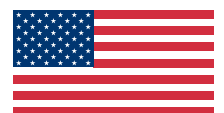




# BEHIND CLOSED DOORS: MEASURING THE SCALE AND NATURE OF EXPLOITATIVE CHILD DOMESTIC WORK IN LIBERIA

Research findings to inform intervention development

**February 2024**



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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 Liberia. 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 Liberian context, followed by key informant interviews with Liberian stakeholders and focus group discussions with CDWs. Thereafter, a general population survey was conducted in urban areas of Montserrado and Nimba counties, which involved surveying 1,088 CDWs and 595 employers/caregivers.

## MAJOR FINDINGS

-  Although child domestic work may benefit some children, for many it involves multiple violations of their rights. The survey data reveals that 94.9 percent of the CDWs reported working conditions that amounted to the Worst Forms of Child Labour (WFCL). Furthermore, 63.1 percent faced conditions that constituted human trafficking, according to indicators established by the U.S. Department of State's Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons (TIP). However, both of these measures fall short of identifying the most vulnerable children when applied to CDWs and would benefit from being reviewed in light of the unique characteristics of child domestic work.
-  Most CDWs (84.9 percent) have a kinship relationship with their employer/caregiver, hence the use of brokers is limited. The findings also suggested that deceptive or coercive recruitment are rare.
-  Over three-quarters (76.4 percent) of CDWs reported working conditions that contravened Liberian labour laws; however, it is unclear whether these laws apply to kinship-based arrangements. Many CDWs, as well as employers/caregivers, are not aware of legal rights and protections for young workers, including the right to limited working hours, minimum wage and compulsory education.
-  There is a general convergence between employers/caregivers and CDWs in terms of CDWs' greatest needs (education and training), however CDWs are far more likely to say they need healthcare and food assistance. Employers/caregivers are mostly supportive of CDWs participating in alternative education programs and are broadly in favour of activities that help CDWs return to or remain in school.
-  Based on employer/caregiver reporting, barriers to participation in school and training are driven more by concerns over CDWs' physical and moral well-being than limited time/availability. This suggests that non-governmental organisations (NGOs) supporting CDWs may first need to gain the trust and consent of employers/caregivers, before engaging CDWs to attend activities.
-  Both CDWs and employers/caregivers can be reached at churches or mosques, with the vast majority attending at least once a month. CDWs are also accessible at schools; however, one in six are presently out of school.
-  There are several NGOs focused on child labour, child protection and child exploitation in Liberia (particularly in Montserrado), but few are already working specifically with CDWs.

# MAIN RECOMMENDATIONS

## THE GOVERNMENT OF LIBERIA TO:

- Strengthen legislation and policies that aim to reduce exploitation and abuse of CDWs, including passing *The Act to Establish Child Labour Law* in Liberia.
- Improve protection mechanisms for responding to abusive and exploitative child domestic work, with a focus on improving coordination between relevant statutory bodies and civil society actors.
- Increase support and supervision of Child Welfare Committees (CWCs) at the community, district and county level to identify and protect children affected by exploitative child domestic work.
- 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 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.
- Consult employers/caregivers to better understand how they self-identify and perceive their relationship with their CDW.
- 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.
- Strengthen CDWs' social networks by offering group-based programming that allows them to meet other children (including CDWs) and – in turn – develop support networks.
- 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.

## MULTILATERAL ORGANISATIONS TO:

- Work with the global community of practice to create CDW-specific definitions of TIP and WFCL.

## RESEARCH ORGANISATIONS TO:

- Invest in strengthening tools and methods for evaluating the outcomes and impact of CDW programming.
- Ensure ownership and buy-in of data and evidence by jointly designing and implementing research with local stakeholders.
- Conduct a global literature review on child domestic work interventions and measurement.

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# ACRONYMS



CDW	Child Domestic Worker
DHS	Demographic and Health Survey
DQR	Data Quality Review
EA	Enumeration Area
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
IDR	Intervention Development Research
IRB	Institutional Review Board
ILO	International Labour Organization
KII	Key Informant Interview
LRD	Liberian Dollar
LISGIS	Liberia Institute of Statistics Geo-Information Services
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
ODK	Open Data Kit
PRIF	Prevalence Reduction Innovation Forum
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
RME	Relative Margin of Error
SES	Socio-Economic Status
SFTP	Secure File Transfer Protocol
TIP	Trafficking in Persons
TIP Office	US Department of State's Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons
TKG	The Khana Group
UIS	UNESCO Institute for Statistics
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USD	United States Dollar
WFCL	Worst Forms of Child Labour
WHO	World Health Organization





# 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.). Seventeen percent of working children in Liberia are engaged in services such as domestic work or street work (U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of International Labor Affairs, 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 (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 to generate foundational evidence on potentially modifiable determinants of child domestic work in Liberia and Nigeria. This report focuses on the findings from Liberia.



## 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 Liberia 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.



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The study aimed to answer the following research questions:

1

**Assessment of CDW Priorities:** What are the current circumstances and intervention needs of CDWs?

- a. What are the background characteristics, circumstances, risk exposures and protective factors (including TIP Office trafficking indicators), health and safety outcomes and expressed needs of CDWs in Liberia?
- b. What perceptions, opinions, expectations and behaviours do employers/caregivers have related to CDWs in Liberia? What do employers/caregivers see as their responsibilities toward their CDW?
- c. What are the perspectives and current activities of relevant service providers who work with vulnerable children in Liberia related to child domestic work?
- d. How do children's circumstances differ within different geographic regions of Liberia? 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 Liberia 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 Liberia?
- c. What are the most effective ways to engage service providers in programming to support CDWs in Liberia?
- d. 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 Liberia? 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?

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<sup>1</sup> 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 Liberian cities of Monrovia and Ganta. 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 (KIIs) with representatives of NGOs that provide services to CDWs as well as CDW host families or employers/caregivers. In general, it was challenging to identify and interview brokers for the study as the research team learned that it is not common for CDWs to be recruited and managed by brokers in Liberia. Instead, sending families are linked through relatives, non-relatives or friends of host households.

Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were conducted with girls and boys ages 11-17 who met the study definition of CDW (see section 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 38 individuals interviewed across 15 KIIs and 4 FGDs (see Table 1).

Table 1: Qualitative interview respondents

Interview group	Number of interviews/FGDs	Total participants
CDWs	4	23
Host households	7	7
NGOs	8	8
Brokers	–	–
<b>Total</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>38</b>

## 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. KIs were scheduled for 60 minutes at a location and time agreed upon by the respondent and were moderated in English as well as Liberian Pidgin English.

In addition to the KIs, 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 as guardians.

## 2.C DATA ANALYSIS

Audio recordings, translated transcripts and interview notes were shared within the research team through a Secure File Transfer Protocol (SFTP) 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 analysed 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. The urban areas of Montserrado and Nimba were selected based on stakeholder discussions, which indicated a relatively high prevalence of CDWs and potential NGO partners in these counties.



### 3.a.i Survey Eligibility Criteria

NORC and its data collection partner TKG worked with Liberia's Institute of Statistics Geo-Information Services (LISGIS) to randomly select 68 urban census enumeration areas (EAs) per county, stratified by district. 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 the 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.

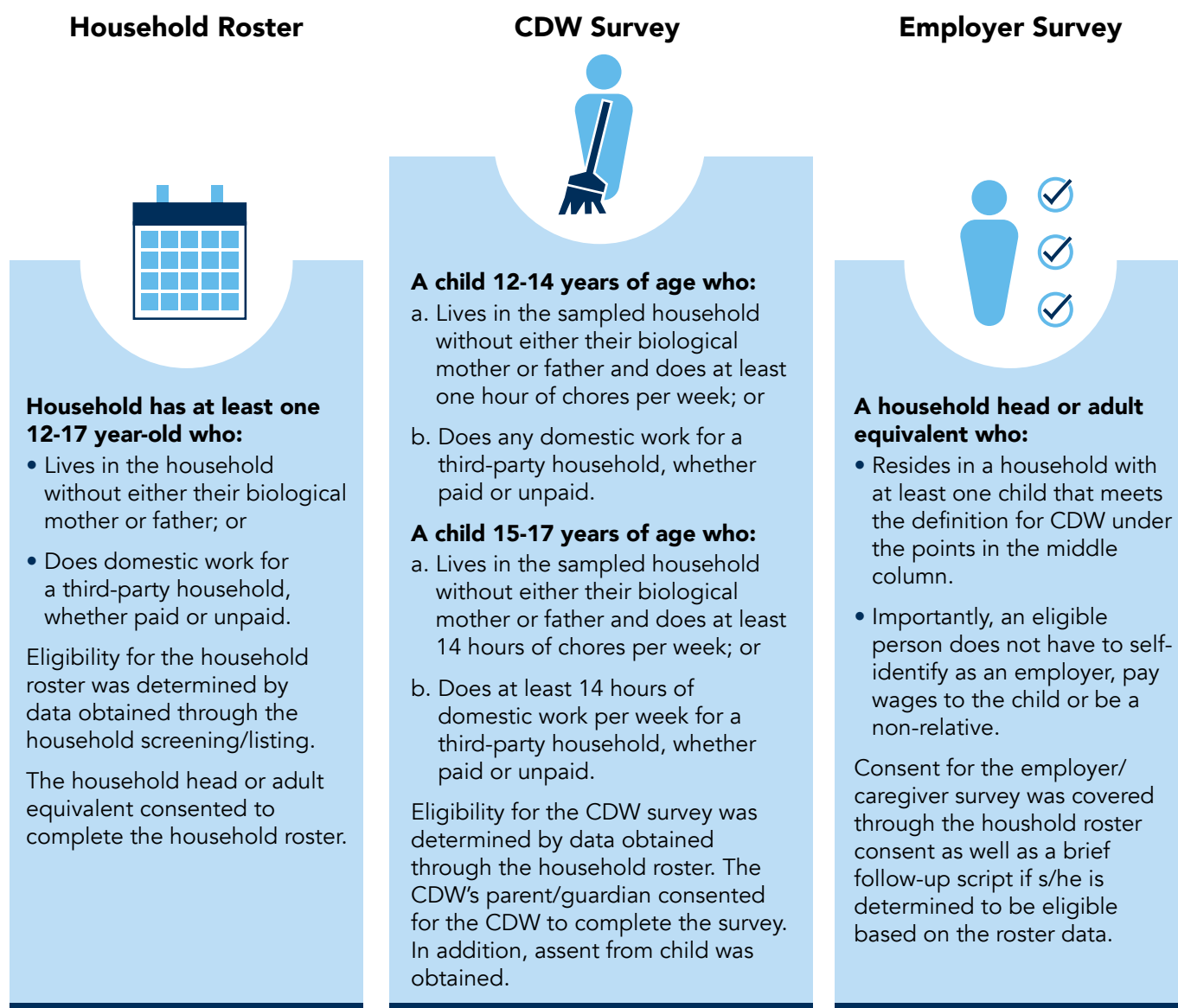


Figure 1: Eligibility criteria for household roster, CDW survey and employer/caregiver survey

### 3.a.ii Sample Size Calculations

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

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

Where:

- *RME* is the relative margin of error at 95 percent confidence, for which we adopt a value of 20 percent;<sup>2</sup>
- *deff* is the design effect, which is assumed to be 1.5;<sup>3</sup> 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

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

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

### 3.a.iii Target v. Realised Sample

As shown in Table 3, the target sample of 544 CDWs per county was achieved. Overall, 98.7 percent of surveyed CDWs (1,074) 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, 595 employers/caregivers of eligible CDWs in households without a biological parent completed an employer/caregiver survey.

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

Table 3: Realised sample in Liberia, by county

Respondent / Instrument	Montserrado	Nimba	Total
Household roster	603	594	<b>1,197</b>
CDW survey	544	544	<b>1,088</b>
Employer/caregiver survey	284	311	<b>595</b>

### 3.a.iv Replacements and Refusals

In Liberia, five sampled EAs were replaced at random (3.7 percent) because they were either uninhabited (four cases) or had been dissolved/turned into a commercial area (one case). In terms of respondent refusals, 2.5 percent of eligible employers/caregivers refused to participate while no CDWs refused.

## 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 for a sister study in Nigeria, an in-depth “lab review” of the draft CDW survey was conducted with the goal of drawing on expertise of field researchers in West Africa 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 Liberian Pidgin English in preparation for training. Prior to launching data collection in Liberia, an additional field pilot was conducted to identify any further revisions needed to tailor the tools to the Liberian context.

NORC and TKG co-led interviewer trainings in Monrovia from January 16 to 23, 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 one 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 for Liberia took place between February and March 2023. The survey questionnaire was tablet-based, utilizing the SurveyCTO/Open Data Kit (ODK) 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 163 data issues in Liberia 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 Atlantic Center for Research & Evaluation Institutional Review Board (ACRE IRB) in Liberia.

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 (no requests were received in Liberia).

## 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 Liberia. The CDW survey provides a representative snapshot of CDW working conditions (including 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, 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. Second, the study only surveyed live-in CDWs with the knowledge and consent of their employers/caregivers (2.5 percent of whom refused), 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 Montserrado and Nimba counties. Overall, 57.1 of CDWs are girls and 43.6 percent are boys. CDWs in Nimba are more likely to be girls, with a 6.0 percentage point gap between the two counties.

Table 4: CDW demographic characteristics, by county and overall

Characteristic	Montserrado	Nimba	Overall
<b>Sex</b>			
Female	56.4%	62.4%	<b>57.1%</b>
Male	43.6%	37.6%	<b>42.9%</b>
<b>Average age</b>	14.1	14.0	<b>14.1</b>
<b>Religion</b>			
Christian	85.2%	94.3%	<b>86.2%</b>
Muslim	9.2%	1.7%	<b>8.4%</b>
Other	5.6%	4.1%	<b>5.4%</b>
<b>Native language</b>			
English	36.4%	23.3%	<b>34.9%</b>
Liberian Pidgin English	26.2%	1.2%	<b>23.4%</b>
Kpelleh	8.4%	1.0%	<b>7.6%</b>
Bassa	8.1%	0.0%	<b>7.2%</b>
Gio	2.0%	36.4%	<b>5.8%</b>
Kru	5.0%	0.0%	<b>4.4%</b>
Mano	0.3%	36.1%	<b>4.2%</b>
Other	13.7%	1.9%	<b>12.4%</b>

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 (WG-SS): vision, hearing, mobility, cognition, self-care and communication. Based on this threshold, 6.0 percent of CDWs self-reported having a disability, with 0.8 percent specifically having difficulty with vision, hearing and/or mobility. Differences by county were statistically significant: CDWs in Montserrado were more likely to have a disability (6.6 percent) than those in Nimba (0.8 percent). Disability status did not differ significantly by gender. Distribution of disability responses by domain can be found in Annex A Table A11 (available from the authors upon request).

Figure 2 shows the distribution of ages from the CDW survey, which was restricted to 12- to 17-year-olds. While the average age of survey respondents is 14.1 years (with half of the respondents aged between 12 and 16), the higher concentration of CDWs at the lower end of distribution suggests that the true mean is below 14. Indeed, qualitative data suggest that CDWs typically start domestic work between the ages of seven and 14, with CDWs themselves reporting starting work around the age of ten on average.

	Montserrado	Nimba	Overall
<b>Average age</b>	<b>14.1</b>	<b>14.0</b>	<b>14.1</b>
Age 12	26.1%	26.9%	26.1%
Age 13	18.3%	17.0%	18.1%
Age 14	15.7%	19.1%	16.0%
Age 15	12.3%	14.9%	12.5%
Age 16	13.7%	9.4%	13.3%
Age 17	14.0%	12.8%	13.9%

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

As in Liberia overall, Christianity is the dominant religion of CDWs, with 86.2 percent of CDWs belonging to one of many Christian denominations. There is a higher concentration of Muslim CDWs in Montserrado (9.2 percent versus 1.7 percent in Nimba). Around 2.0 percent of CDWs have at least one child and 99.7 percent have never been married.

