BEHIND CLOSED DOORS: MEASURING THE SCALE AND NATURE OF EXPLOITATIVE CHILD DOMESTIC WORK IN NIGERIA

Research findings to inform intervention development

February 2024
Acknowledgements

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

BACKGROUND AND APPROACH

The purpose of the present research is to produce landscape evidence for the Tackling Exploitative Child Domestic Work in West Africa project, which in turn aims to identify evidence-based intervention models that may reduce abuse and exploitation of child domestic workers (CDWs) in Nigeria. For the first phase of the project, the Freedom Fund partnered with NORC at the University of Chicago to conduct research to inform intervention planning and design.

The study began with a literature review to comprehensively summarise existing evidence on CDWs in the Nigerian context, followed by key informant interviews with Nigerian stakeholders and focus group discussions with CDWs. Thereafter, a general population survey was conducted in urban areas of Edo and Lagos states, which involved surveying 1,088 CDWs and 605 employers/caregivers.

MAJOR FINDINGS

CDWs are at significant risk of abusive and exploitative labour. The vast majority (88.9 percent) of CDWs reported working conditions which constituted at least one violation of the Nigerian Labour Act and/or Child Rights Act. Similarly, the vast majority of CDWs report working conditions that meet at least one indicator of Worst Forms of Child Labour (WFCL) (96.7 percent) and 46.3 percent of CDW faced conditions that constituted human trafficking, according to indicators set by the U.S. Department of State’s Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons (TIP). It is worth noting, though, that both these sets of indicators fall short of discerning the most vulnerable children when applied to CDWs.

Children are entering domestic work at a very young age. The average age of CDWs consulted as part of the survey was 14.6 years, however the average age these children entered into domestic work was 10.1 years. Thirty-five percent started in domestic work before the age of ten years.

Roughly three-in-five CDWs have a kinship relationship with the household where they work. This can negatively impact their working conditions since CDWs who share a kinship relationship with their employer/caregiver are less likely to receive a wage than those without a kinship relationship (8.9 percent vs 26.9 percent) and are more likely to receive a lower wage (NGN 6,130 / USD 12 per month vs NGN 12,516 / USD 25 per month for those without a kinship relationship). Given the predominance of kinship relationships in placing children into domestic work, the use of brokers is limited.

There is a general convergence between employers/caregivers and CDWs in terms of CDWs’ greatest needs (education and training). Employers/caregivers are overwhelmingly supportive of CDWs participating in alternative education programs and are broadly in favour of activities that help CDWs return to or remain in school. Almost one-in-five CDWs are not enrolled in school (19.0 percent) and 18.0 percent report their education being disrupted by work.

A large proportion of CDWs are working long hours that leave them with limited time for rest, education or social activities. Over one-in-three (37.1 percent) are working above 30 hours per week and, alarmingly, over one-in-five (21.4 percent) are working above 42 hours per week, equivalent to seven hours a day, six days a week. Overall, 43.2 percent of CDWs report spending an average of 24.2 hours per week on other economic activities.

There are several NGOs which focus on child labour, child protection and child exploitation in Edo and Lagos, many of which already have contact with CDWs. However, the findings suggest that the majority of CDWs are not accessing these services. This may be because they are unaware of these services or do not view themselves as requiring support.
MAIN RECOMMENDATIONS

THE GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA TO:

• Strengthen legislation and policies that aim to reduce exploitation and abuse of CDWs.
• Provide support to help the most vulnerable out-of-school CDWs return to school and/or to resume consistent school attendance.
• Expand opportunities for demand-driven, age-appropriate vocational and skills training opportunities for CDWs who do not wish to return to school.

CIVIL SOCIETY ACTORS TO:

• Engage CDWs, employers/caregivers of CDWs and educational actors from the formal and non-formal education sector to better understand and address any additional barriers impeding CDWs’ access to and full participation in education.
• Offer basic life skills classes to CDWs.
• Consult adult employers/caregivers to better understand how they self-identify and perceive their relationship with their CDW and his/her natal family.
• Empower current CDWs to develop community-based, child-led messaging for potential CDWs who may wish to migrate from rural to urban centres for child domestic work.
• Strengthen CDWs’ social networks in unfamiliar urban areas by offering group-based programming that allows them to meet other children (including CDWs) and - in turn - develop support networks.
• Run public service announcements/awareness campaigns to increase awareness of abusive and exploitative child domestic work that build on existing child protection and gender-based violence awareness initiatives and lessons learnt.
• Work with churches or mosques, both as intervention delivery channels and as platforms for advocacy/messaging related to child rights.

MULTILATERAL ORGANISATIONS TO:

• Work with the global community of practice to create CDW-specific definitions of trafficking in persons (TIP) and WFCL.

RESEARCH ORGANISATIONS TO:

• Invest in strengthening tools and methods for evaluating the outcomes and impact of CDW programming.
• Ensure project ownership and buy-in by engaging stakeholders in future research projects.
• Conduct a global literature review on child domestic work interventions and measurement.
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<thead>
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<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CDW</td>
<td>Child Domestic Worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DQR</td>
<td>Data Quality Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EA</td>
<td>Enumeration Area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FGD</td>
<td>Focus Group Discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDR</td>
<td>Intervention Development Research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRB</td>
<td>Institutional Review Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KII</td>
<td>Key Informant Interview</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MICS</td>
<td>Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGN</td>
<td>Nigerian Naira</td>
</tr>
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<td>NAP TIP</td>
<td>National Agency for The Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisation</td>
</tr>
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<td>NPL</td>
<td>National Poverty Line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPI</td>
<td>Poverty Probability Index</td>
</tr>
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<td>Prevalence Reduction Innovation Forum</td>
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<td>Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder</td>
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<td>RME</td>
<td>Relative Margin of Error</td>
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<td>TIP</td>
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<td>U.S. Department of State’s Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons</td>
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<tr>
<td>TKG</td>
<td>The Khana Group</td>
</tr>
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<td>UNESCO Institute for Statistics</td>
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<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</td>
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<td>United States Dollar</td>
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<tr>
<td>WFCL</td>
<td>Worst Forms of Child Labour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHO</td>
<td>World Health Organization</td>
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</table>

*Image credit: © Namnso Ukpanah/Unsplash*
I. INTRODUCTION

1. BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

Child domestic work takes many forms, including engagements that provide income or offer educational opportunities, or situations that are exploitative and abusive. Of the estimated 7.1 million child domestic workers (CDWs) globally, 61.1 percent are girls and 3.3 million are working in hazardous conditions (International Labour Organization [ILO] & United Nations Children’s Fund [UNICEF], 2021). In Sub-Saharan Africa, 86.6 million children are in child labour which is more than the combined prevalence of the rest of the world (ibid.). Although data across West Africa remains scarce or outdated, the ILO estimates there are up to 15 million workers aged under 14 in Nigeria, many of whom are “house girls” whose labour is often forced and unpaid or underpaid (ILO, 2021).

In West Africa, while trafficking can take place through brokers, many older children migrating for domestic work negotiate their move, while younger children tend to be “placed” with relatives or family friends as foster children. Child fostering is common in Africa (Olayiwola, 2019; World Health Organization, 2011), as one-fifth to one-third of sub-Saharan African children between 10 and 14 years old are reported to not live with their parents (Stephen, 2011; Thorsen, 2012). The practice is especially common in West Africa – a region rooted in kinship structures and traditions (Olayiwola, 2019). Referred to as “confiage” in West Africa, children are sent to live with relatives and non-relatives as a means of accessing better education, work opportunities and health care services in urban areas in exchange for domestic labour to these households (Asuman et al., 2018; Enebe et al., 2021; Evans & Skovdal, 2016; Gamlin et al., 2015; Hepburn, 2019; Karsor, 2022; Oderine, 2014).

Domestic work arrangements are perceived to be more than employment (Boateng & West, 2017). For example, families perceive work as essential for children’s socialisation and domestic work is one avenue for children to gain employment (Omokhodion et al., 2006). In the absence of formal welfare or social protection systems, this traditional ‘social security’ is based on principles of solidarity and morality where extended family and informal networks are responsible for ensuring the well-being of all, and children are expected to contribute to the household economy from an early age (Evans & Skovdal, 2016; Olayiwola, 2021; Omokhodion et al., 2006; Ozoemenam et al., 2022). Additionally – when these exchanges are not exploitative – all parties, including the child, their families and employers/caregivers, can receive much-needed social and material support in challenging socio-economic contexts (Hepburn, 2019).

Despite the high prevalence of exploitative child domestic work in West Africa, there have been few interventions aimed at reducing the practice that have been evaluated. With funding from the U.S. Department of State’s Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons (TIP Office) and in partnership with the Freedom Fund and The Khana Group (TKG), NORC conducted a mixed-methods formative assessment study to generate foundational evidence on potentially modifiable determinants of child domestic work in Nigeria and Liberia. This report focuses on the findings from Nigeria.
2. STUDY OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The overall goal of the formative assessment is to contribute to the limited evidence base on child domestic work in Nigeria and inform context-appropriate intervention design. Specifically, the study aims to:

- Identify intervention models or model components that are relevant to reducing the prevalence of harmful conditions of domestic servitude among CDWs through formative intervention-development research.

- Design pilot interventions through an intervention development research (IDR) approach that includes co-development and locally informed delivery of interventions with survivors and service providers, in consultation with grassroots organisations and relevant local officials to identify potentially effective and replicable components for pilot models.

- Test and evaluate pilot interventions and produce evidence-informed intervention models. Evidence is shared with local and regional decision-makers to foster greater investment in “what works” to reduce abuse and exploitation of CDWs and promote replication and scale-up of adaptable models in West Africa. NORC will conduct a realist evaluation of a short timeframe pilot using proxy indicators to assess progress towards social outcomes and impact. Findings will be jointly disseminated among decision makers and within the region to increase understanding of potential interventions as well as observed challenges in tackling exploitative child domestic work.

The study aimed to answer the following research questions:

1. **Assessment of CDW priorities:** What are the current circumstances and intervention needs of CDWs in Nigeria?
   a. What are the background characteristics, risk exposures and protective factors (including TIP Office trafficking indicators), health and safety outcomes and expressed needs of CDWs in Nigeria?
   b. What perceptions, opinions, expectations and behaviours do employers/caregivers have related to CDWs in Nigeria? What do employers/caregivers see as their responsibilities toward their CDW?
   c. What are the practices, responsibilities and opinions of brokers\(^1\) vis-à-vis the recruitment process?
   d. What are the perspectives and current activities of relevant service providers who work with vulnerable children related to child domestic work in Nigeria?
   e. How do children’s circumstances differ within and between country settings? How might these differences affect intervention approaches?

2. **Intervention content and design:** What intervention(s) focus, design and content will be most effective in improving CDWs’ working and living conditions and life skills?
   a. What information, training and support do CDWs in Nigeria need to improve their working conditions and future prospects?
   b. What are household/employer opinions and behaviours that should be addressed (or have the greatest potential to be addressed) by an intervention aimed at improving the treatment and life skills of CDWs in Nigeria?
   c. How do broker perceptions, attitudes and reported behaviours foster or hinder opportunities to engage them in actions aimed at improving the treatment and life skills of CDWs in Nigeria?
   d. What are the most effective ways to engage service providers in programming to support CDWs in Nigeria?
   e. How do differences in youth needs, available resources and contextual factors affect the content and delivery of an intervention?

3. **Intervention delivery:** How can an intervention(s) be delivered safely, effectively and reach target groups in a replicable and sustainable manner?
   a. What government social and child protection schemes and non-governmental services (such as legal aid, shelter or counselling) are potentially available and effective in delivering programs for CDWs in Nigeria? What are the challenges and opportunities to connect youth to government and other services? What adaptations or additions might be necessary to better reach and support CDWs?
   b. What do employer/caregiver and CDW attitudes and circumstances indicate about safe, effective and ethical ways to reach CDWs with replicable, sustainable intervention models?
   c. What do household/employer attitudes and behaviours indicate about effective ways to reach them and foster uptake of messaging that shifts behaviours in scalable ways?
   d. What do reports by brokers indicate about potential ways to reach them and improve their ability and capacity to negotiate terms and conditions that are favourable for CDWs?

\(^{1}\) These are individuals who link CDWs with potential host families, typically in exchange for a fee or something of value.
II. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1. LITERATURE REVIEW
As the first step, the project team conducted a rigorous desk review of the target sector, specifically scanning for existing evidence on legal landscape, definitions/concepts, prevalence, CDW characteristics, risks and protective factors of exploitation, modifiable determinants, contextual influences, local resources and gaps in research and programming. Areas of inquiry of the literature review were based on IDR, newly emerging methods and principles for generating evidence to design and deliver context-relevant interventions. The research team screened results of search queries based on relevance to areas of inquiry. Full texts of included sources were downloaded, coded to extract relevant data using NVivo qualitative analysis software and synthesised to inform next steps in the intervention design process, including the development of interview guides and surveys.

2. QUALITATIVE RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS

2.A STUDY SETTING AND SAMPLE
Qualitative data were collected in the cities of Abuja, Lagos and Abeokuta in Nigeria. These locations were selected based on conversations with local stakeholders which indicated high prevalence of CDWs. A purposive sampling approach was adopted to conduct Key Informant Interviews (KII) with representatives of NGOs that provide services to CDWs, CDW host families or employer/caregiver and brokers or intermediaries who recruit children for domestic work. Brokers were identified using snowball sampling and host families were identified through brokers. In general, it was challenging to identify and interview brokers for the study. Although the research team was able to establish contact with brokers in Lagos, they declined to participate in the study given the sudden rise in court cases and police arrests related to this issue. Hence, all interviews with brokers in Nigeria took place in Abuja.

Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were conducted with girls and boys ages 11-17 who met the study definition of CDW (see 3.a.i Survey Eligibility Criteria). CDWs were identified through local community-based organisations that work with vulnerable children and are active in communities with high prevalence of child domestic work, as well through schools and brokers. We aimed to include a diverse group of CDWs to minimise bias in responses. The final study sample comprised of 46 individuals interviewed across 20 KII and FGDs (see Table 1).

Table 1: Qualitative interview respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview group</th>
<th>Number of interviews/FGDs</th>
<th>Total participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CDWs</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Host households</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGOs</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brokers</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.B DATA COLLECTION

Semi-structured interview guides specific to each interview group were developed to gather information on the research areas of inquiry, which included local and structural drivers of child domestic work, CDW characteristics, working and living conditions, recruitment processes, host family needs and preferences, influence of laws and policies, and available services. KIIs were scheduled for 60 minutes at a location and time agreed upon by the respondent and were moderated in English as well as Nigerian Pidgin English.

In addition to the KIIs, we conducted FGDs with CDWs to understand their perceptions of domestic work, their working and living conditions, relationship with the host household and their support needs and preferences for the content and delivery of a future intervention. The FGD guide included ice-breaker questions to build rapport and make participants feel comfortable in a group setting. To make the discussion more interactive and age-appropriate, we also included participatory activities during which participants worked as a group to answer some questions through drawing exercises. The guide was also structured to not ask any direct personal questions in a group setting but rather facilitate general discussion about CDWs and not one’s personal experience. At the beginning of the FGD, we conducted a quick intake survey where we privately asked direct personal questions about participants’ age, level of education, school attendance, access to phone and wages earned (if any).

The informed consent process was administered prior to data collection during which respondents were briefed on study objectives, structure of the interview, benefits and risks, voluntary participation and confidentiality of their responses. Through conversations with local stakeholders, the research team learned that CDWs are not in frequent contact with their parents who tend to live in rural areas. Consequently, informed consent was obtained from CDWs’ host families or brokers given their role of guardians.

2.C DATA ANALYSIS

Audio recordings, translated transcripts and interview notes were shared within the research team through a Secure File Transfer Protocol to ensure safe exchange and storage of data. All interviews were audio recorded, transcribed verbatim and translated into English. As part of the quality check process, one member of the research team reviewed a sample of audio recordings to check sound quality and confirm congruence between the transcripts and audio data. An inductive thematic approach was used to iteratively develop a preliminary codebook based on research areas of inquiry and emergent themes. One transcript was randomly selected and coded by the research team to check for inter-rater reliability and revise the codebook accordingly. All transcripts were imported into NVivo qualitative data analysis software and analyzed using the revised codebook.

3. QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS

3.A STUDY SETTING AND SAMPLE

Following primary qualitative data collection, NORC conducted a general population survey of CDWs in select geographies to confirm/disconfirm and expand on preliminary findings from the other research activities. Lagos and Edo states were selected based on stakeholder mapping and secondary analysis of the UNICEF’s 2016/17 Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS), which suggested a high concentration of CDWs relative to other states as well as a high number of potential non-governmental organisation (NGO) partners.2

2 While MICS data show that other states have higher prevalence of CDWs particularly Kwara (6.2 percent), Rivers (5.5 percent) and Anambra (5.1 percent) stakeholder mapping revealed that only Lagos, Abuja FCT, Ogun and Edo states have more than two potential implementing partners. Lagos had the highest number of potential NGO partners (10) followed by Abuja (8), Ogun (4) and Edo (4). Despite the high number of NGOs in the FCT, Abuja has lower CDW prevalence than most states in Nigeria. As such, Lagos and Edo were selected as the focus of the study. MICS data indicate that Ogun and Edo have similar CDW prevalence rates (1.6 and 1.4 percent, respectively), however Edo was selected over Ogun to increase contextual diversity (Lagos is a semi-enclave of Ogun).
3.a.i Survey Eligibility Criteria

NORC and its data collection partner TKG worked with Nigeria’s Population Commission to randomly select 68 urban census enumeration areas (EAs) per state, stratified by local government area. Within these sampled EAs, CDWs were identified at their place of residence through a rapid household listing/screening. During the listing, enumerators would start from a random point in the EA and move in a random direction, sequentially screening all households until 20 were identified that met the basic eligibility criteria. These 20 households were then randomly ordered and visited sequentially to complete a 10-minute household roster. Household rosters gathered detailed information on all 12-17 year-olds in the household to determine whether a CDW was present. If a CDW was present, household heads who met the definition of “employer/caregiver” were invited to complete a 10-15 minute survey. All households with a CDW were asked for consent to conduct a 45-60 minute, one-on-one survey with the child. Complete eligibility criteria for each instrument are shown in Figure 1.

**Household Roster**

**A child 12-14 years of age who:**
- Lives in the sampled household without either their biological mother or father and does at least one hour of chores per week; or
- Does any domestic work for a third-party household, whether paid or unpaid.

**A child 15-17 years of age who:**
- Lives in the sampled household without either their biological mother or father and does at least 14 hours of chores per week; or
- Does at least 14 hours of domestic work per week for a third-party household, whether paid or unpaid.

Eligibility for the CDW survey was determined by data obtained through the household roster. The CDW’s parent/guardian consented for the CDW to complete the survey. In addition, assent from child was obtained.

**Employer Survey**

**A household head or adult equivalent who:**
- Resides in a household with at least one child that meets the definition for CDW under the points in the middle column.
- Importantly, an eligible person does not have to self-identify as an employer, pay wages to the child or be a non-relative.

Consent for the employer/caregiver survey was covered through the household roster consent as well as a brief follow-up script if s/he is determined to be eligible based on the roster data.

**Figure 1: Eligibility criteria for household roster, CDW survey and employer/caregiver survey**
3.a.ii Sample Size Calculations

The number of EAs, households and CDWs to be sampled per state is given by the formula:

$$n = \frac{4 \times r \times (1 - r) \times deff}{(RME \times r)^2}$$

Where:

- \(RME\) is the relative margin of error at 95 percent confidence, for which we adopt a value of 20 percent;\(^3\)
- \(deff\) is the design effect, which is assumed to be 1.5;\(^4\) and
- \(r\) is the predicted value of a given binary CDW outcome/measure.

To determine the value for \(r\), we drew on the work of Gamlin et al. (2015), a six-country study that examined the psychosocial effects of child domestic work. For each of the domains explored by the study, we purposefully selected one variable to capture the CDW characteristic or latent construct. Based on the table below, we adopt a value of 0.217 for \(r\), since it yields the most conservative sample size requirements.

Table 2: Outcomes/measures for sample size estimation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>Outcome / Measure</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Socio-demographic characteristics</td>
<td>CDW currently attending school</td>
<td>64.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working conditions</td>
<td>CDW punished if they have done something wrong</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal security and social integration</td>
<td>There is nobody the CDW can go to if they need help</td>
<td>37.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal identity and valuation</td>
<td>CDW not happy with who they are</td>
<td>37.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sense of personal competence</td>
<td>CDW feels that other people make all of their decisions for them</td>
<td>36.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional and somatic expressions of well-being</td>
<td>CDW feels a lot of stress</td>
<td>53.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on the above parameters, the sample required for each of the two states was 540 CDWs, who were equally distributed across 68 EAs yielding a total target sample of eight CDWs per EA, 544 CDWs per state and 1,088 CDWs overall.

3.a.iii Target v. Realised Sample

As shown in Table 3, the target sample of 544 CDWs per state was achieved. Overall, 98.6 percent of surveyed CDWs (1,073) reported receiving some form of remuneration (cash or in-kind) and thus met the definitional criteria for being a CDW and were retained for data analysis. In addition, 605 employers/caregivers of eligible CDWs in households without a biological parent completed an employer/caregiver survey.

\(^3\) The relative margin of error is calculated by dividing the absolute margin of error by the point estimate. For example, an absolute margin of error of 0.05 divided by the point estimate 0.217 gives a relative margin of error of 0.23.

\(^4\) The design effect is a function of intra-class correlation, which is the ratio of variability in outcomes between clusters (EAs) to the total variability in outcomes among the broader sample. For the purpose of this study, we assume that the intra-class correlation for CDW-level outcomes is relatively low given the isolated nature of their activities and living situations.
3.a.iv Replacements and Refusals

A total of seven EAs were replaced (5.1 percent). In three instances, it was due to field teams being unable to locate the EA using provided EA maps, Google maps or through discussions with local community members. One EA was replaced because the field team failed to follow the field protocol (i.e., did not get caregiver consent or complete rosters to establish CDW eligibility) thus the collected surveys had to be discarded. In addition, one EA was replaced due to community leader refusal and one due to security/election-related violence.

In terms of respondent refusals, 0.6 percent of CDWs and 1.7 percent of employers/caregivers refused to participate.

3.B DATA COLLECTION

Survey items were drafted based on core research questions and sub-questions, and were refined in close collaboration with the Freedom Fund. In tandem with qualitative training in Nigeria, an in-depth “lab review” of the draft CDW survey was conducted with the goal of drawing on localised expertise of field researchers to revise survey questions for clarity, structure and language, ensure survey content was appropriate for local context and refine/expand survey guides for the main enumerator training. Following the lab review, NORC completed recommended revisions to the survey and a field-based pre-test was conducted with target communities/respondents outside of the main sample to further refine the tools. The pre-test aimed to assess the duration/length of the questionnaires; test sampling and consent protocols/procedures; assess whether respondents struggled with understanding, comprehension or recall; determine if any questions were subject to response bias or perceived as overly sensitive by respondents; and identify any other unforeseen issues or challenges. All data collection tools and study protocols were updated to reflect learnings from the pre-test and instruments were translated from English into Nigerian Pidgin English and Yoruba languages in preparation for primary data collection.

NORC and TKG co-led interviewer training in Lagos from January 31 to February 3, 2023. The training brought together enumerators from the target geographies, and focused on orienting participants to the study purpose, data collection procedures, sampling, logistics, respondent screening, survey administration, ethics and trauma-informed research practices. The training encompassed a two day field pilot of sampling protocols and survey instruments. Following the field pilot, NORC and TKG conducted extended debrief sessions with the trainees to identify any necessary final adjustments to the instruments. A total of 54 data collectors were trained and 47 were selected to participate in field work based on performance during the training and pilot.

Data collection took place between January and February 2023. The survey questionnaire was tablet-based, utilizing the SurveyCTO/Open Data Kit platform. The NORC team was responsible for programming the survey and centrally managing the data collection platforms/servers. All tablets and servers were encrypted to ensure maximum data security. Data were synced on a daily basis (connectivity permitting) to allow for real-time data quality reviews (DQRs). To ensure high quality data throughout the field period, NORC employed a number of quality assurance protocols and strategies including supervisor accompaniments (“sit-ins”), telephone audits (“back checks”), weekly field reporting and data reconciliation and real-time DQRs. Over the course of data collection, NORC flagged to TKG 57 data issues in Nigeria through a cloud-based DQR log, all of which were satisfactorily addressed. In addition, all electronic data were fully reconciled with weekly field reports; back-checked respondents confirmed the survey took place and random procedures were correctly followed and accompaniment data show strong adherence to survey administration protocols.
3.C DATA ANALYSIS

Quantitative analysis consists primarily of descriptive statistics presented in visual tables and figures, disaggregated by geography and gender where appropriate. Quantitative analysis was conducted using the Stata SE/15.1 statistical software package (College Station, TX). Sampling weights were applied and sample weight formulas are presented in Annex C (available from the authors upon request). All data cleaning and analysis code was thoroughly documented/recorded using Stata .do files to ensure replicability and data transparency. To note, while responses enumerated as “Don’t Know” or “Refused” are counted towards the total number of valid responses, they may not be displayed in the tables of this report, thus presented percentages may not add up to 100.

4. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Prior to data collection, the research team obtained ethical approval from NORC’s Institutional Review Board (IRB) in the U.S. and the National Health Research Ethics Committee in Nigeria. In addition to IRB approvals, we obtained necessary permissions from local gatekeepers, including the Universal Basic Education Board in Abuja, Nigeria to conduct FGDs in schools.

Given CDWs’ vulnerability, data collectors were required to offer a referral resources sheet to each CDW (to keep at his/her discretion) which included contact information for range of law enforcement, legal, social support and/or health services locally available to them. In addition, field teams were trained to facilitate emergency intervention at the child’s explicit request (one such case occurred in Nigeria).

5. STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS

The first of its kind, this study provides a comprehensive, mixed-methods assessment of child domestic work in urban sites in Nigeria. The CDW survey provides a representative snapshot of CDW working conditions (including trafficking in persons [TIP] status) and self-reported intervention needs/priorities which can reliably inform intervention design, targeting and delivery. Several limitations should be taken into consideration when interpreting results, however. First, the sample size of brokers was small, limiting the external validity of findings from broker interviews. Second, because surveyed CDWs were identified at their place of residence (versus place of work), the employer/caregiver survey did not capture employers/caregivers for live-out CDWs and hence cannot be considered representative of that population. Thirdly, the study only surveyed live-in CDWs with the knowledge and consent of their employers/caregivers, so those employers/caregivers who are particularly abusive to their CDWs may not have provided consent. Finally, the study is subject to response bias which encompasses a range of tendencies among respondents to answer in a way that is not truthful. For this study, the risk of response bias comes primarily from recall bias (inability to recall facts or past events) and social desirability bias (tendency to answer in a way that will be seen as favourable versus answering truthfully). While it is difficult to overcome this risk in social sciences research, NORC worked to minimise it where possible through question framing, shortened recall periods and assuring respondents of the strict confidentiality of their responses.
III. ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

1. BACKGROUND AND PRIORITIES ASSESSMENT

1.A CDW CHARACTERISTICS AND CIRCUMSTANCES

What are the background characteristics and current circumstances of CDWs?

