

Child Work and Labour in Ethiopia: Literature Review and Policy Implications

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1. Introduction

This chapter aims to provide a preliminary bibliographical resource, an initial critical review of the literature, new insights on child work and labour in Ethiopia, and suggestions for future lines of research. The first part considers the different disciplinary and methodological approaches used to study the issues; we suggest that the various disciplinary lenses through which child work and labour have been studied result in a fragmented rather than an integrated picture. Moreover, we argue that there is a dichotomy between quantitative approaches, many of which have focused on rural surveys and the linkages between child work and education, and qualitative approaches that have concentrated on urban areas and vulnerable children. The second part briefly reviews findings from quantitative research, notably on the prevalence of child work and its distribution, children's time use and their contribution to the household economy, the impacts of government rural development and food security programmes on child work, and the implications of work for children's health and wellbeing. The third part considers key findings from qualitative research on the work that children do, in particular that of children at risk focusing on the main categories studied, and discusses the value and meaning of work and changing work norms. The fourth part considers the policy context, international and national legal frameworks, policies and action plans. The fifth part considers interventions within the country to address child labour. The final part draws overall conclusions and identifies research gaps.

Some authors treat 'child work' and 'child labour' as synonymous and interchangeable. However, 'child labour' in some of the academic literature is viewed as a more restricted category, involving children's economic activity, often outside the household. Moreover, it tends to be associated in people's minds, and is used in policy language, to refer to work that is inappropriate, excessive, dangerous and harmful, as opposed to child work, which may be viewed as innocuous, benign or even beneficial, and is often seen as part of children's everyday roles, responsibilities and development.

The translation of the term 'child labour' is also often problematic and may reinforce the view of child labour as exploitation, as for instance in the official

¹ This synthesis paper draws heavily on literature reviews carried out by my colleagues in Young Lives. I should therefore like to acknowledge them as co-authors, and to thank Yisak Tafere for useful suggestions. I also wish to thank OAK foundation for support to this research. The literature reviews were a precursor to field research carried out in June 2013 and an East African Regional Symposium planned for March 2014.

term used in Amharic for child labour: *Yehitsanat gulbet bizbeza*.² Child work could also include aspects that are often not viewed as ‘labour’ such as domestic help, training, and even school, even though most authors tend to exclude ‘schoolwork’ from the definition of child work, and children also tend to differentiate between school, work and play. Some ethical codes define ‘child labour’ as work by children below a certain age. As Bourdillon et al. (2010) note the dichotomy between child ‘work’ and ‘labour’ may set up an unhelpful framework and the different understandings of the term ‘child labour’ may result in confusion. The authors suggest that it may be more useful to use the generic term ‘work’ with appropriate qualifiers such as harmful, illegal, paid, economic, light, etc. For our research, we use the term ‘child work’ in a broad sense, to refer to a wide range of paid and unpaid activities that children perform. However, since the term ‘child labour’ is commonly used in the literature, in this chapter we have retained the authors’ usage, and, where necessary, have attempted to clarify how the terms have been used.

2. Disciplinary and Methodological Approaches

The literature on child work in Ethiopia comes from a wide range of disciplines, generally with limited cross-fertilization. These include economics, development studies, public and mental health, sociology, anthropology, social work, geography, and gender and childhood studies. Even a cursory review of the bibliography shows that almost half the references derive from economics. Childhood study is the second most important disciplinary area; there are few references from sociology and anthropology, and fewer from gender and health perspectives. A number of PhD theses have been produced particularly on migrant children as well as several masters theses notably through the Regional and Local Development Studies, the Demographic Research and Training Centre, and the graduate programmes of the Institute of Development Research, Addis Ababa University. It is noteworthy that there is a paucity of mixed methods studies, almost all of which were produced through Young Lives research.

Some of the quantitative studies have tended to focus on rural data sets such as the Ethiopian Rural Household Survey (Admassie 2002 and 2003; Admassie and Bedi 2003; Bedi and Admassie 2009; Cockburn 2002; Cockburn and Dostie 2007; Bhalotra 2003; Yilma 2009 and 2010; Haile and Haile 2012) or evaluations of the Productive Safety Net Programme (Hoddinott, Gilligan and Taffesse. 2010). However, there are also some nationally representative samples that have been reviewed, most notably the Central Statistical Authority’s (CSA) Child Labour Survey (2002), National Labour Force Surveys (CSA 1999 and 2002; Tadesse 2001; Guarcello and Rosati 2007; Alvi and Dendir 2011), Demographic and Health Surveys (Senbet 2010) and Welfare Monitory Surveys (Woldehanna and Jones 2009). Two smaller-scale surveys address health issues in urban areas

² Literally “children’s labour exploitation”, with the term *bizbeza* having strong negative connotations. One can compare this with the translation of “labour” in the name of the ‘Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs’ where the word used for labour is the more neutral term “workers”.

(Fekadu, Alem and Hagglof 2006 and Alem et al. 2001), the latter focusing on mental health. There have been a number of papers based on the Young Lives surveys involving 3000 children in twenty sites in five regions of the country that include both rural and urban areas (Heissler and Porter 2010; Orkin 2012; Woldehanna 2009; Woldehanna et al. 2005a and 2005b; Woldehanna et al. 2011; Woldehanna and Hagos 2012 and forthcoming). There have also been a few urban surveys on health related issues (Alem et al. 2001; Fekadu, Alem and Hagglof 2006; Sorsa and Abera 2006).

In terms of topics the quantitative studies have tended to focus on a number of themes relating to the relationships between schooling and education such as the impact of work on school attendance and performance, and the contradiction or complementarity of school and work. Other themes include the demand and supply determinants of child labour, quantifying the contribution of children's work to the household economy, and the impact of public policies such as the Agricultural Extension and Productive Safety Net programmes on children's time use.

In contrast the bulk of qualitative studies have focused on urban areas and on children perceived to be at risk. The main categories that have been the focus of attention have been orphans and vulnerable children (OVCs), street children, commercial sex workers, children involved in shoe-shining, weaving and lottery selling, domestic workers, and more generally child migrants, irrespective of their occupation. Poluha, in her review of research on Ethiopian children, goes so far as to conclude: 'I think it is safe to say that most of the information we have about children *geographically* refers to children in the streets of the cities, mainly but not exclusively in Addis Ababa' (2007:203). She also suggests that there has been more research on children at school and about poor urban children. One important contribution of many qualitative studies has been a much clearer focus on the views of the children themselves about the work they do.

Mixed methods studies have been predominantly those carried out by the Young Lives research, in which five of the twenty sites have qualitative subsamples. A few PhD and Masters theses have also tried to combine methods, though in practice the tendency has been for researchers with a quantitative background to carry out surveys supplemented with a few focus groups and interviews, and for researchers with a qualitative background to supplement case studies of individuals with small surveys.

3. Quantitative research findings³

Many of the quantitative papers have tended to be based either on nationally representative samples, especially the National Labour Force Surveys (NLFS), Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) and Welfare Monitoring Surveys (WMS), or on panel surveys, notably the Ethiopian Rural Household Survey (ERHS) and the Young Lives Survey (YLS). In many cases the studies go back to surveys in the late 1990s and early 2000s and, apart from the Young Lives data there have not been many recent studies or indeed ones that focus on change.

The Extent of Child Work/Labour: Gender, Rural-Urban and Other Dimensions

The overall picture from the studies is that child work/labour is prevalent throughout the country among both boys and girls in both urban and rural areas. The first and only national survey of child labour was carried out in 2001 by the CSA. The report estimated that 85 per cent of children aged 5 to 17 were engaged in some work. In terms of broad type of work 52 per cent were involved in productive activities and 78 per cent in housekeeping activities, with greater proportions of boys and rural children involved in the former and double the proportion of girls and urban children involved in the latter (Tassew Woldehanna and Nicola Jones 2009). On average children worked 33 hours per week in productive activities, and one-third of the children worked more than 40 hours. The number of hours worked was higher for boys in rural areas and for girls in urban areas. Over a third of children were involved in domestic activities for three to four hours per day. Of the working children 8 per cent were involved in 'elementary' occupations, namely street-vending, shoe-shining, messenger service, agriculture, mining, construction, manufacturing and transport, with a greater involvement of younger children.

Also using the data from the 2001 child labour survey Guarcello and Rosati (2007) excluded children doing domestic work and noted that half the 5-14 year-olds or more than 7.5 million children in absolute terms worked in economic activity, suggesting that Ethiopia had one of the highest rates of child labour in the world. They showed that children's economic activity rose steeply with age but even among the youngest group of 5-9 year olds 40 per cent were 'economically active' meaning working for the household and for pay, with boys and rural children more 'at risk'. They also suggested that involvement in agriculture, which is the main sector, decreased somewhat with age, while manufacturing, services and wage work and self-employment became slightly more important.

The 1999 Ethiopia National Labour Force Survey (NLFS) was used by Alvi and Seife (2011) to examine the effects of sibling composition on children's school attendance and work. Focusing on children aged 7-14, they found that earlier born rural boys had a higher chance of attending school. Older boys also had a higher likelihood of engaging in market work than their younger siblings

³Most of this section and the next derive from more comprehensive reviews carried out by Emma Wilson and Agazi Tiemelissan.

and older girls were more likely to engage in domestic work than younger siblings. The effects of birth order on work were largely unaffected by the sex of the younger siblings or by the age difference of the last child. The authors posit that older males may have an advantage with regard to access to schooling due to their high social standing, differential returns to schooling between younger and older siblings and /or problems associated with school access.

The 2005 National Labour Force Survey data are used by Woldehanna and Jones (2009) to suggest that among children aged 5 to 14 about 41 per cent of boys and 31 per cent of girls were involved only in economic activities and a further 17 per cent of boys and 11 per cent of girls were involved in school and an economic activity. The proportions were found to be considerably higher in urban areas. The survey also suggested that 60 per cent of boys and 46 per cent of girls were involved in child labour.⁴

Several studies are based on the 1999 Ethiopia Rural Household Survey fifth round. Haile and Haile (2012) found that 77 per cent of children aged 4-15 started undertaking work (including domestic activities) prior to their 8th birthday (and the official school starting age of 7 years). Furthermore, approximately 12 per cent had already begun work at age 4. There was a clear specialisation of work activities with girls spending more time on domestic work than boys (28 hours compared to 17 hours per week), while boys spent longer hours on market activities, including farm work and herding (35 hours compared to 25 hours per week).

Using the same data source and focusing on children aged 4-15, Assefa Admassie (2002) found that the school participation rate was relatively higher for boys compared to girls and participation in work (broadly defined as farm work, domestic work, herding, child care and other informal activities) was higher among girls. With regards to the distribution of work and schooling activities by age, the author found that participation in work (as a child's reported main activity) increased with age, but peaked at 11 years of age, when it started to decline. School attendance (as a child's reported main activity) also increased with age for all children, as did the likelihood of combining work with school attendance, reaching approximately 45 per cent at age 15.

Descriptive analysis of the Young Lives round 3 data set for 2010 found that more than 90 per cent of the younger cohort (aged 8) and more than 98 per cent of the older cohort (aged 15) were involved in some kind of paid or unpaid work. Girls were more likely to be involved in childcare activities and other domestic chores, while boys were more involved in family business activities as well as paid activities. This was true for both cohorts of children. Poorer children among the younger cohort and children from rural areas in both cohorts were more likely to be involved in unpaid family business activities (Woldehanna et al. 2011).

⁴ Child labour is defined as including: a) children < 12 engaged in economic activities, b) children 12-14 engaged in excessive economic activities (>14 hours per week), and c) children <15 engaged in excessive household chores (at least 28 hours per week). The estimate does include children engaged in hazardous or 'worst forms' of child labour (NLFS 2005).

The most recent nationally representative data comes from the 2011 Demographic and Health Survey (CSA 2012). The data suggest a figure for child labour⁵ of 27 per cent for children under 15 (with 17 per cent for children aged 5-11 and 55 per cent for children aged 12-14). Most of these children were involved in household chores, followed by family businesses, and paid work was very limited. Less than 1 per cent of children aged 5-11 and 2 per cent of children aged 12-14 were engaged in paid work, 3 per cent of 5-11 year olds and 6 per cent of 12-14 year olds were engaged in paid work for non-household members, and 14 per cent of 5-11 year olds and 30 per cent of 12-14 year olds worked for a family business. Furthermore, 18 per cent of 5-11 year olds and 40 per cent of 12-14 year olds were engaged in household chores for 20 hours or more per week. In gender terms child labour was higher among boys (31 percent) than girls (24 percent), and much higher in rural areas (30 percent) than urban areas (13 percent). Child labour was found to be much less prevalent among children with educated mothers (6 percent) and decreased with increasing wealth quintiles.