Migration status is established by comparing the reported “origin” county (defined as the primary county in which the CDW’s family is located or the county where the CDW was born) to the current county where they are working. As seen in Figure 3, less than 2.0 percent of CDWs are international migrants and more than one-third (37.0 percent) are inter-county migrants, meaning they had an origin county within Liberia different from their current county.

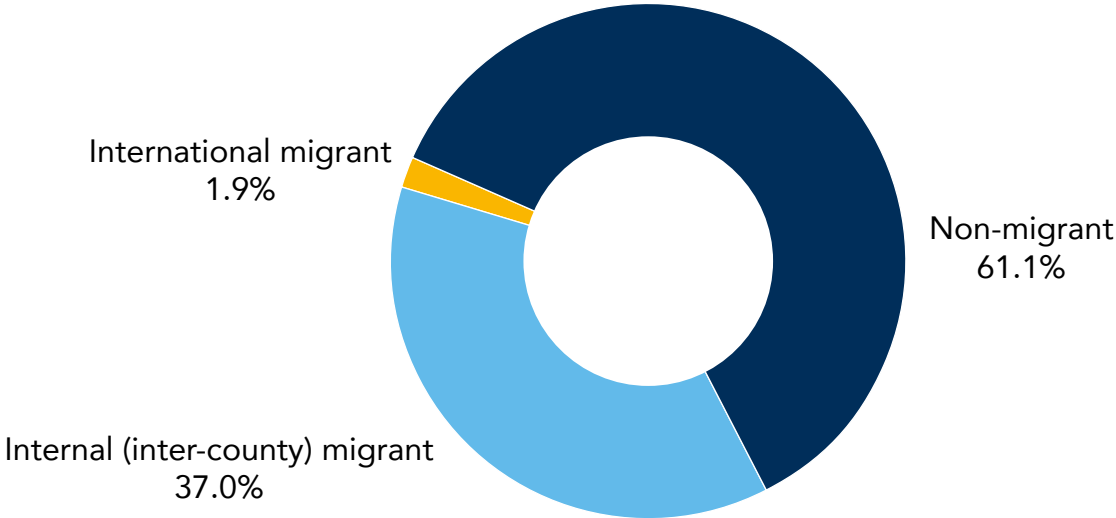


Figure 3: Migration status of CDWs (overall)

## 1.a.ii CDW Current Circumstances

### EDUCATIONAL STATUS

In recent years, educational outcomes in Liberia have been on the decline. Based on the latest data available, in 2020 there were over 413,000 school-aged children who were out of school across the country, representing a 9.2 percent year-on-year increase since 2017 (UNESCO Institute of Statistics [UIS], 2023a). Government spending on primary and lower-secondary education has also been slashed, with an average allocation of USD 22.70 (LRD 3,750)<sup>4</sup> per child in 2021, representing a 5.5 percent year-on-year reduction since 2015 (UIS, 2023a).

Even against this backdrop, however, CDWs are disproportionately worse off. Based on self-reporting, 81.8 percent of CDWs are currently enrolled in school, most at the primary and junior high school levels (see Table 5). Of those currently enrolled, around half report rarely or never missing school while the other half miss school at least sometimes. Of the CDWs not currently enrolled, 54.8 percent are under 15 years of age and are thus out-of-school in violation of Liberia's 2011 Education Reform Act. Effectively, nearly one-in-five (18.2 percent) CDWs are out-of-school, a rate that is significantly worse than the average 13.0 percent of urban Liberian children who are out-of-school (UIS, 2023b).

The most common reasons for missing school across both counties are illness or harm (64.9 percent) and not being able to cover school-related expenses (26.6 percent). Boy CDWs are more likely than girls to report missing school due to being unable to cover school expenses (46.0 versus 30.5 percent, respectively), a difference which is statistically significant.

Table 5: Education status, overall and by county

	Montserrado	Nimba	Overall
<b>Currently not enrolled in school</b>	18.7%	11.9%	<b>17.9%</b>
<b>Currently enrolled in school</b>	81.0%	88.1%	<b>81.8%</b>
Preschool	1.3%	2.5%	<b>1.5%</b>
Primary school	56.8%	72.4%	<b>58.7%</b>
Junior highschool	29.2%	19.4%	<b>28.0%</b>
Senior highschool	12.1%	5.3%	<b>11.3%</b>
Not available (N/A)	0.6%	0.4%	<b>0.6%</b>
<b>School attendance among children who are enrolled</b>			
Rarely or never miss school	47.5%	69.2%	<b>50.1%</b>
Sometimes miss school (that is, the days they attend are <i>more than</i> the days they miss)	50.8%	30.5%	<b>48.4%</b>
Regularly miss school (that is, the days they attend are <i>less than</i> the days they miss)	0.5%	0.3%	<b>0.5%</b>
Rarely go to school	1.0%	0.0%	<b>0.9%</b>
<b>Disruption to schooling due to work</b>	31.2%	31.0%	<b>31.2%</b>

<sup>4</sup> The exchange rate used throughout this report is based on the average from January to June 2023, at USD 1 = LRD 165.47.

## ENTRY INTO DOMESTIC WORK

As shown in Figure 4, the overall average at which CDWs started doing domestic work was 9.8 years with similar figures across both counties, with the majority of children starting domestic work between the age of eight and 11 years old (25th and 75th percentile). Average age of entry was slightly lower among boys (9.5 years) compared to girls (10.0 years). Most CDWs had worked for one or two households total, with a mean value of 2.1 households.

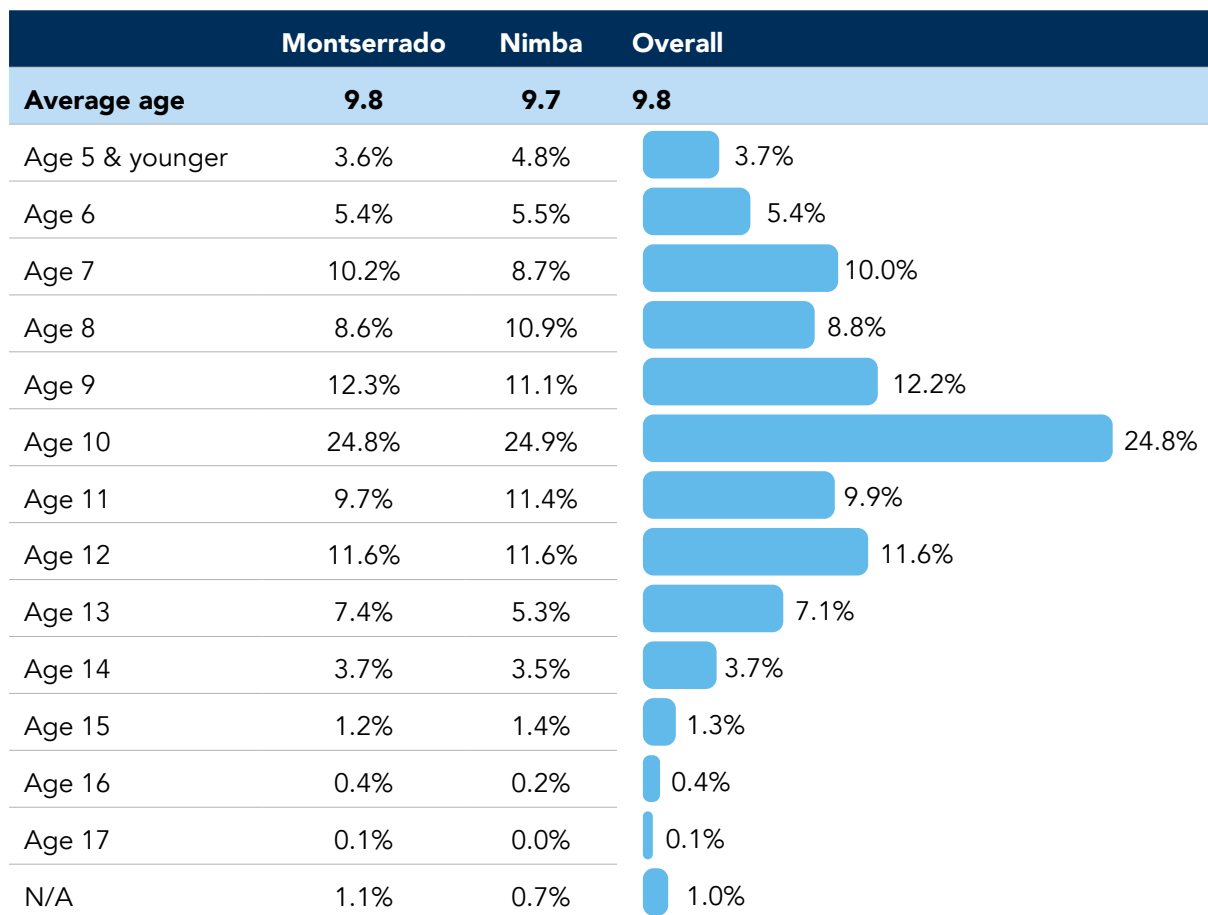


Figure 4: Age of entry into domestic work, by county

Respondents often referred to this arrangement as providing “greener pastures” for children even though, as noted later in this report, some children went on to face various forms of abuse and exploitation. One NGO informant noted that in addition to poverty, being from a single-parent household also predisposes children to recruitment into domestic work. Another respondent noted that it is common practice for children to learn and support the household with basic domestic chores at a young age (such as cleaning, sweeping or washing dishes). While some parents instill these habits as means to make their children independent, those from low-income backgrounds do this as means to earn money by sending their children to be CDWs.

“ Basically, the bottom line is poverty because they [parents] can’t meet their own needs and they have to send the child out to fend for themselves. ”

NGO Representative, Monrovia, Liberia



Host families directly recruit CDWs instead of relying on brokers to facilitate the arrangement. Two host household informants in Monrovia noted that they had known the CDW from their local community before taking them into their homes. Others in Ganta stated that they went to rural areas themselves to identify potential CDWs, either on the street or in their homes. According to survey data, only 6.1 percent of CDWs went through a broker or middleman to find their positions.

*“It’s becoming common now. The level of poverty has increased. More people want cheap labour and the best way to do this is to take care of the vulnerable population which is children. So, they go in the interiors and promise the people that they will provide education.”*

NGO Representative, Monrovia, Liberia

Employment contracts are uncommon for CDWs in Liberia. One host family from Ganta opined that contracts are tedious and unnecessary; instead, all parties involved rely on trust in such arrangements. However, as noted by several NGO informants, this trust can be exploited in the absence of a formal contract. Although sending and host families may agree to an arrangement where CDWs receive schooling or vocational training in exchange for domestic work, CDWs and their families can be deceived in terms of domestic duties, living conditions and access to education.

### LIVING CONDITIONS

According to survey data, 84.9 percent of CDWs have a kinship relation to the employer or host family, meaning they are a relative of some kind.<sup>5</sup> This includes 75.1 percent of CDWs who have a kinship relation to the household head, and 58.9 percent who are related to at least one other household member. We also found that while 72.2 percent of CDWs live and sleep full-time in the household where they work, 27.6 percent are considered “live-out.” The average number of other children in the household was 2.6 overall, with the middle 50 percent of households having one to four other children.

When asked about their quality of food and sleeping place, most live-in CDWs report that their arrangements are similar to or even of higher quality than those of other children in the household (Figure 5). Relatedly, when asked what changes they would like to see regarding their domestic work, a minority of children mentioned better food (10.2 percent) or better living quarters (7.8 percent).

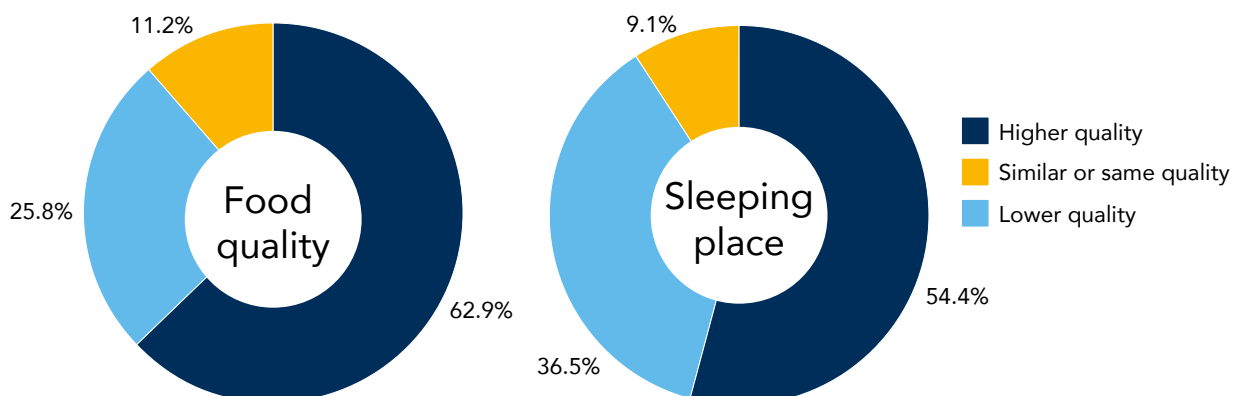


Figure 5: Living conditions compared to other children in the household (overall)

<sup>5</sup> 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.

“ [The sleeping place] depends on the folks they are living with. [Some] will be deplorable, some will be good. It depends on the income level of the host. If you got a very poor host, of course you don't expect [their] condition is [going to be] better. You'll expect that they will live in a very bad condition...”

NGO Representative, Monrovia, Liberia

However, while the CDW may be receiving the same or 'higher quality' food than other children in the household, on the whole, it may still be insufficient. In particular, 75.7 percent of the CDWs reported they 'often' or 'sometimes' felt hungry because they have not been given enough to eat (Table 6). Over three quarters of those who reported experiencing hunger sometimes or often also reported that they had to ask permission to eat something.

Table 6: CDWs' reports of hunger

How often CDW felt hungry (n = 970)	
Often	13.3%
Sometimes	62.4%
Rarely	10.0%
Never	14.2%

Among these respondents: 76.3% would need to "ask someone if it is OK to eat something"

## WORKING CONDITIONS

### Wages/Remuneration

Survey results indicate that only two percent of CDWs have a formal contract with their employer/caregiver. As shown in Figure 6, around seven percent of CDWs 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, LRD 3,302 (USD 20) per month, with half of the children receiving between LRD 1,200 to 4,800 (USD 7 to 29) per month (25th and 75th percentile). CDWs in Montserrado earned, on average, LRD 1,681 (USD 10) more than CDWs in Nimba.

CDWs without a kinship relationship are more likely to receive a wage (11.6 percent) but earn a slightly lower amount (LRD 2,791 / USD 17 per month) compared to those in a kinship relationship (6.3 percent, LRD 3,469 / USD 21 per month). Boy CDWs were also likely to earn, on average, LRD 1,510 (USD 9) more than girl CDWs. Most CDWs receive food, clothing, healthcare, educational support and housing in exchange for domestic work and 40.0 percent receive an allowance/small stipend. CDWs in Nimba are statistically significantly more likely to receive food in exchange for work while CDWs in Montserrado are more likely to receive an allowance.

