not thought to be a significant issue for children in domestic labor, although it was felt to be widespread among street children.

The informal experts were very often a part of the process of supplying domestic labor. Those who worked with agencies recruiting labor for domestic work were, as might be expected, reluctant to admit to being involved with children. Those more directly involved in doing the work themselves, and involving their own children, were much more likely to talk about how things worked, generally in a guarded fashion. A female agent from Fayoum said: “I only send to people I trust and they treat the girls in a decent manner. I would only send my granddaughter to people I know and can trust.” A woman who worked in domestic service herself noted: “After my husband died I started working as cleaning lady and I take my daughter with me to work.” For some, like this doorman, domestic work was something involving several family members: “I have a wife and three young children and three older children who work. My wife helps clean tenants’ apartments.”

Experts tended to think that the general population viewed both child labor in general and child domestic labor in particular in negative terms. One NGO said: “Everybody feels that allowing your children to work in domestic service is shameful. Society does not accept children working in domestic service, cleaning services, security services and things of that nature.” An association in Sharkia thought that society had two opinions: 1) great sympathy for the conditions that compel a small girl to have to work in a house, and 2) mistrust because they could be thieves and steal something from the house. The Egyptian Association for Social and Economic Rights thought that society looked down on anyone working in domestic service, regardless of age, and that society was not sympathetic towards these children.

The most frequently expressed feeling among the informal experts was that the public regarded child domestic labor as something shameful. A doorwoman from Fayoum said: “It is shameful for girls to work in domestic service. No one would agree to their daughters working as maids. It is very shameful for a family.” Nevertheless, those closest to the issues were likely to be more sympathetic. “No-one thinks it is a poor family trying to get some money. They don’t think like that,” said a domestic worker in Cairo.

Whereas formal experts were unanimous that Egypt did have legislation in place to regulate child labor, most felt that there was a general reluctance to enforce the relevant laws. The Future Youth Association in Sharkia observed; “Child law stipulates a minimum age for child employment and apprenticeship but the law is not enforced. All agencies charged with enforcing the law do not do so.” However, some noted that labor law did not cover domestic service, “because the authorities consider that the relationship between the employer and employee is special. Furthermore, they do not allow labor inspectors to enter homes because a

person's house is sacrosanct." The Egyptian Association for Social and Economic Rights interviewee noted that they were implementing a project with UNIFEM targeting legal aid to domestic workers, including children above 14 years of age as the law stipulated. They were working through the labor office, mostly with non-live-ins who were approached in their own houses, not those of their employers.

6.2 Demographics of Child Workers

There was no consensus among the formal experts interviewed on the scale of child domestic labor in Egypt. In the absence of official statistics, attempts to quantify and describe the phenomenon seemed to be based largely on guesswork and informal estimates. Even though some studies have looked at the phenomenon in some detail, the number of domestic child workers has not so far been measured. The Integrated Care Association in Alexandria estimated that 5 percent of all working children were active in domestic service and that 50 percent of all those working in domestic service were under 18. The Future Youth Association in Sharkia thought that those working in domestic service could have amounted to 15 percent of all working children. The Egyptian Association for Development and Institutional Support thought that 40 percent of those working in houses were children. The Al-Roya Islamic Association's conclusion was that maybe 15 percent of all working girls worked in domestic service, with girls making up about 10 percent of those working in domestic labor. The expectation was that, as poverty rose, so would the number of children under 18 working in domestic service.

Table 6.1 shows the basic demographic characteristics as established by analysis of the child questionnaires. Domestic work among these children was clearly and overwhelmingly a female phenomenon; 9 out of 10 interviewed children were girls.⁶ Domestic work was seen by key informants emphatically as a girls' activity.

All domestic service is female. Males don't work in domestic service. (Omar Ibn El-Khatib Association)

One-hundred percent of those working in domestic service are females. (Protecting the Environment Association)

Service providers indicated that they preferred not to engage boys.

I don't like finding work for boys. Very few people ask for boys to work in domestic service. (Registered domestic worker provider)

While indeed most domestic workers were female, they were not exclusively female. To some extent, the distribution depended on how domestic labor was defined, with several experts noting that there were aspects of domestic labor that were more suited to boys than girls, in particular those involving greater physical strength.

Chores that may require physical effort could be given to boys. (New Horizon NGO).

Now many boys work in domestic service as well. Men clean better. They have more energy for heavy work as well. I know a 16 year old who works in domestic service. (Domestic worker).

Some domestic tasks were seen as appropriate for boys and girls.

If it is buying things from the market it doesn't matter, whoever is around, my son or my daughter, we all help. (Doorwoman)

Yet boys were felt to be more interested in developing some kind of vocation or skill that would allow them to earn money and better reflect their expectations of what a boy should do.

⁶ Although impossible to verify from official statistics, this gender division accords with estimates from formal experts that child domestic workers in Egypt are overwhelmingly girls.

I don't think males do house work. They don't like it and prefer to learn a vocation. Families prefer a girl as she will know what to do. (Ahlan Bel Kheir Association)

Boys' self-image was found to be important. They were not keen to work in domestic service, since they feared what others might think of them.

A boy would prefer to carry sand and pebbles instead of serving in houses, in order to avoid people looking at him in a bad way. (NGO official, Cairo)

Approximately one-third of interviewed children came from Fayoum; one-fourth from Cairo; one-fifth from Sharkia; one-tenth from Giza; and the remainder from Alexandria, Assuit, and Behera. There was broad consensus among both formal and informal experts about from where these children came. Some informal and formal experts indicated that child domestic workers came from rural areas of Sharkia, Kafr El-sheikh, or Al Fayoum governorates to work in the cities, and that few of them came from urban areas. Those who did were mainly from the slum areas in cities such as Mansheyet Naser, El-Hagana, Ezbet El Arab, Ein Shams and from El-Salam, who went to work in Nasr City and other more affluent areas. Other informants, like the Omar Ibn El-Khatib Association, thought that the pattern was changing; one association member stated: "In the past children would come from rural areas, but now they come from slum areas and work in affluent areas."

Some children working in domestic service were said to be refugees from Sudan, Eritrea, and Somalia living in Ezbet El Haggan (a slum area in Cairo). However, the experts felt that only a small percentage of them were working in domestic service.

More than half of the interviewed children were younger than 14. Approximately 3 in 10 had never attended school, just under half had completed primary education or less, and about one-fourth had attended preparatory or higher level institutions.⁷

Table 6.1: Demographics of Child Domestic Workers Interviewed

	N	%
Boys	19	9%
Girls	195	91%
<14	116	54%
15-17	98	46%
Never attended school	65	30%
Primary	97	45%
Preparatory or above	52	24%
Sharkia	67	31%
Cairo	50	23%
Fayoum	39	18%
Alexandria	19	9%
Behera	10	5%
Giza	7	3%
Assuit	7	3%
Other governorates	15	7%
Total	214	100%

Source: Interviews with Child Domestic Workers in Egypt, 2011
n=214, all children interviewed

⁷ The Egyptian education system provides free compulsory education at the primary and preparatory levels. Currently, the primary level involves 5 years and the preparatory level consists of a further 3 years of schooling. The secondary level follows the preparatory level and lasts for 3 years in general academic schools and 3–5 years in vocational schools.

In terms of children’s basic working arrangements, almost twice as many worked on a part-time basis as worked full time. The great majority, 9 in 10, did not live with their employer, but performed domestic work on a daily basis.⁸

Table 6.2 presents the mean age at starting work in domestic service by selected background characteristics. For all children, the mean age at starting work was approximately 10 years (10.3 years). However, there were variations depending on background characteristics. Boys tended to start work in domestic service at a younger age than girls did, 7.1 years compared with 10.2 years. As expected, the mean age of starting work in domestic service was lower for younger than for older children: 8.8 years for those under 14 and 11.3 years for older children.

The mean age for starting domestic work was very similar in most governorates except for Sharkia, where children started work at a slightly younger age (9.1 years), and Alexandria where they tended to be a little older (11.4 years). Those who lived with their employers started work, on average, about a year later than those who did not.

Table 6.2: Mean Age for Starting Work in Domestic Service

	n	Mean Age in Years
Boys	19	7.1
Girls	195	10.2
<14	116	8.8
15–17	98	11.3
Never attended school	65	10.2
Primary	97	9.3
Preparatory or above	52	10.9
Sharkia	67	9.1
Cairo	50	10.2
Fayoum	39	10.4
Alexandria	19	11.4
Behera	10	10.1
Giza	7	10.1
Assuit	7	10.0
Other governorates	15	10.1
Total	214	10.3

Source: Interviews with Child Domestic Workers in Egypt, 2011
n=214, all children interviewed

Information from the formal experts working with NGOs suggested that, in their experience, most children working in domestic service were between the ages of 10 and 17, and that they began to work there from the age of approximately 10. The few who started working as young as 5 or 6 years old were usually those in desperate need of money due to ill and incapacitated mothers.

The informal experts interviewed had a slightly different opinion. They concluded that most of the children working in domestic service were between the ages of 5 and 18 years, again with only a small percentage starting work from the age of 5, with the remainder starting at approximately 10 years old. They also indicated that a lot of employers preferred children 12–13 years of age.

There are girls who start working at the age of 10, some at the age of 12, and others at the age of 15; they are not all the same. (Owner of domestic service office, Fayoum)

⁸ Once again, this is broadly consistent with the views of formal experts and the research contractor.

Some key informants reported that there was a decline in the numbers of children engaged in domestic work. The main reasons for this were as follows:

- Parents are afraid that their children, especially girls, might be exposed to torture, physical and sexual abuse.

The parent who lets his daughter work in domestic service is sacrificing her and she may not return home. (NGO official, Sharkia)

- The perception that girls employed in domestic service were inferior. There was a clear stigma toward domestic service workers from many people, particularly when it became known that some domestic workers had been exposed to insults and harassment.
- Girls in the 15–18 age group preferred to work in factories, companies or in shops rather than in domestic service.

6.3 Education of Child Workers

Girls working in domestic service were less well-educated than boys; one in three working girls had never attended school compared with very few boys. Also, approximately three-fourths of boys in domestic work completed primary education or less, compared with less than half of girls.

Full-time work seemed to affect education, with those children working part time generally better educated than those employed full time. Approximately half of children who were working full time had never attended school, about twice as many as among those working part time. Children living at their employer's home were more likely than those living elsewhere never to have attended school.

Children who had never attended school were asked why. Overwhelmingly, this was linked to economic or financial reasons, mainly to enable them to contribute to family income; more than 9 in 10 children who had never attended school reported this reason. The low value placed on education by some families had deterred some from attending school (approximately one-fifth).

The broad consensus among experts was that children working in domestic service were unlikely to be attending school on a regular basis, if at all. It was the formal experts who appeared to have the strongest views.

They don't go to school. It's rare that a girl would go to school and then go to work. Those who live with their employers get no education at all. (Integrated Care Association)

Most employers neglect health and education, the girl becomes a slave. (Protecting the Environment Association)

No children attend school if working in domestic service. (Al-Roya Islamic Association)

Others did however think that some children would benefit from some education, either at school or in the home of their employer.

Most don't attend school. Some work in [the] summer only and study in [the] winter. (Egyptian Association for Development and Institutional Support)

Some decent families treat servants like their own children and allow them to go to school or get someone at home to help them learn, but this is only 1 percent of families. (Omar Ibn El-Khatib Association).

Although agreeing that most domestic child workers received little if any education, the informal experts provided a more nuanced view.

My daughter helps me on the days she doesn't have school and after finishing her homework. (Doorwoman, Bani Saleh)

Many go to school and only work in the summer. We used to get a lot of girls in the summer and then they leave when school starts. (Domestic worker)

Most don't work and study at the same time. Some could work in the holidays to cover some expenses but most don't go to school. (Agent)

When asked to describe things in their own words, the children themselves gave many reasons for not going to school. One was economic pressures and not being a burden on their families; a girl from Giza said: "Due to economic conditions I could not go to school. We don't have a lot of money and my mother does not work." Some families were not convinced of the value of education: "my father doesn't like educating girls. He comes from Upper Egypt and is not educated" (Cairo). In others, choices had to be made about who in the family would receive education: "I did not continue with my education because siblings in school needed private lessons and there wasn't enough money for all three of them to go to school" (Cairo). Some had tried school and found the experience unpleasant: "I did not like school. I had no money to buy clothes and books. Kids used to beat me" (Sharkia).

6.3.1 Current School Attendance

Children who reported that they had ever attended school were asked if they had attended school during the school year 2010-2011. A slight majority of such interviewed children were currently in school (just under two-fifths of all children). By gender, boys were much more likely than girls to be currently attending. Younger children, those who worked part time and those who were not living at their employer's home were more likely than other children to report that they were currently attending school. Children who had moved to their place of work were also more likely to be currently attending school than those who did not move.

Children who reported attending school during the school year 2010-2011 were asked if they had missed days during the last week the school was in session, and if so, how many days. Approximately one child in five claimed to have been absent from school during that week, with the mean number of absence days being 3.7. Reported reasons for absence were assisting with supporting the family, sickness and having to work. Girls, older children, children who worked full time, and those who attended preparatory or higher schools were more likely to report being absent from school, suggesting that the propensity to attend school may have increased with age.

6.3.2 Impact of Work on Education

Half of the children who had ever attended school were working as well as attending school. On average, these children reported that they worked 3.35 hours per day on school days, approximately 3 hours less than their usual work hours on days when there was no school (6 hours/day on average). Girls, older children and children working full time generally worked more hours per day than other children.

Approximately half of the children who worked and attended school reported that they had enough time to do homework and study at home while working. Those who worked full time were less likely to report having enough time than those working part time.

Some one in five children who had ever attended school said that work had affected their studying. The effect varied depending on background characteristics and the amount of available time. As the level of education increased, so the likelihood that work would interfere with study increased too; whereas 3 in 10 children with preparatory education or higher reported that work affected their studying, just 1 in 10 of those with primary education made the same complaint. Full-time workers were twice as likely as part-time workers to report that work affected their studying, with negative consequences on their academic achievement.

