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**Examining Child Protection against Exploitation of
Child Domestic Workers (CDWs)**

A case of Kampala, Uganda

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List of Acronyms

ISS	Institute of Social Studies
CDWs	Child Domestic Workers
CDW	Child Domestic Work
ILO	International Labour Organization
PLA	Platform for Labour Action
DW	Domestic Work
UGX	Uganda Shillings
NGO	Non-Government Organizations
CRBA	Child Rights-Based Approach
UBOS	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
UPE	Universal Primary Education
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
ASI	Anti-Slavery International
LC	Local Council
HIV/AIDS	Human Immune Deficiency Virus
CRIN	Child Rights International Network
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UHRC	Uganda Human Rights Commission
MGLSD	Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development
UNLU	Ugandan National Labour Union
UNHS	Uganda National Household Survey
OHCHR	Office of the High Commission for Human Rights
UN	United Nations

Abstract

Despite the legal instruments concerning child welfare such as child labour laws as part of efforts to protect children from exploitation in employment, it excludes particularly Child Domestic Workers (CDWs) in Uganda. The study provides knowledge on labour experiences including conditions of CDWs in households and specifically exploitation in domestic employment, using a case of CDWs who live in employers' residences in Kampala, Uganda. The study analyses ways in which social identities of gender, age, race, and power relations between CDWs and employers in the employment space play out. While the employer-employee relationship, how it impacts on CDWs wellbeing and the situation of CDWs and their rights during daily execution of their work in households in the Kampala, Uganda context is significant and examined in the study, the findings reveal that CDWs make social and economic contributions through providing human capital for many households in Uganda, however, policymakers have largely ignored their protection concerns. The study uses the Child Rights-Based Approach (CRBA) and feminist perspective to analyze the situation and rights of CDWs in households and exposes some factors that drive children into domestic work. Using an intersectional approach, the study focuses on social identities and position of CDWs in the analysis of the employer-employee relationship based on the central argument that feminization of domestic work as naturally and culturally constructed as a woman kind of job has contributed to the ignoring of CDWs protection concerns within the labour laws. Finally, the study findings suggest inclusive approaches to policy change towards child protection including labour rights to cater to all categories of children including those in domestic employment. Additionally, effective laws, programs, and policy protection mechanisms tailored to the unique nature of domestic work and CDWs special protection needs such as awareness creation on child labour rights, recognizing domestic work as significant employment by incorporating into the labour laws like the employment Act (2006) in Uganda are urgently needed.

Relevance to Development Studies

The study contributes to development studies that focus on children and their rights especially labour rights for children in employment due to the need for their protection from exploitation. More specifically, it adds to the available literature on CDWs because of the invisibility and the low value-added to domestic employment and protection concerns being neglected by policy actors.

Keywords

Child protection, Exploitation, Child Domestic Workers, Kampala, Children's rights.

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Meaning of Child Domestic Work

Child Domestic Work (CDW) is one of the children's employment categories mostly done in African countries and globally (Human Rights Watch, 2012). Although the International Labour Organization (2012) estimates 17.2 million children aged between 5-17 years are in domestic employment globally, the actual number is unknown. Child Domestic Work is predominantly done by girls in most households (Lyon & Valdivia, 2010: 5-6). Nevertheless, statistics indicate that more women and children are employed in private households as compared to men globally (ILO, 2012). Lutz (2016) acknowledges that CDWs are a necessity and largely contribute to the running of households, however, they remain among the most vulnerable, exploited, and marginalized groups of employees globally. Some of the CDWs are exposed to working in exploitative situations including being denied food, sleep in unfavourable conditions, no social protection as well as encounter sexual and physical assault.