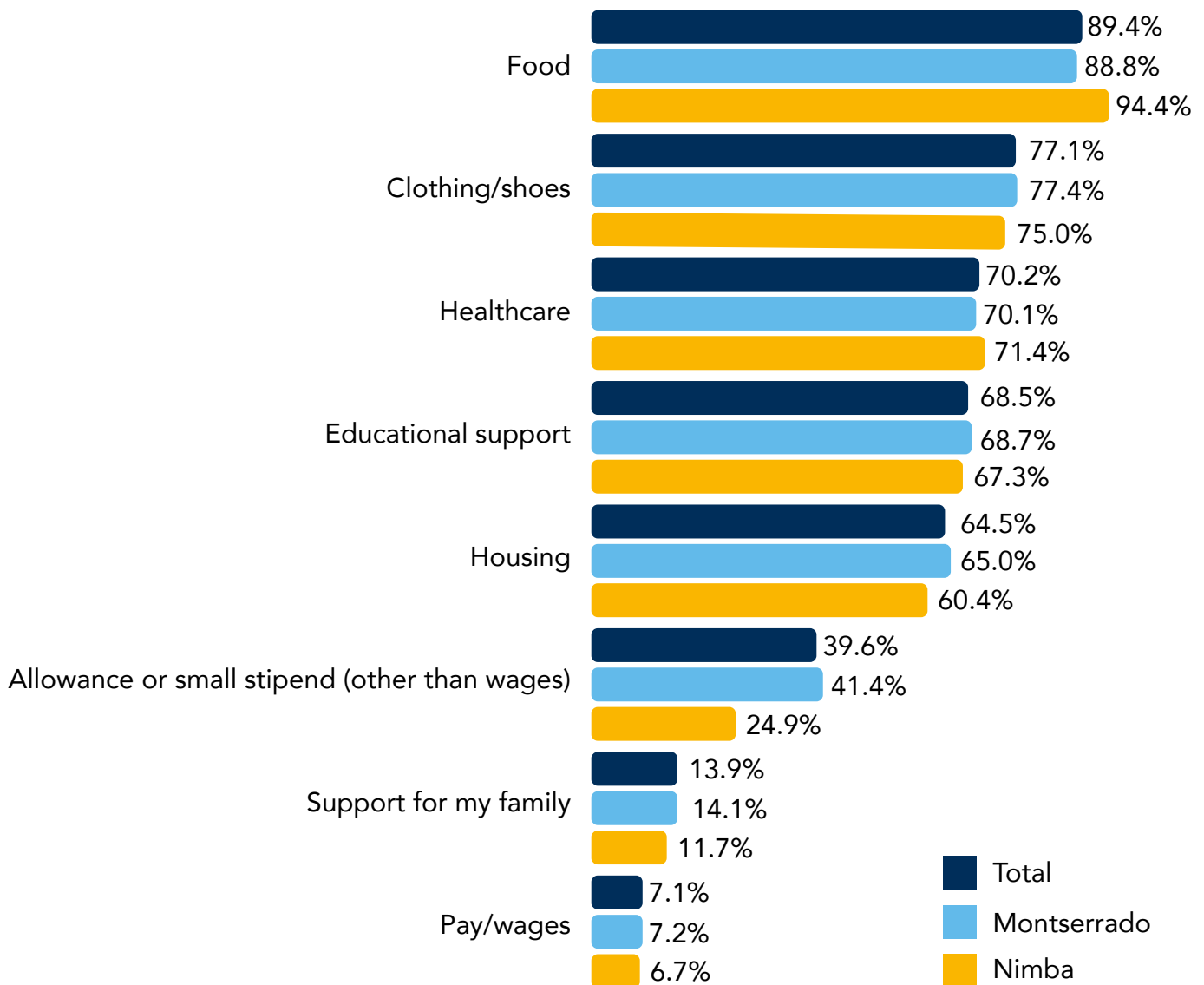


Figure 6: Remuneration type, by county

### Working Hours

Survey data show that CDWs spend around 20.4 hours per week doing domestic work, with half of CDWs working between 14 and 25 hours. On average, older CDWs aged 16-17 years old spend more hours on domestic work (25.0 hours per week) than younger CDWs aged 12-15 years (18.7 hours per week) at a statistically significant level.

Beyond domestic work, 19.3 percent of CDWs report spending an average of six hours per week on other economic activities (figures do not statistically significantly vary by county or gender). Key informant interviews with NGO representatives indicate that these activities include street vending and selling, as well as working for household businesses including cooking and serving in restaurants or assisting with mechanic or carpentry shops. In rural areas, CDWs may also do hard labour for household farms. 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 are combined, the data show that CDWs spend around 21.6 hours per week doing work. This average masks a notable proportion of CDW who are working long hours. As shown in Table 7, 64.0 percent of CDWs are working above 14 hours per week, and 7.8 percent are working above 42 hours per week. Alarming, nearly one-in-six (17.7 percent) of the CDWs report being made “available day and night”, including almost one-in-five (18.7 percent) 12-year-old CDWs.

Table 7: Proportion of CDWs who work long hours, doing domestic work plus other economic activities

	Age 12	Age 13 - 15	Age 16 - 17	Overall
<b>Mean working hours per week</b>	<b>18.7</b>	<b>20.1</b>	<b>26.9</b>	<b>21.6</b>
Above 14 hours per week	54.3%	60.6%	79.2%	64.0%
Above 24 hours per week	20.3%	23.6%	42.9%	28.0%
Above 30 hours per week	10.3%	12.4%	28.0%	16.1%
Above 42 hours per week	4.7%	4.9%	15.9%	7.8%
Expected to be available day and night without fair pay	18.7%	16.8%	18.2%	17.7%

In terms of working conditions, nearly a quarter of CDWs indicate they are not given a one-hour break during a work day; 42.0 percent report being required to do housework for more than four hours a day without a break; 18.4 percent are required to do housework for more than seven hours a day; and almost nine percent are required to work for more than 12 hours a day (Table 8). Thus, they do not have time to physically rest or emotionally disconnect from their work.

Table 8: Working hours according to gender

	Male	Female	Diff.	Overall
Not given one hour break on a typical day	22.6%	24.7%	2.1	<b>23.8%</b>
Required to do housework for four+ hours w/o a break	41.7%	42.2%	0.5	<b>42.0%</b>
Required to do housework for seven+ hours a day	18.3%	18.5%	0.2	<b>18.4%</b>
Required to do housework for 12+ hours a day	5.1%	11.6%	6.5**	<b>8.8%</b>

\*\*\* p<.01, \*\* p<.05, \*p<.10

## Work Tasks

In terms of tasks performed, CDWs spend most of their time washing or ironing clothes, fetching water or firewood, cleaning, shopping or running errands for the household and cooking (see Figure 7). Per Table 9, the breakdown of tasks varies by gender, with girls spending more time on cooking and babysitting and boys spending more time fetching water/firewood and gardening for the household.

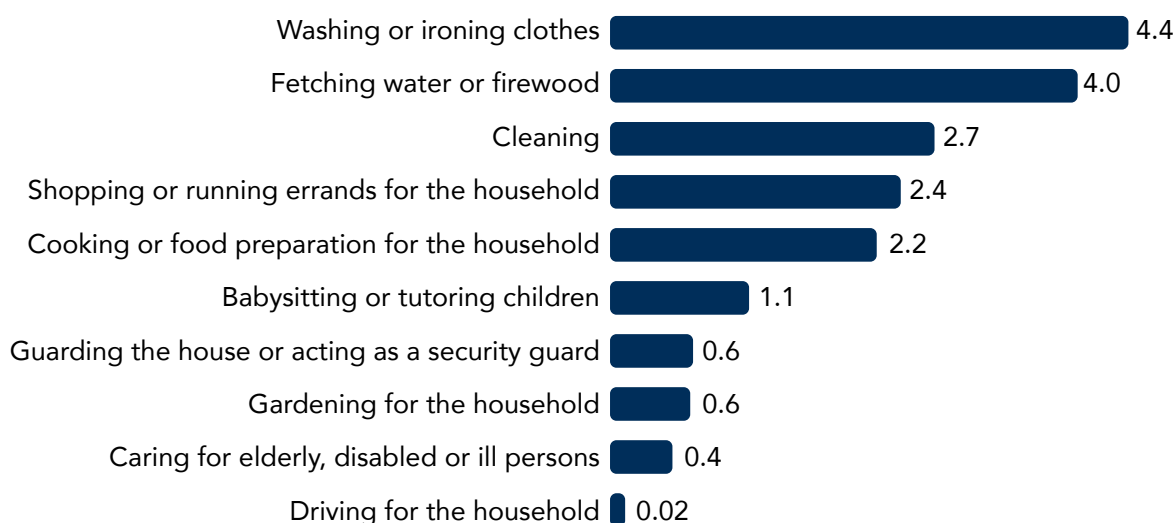


Figure 7: Average weekly hours spent on domestic tasks (overall)



Table 9: Hours spent on housework, by gender

Average weekly hours spent on specific domestic tasks	Male	Female	Diff.	Overall
Washing or ironing clothes	4.0	4.7	0.7	<b>4.4</b>
Fetching water or firewood	4.5	3.5	1.0**	<b>3.9</b>
Cleaning	2.6	2.8	0.1	<b>2.7</b>
Shopping or running errands for the household	2.3	2.5	0.1	<b>2.4</b>
Cooking or food preparation for the household	0.9	3.2	2.3***	<b>2.2</b>
Babysitting or tutoring children	0.8	1.3	0.5**	<b>1.1</b>
Guarding the house or acting as a security guard	0.6	0.6	0.0	<b>0.6</b>
Gardening for the household	0.8	0.4	0.5**	<b>0.6</b>
Caring for elderly, disabled or ill persons	0.7	0.3	0.4***	<b>0.4</b>
Driving for the household	0.0	0.0	0.0	<b>0.0</b>
Other	1.1	0.5	0.7**	<b>0.7</b>

\*\*\* p<.01, \*\* p<.05, \*p<.10



## 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. Within this section, we consider different forms of child rights violations, including labour law violations, worse forms of child labour (WFCL) and human trafficking.

### 1.B.I VIOLATIONS OF LIBERIAN LAWS

Liberia's *Decent Work Act* (2015) outlines specific labour conditions for workers, and domestic work in the informal economy performed by children is covered under this legislation. However, where there is a kinship arrangement between the CDWs and the household — which is the case for 77.9 percent of the CDWs in this study — it is less clear if the domestic work qualifies as 'employment' and whether the Decent Work Act applies. If the CDWs identified in this study were covered by the current legislation, Table 10 highlights the proportion of CDWs whose reported work conditions were in violation of Liberian law.

Over three-quarters (76.4 percent) of CDWs reported working conditions that were in violation of Liberian laws. All CDWs aged 12 were working in contravention, while almost two thirds of 13-15-year-old CDWs (65.1 percent) and almost three quarters of 16-17-year-old CDWs (73.9 percent) reported working in contravention with labour laws.

Table 10: Proportion of CDWs who were in working conditions that violate Liberian law

	Age 12	Age 13 - 15	Age 16 - 17	Overall
<b>Violation of Liberian law (that is, meet one or more of the conditions below)</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>65.1%</b>	<b>73.9%</b>	<b>76.4%</b>
Exceed legal limit on working hours	100.0%	60.6%	15.9%	58.8%
Typically works on public holidays	36.2%	38.3%	59.9%	43.6%
Typically works seven days a week without a day of rest	30.5%	33.4%	49.8%	37.1%
Not enrolled in school	18.7%	13.4%	24.9%	17.9%
Typically work over five hours without a one-hour break	1.1%	2.1%	4.5%	2.5%

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

Critically, over half of CDWs (58.8 percent) work in excess of the allowable number of hours for their age group, defined as 42 hours per week for 16- to 17-year-olds, 14 hours for 13- to 15-year-olds, and zero hours for 12 and under. It is also concerning that 37.1 percent of the CDWs do not get at least one day of rest during the week. This highlights that many CDWs are not being given sufficient time to rest and physically recover from their work.

## 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, 94.9 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 (Table 11).

Table 11: Proportion of CDWs who meet ILO's definition of WFCL

	Age 12	Age 13 - 15	Age 16 - 17	Overall
<b>In worst forms of child labour (that is, meet one or more of the conditions below)</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>94.7%</b>	<b>90.1%</b>	<b>94.9%</b>
Hazardous working conditions	79.0%	72.2%	76.2%	75.0%
Exceed legal limit on working hours	100.0%	60.6%	15.9%	58.8%
In forced labour conditions	46.4%	43.6%	44.7%	44.6%
Schooling is disrupted due to work	22.2%	31.5%	39.4%	31.2%
Experienced physical violence	13.0%	18.5%	19.9%	17.5%
Experienced sexual violence	5.2%	9.6%	7.0%	7.8%

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

In the following sections, we will consider these markers of WFCL in more detail. Information on work disrupting education is available in section 1.a.ii.

## HAZARDOUS LABOUR CONDITIONS

Using hazardous labour exposures, described in WFCL Recommendation No. 190 (ILO, 1999b), we find that 75.0 percent of CDWs are required to perform tasks that expose them to injuries, disease or are harmful to their health. 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 (55.3 percent) of these children still face other working conditions that are deemed as hazardous (see Table 12).

Table 12: Proportion of CDWs who reported hazardous working conditions

	Age 12	Age 13 - 15	Age 16 - 17	Overall
<b>In hazardous working conditions</b>	<b>79.0%</b>	<b>72.2%</b>	<b>76.2%</b>	<b>75.0%</b>
Work with knives or sharp tools	53.3%	47.9%	61.8%	53.1%
Works fire, ovens or very hot machines or tools, or unsafe electric wires/cables	28.6%	28.7%	43.1%	32.6%
Works during the night-time or very early in the morning, when it is dark	2.7%	2.5%	4.6%	3.1%
In hazardous working conditions (excluding use of knives, exposure to fire and work during hours of darkness)	56.1%	52.2%	60.0%	55.3%

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

Figure 8 highlights some of the more commonly reported conditions that feed into the classification of hazardous labour. Highlighting the associated risks, of the children who reported using knives or sharp tools, 37.7 percent reported an actual injury from the exposure. Likewise, 18.0 percent of children who work with fire or ovens had been burned. Overall, 11.8 percent of CDWs report feeling generally unsafe when working.



Figure 8: Proportion of child respondents who met ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour hazardous labour exposures

Although the majority of CDWs who reported injuries due to hazardous work said that they received medical care for the injury, 18.6 percent of CDWs who were cut and 10.5 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. However, 21.0 percent of CDWs said they did not receive medical care because they could not afford it, 8.4 percent because they did not know how, and 6.0 percent said the employer/caregiver forbade them to seek treatment. This suggests that for some CDWs, they are either not being supported to access healthcare or being actively denied it.

**EXPERIENCES OF FORCED LABOUR**

Child domestic work also places children at risk of forced labour. Drawing on the ILO definition of forced labour,<sup>6</sup> we found that over two-fifth (44.6 percent) of CDWs reported work conditions that met this definition of forced labour, with similar rates among the age groups (Table 13). This indicates that many CDWs are facing different forms of coercion in their work, including wage withholding.

Table 13: Proportion of CDWs who reported conditions that amounted to forced labour

	Age 12	Age 13 - 15	Age 16 - 17	Overall
<b>In forced labour conditions</b>	<b>46.4%</b>	<b>43.6%</b>	<b>44.7%</b>	<b>44.6%</b>
<b>Five most common conditions reported:</b>				
Not allowed to leave your workplace if you were very ill, injured, had a serious family problem or wanted to quit				21.2%
Not being allowed to leave the place where you do house work for reasons that are unclear or unfair				17.5%
Told that pay, benefits or other reward that you earned would not be given if you leave				13.6%
High or growing debt to your employer, debt imposed without your go ahead or others’ debts being imposed on you				6.2%
Seizing of identity documents				4.8%

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

The most common indicator of forced labour is CDWs saying that they are unable to leave their current workplace. Over one-in-five (21.2 percent) reported they are unable to leave to seek medical care, deal with family problems or stop working for the household.