Even though most children said they had not missed school on account of work, approximately one-fifth said they failed to attend school once or twice a week for this reason. The higher the level of school, the

more likely it was that a child's presence at school was affected by work; whereas approximately 3 in 10 children with primary education said that their work was affecting their school attendance, about half of those with preparatory education or higher claimed that this was the case. Similarly, about 1 in 3 children with preparatory or higher education missed school once or twice a week, three times as many as those with primary education or lower. Although those who were living at their employer's home were less likely to attend school than those who were not, half of these reported that work had no effect on school attendance, compared with two-thirds among those living elsewhere. Those living with their employer were also more likely than those living elsewhere to report missing school once or twice a week.

There was broad agreement among both formal and informal experts that most children working in domestic service during school time did not go to school at all on the days when they worked, and that very few children went to work after the school day had finished. When asked how those who did succeed in attending school were able to manage the conflicting needs of work and education, the experts had no clear and unambiguous view. The Ahlan Bel Kheir Association felt that there was no pattern, with some working part time and going to school, some working and going back to their villages only for exams, and some working only in the summer. Others, for example, members of the Integrated Care Association and the Omar Ibn El-Khatib Association, thought that those who worked and studied went to school in the morning and to work in the evening. A doorwoman from Bani Saleh said: "My daughter doesn't skip school to work but others do. My daughter helps according to the school schedule." The views of children themselves were sometimes at odds with those of the experts and seemed to suggest that, when it came to a choice between work and school, work would prevail.

I used to go to work in the morning and miss school. If I refused to work, my father would beat me and tell me work is more important than education. In the end I left school altogether. (Assiut)

There is too much work and I need money to help my parents so I left school and now I only work now. (Cairo)

6.4 Pathways into and Risk Factors Associated with Domestic Child Labor

Studies have shown repeatedly that poverty and illiteracy are the main causes of child labor. In an attempt to capture some of the reasons why children work in the domestic service sector in Egypt, children were asked why they worked as servants and how they found their way into such work. In addition, key informants were asked why they thought children worked in domestic service, where they came from and how they usually found work in this sector.

Migration from rural to urban areas is quite common, but not from country to country.

Some children move from rural areas to big cities like Cairo, Alexandria and Giza to work in domestic service. (New Horizon)

Children don't migrate from country to country to work in domestic service. (New Horizon)

Some formal experts thought that most movement was within urban areas.

Most come from slum areas in the city. A small number come from rural areas because work of this type is shameful. (Egyptian Association for Development and Institutional Support)

Overall the experts' answers revealed great variety of migration patterns for children entering domestic service. A member of the Omar Ibn El-Khatib Association thought that the pattern was changing: "In the past children would come from rural areas, but now they come from slum areas and work in affluent areas."

Some worked near where they lived and some traveled between governorates.

They work in mayors' houses and for rich people, in Fayoum or in Cairo, Giza or 6th October City. (Agent who helps find domestic laborers for employers, Fayoum)

Such service providers certainly seemed active in facilitating movements.

Some move between governorates and this is done through service provider offices. A representative approaches poor families and makes arrangements. (Protecting the Environment Association)

The Al-Roya Islamic Association was one of several organizations taking the view that in many cases, it was not just children who moved but the family as a whole. One of its officials said: “Rarely someone comes to work as a maid. Generally the family will all come to work as guards or doormen.”

Whether or not child domestic workers lived with their employer seemed to depend largely on the distances involved; a doorwoman and parent of a girl working in domestic service observed: “Some leave Fayoum and work in 6th October City and come back daily and some work in Cairo and come back every now and then. I’m not sure how often they come back.”

By far the strongest reason given by children for entering domestic service was that they worked to help their family financially.

This is life! Our financial situation is bad; father is poor and old and mother can’t work anymore. (Fayoum)

Father is old and no one helps, so I have to work to help my parents. (Cairo)

I started a month ago after my father died. The family does not have any other source of income and we need the money. (Sharkia)

Many other reasons flowed from the poverty they were experiencing. For some, it was a way of preparing for their future; a girl in Giza said: “All girls in the village work; so I work like them. I need money to prepare for when I get married.” Others saw it as a way to achieve a degree of independence.

I want to be able to support myself so I don’t need anything from anyone. I started work with my mother when I was 11 and at 13 I started to look for a place where I can work as a live-in. It’s a better a place to eat and sleep. It is humiliating, but at least humiliation with money is better than humiliation without money, like being at home. (Assiut).

There were also those who saw working in domestic service as an improvement on what they were doing before.

I was working in a shop and the owners used to yell at me and treat me badly. Young people used to harass me too. A woman told me to come work for her and she would give me good money and treat me well. It’s better than standing in the streets and being exposed to harassment. (Fayoum)

Given the stigma attached to child labor, some saw the anonymity of domestic service work as a way of disguising their situation from others.

My mother started to work in the market selling vegetables. If I join her people I know will see me and make fun of me, so I decided to work in a house. No one sees me, no one knows and I make some money. (Fayoum)

Others seemed almost to have drifted into the work, like this girl from Cairo who said: “My father is a doorman, I left school and was not doing anything... apartment owners asked me to come up and help with house work, so I did and they pay me.”

Other specific reasons given by relatively few children were working to pay personal expenses such as food and clothing (approximately one in five), learning a skill, and generally earning more money than they might earn elsewhere.

Boys, those under 14 years of age, and those living at their employer's home, were most likely to report working to help with family income. Girls and those 14 years of age and older were more likely than other children to report that they worked to pay personal expenses such as food, clothing and school fees.

The reasons reported and described by children were confirmed through the IDIs with key informants, who took the view that children were most likely to work in domestic service because of the poor economic status of their family and lack of earnings. Poor families, the experts argued, sent their children to work in domestic service in order to provide the family with basic needs, or children worked to support themselves and meet their own financial needs, sometimes displaying a streak of independence.

The head of household believes and says that he had children in order to make them work. (Association official)

A mother once told me that she didn't want to take her son out of school but what could she do? She needed money and couldn't work. (Official of the Association for Research and Cooperation)

The girl can get money for her trousseau as her family cannot afford it. (Agent)

There is ... no excess pressure to work. My daughter is the one who asked if she could help me when she became old enough. She asked me to let her deliver things to the residents of the building because I was tired. If anyone asks her to buy something and she doesn't want to, then she won't. Nobody forces her to do anything. (Parent, Fayoum)

Children were asked how they found their jobs. Mothers rather than fathers emerged as the most common source, with approximately two in five children saying that they had gotten their work through their mother. Friends, neighbors and other relatives were also influential but to a lesser extent. Very few—1 in 20—mentioned that they had gotten their work through a domestic services employer, even though such services seemed to be very active.

Registered service providers were very aware of the risks involved in facilitating the employment of children in domestic service. Although most of their work was reportedly the provision of adults, there were gray areas involving children where these providers appeared to be active.

Some offices provide work for those above 16 because they may look older. Some offices engage in this service in a clandestine manner. (New Horizon NGO)

Offices find work for girls. They take your ID card and they make you sign contracts and they know everything about you and then find you work. (Domestic worker).

The relationship between the service providers and agents seemed to be complex.

In some cases hiring is done through an agent because it is known that it is illegal to help hire this age group through registered and licensed domestic service offices. (New Horizon NGO)

The service providers interviewed said they did not use agents.

As an office we are the link between the employer and the employee. We place ads in papers and don't use agents. (Registered domestic worker provider)

However, there was the suggestion that such providers used agents to do work they would not wish to do themselves.

Usually agents manage the employment process because registered and licensed service offices would be scared to do so, and if they do they will work with children above 16 because they look older. Unregistered offices work in anything. (Egyptian Association for Social and Economic Rights)

Among agents, a low key, informal approach seemed to be common.

If someone wants a helper they tell me or others and we ask around and get him someone.
(Agent, Fayoum)

This informality also characterized the methods used by others when seeking work in the domestic sector. For some, word of mouth was central.

Parents arrange this when they know someone who wants to hire someone. (Egyptian Association for Development and Institutional Support)

Girls usually tell each other. (Al-Roya Islamic Association)

For others, the links that their parents had with those looking for domestic help could secure work.

If the father is a doorman he can get work for his daughter but she won't live with employer. Most of those working on a daily basis find work for their children. (Egyptian Association for Social and Economic Rights)

Two unusual channels were suggested. The Omar Ibn El-Khatib Association thought that some NGOs were placing children in domestic work under the pretext of providing work opportunities. A member of the Integrated Care Association in Alexandria argued that the police might have been involved: "Anyone who has a relative in the police force gets a servant through the young police officers who usually come from rural areas."

As for the children, boys were most likely to get their work through their fathers, while girls and boys relied on their mothers in equal measure. Those under 14 years old seemed to depend on mothers and fathers, while older children depended more on their friends and neighbors, perhaps reflecting their wider social circles.

My father was working as doorman. The owners wanted his wife and a girl to help with the house so I decided to work. (Cairo)

My mother used to work this job and I work for the same people she used to work for. ... She taught me this work. (Sharkia)

I got the work through a man who gets girls to work and takes them on weekly basis to work in the city. (Giza)

Younger children were most likely to report that their parents had helped them to get the job, with the older ones tending to mention that relatives other than parents, friends and neighbors had been involved. Children living at their employer's home were more likely to have had help from friends/neighbors, while those living elsewhere tended to have had parental assistance.

Whereas a few children had seen money paid for them to get their job, almost no other forms of financial transaction were reported. Just one child mentioned that debt repayments were involved.

I help my father in an apartment building. He has debts and I work to help him pay off the debt.
(Fayoum)

6.5 Type of Work Performed

Children in domestic work performed a wide range of tasks. Almost all of those interviewed reported that they washed dishes and cleaned the house. More than four-fifths of children shopped for groceries, and about three-fourths washed clothes and cleaned windows. Other activities were less likely to be reported, yet the proportion reporting them was nevertheless considerable; nearly half were involved in cooking, one-fourth took care of elderly family members and just over 1 in 10 were involved with watering plants and looking after chickens and other animals.

Looking at variations by background characteristics, girls were more likely to be given a wider range of activities than boys; for almost every activity asked about, girls were more likely than boys to carry it out. Younger children were a little less likely to be engaged in most activities compared with older children. Those working full time were much more likely than part-time workers to be involved in each activity. For example, more than two-thirds of full-time children were involved in cooking, more than twice the number reported by part-time workers. Similarly, two in five full-time workers said that they cared for an elderly family member, compared to approximately one in five among those who worked part time. Live-in child domestic workers were also more likely to be involved in a wider range of activities than those who lived elsewhere.

There was a consensus among both formal and informal experts concerning the work done by children, well typified by this comment from a representative of the NGO New Horizon: “All types of services, cleaning, washing the dishes, washing carpets, buying, cleaning and sometime cutting vegetables, taking care of the elderly if present in the house, serving food and cleaning up the kitchen.”

Even though many thought that the more physically demanding tasks would be done by older children, there were those who considered that age would not be a factor.

Young children do all chores like older children. They do everything they are asked. (Integrated Care Association, Alexandria)

An informal expert working for a registered service provider gave a more nuanced assessment, noting: “It depends on the size of the house. Some want them to cook and others to care for children. Young girls clean and take care of kids; rarely do they cook if under 18.” One association official believed that hygiene was a factor.

Most work in cleaning only. They don't live in because the employer has concerns about their hygiene. The girl won't be allowed near food or food preparation because of hygiene concerns. (Al-Roya Islamic Association)

All key informants agreed that a high level of physical effort was required from children, yet this seemed to be a greater concern for the formal experts than for the informal experts. For the latter, it seemed to be an acceptance that doing physical work was part of the job and children simply had to be up to it. “Of course there is a need for physical effort to be able to do the work,” remarked an agent from Fayoum. A doorman commented that “girls work long hours and do hectic work, but employers give them clothes, take care of them and sometimes put them in a taxi to come home.” The formal experts were more concerned about the effect of such hard work on the children’s welfare.

Young girls are asked to do work that is physically draining. One girl threw herself from a balcony due to the hectic work required. (Integrated Care Association, Alexandria)

Young girls are asked to do very heavy physical work, which is sometimes unbearable. (Omar Ibn El-Khatib Association, Alexandria)

6.6 Living and Working Conditions

In this section, we discuss living and working conditions of child domestic workers, including the intensity of work, exposure to dangerous errands or other activities, the incidence of injuries and exposure to different types of abuse.

6.6.1 Living Conditions

When asked where they lived, only 1 in 10 children said that they lived with their employer. Key informants also thought that most child domestic workers were day workers and tended to limit their comments to the minority who lived in the employer’s home. If they were lucky, child workers might be allocated a room.

Most go home after working hours; otherwise they sleep in the kitchen, under the stairs and in rare cases could have a room of their own. (Wahet El-Kheir Association)

Interestingly, it was service providers and agents who were most likely to suggest that live-in children had a room of their own.

Most have a room for the servant, if not they make an arrangement appropriate for both sides. (Registered domestic worker provider)

The employer provides a room for them either inside or outside the house. (Agent)

Most, it seems, had to make do with more basic accommodation.

I don't know about other girls, but in our case we all sleep in the basement. (Doorwoman and parent of a girl working in domestic service)

There was no evidence from the experts that, in the case of children living at their employer's home, payment was expected for accommodation. In fact, there was surprise at the suggestion that this might be the case.

Due to the scarcity of domestic workers, employers persuade families to agree to having the girl living with them by providing food, drink and housing without deducting anything from her earnings. (Community Development Association)

Experts thought that live-in child domestic workers had some but generally limited contact with their families; there was no agreement on precisely how much contact there was.

The migrant child ... visits her family only occasionally. The duration varies depending on the child's relationship with own family, the distance between place of residence and place of work is a factor, and the cost of visiting determines how often they go. (New Horizon NGO)

Children work all week and go at the weekend to see families. (Egyptian Association for Development and Institutional Support)

She lives with the family all year and goes back to village two or three times a year. The family comes monthly to take her salary and to check on her. They only care about the money. (Al-Roya Islamic Association)

They might go for visits every 6 months or during feasts and holidays. (Egyptian Association for Social and Economic Rights)

My daughter lives with me and we go to our village once a week. (Doorwoman)

A child domestic worker would normally work until the girl grew and was ready to marry, or she may have left work if the relative forcing her to work died. Sometimes they might have left work if they were mistreated by employers. Some may have wanted to leave but the employer may have refused to grant permission for her to leave, even if family wanted her back.