1.a.i CDW Background Characteristics

Table 4 shows basic demographic characteristics of CDWs in urban areas of Edo and Lagos. Overall, 57.9 percent of CDWs are girls and 42.1 percent are boys with no statistically significant differences in gender distribution between states.

Table 4: CDW demographic characteristics, by state and overall

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Edo</th>
<th>Lagos</th>
<th>Overall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sex</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>60.5%</td>
<td>57.7%</td>
<td>57.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>39.5%</td>
<td>42.3%</td>
<td>42.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average age</strong></td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Religion</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>75.6%</td>
<td>47.4%</td>
<td>49.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
<td>48.9%</td>
<td>46.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tribe</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yoruba</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
<td>78.1%</td>
<td>72.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Igbo</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hausa</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bini</td>
<td>23.3%</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esan</td>
<td>14.1%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>45.6%</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Disability status was determined by whether a surveyed CDW has “a lot of difficulty” or “cannot at all” carry out at least one of the six domains in the Washington Group Short Set on Functioning: vision, hearing, mobility, cognition, self-care and communication. Based on this threshold, 2.8 percent of CDWs self-reported having a disability, with 0.7 percent specifically having difficulty with vision, hearing and/or mobility. Differences in disability status by gender and state were statistically significant: girl CDWs were more likely to have a disability (4.2 percent) than boys (0.9 percent), and CDWs in Edo were more likely have a disability (11.0 percent) than those in Lagos (2.1 percent). Distribution of disability responses by domain can be found in Annex B (available from the authors upon request).
Table 4 also summarises the demographic profile of CDWs in terms of self-identified tribe and religion. In Lagos, over three-quarters of CDWs are Yoruba while tribal affiliation is more mixed in Edo (in Edo, “other” tribes include Auchi, Urhobo and many more). Religious affiliation is roughly split between Christians and Muslims overall, however Christianity is the dominant religion in Edo. Virtually all CDWs aged 12 to 17 are childless and have never been married.

Figure 2 shows the distribution of ages from the CDW survey. The average age is 14.6 years old, ranging from 13 years old in the 25th percentile to 16 years old in the 75th percentile. This range skews younger in Edo state (12-15 years old) than in Lagos (13-16 years old). It is important to note that the survey was restricted to 12- to 17-year-olds, so the true average age of CDWs may be lower. Indeed, surveyed CDWs report starting work around the age of ten on average, a figure corroborated by qualitative data. Overall, over half the surveyed CDWs were 14 years of age or younger.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average age</th>
<th>Edo</th>
<th>Lagos</th>
<th>Overall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age 12</td>
<td>30.6%</td>
<td>16.3%</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 13</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
<td>14.4%</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 14</td>
<td>19.2%</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 15</td>
<td>12.4%</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
<td>14.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 16</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
<td>15.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 17</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
<td>20.8%</td>
<td>20.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2: Current age of CDW survey participants, by state

Migration status is established by comparing the reported “origin” state (defined as the primary state in which the CDW’s family is located or the state where the CDW was born) to the current state where they are working. As seen in Figure 3, less than one percent of CDWs are international migrants and about one-third (33.4 percent) are inter-state migrants, meaning they had an origin state within Nigeria different from their current state.

Figure 3: Migration status of CDWs (overall)
1.a.ii CDW Current Circumstances

EDUCATIONAL STATUS

In recent years, educational outcomes in Nigeria have been slowly progressing. Based on the latest data available, in 2021 there were 17.8 million school-aged children who were out of school across the country, representing a 3.8 percent year-on-year improvement since 2016 (UNESCO Institute of Statistics [UIS], 2023). In urban areas, 11 percent of primary school-aged children and 10 percent of lower secondary-aged children are out-of-school, with the same rate observed between girls and boys (UIS, 2023).

Based on self-reporting, 80.8 percent of CDWs are currently enrolled in school, most at the junior secondary and secondary levels (see Table 5). However, this means that 19.0 percent are currently out-of-school, significantly higher than the urban average. Of the latter group, 12.2 percent are under 15 years of age and are thus out-of-school in violation of Nigeria’s Education Act. Of those currently enrolled, 76.4 percent rarely or never miss school while nearly a quarter miss school at least sometimes. Compared to Edo, there is a relatively higher proportion of CDWs in secondary school in Lagos. Relatedly, school children in Edo are five percentage points more likely to report overaging (i.e., being older than their classmates).

Almost one in five CDWs reported that their schooling was disrupted due to work (18.0 percent). Of the 23.5 percent of CDWs who reported ‘sometimes’ or ‘regularly’ missing school, the most frequently cited reasons for missing school are illness or injury (56.3 percent), to do domestic work/chores (20.0 percent), to do other work (15.2 percent), being unable to pay school fees (11.5 percent) and being too tired (11.0 percent). To note, the percentage of girls who report missing school due to domestic work (26.9 percent) is nearly 16 percentage points higher than boys (11.0 percent), which is statistically significant.

Table 5: Education status, overall and by state

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Edo</th>
<th>Lagos</th>
<th>Overall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Currently not enrolled in school</td>
<td>13.7%</td>
<td>19.5%</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Currently enrolled in school</td>
<td>86.3%</td>
<td>80.3%</td>
<td>80.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>22.3%</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior secondary</td>
<td>46.2%</td>
<td>45.5%</td>
<td>45.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>30.4%</td>
<td>44.0%</td>
<td>42.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-secondary</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School attendance among children who are enrolled</th>
<th>Edo</th>
<th>Lagos</th>
<th>Overall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rarely or never miss school</td>
<td>75.9%</td>
<td>76.5%</td>
<td>76.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes miss school (that is, the days they attend are more than the days they miss)</td>
<td>21.8%</td>
<td>23.0%</td>
<td>22.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regularly miss school (that is, the days they attend are less than the days they miss)</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disruption to schooling due to work</th>
<th>Edo</th>
<th>Lagos</th>
<th>Overall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16.9%</td>
<td>18.1%</td>
<td>18.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ENTRY INTO DOMESTIC WORK

The overall average age at which surveyed CDWs started doing domestic work was 10.1 years old, ranging from eight years old in the 25th percentile to 12 years old in the 75th percentile. As shown in Figure 4, the average age of entry was 10.3 years in Lagos (ranging from nine to 12 years old) and 9.0 years in Edo (ranging from seven to 10 years old). Overall, over a third (35.4 percent) reported entering domestic work before the age of 10 years old, although this figure was over half (56.1 percent) in Edo. CDWs generally report having worked for a total of one or two households.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average age</th>
<th>Edo</th>
<th>Lagos</th>
<th>Overall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age 5 &amp; younger</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 6</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 7</td>
<td>14.9%</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 8</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 9</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 10</td>
<td>21.9%</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 11</td>
<td>8.8%</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 12</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>13.7%</td>
<td>13.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 13</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 14</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 15</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 16</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 17</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not available (N/A)</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4: Age of entry into domestic work, by state

The reason why we engage in maid jobs is for us to be able to save some money in order to learn a trade because we cannot just sit and look at our parent. Will she be the one to give us food or are we to give our mummy food?

CDW, Lagos, Nigeria

According to qualitative data, child domestic work is a byproduct of extreme poverty, especially in rural areas where parents send children into domestic work as a means to alleviate financial burdens and in exchange for better schooling, quality of life and livelihood opportunities. FGDs show that CDWs believe they can earn free days or additional time off to learn a trade if they work hard and impress their host families. CDWs are also aware of their parents’ financial constraints and typically send money to their family in instances where they are paid wages or stipend.
The reason she came here to live with me is because since her father died, she stayed with her grandmother…but I don’t like the way she is in the village, that’s why I just wanted to bring her. Her head was dull. She didn’t know anything but since she’s been here, she’s catching up.

Host Family, Abuja, Nigeria

In addition to familial poverty, qualitative respondents noted that certain birth family characteristics can predispose children to higher likelihood of being recruited into child domestic work. For instance, children coming from households where a parent is sick or injured, both parents have passed away, parents have separated or there is a lack of parental care/guardianship are at increased risk of being sent into domestic work. One NGO informant from Lagos mentioned that sometimes sending families have experienced child domestic work themselves, highlighting the inter-generational nature of this form of labour.

Qualitative data suggest it is not uncommon for brokers to serve as intermediaries between sending families and host families (survey data indicate that 1 in 12 CDWs use a broker or middleman). According to a broker from Lagos, CDW families tend to contact brokers when they are looking for placement options for their children, after which brokers connect CDWs with host families.

…the parents are the one – they will tell you that they don’t have the means for sending children to school, then they will tell you that please get something for them to do. Some will tell you that they don’t need money but want their child to go to school. Some will tell that they don’t have food in the house so their child will work and the madam will pay the parents.

Broker, Abuja, Nigeria

Employment or fostering contracts between CDWs and host families are not the norm in Nigeria, with 94.7 percent of CDWs lacking a formal contract. One host family from Lagos stated that they do not have a formal contract with the CDW’s family because they are from the same village and rely on trust.

Although brokers serve as the link between sending and host families, they may or may not engage in contract negotiations. Qualitative data show that while some brokers mediate discussions between parties, others choose to not get involved in such negotiations. Similarly, there is substantial variation in brokers’ payment/commission structure. In some arrangements, brokers receive a one-time commission for every CDW placement from the host family and/or the CDW’s family (approximately NGN 10,000 to 15,000 or USD 20 to 29). In other situations, brokers take NGN 5,000 (USD 10) from the host family and CDW after the first month of employment as a form of insurance in case the placement does not work out. Further, as intermediaries, brokers can determine the amount of money that goes directly to CDWs’ families. However, brokers may misrepresent the amount families can expect to receive, allowing them to take a greater percentage of the money earned by CDWs.

5 The exchange rate used throughout this report is based on the average from January to June 2023, at USD 1.00 = NGN 509.86.
LIVING CONDITIONS

According to survey data, 62.8 percent of CDWs have a kinship relation to the household where they are working. This includes 49.2 percent of CDWs who have a kinship relation to the household head, meaning they are a relative of some kind, and 50.3 percent who are related to at least one household member. We also found that while 58.6 percent of CDWs live and sleep full-time in the household where they work, 41.2 percent are considered “live-out.” The average number of other children in the household was 1.8 overall, with the middle 50 percent of households having 1-3 other children.

When asked about quality of food and sleeping place, most live-in CDWs report that their arrangements are similar to or even of higher quality than other children in the household (Figure 5). About a third of CDWs reported receiving a higher quantity of food as compared to other children in the household, 82.8 percent of whom reported that it was because they are older or bigger. However, as noted in Table 6, 45.1 percent nonetheless reported feeling hungry sometimes or often, and of those experiencing hunger, 2 out of 3 would need to ask permission to eat something (66.6 percent). When asked what changes they would like to see regarding their domestic work, only a small minority mention better food (2.6 percent) or better living quarters (1.7 percent), suggesting general satisfaction with accommodations among live-in CDWs.

WORKING CONDITIONS

As previously alluded to, only 5.3 percent of CDWs have a formal contract with their employer/caregiver. As shown in Figure 6, 16.1 percent of CDWs in Lagos and 9.2 percent in Edo report receiving wages for their work, while the rest do not receive wages but receive other forms of in-kind benefits. CDWs who receive wages earn, on average, NGN 10,221 / USD 20 per month (ranging from NGN 4,500 / USD 9 in the 25th percentile to NGN 15,000 / USD 29 in the 75th percentile), with no significant difference by state or gender. CDWs without a kinship relationship are more likely to receive a wage (26.9 percent) and earn a higher amount (NGN 12,516 / USD 25 per month) compared to those in a kinship relationship (8.9 percent, NGN 6,130 / USD 12 per month).

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6 Where the relationship with the head of household or other members of the household is reported by the CDW as: sibling, aunt or uncle, adopted parent, foster parent, stepparent, parent-in-law, sibling-in-law, grandparent or co-spouse.
Sometimes some people get to eat with the family but some don’t even get to eat, while some get to eat leftovers, while some get to eat the portion they give them, some eat together. So, it all varies the kind of life or person they are serving, the family they are living with.

NGO Representative, Lagos, Nigeria

Most CDWs receive food and clothing, and around half receive an allowance or small stipend (55.2 percent), education support (52.7 percent), and/or housing (50.0 percent). Across the board, CDWs in Edo are more likely to receive in-kind benefits while those in Lagos are more likely to receive monetary benefits in the form of wages or payments to the family.