Withholding of wages or other benefits by the employer/caregiver is also a marker of forced labour, with 13.6 percent of CDWs reporting this. The study found that roughly one in 14 CDWs (7.0 percent) earn wages. Of these, 87.8 percent said that some of their earnings are withheld by their employer/caregiver in a typical month. The average amount withheld is LRD 1,890 (USD 11) per month. Withheld earnings are most commonly given to the CDW’s parents (51.2 percent) or other relatives (14.9 percent). Other reasons for withholding wages include putting into savings on the CDW’s behalf (36.2 percent) and to purchase clothing and/or shoes for the child (6.2 percent). Notably, no CDWs reported wages being withheld to pay off debt to the employer/caregiver or recruiter.

One in four wage earners also report that employers/caregivers deduct some of their pay in a typical month. As shown in Figure 9, the most commonly cited reasons for deductions were to pay for clothing/shoes (23.1 percent), food (23.0 percent), broken or damaged household items (21.2 percent) and school fees (17.1 percent).

<sup>6</sup> 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).



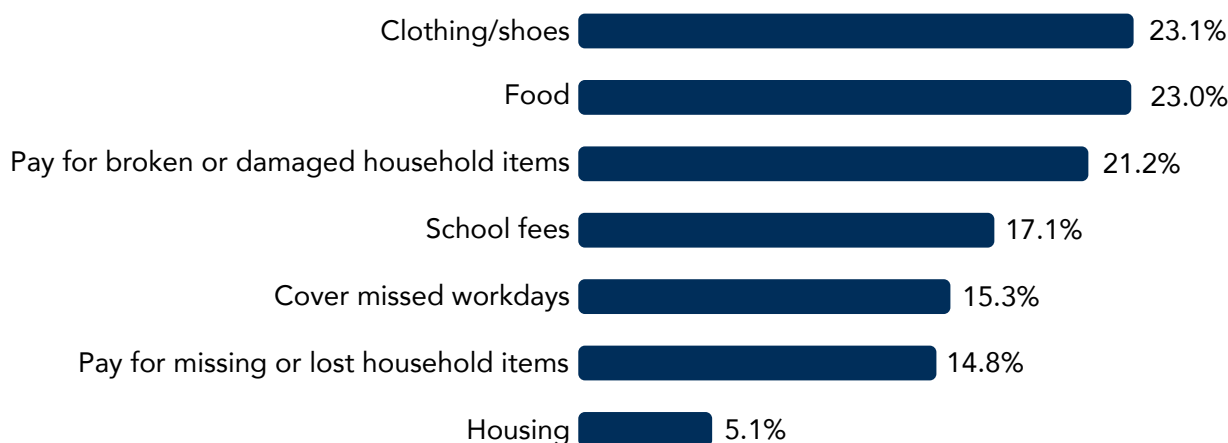


Figure 9: Reasons for pay deductions for wage earners (overall)

## EXPERIENCES OF VIOLENCE

Alongside labour law violations, the study highlighted that CDWs are at risk of different forms of violence during the course of their work. Specifically, over half of the participating CDWs reported that they experienced at least one form of violence at their place of work (Table 14). This ranged from emotional violence (55.4 percent), physical violence (17.5 percent), to sexual violence (7.8 percent). Almost one-in-ten CDWs aged 13-15 reported experiencing some form of sexual violence at their place of work.

Table 14: Proportion of CDWs who reported experiences of violence at place of work/host family

	Age 12	Age 13 - 15	Age 16 - 17	Overall
<b>Experienced any of the below</b>	<b>57.8%</b>	<b>56.8%</b>	<b>56.2%</b>	<b>56.9%</b>
Emotional violence	56.2%	56.2%	53.0%	55.4%
Physical violence	13.0%	18.5%	19.9%	17.5%
Sexual violence	5.2%	9.6%	7.0%	7.8%

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).

Using this algorithm, the study found that 63.1 percent of CDWs reported working in conditions which constitute human trafficking, as per the U.S Department of State definition. As shown in Tables 15 and 16, this was highest amongst 12 years olds (68.5 percent) and CDWs in Montserrat were more likely to report working conditions that met the criteria for human trafficking. A mapping of survey variables to Human Trafficking indicators can be found in Appendix A.

Table 15: TIP status, by age and overall

	Age 12	Age 13 - 15	Age 16 - 17	Overall
<b>Human trafficking</b> (according to U.S. Department of State definition)	68.5%	58.4%	65.9%	<b>63.1%</b>

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

Table 16: TIP status, by county and overall

	Montserrado	Nimba	Overall
<b>Human trafficking</b> (according to U.S. Department of State definition)	64.95%	48.5%	<b>63.1%</b>

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

Figure 10 outlines the most commonly reported “strong” PRIF indicators, which are mainly related to control of personal space and restrictions on communications and movement.<sup>7</sup> Less commonly reported strong indicators were unfair withholding of wages (13.6 percent) and physical violence (7.6 percent).

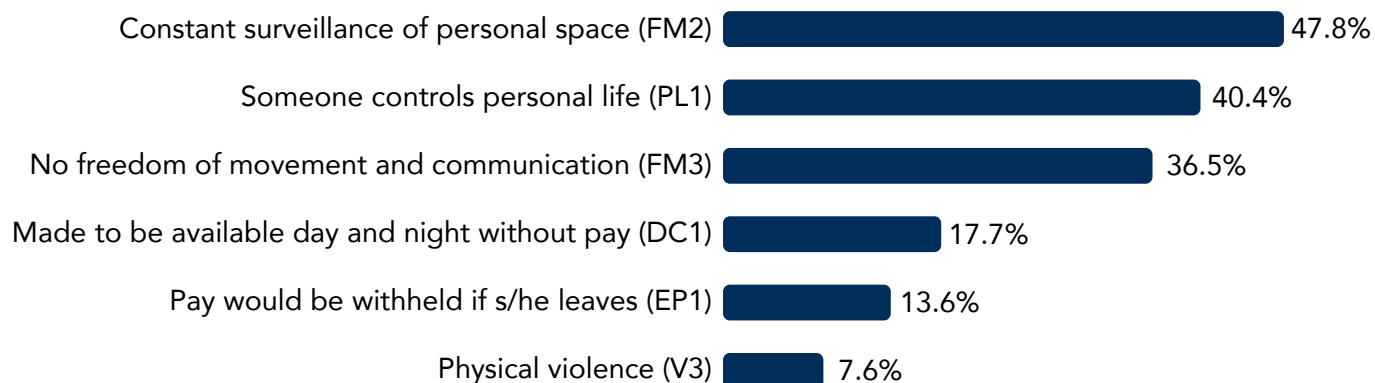


Figure 10: Proportion of child respondents who met specific U.S. Department of State’s ‘strong’ indicators of human trafficking

“...they even work at night while others are sleeping. You know very well that there are girls here, they wake them up around 5 o’clock to start washing, cooking until in the evening...”

NGO Representative, Monrovia, Liberia

<sup>7</sup> Based on CDW self-reporting. Because the CDWs are minors, questions related surveillance of personal space, control over personal life and restrictions of movement/communication were framed as being “beyond what most parents in Liberia would do.”

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 11, over 40 percent of TIP and WFCL survivors consider their quality of life to be better. However, compared to the non-survivor population, over one in ten TIP and/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 Liberia’s 2011 Children’s Law – including right to health care, education, play and to be protected from harmful work. 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.

Full distributions of TIP indicators and WFCL exposures are featured in Appendix A.

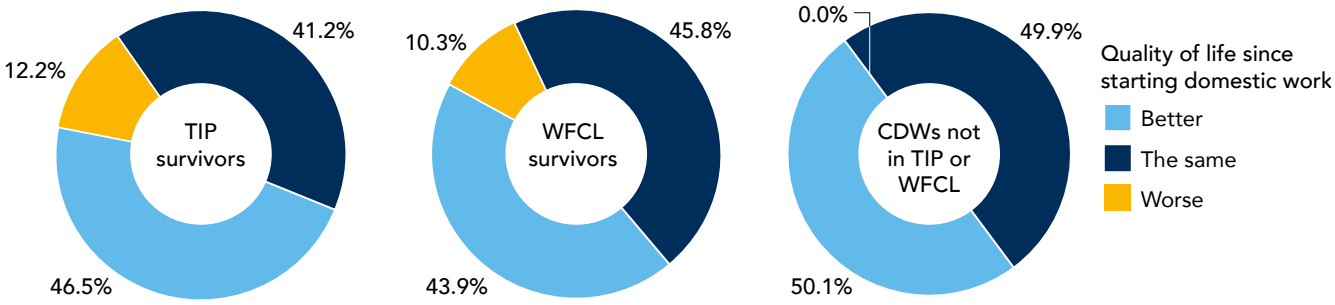


Figure 11: Subjective quality of life assessment of TIP/WFCL survivors v. non-survivors (overall)



## 1.C EMPLOYER/CAREGIVER BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

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

Employer/caregiver demographic characteristics are summarised in Table 17 below. Respondents were mostly women with an average age of 42.4 years and had 1.6 children on average (one-third are childless). Nearly two-thirds of respondents have never been married with marriage rates higher among men. Christianity is the dominant religion, with over 90 percent of employers/caregivers belonging to one of many Christian denominations. Employer/caregiver demographic characteristics do not grossly differ between Montserrado and Nimba, with the exception of native language/mother tongue, which is closely linked to geography in Liberia.

Table 17: Employer/caregiver demographic characteristics, overall and by county

Characteristic	Montserrado	Nimba	Overall
<b>Sex</b>			
Female	83.6%	80.1%	<b>83.1%</b>
Male	16.5%	19.9%	<b>16.9%</b>
<b>Average age</b>	42.4	41.9	<b>42.4</b>
<b>Number of children</b>	1.5	1.8	<b>1.6</b>
<b>Marital status</b>			
Never married	62.1%	63.4%	<b>62.2%</b>
Married	26.4%	21.9%	<b>25.9%</b>
Widowed	9.4%	12.3%	<b>9.8%</b>
Separated	1.2%	2.4%	<b>1.3%</b>
Divorced	0.9%	0.0%	<b>0.8%</b>
<b>Religion</b>			
Christian	90.7%	96.3%	<b>91.3%</b>
Muslim	9.3%	1.5%	<b>8.4%</b>
Other	0.0%	2.2%	<b>0.3%</b>
<b>Native language</b>			
Kpelleh	14.6%	1.9%	<b>13.2%</b>
Liberian Pidgin English	14.7%	0.0%	<b>12.9%</b>
Kru	14.2%	0.8%	<b>12.6%</b>
Bassa	9.0%	2.0%	<b>8.1%</b>
Gio	2.3%	46.3%	<b>7.7%</b>
English	7.7%	4.5%	<b>7.3%</b>
Mano	2.5%	40.0%	<b>7.2%</b>
Other	35.1%	4.4%	<b>31.3%</b>

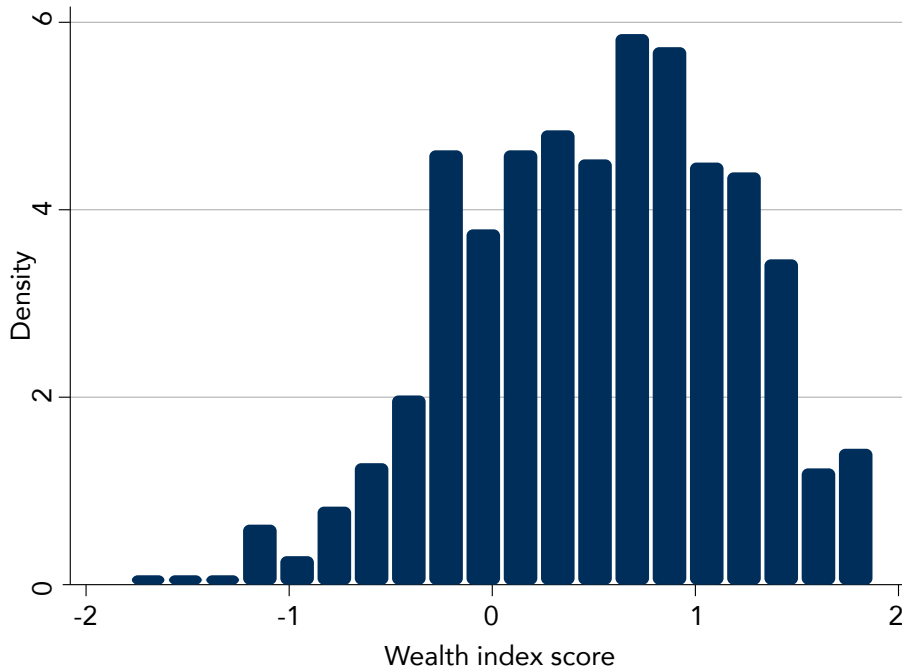


Figure 12: Employer/caregiver wealth index score distribution (overall)

Employers/caregivers are on average wealthier and more educated than the general urban population of Liberia. To assess employer/caregiver socio-economic status (SES), we use the wealth index methodology of the Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) for Liberia (Liberia Institute of Statistics and Geo-Information Services (LISGIS), Ministry of Health [Liberia], and ICF, 2021). The DHS SES measurement approach employs principal component analysis using data on household characteristics and assets.<sup>8</sup> Figure 12 shows the normalised wealth index score distribution for employers/caregivers. The negative/left skewness of the distribution shows an excess of high wealth index score values, indicating greater SES relative to the general urban population of Liberia.

Employers/caregivers have highly variable levels of education, with around one-fifth completing higher education and one-fourth having never completed even primary school (see Figure 13). Post-secondary education completion rates are higher than the general urban public, with 21.4 percent of employers/caregivers completing higher education (compared to 9.1 percent of women and 15.7 of men in Liberia overall). On the same note, the proportion with no education is lower among male employers/caregivers as compared to the general urban population, with a gap of around six percentage points. Conversely, female employers/caregivers are slightly more likely to have no education than urban women in Liberia overall.<sup>9</sup>

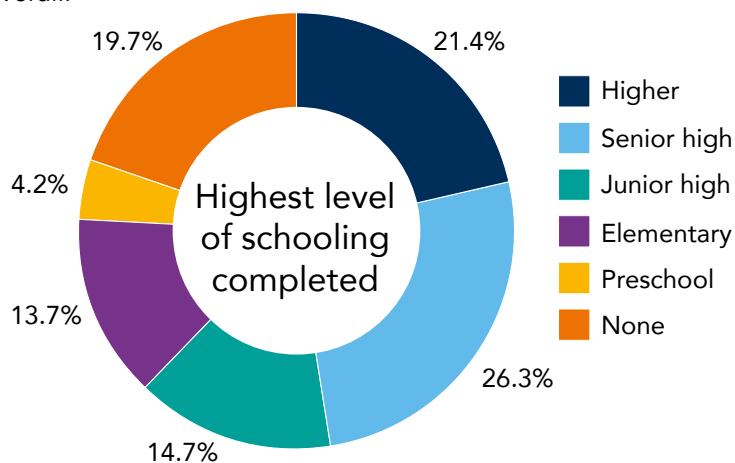


Figure 13: Employer/caregiver highest level of education completed (overall)

<sup>8</sup> A full description of index construction methods and steps is available at: [https://dhsprogram.com/programming/wealth%20index/DHS\\_Wealth\\_Index\\_Files.pdf](https://dhsprogram.com/programming/wealth%20index/DHS_Wealth_Index_Files.pdf).

