



TOWARDS THE EFFECTIVE MEASUREMENT
OF CHILD DOMESTIC WORKERS:
Building estimates using standard
household survey instruments

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As part of broader efforts towards durable solutions to child labor, the International Labour Organization (ILO), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), and the World Bank initiated the interagency Understanding Children's Work (UCW) programme in December 2000. The programme is guided by the Oslo Agenda for Action, which laid out the priorities for the international community in the fight against child labor. Through a variety of data collection, research, and assessment activities, the UCW programme is broadly directed toward improving understanding of child labor, its causes and effects, how it can be measured, and effective policies for addressing it. For further information, see the programme website at www.ucw-project.org.

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ABSTRACT

Domestic work remains one of the most common and traditional forms of work for children, particularly for girls. Child domestic work is carried out in private homes, and thus it is hidden from view and eludes public supervision and control. This makes child domestic workers (CDWs) particularly vulnerable to exploitation, including excessively long hours, and physical, emotional and sexual abuse.

The number of child domestic workers worldwide is not known, and the array of factors underlying the phenomenon remains insufficiently understood. Relatively little empirical research has been done on the determinants pushing or pulling children into domestic work. These information gaps hamper advocacy efforts aimed at drawing attention to the issue of child domestic workers and impede the development of informed policy responses to it.

The current working paper looks at how standard household surveys for child labour measurement could be used to help fill the information gaps on the CDW phenomenon.

With specific reference to household surveys conducted in Paraguay (*Encuesta Permanente de Hogares* (EPH), 2004), Uganda (*Uganda National Household Survey*, 2005-06) and Venezuela (*Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo* (EHM), 2005) the working paper will generate estimates of child domestic work on the basis of information from survey questions on (1) relationship to household head and on (2) industry/occupation and employment status. For Paraguay and Uganda, estimates will also be generated of child domestic work disguised as fostering arrangements.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1. A child domestic worker is a person under 18 years of age performing domestic chores in the *home of a third party*, with or without remuneration. This is distinct from children performing household chores *within their own homes*. The ILO states that while not all domestic work that children perform for others is child labour, the line between the two is easily and far too often crossed.¹ The types of tasks performed by child domestic workers appear to be similar across countries; they include fetching water and fuel wood, cleaning, dishwashing, cooking, babysitting, serving food, and purchasing daily household essentials. Child domestic workers are prevalently, but not exclusively, girls in most countries. Several studies point to a gender-based task specialization – female CDWs typically work inside the home while males CDWs often work outside tending gardens and livestock.

2. Domestic work remains one of the most common and traditional forms of work for children, particularly for girls. Indeed, the International Labour Organization estimates that there are more girls under sixteen years old exploited in domestic work than in any other category of child labour.² Child domestic work is carried out in private homes, and thus it is hidden from view and eludes public scrutiny and control. This makes child domestic workers (CDWs) particularly vulnerable to exploitation, including excessively long hours, and physical, emotional and sexual abuse.³ Their heavy work burden also often leaves them unable to attend or complete schooling. Lacking any form of social or legal protection, their well-being is entirely dependent on the whims of their employers.⁴

3. While these general facts are clear, the number of child domestic workers worldwide is not known, and the array of factors underlying the phenomenon remains insufficiently understood. Current estimates of CDWs are frequently based on extrapolations from non-representative sample surveys or on assumptions based on the adult workforce. Relatively little empirical research has been done on the determinants pushing or pulling children into domestic work. These information gaps hamper advocacy efforts aimed at drawing attention to the issue of child domestic workers and impede the development of informed policy responses to it.

4. The current working paper looks at how standard household surveys for child labour measurement could be used to help fill the information gaps on the CDW phenomenon. Estimates of overall child labour incidence generated by these survey instruments are increasingly relied on to monitor progress towards national and global child labour elimination targets,⁵ but

¹ ILO/IPEC, *Facts on Domestic Child Labour*, Geneva, March 2003.

² ILO-IPEC, *Behind closed doors: Child domestic labour*. Information pamphlet, undated.

³ ILO/IPEC, *Facts on Domestic Child Labour*, Geneva, March 2003.

⁴ UNICEF press release, Geneva/New York, 11 June 2004.