Determinants of Children's Time Use

Three papers explore this question using the Ethiopian Rural Household Survey. John Cockburn and Benoit Dostie (2007) using three ERHS rounds from 1994 to 1995 looked at the role of household asset profiles and household composition on the demand for child work. They concluded that factors driving the demand for child labour varied substantially between households, with little relation to household income. They suggested that land ownership and land quality increased demand for child work; a close source of wood and water reduced demand for child labour; for boys ownership of ploughs and sickles had a positive effect on schooling and negative effects on work; and ownership of permanent crops which are labour intensive for children increased work among boys.

Using the 1999 ERHS, Assefa Admassie (2002) found that households with higher dependency ratios had an increased likelihood of involvement in child work. With regards to supply-side factors, households that were more satisfied with the quality of schooling were 3 per cent more likely to send children to school and 8 per cent less likely to engage them in work activities.

Using the same source Haile and Haile (2012) found that among children aged 7-15, boys were more likely to specialise in school or combine market activities with school, whereas girls were more likely to combine domestic work with school or engage solely in domestic work. Older children were more likely to combine work and school than younger children. Children in households with a household head with at least primary education had an increased likelihood of attending school. In terms of wealth indicators, an increase in livestock raised the

⁵ Child labour is defined as including: a) children aged 5-11 working for someone who is not a household member with or without pay or engaged in any other family work or did household chores for 28 hours or more; b) children 12-14 who worked for someone who is not a household member with or without pay or engaged in any other family work for 14 hours or more or did household chores for 28 hours or more.

likelihood of children combining market work and domestic work with schooling, but land size was not found to be significant.

Using panel data from the 1999 and 2004 ERHS Zelalem Yilma (2009) estimated the effect of shocks and labour sharing on child work among a sample of children aged 5-17. The results suggested that child labour acted as a buffer stock; membership in a labour-sharing arrangement did not affect child labour hours at normal times but did allow the household to lessen reliance on child labour when faced with an idiosyncratic shock, affecting individual families such as illness and death. While almost the whole effect of these shocks was offset by participation in a labour sharing arrangement, covariate shock affecting whole communities such as drought was not. Even if this may well affect a child's academic performance, school attendance did not decrease. Furthermore, excess rain, insect damage and shortage of outside labour all increased demand for child labour. However, the effects were counter-balanced by participation in labour-sharing arrangements (except in the case of excess rain). Covariate shocks were less likely to be insured among social groups and shocks did not affect the probability of attending school.

Using the Young Lives Round 2 survey from 2006, when the older cohort children were 12 years old, together with a qualitative sub sample of 30 children and their caregivers studied in 2007, Heissler and Porter (2010) explored the role of the household in determining work roles. Age and gender were found to play a key role. Looking at comparisons within households and between cohort children and their siblings, the authors found a strong correlation between hours worked and age in addition to a gendered division of labour with girls working more on domestic tasks and boys on the family farm or business. They found that the oldest girls tended to have the highest work burden, and that child work could be impacted by parental illness and other household shocks. Qualitative findings suggested that work is a source of pride for children and children felt that work allowed them to gain important skills. They concluded that household relations are interdependent and suggest that 'more attention should be paid to the role of the household composition, birth order and sibling composition in determining *which* children, within *which* households do *which* type of work'.

Morrow et al. (forthcoming) used Young Lives longitudinal survey (2002 – 2009) and qualitative data (2007 – 2011) to explore changes in children's time-use in middle childhood in a rural community in Ethiopia. The study found that children's time-use remained relatively 'flexible' over this time, in the sense that the shift system in schools enabled children to continue herding cattle or doing other tasks outside school hours, and the expectation that children contribute to their households also persisted. In some cases, children temporarily left school because their labour was needed for other reasons, or because they relocated to a different household.

A review from the three rounds of Young Lives surveys provides useful insights.⁶ Young Lives asks children about their daily activities, including the time

⁶ This summary is based on a report by Laura Valadez. The focus is on the 1000 older cohort children born in 1994 and who were aged 8 at the time of the Round 1 survey in 2002, aged 12 at the Round 2 Survey in 2006 and aged 15 at the Round 3 survey in 2009.

they spend in paid and unpaid work (domestic tasks, farming, work for the family business, caring for others), the time they spend in school and studying at home, on leisure and sleeping.

Unpaid Work for the Household: Age, Gender and Location

The Young Lives data for Round 3 show that, in 2009, boys spent more time on unpaid work for the family farm or business, but girls spent more time on household chores and caring for others. Among the younger children aged 8, girls spent 9 per cent of the time on domestic chores as compared to 5 per cent for boys. In contrast boys spent 9 per cent of the time on farming and other work for the family as compared to 3 per cent for girls. Younger children in rural areas spent slightly more time on domestic tasks (8%) than those in urban areas (6%).

Among the older children, boys living in rural areas reported devoting the most time to unpaid work for the household, with a slight increase between the ages of 12 and 15 (from 3 hours to 3 hours and 12 minutes). Girls living in rural areas devoted less time to unpaid work than boys living in urban sites and the amount of time rural girls spent on unpaid activities decreased between age 12 and 15. Girls in urban areas report the least amount of time spent on unpaid work activities (16 minutes per day).

Older girls living in rural areas devote the most time to domestic chores, in all rounds, and the time they spent on this has increased over time (from 2 hours 36 minutes at age 8, to 3 hours 50 minutes by age 15). Older girls living in urban areas faced the largest increase in the amount of time devoted to domestic chores, although they still spent less time on chores than their rural counterparts. Older boys living in rural areas reported a reduction in the amount of time spent on domestic chores which might correlate with an increase in the time spent in paid work during this period.

Children also contribute to their households by providing care to other household members, though this is a very minor part of their time use among the younger cohort children. In 2009, rural children aged 8 reported spending twice as much time (4%) as urban children (2%) on caring activities. Girls living in rural areas are the category spending the most time caring for others, on average 1 hour and 18 minutes compared to 42 minutes among girls living in urban areas. Boys in rural areas spent 45 minutes a day compared to boys in urban areas spending 23 minutes a day on caring work.

Among the older cohort children the amount of time devoted to caring for others increased between ages 12 and 15. Like household chores, caring for others is largely a female activity. Among the younger cohort children girls spent 5 per cent of their time on caring compared with 3 per cent for boys. Among the older cohort, girls living in rural areas spent the most time caring for others (over an hour by age 15), followed by girls in urban areas (averaging 47 minutes by age

Since the questions were refined in Round 2 most of the analysis is based on comparisons between Rounds 2 and 3. There is less data for the younger cohort children and questions on time use refer to Round 3 when they were 9 years old.

15). Boys in urban areas spent the least amount of time caring for others when compared to all other categories of children.

Among younger cohort children time devoted to caring for others decreased as household wealth increased: children in the lowest 3 quintiles spent on average between 5 to 6 per cent of their day caring for others whereas children in the richest quintile spent only 2 per cent of their day. Among the older cohort children in Round 3 with declining wealth there was also a steady increase in the amount of time from 30 minutes a day among the richest quintile to 56 minutes among the poorest quintile.

Paid Work: Gender, Location and Wealth

The Young Lives quantitative data suggest that only small proportions of children are involved in paid work.⁷ The younger cohort children were asked if they did 'anything to help their family or get money or things for themselves'. Of the 10 percent who said they did, 58 per cent were boys and the vast majority (96%) lived in rural areas.

Among the older cohort children the majority (84 per cent) had not any done paid work by age 15. Moreover, most children said that they did not work for pay between the ages of 12 and 15 (84 per cent). Only 3 per cent of the children (27 out of 975) reported working in both Round 2 and 3; most of them were boys (17 out of 27) and from rural areas (18 out of 27). Boys were more likely to engage in paid work in either Round 2 or Round 3, or in both Rounds, when compared to girls. This is probably because boys had greater access to paid work and because girls had more responsibilities for unpaid household chores.

Rural children were more likely to report paid work but the gap between rural and urban children became smaller by age 15. Of the children who reported working in both rounds, 72 percent were from rural areas. The data suggest that children in rural areas tended to start doing paid work earlier; by age 12, around 5 per cent of rural children were working for pay, compared to 2.6 per cent of urban children. This difference declined by age 15 when 10 per cent of urban and 9.3 per cent of rural children reported working for pay.

Boys tended to report more paid work as compared to girls, and between age 12 and 15, there was a greater increase in paid work among boys compared to girls. Between ages 12 and 15, the proportion of children reporting paid work increased (from 4.5% to 8.6%); the amount of time they spent working for pay on a typical day also increased (from 1 hour 43 minutes per day at age 12 to 3 hours and 17 minutes at age 15). There was a larger increase in paid work among boys (from 5% to 11%) compared to girls (3.6% to 6%). This could be because boys had greater access to paid jobs and by age 15, more boys had left school as compared to girls. Boys in urban areas reported the largest increase in paid work (from 7.5% to 18%), surpassing the rate of paid work among rural boys (which increased from 10% to 12%). Among girls, prevalence of paid work doubled both

⁷ However, Young Lives qualitative data does show that children, particularly in the older cohort and including girls especially in rural areas are involved in paid work, notably in irrigation areas (Tafere and Woldehanna 2012).

in rural areas (from 6% to 12.5%) and tripled in urban areas (from 1.5% to 6%), though rural girls still reported higher rates of work than their urban counterparts.

Among the younger cohort most of the children who reported working for money (63%) were in the poorest two wealth quintiles (48 children out of 199 lived in households in the poorest quintile and 74 in the second poorest). Only 4 of the children who worked lived in households in the richest quintile. Among the older cohort children a greater proportion of working children came from poorer households, they spent more time working in both paid and unpaid work compared to children from wealthier households, and the amount of time they spent working increased over time. For paid activities, children in the poorest households devoted double the amount of time to work compared to children in the wealthiest households. For unpaid activities, children in the poorest households spent around three times the amount of time spent by children in the wealthiest households. At age 12 and age 15, children in poorest households also reported spending more time doing chores (25-27 minutes more) than children in the wealthiest households.

Impact of Work on Children's School Attendance and Learning Outcomes

Two papers used the 1999 ERHS to look into the relations between work and school. Admassie and Bedi (2003 and 2008) found that approximately 40 per cent of children aged 7-15 could read and write. Their ability to read and write began to be affected with 16-22 hours of weekly work, and beyond this threshold both reading and writing ability and school attendance suffered. Haile and Haile (2012) also found an inverse association between hours of work and educational attainment using the same data source.

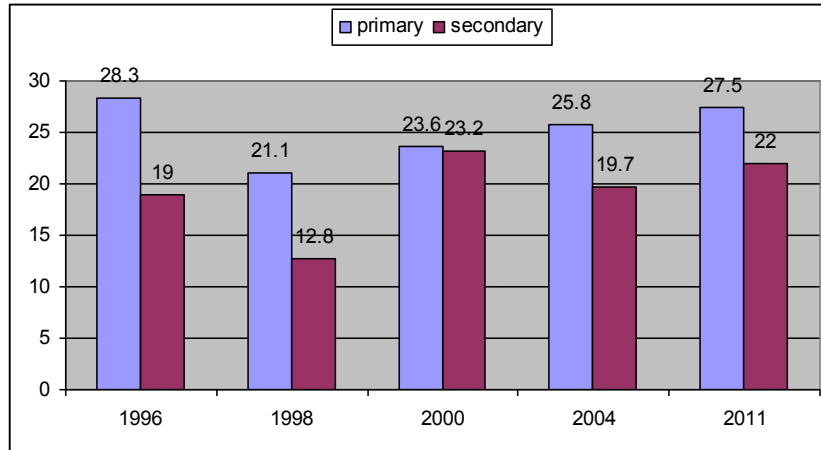
The 2001 DHS was used by Dawit Senbet (2010) to look into determinants of child labour versus schooling in rural Ethiopia. The findings suggested that incidence of child labour versus schooling depended on age of the child, education already attained, proximity to water, age/gender of the household head, presence of infants (for girls), household size, ownership of crop land (for boys) and ownership of cash crops. The child was less likely to work if he/she was younger, and had more schooling, was a direct offspring, was in a larger household (for boys) and the household head was younger (for girls). The probability for girls to work increased especially with the existence of infants in the household, and boys in wealthier households seemed to engage in working at the cost of schooling, while the opposite was true for girls. Ownership of cropland strongly increased the likelihood of boys engaging in work while the reverse was true for girls. In contrast ownership of cash crops favoured boys' going to school instead of working.