Survey data show that CDWs spend around 22.1 hours per week doing domestic work, with half of CDWs working between 14 and 28 hours, and no significant differences by state or gender. On average, older CDWs aged 16-17 years old spend more hours on domestic work (25.5 hours per week) than younger CDWs aged 12-15 years (20.3 hours per week) at a statistically significant level. The
distribution of hours worked per week by age group can be seen in Table 7. When domestic work plus other economic activities for the household (discussed below) are combined, the data show that CDWs spend around 32.4 hours per week doing work. However, this average masks a notable proportion of CDW who are working long hours. As shown in Table 7, 76.7 percent of CDWs are working above 14 hours per week and 37.1 percent are working above 30 hours per week which would be considered ‘full-time’ the United States. Alarmingly, over one-in-five (21.4 percent) of the CDWs are working above 42 hours per week, equivalent to seven hours a day, six days a week.

Table 7: Average working hours per week per age group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Age 12</th>
<th>Age 13 - 15</th>
<th>Age 16 - 17</th>
<th>Overall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mean working hours per week</strong></td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>42.7</td>
<td>32.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 14 hours per week</td>
<td>53.1%</td>
<td>77.4%</td>
<td>87.5%</td>
<td>76.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 24 hours per week</td>
<td>35.1%</td>
<td>43.4%</td>
<td>64.6%</td>
<td>49.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 30 hours per week</td>
<td>21.1%</td>
<td>29.8%</td>
<td>55.0%</td>
<td>37.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 42 hours per week</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
<td>37.5%</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expected to be available day and night without fair pay</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In terms of tasks performed, CDWs spend most of their time washing or ironing clothes, shopping or running errands, cleaning, cooking and fetching water or firewood (see Figure 7).

Figure 7: Average weekly hours spent on domestic tasks (overall)
Beyond domestic work, 43.2 percent of CDWs report spending an average of 24.2 hours per week on other economic activities. Compared to Edo, CDWs in Lagos are 15.6 percentage points more likely to engage in other economic activities and perform approximately nine more hours of other work per week. Figures do not statistically significantly vary by gender.

Qualitative data indicate that CDWs commonly partake in street hawking to sell products for the host household. CDWs are also tasked with watching over host household shops or assisting with their businesses such as furniture making. According to an NGO representative from Lagos, it is uncommon for young children ages 5-7 to be a CDW in the house; instead, they may work for food vendors in marketplaces performing tasks like serving food and washing dishes. Two boy CDWs in Abeokuta, Nigeria noted that they operate equipment such as a drilling and cutting machinery, revolt hammer and other potentially dangerous tools while assisting host families.

"Mostly, they [CDWs] are either doing house help jobs for somebody or they [host households] are sending CDWs out to go and hawk their business. So the madam who took them in has a shop, but because she wants to reach more people she puts some [items] on a tray and then CDWs go to sell and bring back the money to her."

NGO Representative, Lagos, Nigeria
1.B VIOLATIONS OF CHILDREN’S RIGHTS

The study found that whilst some CDWs reported positive working conditions, for many, their domestic work violated their basic rights and threatened their safety or well-being. Within this section we consider different forms of child rights violations, including violations of Nigerian laws, worse forms of child labour (WFCL) and human trafficking.

1.B.I VIOLATIONS OF NIGERIAN LAWS

As shown in Table 9, 88.9 percent of CDWs reported working conditions which constituted at least one violation of the Nigerian Labour Act and/or Child Rights Act. When considering the types of violations, 37.2 percent of CDWs report being employed by a non-family member and 34.7 percent report carrying loads so heavy as to be injurious to their physical development, both of which are in direct contravention of section 59(1) of the Labour Act of Nigeria. Further, 73.2 percent of CDWs are made to work on public holidays in violation of section 59(5) of the Labour Act. Fifty-three percent also reported working seven days a week without rest days, a violation of section 13.7 of the Labour Act.

Table 9: Nigerian child rights act and labour law violations (overall)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Violation of Nigerian law (that is, meet one or more of the conditions below)</th>
<th>Age 12</th>
<th>Age 13 - 15</th>
<th>Age 16 - 17</th>
<th>Overall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Violation of Nigerian law (that is, meet one or more of the conditions below)</td>
<td>77.3%</td>
<td>89.7%</td>
<td>93.6%</td>
<td>88.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typically works on public holidays</td>
<td>51.4%</td>
<td>73.6%</td>
<td>83.5%</td>
<td>73.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typically works seven days a week without a day of rest</td>
<td>35.9%</td>
<td>52.0%</td>
<td>62.8%</td>
<td>53.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lifts, carries or moves heavy loads that can injure physical development</td>
<td>24.6%</td>
<td>32.9%</td>
<td>42.1%</td>
<td>34.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed by non-family member</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
<td>35.8%</td>
<td>42.7%</td>
<td>37.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Operational definitions of the above indicators can be found in Appendix A.

It is important to note that children employed in domestic service are exempted from many child labour provisions of the Labour Act, including those related to wages/payment and rest breaks. As shown in Table 9a, if these exempted provisions were to apply to CDWs, 93.0 percent would be working in conditions that violated Nigerian law.

Table 9a: Nigerian labour law violations that exempt CDWs (overall)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Violation of Nigerian law (that is, meet one or more of the conditions above or below)</th>
<th>Age 12</th>
<th>Age 13 - 15</th>
<th>Age 16 - 17</th>
<th>Overall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Violation of Nigerian law (that is, meet one or more of the conditions above or below)</td>
<td>86.9%</td>
<td>94.8%</td>
<td>93.6%</td>
<td>93.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 16 years old and works more than four hours without a break, or more than eight hours a day</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
<td>26.8%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 16 years old typically required to work before 6 A.M. or after 10 P.M.</td>
<td>52.4%</td>
<td>57.8%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>36.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 14 years old and not paid on a daily basis</td>
<td>12.6%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Operational definitions of the above indicators can be found in Appendix A.

Specific exemptions for domestic workers include the requirements that under 14 year-olds be employed on a daily wage and day-to-day basis and under 16 year-olds not work more than four consecutive hours or eight working hours in one day.
1.B.II WORST FORMS OF CHILD LABOUR

The study also examined CDWs who are in the Worst Forms of Child Labour (WFCL), as defined in ILO’s Convention 182 (1999a). Overall, 96.7 percent of CDWs reported work conditions that met one or more of the WFCL conditions; these include, performing hazardous tasks, working excessive hours, facing forced labour conditions, being excluded from schooling due to work, as well as experiencing physical or sexual violence. The percentage of CDWs reporting work conditions that meet one or more of the WFCL conditions was highest amongst 16-17-year-olds, with 98.6 percent reporting such conditions (Table 10). Overall, the study found that almost all CDWs aged 12 to 17 are being subjected to work conditions that constitute WFCL.

Table 10: Proportion of CDWs who meet ILO’s definition of WFCL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>In worst forms of child labour (that is, meet one or more of the conditions below)</th>
<th>Hazardous working conditions</th>
<th>Exceed legal limits</th>
<th>In forced labour conditions</th>
<th>Works 43 hours or more per week</th>
<th>Schooling is disrupted due to work</th>
<th>Experienced physical violence</th>
<th>Experienced sexual violence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age 12</td>
<td>91.5%</td>
<td>72.4%</td>
<td>77.3%</td>
<td>28.7%</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 13-15</td>
<td>97.2%</td>
<td>81.5%</td>
<td>89.7%</td>
<td>29.1%</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
<td>16.0%</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 16-17</td>
<td>98.6%</td>
<td>85.8%</td>
<td>93.6%</td>
<td>31.9%</td>
<td>37.5%</td>
<td>23.5%</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>96.7%</td>
<td>81.4%</td>
<td>88.9%</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
<td>21.3%</td>
<td>18.0%</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Operational definitions of the above indicators can be found in Appendix A.

HAZARDOUS LABOUR CONDITIONS

Using hazardous labour exposures, described in WFCL Recommendation No. 190 (1999), we found that over 81.4 percent of CDWs are required to perform tasks that expose them to injuries, disease or are harmful to their health. These include working with knives or sharp tools or working with fire/ovens, very hot machines or unsafe electrical cables. Even when conditions that are often deemed as ‘normal’ for children engaged in domestic work are excluded – namely, working with knives, fire or during hours of darkness – over half (59.2 percent) of these children still face other working conditions that are deemed as hazardous (see Table 11). This was higher among 16-17-year-olds, with over two thirds reporting hazardous work conditions (66.8 percent).
Table 11: Proportion of CDWs who reported hazardous working conditions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In hazardous working conditions</th>
<th>Age 12</th>
<th>Age 13 - 15</th>
<th>Age 16 - 17</th>
<th>Overall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Work with knives or sharp tools</td>
<td>53.2%</td>
<td>69.9%</td>
<td>70.3%</td>
<td>67.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Works fire, ovens or very hot machines or tools, or unsafe electric wires/cables</td>
<td>21.0%</td>
<td>37.3%</td>
<td>43.0%</td>
<td>36.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Works during the night-time or very early in the morning, when it is dark</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>12.6%</td>
<td>14.9%</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In hazardous working conditions (excluding use of knives, exposure to fire and work during hours of darkness)</td>
<td>51.1%</td>
<td>56.6%</td>
<td>66.8%</td>
<td>59.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Operational definitions of the above indicators can be found in Appendix A.

Figure 8a highlights some of the more commonly reported hazardous labour exposures that feed into the WFCL classification. Whilst the use of knives may not be viewed as abusive in communities where household chores are part of the socialisation process, it is worth noting that of the children who reported using knives or sharp tools, 42.1 percent reported an actual injury from the exposure. This suggests that they are not being supported or trained to use them safely. Likewise, 13.6 percent of children who work with fire or ovens had been burned.

- Working with sharp knives/tools: 67.1%
- Working before 6 am: 53.7%
- Abusive words or bullying: 36.8%
- Working with fire, ovens, or things that can cause burns: 36.5%
- Carrying or pulling heavy loads: 23.8%
- Threats of reputational damage: 18.5%
- Cannot leave place of work: 17.4%
- Told earned pay would not be given if he/she left: 14.1%
- Working long hours in the hot sun: 13.6%
- Working in very noisy places: 13.4%
- Forbidden from interacting with other children or neighbours: 12.3%
- Made to do extra work without being paid: 12.0%
- Verbal or emotional abuse from the family: 11.3%
- Working in very cold or rainy/wet place: 10.9%

Figure 8a: Proportion of child respondents who met ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour hazardous labour exposures
The majority of CDWs who reported injuries due to hazardous work said that they received medical care for the injury. However, 21.8 percent of CDWs who were cut and 5.4 percent who were burned did not receive medical care. In most instances the injuries did not require medical attention or could be treated at home. A further 9.1 percent of CDWs said they did not receive medical care because they could not afford it. The statistics also show that 78.2 percent of CDWs were cut badly enough to warrant medical attention, again suggesting they were being asked to complete tasks either beyond their capacities or without sufficient training. Overall, 5.5 percent of CDWs report feeling generally unsafe when working.

EXPERIENCES OF FORCED LABOUR

Child domestic work also places children at risk of forced labour. Drawing on the ILO definition of forced labour, we found that three in ten CDWs reported work conditions that met this definition of forced labour, with similar rates among the age groups (Table 12). This indicates that many CDWs are facing different forms of coercion in their work, including being confined to work place, wage withholding and withholding of civil documentation.

Table 12: Proportion of CDWs who reported conditions that amounted to forced labour

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Age 12</th>
<th>Age 13 - 15</th>
<th>Age 16 - 17</th>
<th>Overall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In forced labour conditions</td>
<td>28.7%</td>
<td>29.1%</td>
<td>31.9%</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five most common conditions reported:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would not be allowed to leave your workplace if you were very ill, injured, had a serious family problem or wanted to quit</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Told that pay, benefits or other reward that you earned would not be given if you leave</td>
<td>14.1%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seizing of identity documents by employer</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the past 12 months, pay has been deducted against your will</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High or growing debt to your employer or debt imposed without your permission</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Operational definitions of the above indicators can be found in Appendix A.

When considering the specific issue of wage withholding, of the CDWs who earn wages, 60.0 percent said that some of their earnings are withheld by their employer/caregiver in a typical month. The average amount withheld is NGN 6,500 (USD 13) per month. As noted in Figure 8, withheld earnings are most commonly given to the CDW’s parents (59.9 percent) and/or put into savings on the CDW’s behalf (37.9 percent). Over six percent of CDWs report wages being withheld to pay their recruiter. No CDWs reported wages being withheld to pay off debt to the employer/caregiver. This presents a clear picture in which CDWs who receive a wage are often not actually having financial autonomy, with their wages used a further means of control.

One in six wage earners also report that employers/caregivers deduct some of their pay in a typical month. The most commonly cited reasons for deductions were to pay for broken/damaged household items (59.7 percent) followed by covering missed workdays (23.0 percent).

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8 Forced labour, as set out in the ILO Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (No.29), refers to “all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily.” Forced labour does not depend on the type or sector of work, but only on whether the work was imposed on a person against their will through the use of coercion. For further details, please refer to p.14 of the Global Estimates of Modern Slavery: Forced Labour and Forced Marriage (International Labour Organization, Walk Free & International Organization for Migration, 2022).
The TIP Office has adopted standard global indicators that can be used to establish whether a person meets the formal criteria for victimisation of human trafficking. As outlined in the Prevalence Reduction Innovation Forum (PRIF)’s Human Trafficking Statistical Definitions report (Okech et al., 2020), these indicators range from “medium” to “strong” and cover a variety of domains related to recruitment, employment practices and penalties, personal life and properties, degrading conditions, freedom of movement, debt or dependency and violence/threats of violence. For the purpose of reporting TIP prevalence, we use the algorithm adopted by the Freedom Fund and Population Council in a 2022 TIP Office-funded study on child domestic servitude in Ethiopia (Erulkar & Negeri, 2022).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parents</th>
<th>59.9%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Savings</td>
<td>37.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General needs such as housing and food</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recruiter</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other relatives</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing/shoes</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School-related costs</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 8: Reasons for pay withholding for wage earners (overall)

EXPERIENCES OF VIOLENCE

The study found that CDWs are at risk of different forms of violence during their work. Specifically, half the participating CDWs reported that they experienced at least one form of violence at their place of work. This included emotional violence (48.7 percent), physical violence (9.2 percent) and sexual violence (0.6 percent; Table 13). The latter was highest among CDWs aged 12 years, with 2.7 percent reporting experiencing sexual violence in the course of their work.