⁵ SIMPOC data enabled ILO to publish global and regional child labour estimates for the 2000 and 2004 reference years, and a first-ever analysis of child labour trends for the 2000-2004 period. (*The*

the possibility that the survey datasets may also yield useful information on the specific subset of child labourers in domestic work has not been systematically investigated. As standard household surveys (e.g., ILO SIMPOC surveys,⁶ World Bank multi-purpose household surveys,⁷ UNICEF MICS surveys⁸) have now been conducted in most developing countries, they could represent a valuable potential source of quantitative information on child domestic work.

5. With specific reference to household surveys conducted in Paraguay (*Encuesta Permanente de Hogares (EPH)*, 2004), Uganda (*Uganda National Household Survey*, 2005-06) and Venezuela (*Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo (EHM)*, 2005) the working paper will generate estimates of child domestic work on the basis of information from survey questions on (1) relationship to household head and on (2) industry/occupation and employment status. For Paraguay and Uganda, an attempt will also be made to estimate the unreported portion of the CDW population, i.e., those CDW cases disguised as fostering or as involvement in household chores.

6. In a possible second phase of the study, the reliability of CDW estimates generated from standard survey instruments will be assessed by comparing them with the results of specialised baseline surveys on child domestic work. Preliminary comparisons of results in countries where both standard household surveys and specialised surveys have taken in similar reference periods suggest that the former yield much lower estimates of child domestic workers. But the CDW estimates from standard household surveys used in these comparisons typically look only at CDWs identified through questions on relationship to household head or industry/occupation, and do not consider instances of child domestic work disguised as fostering or household chores.

2. CHALLENGES TO MEASURING CHILD DOMESTIC WORKERS

7. The effective measurement of child domestic workers is complicated by the fact that they work in private homes, hidden from public scrutiny and under a variety of formal and informal work arrangements. In worst cases, families and employers might actively conceal the presence of child

End of Child Labour: Within Reach; Global Report under the follow-up to the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work, International Labour Conference, 95th Session 2006, Report I (B), International Labour Office, Geneva, 2006.)

⁶ Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour. Since its inception in 1998, more than 250 child labour surveys have been supported, 56 of which were national in scope. An additional 80 baseline surveys and 100 rapid assessments were supported targeting specific groups of child labourers in particular geographical locations.

⁷ Principally, the Living Standards Measurement Study/Integrated Survey series and the Priority Survey series.

⁸ Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys.

domestic workers in their homes because of the exploitative conditions in which they are kept. In other circumstances, the household head (who is usually the primary respondent in household surveys) may not report on a child domestic worker because he or she is not considered a part of the household even if residing there most of the time.

8. Confusion can also occur in drawing the line between involvement in household chores in a child's own home and situations of child domestic work, as many CDWs are not remunerated directly but instead provided with lodging, food, clothing, and sometimes schooling in exchange of many hours a day in housework. The line between the two can become particularly blurred in situations where a child is ostensibly adopted into or fostered in another home, a common practice in many developing countries. When the fostered child must spend long hours each day performing housework such an arrangement can in reality be disguised child domestic labour, even if not reported as such to a surveyor.

3. MEASURES OF CHILD DOMESTIC WORK FROM HOUSEHOLD SURVEY INSTRUMENTS

9. Standard household survey instruments⁹ used in child labour measurement typically contain at least one of three broad categories of questions relevant to estimating children's involvement in child domestic work. In the first two question categories, involvement in child domestic work is reported explicitly in response to questions concerning industry/occupation and employment status (category 1) or concerning relationship with household head (category 2). These categories of questions therefore permit the direct measurement of CDW. In the third category of questions, involvement in CDW is inferred through questions on household chores and relationship to household head. This category of questions yields an indirect measure of CDW, and can be useful for capturing the unreported portion of the CDW population, i.e., those CDW cases disguised as fostering or as involvement household chores. These direct and indirect measures of child domestic work are discussed below, with reference to household surveys conducted in Paraguay, Uganda and Venezuela.

⁹ There are three standard household survey instruments of particular relevance for child labour measurement: (1) ILO surveys under taken as part of the Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIMPOC); (2) World Bank multi-purpose household surveys (principally, the Living Standards Measurement Study/Integrated Survey series and the Priority Survey series); and (3) UNICEF Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys (MICS). This report relies primarily on data from the second of these three standard survey instruments.