The Welfare Monitoring Surveys (1996, 1999, 2000, 2004, and 2011) provide data on dropout suggesting a fall in dropout rates from 1996 to 2011 in both rural and urban areas, especially between 2004 and 2011.⁸ The data also provide

⁸ The dropout rate in primary schools in rural areas fell from 18.3 per cent in 1996 to 13.6 per cent in 2004 and 4.2 per cent in 2011 for primary school and from 29.3 per cent in 1996 to 16.5 per cent in 2004 and 3.9 per cent in 2011.

reasons for dropout. The proportion of dropping out for work does not seem to have declined and in fact increased from the 1998 to the 2011 surveys for primary school.

Figure 1. Proportion dropping out for work from primary and secondary school



SOURCE: WMS reports

Young Lives data have also been used to look into the relationship between work and school. Using the 2002 Younger Cohort survey data and additional household data, Woldehanna et al. (2005a) found that the probability of a child being enrolled in school was negatively associated with children's paid farm and non-farm work and involvement in household chores, and that this effect was more pronounced in rural compared to urban areas. However, other factors were found to be more important, notably household composition, asset ownership, experience of shocks and distance to primary school.

Woldehanna et al. (2005b), examined factors impacting on child work and schooling. Using Young Lives survey data from the first round in 2002 the multivariate analysis showed that boys are more likely to combine work and school, or be engaged in work only, but less likely to be involved in minimal work. Qualitative findings on the other hand revealed that girls were actively involved in domestic and non-paid work. Older children were more likely to combine work with school or be involved in work only. With regard to family characteristics, the presence of an older sibling decreased the likelihood of children working or combining school with work. As with many studies, the authors find that children of more educated mothers were more likely to attend school and/or combine work with school. They found a non-linear relationship between wealth and education - an initial increase in wealth raised the likelihood that children combined school and work, but this declined after reaching a certain

threshold. In terms of assets, children from households with greater land size were more likely to work, or combine work with school, than only attend school. Ownership of livestock also led to greater child labour. Finally an examination of community characteristics demonstrated that a reduction in distance to school had a positive effect on child schooling, which was also reflected in the qualitative data.

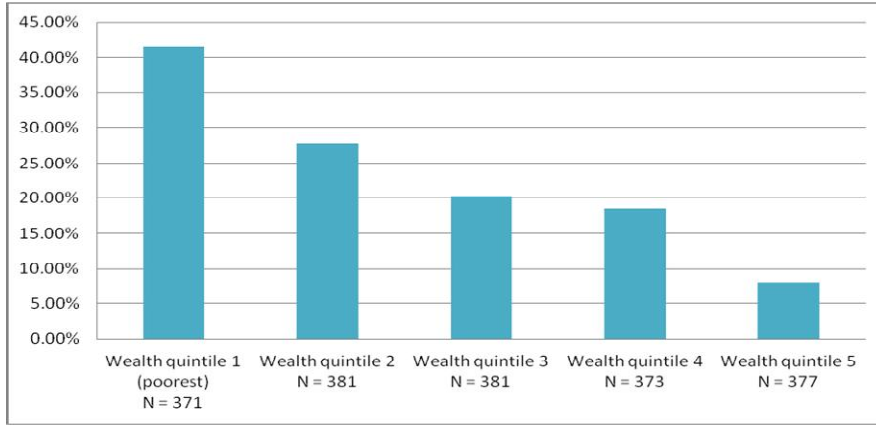
Orkin (2012) used mixed methods to explore the complementarity of work and school for children. Based on Young Lives qualitative data generated from one rural site (24 children, aged 13-14 years, together with a selection of caregivers and community members), she found six features of rural schools and work which made school and work more competitive: high schooling costs, less flexibility to local work patterns and the effects of illness, work that is scarce, work that cannot be divided into small chunks, more tiring work, and the fact the chores and study are both done in the home. Based on exploratory analysis of survey data from 2006 (625 older cohort children, aged 12 years, from rural sites only) she found some correlation between proxies for four characteristics (high schooling costs, flexibility to the effects of illness, work being scarce and less divisible work) and decisions about children's schooling and work. She suggests further research is warranted in order to capture children's negotiation power vis-à-vis school and work decisions within the household, and to explore school characteristics that enable children to attend school, or combine work with school.

A review of the three rounds of Young Lives Surveys and the two cohorts suggested a strong association between working for pay and school.⁹ As may be expected the probability of leaving school was higher for those who work than for those who have never worked. Children who have never worked were more likely to be enrolled in school. Out of the 815 children who have never worked, 93% were enrolled in school. By age 15, about 10 % of the children (11% of boys and 8% of girls) were no longer in full time education. Over half the 55 boys who were not at school had left due to work (15 were needed for agricultural work and 11 had to do paid work to earn money and three to look after family members or due to family issues). Among the 38 girls who were not at school eight had to do work (four doing paid work, three domestic work and one looking after siblings) though an additional nine mentioned disability or illness and five family issues. Regarding urban and rural differences, out of 78 children in rural areas who left school, about half mentioned work (16 agricultural or domestic work at home, and 11 paid work). In urban areas only 15 children had left school, two of whom were needed for work at home. By age 15, a greater proportion of children who did paid work were no longer enrolled in school; almost 30 per cent of children who worked for pay had left school, compared to 8 per cent of children who were not involved in wage work.

A clear association was found between lack of school enrolment and poverty. Among the Younger Cohort children 42 per cent of children were not enrolled, whereas in the richest quintile only around 8 percent were not attending school.

⁹ This section is drawn from a longer review by Laura Valadez.

Figure 2. Percentage of children not enrolled in school: Younger Cohort Round 3



However, only 13 percent were not at school due to work (for domestic work and to look after sibling), with a higher proportion in rural areas (14%) than urban areas (9%); the children being too young or in pre-school were the main reasons given, with distance from school, disability or illness and lack of child interest being other factors in rural areas.

Poverty is also associated with leaving school. Among the older cohort at age 15, we find a 16 percent gap in school-leaving between children from the poorest and wealthiest households. This represents a widening gap compared to when they were 12 years old, when wealth disparities in school enrolment were not as stark. Figure 3 clearly shows how the poorer the household, the greater likelihood that the child had left school.

Figure 3. Percentage of children who have left school by age 15 by wealth quintile



Boys were more likely to report leaving school by age 15 when compared to girls and rural children were more likely to leave school by this age, relative to urban children.

A recent paper (Woldehanna and Hagos, forthcoming) also suggests a correlation between children working and their educational attainment. Using Young Lives data from the older cohort in 2006 and 2009 the findings suggest that boys and children living in urban areas who work above two hours a day had worse vocabulary test scores than those who did not work or worked less.

Contribution of Children's Work to the Household Economy

Cockburn (2002) using 3 rounds of data from the ERHS from 1994-1995 estimated the contribution of child work in Ethiopia to household income. The average value for the marginal product of working children varied between 111 and 196 *birr*, roughly one-third to one-half the marginal product of male adults. Boys were found to have a marginal productivity that is roughly 50 per cent higher than girls, possibly due to their greater specialisation in income-generating activities. The average total income contribution of working children was estimated between 4.4 per cent and 6.8 per cent of total income, suggesting that child work makes a significant income contribution. However, the analysis does not include non-income contribution of children, such as domestic work.

Impact of Public Programmes on Children's Time Use

Hoddinott, Gilligan and Taffesse (2010) applied quasi-experimental evaluation techniques to data from the 2006 Food Security Programme Survey, to examine the impact of Ethiopia's Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) and other complementary transfers on children's labour and schooling (aged 6-16). They found that public works participation under the PSNP did not, by and large, yield benefits in terms of increased school attendance among children. However, they did observe a reduction in child labour time. Stronger impacts were observed when households receive larger transfers. When the beneficiary sample was restricted to households who earned 90 birr per household member, they found that school attendance rates increased and child labour supply decreased among young boys. Increased school attendance was also observed for older girls (though the size of effect was much weaker than for boys). However, they suggested that the combined impact of the Other Food Security Program (OFSP) and public works had detrimental effects for younger girls. The authors suggested that provided the transfers are sufficiently big, a public works programme can have positive effects for children in terms of schooling and labour.

Woldehanna (2009) used Round 2 Young Lives data from the older cohort (aged 12), to assess the impact of selected public programmes on children's well-being, and in particular children's time use between work and schooling. Using propensity score matching techniques the author found that the Productive Safety Net Programme public works increased paid work outside the home but reduced childcare and household chores. Qualitative findings also suggested that children in households involved in this programme were involved in paid work. Significant gendered effects were found with girls associated with increased paid work, less household work and more studying. For boys a significant effect was found in terms of less household chores. The Direct Support component of the Productive

Safety Net Programme was suggested to be effective in reducing child work and increasing children's schooling and studying at home but had limited effect on highest grade completed by children. The net effect of the Agricultural Extension Programme was negative for child work and positive for schooling and study time. It significantly reduced girls' total time on work (both household and paid work) and yielded positive effects on girls' schooling and school performance.

A Young Lives mixed methods paper considered the effects of the Productive Safety Net Programme on child work and school (Yisak Tafere and Tassew Woldehanna 2012). The survey data showed that the Public Work component increased paid work outside the home but decreased household work and child care. It did not increase the time children spent on schooling and studying at home, while the qualitative data suggested that it had a negative impact on their learning. The schooling of children engaged in public works and wage labour was affected and in some cases they dropped out of school altogether. The authors concluded that insufficiency of PSNP transfers may encourage households to send their children to work for wages and that safety nets need to be designed to take account of children's needs.

Impact of Child Labour on Health and Wellbeing

There are comparatively few quantitative studies of potential impacts of work on children's health and wellbeing. Three out of four papers reviewed are on urban areas, and two are on mental health.

Using three ERHS rounds collected between 1994 and 1995, Bhalotra (2003) estimated the probability of children (aged 6-15 years) being in work as a function of health status. The author found that as anthropometric measures of height and weight increase, the probability of children working compared to attending school decreased. The probability of a child working or attending school also increased relative to the probability of children being inactive (neither in school nor working). The author noted that this analysis was cross-sectional and therefore causality could not be inferred.

Solomon Sorsa and Alemu Abera (2006) conducted a study in three towns in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR): Hawassa, Wolayta Soddo and Arba Minch, involving 323 working children who were not at school. The reasons for child labour included poverty (61 percent), loss of parents (17 percent), disagreement with parents (8 percent), parental separation (6 percent), shortage of food (5 percent) and displacement due to war (1 percent). Almost all of the respondents' parents had a low level rank occupation with 64 per cent having a monthly income of less than 50 birr, and 79 per cent of the respondents reported that they were from poor families. Among the respondents, 51 percent were domestic child labourers, 23 percent were street child labourers and 18 percent were working in private organizations. Two-thirds of the child labourers were working for more than 10 hours a day and 82 percent of them had a daily income of less than five birr. About half of them stayed in the job for more than two years and most of them did not visit their parents or relatives for long periods of time. The vast majority, 84 percent, reported having encountered one or more health problems. Malaria-like illnesses and diarrhoeal diseases were the

major health problems reported. About 19 percent of them were sexually active, yet 23 percent of them have never heard about HIV/AIDS. About three-quarters of them did not attend any kind of health education program. However, it should be noted that this study focused on child labourers and does not compare them with children at home and in school.

Fekadu, Alem and Hagglof (2006) suggested that child labourers were more prone to face mental disorders than children who were not working. They conducted a cross-sectional study in Addis Ababa on a random sample of 528 child labourers aged between 5-15 years, which were compared with 472 non-economically active control children. The authors found that child labourers were more likely to be diagnosed with mood and anxiety disorders than children who do not work, after adjusting for other socio-demographic factors. However, this study is limited by the cross sectional approach, as causality cannot be determined.