6.6.2 Work Intensity

Overall, about four-fifths of domestic worker children said that they had worked year-round. The proportion of older and younger children who worked every month was very similar (approximately four-fifths), with those who lived at the employer's home a little less likely to report that they had worked year-round than those who lived elsewhere. Those who hadn't worked every month during the past year worked on average about 5 months of the year.

When asked about the number of working weeks per month and the mean number of work hours per week, almost all children said that they worked during all 4 weeks in a month. Mean work hours in an average week were 32.5 hours. The number of hours was substantially higher among girls (33.8) than

boys (18.3) and a little higher among older children (35) than their younger counterparts (30.2). As expected, mean work hours per week were roughly double among those who worked full time compared with those who worked part time (46.8 hours and 24.2 hours, respectively). Those living with their employer worked longer hours (46.5 hours) than those who lived elsewhere (31.1 hours).

On average child domestic workers were active 5 days per week. Those who had never attended school and those living at their employer's house reported the highest number of work days per week. Girls worked on more days than boys did. Monday was the day most likely to be reported as a work day (four-fifths of workers), followed by Tuesday, Wednesday and Sunday (approximately three-fourths of children reported working on those days in the previous week). Saturday and Thursday were reported as working days by approximately two-thirds of the children. Two children in five reported working on Friday.⁹ Children living at their employer's house were less likely than those living elsewhere to report working on Friday, suggesting that employers do make concessions to their in-home workers.

There was general agreement among key informants that the demand for child domestic labor was constant and not restricted to particular seasons. However, there were certain times of the year when the demand, nature or location of the work was subject to change. Informal experts in particular noted that demand increased during Ramadan: "During Ramadan people have many guests and need someone to help them. Also, salaries increase during this time," said a doorman/guard from Fayoum. Summer vacations also tended to be a busy time. Employers may have wished to take their domestic workers with them when they went on vacation, and Egyptians living abroad and returning home for the summer generated additional demand. Needs may have differed by season in different places.

In Alexandria child labor increases in [the] summer, but it increases during [the] winter in Cairo. (Integrated Care Association, Alexandria)

One-third of children reported working full time, two-thirds part time. The great majority of girls were part-time workers, and very few worked a full-time job. A higher proportion of older children reported working full time compared with younger children. With regard to education, the lower a child's level of education, the more likely this child was to work full time; more than half of those who had never attended school reported working full time, compared with less than half those with a preparatory education or higher. As expected, about three-fourths of children living at their employer's house were working full time.

Children were asked when they started and finished work during four specific parts of the day: 1) morning, 2) afternoon, 3) evening, and 4) night. The answers to this question were used to calculate the mean number of hours worked in those specific parts of the day. Most children (approximately 9 in 10) reported that they worked in the morning and in the afternoon while approximately 4 in 10 said they worked in the evening. Barely any—5 cases—said they worked at night. Of these, two seemed to be on call around the clock. Another 11-year-old stated that she worked from 8 a.m. until 6 a.m., as she cared for an elderly lady and sometimes had to tend to her at night.

Overall, children who worked in the afternoon reported working on average 4.3 hours, and those who worked in the morning were active for about 3.3 hours. Children working during the evening said that they worked for 2.3 hours, slightly less time than those who worked at night (2.8 hours).

On average, children reported that they worked for 6.6 hours per day, with considerable variation by selected background characteristics. Boys reported having worked for just 3.8 hours per day, 3 hours less than the average reported by girls. Older children reported having worked on average more hours than younger children (7.3 hours compared with 6.1 hours). Those living at their employer's house said they worked longer hours than those living elsewhere (8.9 hours and 6.4 hours, respectively).

Key informants added that people like to hire servants who can work around the clock. Most of the informal experts mentioned that families prefer young females because they are more obedient, more

⁹ Friday and Saturday are Egypt's weekend days.

flexible and able to adapt and perform according to their employer's wishes, and develop in a manner appropriate to the employer. Moreover, as the child domestic worker is not responsible for a family, she can work for long periods of time, unlike married women, who like to finish their work as soon as possible so they can return to their families.

A young girl has no husband or anything to do; so she can work for 12 hours or even for 24 hours. She won't object; but the married woman has to return home at a specific time because her husband could cause her problems in her workplace. (Domestic worker)

The IDI respondents believed that a child domestic worker, who works either alone or with her mother from morning until evening, works on average 10–12 hours a day, a somewhat longer working day than that suggested by the children. The experts also thought that the work a child does with her mother is not done on a regular daily basis, but according to need, averaging out to 4–5 days a week. During summer, Ramadan, and holidays, work needs to be done all week; additional work hours are added accordingly. Child domestic workers living at their employer's house were thought to have no specified daily work hours. These girls do not take any particular day off, but visit their families from time to time and on special occasions.

6.6.3 Commuting to the Workplace

As noted, approximately 9 in 10 of the children interviewed did not live at their employer's house. Most said they used some form of public transport—the microbus¹⁰ was the most widely used—and most of the remainder said that they walked. Domestic child workers who lived within 1 kilometer of the employer's home were more likely to walk to work; virtually all of them reported doing so. Those who lived within 10 kilometers of the workplace overwhelmingly used a microbus. Comments from some of the children interviewed suggested that other methods were sometimes used:

A man comes to take us every day to work in 6th October City¹¹ and brings us back on the same day. (Giza)

6.6.4 Exposure to Hazards and Injuries

WFCL comprises those jobs that endanger the child's physical, mental or moral wellbeing. For children working in the domestic service sector, danger and hazards may not be as obvious as in other jobs. However, the children's lack of experience in using certain tools and utensils can result in health problems, such as physical injuries and skin problems. Also, materials used for cleaning and wiping, as well as the physical risks of cleaning windows, can impose some health hazards on children in the domestic service sector. This could negatively impact their health in the long term due to health problems such as back and joint pain.

All the interviewed children were asked whether they had used dangerous tools during their domestic work; those who reported doing so were asked to name the tools they had used.

Overall, 6 in 10 children reported using dangerous tools while performing domestic work. Girls, children 14 years of age and older, those who work full time, and those who are living at the employer's house, were most likely to use dangerous tools and implements.

As for the type of dangerous tools used, almost all the children interviewed reported using a knife, approximately one-fifth reported using scissors, a peeler or reamer, as well as electricity (i.e., using electricity outlets and electrical appliances); 14 percent reported using electric tools.

¹⁰ Microbuses are vehicles that accommodate 14 passengers or fewer. In Egypt, they are distinguished from mini-buses, which accommodate 26 passengers, and from the even larger public buses.

¹¹ 6th October City is a satellite city of Cairo.

Despite the obvious risks, there was very little sense among these children that what they were doing was dangerous. Less than 1 in 10 children said they thought there were dangers in their work, which indicates either a lack of awareness about the hazards involved, or that they did not perceive what they do as having risks attached. The few children (14) who did report that their work was dangerous were asked to give reasons. Their responses suggested that carrying heavy loads was the main perceived risk, followed by breathing dust, sustaining injuries on the stairs, and using sharp tools or machinery.

Among interviewed all children, four in five said they had to carry heavy loads, approximately three-fourths mentioned that they were exposed to dust, some two-thirds said that they were at risk of slipping or falling by using dangerous tools. Just under half reported that they were exposed to chemicals or substances that cause rashes, burns, or other skin problems. One in five interviewed children noted that they were exposed to irritating fumes and smells.

Overall, girls were much more likely to be exposed to all risks than were boys. Moreover, older children and those living at the employer's house were more likely to be exposed to different types of risks than were other children.

All the interviewed children were asked whether they had sustained any injury while at work and, if so, the type of injury, its impact on their work, and whether they had received treatment.

Approximately one-third of the children interviewed reported that they had been hurt while working. Older children were twice as likely as young children to have been injured during work. In addition, full-time workers were more likely to report injuries than were those working part time, and girls were more likely than boys to report injuries.

Four in five of those who had experienced an injury mentioned that they had sustained wounds, with broken bones and bruises being far less common. There was one case of a permanent disability, sustained by falling from a balcony while cleaning windows and losing an eye as a consequence.

The following examples of reported instances of injuries give some idea of the range of hazards encountered:

Cut finger while cutting onions. (Cairo)

Small hand injury while peeling potato. (Giza)

Fell from a chair and broke an arm. (Giza)

A vase fell on my foot and I was hurt by glass. (Alexandria)

A gas cylinder fell on me while going up the stairs carrying it and was bruised all over my body. (Fayoum)

I hurt my hand while preparing fruit juice in the mixer. (Fayoum)

Those under 14 years of age were more likely than older children to suffer from most types of injuries. As expected, those who were working full time were more likely to be exposed to wounds and broken bones than were part-time workers, as were those living at their employer's house.

Injuries sustained did have an impact on children's ability to work. Approximately one-fifth of those who had been injured reported that they had to take rest from between 1 day to 1 week. However, three-fifths of those injured said that they didn't stop working at all while they were injured. Only a minority—two in five—of those who were injured reported that they had received treatment for their injuries.

I could not work for 2 weeks. I went to the doctor and she put my arm in plaster. (Cairo)

I fell and there was glass, so I got hurt. I cleaned my leg and continued working; no one helped me get treatment. (Cairo)

I was cut by a knife. My employer is a doctor and she treated me. I stopped work for 5 days.
(Giza)

I cut my hand while peeling onions. I didn't stop work, I just tied it up. They had people over for lunch and I could not leave work that day. (Sharkia)

I cut my hand while peeling potatoes. My mother took me to a doctor. The employer did nothing.
(Fayoum)

Younger children were more likely than older children to report having to rest for up to a week. Full-time workers were more likely than part-time workers to say that they continued working immediately after an injury, and almost 9 in 10 of those living at their employer's house said they had carried on working after being injured, a far higher proportion than among those living elsewhere (just over half). Children living with their employer were less likely to have received treatment for their injuries than did those living elsewhere. Part-time workers were more likely than full-time workers to receive treatment for their injuries.

Interviews with the formal experts confirmed that injuries were sometimes sustained. In such cases, they believed that employers sometimes took full care of the injured child, sometimes not. This confirms the experience of the children themselves.

Key informants mentioned that—

- Children sometimes do hard work that often exposes them to physical risk, which can lead to pain and physical deformity.
- The child may be at risk from falling out of a window while cleaning it, or may be in danger of falling from the stairs while cleaning the carpet or sweeping the stairs.
- Cleaning and dusting also may expose them to respiratory diseases.
- During cooking, they may be exposed to smoke or cuts to the hands or elsewhere on the body as a result of using dangerous tools such as knives.
- If children use strong detergents incorrectly, they may expose themselves to skin and respiratory diseases that could cause some disability.

Some specific examples were as follows:

Boiling water was spilled on a child; the employer treated her for a year at home and didn't take her to the hospital, because she was worried about the legal consequences. (Official of the Egyptian Association for Economic and Social Rights)

A girl was cleaning, and as she switched off the fan and went up the ladder, her head was injured by the fan. She came to us in the association, with a bandage on her head. We took her to the hospital to treat her wound and I asked her how she came to be in this state. The child said that her employer gave her 20 LE [Egyptian pounds], just a part of her normal wage of 50 LE, as [that] she didn't finish all her work. I drove her back to her employer's house and met her, and she told me that she is not responsible for her treatment. (Official from an association in Cairo)

My daughter was standing on the balcony at her employer's house to clean it, and she fell down from the second floor. One of her eyes was injured, and her employer paid for her treatment, but she lost an eye in this accident. She became depressed but she insists on continuing to work to be able to afford an operation for an artificial eye. (Parent in Assiut governorate)

My daughter was working for a counselor and was attacked on the arm by his dog. They concealed that from me for 2 months, as they were afraid to tell me. Every time I called her, they told me that she was out and that when she comes back they will make her call me. They treated her, and when I was there visiting her I found that the dog had injured her employer's daughter

too. I wanted to take my daughter with me but the employer refused and told me that she will never leave this house. (Servant agent in Fayoum governorate)

As well as being asked about injuries, all the children surveyed were asked whether they had contracted any illness from their work in the previous 12 months, the type of illness they had contracted, the number of days they had rested, and whether treatment had been received for the illness. Relatively few children—some 1 in 10—reported that they had experienced illness due to work, principally body aches, as well as pains and hearing difficulties.

A small number of children—23—reported work disruption due to illness during the past 12 months. For most, the disruption lasted 7 days or less, with about one in five of those responding saying the illness had caused no disruption to their work at all.

Most of those who had been ill for work-related reasons during the previous 12 months prior to the survey said they had received treatment, mainly at a public hospital or, to a lesser extent, at a private doctor's clinic.

6.6.5 Physical, Emotional and Sexual Abuse

In addition to the physical strains of the work itself, there may also have been physical attacks on child domestic workers by their employers or other persons. They may also have faced emotional abuse as a consequence of the way their employer dealt with them, as well as been exposed to experiences that might also have negatively affected them psychologically. Finally, child domestic workers might have faced sexual harassment or abuse at their workplace. This section of the report considers the different types of abuse that children might have faced in the domestic service sector.

Children were asked how stressful they thought their work was. There was no strong sense that these children found their work stressful, with some four in five children saying that they did not consider their job stressful at all. Relatively few children—less than 1 in 10—believed their job was always stressful, with a further 1 in 10 considering their job to have been stressful at times. Boys and those who lived at their employer's house were the most likely to report that their work was always stressful. Younger children were more likely than older ones to report the same.

By far, the main type of stress was physical fatigue due to excessive work demands by the employer, which was reported by three-fourths of the children. Other sources of stress—such as being upset, concerned about the children's educational prospects, them worrying about the threat of being expelled from home, and their low standard of living resulting from their status—were much less likely to be reported. Although the results should be treated with caution on account of low numbers (41 in total), the distribution does suggest that older children and those not living at their employer's house were more likely than others to report physical stress, exhaustion due to excessive workloads and stress prompted by being upset and not wanting to work. Stress stemming from the threat of being expelled from home was highest among those living at their employer's house.