3.1 Direct measures of child domestic work

10. The first category of questions used for identifying child domestic workers relates to occupation/industry or to employment status. Excerpts illustrating this category of questions from each of the three survey questionnaires are provided in Table 1. In Paraguay, the survey questionnaire lists “domestic worker” as an explicit option in response to the question on employment status. In Uganda and Venezuela, child domestic workers can be identified from responses to questions on occupation or industry, i.e., when responses are consistent with the occupation category “domestic and related helpers” and/or with the industry category “private households with employed persons.”

Table 1. Examples of Category 1 questions in which children are reported as domestic workers from survey questions on industry branch, nature of occupation and/or employment status

Paraguay	EMPLOYMENT STATUS. In your occupation you work as? (respondent indicates “ <i>Domestic worker</i> ”)
Uganda	OCCUPATION. What was the nature of work (for the main employment status) that you did during the last 7 days? (respondent indicates occupation category “ <i>Domestic and related helpers</i> ”) INDUSTRY. What was the main economic activity of your place of work? (respondent indicates industry category “ <i>Private households with employed persons</i> ”)
Venezuela	OCCUPATION. What was the nature of work (for the main employment status) that you did during the last 7 days? (respondent indicates occupation category “ <i>Domestic and related helpers</i> ”)

11. This first category of questions could be answered by both “sending” and “employer” households of child domestic workers. In the case of the former, a child reported as a domestic worker would be a “commuting” CDW, i.e., a child working in an outside private household but still residing in his or her household of origin, as survey respondents (typically the household head) are instructed to consider all members of their own households in answering survey questions. In the latter instance, the child domestic worker would be residing in the household of his or her employer and therefore should (in principle) be reported. It is the group of CDWs actually living away from home, of course, that is particularly vulnerable to work-related abuses.

12. But the distinctions between commuting and resident child domestic workers are not always clear-cut. Situations in which a child returns home frequently but not necessarily daily, for example, may lead to confusion about which household should answer for him/her, the recipient one or the sending one.

13. A second category of questions that can be used for identifying child domestic workers concerns relationship to the household head (when the

option “servant” or “domestic worker” is present). This second category of questions therefore only captures CDWs actually living in the employer households, again, the most at-risk subset of the CDW population. Excerpts illustrating this category of questions from each of the three survey questionnaires are provided in Table 2. In Paraguay and Venezuela, survey respondents are provided the option “domestic worker” in response to the question on relationship to household head. In Uganda, respondents are provided the more generic option of “servant” in response to the same question, and a separate question on the nature of the work makes it possible to establish whether the servants are performing housework (mostly girls) or farm work (mostly boys).¹⁰

Table 2. Examples of Category 2 questions in which children are reported as domestic servants or servants from survey questions on relationship with the household head

Paraguay	Question on relationship with household head. Household head; Spouse/ companion; Son/ daughter; Other relative; Not relative; <u>Domestic worker</u>
Uganda	What is the relationship of [NAME] to the head of the household? Head; Spouse; Son/daughter; Grand child; Step child; Parent of head or spouse; Sister/Brother of head or spouse; Nephew//Niece; Other relatives; <u>Servant</u> ; Non-relative; Other (specify).
Venezuela	Question on relationship with household head: Household head; Spouse/companion; Son/daughter; Grandchildren; Son in law/daughter in law; Father/Mother; Mother in law/Father in law; Brother/sister; Brother in law/sister in law; Nephew/niece; Uncle/aunt; Cousin; Grandparent; Other relative; Non relative; <u>Domestic worker</u> ; Relative of domestic worker.

14. Table 3 contains estimates of child domestic work based on category 1 and category 2 questions. Estimates based on the first category of questions reflect the whole (reported) CDW population (i.e., commuters as well as those residing with their employers) whereas estimates based on the second category of questions reflect only the (most vulnerable) subset of CDWs actually living with their employers. The population of commuting CDWs, therefore can theoretically be calculated as simply the difference between the estimates based on the two categories of questions. But again, misreporting can blur the distinction between commuting and resident CDWs, meaning that caution should be exercised in interpreting estimates of the two groups of CDWs. In Uganda, for instance, not all children reported as domestic workers in the question on relationship to household head are reported as domestic workers in questions on occupation/industry, and the estimate based on category 2 questions is therefore actually larger than the estimate based on category 1 questions.