<sup>9</sup> Direct comparison between employer/caregiver and DHS survey data is limited for several reasons, including the fact that (i) DHS figures are restricted to the 15-49 age group, (ii) the CDW survey was limited to urban Nimba and Montserrado versus urban Liberia overall and (iii) the CDW survey was not designed to be representative of male and female employers/caregivers; the male or female head of household could be interviewed depending on who was available/home at the time.



## EMPLOYER/CAREGIVER PREFERENCES VIS-À-VIS CDWS

Qualitative data show that host families prefer CDWs over adult domestic workers because children are viewed as vulnerable, submissive, hardworking, cheaper, easier to manipulate, less likely to steal and lacking agency to negotiate their rights and employment terms. Host families prefer CDWs who are obedient, trustworthy, clean, hardworking, respectful, reliable and willing to live in.

*“The reason is just about clear. We are talking about the mode of payment. If you employ an adult, you have to pay them good money. You have to have a contract with them and that must be negotiated. But children, they are vulnerable; just give them food or give them little money. So, it is for cheap labour.”*

NGO Representative, Monrovia, Liberia

Live-in CDWs are preferred for several reasons. It allows CDWs to work in a more timely manner, they are more likely to be obedient and less likely to steal (as they have no way of taking potentially stolen items outside of the home), it provides a sense of security when host families go out and gives host families the opportunity to provide guidance and help CDWs grow. One household informant in Ganta noted that they prefer CDWs who are interested in attending school and improving their prospects.

*“When you do bad things – you say you are going with your friends and when you come back, sometimes they can pepper you and beat you. You go inside and you don't eat food for three days.”*

CDW, Ganta, Liberia

Multiple host families expressed their belief that they are helping their CDWs access a better future. They believe that by bringing children from the countryside to the urban centre, CDWs are able to access better schooling and work opportunities. For example, one host family in Ganta has their CDW work with them in the market and stated that they hope the CDW learns from them and is able to open their own business in the future. Interviewed host families indicated that they often feel a sense of responsibility to meet basic needs of their CDWs and assume a guardianship role, such as providing healthcare when they fall sick. However, it was evident from discussions with NGO and FGD informants that CDWs can face neglect and physical, verbal, emotional and sexual abuse, which is corroborated by CDW survey data (see section 2.b). Importantly, NGO and CDW informants noted that CDWs' vulnerability to abuse and exploitation can be influenced by their relationship with the host family. CDWs can face heightened abuse if they are not a relative and the host family does not fulfil guardianship responsibilities in the absence of parental care.

## 1.D SERVICE PROVIDER PERSPECTIVES AND ACTIVITIES

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

The findings indicate that CDWs are lumped into a general category of vulnerable children and do not receive targeted services. Some commonly mentioned services in the qualitative data included family tracing and reunification, community awareness, vocational training and education. NGOs are working in partnership with a range of stakeholders including the Liberian government, Winrock International, UNDP, Save the Children and foreign government donors such as USAID and the governments of the Netherlands and Denmark. One NGO respondent mentioned that they are renovating schools and improving general education infrastructure to increase attendance. As part of the family reunification process, one NGO refers rescued CDWs to the Women and Child Protection division of law enforcement. One NGO is implementing a community-based intervention in Montserrado through which community members are sensitised to report cases of vulnerable CDWs to a radio station which assigns an NGO to the case.

“ We work with Radio Peace and Voice of Firestone. Our contact numbers are there in case of an emergency issue with a child. They will definitely call us and we will make ourselves available to see how best we can intervene in the matter.”

NGO Representative, Monrovia, Liberia

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 county.



## 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, two-thirds of CDWs correctly report the legal age a person can consent to sexual relations with an adult in Liberia (18 years), and indeed are significantly more likely to overestimate than underestimate the age of consent. In contrast, when specifically focusing on legal protections tied to child labour, around half of CDWs underestimate how many years children are required by law to be in school in Liberia (until age 16). Further, over one-third underestimate the age at which a child can legally start working (13 years for permissible light work) and nearly 15 percent overestimate the number of hours children their age are allowed to work per the Decent Work Act.

Over ninety-two percent of CDWs say that they would seek help if someone was 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, 44.4 percent said they did not. Therefore, whilst this finding provides hope that CDWs are open to seeking assistance in such circumstances, it appears that considerably fewer CDWs currently have sufficient support networks. The most common person they would turn to is a family member (Figure 14). However, it is also unclear if they would report abuse by a family member to another family member, which could occur in cases of CDWs who work for extended family members.

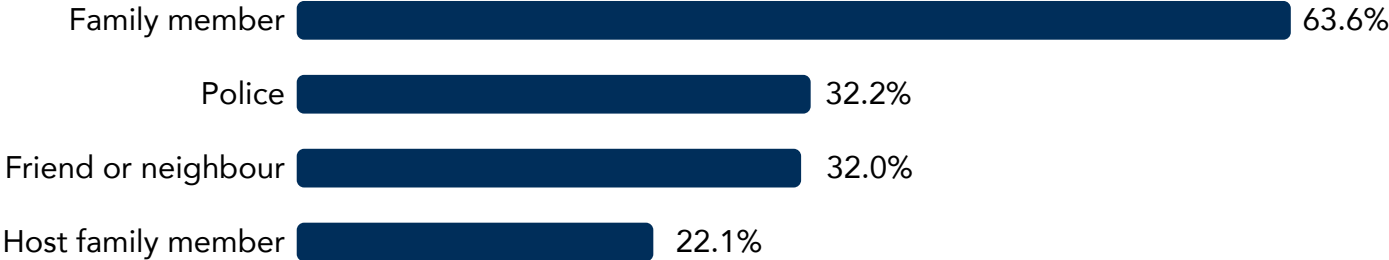


Figure 14: Where CDWs would seek help if physically and/or sexually abused (overall)

For CDWs who would not seek help, the main reason is that they do not know who to go to (56.3 percent) followed by fear of being punished (25.4 percent). Similarly, while many CDWs express willingness to go to the police for help, two-thirds say they do not know how to do so. In addition, 97.8 percent of CDWs say they are not receiving direct support from the government, NGOs or charitable organisations, suggesting potential awareness gaps in terms of service and support availability.

## 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 or not at all needed. Training and education-related programs are featured in Figure 15, ordered by those reported as “most needed.” Overall, there is high demand for vocational or skills training with over two-thirds indicating this as most needed.

There is likewise high demand for educational bursaries or scholarships, with 80.5 percent of CDWs specifying these as most needed or somewhat needed. This aligns with findings from the employer/caregiver survey, with general educational support and bursaries/scholarships indicated as the most beneficial type of support for CDWs. Of note, over one-third of employers/caregivers of out-of-school CDWs say that educational or scholarship support programs would be most beneficial to the children, indicating a willingness to allow them to return to school if such support were made available. In addition, nearly half of out-of-school CDWs say they stopped going because they could not afford it, a finding corroborated by employers/caregivers.

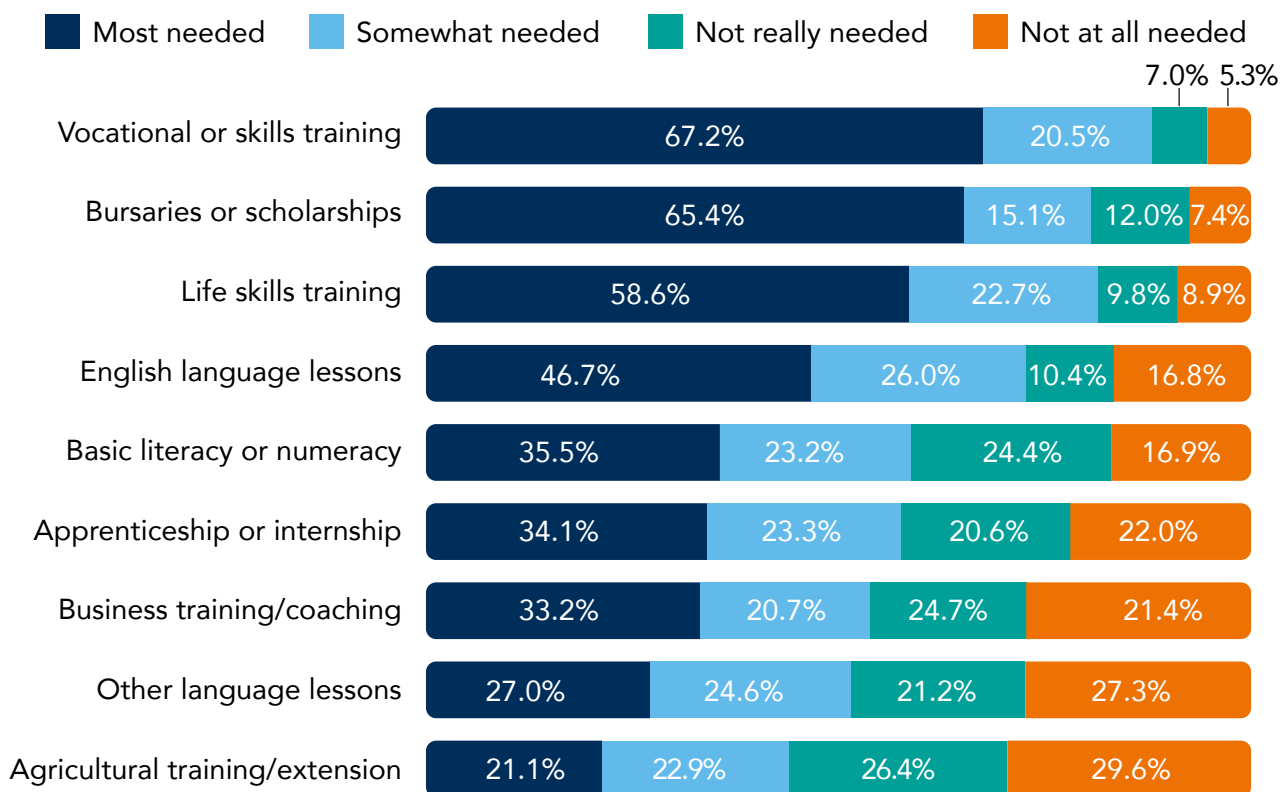


Figure 15: CDWs' self-reported training needs/priorities (overall)

As shown in Figure 16 about one in four CDWs hope to pursue postsecondary education to become a doctor, lawyer, teacher, etc. Occupations that are highest demand among girls are nursing or midwifery (28.6 percent), cosmetology/hairdressing (27.0 percent) and food service/catering (24.8 percent). For boys, the top preferences are auto mechanic/auto repair (32.3 percent) and being an entrepreneur or business owner (28.1 percent).

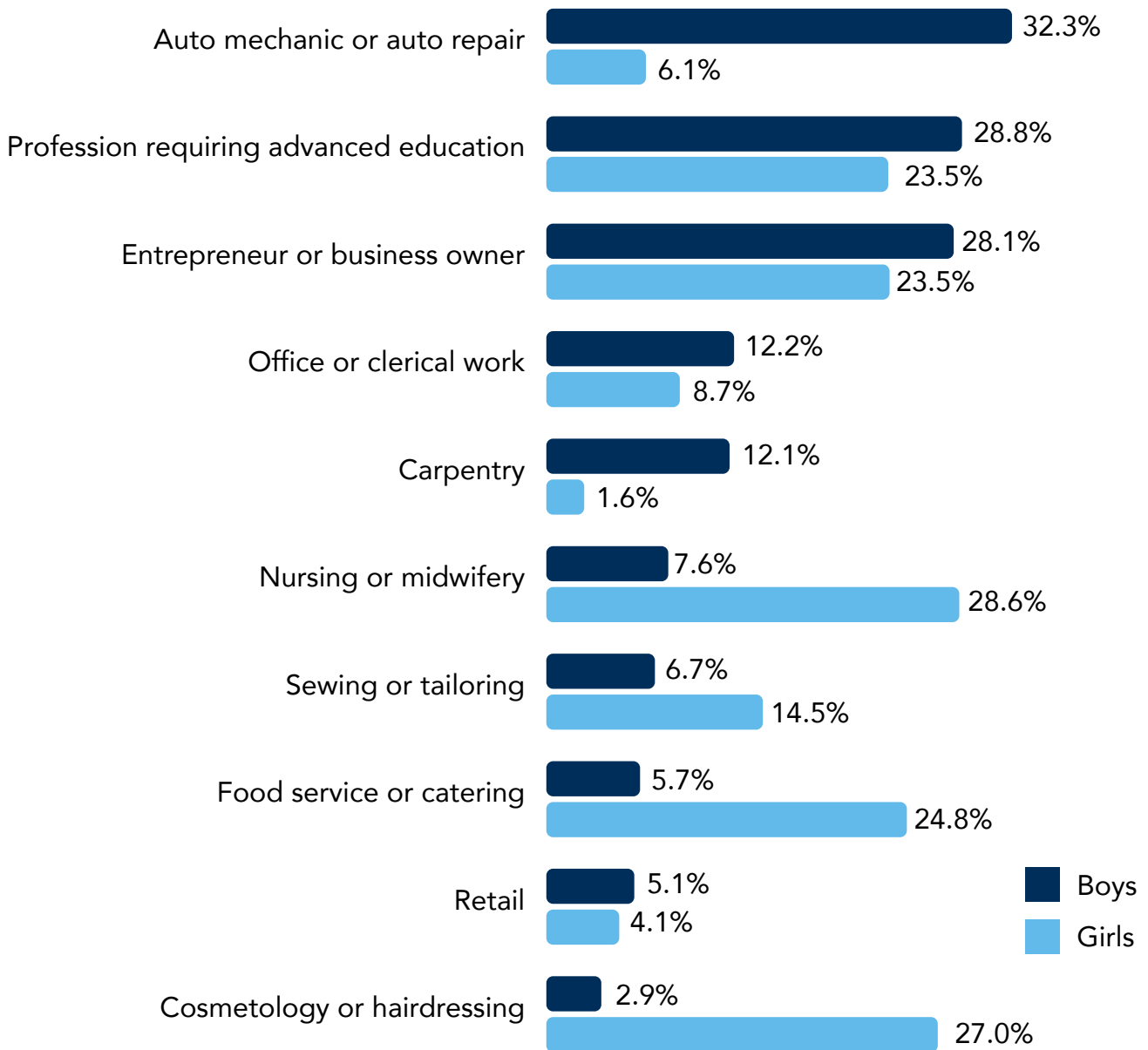


Figure 16: CDW alternative career preferences (overall)

### 2.a.iii Other Support Needs

#### BASIC NEEDS

Supporting the earlier findings that indicate that not all CDWs are having their basic rights met, including their right to healthcare, education and sufficient food, Figure 17 shows relatively high demand for basic needs such as school supplies, healthcare, food assistance, school transportation and hygiene products (girls only). Of note, 84.2 percent of out-of-school children say that school supplies are most needed, suggesting that indirect educational costs play an important role in keeping them out of school. As noted earlier, the majority of CDWs say they are either often (13.3 percent) or sometimes (62.5 percent) hungry due to insufficient food. Finally, over three quarters (75.3 percent) reported needing healthcare, suggesting employers/caregivers are not sufficiently providing for their health needs.