According to ILO (2012) “child domestic work” refers to “children’s work in the domestic work sector in the home of a third party or employer”. However, ILO (2012) recognizes domestic work as one of the rights abuses due to the exploitative experience children incur. Anti-Slavery International (ASI) an organization that addresses exploitative labour globally highlights that a "practice where a child below 18 years of age is given away by caretakers or biological parents to work for another person, either for payment or not, but with the intention of exploitation” is considered slavery (Black, 2002: 2-5). ASI places emphasis on how children are placed into domestic employment and address exploitative labour, and handles everyone affected regardless of gender, age, and race. ILO (2012) indicates that CDW is mostly designed in a way that it is performed in secluded households cutting across both urban and rural areas, yet normally hidden from outsiders' supervision. The seclusion of CDWs in private households and behind closed doors compromises children's safety because it exposes them to silent exploitation without outsider's knowledge. This threatens the lives and wellbeing of CDWs and, increases their vulnerability for exploitation by employers. Given the invisible nature of CDW that necessitates full-time availability for tasks like cooking, cleaning, laundry, and caring for children, CDW remains a challenge to be addressed to protect young children from exploitation by employers. Other actors on child protection such as ILO (2010), Human Rights Watch (2012), ASI, and Save the Children are pushing for a global instrument that ensures decent work for children in domestic work and urges governments to consider CDWs vulnerability in protection interventions. Nonetheless, children still encounter exploitation because employers that require domestic work services are on the increase especially in urban areas (Child Rights International Network, 2012). This increase in the need for domestic services is caused by the increasing involvement of employers in employment outside homes and also stay home mothers requiring “house helpers” to take on household chores such as caring for young children, cooking, cleaning to relieve them of the full-time household domestic work.

In Kampala Uganda, child domestic workers are a significant human capital for both high and middle-income earners in households as they contribute to the effective running of daily household activities such as in-house chores (Namuggala, 2016). In Uganda, 90% of the CDWs are girls between 12-17 years of age (Kabasiita, 2009). On the other hand, the Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS) (2018), shows 45% of children aged between 5 and 17 from households living below the poverty line leave school to work as CDWs to supplement

their families' income. Evidence indicates that girls are predominantly in domestic employment to financially support themselves and their families (Save the Children Protection Assessment, 2020). In Uganda's capital city Kampala, most middle-income earners have a domestic worker, however, the children in domestic work are paid very low wages (Namuggala (2015: 569). Since CDWs are live-in domestic workers, they depend on employers for their rights and basic needs such as health services, clothes, food, sanitary pads. Within the human rights framework, CDWs require a higher level of protection from exploitation such as institutionalized children in institutional protection care centers whose wellbeing could be at risk (Platform for Labour Action, 2014). For instance, Platform for Labour Action, a Kampala based organization works tirelessly to protect children that face exploitation in domestic work by removing them from dehumanizing working conditions and risk work environments and rehabilitates them through placing them in schools and providing protection services. Such protection services include providing poor families with grants for sustainable income-generating projects to be able to afford the basic needs and avoid sending children for domestic work to support their families, but rather encourage children to go to school. Namuggala (2016: 137) asserts that domestic work attracts the most unprivileged class of people and the majority are children who by the nature of their jobs are isolated, and not flexible especially in urban areas like Kampala.

According to ILO (2012), CDWs are socially, legally, statistically, and economically vulnerable to exploitation in households. The vulnerability is due to their young ages, separation from their families, and lack of awareness of their rights (Child Rights International Network, 2012). Despite children's vulnerability which often paves way for exploitation of CDWs, domestic work remains one of the primary sources of employment hence income generating for most females in Uganda (CRIN, 2012). Existing evidence indicates that most children and women in developing countries involved in domestic work are in the informal sector (Carr, Chen, and Tate, 2000). The social and cultural norms contribute to the persistence in the exploitation of CDWs because children's young age is linked to domestic work after all it is normalized. Due to the reasons stated for CDWs' vulnerability in the employment space, tackling exploitation becomes a challenge especially for policy-makers.