¹⁰ Both groups are included in the discussion on CDW in this paper; the group of boy servants performing primarily outdoor farmwork, however, is often ignored in the literature on child domestic work.

Table 3. Involvement in child domestic work, 10-17 years age group, by question category used to generate estimate

Country	(A) Involvement in child domestic work based on industry/occupation/employment status						(B) Involvement in child domestic work based on questions on relationship with household head						(A)-(B)					
	All reported CDWs						CDWs living in employer household						Commuting CDWs					
	Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Paraguay ⁽¹⁾	1,896	0.3	25,636	4.7	27,532	2.5	0	0	6,718	1.2	6,718	0.6	1,896	0	18,918	4.0	20,814	2.0
Uganda ⁽²⁾	6,736	0.2	25,969	0.9	32,705	0.5	39,341	1.3	29,014	1.0	68,355	1.1	--	--	--	--	--	--
Venezuela ⁽³⁾	735	0	32,508	1.5	33,243	0.7	0	0	2,308	0.1	2,308	0.1	735	0	30,200	1	30,935	1.0

Notes:

(1) For Paraguay, Column A refers to children reported as "domestic workers" based on the question on their employment status;

(2) For Uganda, Column A refers to children reported as "domestic and related helpers" based on the question regarding the nature of their work (occupation code) and/or reported to be working for private households with employed persons based on the question regarding the main economic activity of their place of work (industry code). Column B refers to children reported as being servants performing housework activities and as servants performing farm work and tending livestock, based on the question regarding their relationship with the household head.;

(3) For Venezuela, Column A refers to children reported as "domestic workers in private households" based on the question regarding their occupation (occupation code).

Source: UCW calculation based on micro-data from Paraguay *Encuesta Permanente de Hogares* (2004), Uganda *National Household Survey* (2005/06) and Venezuela *Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo* (2005).

3.2 Indirect measures of child domestic work

15. A third category of questions permits the indirect measure of situations of CDW disguised as fostering or as involvement in household chores, and not, therefore, captured through the direct CDW measures derived from category 1 and 2 questions. Children in many developing countries can be "adopted" or "fostered" by relatives or non-relatives and provided with lodging, food and sometimes education in exchange of long hours in housework. They are reported in surveys simply as household members although they are child domestic workers in all respects. Their work is often arranged in informal ways and considered "normal" or socially sanctioned and therefore not regarded as child labour.

16. To identify this unreported component of CDWs for estimation purposes from the Uganda and Paraguay survey datasets (data for Venezuela did not allow for the exercise), three sequential steps were taken. In the first step, children performing housework were identified as those responding to questions concerning hours spent in some specific types of household chores (Uganda¹¹) or questions concerning involvement in "carrying out unpaid housework" (Paraguay).¹² The second step was to consider the nature of the relationship of these children to the household

¹¹ The Uganda survey questionnaire contains no explicit, yes/no question on involvement in household chores, but it does contain a question relating to hours spent performing some types of household chores. As information is collected only on hours in some types of chores, the estimate of involvement in household chores based on this question underestimates total involvement in household chores.

¹² Those identified as CDWs through category 1 and 2 questions were of course excluded from consideration to avoid double counting.

head; those who were distant or not relatives of the household head were considered likely to be fostered domestic workers rather than children simply performing domestic chores in their own homes.¹³ In the third step, the time-intensity of the housework was considered, under the assumption that the longer the hours spent performing chores the greater likelihood that this work reflected a situation of domestic child labour.

17. Children in disguised CDW were therefore measured as children who (a) were performing household chores, (b) were not closely related to the household head, and (c) were working beyond a set weekly hours threshold.