The IDIs with key informants highlighted a range of opinions, from the extreme view that all domestic workers suffered from abuse to those who believed that it did not happen at all. Key points were as follows:

- The most serious and hidden abuse was psychological. Some experts mentioned that these child domestic workers may have been subjected to psychological risks, which may have stayed with them for their whole lives and have impacted negatively both the child and society as a whole. Children who have not experienced a proper childhood feel extreme deprivation, since they could not exercise their fundamental rights at that stage of their lives—education, play, entertainment and so on. They also had responsibility thrust upon them at a very early age. As a result of all this, these children may have felt some resentment towards their real family and environment,

which may have led to a sense of inferiority, envy of others, and psychological complications that were difficult to treat.

The girl serves in a house with children of the same age, but they are treated differently. (Egyptian Association for Economic and Social Rights, Cairo)

The girl who goes to serve in houses and sees her friends playing may be exposed to a kind of psychological oppression. (El-Shehab Association for Development, Cairo)

The child sees herself serving in houses, while the employer's children are being educated and entertained. (Sponsors Charity Association, Cairo)

- Informal experts disagreed with formal experts in that they did not mention any of the psychological risks to which children working in domestic service may have been exposed. Some said they were unaware of the kinds of risk child workers in domestic service may have faced.

There are no risks to the children working in domestic services because we know the houses where we send them to work. (Parent, Fayoum)

- When the informal experts were further asked about the risks children working in domestic service faced, they agreed that such children faced physical risks from hard work—such as lifting heavy loads, washing carpets, cleaning windows in high floors, using electrical equipment, and using dangerous tools such as knives and scissors. The children may also have faced physical abuse from their employer.

The girl may injure her back, leg or her hand. She is still young, so her body can't bear that. (Servant, Fayoum)

My niece works in domestic service. Once she washed a colored rug and damaged it, as she didn't know that washing it would cause damage. Her employer verbally and physically abused her. (Servant in Assiut)

- Resident children were subjected to more violence and verbal abuse, simply as a consequence of living with the employer; they would not have been able to leave regardless of the violence they experienced.
- The food served to child domestic workers in most cases was different from that served to the employer's family. That was because employers usually favored their own children over the child domestic workers; however, a minority of employers did not differentiate between their own children and the child domestic workers, and treated them in a humane and compassionate way.
- Children were also subjected to abuse from their parents. Some children might have been forced by their parents to go to work, been deprived of pocket money, or been beaten up. In some cases, parents imposed psychological pressure on their children.

These children were asked whether they had been shouted at or punished during the 12 months preceding the survey. Approximately one-fifth said they had. Girls, older children, and those not living with their employer were more likely than others to have been punished. Virtually all the children who had been punished at work said that they had been shouted at or insulted, with only one child incurring a financial penalty.

The triggers for punishment or verbal abuse, as reported by the children, were many and varied. In some cases, the abuse was in response to some misdemeanor, actual or imagined.

The woman kept shouting and insulting me because someone hit her son and I did not defend him. (Cairo)

When I broke a plate the employer shouted and yelled and insulted me. (Behera)

In some cases, it appeared to be normal household behavior for child domestic workers to be verbally abused, just because of who they were.

My employer yells at me if I break something. (Behera)

They shout at me and reprimand me. (Cairo)

She yells at me if I take some time to rest. She would say: "Get up and start working; you are not here to rest; you are here to work." (Fayoum)

Dealing with domestic workers sometimes led to friction among the employers themselves.

The employer's husband was rude and yells at me and shouts at his wife for treating me kindly, saying that I am a maid and should not be treated nicely. (Fayoum)

My employer shouts at me when she is upset. Her husband doesn't; he is kind. (Cairo)

Sometimes children were verbally abused for making mistakes they simply were not aware of.

I was yelled at and reprimanded for washing a carpet with chlorine. I did not know that it would be ruined. (Assiut)

Another complex issue concerned children's exposure to sexual abuse and harassment. These issues are particularly challenging to address in the Egyptian context because of the social taboos related to discussing sexual matters. Sexual harassment, for example, is a relatively new concept in Egypt that local organizations are attempting to mainstream.¹² Because of the sensitivity of this issue and the expectation that many people would not talk about it, the study attempted to capture information by asking two questions: 1) whether the child knew someone who worked as a domestic worker and who had been sexually harassed, and 2) whether they themselves had been sexually harassed at work.

Overall, 1 in 10 children reported that they knew someone who had been exposed to sexual abuse or harassment at work. Girls were more likely than boys to have known someone. Older children were more likely than younger ones to have known someone, probably because they were more likely to understand its implications and to have to confront it. There was no clear pattern in terms of level of education, but full-time workers and those living with their employer were a little more likely than their counterparts to have encountered other children who had suffered sexual abuse.

The examples that the children interviewed gave tended to be fairly general and lacked detail, which may have been a consequence of the sensitivity of the subject matter and of likely embarrassment at being asked to talk about it.

Her employer used to look at her in an indecent manner so she left work. (Cairo)

A friend told me that the son of employer made a pass at her and wanted to hold her hand. (Fayoum)

The employer's son touched a friend once, but she told his mother and he did not do it again. (Fayoum)

A girl in the building next to us was screaming because employer was going to rape her. (Cairo)

Very few child domestic workers admitted that they had been sexually harassed themselves; their comments tended to be very guarded. Girls, older children, and those living at their employer's home were most likely to admit it had happened to them. Most incidents reported tended to fall short of abuse and rape.

The husband used to tell me to give him a massage or watch TV with him. (Cairo)

Sometimes my employer's husband looks at me in an indecent manner and I ignore him. (Fayoum)

¹² Ilahi, N. (2010). Gendered contestations: An analysis of street harassment in Cairo and its implications for women's access to public spaces. American University in Cairo Master's Thesis in Sociology.

My employer tried to sexually harass me, but I left and went to work somewhere else.
(Alexandria)

A few key informants agreed that children in domestic service were exposed to sexual harassment. Harassment could occur through looks, by words, or by more direct actions. The informants thought that in some cases the girl could be raped by the employer or his sons and they cited cases from their experience.

The employer may be abnormal, sick, or indecent; and if the girl can't take care of herself, this job is not appropriate for her. (Owner of domestic service office, Cairo)

I know of two cases which went to court. They were cases where the employer had raped the girl who works for him. Unfortunately both cases were withdrawn due to pressure from the employer and his family. The cases were closed and money was paid to the girls. One of the employers said it was the girl's fault and that it is normal to face this situation, since when she bends down her legs are exposed. (Association official in Cairo)

6.6.6 Forced Child Labor

Key informants generally did not feel that forced labor was particularly widespread among children in domestic service. Among the informal experts, there was little sense that coercion of children was rife in domestic service and trafficking was hardly mentioned at all. A doorwoman from Bani Saleh explained: "There is no forced labor here and no trafficking. My daughter offers to help me when she sees that I'm tired me tired. If she doesn't want to, I don't force her. Some force their daughters to work because of poverty."

Formal experts were less sanguine than their informal counterparts on the question of coercion. Where it existed, they saw it largely as originating from families rather than from employers. The Integrated Care Association, for example, noted that any coercion depended on economic conditions and that families may have forced children to work through beatings. The Wahet El-Kheir Association made a similar point, arguing that if the family was under economic pressure, it in turn would force a girl to work by applying either physical or psychological coercion. The Women's Issues Association in Giza concluded, "I don't think a 10-year-old would choose to be a servant."

The formal experts were also more likely than the informal experts to believe that there was trafficking, or more accurately what they described as trafficking, in domestic service. The Egyptian Association for Social and Economic Rights argued this most forcefully, with one official claiming: "Trafficking in girls exists. They don't get proper pay for the work they are doing, and this is trafficking. The father who allows the girl to do this type of work, this is trafficking. ... The agent who takes money from both employer and employee, this is trafficking." Other organizations, while agreeing that children were moved, tended not to see this as trafficking as such, but rather as a less formal process, generally involving families and acquaintances, sometimes with agents involved. An official from the Community Development Association believed that "there are no agents. It is all done through families and their acquaintances." Another official from the New Horizon NGO said: "There are agents and brokers who agree with parents to let girls work in homes. Some doorkeepers could do this as well. Some parents do this through acquaintances." One agent commented: "Some doormen can approach me and ask me to find them a girl to work. I approach families and, if they agree, I take the girl to employer. I check the place and the people she will work for because I am responsible for her safety. They pay me something and I go home."

This perception was shared by the children interviewed. Very few children, fewer than 1 in 20, reported that they had been forced to work, largely among those living at their employer's home.

In order to assess to what extent domestic labor included forced labor, questions were asked about children's agreement to their working conditions, whether they were given false promises regarding work, and whether they had the right to leave work at any time. Overall, there was little evidence that the children were forced. Only two children mentioned that they had been given false promises regarding

work; most children—approximately 9 in 10—said they were free to leave their work whenever they wanted. Twenty-five children reported that they were unable to leave their work.

Most of the experts agreed that the children generally could leave their place of work largely because, with the exception of live-in child workers, there were rarely contractual or other obstacles that prevented them from doing so. However, there were other, more subtle factors in play. An agent remarked: “They can leave, but they think about their families and the fact that they will have no money;” this can be a strong disincentive. Consequently, there was little sense among the informal experts that any attempt to leave would be met with punishment. Although some employers might have made it difficult for the child to leave or might have withheld pay, the dominant view was that there would have been no significant penalty. A doorman/guard from Fayoum said: “No punishment and the girl is not forced to work,” a view echoed by an informal agent from Cairo: “No one forces her to do anything.”

The children concurred that the reasons for being unable to leave were largely family-related, with concerns being expressed about the consequences for their family’s financial position and their own financial needs.

My mother wants to collect money so my father can have an operation. He has a problem with his ear. He used to support us, but now he no longer works and we are the ones working. (Assiut)

Most were doubtful that their families would agree to their leaving, especially since in many cases a girl’s parents would be working for the same employer. One girl in Cairo said: “I can’t leave, my father will not agree. The owners might make him leave work. They want someone to help with the apartments, this is the agreement.”

Among the small number (25) who said that their employers would take action to stop them from leaving their work, girls, older children, full-time child domestic workers and those living with their employers were most likely to experience this. Interestingly, the action taken to stop the children from leaving appeared to be largely positive, with most saying that the employer gave them financial and in-kind benefits and generally treated them well. Approximately 1 in 10 children mentioned that their employer gives them the chance to go to literacy and other classes. Among the minority reporting negative actions, being locked in, threatened, having financial penalties imposed and being under constant surveillance were the most common.

They are good people and they treat me well. When I need something they give it to me and they treat me well—their children are now married. (Assiut)

She treats me well and gives me nice things. (Fayoum)

Sometimes she keeps part of my pay well into the following month so I can’t leave. (Cairo)

6.6.7 Payment Schemes

Overall, cash payments were by far the most widespread method of payment, with almost all children mentioning that they received cash. Some children clearly received payment in more than one form—two in five said that they received food; one in three, clothing. Very few reported that they were given shelter, medical support, or skills training as part of the package.

There were different patterns of payment. Slightly less than half the children (45 percent) reported that they were paid monthly, and approximately one-fourth reported that they were paid upon the completion of a task. Smaller proportions mentioned that they were paid on a daily or weekly basis. A few did not know how frequently they were paid.

Girls were more likely to be paid on a monthly basis, and boys upon completion of a task. Full-time workers were more likely to be paid monthly (61 percent) while part-time workers tended to be paid either monthly or upon completion of a task (approximately one-third for each payment pattern). Monthly

payment was the norm for those living at their employer's home, with more than four in five such workers reporting being paid monthly.

On average, full-time workers received about 87 Egyptian pounds (LE)¹³ per week, and part-time workers 68 LE per week. However, the picture varied depending on the number of days worked and the status of the child's work. Whereas a child who worked on a full-time basis for 7 days a week received on average 126 LE per week, one who worked full time 3 days a week received 24 LE a week. A part-time worker working 7 days received 83 LE per week. The mean amount of payment per week by the number of days worked should be taken with caution because of the small number of cases in each subgroup.

Overall, 87 percent of child domestic workers reported that the payments they received for their work were in line with their expectations, with girls more likely than boys to take this view (88 percent and 74 percent, respectively). Differences between the other groups were too small to be meaningful.

Whereas most children appeared to receive payment directly for their work, approximately two children in five reported receiving their payment via others, overwhelmingly their parents. Boys, younger children, and those not living with their employer were most likely to receive payment via an intermediary.

Even where intermediaries were involved, there was little evidence to suggest that children experienced problems receiving their earnings. When they did report problems, these most often concerned delays in being paid.

Sometimes money is deducted if I accidentally break something; and it is not always my fault.
(Cairo)

Sometimes they are 1 or 2 weeks behind in paying my salary. (Fayoum)

My employer (my aunt's husband) sometimes refuses to pay me and says that it is enough that I am given food and drink. He also says that my work was not good enough. (Fayoum)

¹³ At the time of writing, 1 U.S. dollar is the equivalent of approximately 6 Egyptian pounds.

7. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATION

This study aimed to gather data on child domestic workers in Egypt. The research sought to address the pathways to child domestic work and the risk factors associated with it, the types of work performed, the working and living conditions, the supply chain, the market demands, and the prevalence of the child domestic work phenomenon. Due to the exploratory nature and the limitations of the study, mixed qualitative and quantitative methods were used to obtain the data.

Interview guides were prepared to conduct interviews with formal and informal experts, as were structured questionnaires to be used with children working in domestic service. Data were collected from 214 children interviewed in different governorates, and 53 IDIs were conducted with formal and informal experts to gather information and data about the method and consequences of child labor, as well as to explore its characteristics, nature, and impact.

The main conclusions of the study are presented below, followed by some suggested recommendations for future research.