In contrast Atalay Alem et al. (2001) found lower prevalence of disorders among working children in four cities. They considered the mental health of working children in Addis Ababa, Narareth, Hawassa and Bahir Dar on a sample of 2000 labourers and 400 non-labourers aged 8 to 15 years. They found less childhood disorders among the working children; faced with this unexpected finding they suggested that it could be due to selection bias or a 'healthy worker' effect. However, they found that domestic child labourers were more prone to disorders than non-labourers and other categories of labourers, and they worked longer hours and were more likely to encounter various types of abuse.

A review of the Young Lives data¹⁰ suggests that patterns relating to associations between work and wellbeing are mixed. Among the Younger Cohort Children in rural areas¹¹, a higher proportion of working children had a healthy height-for-age, and working boys also had a higher Body Mass Index (BMI) than non-working boys, though the reverse was true for girls. In terms of cognitive test scores (in a combined measure of performance in the Vocabulary [PPVT] and Mathematics tests) and taking location, gender, and working status into account, the group that performed best in the composite score were working girls living in urban areas (7.00), followed by urban boys who do not work (6.83) then urban girls who do not work (6.63). In urban areas the boys who work scored lowest (5.00)¹². Among the rural children the scores were lower except for rural working girls (5.75), with the lowest scores for rural girls who do not work (4.09), followed by urban boys who do not work (4.23), and urban boys who work slightly higher (4.93). Younger children in rural areas who do not work tended to position themselves lower in their self-view on a social ladder than those who work.

The data for the older cohort suggest that various indicators of good health (having a healthy Body Mass Index and a healthy height-for-age) and cognition (performing well in the Vocabulary [PPVT] and Mathematics tests) are not

¹⁰ This is drawn from a wider review by Laura Valadez.

¹¹ In urban areas, it is difficult to make a distinction in the health status of children who work *vis-à-vis* those who do not work, due to small numbers of working children in urban areas (4 boys and 4 girls).

¹² However, the number of children working in urban areas (4 boys and 4 girls) is too small for significant analysis.

associated with paid work (age 12 and/or 15). Possibly, these indicators of child wellbeing are more associated with structural factors (gender, location, region) than with the working status of the child, and there is a need to consider the type and quality of work done. In terms of test scores, and taking location, gender, and working status into account, the group that performed best in both rounds were boys who do not work and who live in urban areas (age 12 score = 7.71; age 15 score = 6.95). The group that performed the worst in both rounds were girls who work and who live in rural areas (age 12 score = 5; age 15 score = 4.68).

4. Qualitative Research Findings

Qualitative studies have tended to focus on children in urban areas and on the forms of child work often labeled as ‘worst forms’, carried out by vulnerable children considered to be at risk of exploitation mainly in the informal sector. Though studies of child labour exploitation often require sensitive discussions with the children, there have also been some attempts at using mixed methods of surveys followed up with interviews, focus group discussions or case studies, particularly with regard to commercial sex workers and street children.

One attempt to look at the different forms of child labour in Addis Ababa using mixed methods¹³ in four *Kebeles*, including a small survey, was carried out by Save the Children Denmark (2003) with support from the African Network for the Prevention of and Protection Against Child Abuse and Neglect (ANPPCAN) and the Addis Ababa Administration Social and NGO Affairs Office. The analysis revealed that the major activities in which children are engaged in Addis Ababa include shoe shining, selling lottery tickets, selling food/drinks/*kollo* (roasted grain), assisting taxi drivers (*woyala*) and prostitution. The major causes which push children to become involved in child labour included poverty, death of one or both parents, the need to become economically independent, and violence within the home environment. The study suggested that work affects children’s social, physiological, intellectual and emotional developments and exposes them to malnutrition, health problems and drug addiction. However, most respondents believed that children from poor families should work, but under conditions which do not affect their health conditions.

Regarding studies of particular types of child work six major categories have received considerable attention in the (mainly) qualitative literature: 1) orphans and vulnerable children (OVCs), 2) child commercial sex workers, 3) street children, 4) shoe-shiners, 5) child weavers, and 6) child domestic workers. In addition, child migrants may be considered to represent a seventh category that may involve different occupations.

Whereas some of the studies mainly highlight the deprivations, hardships and abuses these categories of children face, others emphasise their adaptation, resilience, resourcefulness and ability to lead meaningful lives and assist their friends and relatives.

¹³ The study carried out in Merkato, Kazanchis, Cherkos and Piassa, involved 116 children (more than half of whom were migrants), 56 employers, 32 community members, 32 parents and 5 government and NGO representatives.

Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVCs)

The category of OVCs received considerable attention since it became one of the main ways for government, donors, international organisations and local civil society to target assistance to needy children, particularly in the context of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. However, most of the studies consider assistance to orphans and the aid environment with little attention to the work orphans do (e.g. Yntiso 2007).

Abebe and Skovdal (2010) challenge the notion that orphans are ‘burdens’ to the household economy. Using findings from two qualitative studies from rural communities in Ethiopia and Kenya involving 94 orphans¹⁴ and their households, they find that orphans in rural communities make valuable labour contributions to their households, and are viewed as an important resource by their guardians. Furthermore, the care that can be accessed by orphans is often determined, among other factors, by the nature of the work that they can carry out (influenced by considerations of age and gender).

Young Lives research suggested that the age of the child when a parent dies is important for outcomes later on. The findings of a study by Rozana Himaz (2009) suggested that if a parent dies early on in a child’s life (between ages 0 and 6) then the death *per se* does not seem to affect children’s health, education, sense of optimism or self-esteem at age 12, in part due to the fact that younger children are more likely to be absorbed into the care of close relatives. In sharp contrast, if the mother dies in the middle of childhood (between ages 7 and 12) a child is less likely to be enrolled at school or to be able to read or write, and if the father dies, this seems to reduce the child’s sense of optimism (Camfield, Himaz and Murray 2009).

More broadly Young Lives research suggests that the focus on orphans obscures the vulnerabilities of other groups of children. A paper by Gina Crivello and Nardos Chuta (2012) found that inequalities in schooling and health outcomes were larger along other dimensions of vulnerability, such as the location of children’s households and the material circumstances of their households. Many of the problems faced by orphans are also faced by other disadvantaged children in their communities, and poverty was often a more pressing every day risk for many children, and gender-based violence for girls. Thus Kirrily (2012) argues that, while orphanhood can impact on children’s psychological well-being, socio-economic deprivation needs to be considered as well. She suggests that rather than focusing exclusively on certain categories of children, understanding the impacts of poverty needs to be at the heart of policies for children.

Commercial Sex Workers

Whereas studies of orphanhood in Ethiopia have tended to focus on the deprivation of orphans rather than their work for survival, studies of commercial

¹⁴ This includes children who have lost one or both parents as well as children who are vulnerable to poverty and parental illness.

sex workers have focused largely on the commercial sex work rather than the social context and the lives of the women, until the insightful study by Bethlehem Tekola (2005). Moreover, few studies have focused on children involved in sex work.

The study on child labour carried out by Save the Children Denmark (2003) focused on child commercial sex work. Most of the child prostitutes in the study came to Addis Ababa to look for work due to conflicts at home, early marriage and divorce. Poverty, death of one or both parents, child trafficking, high repetition rates and drop out from school and lack of awareness about the consequence of being engaged in prostitution were suggested as key factors pushing girls to become involved in commercial sex work. The major problems they faced included rape, beating, stigmatization, frustration, low self-esteem, unwanted pregnancy and a variety of health problems.

Arega Hailemichael (2009) assessed the socio-economic situation of 60 child (girl) commercial sex workers in one area of Addis Ababa. He found that they faced social, psychological and economic hardships which made them vulnerable to health, physical and psychological problems. He suggested that the majority reflected hopelessness because of the miserable life they were living.

In contrast van Blerk (2008) portrayed a more positive picture, drawing on 60 in-depth interviews with commercial sex workers aged 14-19 in Addis Ababa and Nazareth. The author identified the push factors and pathways into sex work. Participants portrayed sex work as problematic in terms of health risks, violence and the propensity to fall into debt, but at the same time, the author argued that they have achieved successful transitions to adulthood by avoiding poverty, supporting their families and relatives, and, in some cases, establishing their own families.

Street Children

Street children who represent a very visible form of child work have been the focus of both policy oriented and academic research. Poluha (2007) suggests that this area has received far more attention than other forms of child work and she sees this as partly due to the conspicuousness of street children to western eyes.

A PhD thesis by Paul Heinonen (2011) was based on discussions with over 200 children, and visits to 52 homes in Addis Ababa, but relied largely on case studies taking an anthropological approach. The author notes the importance of migration due to rural poverty as a driver, as well as punishment and verbal abuse pushing children to go to live on the street. The children survive through informal work on the street, some having to contribute to their households sometimes resulting in conflicts with their parents. The children support one another and work together with other children rather than with adults. The author suggested they should not be seen as delinquents and problem children, but rather as children facing difficulties who require support.

Tatek Abebe (2008) explores the experiences of children involved in street work and begging in Addis Ababa. Using data from interviews with 28 children, together with findings from a survey conducted with 60 children, he identifies how poverty and the 'moral imperative' to contribute to the household economy

are major push factors into this form of work. Interpersonal relationships and mutuality between street children were viewed as positive aspects of street work, and the author identifies a wide range of strategies employed by children to resist, define and adapt to their marginalised positions.

A recent mixed methods study sponsored by Save the Children UK (Azeb Adefrisew and Daniel Tefera 2012) sought to produce a National situation analysis of street children. It was carried out in six major cities: Addis Ababa, Bahir Dar, Adama, Hawassa, Dire Dawa and Jijiga, and involved 2707 street children composed of 918 street-working, 882 street-living and 907 children on the street living with their families. The age of the children ranged from 1 to 17 years with a median of 13, and 62% were boys. One fifth of the children were full orphans and more than one third were half orphans. The study found that family poverty was the major reason for children to move out of their birth region and town, for living and working on the street, for not being enrolled in school, for dropping out of school, as well as for not getting medical treatment. Over two-fifths had no access to toilet facilities and used the fields. Among the children who were sexually active, almost three-fifths of the girls as compared to half of the boys had multiple sexual partners. Only one in twenty respondents received services from NGOs. The street children faced hunger, cold, abuse, frustration and sometimes got into conflict with the law while working and living on the street. The coping mechanisms they employed included begging for money or food, engaging in work, ignoring the offender, reporting to the police and using alcoholic drinks and addictive substances. The study concluded that most street work is menial and brings very low income. Moreover, it often resulted in harming the physical, emotional and mental development and wellbeing of the children involved, and also kept children away from school or left them very little or no time at all to study, play and relax. It exposed them to the natural elements as well as to different types of abuse. On a positive note, the authors suggested that work on the streets helps the children survive and that working developed self-discipline, a sense of independence and made children resilient.

Shoe-shiners

Shoe-shining carried out mainly by migrant boys particularly from Gurage has been a major form of child work in urban areas. A study of shoe-shiners in Gulele sub-city of Addis Ababa was carried out by Solomon Shimelis (2006) for a masters thesis, involving 168 boys and 10 girls aged 5-14 with some interviews of their parents or guardians. Nearly all the child shoe-shiners were from poor families, some orphaned and/or having migrated. The findings suggest that they became involved in shoe-shining for a variety of reasons including socio-economic and cultural factors. The author suggested that they tended to work for long hours under conditions damaging to their health and physical development, facing physical and verbal abuse, frequently deprived of meaningful educational opportunities.

*Child Weavers*¹⁵

Child weavers have been portrayed as among the most exploited types of child workers and have become almost symbolic of child labour in Ethiopia and are often pictured in posters that denounce child labour. A study of weavers in the Sheromeda area of Addis Ababa was carried out for a Masters thesis by Lomi Yadeta (2002), involving 117 boys and 10 girls aged 5-17. Most of the weavers are migrants from Gamo-Gofa and came to Addis Ababa with the hope of a better future and education. One-third of the children started work within the 5-9 age group and more than half within the 10-14 age group. Three-fourths worked six days a week and the majority at least thirteen hours per day and a minimum of 78 hours a week. Regarding education, 40 percent of the children were illiterate and 30 percent school dropouts. More than three-fourths of the children were paid below the minimum wage paid to daily labourers. The children were not allowed to leave their work, suggesting that this is a form of 'bonded labour'. The majority worked in a crowded room with, on average, three children using two pit-looms in one room serving as a working and living place. The author suggested that children felt that the cost of working outweighed the benefit, since they were working under hazardous and exploitative conditions, which compromise their future.