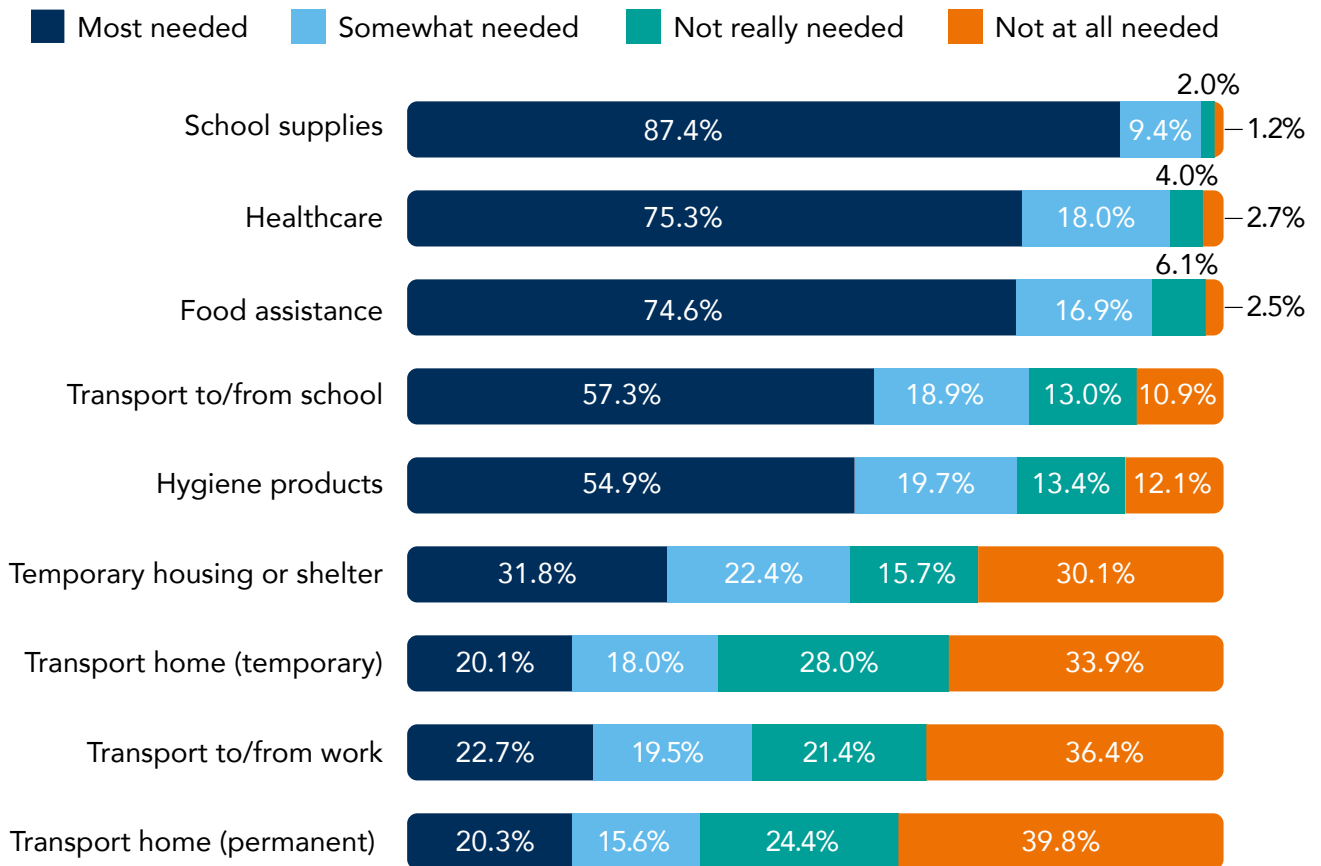


Figure 17: CDWs' self-reported basic needs (overall)

Relatively lower demand needs include shelter and transportation to/from home and work, with fewer than one-third of CDWs indicating these as most needed. There is similarly low demand for financial services including cash transfers, business seed/capital, debt forgiveness and/or loans, with one-third or fewer indicating these as most needed.

## 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).<sup>10</sup> 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.

<sup>10</sup> 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>.

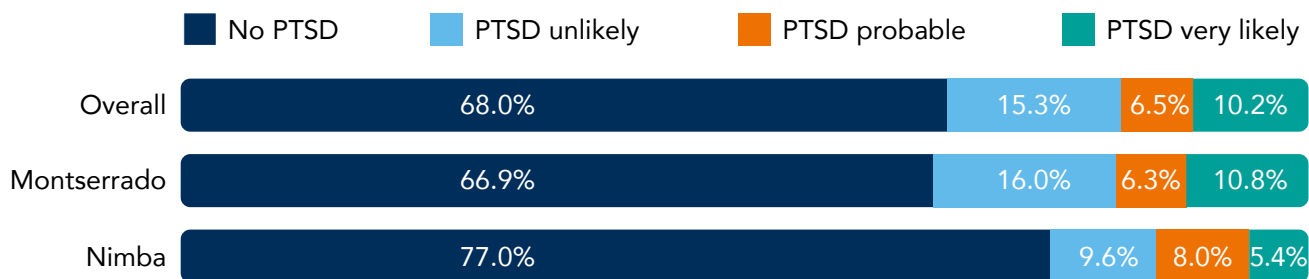


Figure 18: Number of PTSD indicators per respondent, overall and by county

Figure 18 shows 16.7 percent of CDWs have probable PTSD with rates nearly four percentage points higher in Montserrado than Nimba (albeit the difference is statistically insignificant). The percentage of respondents that answered yes to each of the five questions can be found in Annex B (available from the authors upon request).

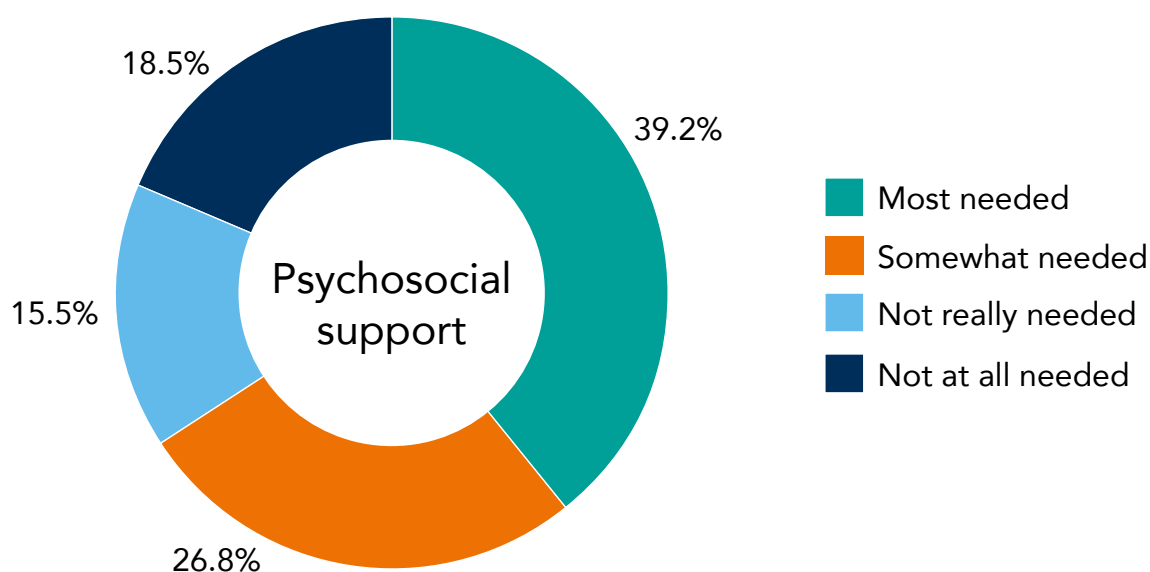


Figure 19: Demand for psycho-social support of CDWs with probable PTSD (overall)

While demand for psychosocial support is relatively low overall (40.5 percent 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, two-thirds of probable PTSD sufferers say that psychosocial support is most needed or somewhat needed. It is important to note, however, that the limited demand may be attributed to low awareness or negative attitudes towards mental health services in Liberia (WHO, 2017).

#### PREFERRED SOURCES OF SUPPORT

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 health workers, police and teachers; this corresponds with the earlier stated unmet education and health needs. Interestingly, only 12.8 and 9.9 percent of CDWs desire support from social workers and counsellors, 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).

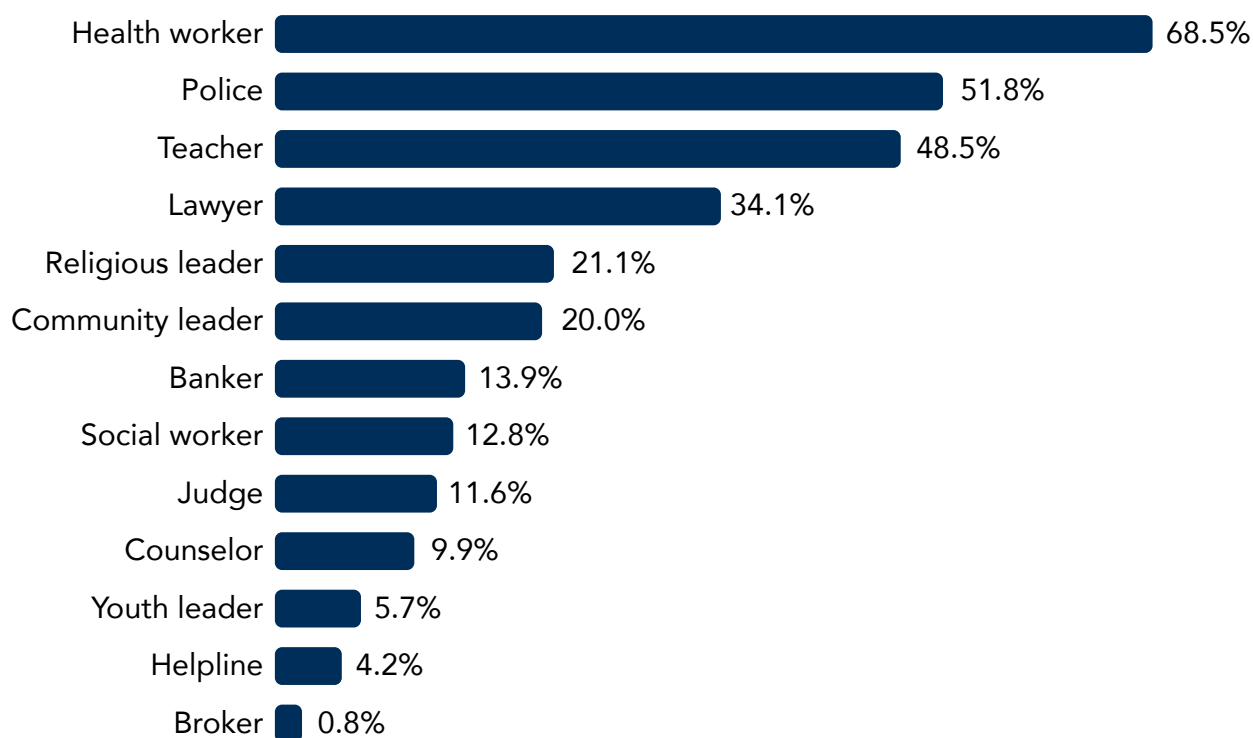


Figure 20: CDWs' desired access to professionals (overall)

### MISCELLANEOUS NEEDS

CDW needs for other/miscellaneous types of support are summarised in Figure 21. These findings again highlight the hazardous element of many CDWs' work, with the highest demand being for protective equipment. In contrast, demand for job placement assistance and legal support is relatively low. Demand for peer support groups is higher, with over half of CDWs indicating this as at least somewhat needed.

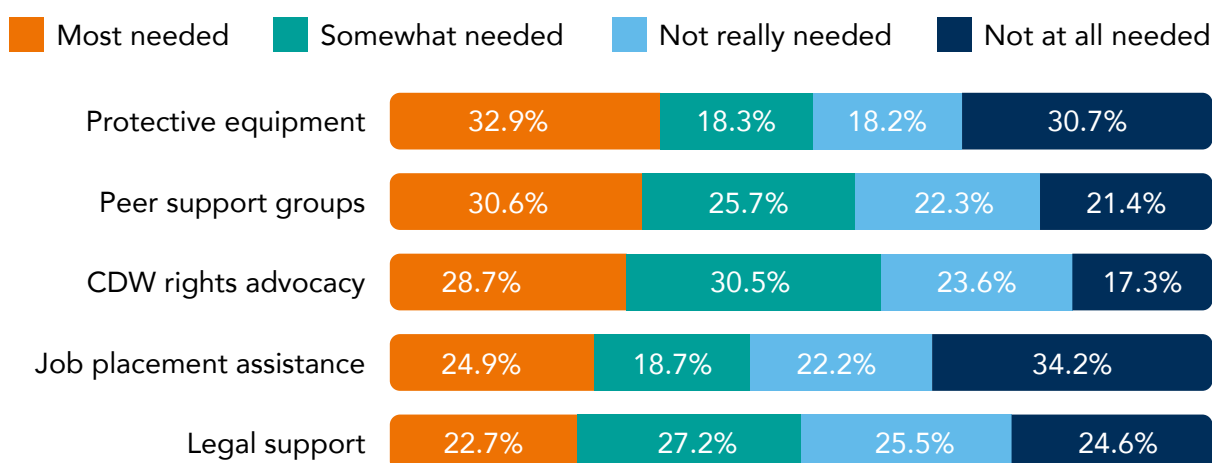


Figure 21: CDWs' self-reported other needs (overall)

Demand for training, basic needs and miscellaneous needs is similar between Montserrado and Nimba; however, CDWs in Nimba have higher demand for agricultural training, scholarships, life skills training, food assistance, cash transfers, debt forgiveness, transportation home and language lessons.

## 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 Liberian society, both culturally and structurally. In addition, many children derive some benefits from the system, with 44.6 percent saying their quality of life has improved since taking up domestic work. When asked what they like most about their work, 39.7 said getting to go to a good school followed by enjoying the work itself (17.0 percent), being with the host family (15.2 percent), getting to live in a new city (12.3 percent), eating better than at home (9.4 percent) and access to healthcare (9.6 percent). It is worth highlighting, though, that over half CDWs did not feel that domestic work had improved their quality of life. This aligns with the earlier findings that many CDWs face exploitation during their work.

Taken together, the data suggest the general practice of using CDWs itself is non-modifiable by a short-term pilot intervention. We therefore focus analysis on modifiable knowledge, attitudes and practices of employers/caregivers by first examining things CDWs said they would most like to change regarding their domestic work.