Table 13: Proportion of CDWs who reported experiences of violence at place of work/host family

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Age 12</th>
<th>Age 13 - 15</th>
<th>Age 16 - 17</th>
<th>Overall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Experienced any of the below</td>
<td>52.6%</td>
<td>47.9%</td>
<td>51.4%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional violence</td>
<td>52.3%</td>
<td>46.1%</td>
<td>50.4%</td>
<td>48.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical violence</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual violence</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Operational definitions of the above indicators can be found in Appendix A.

HUMAN TRAFFICKING

The TIP Office has adopted standard global indicators that can be used to establish whether a person meets the formal criteria for victimisation of human trafficking. As outlined in the Prevalence Reduction Innovation Forum (PRIF)’s Human Trafficking Statistical Definitions report (Okech et al., 2020), these indicators range from “medium” to “strong” and cover a variety of domains related to recruitment, employment practices and penalties, personal life and properties, degrading conditions, freedom of movement, debt or dependency and violence/threats of violence. For the purpose of reporting TIP prevalence, we use the algorithm adopted by the Freedom Fund and Population Council in a 2022 TIP Office-funded study on child domestic servitude in Ethiopia (Erulkar & Negeri, 2022).
Table 14: Human trafficking status, by state and overall

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Edo</th>
<th>Lagos</th>
<th>Overall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Human trafficking</td>
<td>57.3%</td>
<td>45.3%</td>
<td>46.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(according to U.S. Department of State definition)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in Table 14, 46.3 percent of CDWs meet the TIP Office definition for human trafficking, with rates in Edo 12 percentage points above rates in Lagos (57.3 and 45.3 percent, respectively). A mapping of survey variables to Human Trafficking indicators can be found in Appendix A.

Figure 9 outlines the most commonly reported “strong” PRIF indicators, which are mainly related to control of personal space and restrictions on communications and movement. Less commonly reported strong indicators were unfair withholding of wages (14.1 percent), physical violence (6.1 percent) and confiscation of identity documents (5.5 percent).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constant surveillance of personal space (FM2)</td>
<td>29.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Someone controls personal life (PL1)</td>
<td>23.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No freedom of movement and communication (FM3)</td>
<td>23.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pay would be withheld if s/he leaves (EP1)</td>
<td>14.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical violence (V3)</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confiscation of identity documents (FM1)</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Made to be available day and night without pay (DC1)</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 9: Proportion of child respondents who met specific U.S. Department of State’s ‘strong’ indicators of human trafficking

Of note, the great majority of CDWs classified as being in TIP or WFCL say that their quality of life has improved or not changed since before they began domestic work. As shown in Figure 10, over half of TIP and WFCL survivors consider their quality of life to be better since becoming a CDW. However, compared to the non-survivor population, one in every 8 to 10 TIP or WFCL survivors said their quality of life has actively worsened since taking up domestic work. It is worth noting that many CDWs may not be aware of their rights as stipulated in Nigeria’s 2003 Child’s Right Act – including right to health, education, play and to be protected from exploitative labour. Therefore their self-reported ‘better quality of life’ should not be interpreted as the absence of abuse or exploitation by their employer or host family.

Figure 10: Subjective quality of life assessment of TIP/WFCL survivors v. non-survivors (overall)

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*Based on CDW self-reporting. Because the CDWs are minors, questions related to surveillance of personal space, control over personal life and restrictions of movement/communication were framed as being “beyond what most parents in Nigeria would do.”
1.C EMPLOYER/CAREGIVER PERCEPTIONS, PRACTICES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

What perceptions, opinions, expectations and behaviours do employers/caregivers have related to CDWs? What do employers/caregivers see as their responsibilities toward their CDW?

1.c.i Employer/Caregiver Background Characteristics

Employer/caregiver demographic characteristics are summarised in Table 15 below. Respondents were mostly women with an average age of 44.4 years and had 1.6 children on average (nearly one-third are childless). The majority of respondents were married and 54.1 percent were Christian and 45.0 percent Muslim. Employer/caregiver demographic characteristics do not grossly differ between Edo and Lagos, with the exception of religion and tribal affiliation.

Table 15: Employer/caregiver demographic characteristics, overall and by state

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Edo</th>
<th>Lagos</th>
<th>Overall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sex</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>83.0%</td>
<td>83.1%</td>
<td>83.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>17.0%</td>
<td>16.9%</td>
<td>16.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average age</strong></td>
<td>44.3</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>44.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of children</strong></td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marital status</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never married</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
<td>9.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>71.4%</td>
<td>72.2%</td>
<td>72.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Religion</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>89.4%</td>
<td>51.5%</td>
<td>54.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td>47.6%</td>
<td>45.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tribe</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yoruba</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
<td>78.9%</td>
<td>73.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Igbo</td>
<td>12.4%</td>
<td>9.9%</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hausa</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bini</td>
<td>33.4%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esan</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>34.6%</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Employer/caregiver socio-economic status was assessed using the Poverty Probability Index (PPI) tool for Nigeria, a simple but statistically-validated poverty measurement tool that asks six questions about a household’s characteristics and asset ownership and is scored to compute the likelihood that the household is living below the national poverty line (Innovations for Poverty Action (2018). Nigeria 2018 PPI User Guide). Nigeria’s urban PPI includes questions on the number of household members, consumption of perishables over the past seven days (bread and eggs), and ownership of household goods (cookstove, fan and iron). PPI scores range from zero to 100, with zero being the most poor and 100 being the least poor. PPI scores can be cross-referenced with national poverty line (NPL) data to estimate the probability that a given household falls below the NPL.

Figure 11: PPI index score distribution for employer/caregiver households (overall)

Figure 11 shows the distribution of PPI scores for surveyed employer/caregiver households, which are color-coded based on the probability of households within that bucket falling below the NPL in Nigeria. Across the sample, there is a 12.9 percent chance of a given household falling below Nigeria’s NPL. Households in Edo were statistically significantly more likely to fall below the NPL than those in Lagos (17.9 versus 12.5 percent). Of note, employers/caregivers are nearly 30 percentage points less likely than urban Nigerians at large to fall below the national poverty line (Izuaka, 2022).

Employers/caregivers have variable levels of education, with around one in eight completing higher education and a similar number having never completed primary school (see Figure 12). Post-secondary education completion rates are higher than the general public, with 13.9 percent of employers/caregivers completing higher education compared to 9.0 percent in Nigeria overall. Employer/caregiver primary school completion rates are likewise higher than that of the general public, at 87.0 and 79.7 percent, respectively.10

Figure 12: Employer/caregiver highest level of education completed (overall)

10 Figures obtained from USAID’s International Data & Economic Analysis country dashboard, available at: https://idea.usaid.gov/cd/nigeria/education.
EMPLOYER/CAREGIVER PREFERENCES VIS-À-VIS CDWS

Qualitative data indicate that certain host family characteristics such as education level, socio-economic status, family structure, living arrangements and the type of business or job can influence recruitment and treatment of CDWs. For example, respondents noted that middle-class Nigerian households, especially working couples with children, commonly seek out CDWs. One NGO informant from Lagos attributed increased prevalence of CDWs to more women entering the workforce, which leaves couples with young children in need of more caregiving support. The respondent also claimed that CDWs were previously mostly relatives but it is now considered acceptable to recruit children from outside one’s family to help with household needs. This is consistent qualitative data from host household informants, who viewed CDWs as essential and valuable for managing households and businesses.

With respect to age, host families preferred CDWs over adult domestic workers because children are viewed as vulnerable or submissive, hardworking, cheaper, easier to manipulate and lacking agency to negotiate their rights and employment terms. Moreover, unlike adult workers, children are willing to live with the host family; do not carry the risk of duping, harming or stealing and have less “baggage” in terms of familial responsibilities. CDWs are also willing to perform additional tasks beyond what was initially communicated to them, such as managing the host family’s business and hawking their products in marketplaces. In fact, one NGO informant from Lagos remarked that although the Nigerian government is cracking down on CDWs in marketplaces, many employers/caregivers perceive them as an integral part of their business.

According to qualitative data, there is increased demand for girl CDWs – a preference that is rooted in gender norms that associate domestic work and caregiving as feminine roles. Further, one NGO informant noted that host families are less keen to employ boy CDWs under the perception that they can be violent and disobedient; however, the relatively large proportion of boys that fit the technical definition of CDW somewhat negates this view.

Host families believe they are offering CDWs a better life in exchange for domestic work. CDWs have access to better quality education and livelihood opportunities in urban centres. According to one host family informant, this arrangement enables girls to learn domestic and caregiving responsibilities at a young age, facilitating their transition to womanhood. Although such perceptions highlight gender stereotypes, it is argued that this gendered work arrangement presents favourable outcomes for girls from disadvantaged backgrounds.

"They [host households] feel they can easily manipulate children. You can’t tell an adult to hawk oranges for you because the adult will tell you this is not what you called them for and it is not in the agreement. But a child, you can manipulate them...they don’t know their left from their right, it’s whatever you tell them they do. You can choose to not give them food, to beat them...but you can’t beat an adult.

NGO Representative, Lagos, Nigeria"

"You know we have a cultural norm that females are home keepers, females are nurturers...it is expected that families raise the girl child to do house chores. So, I think it stems from cultural belief that the girls are naturally better at domestic work.

NGO Representative, Lagos, Nigeria"

"It will help her a long way. When she is married, nobody will teach her how to take care of her children. Nobody will tell her how to teach the children the word of God. So, all the things she has learnt here, she will establish them in her own family.

Host Family, Abuja, Nigeria"
1.D BROKER PERCEPTIONS, PRACTICES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

What are the practices, responsibilities and opinions of brokers vis-à-vis the recruitment process?

In terms of broker practices, two brokers in Abuja mentioned that they make arrangements for CDWs to travel in case of family emergencies and funerals. If CDWs are well-behaved and have older siblings in the city, the broker takes them directly to the host family. In instances where the broker does not know the CDW personally, they take them to their house to observe the CDW's behaviour and prepare them for the job before placement. Some brokers say they remain in contact with the CDW through the phone or by conducting surprise home visits even after they have been placed. However, it is worth noting that qualitative findings are based on a small sample size (n=4).

“Sometimes I pay visit to the host household with no prior notice pretending like I just found myself within the neighbourhood and decided to check in. I check in within two weeks or one month intervals to see things for myself. But if after several visits I find out that a CDW is not well taken care of, I instruct the child to get his/her baggage ready and I move him/her to a new household as the host refuses to keep promises.”

Broker, Abuja, Nigeria

1.E SERVICE PROVIDER PERSPECTIVES AND ACTIVITIES

What are the perspectives and current activities of relevant service providers related to child domestic work?

Interviews with NGO informants revealed that existing services or interventions do not specifically target CDWs, but cater to a range of at-risk children, including survivors of child labour, child sexual abuse and child trafficking. Some commonly mentioned services include reuniting rescued children with their family and providing shelter, psychosocial therapy, medical services and legal aid. For example, the National Agency for The Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP) provides shelter and referral services to rescued children until they are reunited with their birth families.

Similarly, SOAR Initiative in Nigeria works to prevent all forms of child sexual abuse. In their experience, some of these child survivors of sexual abuse are also CDWs. The organisation has been raising awareness by strengthening the capacity of community, religious and tribal leaders to recognise and respond to cases of child sexual abuse. They also provide a series of services to child survivors, including therapy, medical care and legal aid to ensure that the child heals from the trauma related to the abuse and is able to live to his or her potential. Recognising that the abuse can also have an impact on the child’s family, in some cases, they also provide counseling services to parents and caregivers.

“The area of our work that is closely related to child domestic workers is the family strengthening program. It is a community-based program that seeks to empower vulnerable families so that they can see to the development of their children and their access to essential services…”

NGO Representative, Lagos, Nigeria
SOS Children’s Village has been implementing a family strengthening community-based intervention to financially empower sending families so they are not compelled to send their children into domestic work and can provide a nurturing environment. As part of another initiative and in partnership with UNICEF, SOS has also formed a Child Protection Network to rescue CDWs and works with key stakeholders to place them in safe houses until they are reunited with their families. Moreover, since CDWs often work as hawkers or manage shops owned by the host family, law enforcement and immigration authorities have lately been conducting raids in marketplaces to identify CDWs.

A complete stakeholder map in Annex D (available from the authors upon request) provides an overview of organisations currently providing CDW-related services, disaggregated by state.
2. INTERVENTION CONTENT DESIGN

2.A INFORMATION, TRAINING AND SUPPORT NEEDS OF CDWS

What information, training and support do CDWs need to improve their working conditions and future prospects?