Child Domestic Workers

As a less visible but much more prevalent form of child work, and one that all but the poorer sections of the urban population take for granted, child domestic work had not received much attention until recently.

A study by Annabel Erulkar and Mekbib Tekleab (2007) in two kebeles of Addis Ababa in the Mercato and Kazanchis, included 1200 households comparing adolescents who were domestic workers with those who were not. They found that fifteen percent of the female adolescent population were domestic workers, most of whom had migrated from rural areas. Among girls who are working, 77 percent were in domestic work, whereas boys' work was far more varied, including manual labour (26%), shoe-shining (11%) and petty trade (8%). Female domestic workers were less likely to be educated or to live with parents compared to other categories of adolescents. They worked longer hours for less pay than other adolescent workers, with a mean income equivalent to 6 US dollars per month. Female domestic workers appeared to have lower self-esteem and fewer friends than other adolescents (44% reported having no friends), as well as lower levels of HIV knowledge and minimal participation in existing adolescent programmes. The authors argued that adolescent domestic workers are therefore highly vulnerable yet largely invisible, despite their large numbers in some urban settings. It is also noteworthy that in another study, Girma and Ferede (2009) found that 40 percent of commercial sex workers had previously been domestic workers.

¹⁵ A forthcoming chapter on child weavers by Sileshi Zeleke is part of a book on child work being published by CODESREA.

A paper by Nardos Chuta (2007) based on her Masters thesis considers child domestic workers who migrated to Addis Ababa from Oromia. The girls came from socially and economically disadvantaged households. Reasons for their migration included parental death, early marriage, fear of abduction, the wish for education and economic pressures relating to poverty. Girls were also attracted to the urban way of life. The children encountered a lot of abuse, exploitation and denial of rights. They were harassed verbally, physically, psychologically and sexually. They were often not paid at all with payments sometimes going to their relatives or brokers, or when they were remunerated for their services it was a pittance (7-20 birr per month); they worked long hours without rest or days off. However, they did benefit to some degree from opportunities for schooling and some benefited from NGO support.

Child Migrant Workers

Many of the studies of children working in specific types of work in urban areas, as noted in several of the studies discussed above, involve migrants. There has been an increased policy-related interest in child trafficking from rural to urban areas and internationally, particularly in the context of migration to and recent forced return from the Gulf States.

Some studies focus on migrants involved in particular occupations whereas others start by identifying migrant child workers. One example of the former approach is a study by Girmachewu Adugna (2008), who considered 50 lottery-vending boys all of whom migrated from Gojjam in Amhara Region. Reasons for their migration included diminishing farmland sizes, steep rise in fertiliser prices, bad harvest and absence of paid work in rural localities as push factors, while the prospect of earning better income in Addis Ababa, peer influence, social support from prior migrants, and a strong urge to raise their social status and be economically independent were found to be the main pull factors. The flow of information between returnees and future migrants, and the existing networks and expanding village-based social connections also contributed to their decisions to migrate, and guaranteed them a certain degree of safety and resilience in their urban life. The majority of migrant boys (80 percent) were already expecting to be involved in lottery vending before they left. However, many alternated between or combined a wide range of activities to diversify their source of income. The children's migrant work enables most to negotiate new roles within their family and the village community and many expressed a strong urge for reverse migration back to the village.

Several recent studies have emphasised the resourcefulness and resilience of child migrants. For instance Emebet Mulugeta and Sissel Eriksen (2013) carried out a study of 24 migrant children (21 boys and 3 girls) in Addis Ababa. The children, aged between 8 and 16, came mainly from the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR), especially from Gurage, Wolayta and Hadiya. All came from villages where farming was the mainstay of the livelihood, and fourteen had both parents in their village; many mothers were petty traders. The authors found that poverty was the main driver for migration, that parents and siblings wanted the children to migrate, and family and friends in Addis Ababa

promised them assistance with work and education. In all cases, the children came willingly and most of them happily. Many were living with a family member or relative, and all except one contributed to rent and other expenses. The children lived in crowded areas close to the markets where they work, generally sharing rooms, sleeping on the floor and sometimes without even shared toilets, kitchens or tap water. Many did not eat three meals a day and often skipped meals. The children depended on their own work which they found through networks and they were involved mainly in shoe-shining, and selling food; two provided small change for taxi drivers, one was a porter and another an apprentice in a mechanic workshop. Their earnings varied from 15 to 45 birr per day; except for three, they saved money in banks, *iqqub* or with a trusted person. They maintained strong bonds with their home villages and families by phone, letters, visitors, and went back for annual holidays. The children reported being happy to have been able to help their families. Apart from one, they were content with their lives and wanted to stay in Addis Ababa. The children all had plans and ambitions for their future to improve their lives as well as those of their families.

A paper by Teferee Makonnen (2013) based on his PhD thesis focused on 50 migrant children aged 10 to 18 from Mecha in Northwest Ethiopia who are involved in informal activities in Addis Ababa. Most came from farming households and had been to primary school. Reasons for their migration were diverse including rural poverty, marital instability, parental divorce and death, exposure to heavy work or punishment, seeking freedom from parental control and conflict with family and other community members. Most were engaged in informal sector activities in market areas, near bus stations, and construction sites, selling lotteries, portering and domestic work. They lived in crowded shared housing, lack parental or other support, access to education and training (though they were often able to combine work with school) and capital to start or expand businesses. Their earnings were low and they found it difficult to save and meet basic needs. They had little play time and were often harassed, beaten or cheated by adults including policemen. The author sees the migrants as resourceful and resilient, helping one another through friendships and networks. The study concluded that the migrant children are able to make significant contributions to the urban communities, their families and themselves.

There has been an increasing interest in the issue of migration of women and children to the Middle East and Gulf States, and policy concern and practical assistance have increased recently, particularly in the context of recent expulsions and repatriation of migrants.¹⁶ A paper on the repatriation of minors from Yemen was produced by Zelalem Teferra (2013), based on interviews with 481 child returnees, 472 of whom were boys and 9 girls. The author notes that, according to the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), over 100,000 migrants were in Yemen and 12,000 were repatriated, over 1,800 of whom were minors. The author notes low levels of education: 38 per cent of the minors were illiterate and a further 37 percent were in grades 1-6; given poor education the migrants aspired to

¹⁶ International migration is an important theme of the forthcoming conference of the Ethiopian Society of Sociologists, Social Workers and Anthropologist with several papers on returnee migrants.

farming and domestic work. Most had migrated due to poverty in the hope of providing remittances to their families; some were influenced by peer pressure, and some young women left to escape early marriage and domestic violence. The study emphasises the role of illegal brokers, child smugglers, informal networks of relatives and friends as well as private employment agencies in promoting their migration. Most of the minors end up stranded in a transit country, particularly Yemen, facing multiple hardships, including physical and sexual abuses, robberies, arbitrary arrest, and deportation.

Value and Meaning of Children's Work in Different Contexts

Utilising qualitative data generated during seven months of fieldwork with children, community members and development workers in 2005 and 2006, Tatek Abebe (2007) explored the changing and dynamic nature of children's work in the Gedeo community in southern Ethiopia. He found that households are undergoing a process of restructuring as a result of global economic shifts, reconfiguring the nature and meaning of children's work within these communities. The shift from subsistence to cash crops disrupted children's traditional work cycles which can compromise attendance in school (for example demand for boys' labour during coffee harvest season leads to high drop-out rates). The age-based division of labour is also shifting as children's access to cash (particularly for boys) is affording them new levels of agency. Finally, the author observes a gendered division of labour, whereby boys have increased opportunities in the cash-based economy (allowing agency with regards to control over income and mobility in the public sphere) whereas girls are still primarily responsible for activities associated with domestic reproduction.

Drawing on the same data, Abebe and Kjørholt (2009) discuss similar themes pertaining to the changing nature of children's livelihoods in this context, but additionally they place emphasis on the value of children's labour and income contributions in the context of migration of adults from the household. They also underscore that while children are indeed competent social beings, they are simultaneously vulnerable and marginalised within an increasingly globalised political economy.

A study by Kate Orkin (2010) draws on qualitative research with children (aged 12-13), caregivers and key informants in one Young Lives site in Ethiopia. She found that in this context not all work is perceived as harmful but rather work can often yield gains for children, who are able to purchase school materials, contribute to the family and learn important skills. However, she suggested that certain types of child work such as piece rate work (which competes with schooling) and commercial vegetable farming (which is tiring and poorly paid) are considered by the children as harmful. The author argues for a regulatory rather than abolitionist approach to limit children's involvement in more harmful forms of child work.

Jo Boyden (2009) examines the meaning of children's work within the context of adversity by analysing caregivers' and children's perspectives using Young Lives qualitative data from children aged 12-13 and their caregivers in 2007. She finds that work is often an 'important affirmation of children's

capabilities' and critical to maintaining the household and family, particularly during periods of hardship. However, children can also be overwhelmed by their work responsibilities and work activities may conflict with schooling. Further, she finds that work can be stigmatising for some children particularly if it carries gendered connotations (i.e. boys carrying out tasks typically perceived as female activities).

Zelalem Anteneh (2010) draws insights from interviews and FGDs with children, youth, parents, teachers, extension workers and elders in different parts of the country (Arsi in Oromia, South Wello in Amhara, Gurage in SNNP, and the cities of Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa). The author suggests that child work has been on the increase due to a range of factors including the need for cash income, poverty aggravated by high cost of living, the new education policy, expansion of rural financial services, food for work/ safety net programmes, irrigation schemes, increasing population and the HIV/AIDS pandemic. As most disadvantaged children are deprived of basic needs, they are obliged to sell their labour or to contribute for poor household's resilience. In the process of engaging themselves in paid work, they resort to drudgery and inferior activities, which in turn, create a sense of stigma and exclusion. When poor households are on the verge of social-economic crisis, their children are the victims of vulnerability to various risks. However, the author argues that some child labour has positive aspects, with children in a better condition than in their parents' house, even when they are living on the street.

Work as a Key Transition

Yisak Tafere and Laura Camfield (2009), explored the nature and timing of transitions made by Young Lives children (aged 12-13) drawing on group discussions with community members conducted in each of the qualitative sites in 2007. They found that work is considered to be an integral part of family life and not necessarily an impediment to engaging in other activities such as schooling. Some work is viewed as carrying social and moral risks for children, such as heavy work or work that requires girls to frequent public spaces. Children from poor households are perceived as facing the greatest challenges in combining school with work.

Adem (2009) used four case studies generated in a town in the Southern Region (SNNPR) to illustrate diversity of lived experiences of working children: a coffee grinder, barber, lottery ticket vendor and a manicurist. The cases point to diverse motivations for children engaging in works that are not solely accounted for by poverty but also are a result of migration or difficult family circumstances (i.e. forced marriage). The author emphasised how the shift from child work to adult employment is not a sudden transition but rather part of a continuous and gradual process.

Young Lives Qualitative Findings¹⁷

Young Lives has carried out three rounds of qualitative research in five sites with 20 children (12 main cases and 8 backup children) in each site: Round 1 in 2007, when the older cohort children were around 13 and the younger 6, Round 2 in 2008, when the older cohort children were 14 and the younger cohort children 7, and Round 3 in 2011 when the older cohort children were 17 and the younger 11.

Types of Work in Which Children Are Involved

As can be seen from annex 1, children of both ages and sexes are involved in domestic work from an early age. Some children start working from the age of five, performing household and on-farm activities. Others start working from about the age of nine and contribute to the family income. In some cases children have to work when a family member becomes sick, old or is imprisoned.

Rural children are involved in guarding crops on farms, collecting firewood, cleaning animal dung, rearing animals and herding cattle, with girls increasingly becoming involved in domestic tasks as they grow older. Urban children are involved in washing plates, cleaning the house, making beds, caring for younger siblings and in rare cases cooking stew. Caring for others at home, especially looking after younger brothers and sisters, is often carried out by younger girls. Nonetheless, when caregivers are old or sick, this is taken up by older children. As children get older the types of work children do change, and their responsibilities increase. For instance girls start baking *injera* and washing clothes from about 12 years old. As children grow older the gender differences also become more pronounced. However, there is some evidence of older boys becoming more engaged in household chores including cooking.