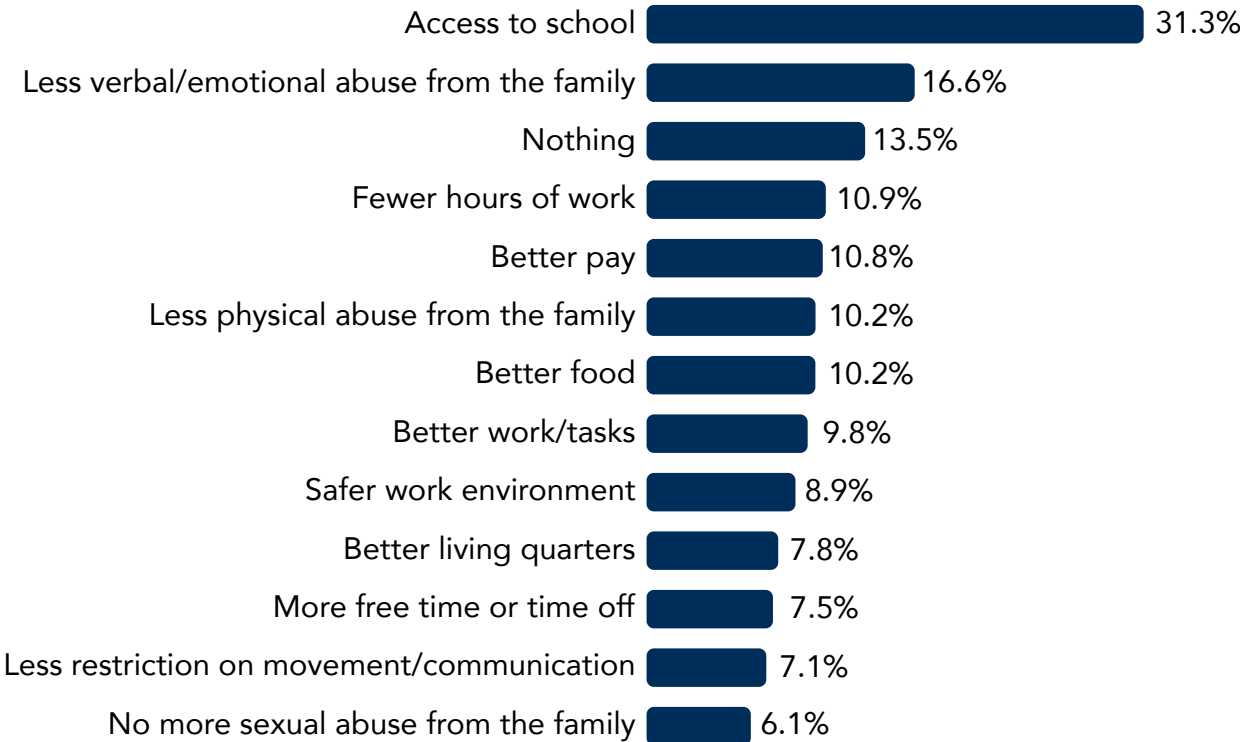


Figure 22: What CDWs would most like to change regarding their domestic work (overall)

As shown in Figure 22, nearly one-third of CDWs say they want less disruption to schooling and 16.6 percent say they want less verbal or emotional abuse from the host family. Around one in ten report wanting fewer hours, better pay, better food and better work/tasks. Critically, 10.2 percent of CDWs are being physically abused and 6.1 percent are being sexually abused by their host families. Rates of both physical and sexual abuse are slightly higher in Montserrado than Nimba, however the differences are not statistically significant. These findings align with the earlier findings on abusive and exploitative work conditions.

Figure 23 shows items from an anxiety and depression scale that are related to work, hence are theoretically modifiable by employers/caregivers. Three out of four CDWs say that they are so tired they struggle to pay attention to work, suggesting a need for more regular rest periods. In addition, many CDWs lack an adequate social safety net and emotional support systems, suggesting a critical gap that employers/caregivers could fulfil, particularly those playing a *de facto* guardianship role.

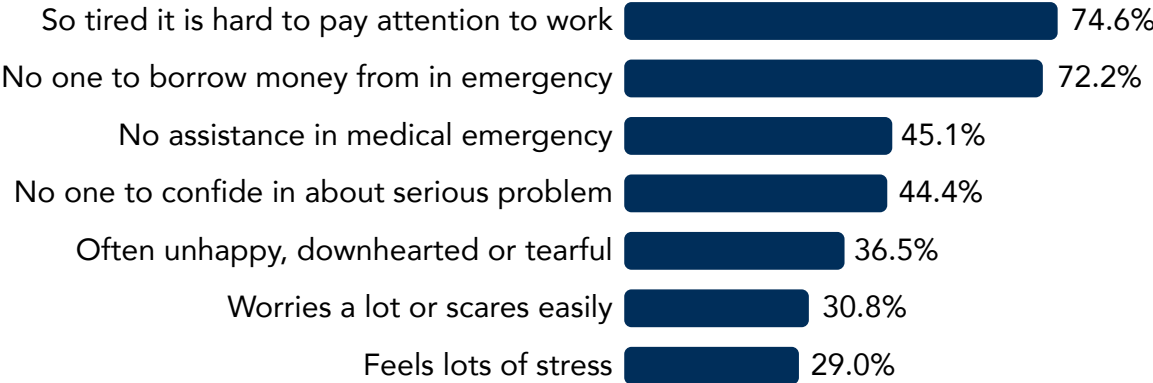


Figure 23: CDW anxiety and depression scale items related to work (overall)

2.C COMMUNITY-LEVEL/OTHER

“So, if a child is being treated in a way he or she shouldn’t be treated, neighbours should intervene and call the hotlines to make sure that people or the ministry come and either take the child for counselling or take the child to safety.”

NGO Representative, Monrovia, Liberia

“Awareness raising...engage the print and electronic media. Make people aware of what is happening to children who are being taken from rural areas to urban areas. Give them more awareness through radio talk shows.”

NGO Representative, Monrovia, Liberia

According to qualitative findings, community members are not adequately equipped to report cases of CDW abuse. CDWs do not know where to seek help and legal actors are not sufficiently trained to respond to such complaints. Further, given the hidden nature of this form of labour, several NGO respondents noted that among community actors, interventions should include neighbours as they play an instrumental role in reporting cases of exploitation among CDWs. This is supported by quantitative data, with close to one-third of CDWs saying they would seek support from a friend or neighbour if they were being physically or sexually abused.

NGO informants in Liberia also recommend forming peer learning groups for children and youth as a means to keep them informed about recruitment approaches and potential exploitation.

## 2.D 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/CSOs 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, counselling, etc.) are potentially available and effective in delivering programs for CDWs? What adaptations or additions might be necessary to better reach and support CDWs?*

As mentioned earlier, qualitative findings suggest that NGOs do not specifically target CDWs. Based on stakeholder mapping, there are several organisations in Monrovia that are focused on prevention, protection and/or prosecution which 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. Community awareness and sensitisation was often highlighted by NGO workers to strengthen prevention and response efforts. One NGO respondent remarked that child domestic work is perceived as a way of life in Liberia and community members do not intervene because they feel the child is not their responsibility. As a result, many NGO informants recommended that interventions engage influential community members like religious, traditional and youth leaders to identify CDWs in the community and serve as mediators between host families and service providers. Creating referral pathways for medical and legal aid and spreading awareness through the radio was also commonly mentioned. Since some CDWs attend church and school, it was also recommended that service providers implement intervention activities in these locations. Awareness campaigns can also be conducted through television or radio. For example, religious radio broadcasts can include information about CDWs and how households should treat them.

“The best way to reach and help them is to create awareness, the next thing is to do is to reunify them with their biological parent and ensure that they go to school.”

NGO Representative, Monrovia, Liberia

“Suppose you came to my household, and I am in fact involved with recruiting children and sending them to the street. Am I going to tell you that I am recruiting children? No. Some of the possible ways is to talk to traditional leaders, community leaders and youth leaders.”

NGO Representative, Monrovia, Liberia

Based on survey data, around 5.0 percent of CDWs are receiving or have received some type of social services/support from NGOs or government. Of the 2.2 percent of CDWs that are actively receiving support, the most common type is school supplies (36.3 percent) followed by food assistance (15.2 percent) and school enrollment assistance (14.4 percent). Despite the high demand, only 0.3 percent of CDWs have ever received bursaries or scholarships with even fewer receiving vocational or skills training. However, this could be due to age restrictions on vocational training programs, which are likely to exclude younger children who are below age 15 (UIS, 2021).

### 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 data indicate that most host households in Liberia would be willing to enrol their CDW in alternative education programs. This is corroborated by survey data, with 97.7 percent of CDWs saying their employer/caregiver would allow them to access the services they indicate as “most needed” in section 2.a. In addition, 100.0 percent of surveyed employers/caregivers said they would allow CDWs to participate in alternative education programs and 97.0 percent say they would allow CDWs to participate in youth clubs or community meetings. Of the employers/caregivers who say they would not allow youth club participation, it is mainly because they feel the children are too young or have concerns over safety or bad influences.

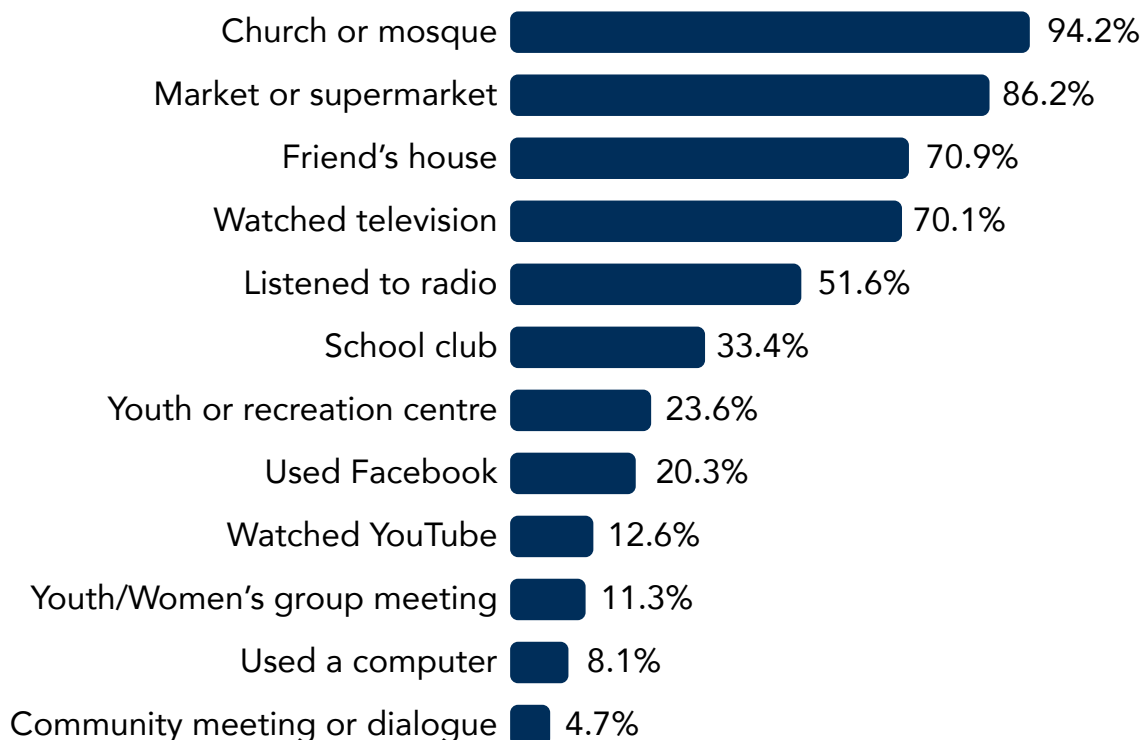


Figure 24: Places and services CDWs accessed in the past month (overall)

As shown in Figure 24, CDWs commonly frequent churches/mosques (94.2 percent), markets (86.2 percent), school clubs (33.4 percent) and youth/recreation centres (23.6 percent). They are less likely to be reachable through youth/boys/girls club meetings and community meetings. Media exposure is moderately high, particularly television (70.1 percent) and radio (51.6 percent). On the other hand, computer use is low, although Facebook and YouTube are somewhat more commonly accessed in a typical month, at 20.3 and 12.6 percent, respectively.

Of the small minority of CDWs currently receiving NGO support, they learned about it primarily through school (42.5 percent) followed by friends or neighbours (27.3 percent), their parents (15.0 percent), community meetings (12.1 percent) and door-to-door campaigns (9.1 percent). CDWs most regularly interface with teachers, religious leaders and health workers.

KII respondents noted that service providers should seek employer/caregiver consent before engaging CDWs in an intervention.<sup>11</sup> Host families prefer that any intervention be delivered at their home or close to their home to reduce transit time for the CDW.

<sup>11</sup> However, it is important to note that interventions designed to respond immediately to abuse would not require this, particularly since the employer/caregiver may be the person abusing the child.

### 3.C INTERVENTION OUTREACH AND UPTAKE FOR EMPLOYERS/CAREGIVERS

*What do employer/caregiver 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 high media exposure. As shown in Figure 25, about half participate in community meetings or dialogues and over two-thirds participate in some type of community meeting (including school clubs). Interestingly, media exposure is actually higher among those who participate in community meetings versus those who do not, suggesting limited utility in tailored outreach strategies for different classes of employers/caregivers. According to survey data, employers/caregivers of out-of-school CDWs are most reachable via churches or mosques.

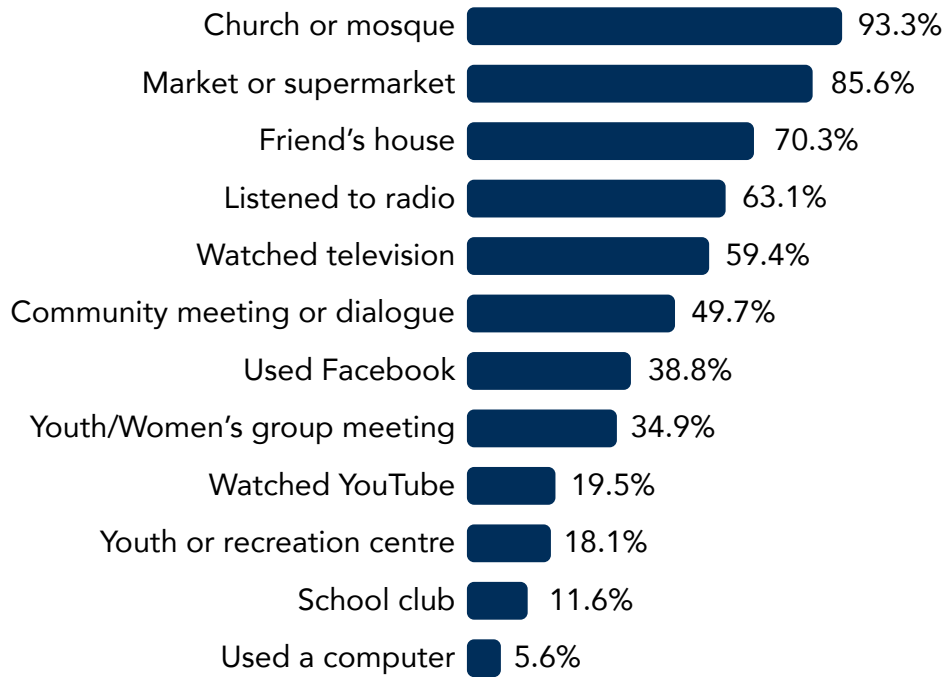


Figure 25: Places and services employers/caregivers accessed in the past month (overall)

# IV. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

## CONCLUSION

The research conducted on CDWs in Liberia 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.

- Most CDWs (84.9 percent) have a kinship relationship with their employer/caregiver, hence the use of brokers is limited. The findings also suggested that deceptive or coercive recruitment are rare.
- Although child domestic work may be beneficial for some children, for many it involves multiple violations of their rights. Based on the survey data, 94.9 percent of the CDWs reported working conditions that amounted to WFCL and 63.1 percent faced conditions that met the TIP Office's indicators for human trafficking.
- The majority of CDWs are considered survivors of WFCL and/or TIP; however, these indicators fall short of discerning the most vulnerable children when applied to CDWs and would benefit from being reviewed in light of the unique characteristics of child domestic work.
- Over three-quarters (76.4 percent) of CDWs reported working conditions that contravened Liberian labour laws. However, it is unclear whether these laws apply to kinship-based arrangements.
- Verbal/emotional abuse from host families is common, and roughly one-in-five CDWs in Liberia are experiencing physical or sexual violence (with 16.7 percent showing signs of probable PTSD).
- Many CDWs, as well as employers/caregivers, are not aware of legal rights and protections for young workers, including the right to limited working hours, minimum wage and compulsory education.
- There is a general convergence between employers/caregivers and CDWs in terms of CDWs' greatest needs (education and training), however CDWs are far more likely to say they need healthcare and food assistance.
- Employers/caregivers are mostly supportive of CDWs participating in alternative education programs and are broadly in favour of activities that help CDWs return to or remain in school.
- Based on employer/caregiver reporting, barriers to participation are driven more by concerns over CDWs' physical and moral well-being than limited time/availability. This suggests that NGOs supporting CDWs may first need to gain the trust and consent of employers/caregivers, before engaging CDWs to attend activities.
- Both CDWs and employers/caregivers can be reached at churches or mosques, with the vast majority attending at least once a month. CDWs are also accessible at schools; however, one in six are presently out of school.