- In addition to furthering understanding of the processes and relationships through which children move into domestic work, the research uncovered much evidence of ill-treatment of children by their employers and families.
- The child labor experience described in this research was primarily part-time work performed on a daily basis, rather than full-time work by children living with their employers. In that sense, the experience is likely to reflect an indicative cross-section of domestic child labor, but may have understated its more serious forms taking place in private and hidden environments that are inaccessible to researchers.
- Poverty was and remains the key driver of child labor in domestic service. There is unlikely to be major resolution of the problem, as long as economic need feeds the supply of labor and social and other needs and aspirations fuel the demand.
- Whereas Egypt is a signatory to key international child labor conventions and does have legislation in place to regulate child labor, there was concern among the formal experts that enforcement was lacking. One key issue was how to enforce legislation pertaining to activities in private premises when the home was generally regarded as sacrosanct.
- The movement of child workers from their homes in either rural or slum areas of cities seemed to be organized in largely informal ways through family, friends, and acquaintances. The role of the more formal system of offices supplying domestic service staff, and the agents working with or independently of them, appeared to be secondary—although it was clear from the findings that intermediaries were used throughout the supply chain.
- There were many instances reported in the research of children being placed in domestic service as a consequence of work done and connections made by others in their family. Many girls—and this research supports previous evidence that child domestic labor is overwhelmingly a female phenomenon—started to work by accompanying and helping their mothers, often in apartment buildings where the father worked as a concierge/guard.
- Education and domestic labor were often uncomfortable bedfellows and the research supports the view that child workers' education does tend to suffer, as it has become increasingly difficult for children to reconcile the conflicting pressures of work and school. Even when children were allowed to attend school, the physical demands of their work often left them too tired to concentrate on their studies. As a consequence, and often coupled with the low importance many poor families attach to education, many child domestic workers dropped out of school. There were, however, some examples where employers had actively encouraged girls to continue with their education.

- The work done by children encompassed a wide range of domestic tasks, ranging from care of the young and the elderly to work requiring significant stamina and energy. Some of this work brought with it risks and hazards, often resulting in injuries and down time. The causes of the injuries tended to be ordinary household objects—knives, scissors, kitchen equipment etc. —that were unlikely to have posed risks for older people who are more familiar with their use. In the hands of inexperienced youngsters, a common household tool could become dangerous, something that greater forethought on the part of employers could forestall.
- In addition to physical injury, children in domestic service were also subjected at times to physical, verbal, and sexual harassment and abuse, which may well have significant consequences for their subsequent development. Although instances of sexual harassment and abuse were not very common in the research, many of the reported instances were sufficient to prompt girls to leave a particular employment. There may also have been underreporting of sexual abuse for reasons of embarrassment and modesty.
- The research found very little evidence of forced child labor within the domestic service sector in Egypt. Formal and informal experts alike opined that forced child labor in this sector was uncommon, even though they were able to point to examples from other sectors. Among the children interviewed, few met the criteria for forced child labor. Whereas this outcome of the research may have been influenced in part by the practical and methodological challenges of examining a phenomenon operating outside the law and largely taking place in private domestic premises, it was nevertheless encouraging that both experts and children had pointed to the same conclusion.
- The research also showed that, for many girls, their experience of working in domestic service was broadly positive; it enabled them to develop in ways which would not have been possible in their own families, to earn some money, and to acquire a degree of self-reliance and self-worth. However, the research also showed that a girl's circumstances could change very rapidly, with the result that any acquired benefits might be lost. The challenge is to develop pathways that permit child domestic workers to build on any positive aspects of their experience.

Recommendation

Assessing the situation with regard to child work in the domestic service sector is very difficult. Whereas the research data reported here—collected using conventional methodologies for investigating difficult-to-access populations—broaden knowledge of the child labor phenomenon in Egypt, there still remain considerable obstacles in the path of a better understanding of the practices and consequences of forced labor and coercion within child domestic labor. For any future research to be of greater value in moving the discussion forward, there is a strong case for considering fresh methodological approaches to the question of how best to sample and research this challenging subject matter. Those working in this area may have much to learn from the experiences of others working with hard-to-access populations in other fields, especially those where the nature of the activities is private, illegal, or both. In addition to gaining access to the most hidden members of the population of child domestic workers, future research would be well served by using longitudinal methods to explore the long-term effects of working in domestic service as a child.

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ANNEX A: CASE STUDIES

Two case studies were conducted of females working in domestic service. The first concerns a female child domestic worker. The second describes the experiences of a former child domestic worker who is now 27 years old.

Case Study 1 (Current Female Domestic Worker)

She said that her name is “Heba.” This is not her real name. She does not like her real name and does not like to give it to anyone. She is from the El Sayda Esha district in Cairo and is 16 years old. She completed the first year of secondary school and then dropped out of school.

Her father worked in the marble industry and her mother worked in domestic service before Heba married, but left when she got married. She has four sisters; the oldest is currently married, and the others work in domestic service.

The economic conditions of the family were good until her father sustained a back injury in an accident at work, which forced him to quit work. Heba’s mother had to return to work in domestic service and took one of her daughters to help her. Heba started working in domestic services when she was 12 and has been doing this work for 4 years for her art teacher.

Reasons for working in domestic service:

Heba’s main reason for working in domestic service was **poverty** and the poor economic conditions of the family. The picture however is more complex:

- After her father stopped working, her mother returned to work in domestic service, but then she became ill and had to stop working. Her daughter therefore had to go to work.

My father was earning a living, but 10 years ago some marble fell on him and he was injured. (Heba)

- Heba and her sisters had to work in domestic service to help the family meet its essential expenses, such as providing food, beverages and medical treatment.
- Heba’s parents were obliged to take a loan, repayable by installments, to help pay for the marriage of their elder daughter. Debts accumulated and Heba works to pay these debts.

My elder sister got married and we paid for what she needed in installments. We are paying the premium now. (Heba)

- Heba was a diligent student before working in domestic service, but the family failed to pay tuition fees. One of her schoolteachers asked her to help with domestic chores. Heba agreed and went to work for her teacher.

Every now and then the teachers asked me for the tuition fees and school group fees, but I failed to pay them. (Heba)

Heba was in the fifth grade of primary education and she liked drawing; her art teacher admired her drawings and she kept on encouraging her to draw. She asked her to design a portrait to be displayed in the art competition. The teacher gave her the sketch and a color painting. She did the painting, entered the competition and won a prize. Nobody believed that this painting was from her design. Unfortunately, Heba dropped out of school due to her poor economic situation.

Family's knowledge of employer:

Heba's older sister was working for the same family for which her mother worked. When Heba and her younger sister subsequently started to work in domestic service, their mother went to meet the employers in their homes to assure herself that these families would look after them, and that there was nothing to prevent their working for these families.

As soon as my teacher asked me to help her, my father asked my mother to go to check on the house I'm going to work in before I started. (Heba)

Income and earnings:

Working for the art teacher was Heba's first job. When she started, the teacher asked her how often she would like to be paid, and she replied that she would prefer to be paid on a daily basis to provide essentials for her family. In the beginning, she received 30 LE (Egyptian pounds) per day, but is currently paid 50 LE per day. During Ramadan she is paid 80 LE, since work during Ramadan is heavier than in any other month.

In addition, her employer gives her other items, such as food for her family. At feast time and during other occasions, she buys new clothes for her and gives her old clothes for her family. Whenever Heba feels sick, her employer takes her to see a doctor and buys the medication at her expense.

Agreements and form of contract:

There was no written contract, but before starting work the employer agreed on the amount and frequency of payment with Heba's mother. The employer also agreed in principle that the wage would be increased, but without specifying when.

The employer committed to providing Heba with new clothes twice a year, once in the summer and once in the winter. Moreover, the employer told her mother that she might help in providing what was needed for Heba's marriage.

The teacher agreed my wage with my mother before starting work and how frequently I will be paid, and she added that if the wage is not enough, my mother has to inform her. (Heba)

Work hours:

When Heba first started to work for the art teacher, she was working from 2 p.m. (after school) until 8 p.m. Currently, her work hours are weekdays from 11 a.m. until 5 p.m. During Ramadan, she was working from 11 a.m. to 5 p.m., and then again from 8 p.m. to 12 a.m.

Nature of work:

Heba discussed the nature of her work when she started in domestic service in the fifth grade of primary education. The teacher used to take her in her car to her house at 2 p.m. On arrival, they would rest briefly and eat a light meal, after which Heba would go buy groceries, wash the vegetables, and wash dishes. As she grew up, she started to help with cooking and washing clothes.

I used to buy groceries and come back quickly to wash the dishes, vegetables, and clean the floors. When I grew up, I started to help with cooking and putting clothes in the washing machine. (Heba)

Mode of transportation to workplace:

When Heba started to work in domestic service, she used the microbus to reach her workplace and her employers would drive her home. When she grew up, she relied more on herself to get there and back, but in some cases her employers would drive her home if it was too late or if they were going out.

It takes Heba 10 minutes by microbus to reach her workplace or she sometimes walks. Sometimes it takes her 30 minutes to arrive at her employer's house, as they have two apartments: one in the El Hylmia district and the other in Sakr Koresh.

Problems/risks faced in domestic service:

Heba herself did not report facing any kind of risks. She described her employer as reasonable and compassionate towards her. Her employer did not force her to do anything she did not want to do; carpets and blankets were sent to the laundry, so the girl did not get tired. Moreover, her employer only asked her to cook simple things. The employer's husband and sons never looked at her inappropriately or acted in an indecent way. She was never beaten or insulted and was always encouraged by her employers to lead a decent life.

Thank God, I don't face any kind of risks. I am doing normal domestic chores that any girl will do in her home. (Heba)

Heba was, however, aware from others of the general risks of working in domestic service. A girl may face some physical and verbal abuse; she may also make a lower wage than appropriate for the work done. Heba noted that employers may force domestic workers to buy groceries late at night, which can expose them to harassment. Girls may be exposed to the risk of fire when working in the kitchen. Some employers are very harsh, giving the girl small amounts insufficient for the work they do. She may also be at risk of falling and other potential hazards. Heba indicated that employers were unlikely to treat any injuries incurred in this way.

Sometimes my sisters are insulted and treated in a bad way by their employers. They also only get paid a small amount of money, as their employers think that such sums are sufficient given their age and the type of work they do. (Heba)

Work interference with studies:

Heba said that when she started work, she was in the fifth grade of primary education and her teacher (employer) was helping her with her studies. She continued to do this at the preparatory stage.

Initially she was efficient in her work and it did not interfere with her studies. Her employer encouraged her to study and sometimes paid her tuition fees until she completed her preparatory stage with a high grade. Moving on to secondary school (technical school), Heba found it was a long way away and required transport. Furthermore, she failed to pay tuition and private tutoring fees. Increasingly, there was no time for studying or even for going to school.

She became too weak to work and study simultaneously. She felt she had become negligent in helping her family with their expenses, and her sisters had to bear the primary burden of household expenditures. She therefore dropped out of school in order to work and satisfy the needs of the family.

I can't stand to work and study any more...my sisters dropped out of school to work but I became negligent in everything to do with my education. Even if I got my diploma, what would I do with it? I'm seen as a servant. (Heba)

Perception of community toward girls who work in domestic service:

Heba confirmed that the community looks upon girls working in this sector with little sympathy. She is seen as a bad girl and inferior, working in the lowliest jobs. They defined her by this work and called her a servant. Girls working in domestic service are usually ashamed to admit to the nature of their work and keep it a secret hidden from everyone, especially neighbors, colleagues and her fiancé and his family due to the fear of being judged.

Heba said that when she was working in domestic service while studying, she was ashamed to talk about her work with fellow students. She therefore isolated herself from other students in order to avoid questions about the kind of relationship she had with her teacher and why she rode in the car with her. Her employer used to tell her that her work was good and decent and that she should not care what other people thought. The community's perception of a woman working in domestic service differs a lot from that of a girl doing the same thing—it is considered normal for a married woman.

A married woman can work in domestic service but a girl will seek to hide this work from others.
(Heba)

Heba told a story about her elder sister's previous experience. Before her engagement, her sister decided to work in domestic service to contribute to household expenses. Once Heba's sister was engaged, she refused to work in domestic service, fearing that her fiancé would find out about her work and leave her. They married but now they have many problems and her mother-in-law used to criticize her because her mother and her sisters were working in domestic service.

Exposure to sexual harassment:

Heba reported that she had never faced any kind of harassment during her work in domestic service, since her employers were decent people with good morals and faith.

However, she has heard from her sisters that there are girls who have faced sexual harassment, and whose employers looked at them in an inappropriate manner. Some were exposed to harassment directly from their employer, others from the employer's son. She added that girls who were raped tend to hide this from others, fearing what others might think and protecting themselves from getting a bad reputation.

A girl was deceived by her employer. He told her loved her and wanted to marry her until she was raped and kicked out. (Heba)

Vision of her future and all girls in domestic service:

Heba said her future and that of other girls like her was not clear. They have no other skills and have not learned any other job or profession. It is hard to find other work since they did not complete their education and do not have the financial means to establish even a small project as an alternative to their work in domestic service.

I wish I could quit working in domestic service but there is no other work to do. (Heba)

Suggestions to limit risks of working in domestic service:

She had some suggestions that could limit the risks of working in domestic service, such as—

- Girls should not start working in domestic service before the age of 14, to ensure that they have a degree of self-reliance.
- Girls should not work alone in domestic service, but should have one of their relatives present to protect them.
- Girls should try to avoid working for male employers.

Role of associations in protecting girls from domestic service risks:

In Heba's view, the role of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and other associations is restricted to helping the poor and providing charity by giving small amounts of money, which are insufficient to satisfy family needs. Heba was unaware of any NGOs/associations specifically charged with protecting girls from the risks of domestic service. She believed there is a need for organizations to protect these

girls and provide better job opportunities for their families, so that girls do not need to work in domestic service.

We don't want anyone to give us charity, but we want them to provide us with job opportunities so we don't have to work in domestic service. (Heba)

Case Study 2 (Former Domestic Worker)

Om Nada is from Bani Saleh village in Al Fayoum governorate. She is 27 years old, has been married twice, and has a young daughter. Her husband works in a brick factory. Now she sews at home for her neighbors. She lives in her own house, which consists of a single room, a corridor and a bathroom. It is built of red brick, a compacted earth floor, and a tin roof and is situated on the outskirts of the village, close to an area of swampland.

Her father works as a farmer; her mother is a housewife. Om Nada has five sisters and one brother. Her father used to smoke hashish and was addicted to it. She was 14 years old at the time and was pretty with a good figure. Her father had a friend of the same age who visited them a lot. He asked to marry her, in exchange for which he would provide her father with hashish and would not make any demands for a marriage dowry.