Work for pay is usually undertaken by older children and mostly in the rural areas. Paid work in rural areas includes haricot bean picking, plantation work, cobble stone carving and selling, shopkeeping, fishing, work in stone crusher plants, cactus selling, and animal fattening. Boys in urban areas are involved in car washing, garage work, shoe shining and some girls are housemaids. Younger children are engaged in wage work only in one rural site where there are plantations.

Views of Children and Adults about Child Work

Child work is considered to be very important in the lives of children, as a means of gaining skills needed for their later lives and earning money. Both children and caregivers tend to view work as important for children's upbringing and often a necessary means of survival. Children are also happy and proud to cover some of their personal needs and contribute to the household through work and earnings. Most of the time children view work as important in gaining skills, building their confidence and providing them with a sense of pride. However, some children complain about the negative health impacts of the activities they undertake. Child

¹⁷ This summary is drawn from a report produced by Nardos Chuta.

work is often hard and some children especially in rural areas complain about suffering from the heat of the sun while ploughing and digging, working in fields on irrigation farms, or carrying and loading stones for sale. Others mentioned headaches and backaches carrying wood, water and stones and a few sustained injuries.

Caregivers also believe that children's engagement in work is important, and in many cases, essential for household welfare. Some mention children covering some of their personal needs, including for school and clothing and even helping their parents, who view this as a good return for raising them. When children assist their parents this is considered as a blessing for the parents and a good opportunity for the children to gain working experience. Some parents noted that children working helped them survive in a period of food price inflation. Parents often consider that it is an obligation for children to work. However, in some cases the demands of parents that children work are a source of tension and quarrels with children refusing to work or wanting to go to school; in some cases, children wanted to leave school so that they can work more, and this is often met with resistance from family members.

Though children tend to be happy in contributing to the household livelihood, and the work they are involved in is mostly done after school time, teachers consider children's work as interfering with their schooling, and they suggest that this is a major reason for absenteeism and dropout. However, children tend to not be so concerned about potential long term impacts of work on their schooling, but rather stress some current negative health impacts.

Whereas many children are able to combine work and school, some complain that work tires them, limits time for study and affects their results. Children in rural areas often have to drop out from school during peak agricultural seasons, and in one site, where children are involved in fishing, during the fasting period when there is more demand for fish. In other cases, the availability of wage work in areas where children reside, combined with family poverty contributes to children's school dropout and absenteeism. When parents are unable to provide for schooling needs, children may decide to do some paid work. Though the participation of children in wage works helps them cover some school related payments, it can also hinder them from focusing on their education, and may tempt them to become involved in earning money through wage work rather than going to school.

Most of the children who work are older and tend to decide on how they spend the income. However younger children tend to give what they get to their parents who use it mainly for home consumption. Although some older children give part of their earnings to their parents or share it with their siblings, the majority use most of the income for themselves for personal needs including for clothing and shoes, educational materials, and girls use some income for cosmetics.

5. The Policy Context¹⁸

Ethiopia has ratified both the *United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child* (UNCRC) and the *African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child* (ACRWC) as well as both International Labour Organisation conventions relating to child labour: Convention 138 on the *Minimum Age for Admission to Employment*, and *Convention 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour*. Furthermore, a number of domestic federal laws relate to child work/labour.

5.1. National Legislation

The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (1995) in article 36 reiterates the rights of children as stipulated in the UNCRC. Furthermore, the Constitution incorporates specific provisions on the rights of the child to be protected from exploitative practices stating: “Every child has the right not to be subject to exploitative practices, neither to be required nor permitted to perform work which may be hazardous or harmful to his or her education, health or well-being” (article 36 (1)(d)).

The *Labour Proclamation (377/2003)* is the only legislation in Ethiopia which specifically provides for the employment of young persons. Under Article 89 the statutory minimum age for employment is 14 years. Children between 14 and 18 years are categorized as young and are entitled to special protective measures. Young workers may not work for more than seven working hours per day compared to the eight hours for adults. Further, the law prohibits the employment of young workers for night work, overtime work, and work on weekly rest days or public holidays (article 90). As with the ILO Convention 138 the minimum age of admission to hazardous work in the labour proclamation is 18 years (Article 89 (2) and (3)). The proclamation defines hazardous work as ‘work the nature or the circumstances under which it is to be carried out is harmful to the life or health of the young worker’ and authorizes the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (MoLSA) to proscribe a list of activities to be categorized as hazardous. In line with this, in 1997 MoLSA issued a directive on the prohibited occupations for young Workers, which included the following:

- Work in the transport for passengers, and goods by road, rail, air, and internal water way;
- Work in docksides and warehouses involving heavy weight-lifting, pulling or pushing or any other related type of labour;
- Work connected with electric power generation plants, transformers or transmission lines;
- Underground work such as in mines, quarries, and similar works;
- Construction activities which involve the use of scaffolding at high heights;

¹⁸ This section and the following one are summaries based on a review by Lishan Wolde Medhin.

- Work on streets cleaning, in sewers, digging tunnels, sorting and transporting liquid and solid wastes
- Alcohol and cigarette production;
- Working in hotels, motels, night clubs and similar services;
- Working in very cold and hot environments and where there is radiation and waves;
- Metal welding, grinding, cutting and shaping;
- Cutting wood, splitting, shape making, etc., by using electric powered machines;
- Forest clearance;
- Work in chemicals and with mixtures of minerals that have recognized health hazards;
- Other occupations that have detrimental effects on the young workers' moral and physical development.

In 2011, an updated list of hazardous occupations for children was produced by MoLSA, with the support of ILO, following a tripartite consultation with workers' and employers' organizations to replace the above directive. The new list of hazardous activities is specific on prohibited tasks with a list of different types of work in different categories of employment. The draft was presented to the MoLSA management (MoLSA 2013). This directive prescribes different ages for different types of work and has additionally included traditional weaving as one form of hazardous work in the list (MoLSA 2011).

Three codes have a bearing on child work. The *Revised Family Code* (2011) allows children to receive income deriving from their work (article 263 (1)). It provides that young workers can freely dispose of such income, after making contribution to their own maintenance (article 263 (2)). This provision is instrumental in limiting the risk of exploitation by guardians and tutors. The *Civil Code* has provisions protecting domestic workers from abuse or exploitation (article 2522); it does not provide for a minimum age for entering contracts, and might not provide protection for minors given the civil and family codes' provisions of age of majority at 18. The *Revised Criminal Code* (2005) includes provisions for protecting children from Worst Forms of Child Labour (WFCL). These provisions not only criminalize elements of WFCL but also lay out severe penalties for convicted offenders, including prison sentences and fines. Most forms of human trafficking have been criminalized under this code; trafficking of women and children carries a penalty of up to 20 years of imprisonment and a fine. Moreover, the *Criminal Code* specifically covers such issues as: enslavement of children; trafficking for compulsory or forced labour; procurement, trafficking and employment of minors for prostitution; use of children in the production of pornography; and trafficking in both women and children for engagement in prostitution (articles 597-600). Further provisions relate to child endangerment, child abuse, ill-treatment, neglect, abandonment, or causing bodily injury. The *Criminal Code* also deals with over-tasking of children in home settings. It provides that "anyone having the custody or charge of a minor ... and over-tasks him is punishable with simple imprisonment not exceeding three months" (Article 576(1)). The *Employment Exchange Proclamation* (632/2009) regulates the

recruitment of persons from Ethiopia to work abroad and stipulates that it is unlawful for a private employment agency to deploy a person below the age of 18 to work abroad (article 25, (1)). Failure to comply with this standard entails severe penalty including license cancellation (Article 28(1)).

5.2. Development Policies, Plans, Strategies and Programmes

Unlike the earlier Poverty Reduction Strategies, the Growth and Transformation Plan has a sub-section on Gender and Children's affairs under a cross-cutting section. Out of five targets for children's affairs two relate to vulnerable children and two others relate to child labour: 'reduce rate of sexual assault and labour abuse of children', and 'reduce illegal child migration and trafficking'. Moreover, one of the three strategies is to 'reduce child abuse in the labour market, sexual assault and child trafficking'

Child labour issues have been integrated into several development policies, plans, strategies and programmes: The *Employment Policy* identifies household poverty, family disintegration and loss of parents as major factors contributing to child labour. It recognizes that household poverty reduction should be taken as a general approach in terms of reducing incidence and protecting children from child labour. The policy discourages sanctioning of products made by children by labeling them to discourage their marketing, which is seen as detrimental to the children's wellbeing. The policy calls for keeping a balance between allowing children to work under decent conditions for income generation to fulfill their basic needs and supporting them in terms of schooling and skill development. Support to the informal sector is among the key actions stipulated in the policy. The policy recommends developing clear guidelines for the operation of the informal sector; access to working premises and finance; ensuring decent working conditions; and providing technical, institutional and policy support for the formation of associations.

The *Labour Sector Development Plan* includes prevention and control of child labour as one of ten objectives. This plan provides two strategic interventions: awareness creation on child labour and improved labour inspection to deter hiring of children under the age of 14 and to enforce protective mechanisms for those that are within the legal working age (14-17).

The *Education Sector Development Plan* (1997) led to a series of five-year Education Sector Development Programmes (ESDP). In addition to a range of measures to promote education it provides for expansion of special education, non-formal and alternative basic education to contribute to enrolling children withdrawn from child labour.

The *Developmental and Social Welfare Policy* (1996), one of the earliest policies to address issues relevant to child labour commits the government to exert efforts to implement all international standards and create a fertile ground where children in especially difficult circumstances get the necessary assistance, and are protected against child abuse and exploitation. The policy acknowledges that poverty and economic marginalization are major factors driving children into labour and incorporates child labour as one of the key policy issues of the country.

It emphasizes the need for families to obtain economic assistance to prevent children from engaging in child labour.

The *National Plan of Action for Children 2003-2010 and beyond* (NPA). The Plan was prepared by MoLSA at a time when children's affairs were under that ministry with the objectives of implementing the UNCRC in the areas of provision of quality education, promoting healthy lives of children, and protection of children against abuse and exploitation. The NPA identified targets, strategies, activities as well as indicators. According to the NPA, the protection of children against abuse and exploitation involves registration of children at birth, revision of laws, raising awareness, improvement of the justice system, provision of assistance to children in especially difficult circumstance and reduction of child labour. However, the Plan's timeframe has elapsed and therefore it is no longer operational.

The *National Plan of Action on Sexual Abuse and Exploitation of Children* (2006-2010) (NPASAE) outlines targets for reducing the number of children in the worst forms of child labour, including commercial sexual exploitation. The overall goal is to reduce sexual abuse and exploitation of children through informed participation of stakeholders, provision of more accessible and effective legal protection of child victims, increasing availability of integrated rehabilitation and reintegration for victims and putting in place effective coordination and monitoring systems for interventions on sexual abuse and exploitation of children at all levels. The Plan recognises the role of child labour, especially its worst forms, in creating the contexts for the vulnerability of children to sexual abuse and exploitation. It has also addressed trafficking of children for exploitative purposes and child prostitution. As with the NPA, the NPASAE lasted until 2010 and is no longer functional.

Two new policies and an action plan have important implications for addressing child labour. The *National Child Policy* (NCP) provides for ensuring accessibility of training and services that increase the sources of incomes of parents/guardians so that children will not be vulnerable to different social and economic problems. It also refers to facilitating conditions where children are protected from taking part in armed conflicts, acts that can cause physical and psychological harm to the children, and production, trafficking and use of drugs and other illegal activities. Psychosocial, basic and legal services for children in difficult circumstances are well recognized. The draft National Child Policy was finalized and is awaiting approval by the Council of Ministers.

The *Social Protection Policy* includes social safety nets, livelihood and employment schemes, social insurance, and ways of addressing inequalities in access to basic services. It promotes social transfers to protect vulnerable families from extreme poverty and also includes a social pension scheme for older and other vulnerable persons. Though the modalities have still to be worked out, it does not have a strong focus on children and child labour is not specifically addressed. This Policy has been presented before the Council of Ministers for approval.