Table 4. Examples of Category 3 questions on involvement in domestic chores and relationship with the household head

Uganda	<p>Questions on hours spent in household chores: (a) During the past 7 days, how many hours did you spend fetching water for the household including travel time? (b) During the past 7 days, how many hours did you spend fetching fire wood for the household including travel time? (c) During the past 7 days, how many hours did you spend in cooking for the household? (d) During the past 7 days, how many hours did you spend in taking care of children and the elderly?</p> <p>What is the relationship of [NAME] to the head of the household? 1= Head; 2= Spouse; 3= Son/daughter; 4= Grandchild; 5= Stepchild; 6= Parent of head or spouse; 7= Sister/Brother of head or spouse; 8= Nephew/Niece; 9= Other relatives; 10= Servant; 11= Non-relative; 12= Other (specify).</p>
Paraguay	<p>During the past week did you carry out unpaid housework for at least 2 hours a day or 14 hours in total?</p> <p>What is your relationship with the household head? Household head; Spouse/ companion; Son/ daughter; Other relative; Not relative; Domestic worker.</p> <p>How many hours a day did you devote to household chores? (a) 2 to 4 hours; (b) 5 to 6 hours; (c) 7 to 8 hours; (d) 9 to 12 hours; (e) More than 12.</p>

18. Tables 5 and 6 show estimates for this group for the two countries, by nature of relationship with the household head and the time intensity of the housework.¹⁴ Twelve percent of 10-17 year-old girls in Uganda are in disguised child domestic work measured in this way in the absence of any time threshold and considering all children except close relatives of the household head.¹⁵ In Paraguay, 12 percent of the same group is in disguised child domestic work when only the minimum (14 hours per week¹⁶) time

¹³ Research has shown that the closeness of biological ties is important in determining how the child will be treated within the household; the closer the relationship between the child and the household head, the lower the risk for the child of being disadvantaged within the household (Hamilton's rule). Foster children only distantly or unrelated to the household head are therefore more vulnerable in terms of denied schooling and of having to devote long hours to housework.

¹⁴ Differences in the phrasing of the relevant survey questions in the two countries mean that the two estimates are not strictly comparable.

¹⁵ Sons, daughters, sisters, brothers spouses, and grandchildren of the household head are excluded from consideration.

¹⁶ The Paraguay survey did not collect information on children performing household chores for less than 14 hours per week (see relevant survey question in Table 4).

threshold is applied and close relatives are excluded.¹⁷ The estimates are lower when more stringent time thresholds are applied: in Uganda, the estimate falls to 3.4 percent of 10-17 year-old girls applying an hours threshold of at least 28 hours per week; in Paraguay, the estimate declines to 2.3 percent for the same group when a time threshold of at least 35 hours per week is applied.¹⁸

Table 5. Children in disguised child domestic work, by hours in household chores and relationship to household head, 10-17 years age group, UGANDA

Relationship with household head	% by hours in household chores			
	All children regardless of hours		28 or more hours per week	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Step child	1.1	0.9	0	0.3
Nephew/niece	4.0	5.5	0.2	1.1
Other relatives	3.1	4.6	0.3	1.7
Non relatives	0.6	0.8	0	0.2
Total	8.7	11.9	0.6	3.4

Source: UCW calculations based on micro-data from *Uganda National Household Survey 2005-06*

Table 6. Children in disguised child domestic work, by hours in household chores⁽¹⁾ and relationship to household head, 10-17 years age group, PARAGUAY

Relationship with household head	% by hours in household chores			
	14 or more hours per week		35 or more hours per week	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Other relative	5.7	11.2	0.6	2.1
Not relative	0.3	0.8	0.0	0.3
Total	5.9	12.0	0.6	2.3

Notes: (1) Hours categories are determined by the structure of the survey questionnaire (see Table 4).

Source: UCW calculation based on [Encuesta Permanente de Hogares \(EPH\)](#), 2004

3.3 Combined measures of child domestic work

19. Table 7 presents estimates of child domestic work combining the direct and indirect measures for Paraguay. As shown, the addition of disguised CDW (measured using the method described above) increases the total estimate of CDW by over one-third, even when the relatively stringent threshold of at least 35 hours per week is applied in the measurement of the disguised CDW group. The number of children in disguised CDW is more than twice that of *reported* CDWs living in the employer household, again even when the stringent 35 hours weekly time threshold is used for the former. These results suggest that children in informal fostering

¹⁷ Sons, daughters, spouses of the household head are excluded from consideration.

¹⁸ Differences in the structure of the survey questionnaires necessitates the use of different time thresholds in the two countries. Again, therefore, the estimates are not comparable.

arrangements need to be looked at closely in efforts to quantify and address the CDW phenomenon.