She was happy with the new clothes he brought her and agreed to marry him because of her impecunious circumstances. He was working both as a concierge and as a broker supplying domestic workers. He forced her to work in domestic service through verbal and physical abuse. He took money from the residents of the building where he was a concierge in exchange for her work. He refused to give her money to help her family. After 7 months, she became weak due to the heavy workload and malnourishment and was also depressed. The residents complained when she became unable to work. Her husband divorced her when she was 17.

She then married her cousin who was working in a brick factory. He had an accident that compelled him to stop working, and as a result of her husband's disabilities, she found herself working as a concierge.

Family's knowledge of employer:

When Om Nada first worked in domestic service, her ex-husband chose the family with whom she would work. He was not interested in establishing the family's credentials, only in knowing how much she would be paid.

He was not interested in knowing who they are or where I was working, not even it was risky. All that mattered was to work and earn money. (Om Nada)

When Om Nada married her cousin, he did not want her to work as a concierge or in domestic service, but due to their poor economic circumstances, was forced to accept the situation. He did however show concern about the place where she would work and the circumstances of the job, accompanying her frequently.

Income and earnings:

During her first marriage, Om Nada's husband negotiated with her employers about the salary and how frequently she would be paid. He was taking her wages directly from her employers, but she did not know how much. In some cases, she was doing extra work such as washing carpets, for which she was paid 5–10 LE, which her husband took. She used to go to the market to buy what the residents needed, and they gave her any remaining small change. Sometimes she was not paid at all for her work. However, when she married her second husband and went to work as a concierge, she was paid 250 LE monthly.

My first husband was the one who made me work, and I did not know my wages and how frequently I would be paid. (Om Nada)

Agreements and form of contract:

Om Nada did not participate in any negotiations concerning her work before commencing, and there was no written contract between her and the employer. When she was working during her first marriage, she did not know whether there was an agreement between her husband and the employer. Even when she married for the second time and worked as a concierge, there were no written contracts, but there was a verbal agreement about her wages.

Work hours:

Om Nada worked from 7 a.m. until 6 p.m. while working during her first marriage, satisfying the residents' needs inside and outside the house. After her second marriage, she was running errands for residents from 9 a.m. to 11 p.m. In both cases, Om Nada was living at her place of work, firstly as the concierge's wife, secondly as the concierge.

When I first worked with my ex-husband, we were working from 7 in the morning until 6 in the evening. There was no time to rest due to the endless demands of the residents. (Om Nada)

Nature of work:

Om Nada said that she did all the domestic chores. She guarded the building, shopped for the residents, bought vegetables and meat, cleaned stairs and houses, washed carpets and walls, cleaned kitchens, tended gardens, and looked after the elderly and young children.

Problems/risks faced by girls/women in domestic service:

Om Nada reflected that she was young when she worked in domestic service, and had no life experience. She was weak and found the work hard to bear. She said that employers had little consideration for her circumstances, asking her to work all day from waking up until going to sleep. Even during her pregnancy, she was not exempt from their endless demands. After giving birth, she had to do all the work with her daughter on her shoulder.

All day long I go to the market with my daughter on my shoulder, and maybe get 25 piasters. (Om Nada)

Om Nada's daughter suffered from leukemia and her health deteriorated, so she took her to a hospital. Most of the residents were annoyed by her absence and wanted to kick her out. She therefore left the building and returned to her village. She started working in domestic service but neglected her sick daughter. The disease spread and she died. She realized that working in domestic service brought her nothing but indignity and suffering. She decided to leave it behind and bought a sewing machine. For the last four years, she has been working as a dressmaker.

Regarding the risks that girls and women face in domestic service in general, she mentioned that it is a big mistake to work in a place you do not know. Working in domestic service is very hard, as a young girl's body is too weak to take so much work. The work can also lead to sickness, which makes the body weak and skinny from washing and cleaning, especially in the winter. Girls also run the risk of breaking bones as a result of falling from the stairs.

Once I slipped on my back while I was cleaning the stairs. I stayed in bed for 2 months, and my back still hurts me...I became tired and exhausted from carrying heavy loads. (Om Nada)

Perception of community towards girls who work in domestic service:

In Om Nada's view, the community takes an arrogant and superior attitude towards those working in domestic service; they are seen to work in an inferior, low standard job.

People consider us a lower class, and they treat us in a bad way. (Om Nada)

Exposure to sexual harassment:

Om Nada was never exposed to sexual harassment during her work in domestic service. If she found an employer looking at her in an inappropriate way, she would decide not to go to this family again. She did add that girls can be exposed to sexual harassment through admiring looks and sweet words that can get them into trouble. Their weak bodies make them susceptible to being raped.

Vision of her future and all girls working in domestic service:

Om Nada said that her work in domestic service has finished, as she is no longer obligated. Now she is sewing and has bought a sewing machine by installments.

Suggestions to limit risks in domestic service work:

Om Nada pointed to some suggestions to limit the risks in domestic service work, such as:

- Girls should not start to work in domestic service until they are at least 14, to ensure that they have some self-reliance.
- Girls should not work in domestic service on their own, and they must have one of their relatives to protect them.
- There should be associations and NGOs to take care of working girls, protect them, and provide medical treatment and pensions.
- Job opportunities should be created for men so they can support their families. Girls can then stay at home and would not have to work in domestic service.

Role of associations to protect women from domestic service risks:

Om Nada thought that the role of associations and NGOs was little more than helping the poor and giving charity, helpful but ultimately insufficient. She was not aware of any association or NGO that protects girls from domestic service risks.

ANNEX B: BACKGROUND INFORMATION ABOUT FORMAL EXPERTS INTERVIEWED

Ways to Access Working Children and Activities of the Associations (NGOs)

The in-depth interviews identified 12 associations concerned both with child labor in general, and child labor in domestic service in particular. Approximately 10 associations were identified that work on child labor issues more generally.

1. Ways of reaching working children:

- Some reached working children by identifying poor families in specific villages and going there to prepare case studies for some of the child workers (boys, girls, those working in domestic service and elsewhere). One association had conducted a rapid assessment in conjunction with sending families; the number of working children had been estimated and the problems elucidated.
- Some associations sought to identify the nature of child labor, not in a direct way but through indirect conversations between the association's officials and the children or between the children themselves; some children prefer not to report the nature of their work, especially those who work in domestic service.
- Some associations reached the targeted group through the NGOs that work with poor families by providing them with financial and in-kind assistance.
- Some associations reached the targeted children through the hotline (child helpline), which is linked to the National Council for Childhood and Motherhood; they follow up cases coming from calls on this line, sending social specialists to find out the child's problem and how to solve it.
- There are some associations that are not concerned with children working in domestic service, but they are concerned with child labor in general. They reach the target group through existing workshops and communication with families in the area.
- Sometimes the associations turn to schools to find children who dropped out of education. They then visit their families to find out the reasons and try to find a solution.

2. Associations' activities in general:

- Providing entertainment services for working children by enrolling them in a club located in the area, thereby allowing children the opportunity to play. Working together with other associations in the area, they organize educational trips and awareness seminars for all working children. They also establish a small "parliament" for these children to help them begin to demand their rights in education, health and other spheres.
- Training children on how to deal with their jobs and new, less dangerous activities such as sewing, making accessories, embroidery, etc.
- Providing financial support and assistance for poor families during child training. Assisting families to get their children back into school by providing what the child needs for school and reducing school tuition fees for those who cannot afford them, so they are less likely to drop out. They may provide a job opportunity for one of the family members, such as the father, mother or older brother, or help them start a micro-financed project.
- Applying pressure on workshop owners to implement child protection programs.

- Issuing and distributing health insurance cards, known as working children cards, to working children who are not in school, because working children who attend school have health insurance.
- Providing legal assistance, through some associations. Within those associations concerned with protecting children from the risks related to marginalized work and protecting children from sexual harassment and beatings, and which have a legal unit, a lawyer is delegated by the association to defend children in young offenders' institutions.
- Raising the awareness of families about the risks the child faces at work, and trying to guide them to less harmful jobs, bearing in mind that the child is often the family breadwinner and cannot leave work completely. Other activities include making families aware of the importance of education for their children, and raising the awareness of school administrators, teachers and professionals about how to deal with working children, taking into consideration their special circumstances.
- Providing workshops with medical items such as protection masks and mini-pharmacies, containing first aid tools and surgical gloves.
- Combating the dangers of child labor in the fireworks and palm leaves industry.
- Enrolling older children in literacy classes.

3. Financing

By asking the associations' officials about their own sources of funding, it was found that there is cooperation between these NGOs and some government organizations:

- Cooperation with the NGO Plan Organization, the European Union and the Ministry of Social Solidarity to conduct a rapid assessment to identify working children and find out the reasons they work.
- Cooperation with the Ministry of Education to reduce school tuition fees for children who are unable to pay to prevent them from dropping out.
- Cooperation with NGOs, such as the Red Crescent, to look at child labor and provide assistance to reach the targeted children.
- Cooperation with the National Council for Motherhood and Childhood to communicate with children through its hotline (child helpline).
- Grant from the European Union to conduct a study called "Children at Risk Project," whose purpose was to reduce child labor. It targeted 40 children aged 6–16 years who are working in dangerous environments.
- Cooperation with the Evangelical organization to give poor families interest-free loans, with a limit of 500 pounds. In another project to train women heads of household in such activities as soap manufacture, knitting and embroidery, women were given loans of 300 pounds without interest, to be repaid at a rate of 10 pounds a week.
- Study conducted by one of the associations on the causes and consequences of child labor, funded by the Ministry of Social Solidarity.

4. Associations' opinions towards child labor, forced/domestic child labor and children's movement/trafficking:

The associations' officials all agreed that working children are exposed to physical and psychological damage that can last a lifetime. They further agreed that increased attention should be paid to trying to stop child labor by providing alternatives that guarantee health, education, play and recreation for boys

and girls, and by offering their families opportunities to receive a suitable income and to enjoy economic, social, and cultural security.

The interviews indicated that the child labor phenomenon is widespread in general, but that labor in domestic service is less so. Most were of the view that there is no forced labor in Egypt, and that the majority of the children are likely working willingly without being forced by their parents. One interviewee reported that parents force children to work by using physical violence and insults. The majority also mentioned that, in their view, there is no child trafficking in Egypt, although a minority mentioned that child trafficking does exist in Egypt with street children, where thugs exploit these children in certain activities such as selling tissues in the streets or working in houses, and in return they receive the money which the children earn from these activities.

Perceptions of the Situation by Those Who Are Involved:

The interviewees agreed that child labor in general, and child labor in domestic service in particular, are unfair to the child because the child at this age has many rights, such as the right to proper care from his family, to eat, to be clothed and to be educated. The child also has a right to recreation and playing sports, and to develop his intellectual skills to benefit himself and society. They also agreed that domestic work is decent work, with no shame or embarrassment.

The experts see that the way in which the public regards domestic child workers varies from one area to another. In rural areas, it is seen as shameful for a child to work in domestic service due to society's misperception, as she is still considered a minor, not aware of her rights, and does not know how to protect herself. Therefore, the mother often takes her daughter with her to work in domestic service without anyone knowing, or she prefers to work outside the area where she lives, as no one will know and people will not call her a "servant." In urban areas, on the other hand, the idea that children work in domestic service is normal to a certain extent.

The girl may deny her work in domestic services, and if someone asks her about her work she will say that she doesn't work. (Association official)

Laws/Regulations/Policies/Programs on Child Labor and Forced Child Labor in Egypt:

When the associations' officials were asked about the regulations and policies in Egypt concerning child labor, all but a minority emphasized that the regulations and policies on child labor in Egypt were as follows:

- **Labor Law:** The Labor Law regulates the work of child workers and prohibits child work under the age of 14. It does however allow the employment of children between ages 12 and 14 in seasonal work, especially in the agriculture sector. The law states that the work hours for children above the age of 14 should not exceed 6 hours a day, with at least 1 hour for rest. The law prohibits children under age 17 to be active in hazardous work mentioned in the executive regulations, such as working in mines or underground. The reality is that the Labor Law is not always applied, and it has been found that children work more than 8 hours a day, work without contracts or social or health insurance, and work in dangerous circumstances, and under bad working conditions, especially those working in the agricultural sector.

One of the associations reported that it tried to persuade the Ministry of Health to put working children under the umbrella of health insurance, but unfortunately the ministry refused, as the law is not activated.

With regard to child labor in domestic service, one of the associations' officials mentioned that when the Labor Law was developed in Egypt, domestic workers were excluded on the basis that the relationship between the employer and the workers in domestic service is an intimate

relationship, may not be accessible by others and should not be placed in a legal framework. They considered the home a sanctity that should not be considered a workplace; hence this category was excluded from the Labor Law.

- **Child Rights Law:** Egypt has signed the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, which includes protecting a child's rights to rest, leisure, play and comprehensive participation in cultural and artistic life. The agreement showed the role of government in providing a suitable climate for children to grow physically, mentally, emotionally, cognitively, socially and culturally, and for his protection from various forms of exploitation, including dangerous work that harms his health or physical, mental, moral or social growth, or his right to education.
- **Labor Union Law:** This law has not yet been activated and would be the only law that includes children working in domestic service.
- **International Labour Organization (ILO):** In June 2011, the International Convention for the Protection of Domestic Workers was issued, but the ILO representative in Egypt had a negative reaction, as he said that work supervisors are not permitted to deal with workers in domestic service.
- **Hot Line (child helpline) 16000:** This is the hotline that receives complaints from children, especially child laborers.
- **Children Protection Committees:** These are committees concerned with protecting working children through associations.
- **The National Council for Childhood and Motherhood initiative:** The Child Protection Program aims to integrate the protection of children from violence, abuse and exploitation, put it on the national agenda and make it a leading priority. The focus will be on working children since this phenomenon is growing. There are children aged between 6 and 14 who work, usually without pay. Even those who work at the legal age (more than 14 years) rarely have access to their social and health rights.

Governmental Authorities Responsible for Implementing Laws and Programs

Some of the associations' officials argued that it is the National Council for Childhood and Motherhood that is responsible for implementing laws and programs, whereas the majority noted that all government agencies are responsible for the implementation of laws and programs, including—

1. Ministry of Health
2. National Council for Childhood and Motherhood
3. Ministry of Interior
4. Ministry of Education
5. Ministry of Social Solidarity
6. Ministry of Manpower
7. Hot Line (child helpline)16000
8. Local Protection Committee.