The *National Action Plan on the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour* (NAP) was prepared by MoLSA to eliminate the worst forms of child labour by 2015 and create a conducive environment to address all other forms of

child labour in the long term. The NAP targets the following types of labour for abolition:

- Labour that is performed by a child who is under 14 years of age and that is thus likely to impede the child's education and full development;
- Hazardous work performed by children, particularly those between 14-18 years that jeopardizes their physical, mental or moral well-being, either because of its nature or because of the conditions in which it is carried out; and
- The unconditional Worst Forms of Child Labour, which are internationally defined as: slavery, trafficking, debt bondage and other forms of forced labour; forced recruitment of children for use in armed conflict; prostitution and pornography; and illicit activities.

The situation analysis suggested that the WFCL include commercial sex work and drug trafficking, child prostitution and increasingly child domestic labour. The focus areas of the NAP are: legislation and enforcement, education and vocational training, socio-economic empowerment, direct interventions and services, knowledge base and institutional capacity building, and awareness raising and community mobilization. Most importantly, the NAP outlines measures to be taken for the withdrawal, rehabilitation and reintegration of children involved in the worst forms of child labour. The NAP also provides for the establishment and publicizing of a complaints mechanism to enable victims of child labour to lodge complaints. Accordingly, children themselves may register complaints, as well as others who are in close contact with them such as teachers, social workers and women and youth associations.

The NAP also proposed ratifying the following three international protocols that can help protect children:

1) *The Optional Protocol to the CRC on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography*. The Protocol obliges state parties to make certain acts punishable under their criminal law; sets forth the bases for asserting jurisdiction over actionable practices, and strengthening the ability to pursue extradition of offenders. The Protocol also provides for protection of and assistance to the victimized children in the criminal justice process. For purposes of prevention and redress of offenses, the Protocol provides that the victims must have access to procedures to seek compensation for damages from those legally responsible (article 9(4)).

2) *The Optional Protocol to CRC on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflicts*. Ethiopia signed this convention on 28th September 2010. This Protocol extends the minimum age requirement for direct participation in armed conflict and conscription to eighteen and forbids rebel or other non-governmental armed forces 'under any circumstances,' from recruiting or using in hostilities persons under that age. It requires States to raise the minimum age for voluntary recruitment from fifteen as set out in article 38, paragraph 3, of the CRC; i.e., to sixteen years of age.

3) *The Palermo Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children* is aimed at suppressing the crime of trafficking in persons, providing protection for victims, and punishing offenders.

This protocol provides a comprehensive definition of trafficking, to facilitate convergence in national approaches with regard to the establishment of domestic criminal offences that would support efficient international cooperation in investigating and prosecuting cases of trafficking. It also outlines practices for working with victims of trafficking and prosecution of offenders.

The *New Proclamation on the Registration of Vital Events and National Identity Card 2012* could also be relevant to ensuring age-based restrictions on child labour. The House of People's Representatives enacted the Proclamation on the 7th of July 2012. It ensures civil registration of births, marriages, and deaths. A birth registration system will have a major impact in age determination, which is crucial for most child labour cases and in particular for the worst forms of child labour.

6. Interventions Relating to Child Labour

A number of interventions have been carried out to address child labour by government in collaboration with donors, international and United Nations organisations, local NGOs, civil society organisations and trade unions.

6.1. Government Interventions

A number of activities have been carried out by Government recently. Each year MoLSA joins forces with its partners (the Ethiopian Employers' Federation (EEF), the Confederation of Ethiopian Trade Unions (CETU); Multi-purpose Community Development, Forum for Sustainable Child Empowerment (FSCE) and Children Aid Ethiopia to mark the World Day against Child Labour. In 2011, the government of Ethiopia conducted awareness raising activities to combat child labor and continued piloting a child labor free zone in Addis Ababa and Adama, in collaboration with FSCE. It brought together child protection officers, labor inspectors, police officers and other stakeholders to reintegrate child laborers.

The government in partnership with UNICEF, launched a 3-year pilot cash transfer program in two districts of the Tigray Region to assist vulnerable populations, including child laborers. Depending on the results of the pilot, the Minister of Labor and Social Affairs reported that it may be expanded to the rest of the country.

MoLSA is part of a project funded by USDOL and implemented by World Vision (sub granted to two NGOs), which targets 20,000 children engaged in or at risk of entering exploitative child labor, particularly in the traditional weaving industry and in rural areas. This project will also assist 7,000 households of targeted children to promote sustainable livelihoods, and will coordinate the provision of services and provide occupational safety and health training to labor inspectors. This project operates primarily in Addis Ababa and in Gamo Gofa and Wolayta Zones of the Southern Region (SNNPR).

6.2. International and Local Non-Government Organisations

There are a number of initiatives by various local and international NGOs and United Nations organisations (notably the ILO and UNICEF) addressing child labour. Local NGOs, namely Multi Purpose Community Development Project (MCDP), FSCE, and the Organisation for Child Development and Transformation (Chad-Et) have long years of experience on child labour interventions. Some international NGOs operating in the country, notably, World Vision, Save the Children, the Mennonite Economic Development Associates (MEDA), and People in Need (PIN) as well as UN organisations, notably ILO and UNICEF have projects to prevent child labour implementing their projects in partnership with the local NGOs. Major activities focus on awareness raising, advocacy, income generation activities, skills trainings and rehabilitation (see Annex 2).

Some of the projects have been the subject of situational analysis and baselines. A project on the protection of child migrants from the 'northern corridor' by five NGOs with support from the OAK foundation was reviewed by Tsegaye Cherinet (2013). The study suggests that public education and awareness-raising as well as creating links between police, child protection committees and the transportation sector have been successful. However, the author suggests among other recommendations the need for more engagement in schools and the use of national events; increased training and production of manuals; improved referral systems from the transport office to the police; and greater participation of children.

A study by People in Need (2013) considered child trafficking in five towns, including the capital city and in three rural weredas, based on focus group discussions with women, men and young people, with a focus on weavers. Poverty and lack of diversified means of livelihood were seen to be the main drivers with lack of educational opportunities and high demand for cheap labour being important additional factors. Friends, parents, relatives and brokers were said to be involved. Out of 210 trafficked children interviewed, 47 percent said they live on the street, and 63 percent had no contact with their parents or relatives. The majority (85 percent) were not employed. Of those who were in employment, 41 percent worked for others, while the rest were self-employed. One-third reported encountering abuse from gangsters, employers, relatives, brokers and clients of hotels or bars. However, the majority (62%) felt that they had access to legal protection. Trafficked children's two top priorities were identified as 'getting education' (54 percent), followed by 'reunification with parents or relatives' (29 percent)

The Population Council identified female child domestic workers as a particularly disadvantaged category (Erulkar and Mekbib 2007) and designed a programme called *Biruh Tesfa* 'Bright Hope' which started in 2006 in Addis Ababa to assist them in coordination with MoWCYA and local *kebeles* by promoting the formation of girls' groups and non-formal education and working through mentors and negotiating with employers and other gatekeepers. The project provided training in basic literacy, HIV and reproductive health. Moreover, identity cards were provided, as well as supplies to manage menstruation and underwear, and subsidized medical services, and linkages were established with

shelters for abused girls. In 2007 *Biruh Tesfa* was expanded to 17 cities in Amhara and Tigray Regions with more of a focus on HIV/AIDS prevention. An evaluation of the programme (Erulkar et al. 2012) suggested that domestic workers were twice as likely to report social support compared to girls in a control site and twice as likely to score highly on HIV knowledge questions and to know where to obtain VCT services.

6.3. Civil Society Organisations and Trade Unions

There are also activities relating to child labour by civil society unions, notably the *Confederation of Ethiopian Trade Unions (CETU)* and the *Ethiopian Employers Federation (EEF)*. CETU has a Policy to combat child labour, which specifies nine major areas of activity to combat Child Labour: awareness raising and advocacy; capacity building and institutionalization; mainstreaming Child Labour in various programmes; participation; social dialogue, partnership, networking and cooperation; research and studies; remedial programmes and services; establishment of a database on Child Labour; and effective monitoring and evaluation of programmes. CETU is also a member of a tripartite consultation committee and part of the advisory board and national task force in the development of the NAP. It has also been participating in actions to combat trafficking in children. Though committed to the elimination of child labour as a fundamental principle, CETU, however, has yet to do much to organize young workers (CETU 2003).

The *Ethiopian Employers Federation* is also one of the tripartite parties together with CETU in policy discussions over child labour issues, and has been a key party in the issuance of directives and preparation of the NAP. The elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour is indicated as one among the six main current project interventions of EEF. The Federation is, reportedly, working to eliminate the worst form of child labour in the agricultural sector where the problem is considered to be serious. EEF also plans to work in collaboration with the tripartite partners, to tackle the problem in industries through awareness creation programmes and building the capacity of members.

7. Conclusions

This chapter offers a preliminary bibliographical resource, an initial critical review of the literature and new insights on child work and labour in Ethiopia. A review of the literature on children's work in Ethiopia finds that the variety of disciplinary lenses through which child work and labour have been studied result in a fragmented rather than an integrated picture. Moreover, there has been a dichotomy between quantitative and qualitative studies taking contrasting approaches. Quantitative studies have tended to focus on rural areas and the question of child work in relation to education, although there are also some nationally representative samples and a few urban surveys. Qualitative approaches have tended to concentrate on urban areas, and children involved in what are considered the worst forms of child work, such as commercial sex work, and work on the city streets. A sectoral approach focusing on one industry – for example,

‘child weavers’ – or on particular living situations, such as ‘street children’ or ‘migrant children’ tends to lack an understanding of how work relates to the rest of children’s lives. Few studies investigate children’s work as an integrated part of everyday life, and the main interest from policy is in work as a problem for children, especially in relation to the way working poses a threat to their schooling and to their mental and physical health. Studies integrating quantitative and qualitative findings remain rare, and when this is attempted there is a tendency for surveys simply to include a few illustrative cases, and for in-depth studies to include small surveys only for background. In general there has been a reliance on large-scale surveys and quantitative analysis, although there is a growing body of scholarship that elicits children’s own evaluations of and perspectives on their working lives and how work fits in with the rest of their lives.

Regarding the major findings of quantitative studies the evidence shows that child work is highly prevalent in the country and is a fact of life for most children. In the 2001 child work survey, 85 percent of children aged 5-17 worked. There is also clear evidence that children start working at a young age. The 1999 ERHS data show that 77 percent of children aged 4-15 started work prior to their 8th birthday, and 12 percent were already involved in some work at four years. The proportion of children working and the amount of work they do also clearly increase with age. The Young Lives Round 3 Survey in 2009 found 90 percent of 8 year olds worked; by the age of 15 years, 98 percent of children were working. There are also clear differences in gender and location. Girls spent much more time on domestic household activities and caring work, and boys on work for the family farms and businesses. Rural children tend to spend more time on all kinds of work (for the household, domestic work, caring work, for pay) than urban children.

Paid work has been a minor part of children’s work but increases with age. DHS 2011 data show that among children aged 5-11, only 4 percent were involved in paid work, and among 12-14 year olds 8 percent worked for pay. The Young Lives data show that only 10 percent of children aged 8 in 2009 worked for pay, most of whom were in rural areas and were boys. Among the older children aged 15 in 2009, only 16 percent had worked for pay, and only 3 percent reported working in both Round 2 and 3, most of whom were boys from rural areas. Children in rural areas start doing paid work earlier but by age 15 almost the same proportions (10 percent) reported working for pay in both urban and rural areas. The amount of time children spent on work in a day more than doubled between ages 12 and 15, with the biggest increase among boys in urban areas. Working for pay as well as for the household was also clearly associated with poverty. There are some indications of gender difference suggesting that boys in wealthier households may engage in work rather than school as compared to girls.

A number of household and community factors have been suggested as increasing or reducing child work. Demand for child work in various studies was found to increase with land and livestock ownership, permanent crops, a higher household dependency ratio and lack of credit. Smaller households and those with educated adults, and mothers involved in community groups, as well as other community factors such as less distance to collect water and wood and reach school were found to decrease demand for child work. Child work has also been

clearly associated with poverty and shocks, with children in very poor households involved in much more work and children in the richest households in much less; however, some evidence suggests that the relationship is more complex and that initially as households become more wealthy they need more child labour for herding and agriculture but as they become wealthier they can afford to hire extra labour. Regarding shocks, in addition to covariate shocks affecting the community, idiosyncratic shocks, notably illness and death in the family, are important factors requiring children to work; however, some evidence suggests that labour sharing arrangements can mitigate the need for child labour.