2.a.i Informational Needs

To assess informational needs, we first examined gaps in knowledge and awareness of CDW rights, laws/legal protections and service availability. This varies depending on the type of legal protection. For example, in terms of legal protections, 26.8 percent of CDWs correctly report the legal age a person can consent to sexual relations with an adult in Nigeria (18 years), and indeed are significantly more likely to overestimate than underestimate the age of consent. However, knowledge about their right to education was considerably lower; around 11 percent of CDWs underestimate how many years children are required by law to be in school (9 years in Nigeria), with out-of-school children more likely to underestimate this figure. Further, 28.3 percent of CDWs under 16 overestimate the number of hours children are legally allowed to work (8 hours per day or 56 hours per week, per the Labour Act).

The vast majority, 94.3 percent, of CDWs say that they would seek help if someone were physically or sexually abusing them. However, it is worth noting that these are their responses to a hypothetical question. When asked if they had someone to confide in if they faced a serious issue, 23.3 percent said they did not. Furthermore, while some CDWs expressed willingness to go to the police for help (21.5 percent), 60.2 percent said they do not know how to do so. Thus, whilst children may desire to seek help, they may find themselves facing barriers. Mirroring this, amongst CDWs who would not seek help, the main reason is fear of being punished (23.2 percent) followed by not knowing who to go to (19.9 percent).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Help</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family member</td>
<td>67.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>21.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend or neighbour</td>
<td>21.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Host family member</td>
<td>16.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 13: Where CDWs would seek help if physically and/or sexually abused (overall)*

Only 5.9 percent of CDWs said they would seek support of an NGO if they were being abused (Figure 13). The reason for this is not clear. However, the study also found that 96.3 percent of CDWs are not receiving direct support from government, NGOs or charitable organisations. As well as suggesting potential awareness gaps in terms of service and support availability, this could also show low awareness of possible support from NGOs.
2.a.ii Training Needs

The CDW survey listed a number of potential programs or services and asked respondents to rank each one as most needed, somewhat needed, not really needed and not at all needed. Training and education-related programs are featured in Figure 14, ordered by those reported as “most needed.” Overall, there is high demand for educational bursaries or scholarships, with 82.4 percent of CDWs specifying these as most needed and 9.4 percent as somewhat needed. This aligns with findings from employer/caregiver survey, which shows educational support and bursaries/scholarships as the most beneficial type of support for CDWs. For out-of-school children, scholarships and general education were mentioned by 37.1 and 25.8 percent of employers/caregivers, respectively, indicating a willingness to allow them to return to school if such support were made available.

![Figure 14: CDWs self-reported training needs/priorities (overall)](image)

When considering alternative career preferences, as shown in Figure 15, the vocational/skills trainings in highest demand by girls are cosmetology/hairdressing (35.8 percent), sewing/tailoring (20.7 percent) and food service/catering (14.9 percent). In contrast, for boys auto mechanic/auto repair (20.3 percent) and sewing/tailoring (15.8 percent) are in highest demand. Likewise, KIs with host families suggest that female CDWs’ can benefit from vocational training in tailoring, hair dressing, cooking, baking and caregiving which can help them later as housewives. NGO informants opined that in addition to schooling and vocational learning, interventions should focus on life skills training to empower CDWs to negotiate their rights and report maltreatment.
In terms of post-secondary education, about one in four CDWs hope to pursue an advanced degree to become a doctor, lawyer, teacher, engineer, etc. Among girls, there is also moderate demand for nursing/midwifery school (12.4 percent).

Improving CDWs’ access to quality education, life skills training and vocational learning was stressed by NGOs in Nigeria. NGO informants commonly reported that CDWs aspire to continue their education or learn a trade after they leave domestic work and seek support to enable this transition. In KIIs with host families, some mentioned that they are willing to facilitate this by enrolling them in school or vocational training.

2.a.iii Other Support Needs

BASIC NEEDS

As noted earlier, employers/caregivers are nearly 30 percentage points less likely than urban Nigerians at large to fall below the national poverty line (Izuaka, 2022). However, this did not prevent CDWs from reporting unmet basic needs, including access to healthcare, hygiene products and sufficient food.
When considering which needs were more likely to be lacking or insufficient, Figure 16 shows relatively high demand for basic needs such as school supplies, hygiene products (girls only), food assistance, healthcare and school transportation. Of note, 58.5 percent of out-of-school children say that school supplies are most needed, suggesting that indirect educational costs may play an important role in keeping them out of school. Related to food assistance, nearly half of CDWs say they are either often (6.2 percent) or sometimes (38.9 percent) hungry due to insufficient food. Relatively lower demand needs include transportation to/from home and work and shelter, with less than a quarter of CDWs indicating these as most needed.

FINANCIAL SERVICES
In terms of financial support and services, over half of CDWs indicate cash transfers as most needed and slightly over a third indicate business seed capital/start-up as most needed (Figure 17). Demand for debt forgiveness and loans is low, with the great majority of CDWs indicating these as not needed. Whilst the survey did not ask ‘how’ the CDWs intend to use their cash transfers, the demand for this may be due to the unmet needs outlined in other sections of this report, such as the need for school supplies, hygiene products and food assistance.
MENTAL HEALTH SERVICES

To assess the need for mental health services, CDWs were asked a series of five questions to quickly and reliably assess the likelihood that they have Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). CDWs who reported experiencing an unusually or especially frightening, horrible or traumatic event were asked if they had experienced any of the following over the past month:

1. Had bad dreams about disturbing event(s) or thought about disturbing event(s) when you did not want to?
2. Tried hard not to think about disturbing event(s) or went out of your way to avoid situations that reminded you of disturbing event(s)?
3. Felt guilty or unable to stop blaming yourself or others for disturbing event(s) or any problems those event(s) may have caused?
4. Been overly watchful or easily startled?
5. Felt disconnected from people, activities or your surroundings?

Answering yes to at least three questions is optimally sensitive to screening for probable PTSD, meaning it minimises false negative screen results. If the respondent answered yes to four or more questions, this is optimally efficient to screening for PTSD meaning that it balances the false positive and false negative results.

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For additional resources on how the PTSD screener is used the reader can reference the Primary Care PTSD Screen: https://www.ptsd.va.gov/professional/assessment/documents/pc-ptsd5-screen.pdf.
Figure 18 shows that 15.6 percent of CDWs have probable PTSD with rates four percentage points higher in Edo than Lagos (the difference is statistically insignificant). The percentage of respondents that answered yes to each of the five questions can be found in Annex B.

Figure 19: Demand for psycho-social support of CDWs with probable PTSD (overall)

While demand for psychosocial support is relatively low overall (over two-thirds of CDWs classify this as not really needed or not at all needed), it is slightly higher among the subset of CDWs with probable PTSD. As shown in Figure 19, 40.6 percent of probable PTSD sufferers say that psychosocial support is most needed or somewhat needed. It is important to note, however, that limited demand may be driven by low awareness or misconceptions related to mental health in Nigeria (Africa Polling Institute and EpiAFRIC, 2020).

PROFESSIONAL SUPPORT SERVICES

CDWs were asked what types of professionals they would like to receive services or support from in the future. As shown in Figure 20, there is high demand for support from teachers, religious leaders and health workers, which aligns with the CDWs’ reported needs. Interestingly, only 10.2 and 3.2 percent of CDWs desire support from counselors or social workers, respectively. However, it may be the case that the offerings of such professionals are not well understood by CDWs and/or there is stigma associated with accessing such services. Another reason could be that while CDWs may be experiencing mistreatment or abuse, they do not perceive themselves as a ‘victim’ needing help or requiring support services (Olayiwola, 2023).
Teacher 59.3%
Religious leader 39.6%
Health worker 26.7%
Counselor 10.2%
Community leader 9.4%
Police 7.7%
Youth leader 4.9%
Banker 3.4%
Lawyer 3.3%
Social worker 3.2%
Helpline 2.8%
Judge 1.0%
Broker 0.9%

Figure 20: CDWs’ desired access to professionals (overall)

MISCELLANEOUS NEEDS

CDW needs for other/miscellaneous types of support are summarised in Figure 21. Demand for equipment to protect CDWs from workplace injury is on the higher side, supporting the finding that CDWS tend to face hazardous work conditions, while demand for legal support and CDW rights advocacy is relatively low.

Figure 21: CDWs’ self-reported other needs (overall)

In terms of differences in demand by state, CDWs in Edo have higher demand for all aforementioned training, basic needs and miscellaneous needs with the exception of vocational/skills training and hygiene products, which is similar between the two states. Boys expressed higher demand than girls for agricultural training, job placement assistance, debt forgiveness, transportation, shelter, protective equipment and basic literacy or numeracy classes.
2.B MODIFIABLE EMPLOYER/CAREGIVER KNOWLEDGE, ATTITUDES AND PRACTICES

What are employer/caregiver opinions and behaviours that should be addressed (or have the greatest potential to be addressed) by an intervention aimed at improving the treatment and life skills of CDWs?

Qualitative data indicate that the practice of using CDWs is deeply entrenched in Nigerian society, both culturally and structurally. In addition, many children derive benefits from the system, with around 60 percent of CDWs saying their quality of life has improved since starting domestic work. When asked what they like most about their work, 23.6 percent said getting to go to a good school followed by enjoying the work itself (19.6 percent), being with the host family (10.7 percent) and eating better than at home (8.2 percent). However, it is also worth highlighting that around 40 percent did not feel their quality of life had improved since entering domestic work. This aligns with the earlier findings which indicated that significant numbers of CDWs faced forced labour, hazardous work or work which violated the Nigerian labour laws.

Reflecting this, as shown in Figure 22 around a third say they would not change anything regarding their domestic work while two thirds would like to change at least one element of their work.

When considering specifically what changes are desired by CDWs, as shown above, 18.6 percent of CDWs say they want fewer hours of work, 11.6 percent want better pay and 11.5 percent wanted less verbal or emotional abuse from the family. Since 50.0 percent reported experiencing some kind of violence (emotional, physical or sexual), this suggests that violence may be normalised by CDWs and possibly seen as something that cannot be changed. Compared to the overall pool of CDWs, those classified as TIP victims are 7.9 percentage points more likely to want less verbal or emotional abuse. In addition, TIP victims are more likely to want fewer work hours (26.4 percent), more time off (16.4 percent) and better pay (16.2 percent).12

It is important to note that many TIP indicators are conditional on earning wages, thus TIP status may be colinear with these variables.
Qualitative findings suggest that host families should be sensitised on how to treat and care for CDWs. For example, an NGO informant in Lagos noted that host families are often unaware of the consequences of their actions (e.g., food deprivation, low quality food, improper sleeping arrangements) on CDWs’ growth and development.

...advocacy and sensitisation even for the host to know that maltreatment is a crime and that if they can’t take care of the child, they should not bring the child at all to stay with them.... So, if they are aware, though ignorance of the law is not an excuse, they should be able to protect the child.

NGO Representative, Lagos, Nigeria
2.C MODIFIABLE BROKER KNOWLEDGE, ATTITUDES AND PRACTICES

How do broker perceptions, attitudes and reported behaviours foster or hinder opportunities to engage them in actions aimed at improving the treatment and life skills of CDWs?

As mentioned earlier, qualitative data indicate that some brokers stay in contact with CDWs and sending families after placement to monitor their well-being. Some brokers also spend time orienting CDWs to the job before placement and negotiate terms and conditions with host households and CDWs in the presence of each other to keep the process transparent. In terms of modifiable determinants, other brokers could potentially draw on these positive practices to ensure the well-being of CDWs both pre- and post-placement.

2.D COMMUNITY-LEVEL/OTHER

Implementing awareness generation interventions was frequently recommended by NGO informants. Currently, there is a lack of community awareness on CDW vulnerabilities, reporting and referral mechanisms and related legal protections. Moreover, NGO informants suggested that sending families should be sensitised on potential maltreatment that their children might experience and be encouraged to conduct surprise visits to check-in on their well-being.

2.E SERVICE PROVIDER ENGAGEMENT

What are the most effective ways to engage service providers in programming to support CDWs?

During KIIs, NGO informants noted that their programming could benefit from additional and consistent funding streams; increased buy-in and support from local and national government and law enforcement; and increased partnerships and collaborations among NGOs working with CDWs. Strategies for linking service providers to CDWs as well as employers/caregivers are elaborated upon in section 3.
3. INTERVENTION DELIVERY

3.A SERVICE AVAILABILITY AND ADAPTATION

What services (legal aid, shelter, counseling, etc.) are potentially available and effective in delivering programs for CDWs? What adaptations or additions might be necessary to better reach and support CDWs?

Qualitative findings show that NGOs do not specifically target CDWs. Based on stakeholder mapping, there are 12 organisations in Lagos and five in Edo that are focused on child labour, child protection and child exploitation and broadly cater to CDWs as part of these efforts. When asked how such services could be improved, the most common response was to increase awareness of the availability of support and continue the support or extend it to others. Many NGO respondents suggested that interventions targeting CDWs should also include family members, host families and community members to sensitise them on preventing and reporting abuse. KII informants also recommend that interventions engage influential community members, like religious and traditional leaders, to identify CDWs in the community and serve as mediators between host families and service providers. NGOs say that interventions should be designed to include government stakeholders who can strengthen prevention and response efforts. For instance, the Ministry of Gender in Nigeria was highlighted as a key stakeholder to advance child protection efforts, including issues related to child domestic work.