- There are several NGOs focused on child labour, child protection and child exploitation in Liberia (particularly in Montserrado), but few are already working specifically with CDWs.

## 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 Liberia, to increase the relevance and feasibility of the proposed measures in the local context.

### The Government of Liberia to:

- **Strengthen legislation and policies that aim to reduce exploitation and abuse of CDWs, including passing *The Act to Establish Child Labour Law in Liberia*.** This will provide clearer guidance on the legal framework for the employment of minors and will also mandate the National Commission on Child Labour (NACOMAL) to bring together key state and non-state actors to develop or revise and implement policies and national action plans for preventing and eliminating child labour in Liberia, including child domestic work. Clearer guidance over what constitutes hazardous and light work within the domestic work sphere is also recommended. As part of all policy development or amendment processes, CDWs should be meaningfully involved in policy consultations, ensuring they have a significant input into the policies affecting their well-being and safety.
- **Improve protection mechanisms for responding to abusive and exploitative child domestic work, with a focus on improving coordination between relevant stakeholders.** This is essential for ensuring that response services, such as rescue services and case management, are holistic and timely. The realisation of this aim requires the NACOMAL to take the lead in coordinating between statutory frontline actors (e.g. Child Welfare Committees, labour inspectors, Women and Children Protection Section of the Liberia National Police, local governance actors) and civil society actors (e.g. NGOs, faith leaders, community networks) who are often the first to receive cases of harmful and exploitative child domestic work. Furthermore, all relevant actors who interact with children should be sensitised on what is exploitative child domestic work, the legal framework for responding to exploitative child domestic work, how to make safe referrals that prioritise and protect the survivor's rights, and the provision of survivor-centred response services.
- **Increase support and supervision of Child Welfare Committees (CWCs) at the community, district and county levels to identify and protect children affected by exploitative child domestic work.** This includes capacity development of CWCs on the impact of abusive child domestic work and Liberia's legal framework for addressing this issue, including their own role in responding to child labour rights violations. Where CWCs are not fully functional, efforts should be made to (re)initiate these mechanisms alongside work with neighbourhood assemblies to support the identification and safe referral of cases of abusive child domestic work to nearby child protection actors.
- **For CDWs who do not wish to return to school, expand opportunities for demand-driven, age-appropriate vocational and skills training opportunities for CDWs** (such as courses offered through the Monrovia Vocational Training Centre). These should be selected based on CDWs' preferences and comprehensive, local market assessments to ensure the



skills align with market demands. Livelihood opportunities can aim to increase CDWs' or ex-CDWs' opportunities to engage in alternative forms of labour, if they so wish, so they have a chance to explore other employment or livelihoods goals. Upskilling opportunities should be free, flexible (to fit around domestic work if needed) and be offered in close proximity to where CDWs live and work.

#### **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.
- **Consult employers/caregivers to better understand how they self-identify and perceive their relationship with their CDW.** 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, sensitise 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.
- **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. To ensure CDWs have the necessary participation skills, advocacy campaigns should be preceded by training for CDWs on child rights, including their right to participation under Article 12 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, and advocacy and communication skills. To expand the reach of CDWs' voices, CDW-led advocacy on issues affecting CDWs can be mainstreamed through existing community- and school-based child protection and participation mechanisms, such as child rights clubs, youth support groups and the Children Legislative Forum.
- **Strengthen CDWs' social networks by offering group-based programming that allows them to meet other children (including CDWs) and – in turn – develop support networks.** Activities may include life skills classes for CDWs, peer support groups or focused, non-specialised psychosocial support for CDWs, delivered in groups, that builds their psychosocial resilience by increasing their knowledge and use of self-care approaches. Staff delivering these activities can also be trained to refer CDWs who show signs of mental health conditions for more specialised services, where such services are available for children. 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.** Awareness raising initiatives can be spearheaded by community influencers,

who are identified based on analysis within the target communities. They can deliver messaging that educates CDWs, employers/caregivers and parents on CDWs' rights, legal protections and channels for redress. Messaging should be simply conveyed (in a combination of verbal, written and pictorial form) and can be disseminated via schools and community-based structures, as well as radio and television, social media, billboards, posters and fliers. Building on successful practices from child protection and gender-based violence campaigns in Liberia, awareness messaging can also be integrated into children- and youth-led activities, such as debates, football, kickball, role plays and creation of community champions.

#### **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 Liberia'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 Liberia learn from global best practices.

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# APPENDIX A: OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

## 1. WORKING CONDITIONS IN VIOLATION OF LIBERIAN LAWS

Indicator	Definition
<b>Exceed legal limit on working hours</b>	<p>If respondent's age = 12</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Weekly working hours – domestic work and other economic activities combined – is above 0 hours</li> </ul> <p>If respondent's age is between 13 to 15</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Weekly working hours – domestic work and other economic activities combined – is above 14 hours</li> </ul> <p>If respondent's age is between 16 to 17</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Weekly working hours – domestic work and other economic activities combined – is above 42 hours</li> </ul>
<b>Typically work on public holidays</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Weekly working hours &gt; 14 hours; AND</li> <li>Answered Yes to "In a typical week, are you required to do domestic work on public holidays?"</li> </ul>
<b>Typically work seven days a week, without a day of rest</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Weekly working hours &gt; 14 hours; AND</li> <li>Answered seven to "In a typical week, how many days do you perform domestic work?"</li> </ul>
<b>Currently not in formal education</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Answered No to "Are you currently enrolled in school?"; OR</li> <li>Answered No to "Have you ever attended formal school?"</li> </ul>
<b>Typically work over five hours without a one-hour break</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Reported typically working for more than five hours per day; AND</li> <li>Reported typically not given a break of at least one hour</li> </ul>



## 2. WORST FORMS OF CHILD LABOUR

Indicator	Definition
<p><b>Hazardous work</b></p>	<p>If one or more of the following conditions were reported by the CDW:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Made to do dangerous or very difficult tasks without proper protections</li> <li>• Working with knives or sharp tools that can cut you</li> <li>• Working with liquids or powders that irritate your skin, burn easily, give off vapors that smell bad or can explode</li> <li>• Working with fire, ovens or very hot machines or tools, or unsafe electric wires/cables, where you might get burned</li> <li>• Carrying or pulling heavy loads that could cause an injury or muscle strain, including lifting adults or heavy children</li> <li>• Lift, carry, or move anything so heavy as to be likely to injure your physical development</li> <li>• 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</li> <li>• Working in a place that is very cold, or working outdoors in very rainy or wet</li> <li>• Not being able to keep yourself away from people who are sick and could pass their illness on to you</li> <li>• Having to climb or clean hard to reach places, from where if you fell you might be injured</li> <li>• Working in a very noisy place, so that you had to shout to speak</li> <li>• Working long hours in the hot sun without a break</li> <li>• Working below the ground in wells or tunnels or other very small spaces</li> <li>• 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</li> <li>• Risk of getting hit by a car</li> <li>• Do not generally feel safe while doing domestic work</li> <li>• Want to be doing fewer dangerous tasks</li> <li>• Dislike doing dangerous tasks</li> </ul>
<p><b>Exceed legal limit on working hours</b></p>	<p>(Same as indicator describe in '1. Working conditions in violation of Liberian laws')</p>

Indicator	Definition
<b>In forced labour* conditions</b>	<p>If one or more of the following conditions were reported by the CDW:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Would not be allowed to leave your workplace if you were very ill, injured, had a serious family problem or wanted to quit</li> <li>• Seizing of identity documents</li> <li>• Told that pay, benefits or other reward that you earned would not be given if you leave</li> <li>• Not being allowed to leave the place where you do house work for reasons that are unclear or unfair</li> <li>• High or growing debt to your employer/caregiver, debt imposed without your go ahead or others' debts being imposed on you</li> <li>• Money earned goes to: It is kept by my employer/caregiver to pay off a debt</li> <li>• Currently owed money for any domestic work that you have done</li> <li>• Experienced during recruitment: Abducted or held captive by someone and you could not leave</li> <li>• Experienced during recruitment: Required to take an advance or loan to cover recruitment fees</li> <li>• Experienced during recruitment: High or increasing debt related to the recruiter or other middleman</li> <li>• In the past 12 months, pay has been deducted against your will</li> <li>• Made to do things that are illegal</li> </ul>
<b>Schooling is disrupted due to work</b>	<p>If one or more of the following conditions were reported by the CDW:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Not ever attended formal school due to having to do chores or domestic work</li> <li>• Not ever attended formal school due to having to do other work</li> <li>• Mostly work during the weekday, irrespective of school hours</li> <li>• In a typical week, you are required to miss school to do domestic work</li> <li>• In a typical week, domestic work affects your ability to study or do homework outside of school</li> <li>• Doing domestic work has hurt your grades or performance in school</li> <li>• Main reason for missing school is to do domestic work or chores</li> <li>• Main reason for missing school is to do other work</li> </ul>
<b>Experienced physical violence</b>	<p>If one or more of the following conditions were reported by the CDW:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• While at work, you have experienced physical or sexual violence against you or people you care deeply about</li> <li>• Want no more physical abuse from the employer/host family</li> <li>• Dislike the physical or sexual abuse from the employer/host family</li> </ul>
<b>Experienced sexual violence</b>	<p>If one or more of the following conditions were reported by the CDW:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Made to do things of a sexual nature to pay a debt or get a wage advance</li> <li>• Made to do things of a sexual nature for members of the household where you work</li> <li>• Want no more sexual abuse from the employer/host family</li> </ul>

\* 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).



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### 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.

Category	Indicator	Definition (If CDW reported yes to...)
<b>Debt or Dependency</b>	[Strong] DD1 Had a debt imposed on you without your consent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• High or growing debt to your employer/caregiver, debt imposed without your go ahead or others' debts being imposed on you</li> </ul>
	[Medium] DD3 Pre-existence of an intimate or dependent relationship such as romantic or familial relationship	<p>Relationship to (a) head of household or (b) other members of the household is one or more of the below:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sibling</li> <li>• Aunt or uncle</li> <li>• Adopted parent</li> <li>• Foster parent</li> <li>• Stepparent</li> <li>• Parent in-law</li> <li>• Sibling in-law</li> <li>• Grandparent</li> <li>• Co-spouse</li> </ul>
<b>Degrading Conditions</b>	[Strong] DC1 Made to be available day and night without adequate compensation outside of the scope of the contract	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Made to be available day and night without fair pay</li> </ul>
	[Medium] DC2 Made to complete hazardous and/or arduous services without proper protective gear	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Made to do dangerous or very difficult tasks without proper protections</li> </ul>
	[Strong] DC3 Made to engage in illicit activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Made to do things that are illegal</li> </ul>
	[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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 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</li> </ul>



Category	Indicator	Definition (If CDW reported yes to...)
<b>Employment Practices and Penalties</b>	[Strong] EP1 Had your pay, other promised compensation and/or benefits withheld and if you leave you will not get them	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Told that pay, benefits or other reward that you earned would not be given if you leave</li> </ul>
	[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.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>High or increasing debt related to the recruiter or other middleman</li> </ul>
	[Medium] EP4 Made to work overtime beyond legal limits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Made to work unlawfully overtime</li> </ul>
	[Medium] EP5 Made to perform additional services or responsibilities (beyond what was agreed) without due compensation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Made to do extra work without being paid</li> </ul>
	[Medium] EP6 Ever not received or had withheld promised wages, benefits or other compensation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Pay, benefits or other reward unfairly not given</li> </ul>
	[Medium] EP7 Recruitment linked to debt (advance or loan)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Required to take an advance or loan to cover recruitment fees</li> </ul>
	[Medium] EP8 Absence of a formal contract	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No formal contract/signed agreement for the domestic work you do</li> </ul>





Category	Indicator	Definition (If CDW reported yes to...)
<b>Freedom of Movement</b>	[Strong] FM1 Confiscation of or loss of access to identity papers or travel documents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Seizing of identity documents</li> </ul>
	[Strong] FM2 Constant surveillance of personal spaces by employer/caregiver, recruiter or other individuals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Constant monitoring of your personal spaces that goes beyond what most parents/guardians in Nigeria would do</li> </ul>
	[Strong] FM3 No freedom of movement and communication	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Forbidding you to speak with your parents or family</li> <li>• Forbidding you to interact with other children or neighbours</li> <li>• Not being allowed to leave the place where you do house work for reasons that are unclear or unfair</li> <li>• Forbidding you to have private conversations such as phone conversations</li> </ul>
	[Medium] FM4 Limited freedom of movement and communication i.e. supervised communication, movement restricted or surveilled during off-hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Restrictions on your movement that goes beyond what most parents/guardians in Nigeria would do</li> <li>• Monitoring of your movement and communications that goes beyond what most parents/guardians in Nigeria would do</li> </ul>
	[Medium] FM5 Constant surveillance of place of work	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Constant monitoring of your work</li> </ul>
<b>Personal Life and Properties</b>	[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.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Excessive control over your personal life that goes beyond what most parents/guardians in Liberia would do</li> </ul>
	[Strong] PL3 Made to work or engage in commercial sex for in order to repay outstanding debt or wage advance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Made to do things of a sexual nature to pay a debt or get a wage advance</li> </ul>
	[Medium] PL4 Made to work or engage in commercial sex for employer/caregiver's private home or family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Made to do things of a sexual nature for members of the household where you work</li> </ul>
	[Medium] PL5 Confiscation of mobile phones or other communication methods as a way to have control over you	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Restriction on your communications as a way to control you that goes beyond what most parents/guardians in Liberia would do</li> </ul>

Category	Indicator	Definition (If CDW reported yes to...)
<b>Recruitment</b>	[Strong] R1 Coercive recruitment (abduction, confinement during the recruitment process)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Abducted or held captive by someone and you could not leave</li> </ul>
	[Strong] R2 Deceptive recruitment (nature of services or responsibilities required)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Misled about the type of work you would be doing</li> </ul>
	[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)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Misled about the working conditions, location, compensation, benefits, living arrangements or legality of work</li> </ul>
	[Medium] R4 Paid recruitment fees	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Required to pay recruitment fees</li> </ul>
<b>Violence or Threats of Violence</b>	[Strong] V3 Physical violence against you or someone you care deeply about	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Physical or sexual violence against you or people you care deeply about</li> </ul>
	[Medium] V5 Threat of denunciation to authorities against you or someone you care deeply about	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Threats of turning you into the authorities</li> </ul>
	[Medium] V6 Emotional/psychological abuse against you or someone you care deeply about	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Abusive words or bullying that deeply hurt you or people you care about</li> </ul>
	[Medium] V7 Threat of harm to your personal or professional reputation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Threats to speak badly about you to your friends, family, the community or other employers/caregivers</li> </ul>
	[Medium] V8 Threats of violence against you or someone you care deeply about	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Threats of physical or sexual violence against you or people you care deeply about</li> </ul>



# VISION

Our vision is a world  
free of slavery.

# MISSION

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

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