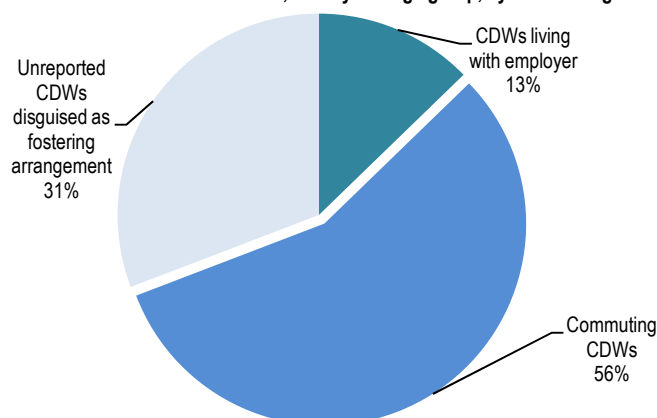
Table 7. Involvement in child domestic work as a percentage of all children aged 10-17 years, combining direct and indirect measures, Paraguay

(A) Involvement in child domestic work based on industry/occupation/employment status						(B) Involvement in child domestic work based on relationship with household head						(C) Involvement in disguised CDW based on involvement in housework for 35 hours or more per week and relationship to household head						(A)+(C)					
Total reported CDWs						CDWs living in employer household						Unreported CDWs disguised as fostering arrangements						Total (reported and unreported) CDWs					
Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total	
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1,896	0.3	25,636	4.7	27,532	2.5	0	0	6,718	1.2	6,718	0.6	3,552	0.6	12,708	2.3	16,260	1.5	5,448	0.9	38,344	7.0	43,792	4.0

Source: UCW calculation based on micro-data from Paraguay *Encuesta Permanente de Hogares* (2004)

20. The population of CDWs can therefore be divided into three groups: those living with their employers in an explicit CDW arrangement, those working as CDWs but still residing at home, and those in child domestic work disguised as a fostering arrangement. The first and third of these groups are most vulnerable to work-related abuses, in that they live full-time away from their families of origin. Based on the measures utilised in Table 7, these especially vulnerable CDWs account for almost half of all domestic workers in Paraguay, although again, possible misreporting means that this breakdown should be interpreted with caution.

Figure 1. Involvement in child domestic work, 10-17 years age group, by work arrangement, Paraguay



Source: UCW calculation based on micro-data from Paraguay *Encuesta Permanente de Hogares* (2004).

3.4 Reliability of CDW estimates based on datasets from standard household survey instruments

21. Not addressed in the discussion thus far is the reliability of standard household survey instruments in measuring child domestic workers. In other words, how effective are the direct and indirect measures of CDWs derived from standard household survey instruments in capturing the CDW population? While the previous discussion illustrates that these survey instruments collect information on CDWs, it may be that for reasons of survey design or implementation that they under-report actual numbers of child domestic workers.

22. This question will be taken up in a second stage of this study on child domestic work, through looking at the extent to which estimates based on standard household survey are consistent with the results from separate baseline surveys specifically targeting the child domestic workers. Should comparisons with baseline survey results reveal that the standard household survey instruments yield reliable estimates of child domestic work, the estimation approach will be extended to a wider selection of countries. Should the results indicate that these instruments are not reliable for CDW measurement, a set of recommendations will be identified concerning how the information on CDW collected by them can be strengthened in future surveys.

4. CHILD DOMESTIC WORK: A STATISTICAL PROFILE FOR UGANDA AND PARAGUAY BASED ON HOUSEHOLD SURVEY DATA

23. This section presents a brief statistical profile of child domestic work in Paraguay and Uganda using the combined measure of CDW described above. The measure of CDW therefore includes children performing housework beyond a set hours threshold (28 hours per week in Uganda and 35 hours per week in Paraguay) who are not closely related to the household head. This category constitutes child domestic work disguised as fostering, as discussed previously.

4.1 Level and time intensity of involvement in child domestic work

24. Estimates based on this combined measure of child domestic work broken down by sex are provided in Table 8. The estimates confirm that domestic work is primarily the domain of girls. In Paraguay, seven percent of 10-17 year-old girls against one percent of same-aged boys are CDWs, and the gap grows with age. Domestic work is also a much more important form of work for girls than boys in *relative* terms, accounting for 41 percent of total girls' employment but only for two percent of total

boys' employment. Parents may prefer to put girls into domestic work rather than boys, not only because household chores are seen as the domain of girls in most societies, but also because girls' education is not considered as valuable as that of boys. In some cases, the girls' income helps to support the schooling of their brothers.