Based on survey data, around 7.3 percent of CDWs are receiving or have received some type of social services/support from NGOs or government. This could reflect limited services targeting CDWs and/or low levels of awareness about the availability of services. Of the 2.2 percent of CDWs that are actively receiving support, the most common type is school supplies (31.4 percent) followed by bursaries/scholarships (17.1 percent), food assistance (13.6 percent), and business training/support (9.4 percent). Despite high demand, only 0.3 percent of CDWs have ever received vocational or skills training through an intervention. However, this could be due to age restrictions on vocational training programs, which are likely to exclude younger children (UIS, 2021).

“…at the grassroot level community leaders like traditional leaders and church leaders because they attend churches and association meetings. So, if we can educate them about the impacts of domestic work on children, it will go a long way.”

NGO Representative, Lagos, Nigeria

“I think that it [intervention] could be a combination of NGOs and the government because if you want to bring in law enforcement at the end of this intervention, we need the government to do that.”

NGO Representative, Lagos, Nigeria
3. B INTERVENTION OUTREACH AND UPTAKE FOR CDWS

What do employer/caregiver and CDW attitudes and circumstances indicate about safe, effective and ethical ways to reach CDWs with replicable, sustainable intervention models?

Qualitative findings show that most households would be willing to enroll CDWs in alternative education programs. This is corroborated by survey data, with 97.2 percent of CDWs saying their employer/caregiver would allow them to access the services they indicate as “most needed.” In addition, 99.2 percent of surveyed employers/caregivers said they would allow CDWs to participate in alternative education programs and 87.2 percent say they would allow CDWs to participate in youth clubs or community meetings. However, it is worth noting that this may need to be accompanied by changes to the working hours for some CDWs so they have sufficient free time outside of education and work.

Of the 12.8 percent of employers/caregivers who would not allow youth club participation, it is mainly because they feel the children are too young or have concerns over bad influences and safety (Figure 24).

“You can’t just force them to do certain things. So, most of them, maybe it’s because they are not performing well in their schools, that’s why they have to do house help work. But if there’s an opportunity for them to further their education and they are willing to do that… if you have the money to do that, you should send them to school to make themselves better.”

Host Household, Abuja, Nigeria

As shown in Figure 25, CDWs commonly frequent churches/mosques (95.7 percent), markets (80.0 percent) and school clubs (38.3 percent). They are less likely to be reachable through recreation centres, youth/boys/girls club meetings and community meetings. Media exposure is moderately high, particularly television (82.4 percent) and radio (58.4 percent). On the other hand, computer use is relatively low (20.2 percent), although Facebook and YouTube are somewhat more commonly accessed in a typical month, at 37.4 and 33.3 percent, respectively.

Of the small minority (3.7 percent) of CDWs currently receiving NGO support, they learned about it primarily through school (72.6 percent) followed by community meetings (8.3 percent), door-to-door campaigns (4.5 percent) and friends or neighbours (1.6 percent). CDWs most regularly interface with teachers, religious leaders and health workers.

Figure 24: Reasons employers/caregivers would forbid youth club meeting participation (overall)
According to qualitative data, some host families recognise the importance of their CDW’s growth, but they also do not want them to fall behind in household chores. They suggested that alternative education programs should not interfere with CDWs’ household responsibilities. Thus, this implies that work remains many employers/caregivers’ priority. There is inadequate evidence on preferred frequency and duration of such programs.

3.C INTERVENTION OUTREACH AND UPTAKE FOR EMPLOYERS/CAREGIVERS

What do household/employer attitudes and behaviours indicate about effective ways to reach them and foster uptake of messaging that shifts behaviours in scalable ways?

Employers/caregivers of CDWs are readily accessible at churches or mosques, and have moderately high media exposure, particularly television and radio.

As shown in Figure 26, one in five employers/caregivers participate in community meetings or dialogues, with slightly fewer participating in youth or women’s group meetings. According to survey data, employers/caregivers of out-of-school CDWs are most reachable via churches or mosques.

Qualitative data suggest that it could be challenging to engage host households in an intervention directly targeting them, especially working couples. One informant recommended contacting host households through brokers: “most people don’t really have time, they go to work and leave the house help at home. So I feel that if you have to communicate with them, it might be through their agents.”
Figure 26: Places and services employers/caregivers accessed in the past month

3.D INTERVENTION OUTREACH AND UPTAKE FOR BROKERS

What do reports by brokers indicate about potential ways to reach them and improve their ability and capacity to negotiate terms and conditions that are favourable for CDWs?

Broker use was found to be on the lower side (8.1 percent), and reports of deceptive or coercive recruitment were rare (less than 1.0 percent). However, it is worth reiterating that in our sample, only one in 12 CDWs were placed by brokers or intermediaries, so the sample is small. Based on our consultations with four brokers, it was apparent that some do take extra steps to ensure the well-being of CDWs through orientation sessions, negotiating advantageous terms and conditions, and keeping in regular contact with the CDW and his/her family. This may be indicative of the type of broker who was willing to answer questions on their practices. Nonetheless, best practices along these lines could potentially be disseminated to other brokers.

“I used to make an agreement with the employer before placing any CDW, but I had to stop because I was once accused by one of my own relatives for plunder. So now I sit the two parties in my presence, and we all make such agreement and if the CDW is not okay/pleased with the amount agreed upon, I will return him or her back to their family. So, every arrangement is made in the open and that is why both employers and CDWs like working with me.”

CDW Broker, Abuja, Nigeria
IV. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

CONCLUSION

The research conducted with CDWs in Nigeria offers critical insights into the complexities surrounding how these children enter into the work, their working and living conditions, role of employers and caregivers, as well as support services that can help protect their rights. The data paint a multifaceted picture, revealing some exploitative conditions as well as unexpected nuances in the relationship between CDWs and their employers/caregivers. The points below summarise the key findings, which have significant implications for policy makers, civil society actors, multilateral organisations and researchers involved in child protection and labour issues.

- Children are entering domestic work at a very young age. The average age of CDWs consulted as part of the survey was 14.6 years, however the average age these children entered into domestic work was 10.1 years. In particular, 35.4 percent started in domestic work before the age of ten years.

- Roughly three-in-five CDWs have a kinship relationship with the household where they work. This can negatively impact their working conditions since CDWs who share a kinship relationship with their employer/caregiver are less likely to receive a wage than those without a kinship relationship (8.9 percent vs 26.9 percent) and are more likely to receive a lower wage (NGN 6,130 / USD 12 per month vs NGN 12,516 / USD 25 per month for those without a kinship relationship). Given the predominance of kinship relationships in placing children into domestic work, the use of brokers is limited.

- Employers/caregivers of CDWs are nearly 30 percentage points less likely than urban Nigerians at large to fall below the national poverty line (Izuaka, 2022). However, despite this, over half CDWs report unmet basic needs, including health needs, hygiene needs and sufficient food.

- CDWs are at significant risk of abusive and exploitative labour. Eighty-eight point nine percent of CDWs reported working conditions which constituted at least one violation of the Nigerian Labour Act and/or Child Rights Act. Similarly, the vast majority of CDWs report working conditions that meet at least one indicator of WFCL (96.7 percent) and 46.3 percent of CDWs’ working conditions align with the TIP Office’s indicators for human trafficking. It is worth noting, though, that both these sets of indicators fall short of discerning the most vulnerable children when applied to CDWs.

- Verbal/emotional abuse from the host families is common, and one-in-11 CDWs were experiencing physical or sexual violence (with 15.6 percent showing signs which could indicate PTSD).

- A large proportion of CDWs are working long hours that leave them with limited time for rest, education or social activities. Over one-in-three (37.1 percent) are working above 30 hours per week and, alarmingly, over one-in-five (21.4 percent) are working above 42 hours per week, equivalent to seven hours a day, six days a week. Overall, 43.2 percent of CDWs report spending an average of 24.2 hours per week on other economic activities.

- CDWs report a range of challenges relating to access to education. Almost one-in-five CDWs are not enrolled in school (19.2 percent), and 18.0 percent report their education being disrupted by work. Reflecting CDWs’ appetite for education, the great majority (82.4
percent) reported educational bursaries or scholarships as a priority need. Encouragingly, employers/caregivers are overwhelmingly supportive of CDWs’ participation in alternative education programs and are broadly in favour of activities that help CDWs return to or remain in school. However, there were also indications that employers/caregivers still expected a CDWs’ work to be prioritised.

- Based on consultation with employers/caregivers, the study suggested that barriers to intervention participation may be driven more by employer/caregiver concern over CDWs’ physical and moral wellbeing than limited time/availability. However, it is nonetheless worth noting that where CDWs’ working hours are full-time, this leaves limited time for education or social activities that contribute towards their development.

- Both CDWs and employers/caregivers are accessible at churches or mosques, the vast majority of whom attend at least on a monthly basis. TV and radio are also mediums that are frequently accessed by CDWs and employers/caregivers.

- There are several NGOs which focus on child labour, child protection and child exploitation in Edo and Lagos, many of whom already have contact with CDWs. However, the findings suggest that the majority of CDWs are not accessing these services. This may be because they are unaware of these services or do not view themselves as requiring support.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations detailed below are derived from the findings of this study. These were developed through in-person consultations that the Freedom Fund conducted with civil society leaders and child protection experts in Nigeria, to increase the relevance and feasibility of the proposed measures in the local context.

The Government of Nigeria to:

- **Strengthen legislation and policies that aim to reduce exploitation and abuse of CDWs** at a state and national level and for states that have not yet adopted the law. The current Labour Act contains numerous provisions that specifically exclude children in domestic services, despite these protections being offered to children in other types of work. These gaps, particularly concerning wages, timely payments, and rest breaks, could be addressed through legislative amendments that acknowledge child domestic work as a form of child labour and address exploitation by employers/caregivers.

- **Provide support to help the most vulnerable out-of-school CDWs return to school and/or to resume consistent school attendance.** These should be based on vulnerability criteria rather than academic performance or potential since the latter may have been adversely affected by the CDWs’ work patterns. Forms of support for secondary students (for example, bursaries) should be determined based on the recommendations of Nigerian civil society NGOs and community groups.

- **Where CDWs do not wish to return to school, expand opportunities for demand-driven, age-appropriate vocational and certified skills training opportunities for CDWs,** complemented with business coaching/start-up support and literacy/numeracy classes where appropriate. Training opportunities should be selected based on CDWs’ preferences and comprehensive, local market assessments to ensure the skills align with market demands. Upskilling opportunities should be free, flexible (to fit around domestic work if needed), consider gender-based barriers to access, be offered in close proximity to where CDWs live and work, and be generated with long-term outcomes in mind.
Civil Society Actors to:

- **Engage CDWs, employers/caregivers and actors from the formal and non-formal education sector to better understand and address any additional barriers impeding CDWs’ access to and retention in education.** Based on the information gathered through consultations, interventions can be developed that start to address these barriers, such as alternative basic education for CDWs, scholarships or bursaries to support CDWs without access to school supplies, buddy systems for CDWs to help them integrate into schools or sensitisation for teachers on the additional barriers faced by CDWs in consistently accessing education. Where relevant, these should be accompanied with advocacy encouraging statutory bodies to address identified barriers impeding CDWs’ access to education. All non-formal interventions should include pathways for CDWs to re-engage in the formal education system. Programs can include mechanisms for engaging with employers/caregivers and encouraging them to support CDWs’ attendance in formal and non-formal education programs.

- **Offer basic life skills classes to CDWs** as part of the orientation/enrolment process for projects targeting CDWs, incorporating advocacy messages on children’s rights and how to seek help if they are experiencing physical, psychological or sexual violence. This could include safety planning exercises where CDWs identify possible sources of support in their social networks and think through the practical steps of how they can access these if needed.

- **Consult adult employers/caregivers to better understand how they self-identify and perceive their relationship with their CDW and his/her natal family.** Specifically, do they see themselves as employers, foster carers or family members? Subsequent interventions should then use language and concepts which resonate with employers/caregivers to raise awareness of relevant child protection or labour legislation, sensitisce employers/caregivers on the impact of harmful domestic work on children and challenge harmful social norms perpetuating the exploitation of CDWs by their employers/caregivers. Evidence-based curricula to end violence against children that have been tested in Nigeria or West Africa—including training on non-abusive means of discipline—could be adapted and provided to employers/caregivers to shift their behaviour towards CDWs.

- **Work with CDWs to develop community-based child-led advocacy campaigns that target potential CDWs and their families in source communities, highlighting the potential risks of sending children to urban centres for child domestic work.** Since many children are sent to work out of necessity rather than choice, campaigns could include advice on self-protection, such as the importance of pre-departure safety planning in the event a host family starts to treat their CDW badly. Child-led advocacy of this type should be preceded by training for CDWs on child rights in Nigeria and globally (under the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child), advocacy and communication skills, and remuneration. If specific “supply” communities are identified, efforts should be focused in those areas.

- **Strengthen CDWs’ social networks in unfamiliar urban areas by offering group-based programming that allows them to meet other children (including CDWs) and – in turn – develop support networks.** Activities could include peer support groups or generalised psychosocial support for CDWs, using self-care approaches to promoting psychosocial resilience. Staff delivering these activities should be trained on what services CDWs could realistically access if given a referral, as well as how to use evidence-based screening methods to identify signs of impaired mental health. Psychosocial support activities should be offered by appropriately trained service providers who have experience working with vulnerable children.
• **Run public service announcements to increase awareness of exploitative child domestic work, building on existing child protection and gender-based violence initiatives and lessons learnt.** Messaging should carefully consider existing and emerging legal frameworks to avoid confusion if political advocacy should later create a change for CDW work standards. Civil society can deliver messaging that educates CDWs, employers/caregivers and parents on CDWs' rights, legal protections and channels for redress. Messaging can be disseminated via schools and community-based structures, as well as radio and television, social media, billboards, posters and fliers.