1.2 Problem statement

CDWs have been routinely denied basic protection rights guaranteed for other workers in different employment fields and also encounter the most exploitation in the working employment space in the world (Black, 2002; Human Rights Watch, 2012). This exploitation of CDWs has attracted the attention of policy-makers not only in Uganda but globally because of its impact on children's rights and well-being. The Ugandan government has joined other countries in embracing the ILO convention 138, which guarantees protection of workers in domestic employment to receive equal rights just like other workers, such as coverage of minimum wage, weekly rest, and limited working hours (ILO, 2010). However, in the legal context, it is illegal for children to work especially in situations that prevent them from achieving their education rights like attending school. Therefore, regulating the working of CDWs in illegal situations becomes problematic despite the existing legislation around domestic workers. While these legislative interventions have the potential to either compel or increase the rate of exploitation of CDWs in households, Cooper (2012) argues that having laws and policies in place does not guarantee the achievement of protection for children in this case. Despite these interventions, most national labour legislation exempts domestic workers from their right to protection including Uganda.

Nevertheless, the Ugandan government adopted the Children Amendment Act (2016) to generally protect children from exploitation. The Ministry of Gender, Labour, and Social Development (MGLSD) undertakes appropriate measures to implement and fulfill all children's rights including protection (UNICEF & UHRC, 2017). However, Ugandan constitution (1995) excludes CDWs from child labour laws completely which denies children their basic labour protection rights and other rights that other categories of workers are entitled to, for instance, the minimum wage or working hours (Human Rights Watch, 2012). The child labour laws that protect children's rights do not also specify the minimum standard age of employment as required by ILO (2011) convention 138. For instance, the employment Act (2006) deals with children's rights and therefore attempts to protect children under the age of 18 who for various reasons are into domestic employment. The Ugandan parliament recently passed the monthly minimum wage for domestic workers, however, putting this law into practice is still a challenge because domestic work is privately done in secluded households, with no written contract making it hard for law enforcers to monitor and make a follow-up. Although this law defines the age of entry for children into domestic work and outlaws children of 12 years or below from work, which seems a good law for children's protection, it does not protect children employed as domestic workers who need protection more than the children the law is purportedly trying to protect (Ugandan Constitution, 1995).

Consequently, the existing international conventions and Ugandan labour policies are not sufficient to protect CDWs from exploitation by employers and, does not particularly address the unique situation of CDWs, which entails specific experiences and conditions under which CDWs work in households which renders children vulnerable to abuse and exploitation (Human Rights Watch, 2012). Besides the exclusion of CDWs from the national minimum age legislation in Uganda, there is no clear reference to the CDWs situations as a special cause for concern in the different provisions such as the employment Act (2006), the education Act (2008) on child protection and ILO Convention 182 on the Worst Forms of Labour adopted by the Ugandan government. However, the ILO (2011) Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations (CEACR) indicates that concerns about the situation of CDWs in domestic work such as exploitation exists, however, recognition of the existence of exploitation has not yielded any lasting solution to save CDWs from rights violations.

Human Rights Watch (2012) studies indicate that experiences of CDWs in domestic work include labour exploitation by employers and can also entail verbal, sexual, or physical abuse, food deprivation, hence CDWs that suffer such exploitation typically have no access to redress for protection. Namuggala (2015: 568-580) notes that children's experiences in domestic work are due to the normalization of domestic work to be for women. This has given room to children's various exploitative experiences in households. The employers' treatment towards CDWs during their work determines the employer's relationship with CDWs, which can either be beneficial or damaging to the children's wellbeing depending on working conditions or relations an employer has with a particular CDW (Lyon, 2010: 5). Therefore, the exclusion of CDWs within the labour laws coupled with the feminization of domestic work which is devalued as a low-status job has led to a wide range of exploitative practices against CDWs in Kampala, Uganda. The gaps in the legal protection and social-cultural norms under which feminization of domestic work falls that have permitted exploitation of a "servant" low class have given rise to abuses ranging from endless work exploitation by employers which ruins the employer-employee relationship in households. Weber (2013) points out that gaps in national child protection interventions render children vulnerable to exploitation. Hence, these gaps in the Ugandan legal instruments hinder the protection of CDWs from exploitation, which renders it relevant to examine the CDWs' experiences and rights in domestic work in households and analyze their relationship with employers including how it impacts CDWs wellbeing in Kampala, Uganda.

Thesis statement

To improve the protection of CDWs from exploitation by employers in Kampala, Uganda, policy-makers need to ensure child labour laws are inclusive for all children in employment including CDWs to meet the basic needs and rights of both employers and CDWs which are in most cases conflicting.