NGOs and Current Programs to Help Children Working in Forced Domestic Service:

Some respondents mentioned that there are no authorities or NGOs working to prevent child labor because the main reasons for child labor are economic, and these are difficult to address. Others described NGOs focused on reducing the percentage of children working, returning children to education or

employing children in safe occupations. Some stated that there are associations doing this work, but they do not have a list of these associations. The following international NGOs and other national NGOs were mentioned by interviewees:

- United Nations Children’s Fund
- Plan International Foundation
- Says Foundation
- Caritas Foundation
- Concer Park for Violence Against Children Foundation
- Afak Foundation
- El Fostat Association in Masr El Kadema
- The Egyptian Association to Improve the Condition of Children (works on providing a protection policy and legal assistance for child workers)
- Center of Egyptian Women’s Legal Assistance (establishes projects related to child labor and operates a project about child labor in domestic service and human trafficking)
- International Labour Organization
- The American Fund
- American international child protection authorities
- British international child protection authorities
- Sea Scouts Association
- Cooperazione Internazionale.

Note

- Some say that international organizations are currently holding back on the implementation of programs or projects to help child workers because they are waiting for amendments to the Child Labor Law to propose a plan of action, based on these amendments, to combat violations, including child labor. As soon as the regulations were issued, the January 25th revolution broke out, putting a temporary stop to prevent projects and programs from being activated.
- Respondents agreed that for these agencies to achieve their goal of combating child labor, they must work together, coordinate among themselves, unify the goal, and ensure there is strong oversight that takes into account child labor regulations.

ANNEX C: NGOs INTERVIEWED DURING THE RESEARCH

Association	Address	Telephone
New Horizons Association for Social Development	54's new Fustat City—Ancient Egypt—Cairo	0100/6689074
Italian Research and Cooperation Organization	Qaser EL Nile—Cairo	0100/6514468
Ahlan Association	Ahmed Ebrahim Street 6—EL Malek Faisal—Geza	012/82507669
Egyptian Association for Social and Economic Rights	Maraghi Street—Karnak Tower—41—Helwan—Cairo	012/27345529
EL Shehab Institution for Development and Environment	Atef Al Sadat Street—Ezbet EL Hagana—Cairo	
Maakoum Association (Root development)	Block 46—Introduction 3—Street 2—first round—Helwan—Cairo	
Al Roa'ya al Islamic Association	EL Saida Aisha—AL Khalifa—Cairo	012/88879977
Elsadaka and Eleman Association	Misr EL Qadema—Cairo	010/07849328
Sponsors Charity Association	Abd EL Latef EL Mekabaty—Saint Fatima—EL Nouzha—Cairo	02/6988116
Zahret Elawtan Association	7 Kamal Tawfiq Street—Madenat Qebaa EL Salam—Cairo	02/6992642
Khaddam Elengil Association	EL Madena EL Mounawara Street—Zahraa EL Salam	02/6992218
Elabd Association	EL Herafeen—Madnat EL Salam	
Center for Egyptian Women's Legal Assistance—(CEWLA)	12 Street Soliman Abaza—EL Mouhandsen—Gizas	02/7154562 02/7154557
Community Development Association Ezbet Khairallah	Ezbet Khairallah	
Nahdet Khairallah Association	Ezbet Khairallah	
For Development of "EL Riyada"	Sedy Gaber—Alexandria	
Omar ibn al-Khattab	Bakous—Awal EL Raml—Alexandria	
Integrated Care Association in Karmouz	Karmouz—Mouharm bek—Alexandria	
Future Youth Organization	Zagazig—Sharkia	
EL Khaer OASIS—Zagazig	Zagazig—Sharkia	
EL Sharkia Youth Organization Development	Zagazig—Sharkia	
Association for Preservation of the Environment	Kafr Hamouda—Hihia—Sharkia	
Islamic EL Rahma Association of Development	AL Ghannimih—AboKaber—Sharkia	
Local Community Development Association in Tersea	Tersea—Senoures—Fayoum	
Egyptian Association for Development and Institutional Support	EL Nazla—Abshway—Fayoum	

ANNEX D: SELECTED CHILD INTERVIEW RESULTS

Table 1: Mean Age for Starting Work in Domestic Service

	n	Mean age
Boys	19	7.1
Girls	195	10.2
<14	116	8.8
15–17	98	11.3
Never attended school	64	10.2
Primary	98	9.3
Preparatory or above	52	10.9
Full time	77	10.3
Part time	137	9.7
Living with employer	19	11
Living elsewhere	195	10
Moved home to attend work	74	9.4
Did not move home to attend work	140	10.2
Total	214	10.3

Source: Interviews with Child Domestic Workers in Egypt, 2011.
n=214, all children interviewed.

Table 2: Education Status of Child Domestic Workers

	Highest level attended			
	n	Never attended school %	Primary %	Preparatory or higher %
Boys	19	5	74	21
Girls	195	33	43	25
<14	116	23	61	16
15–17	98	39	27	35
Full time	77	47	38	16
Part time	137	21	50	29
Living with employer	19	58	16	26
Living elsewhere	195	28	48	24
Total	214	30	45	24

Source: Interviews with Child Domestic Workers in Egypt, 2011.
n=214, all children interviewed.

Table 3: Reasons for Never Attending School

	n	Helping with family income %	Education a low priority for parents/child %
Boys	1	100	0
Girls	64	92	17
<14	27	96	7
15–17	38	90	24
Full time	36	94	17
Part time	29	90	17
Living with employer	11	100	18
Living elsewhere	54	91	17
Total	65	92	17

Source: Interviews with Child Domestic Workers in Egypt, 2011.
n=65, all children who had never attended school.

Table 4: Current School Attendance

	n	Percentage currently attending school %
Boys	18	83
Girls	131	50
<14	89	69
15–17	60	32
Primary	97	50
Preparatory or above	52	62
Full time	41	34
Part time	108	61
Living with employer	8	38
Living elsewhere	141	55
Moved home to attend work	48	69
Did not move home to attend work	101	47
Total	149	54

Source: Interviews with Child Domestic Workers in Egypt, 2011.
n=149, all children currently attending school.

Table 5: Children Working While Studying

	Highest level attended			
	Mean number of work hours on school days	Mean number of work hours on non-school days	Percentage of children reporting they have sufficient time to do homework and study at home %	Number of children working while studying n
Boys	2.1	4.1	57	14
Girls	3.7	6.6	48	58
<14	3.1	5.5	48	52
15–17	4.0	7.6	55	20
Primary	3.5	5.7	49	43
Preparatory or above	3.2	6.6	52	29
Full time	3.8	6.6	39	13
Part time	2.8	5.4	53	59
Living with employer	3.5	3.0	100	2
Living elsewhere	3.4	6.2	49	70
Total	3.4	6.0	50	72

Source: Interviews with Child Domestic Workers in Egypt, 2011.
n=72, children working and studying.

Table 6: Absence from School Due to Work

	n	Once or twice a week	Once or twice a month	Once or twice a year	Never/almost never
		%	%	%	%
Boys	18	11	11	6	67
Girls	131	18	9	5	64
<14	89	16	14	6	62
15–17	60	18	3	3	68
Primary	97	9	8	4	72
Preparatory or above	52	31	12	6	50
Full time	41	20	12	2	66
Part time	108	16	8	6	64
Living with employer	8	25	13	13	50
Living elsewhere	141	16	9	4	65
Total	149	17	9	5	64

Source: Interviews with Child Domestic Workers in Egypt, 2011.
n=149, all children currently attending school.

Table 7: Reasons for Working in Domestic Service

	n	To help with family finances %	To learn skills %	To cover personal expenses, food, clothing, school fees %	Pays better than other jobs %
Boys	19	95	0	5	0
Girls	195	88	3	20	2
<14	116	97	3	9	1
15–17	98	80	2	30	3
Living with employer	19	90	0	26	0
Living elsewhere	195	89	3	17	2
Total	214	89	2	18	2

Source: Interviews with Child Domestic Workers in Egypt, 2011.
n=214, all children interviewed.

Table 8: How Children Obtained Work in Domestic Service

	n	Father %	Mother %	Other relatives %	Friends/neighbors %	Domestic services agency %
Boys	19	74	37	5	5	0
Girls	195	21	37	14	32	6
<14	116	36	46	8	18	7
15–17	98	12	28	20	43	3
Full time	77	12	35	21	34	5
Part time	137	33	39	10	27	5
Living with employer	19	11	16	16	63	0
Living elsewhere	195	27	40	13	26	6
Total	214	25	37	14	29	5

Table 9a: Activities Undertaken by Children in Domestic Service (1)

	n	Washing clothes %	Washing dishes %	Cleaning and tidying the house %	Cleaning windows %	Cooking %
Boys	19	58	42	84	32	5
Girls	195	80	97	96	81	49
<14	116	74	90	94	68	36
15–17	98	82	95	97	86	55
Full time	77	86	99	99	94	68
Part time	137	73	88	93	66	32
Living with employer	19	79	100	100	90	68
Living elsewhere	195	77	91	95	75	43
Total	214	78	92	95	76	45

Source: Interviews with Child Domestic Workers in Egypt, 2011.
n=214, all children interviewed.

Table 9b: Activities Undertaken by Children in Domestic Service (2)

	n	Looking after chickens and other animals %	Child care %	Care of the elderly %	Watering plants %	Buying groceries %
Boys	19	0	37	5	0	95
Girls	195	13	54	27	15	86
<14	116	10	59	14	13	91
15–17	98	13	45	38	15	82
Full time	77	16	62	40	22	84
Part time	137	10	47	16	10	88
Living with employer	19	16	53	32	16	95
Living elsewhere	195	11	52	24	14	86
Total	214	12	52	25	14	86

Source: Interviews with Child Domestic Workers in Egypt, 2011.
n=214, all children interviewed.

Table 10: Working Weeks per Month and Work Hours/Week

	n	1 week %	2 weeks %	3 weeks %	4 weeks %	Mean work hours/week
Boys	19	0	0	0	100	18.3
Girls	195	1	2	2	95	33.8
<14	116	0	3	3	95	30.2
15–17	98	1	1	0	96	35.0
Full time	77	0	0	0	100	46.8
Part time	137	1	3	2	93	24.2
Living with employer	19	0	0	0	100	46.5
Living elsewhere	195	1	2	2	95	31.1
Total	214	1	4	1	95	32.5

Source: Interviews with Child Domestic Workers in Egypt, 2011.
n=214, all children interviewed.

Table 11: Daily Work Hours

	n	Mean number of work hours				Mean work hours/day
		Morning	Afternoon	Evening	Night	
Boys	19	2.0	2.5	1.9	0	3.8
Girls	195	3.4	4.4	2.3	2.8	6.9
<14	116	3.3	3.8	2.2	4.5	6.1
15–17	98	3.3	4.9	2.4	1.7	7.3
Never attended school	65	3.7	4.9	0	0	7.2
Primary	97	3.1	4.0	6.0	6.0	6.2
Preparatory or above	52	2.0	4.1	2.0	2.0	6.9
Full time	77	3.4	4.4	2.3	2.0	6.9
Part time	137	3.0	4.1	2.3	4.0	6.2
Living with employer	19	4.1	5.8	2.9	2.0	8.9
Living elsewhere	195	3.2	4.1	2.2	3.0	6.4
Total	214	3.3	4.3	2.3	2.8	6.6

Source: Interviews with Child Domestic Workers in Egypt, 2011.
n=214, all children interviewed.

ANNEX E: RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

Formal Expert Interview Top Sheet

Interviewer:	Date (mm/dd/yy): _ _ / _ _ / _ _	
Place of interview		
District: _____ Town/village/city: _____		
Unique ID Number for the Key Informant: _ _ _		
<i>[To be provided by supervisor. Put Unique ID in this box and on the indicated line at top of Page 3, the start of the research questions.]</i>		
Name:	Age: _ _	Sex: Male/Female
Time interview started: _ _ : _ _ (Use 24-hour clock)		
Time interview ended: _ _ : _ _ (Use 24-hour clock)		
Profession:		
Position:		
Employer/Affiliated Institution/Organization:		
Contact information:		

Instructions: After interview is complete, remove top sheet. Place in envelope provided for top sheets only. Place interview form in separate envelope provided for interview forms only.

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER

- Please ask all questions in this interview guide to each person you interview. If the person doesn't have the knowledge or cannot answer the questions, you should note "N/A" or "No answer" as a response underneath each question. This way, we will be able to tell that the questions are at least asked.
- During the interviews, ask the respondents if they could provide copies of relevant materials and documents related to child labor/forced child labor in the domestic sector in Egypt or research papers on this topic if they can recommend the sources/where you can find such documents.
- If the interviewer wishes to insert his/her own opinions/comments regarding certain responses from the respondents, please put the comment under each response with a different font color and note that it is the interviewer's note.

Introduction Including Informed Consent Statement

Read the following statements to the respondent and answer any questions the individual may have. Do not begin the interview until all questions have been addressed and the individual has agreed to participate in the study.

- My name is _____ I am interviewing people about work activities in domestic service and children’s works in this sector. Employing mixed method research techniques, our project aims to collect exploratory data on the causes and consequences of forced child labor in domestic service in Egypt. We will collect information on children ages 5–17 working in domestic service. To get a comprehensive picture, we would like to speak with knowledge informants like you. The findings from this research are meant to contribute to promoting awareness of the issues and inform future programs aiming to ameliorate the issues of forced child domestic labor.
- The primary goal of research is to collect data on the characteristics, nature, and incidence of forced child domestic labor in Egypt. To this end, you will be asked to share your knowledge and opinions of your personal involvement and/or your organization’s work on child labor issues in Egypt, your knowledge of children’s involvement in the domestic sector. The information will be incorporated into the final analytical report.
- Your participation in this study is **voluntary**. If you choose to talk with me, you can choose to not answer some questions or end the interview at any time.
- Your answers to the questions will be kept private and no one will know what you said. Your name will not be used in any reports.
- The interview will take about 30–45 minutes.
- I will answer any questions that you have about the study before we begin. Do you have any questions about the study?
- May we start the interview?