• **Work with churches or mosques, both as intervention delivery channels and as platforms for advocacy/messaging related to child rights.** They are places that CDWs go, and both children and caregivers/employers trust religious leaders in their communities. They are also a mechanism for intra-community monitoring or wellness checks, as well as venues for interaction with trusted adult allies such as teachers, social workers, or in some cases, police officers.

**Multilateral Organisations to:**

• **Work with the global community of practice to create CDW-specific definitions of TIP and WFCL,** ensuring indicators reflect their unique circumstances, capacities and vulnerabilities. Conversations should include representation from Nigeria’s governmental and non-governmental leaders on TIP and child labour.

**Research Organisations to:**

• **Invest in strengthening tools and methods for evaluating the outcomes and impact of CDW programming** to increase learning on successful or unsuccessful interventions for preventing and/or addressing this more hidden form of exploitative labour.

• **Ensure project ownership and buy-in by engaging stakeholders** (including CDWs) and community members in the intervention design, testing, refinement and evaluation process through listening sessions, co-creation workshops and/or project advisory committee(s).

• **Conduct a global literature review on child domestic work interventions and measurement** to ensure interventions in Nigeria learn from global best practices.
REFERENCES


# APPENDIX A: OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

## 1. WORKING CONDITIONS IN VIOLATION OF NIGERIAN LAWS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Typically works on public holidays</td>
<td>CDW works 14 or more hours per week and responded ‘Yes’ to: In a typical week, are you required to do domestic work on public holidays?</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| Typically works seven days a week without a day of rest                   | CDW works 14 or more hours per week and one or more of the following conditions were reported by the CDW:  
• In a typical week, on which days do you perform domestic work? = 7  
• In a typical week, how many days do you take off from doing domestic work = 0  
  
| Lifts, carries or move heavy loads that can injure physical development   | If one or more of the following conditions were reported by the CDW:  
• Carrying or pulling heavy loads that could cause an injury or muscle strain, including lifting adults or heavy children  
• Lift, carry or move anything so heavy as to be likely to injure your physical development  
  
| Employed by non-family member                                            | CDW’s reported relationship to (a) head of household or (b) other members of the household does NOT include:  
• Sibling  
• Aunt or uncle  
• Adopted parent  
• Foster parent  
• Stepparent  
• Parent in-law  
• Sibling in-law  
• Grandparent  
• Co-spouse  
  
| Under 16 years old and works more than four hours without a break, or more than eight hours a day | Current age of CDW is 15 years or younger AND one or more of the following conditions were reported by the CDW:  
• Required to do house work for more than four consecutive hours, without a break?  
• Typically works more than eight hours  
• Required to do house work for more than eight hours on a given day?  
  
| Under 14 years old and not paid on a daily basis                         | Current age of CDW is 13 years or younger AND reported the following condition:  
• How frequently is the money you earn paid out? = Less frequent than daily  
  
55
## 2. WORST FORMS OF CHILD LABOUR

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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| Hazardous work | If one or more of the following conditions were reported by the CDW:  
  - Want to change: Fewer dangerous tasks  
  - Dislike: Doing dangerous tasks  
  - Made to do dangerous or very difficult tasks without proper protections  
  - Working with knives or sharp tools that can cut you  
  - Working with liquids or powders that irritate your skin, burn easily, give off vapors that smell bad or can explode  
  - Working with fire, ovens or very hot machines or tools, or unsafe electric wires/cables, where you might get burned  
  - Carrying or pulling heavy loads that could cause an injury or muscle strain, including lifting adults or heavy children  
  - Lift, carry or move anything so heavy as to be likely to injure your physical development  
  - Things that can cause muscle strain or injuries like walking long distances, being hunched over for a long time or doing other things that make your body hurt  
  - Working in a place that is very cold or working outdoors in very rainy or wet  
  - Not being able to keep yourself away from people who are sick and could pass their illness on to you  
  - Having to climb or clean hard to reach places, from where if you fell you might be injured  
  - Working in a very noisy place, so that you had to shout to speak  
  - Working long hours in the hot sun without a break  
  - Working below the ground in wells or tunnels or other very small spaces  
  - Working during the night-time or very early in the morning, when it is dark including going to or from work when it is dark  
  - Risk of getting hit by a car  
  - Do not generally feel safe while doing domestic work |
<p>| Exceed legal limits | If one of more of the indicators in section ‘1. Working conditions in violation of Nigeria laws’ is met |
| Works 43 hours or more per week | Typical working hours per week – including time spent on domestic work plus other economic activities – total to 43 hours or more, as reported the CDW |</p>
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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</table>
| In forced labour* conditions    | If one or more of the following conditions were reported by the CDW: \  
- Would not be allowed to leave your workplace if you were very ill, injured, had a serious family problem or wanted to quit \  
- Seizing of identity documents \  
- Told that pay, benefits or other reward that you earned would not be given if you leave \  
- High or growing debt to your employer/caregiver, debt imposed without your go ahead or others’ debts being imposed on you \  
- Money earned goes to: It is kept by my employer/caregiver to pay off a debt \  
- Are you currently owed money for any domestic work that you have done? \  
- Experienced during recruitment: Abducted or held captive by someone and you could not leave \  
- Experienced during recruitment: Required to take an advance or loan to cover recruitment fees \  
- Experienced during recruitment: High or increasing debt related to the recruiter or other middleman \  
- In the past 12 months, has your pay been deducted against your will? \  
- Made to do things that are illegal |
| Schooling is disrupted due to work | If one or more of the following conditions were reported by the CDW: \  
- Not ever attended formal school due to having to do chores or domestic work \  
- Not ever attended formal school due to having to do other work \  
- Mostly work during the weekday, irrespective of school hours \  
- In a typical week, you are required to miss school to do domestic work \  
- Main reason for missing school is to do domestic work or chores \  
- Main reason for missing school is to do other work |
| Experienced physical violence    | If one or more of the following conditions were reported by the CDW: \  
- While at work, you have experienced physical or sexual violence against you or people you care deeply about \  
- Want no more physical abuse from the employer/host family \  
- Dislike the physical or sexual abuse from the employer/host family |
| Experienced sexual violence      | If one or more of the following conditions were reported by the CDW: \  
- Made to do things of a sexual nature for members of the household where you work \  
- Made to do things of a sexual nature to pay a debt or get a wage advance \  
- Want no more sexual abuse from the employer/host family |
Forced labour, as set out in the ILO Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (No.29), refers to "all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily." Forced labour does not depend on the type or sector of work, but only on whether the work was imposed on a person against their will through the use of coercion. For further details, please refer to p.14 of the Global Estimates of Modern Slavery: Forced Labour and Forced Marriage (International Labour Organization, Walk Free and International Organization for Migration, 2022).
3. HUMAN TRAFFICKING

To qualify as a case of human trafficking, the respondent must meet at least one of the following:

- Indicator FM3;
- Two or more [Strong] indicators from different categories; or
- One [Strong] indicator plus three or more [Medium] indicators.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>(If CDW reported yes to...)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Debt or Dependency</td>
<td>[Strong] DD1 Had a debt imposed on you without your consent</td>
<td>• High or growing debt to your employer/caregiver, debt imposed without your go ahead or others' debts being imposed on you</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
|                           | [Medium] DD3 Pre-existing of an intimate or dependent relationship such as romantic or familial relationship | Relationship to (a) head of household or (b) other members of the household is one or more of the below:  
  • Sibling  
  • Aunt or uncle  
  • Adopted parent  
  • Foster parent  
  • Stepparent  
  • Parent in-law  
  • Sibling in-law  
  • Grandparent  
  • Co-spouse |
<p>| Degrading Conditions      | [Strong] DC1 Made to be available day and night without adequate compensation outside of the scope of the contract | • Made to be available day and night without fair pay |
|                           | [Medium] DC2 Made to complete hazardous and/or arduous services without proper protective gear | • Made to do dangerous or very difficult tasks without proper protections |
|                           | [Strong] DC3 Made to engage in illicit activities                         | • Made to do things that are illegal |
|                           | [Medium] DC4 Made to live in degrading conditions e.g., housing or shelter is unclean, provides no privacy or is otherwise insufficient in a way that harms your health | • Made to live in really bad or harsh conditions e.g., housing or shelter is dirty, provides no privacy or is inadequate in a way that harms your health |</p>
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<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>(If CDW reported yes to…)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Employment Practices and Penalties</td>
<td>[Strong] EP1 Had your pay, other promised compensation and/or benefits withheld and if you leave you will not get them</td>
<td>• Told that pay, benefits or other reward that you earned would not be given if you leave</td>
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<td>[Medium] EP3 High or increasing debt related to a recruiter, intermediary or other individual (by falsification of accounts, inflated prices for goods/services purchased, reduced value of goods/services produced, excessive interest rate on loans, etc.)</td>
<td>• High or increasing debt related to the recruiter or other middleman</td>
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<td>[Medium] EP4 Made to work overtime beyond legal limits</td>
<td>• Made to work unlawfully overtime</td>
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<td></td>
<td>[Medium] EP5 Made to perform additional services or responsibilities (beyond what was agreed) without due compensation</td>
<td>• Made to do extra work without being paid</td>
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<td></td>
<td>[Medium] EP6 Ever not received or had withheld promised wages, benefits or other compensation</td>
<td>• Pay, benefits or other reward unfairly not given</td>
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<td>[Medium] EP7 Recruitment linked to debt (advance or loan)</td>
<td>• Required to take an advance or loan to cover recruitment fees</td>
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<td></td>
<td>[Medium] EP8 Absence of a formal contract</td>
<td>• No formal contract/signed agreement for the domestic work you do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Indicator</td>
<td>(If CDW reported yes to…)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Freedom of Movement</td>
<td>[Strong] FM1 Confiscation of or loss of access to identity papers or travel documents</td>
<td>- Seizing of identity documents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Strong] FM2 Constant surveillance of personal spaces by employer/caregiver, recruiter or other individuals</td>
<td>- Constant monitoring of your personal spaces that goes beyond what most parents/guardians in Nigeria would do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Strong] FM3 No freedom of movement and communication</td>
<td>- forbidding you to speak with your parents or family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Medium] FM4 Limited freedom of movement and communication i.e. supervised communication, movement restricted or surveilled during off-hours</td>
<td>- forbidding you to interact with other children or neighbours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Medium] FM5 Constant surveillance of place of work</td>
<td>- Not being allowed to leave the place where you do house work for reasons that are unclear or unfair</td>
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<td>- forbidding you to have private conversations such as phone conversations</td>
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<td>- Restrictions on your movement that goes beyond what most parents/guardians in Nigeria would do</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Monitoring of your movement and communications that goes beyond what most parents/guardians in Nigeria would do</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Constant monitoring of your work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Life and Properties</td>
<td>[Strong] PL1 Another individual has control over any meaningful part of your personal life (i.e. blackmail, religious retribution, or exclusion from future employment, community, personal or social life, etc.)</td>
<td>- Excessive control over your personal life that goes beyond what most parents/guardians in Nigeria would do</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Strong] PL3 Made to work or engage in commercial sex for in order to repay outstanding debt or wage advance</td>
<td>- Made to do things of a sexual nature to pay a debt or get a wage advance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Medium] PL4 Made to work or engage in commercial sex for employer/caregiver's private home or family</td>
<td>- Made to do things of a sexual nature for members of the household where you work</td>
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<td></td>
<td>[Medium] PL5 Confiscation of mobile phones or other communication methods as a way to have control over you.</td>
<td>- Restriction on your communications as a way to control you that goes beyond what most parents/guardians in Nigeria would do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Indicator</td>
<td>(If CDW reported yes to...)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Recruitment</td>
<td>[Strong] R1 Coercive recruitment (abduction, confinement during the recruitment process)</td>
<td>• Abducted or held captive by someone and you could not leave</td>
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<td></td>
<td>[Strong] R2 Deceptive recruitment (nature of services or responsibilities required)</td>
<td>• Misled about the type of work you would be doing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Medium] R3 Deceptive recruitment (regarding working conditions, content or legality of relevant contract, housing and living conditions, legal documentation or acquisition of legal status, location or employer/caregiver, compensation/benefits, promise of marriage/love)</td>
<td>• Misled about the working conditions, location, compensation, benefits, living arrangements or legality of work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Medium] R4 Paid recruitment fees</td>
<td>• Required to pay recruitment fees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence or Threats of Violence</td>
<td>[Strong] V3 Physical violence against you or someone you care deeply about</td>
<td>• Physical or sexual violence against you or people you care deeply about</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Medium] V5 Threat of denunciation to authorities against you or someone you care deeply about</td>
<td>• Threats of turning you into the authorities</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Medium] V6 Emotional/psychological abuse against you or someone you care deeply about</td>
<td>• Abusive words or bullying that deeply hurt you or people you care about</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Medium] V7 Threat of harm to your personal or professional reputation</td>
<td>• Threats to speak badly about you to your friends, family, the community or other employers/caregivers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Medium] V8 Threats of violence against you or someone you care deeply about</td>
<td>• Threats of physical or sexual violence against you or people you care deeply about</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VISION
Our vision is a world free of slavery.

MISSION
Our mission is to mobilise the knowledge, capital and will needed to end slavery.