1.3 Justification of the study

Child Domestic work is invisible and challenging to address, making it hard to have accurate data such as figures on CDWs especially in countries like Uganda with a high concentration of children in DW. Due to the inaccuracy in the data concerning CDWs evidenced by figures presented as estimates, it has created contestations by different authors. However, not a lot of literature has been published on the exploitation of CDWs in Kampala and specifically Uganda as a whole, because domestic work is in the informal sector, hence the labour laws specifically exclude it. Furthermore, few studies have particularly investigated the unique situation of CDWs especially their workplace conditions from a child rights-based perspective. Since domestic work is informal, it often entails a short-term employer-employee relationship because hiring is done verbally, and workers can easily be manipulated which necessitates analyzing the relationship between CDWs and employers. The research findings can be used for the Ugandan government bodies such as MGLSD, Labour ministry, Police Child Protection Unit, and other actors like Platform for Labour Action (PLA) to promote policy change on children's rights including labour rights and protection of CDWs from exploitation. Since limited data has been documented about the study, the outcome of the study can be used as a resource by future researchers that would take on research on the same subject. The Ugandan National Labour Union (UNLU) that makes decisions about conditions affecting people's work can use the findings to obtain information on children's work-life experiences such as challenges in domestic employment and come up with strategies to address the exploitation of CDWs and accord children their protection rights.

1.4 Scope

The scope of the study is live-in CDWs who live in the employers' residences and only do in-household chores and work for employers both in formal and informal employment. These are predominantly girls because they must execute the typical domestic chores, for instance, cooking, washing, cleaning caring for children, and by the virtue of their work, it is expected that they are available full time within the household. The age group is between 5-17 years because these do not have any marketable skills for another field of work and can be easily convinced and manipulated by adults into the execution of tasks. I chose this age group because I think children within this age group should not be allowed to engage in domestic work that is exploitative and hinders realization of their rights such as education and being with their families, but rather be protected, supported and their rights respected.

1.5 Research Objectives

To investigate the experiences and CDWs rights in households.

To investigate the relationship between CDWs and employers in the household and its impact on children's wellbeing and rights.

To propose strategies that can be adopted to accord children in domestic work protection from exploitation by employers.

1.6 Research Question

In what ways are the situations, rights of CDWs, and their relationship with employers affecting the realization of children's protection rights and wellbeing from exploitation by employers in Kampala, Uganda?

Sub-questions

What factors drive CDWs into domestic work in households?

What is the situation and rights of CDWs during their daily work in households?

What is the relationship between employers and CDWs which encourages exploitation in households and impacts on workers' wellbeing?

Organization of the paper

Chapter 1 entails the introduction, problem statement, Justification of the study, Main research and sub-questions, objectives of the study, and methodology used. Chapter 2 states the theoretical framework used in the analysis of the findings; chapter 3 discusses the literature review. The 4th chapter discusses the analysis of the findings while answering the research questions, while chapter 5 provides conclusive remarks, and suggests recommendations of the study.

1.7 Methodology of the Research

Creswell (2017: 228) states that a methodology represents the approaches used to gather data in a specific research process. This is because the approach encourages the researcher to think beforehand about the research objectives. This research is an exploratory study on the experiences of and rights of CDWs as it seeks to understand better a feature of a case i.e. a specific group is a primary interest in the exploration (Berg, 2009). In the case of this research, the study seeks to investigate the situation and rights of CDWs because domestic work is invisible, done behind closed doors and an informal job, hence child labour laws leave out domestic workers (ILO, 2013). Since domestic work is considered an informal job, it is based on an employer-employee verbal relational agreement since they are both dependent on each other for services and payment, respectively. Consequently, how the employer relates to the child employed determines exploitative experiences children face in households. This necessitates analyzing the employers and CDWs' relationship from a feminist perspective to understand how this encourages exploitation and impacts on their wellbeing.