Table 8. Percentage of children in domestic work, by sex and age group, PARAGUAY

Country	10-14			10-17			15-17		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Paraguay	0.7	3.2	1.9	1.0	7.0	3.9	1.5	14.1	7.6

Source: UCW calculation based on micro-data from Paraguay *Encuesta Permanente de Hogares* (2004)

Table 9. Percentage of children in domestic work, by sex and age group, UGANDA

Country	10-14			10-17			15-17		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Uganda	0.8	2.8	1.8	2.0	4.5	3.2	4.4	8.5	6.4

Source: UCW calculation based on micro-data from *Uganda National Household Survey* 2005-06

25. Child domestic workers are frequently migrants from rural areas, sent to the city to help their families of origin to make ends meet. In Paraguay, 12 percent of child domestic workers living in urban areas at the time of the survey reported having migrated from rural areas while the same figure for children in other forms of employment is only two percent (Table 10). This result shows the higher likelihood for domestic workers to have migrated from rural to urban areas. Similarly in Uganda, a much larger share of domestic child workers reported having moved to urban areas (40 percent) than children working in other industry branches (10 percent).

Table 10. Child domestic worker and migration, PARAGUAY and UGANDA

Sex	Paraguay		Uganda	
	Percentage living in urban areas at the time of the survey that moved from rural areas		Percentage moving to current place of residence from rural areas since 2001	
	Child domestic workers	Children in other forms of employment (excluding domestic workers)	Child domestic workers	Children in other forms of employment (excluding domestic workers)
Male	0	2.5	39.1	9.1
Female	14.1	1.3	40.4	11.5
Total	12.4	2.2	40.0	10.2

Source: UCW calculation based on micro-data from Paraguay *Encuesta Permanente de Hogares* (2004), *Uganda National Household Survey* (2005/06)

26. Children in domestic work typically put in extremely long hours in Uganda, both in absolute terms and in comparison to other forms of children's employment.¹⁹ Ugandan child domestic workers must work for

¹⁹ A similar calculation is not possible for Paraguay because of data limitations.

an average of almost 49 hours a week, with obvious consequences for their right to leisure and education. Ugandan children in other forms of employment, by contrast, work an average of only 13 hours per week (Table 11).

Table 11. Average weekly working hours, domestic work and other forms of children's employment, by sex, UGANDA

Sex	Child domestic workers	Children in other forms of employment (excluding domestic workers)
Male	54.5	14.3
Female	46.5	11.9
Total	48.6	13.2

Source: Source: UCW calculations based on micro-data from Uganda *National Household Survey* (2005/06)

27. Child domestic workers are disadvantaged with respect to other working children regarding their ability to attend school, not surprising in light of the time intensity of their work. In Paraguay, the school attendance of female child domestic workers is 15 percentage points lower than for other working children, but there is almost no attendance gap for male domestic workers (Table 12). The attendance gap between child domestic workers and other working children is even larger in Uganda. Only 42 percent of male and 47 percent of female CDWs in Uganda manage to attend school, compared to 85 percent of male and female children in other forms of employment. Child domestic work, therefore, not only constitutes a short term threat to children, but also constrains their ability to accumulate the human capital necessary for more gainful employment in adulthood.

Table 12. Percentage of child domestic workers and children in other forms of employment attending school, by sex, PARAGUAY and UGANDA

	School attendance of child domestic workers		School attendance of children in other forms of employment (excluding domestic workers)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Paraguay	67.9	54.3	69.8	69.3
Uganda	42.3	46.9	85.0	85.1

Source: UCW calculation based on micro-data from Paraguay *Encuesta Permanente de Hogares* (2004)

28. Orphanhood and the phenomenon of child domestic work appear closely related in Uganda. Orphanhood is much more common among CDWs than among children in other forms of employment in the country. This is especially the case for children in situations of disguised child domestic labour. Fifty-five percent of children in this group have lost either one or both parents, compared to 25 percent of children in other forms of employment (Table 13).