The use of quantitative data to assess 'child labour' is complex, problematic and controversial. The 2005 National Labour Force Survey and the 2011 DHS survey consider only children under 14, including all work by children under 12, but with variations concerning the 12-14 age group. The NLFS includes more than 14 hours of 'economic' activity or more than 28 hours domestic chores whereas the DHS includes work for non-family members, more than 14 hours for family and more than 28 hours of household chores. Given that all the evidence shows that girls spend far more time on domestic activities, this introduces a bias against domestic work and it is therefore not surprising that 'child labour' is found to be more prevalent among boys and rural children. It is also important to note that the surveys do not include any evidence on children involved in hazardous or 'worst forms' of child labour.

The relationship between work and school has been the focus of much research. The findings suggest that as the amount of work increases above a certain threshold (some studies consider 16-22 hours a week, others more than 2 hours a day) and children's reading and writing ability, and test scores decline. However, household composition, education of parents, asset ownership, experience of shocks and distance to school all matter. Child work is also clearly related to enrollment and is a major - though by no means the only - reason for dropout, which is closely associated with poverty, gender and location (with higher rates of drop out among boys and urban children).

The impacts of child work on health and wellbeing are not well understood and have not been studied carefully. Some studies have reported health problems relating to work. Regarding mental health one study reported more disorders among working children whereas another found that they experienced less problems, although child domestic workers were more prone and were more likely to face abuse. Regarding wellbeing indicators the Young Lives data presents a mixed picture with age differences. Among younger children working children had better height for age measurements and working boys healthier body mass indexes, but working girls had the highest mathematics and vocabulary scores; however, among the older children indicators of good health and cognition were not associated with paid work, which may be more related to structural factors. However, these issues require more careful research involving children's own perceptions of the relationship between work and their wellbeing.

The evidence on the effect of interventions in agriculture and food security on child work is mixed. Some studies on the Productive Safety Net Programme suggest that above a certain level of support, child school attendance increases and child work decreases. On the other hand, both quantitative and qualitative

evidence from Young Lives suggests that the public works programme increased paid work outside the home, led to some substitute child work, and did not have positive effects on schooling and time spent studying at home. However, the direct support and agricultural extension programmes did seem to have some beneficial effects. This calls for a more careful consideration of how livelihoods and support interventions affect children to ensure that unintended detrimental consequences are avoided and positive synergies and transfers for needy children are built into the design of programmes.

Qualitative studies of child work have tended to focus on the one hand on broad categories of children who are at risk, such as orphans and vulnerable children, children working on the streets, and migrant children, with overlaps between these categories, or, on the other hand, on children who are involved in specific types of work which are often considered to be hazardous, notably commercial sex work, domestic work, weaving, shoe-shining, and lottery vending. A number of studies have highlighted the deprivations faced by orphans. However, Young Lives research has suggested that the focus on orphans obscures the vulnerabilities of other groups of children and more fundamental issues to do with poverty. Studies of children working on the streets and commercial sex workers have also highlighted the problems and risks they face. The hardships and extreme working conditions of children working in specific occupations such as child weavers, shoe-shiners, and lottery vendors have been emphasized in many studies. However, there have also been studies, notably of migrant children, that seek to understand the children's lives more fully and from their own perspectives, including their social relations among themselves, their resilience and resourcefulness, their abilities to live meaningful lives, have ambitions and seek to fulfill them, save money and assist their families and friends. Qualitative studies have also been able to provide a better understanding of how children, parents and other adults perceive child work. They have shown that children often are proud and happy to be able to cover their personal needs as well as contribute to their households. Moreover, parents and other caregivers also value children's work and often bless and reward them, and children's work is often seen as reciprocal for the care that parents provide.

The question of 'child labour' remains complex, problematic and controversial. This is in part due to difficulties in definitions and methodologies for assessing harmful work. The surveys that have sought to define child labour have not considered the 'worst forms', which are not easily amenable to study through surveys. Moreover, they tend to give less weight to domestic work which is therefore undervalued as compared to 'economic activities'. It is noteworthy that some qualitative studies reveal that some of the most exploitative work is related to domestic child work that not only overworks girls but also isolates them and exposes them to risks of abuse. The surveys also use age and amount of hours worked as diacritical markers to make distinctions between child work and child labour. The cut-off age used is 14 years; however, arguably, children from 15-18 can also be exposed to harmful work. The hours per week considered are over 14 hours a week of 'economic' work and 28 hours of 'domestic' work, and in some studies more than 2 hours a day. There seem to be clear correlations between too many hours worked and poorer school performance. However, in addition to the

amount of time worked the nature of the work undertaken is also important. There is therefore a need to gain a better understanding of how children and adults view different forms of work that they engage in and to assess the harms and benefits that various kinds of work involve.

The current policy context focuses on eliminating the worst forms of child labour, and the government has ratified several international conventions and created national legislation and policies that address the most vulnerable groups of children. With younger children, the focus is on preventing child labour, and in relation to youth, greater emphasis is placed on skills, training and employment programmes.

It is tempting to see these as two separate policy concerns. However, the literature review showed that factors related to age, gender, location and poverty influence the nature of work for all children and young people, including the risks and benefits associated with different types of work.

The evidence base on children and work needs to be strengthened with priority given to mixed methods, longitudinal studies that involve children as sources of data, and analysis that is sensitive to life-course factors. There is also a need for a better understanding of how children's decision-making and negotiating power in relation to work, school and leisure varies, how household factors such as the gender-age composition of the household, birth order, sibling composition and wealth and other statuses explain which children in which households do what kind of work, and how this work relates to the time they spend in school, studying and in leisure activities. Finally, community factors, notably changes in labour opportunities, schooling, infrastructure and access and quality of services, changes in the environment relating to water and wood availability all have important consequences for child work and deserve further consideration.

Annex 1

Summary of Children's Work Reported by Young Lives Children in Ethiopia

<i>Community</i>	<i>Younger cohort (12/13)</i>		<i>Older cohort (17/18)</i>		<i>Remarks</i>
	<i>Unpaid</i>	<i>Paid</i>	<i>Unpaid</i>	<i>Paid</i>	
Urban site in Addis Ababa: girls	Washing dishes; cleaning house; making bed; caring for younger siblings; cooking stew		Household chores (washing dishes; making sauce, baking Injera; making bed; making coffee; washing clothes)		Some activities tied to food preparation have been started by most younger children during the third round of qualitative research
Urban site in Addis Ababa: boys	Washing cups; lighting cooking gas; cleaning house; making bed; doing some cooking		Mild household chores (making bed and preparing sauce, sweeping floor, washing dishes; baking Injera ; making stew;)	Washing cars; working in a garage; shoe shining	Younger boys at the ages of 5, 6 usually play inside or outside house; studying is part of children's work in town (girls & boys); older boys have also started to undertake baking Injera in the third round.
Rural site in Amhara: girls	Cleaning animal dung; fetching water; cleaning house; tending cattle;		Household chores: (fetching water; caring for younger siblings; baking Injera;	Working hired in people's houses; picking	Picking haricot beans affects girls' education since

<i>Community</i>	<i>Younger cohort (12/13)</i>		<i>Older cohort (17/18)</i>		<i>Remarks</i>
	<i>Unpaid</i>	<i>Paid</i>	<i>Unpaid</i>	<i>Paid</i>	
	collecting firewood; making coffee; cooking stew;		cleaning animal dung; preparing coffee) herding cattle; preparing sauce	up haricot beans	they cannot study well after getting exhausted
Rural site in Amhara: Rural boys	Looking after cattle; collecting firewood; fetching water; caring for younger siblings; sweeping floor; rearing animals and in some cases ploughing on the farm		Herding cattle; preparing cattle's food; harvesting; farming; weeding; collecting firewood; threshing; cooking (in some cases)	Planting potato; collecting stones for sale; selling straw and grass; haricot bean picking	Boys from the rural areas usually get absent from school when it is farming and harvesting season since they work on field mainly for family
Rural site in Oromia: girls	Fetching water; collecting firewood; cleaning house; tending cattle; baking small breads; caring for younger siblings	Mild wage work (collecting corn, planting, collecting tomatoes)	All household chores (baking; making coffee; cooking; washing clothes)	Planting on farm and irrigation; collecting onion and tomato; in some cases keeping shop	
Rural site in Oromia boys	Fetching water; caring for younger siblings; collecting firewood; herding cattle; protecting animals from crops on field; ploughing	Wage work	Fetching water and firewood; caring for younger sibling; cleaning house; herding cattle; guarding farm against beasts; ploughing; harvesting; weeding	Fishing; working on irrigation farms	

<i>Community</i>	<i>Younger cohort (12/13)</i>		<i>Older cohort (17/18)</i>		<i>Remarks</i>
	<i>Unpaid</i>	<i>Paid</i>	<i>Unpaid</i>	<i>Paid</i>	
Urban site in Hawassa: girls	Mild household chores (making coffee; chopping onions; doing dishes; cleaning house)		Fetching water; cooking; making sauce; cleaning		
Urban site in Hawassa: boys	Doing dishes; helping delivering messages; cleaning the house;		Household tasks; fetching water;	Working in a garage; shop keeping	
Rural site in Tigray: girls	Household tasks; baby-sitting; cooking; making coffee; fetching water; washing clothes		Household tasks (cleaning the house, cooking, making coffee, collecting firewood, fetching water); baking;	Working in a crusher plant and safety net; selling cactus	
Rural site in Tigray Rural boys	Keeping animals; fetching water; farm activities(cultivating)		Cattle herding; cattle rearing; collecting firewood; public work; fetching water; on-farm activities; washing clothes	Carrying stones; fattening animals; cobble stone carving	

SOURCE: Summary by Nardos Chuta from Young Lives Qualitative Study data from 2007, 2008 and 2011

Annex 2

Summary of Interventions on Child Labour

<i>Organization</i>	<i>Main Intervention</i>	<i>Type of Child Labour Targeted</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Multi-purpose Community Development Project (MCDP) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Part of the E-FACE program supported by USDOL. Provides education services, social protection and awareness raising components to improve the living conditions of children at risk and engaged in child labour aged 5 - 17 and households with children. Works in partner with Save the Children to improve the living conditions of children in child labour with a focus on awareness raising, rehabilitation and reintegration. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Targets children in traditional weaving industry
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mennonite Economic Development Associates (MEDA) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Part of the E-FACE program supported by USDOL. Livelihood component is sub-awarded through Mennonite Economic Development Associates. Market Development, social protection, access to finance, business development services, introduction of improved technologies, are part of the intervention. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Targets children in the traditional weaving industry. Targets employers of children in the traditional weaving industry by involving them in value chain program as part of incentive to improve the working conditions of children.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> People In Need (PIN) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Worked on child trafficking and child labour combined Has no activity at the moment. (PIN is expecting a new funding in this area) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Targets WFCL and uses MoLSA's definition
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> FSCE 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Child trafficking and child labour in general. Worked with ILO to pilot ILO's 'child labour free zone' by implementing ILO's guideline on withdrawal, rehabilitation and reintegration of children in WFCL 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Targets child labourers as defined by ILO
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chad-et 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Works on WFCL, in particular child prostitution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Targets only children in commercial sexual

<i>Organization</i>	<i>Main Intervention</i>	<i>Type of Child Labour Targeted</i>
		exploitation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> World Vision 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> World Vision is part of the E-FACE project and oversees overall implementation by sub-awarding the fund to MCDP and MEDA. Works on research, awareness raising and guiding strategic implementation of the E-FACE project. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Targets children in traditional weaving industry.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Save the Children 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Various programs with partners like FSCE, MCDP and others. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Targets children engaged in different forms of child labour.

SOURCE: Report by Lishan Wolde Medhin

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¹⁹ We have given in to global pressures to alphabetize Ethiopian names by the author's father's name rather than as is customary by their own name, but have I tried to refer to them by their name followed by their father's name in the first citation in the text and to include their name after their father's in the bibliography.

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