1.8 Secondary data:

The research employed a qualitative approach because it was well suited to use secondary data analysis. The research adopted secondary data in its entirety, and this entailed existing data, a review of literature, previous studies, and online generated data from already existing sources (Bryman, 2016). O'Leary (2017: 266-271) defines secondary data as literature that already exists in documents, databases, or the internet. Using secondary data has some challenges such as the data collected not fitting the research demands, difficulty in identification of bias, though the possibility of discrepancies between the research objectives and original research purpose, and the credibility of collected data may not be guaranteed (O'Leary, 2014: 234). However, the study uses secondary data due to several advantages which include, being

inexpensive and cost-effective enabling easy access to data especially statistics, permanence because it can easily be checked by other people, and it is rich in diversity due to the already existing literature (O'Leary, 2014: 234).

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic which caused restriction on movements, adopting the use of secondary data was more feasible. This is because given the scope of the study that included young children who are live-in domestic workers working under difficult conditions such as fear and restrictions on movement, accessing information from them would have required my physical presence. This challenge made it necessary for the research to be conducted based on secondary data. I used sources of paper-based secondary data which included government reports, publications, and statistics. More information was from International Organizational reports websites, and online documents (O'Leary, 2014: 234). I reviewed the scholarly literature on CDWs, children's rights, and child protection, which helped to give a clear picture of the situation of CDWs concerning several children's rights violations. This also enabled me to analyze the relationship between employers and CDWs in households in Kampala, Uganda. This was possible by understanding the consequences of informal employment and how experiences in domestic work can be enabling and constraining to the parties involved.

Document review

Creswell (2017: 52) notes that to have a suitable research approach, it is important to review literature as it helps to position the proposed study within the existing literature, for instance ascertaining theories, and concepts to use in the study. According to Creswell (2009: 56), using existing literature provides a practical option when conducting research especially with limited resources and time. Adopting existing data has been upheld as a feasible approach by Creswell (2009: 56). O'Leary (2010: 223) asserts that in exploring existing literature, establishing a checklist of relevant text, and identifying the approach of accessing the data while being conscious of addressing biases and credibility in the text should be considered first. I went about this by first, getting a clear understanding of the research topic that I looked for in each text and identified the ethical issues that were deeply rooted in the texts. Therefore, I conducted a desk review of relevant documents, published and unpublished articles, journals, and reports to capture secondary data about CDWs' involvement in domestic employment, children's rights, and their protection concerns in Uganda. Some of the key documents reviewed included: Labour laws and employment policies, Annual Organizational reports on children's rights by Save the Children, UNICEF, UN annual reports, government reports, policy briefs, and academic papers. Also, national policy documents and reports that tackle the exploitation of working children in Uganda. The documents were analyzed to obtain an overview of the CDW situation concerning children's rights not only in Kampala but Uganda as a whole. The document analysis also facilitated clarification of interesting key areas where I sought more information when designing the approach to the paper.

1.9 Limitations of the study.

Due to the invisibility of CDW and being in the informal sector, concluding information regarding the actual number of children in domestic work is not possible. This challenge limited the depth of comparisons in terms of getting information on the magnitude of the impact of exploitation based on the actual statistics. To overcome this, I accessed information from annual reports from Labour organizations like Platform for Labour Action (PLA) and government reports that deal with children issues in Uganda including exploitation to get estimates of the number, however, it is still not factual. Furthermore, another

limitation of the study is that the confinement of girls in private residences neglects how CDWs encounter sexual and physical abuse by males in households that needs to be investigated.

1.12 Ethical considerations

According to Bell and Bryman (2007), ethical considerations are very important as they represent principles followed during the research process. In that regard, the ethical considerations were guided by the ISS research guidelines and this involved acknowledging the works of other scholars and organizational data used throughout the study. I also maintained objectivity in the analysis of the research findings.

Chapter 2.

Designing the CRBA for CDWs, Feminist, and Intersectionality for the employer-employee relationship.