Interviewer Certification of Consent:

My signature affirms that I have read the verbal informed assent statement to the respondent. I have answered any questions asked about the study, and the respondent has agreed to be interviewed.

___ Respondent agreed to be interviewed.

___ Respondent did not agree to be interviewed.

Print Interviewer’s Name: _____

Interviewer’s Signature: _____ Date: _____

Key Informant Interview Unique ID Number: _____

Research Questions

[FOR EACH ITEM, ASK THE GENERAL QUESTION FIRST, AND THEN PROBE THE SUB-ITEMS THAT HAVE NOT BEEN ADDRESSED SPONTANEOUSLY.]

1. What is your personal and/or professional involvement on the issues of child labor in general, and children working in domestic service in Egypt in particular?

2. What is your organization's view or mission regarding child labor, forced child labor, and moving/trafficking of children in general, and children working in domestic service in particular?

3. What do you think is the general population's perception and attitude towards child workers in general and children working in domestic service in particular?

4. What are the regulations and policies of Egypt regarding child labor?	
<p>4.1 What are the laws/policies/programs in Egypt to combat child labor and forced child labor?</p> <p>4.2 What government agencies are responsible for implementing the laws and programs?</p> <p>4.3 What non-governmental organizations and programs are in existence in what regions to assist child laborers and/or former forced child labor victims in domestic service?</p>	
5. What is the nature of the work done by children in domestic service?	
<p>5.1 To your knowledge, are there children (<18) working in domestic service? How many children are engaged in domestic labor in Egypt? [What is the proportion of children below 18 over total workforce in domestic service?]</p> <p>5.2 For children working in domestic service, what work activities do they do? Do they (child workers) perform different tasks/works than adult workers? If yes, how are they different?</p> <p>5.3 How about the degree of physical requirements? Do they (child workers) usually have to carry out tasks that are physically demanding?</p> <p>5.4 To your knowledge, when do children who work part time usually work?</p> <p>5.5 For children/youngsters working full time, how many hours a day do they work and how many days a week?</p> <p>5.6 Do children or youngsters migrate from other parts of the country or from other countries to work in domestic service?</p> <p>5.7 Who employs those child domestic workers?</p>	

**13. What are the sources of official statistics on child labor or forced labor in Egypt?
In addition to possibly National Statistics Office estimates, are there administrative data?**

6. What are the characteristics of the children engaged in domestic service in Egypt?

- Regarding children working in domestic service, what are their usual ages? At what age do these children start working?
- Are there more girls or boys? Is there any difference between the work done by girls and boys?
- Do you know if child domestic workers go to school?
- If they go to school, do they come to work before or after school in the morning or afternoon/evening? Do more of them come to work when school is closed?
- What kinds of place do child domestic workers live? [Probe: In the same house/building as their employer or in a separate quarter?] Do children live with other adult workers or they are separate from adult workers?
- Do employers provide housing or do children arrange for themselves? If employers provide housing, do they deduct cost from wages?
- Are most child workers from the area? How many do you estimate are coming from other regions?
- If the children are originally from somewhere else and now live here, did they come with their families or with others (specify)?

7. What are the environments of children’s work sites in domestic service?	
<p>7.1 Are child workers exposed to any kind of danger/hazard? What are the dangers/hazards? [Probe if necessary: Work in the heat, excessive noise, heavy lifting, abuse from coworkers/employers, exposure to chemicals, exposure to drugs/alcohol, etc.].</p> <p>7.2 Where are the work sites that child workers perform their work?</p>	
8. To what extent are children forced to work in domestic service or moved/trafficked from within the country or from other countries into forced child labor situation in domestic service?	
<p>8.1 Do you know if children are forced or moved/trafficked to work in domestic service? [Interviewer: Explain (1) forced labor: work under the menace of any penalty for which the child does not offer him or herself voluntarily; (2) moving/trafficking in person: the transport of persons, by means of coercion, deception, or consent for the purpose of exploitation. In the case of children, coercion is not required to be considered trafficking.]</p> <p>8.2 If children are being moved/trafficked to work in domestic service, what are the means by which children are moved/trafficked? For example, are there recruiters/brokers involved in the process? How are they being trafficked?</p> <p>8.3 From where are children moved/trafficked?</p> <p>8.4 Could you give an example of how children get into forced labor in domestic service or being moved/trafficked to work as domestic workers? (For example, are they working to paying off personal/family debt, being deceived into domestic work?)</p>	

9. What factors may affect timing/seasons and locations where child labor occurs?	
<p>9.1 Is the work in domestic service seasonal, temporary or long term? Why is it?</p> <p>9.2 Do child migrants periodically come to work and return to their place of origin? Under what circumstances do children leave domestic work?</p> <p>9.3 Do you know where the children come from?</p> <p>9.4 What are the factors that may affect timing/seasons and locations where child labor occur?</p> <p>9.5 How do children learn of the work?</p>	
What do you think are the factors that influence children to work in domestic service?	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why do children work in domestic service? [Probe the following when applicable] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Do children have access to education? ▪ Due to family circumstances a) Poverty, recent income shocks. b) Paying off debt. c) Family trauma (e.g., orphaned, death of parent). d) Family origin/migration from rural area. e) Family structure (e.g., large number of children, single parent). f) Are they in this situation from family intent? g) Are parents or siblings employed? h) If so, in what capacity? i) Do children working in domestic service do so more often alone or with their parents? j) Have their families recently relocated from places outside their work areas? 	

<p>k) Economic disruption [Interviewer: An economic disruption is a change of the economic conditions in the area that resulted in economic difficulties in local communities such as the increase of the jobless.]</p> <p>l) Civil disruption [Interviewer: A civil disruption is any incidence that disrupt a community where an intervention will be required to maintain public safety, such as riots, strikes, or criminal activities.]</p> <p>m) Other</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why do you think that employers hire children to work in their homes? • What particular aspects of domestic service may encourage the use of forced child labor and/or child labor? • How may market demands or labor supply in domestic service be affecting the forced labor of children and child laborers? • Are there any benefits for employers to use children in domestic service? 	
<p>11. What are the other potential government and non-governmental organizations we could approach to discuss issues related to working children, particularly in domestic service?</p>	

12. What are the other potential government and non-governmental organizations we could approach to discuss access to working children in domestic service?

13. Is there anything else you would like to add?

Thank you very much for your time and your valuable contribution.

Informal Expert Interview Top Sheet

Interviewer:	Date (mm/dd/yy): _ _ / _ _ / _ _	
Place of interview		
District: _____ Town/village/city: _____		
Unique ID Number for the Key Informant: _ _ _		
<i>[To be provided by supervisor. Put Unique ID in this box and on the indicated line at top of Page 3, the start of the research questions.]</i>		
Name:	Age: _ _	Sex: Male/Female
Time interview started: _ _ : _ _ (Use 24 hour clock)		
Time interview ended: _ _ : _ _ (Use 24 hour clock)		
Profession:		
Position:		
Employer/Affiliated Institution/Organization:		
Contact information:		

Instructions: After interview is complete, remove top sheet. Place in envelope provided for top sheets only. Place interview form in separate envelope provided for interview forms only.

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER

- Please ask all questions in this interview guide to each person you interview. If the person doesn't have the knowledge or cannot answer the questions, you should note "N/A" or "No answer" as a response underneath each question. This way, we will be able to tell that the questions are at least asked.
- If the interviewer wishes to insert his/her own opinions/comments regarding certain responses from the respondents, please put the comment under each response with a different font color.

Introduction Including Informed Consent Statement

Read the following statements to the respondent and answer any questions the individual may have. Do not begin the interview until all questions have been addressed and the individual has agreed to participate in the study.

- Hello, my name is _____ I am interviewing people about work activities in domestic service and children's works in this sector. The information will be incorporated into an analytical report that examines the causes and consequences of child labor in Egypt's domestic service.
- Your participation in this study is voluntary. If you choose to talk with me, you can choose to not answer some questions or end the interview at any time.
- Your answers to the questions will be kept private and no one will know what you said. Your name will not be used in any reports.
- The interview will take about 30–45 minutes.
- I will answer any questions that you have about the study before we begin. Do you have any questions about the study?
- May we start the interview?

Interviewer Certification of Consent:

My signature affirms that I have read the verbal informed assent statement to the respondent. I have answered any questions asked about the study, and the respondent has agreed to be interviewed.

___ Respondent agreed to be interviewed.

___ Respondent did not agree to be interviewed.

Print Interviewer's Name: _____

Interviewer's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Key Informant Interview Unique ID Number: _____

Research Questions

[FOR EACH ITEM, ASK THE GENERAL QUESTION FIRST, AND THEN PROBE THE SUB-ITEMS THAT HAVE NOT BEEN ADDRESSED SPONTANEOUSLY.]

1. Please describe how domestic service in Egypt works.

1.1. What is your work/role in domestic service?

2. What is the nature of the work done by children in domestic service?

2.1 Aside from adult workers, are there children (<18) working in domestic service? If so, what is the proportion of children below 18 over total workforce in domestic service? How many children are engaged in domestic labor in Egypt?

2.2 For children working in domestic service, what work activities do they do?

2.3 Do child workers perform different tasks/works than adult workers? If yes, how are they different?

2.3 How about the degree of physical requirements? Do they (child workers) usually have to carry out tasks that are physically demanding?

2.4 To your knowledge, when do children who work part time usually work?

2.5 For children/youngsters working full time, how many hours a day do they work and how many days a week?

2.6 Do children or youngsters migrate from other parts of the country or from other countries to work in domestic service?

2.7 Who employs those child domestic workers?

3. I would like to talk to you more about the working conditions of child domestic workers how are under 18.

3.1 Are young workers exposed to any kind of danger/hazard? What type of dangers and risks do such children face in domestic service? [Probe if necessary: carrying heavy loads, danger of tripping or falling, using dangerous tools such as knives, dust, fumes and smells, chemicals, etc.].

3.2. Do you know if there are children coming from other communities to work in domestic service in your community/town/city?

3.3. Do they come here alone or with their immediate/close family?

3.4. Are they [child workers] free to leave their jobs if they want to?

3.5. If not, why not? [Interviewer: Probe if they would be punished by either the employers or the family, and in what way; if employers hold the payment, children's identification documents, children need to work to pay off debt, etc.]

4. What are the characteristics of the children engaged in domestic service in Egypt?

4.1 Regarding children working in domestic service, what are their usual ages? At what age do these children start working?

4.2 .Are there more girls or boys (<18)? Is there any difference between the work done by girls and boys?

4.3. Do you know if child domestic workers go to school?

4.4. If they go to school, do they come to work before or after school in the morning or afternoon/evening. Do more of them come to work when school is closed?

4.5. What kinds of place do child domestic workers live? (Probe: in the same house/building as their employer or in a separate quarter?) Do children live with other adult workers or they are separate from adult workers?

<p>4.6. Do employers provide housing or do children arrange for themselves? If employers provide housing, do they deduct cost from wages?</p> <p>4.7. Are most child workers from the area? How many do you estimate are coming from other regions?</p> <p>4.8. If the children are originally from somewhere else and now live here, did they come with their families or with others (specify)?</p>	
<p>5. To what extent are children forced to work in domestic service or moved/trafficked from within the country or from other countries into forced child labor situation in domestic service?</p>	
<p>5.1 Do you know if children are forced or moved/trafficked to work in domestic service? [Interviewer: Explain (1) forced labor: work under the menace of any penalty for which the child does not offer him or herself voluntarily; (2) moving/trafficking in person: the transport of persons, by means of coercion, deception, or consent for the purpose of exploitation. In the case of children, coercion is not required to be considered trafficking.]</p> <p>5.2 If children are being moved/trafficked to work in domestic service, what are the means by which children are moved/trafficked? For example, are there recruiters/brokers involved in the process? How are they being trafficked?</p> <p>5.3 From where are children moved/trafficked?</p> <p>5.4 Could you give an example of how children get into forced labor in domestic service or being moved/trafficked to work as domestic workers? (For example, are they working to paying off personal/family debt, being deceived into domestic work?)</p>	

6. What factors may affect timing/seasons and locations where child labor occurs?	
<p>6.1 Is the work in domestic service seasonal, temporary or long term? Why is it?</p> <p>6.2 Do child migrants periodically come to work and return to their place of origin? Under what circumstances do children leave domestic work?</p> <p>6.3 Do you know where the children come from?</p> <p>6.4 What are the factors that may affect timing/seasons and locations where child labor occur?</p> <p>6.5 How do children learn of the work?</p>	
7. What do you think are the factors that influence children to work in domestic service?	
<p>7.1 Why do children work in domestic service? [Probe the following when applicable]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Do the children lack educational opportunities? ▪ Due to family circumstances <p>a) Poverty, recent income shocks.</p> <p>b) Paying off debt</p> <p>c) Family trauma (e.g., orphaned, death of parent).</p> <p>d) Family origin/migration from rural area.</p> <p>e) Family structure (e.g., large number of children, single parent).</p> <p>f) Are they in this situation from family intent?</p> <p>g) Are parents or siblings employed?</p> <p>h) If so, in what capacity?</p> <p>i) Do children working in domestic service do so more often alone or with their parents?</p> <p>j) Have their families recently relocated from places outside their work areas?</p>	

- k) Economic disruption [Interviewer: An economic disruption is a change of the economic conditions in the area that resulted in economic difficulties in local communities such as the increase of the jobless.]
- l) Civil disruption [Interviewer: A civil disruption is any incidence that disrupt a community where an intervention will be required to maintain public safety, such as riots, strikes, or criminal activities.]
- m) Other

7.2. Why do you think that employers hire children to work in their homes?

7.3. What particular aspects of domestic service may encourage the use of forced child labor and/or child labor?

7.4. How may market demands or labor supply in domestic service be affecting the forced labor of children and child laborers?

7.5. Are there any benefits for employers to use children in domestic service? If so, what are they?

8. What do people in your village/community think about child domestic workers? [Probe: Do adults, including the families and employers of child domestic workers, consider children’s work to be hazardous child labor or a beneficial development activity?]

9. Can you think of any other people or organizations we could approach to discuss how we might get access to working children in domestic service?

10. Is there anything else you would like to add?

Thank you very much for your time and your valuable contribution.