Table 13. Percentage of orphaned children, UGANDA

Education level	% of reported CDWs who are orphans ^(a)	% of "disguised" CDWs who are orphans ^(b)	% of other children in employment who are orphans
Paternal orphan	21.4	16.5	14.1
Maternal orphan	4.9	8.2	4.6
Double orphan	6.8	30.0	5.7
Single or double orphans	33.0	54.7	24.5

Notes: (a) Reported CDWs refer to CDWs identified on the basis of questions on relationship to household head; (b) Disguised CDWs refer to those identified on the basis of questions on household chores, relationship to household head and working hours.

Source: UCW calculations based on Uganda National Household Survey 2005-06

4.2 Household characteristics

29. A discussion of the household characteristics of child domestic workers must obviously distinguish between employer households and households of origin. The former can be identified through (category 2) questions on relationship to household head, as discussed previously. As shown in Table 14, employer households are not surprisingly overwhelmingly concentrated in the upper income quintiles in both countries. But households of domestic workers identified through (category 1) questions on industry/occupation can either be sending or employer households, again as discussed previously, and therefore tend to be distributed more evenly across the income spectrum. Households hosting CDWs in arrangements disguised as fostering are better off than households of children in other forms work, but are much less wealthy than reported employer households.

Table 14. Distribution of CDWs by household head income quintile, PARAGUAY

Income quintile	CDWs identified on the basis of category 1 questions on industry/occupation	CDWs identified on the basis of category 2 questions on relationship to household head	"Disguised" CDWs identified on the basis of category 3 questions	Children in employment excluding child domestic workers
	Sending or employer HHs	Reported employer HHs	Unreported employer HHs	
Lowest	13.9	-	16.1	32.3
2	31.4	1.3	30.9	24.5
3	21.1	5.1	20.0	20.8
4	23.5	33.1	20.9	14.2
Highest	10.2	60.6	12.1	8.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: UCW calculation based on [Encuesta Permanente de Hogares \(EPH\)](#), 2004, Paraguay

Table 15. Distribution of CDWs by education level of household head, PARAGUAY

Education Level	CDWs identified on the basis of category 1 questions on industry/occupation	CDWs identified on the basis of category 2 questions on relationship to household head	"Disguised" CDWs identified on the basis of category 3 questions	Children in employment excluding child domestic workers
	Sending or employer HHs	Reported employer HHs	Unreported employer HHs	
None	5.6	1	18.8	5.9
Primary	76.6	25.6	61.2	77.9
Secondary or more	17.8	73.4	20.0	16.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: UCW calculation based on Encuesta Permanente de Hogares (EPH), 2004, Paraguay

30. The distribution of CDWs by the educational level of household head, shown in Table 15 for Paraguay, follows a similar pattern. The heads of employer households are much more likely to have at least a secondary education than the heads of households falling into other categories.

5. CONCLUSION

31. The discussion above suggests that the standard household survey instruments used for child labour measurement can also yield valuable information concerning the subset of child labourers in domestic work. The reliability of the estimates of CDWs generated from these survey instruments, however, needs to be assessed by comparing them with the results of dedicated based line surveys on the CDW phenomenon; this will be taken up in a second stage of the research.

32. Questions on CDW from the standard household survey instruments permit the direct measurement of two groups reported CDWs, those living with their employers and those living in their households of origin and "commuting" to work in another private household. The standard household survey instruments also permit the estimation of a third group of unreported CDWs, those in domestic work disguised as a fostering arrangements. This last group, often overlooked in the literature, is non-negligible in Paraguay and Uganda. Indeed, in Paraguay, it is larger than the group of reported CDWs living with their employers, and ignoring it therefore significantly understates the size of the overall CDW population in the two countries.

33. Statistical profiles of CDWs in Paraguay and Uganda based on information from the standard household survey instruments largely confirm results in the literature on child domestic workers. The profiles indicate that the CDWs are primarily girls, work very long hours, both in absolute terms and relative to children in other forms of employment, and

are from poor households whose heads have limited education. Many are migrants sent by their families to work in wealthier urban households. In Uganda, they are much more likely to be orphans than their peers in other forms of employment. In both countries, they are severely disadvantaged in terms of being able to attend school compared to children in other forms of employment.