2.1 Applying a Child Rights-Based Approach (CRBA) for CDWs

The CRBA is a conceptual international framework for human development processes based on global rights standards which are directly geared to promoting and protecting all human rights (OHCHR, 2006). This concept seeks to analyze the inequalities which lie under development and social problems and addresses the discriminatory and unjust practices such as exploitation that hinder progress in development interventions (OHCHR, 2006: 15). For example, CDWs encounter unjust treatment through exploitation such as working for long hours, denial of education opportunities, and discrimination in households by employers, hence lack protection from such inequalities. Such exploitative practices are a hindrance to achieving workable protection interventions such as laws adopted by governments like article 19 of the CRC (1989) which emphasizes protection for all children. So, embracing the CRBA would be beneficial in the study because it places a priority on justice, equality, and the will to address underlying power issues embedded in exploitation which sometimes results from economic problems like poverty which forces children into domestic work.

While Save the Children (2005) defines CRBA as an approach that holds institutions and people with power accountable for their duties to people with less power, Theis (2004) highlights that CRBA is a process through which states who are the duty bearers are held accountable for their obligations and right-holders claim their entitlements. Therefore, duty bearers have to protect children in employment from exploitation. I agree with Theis' (2004) view because CDWs are powerless, and discriminated against by employers and so, to claim their rights such as protection, education, to which they have entitlements, it is the state responsibility to avail conditions which can enable other protection actors like community leaders, parents, organizations, employers to fulfill their responsibilities by enforcing protection laws and policies to children rather than violating their rights. However, the approach may have limitations especially in realizing the protection goals due to the assumption that the state duty-bearers are with the capacity to ensure right holders' rights are achieved which may be problematic (Save the Children, 2005). This is because some of the social, economic, and cultural rights may be hard to realize by duty bearers especially if the context from which it is to be addressed in full of constraints such as the right to justice for a CDW facing abuse in a household may not be easy due to the labour laws excluding them specifically and

invisibility of the work. Some of these constraints hinder the elimination of exploitation by duty bearers.

While different ideologies about the safety of children involved in any form of employment and especially the ideas that form the basis upon which child protection policy framework is drawn to end the exploitation of CDWs (Theis, 2004), using the CRBA to prevent and promote the realization of rights like education, and protection from labour exploitation would be feasible. This is because undermining the significance of using this framework in discussing the exploitation problem would not bring out the exact situation and rights of CDWs. On the contrary, applying a CRBA helps explain CDWs exploitation experiences and rights violations in a way that can be widely understood, making addressing the problem pertinent in achieving protection for most children especially CDWs whose protection concerns have been ignored. Also, utilizing this framework helps to define exploitation as a “violation” of children’s rights, hence “infringes” on their protection, education rights, and leisure which is detrimental to children's growth and development (UNICEF, 2017).

Using a CRBA framework, exploitation of CDWs deserves to be investigated further, which means defining who children are from the legal perspective, for instance, in line with the CRC, states that anybody below 18 years of age remains a child. The ILO (2011) convention 138 set 18 as the minimum standard age for working children and below that age, a child is not eligible to work hence should be protected according to the labour laws. For instance, the employment Act (2006) in Uganda deals with children’s rights and therefore attempts to protect children under the age of 18 who for various reasons are into domestic employment. Similarly, Article 19 and 34 of the CRC (1989) emphasize the protection of children because it interferes with their growth and development. Hence, the legal framework places children's protection from exploitation in the context of promoting and protecting all children's rights. From the CRBA perspective, children in domestic work are regarded as vulnerable and generally dependant on adults who make decisions on their behalf considering the best interest of the child (OHCHR, 2006). This can be linked-to article 3 of the CRC which urges policymakers to act in the best interest of the child especially when children are in circumstances that prevent them from attending school and in designing child protection interventions. For instance, CDWs' parents decide to send children to work in different households to financially support their families. This indicates children's dependence on adults and their lack of agency, creating room for exploitation by employers.

The approach identifies CDWs' vulnerability as problematic because it increases the chances of more exploitation situations such as social exclusion, and inequality in households' domestic work. This calls for the protection of all children's rights regardless of age, gender, and social position from all kinds of rights violations. OHCHR (2006) asserts that employing a CRBA is significant in eliminating the exploitation of children because of its comprehensiveness in promoting the best interest of the child. However, from the child protection perspective, Save the Children (2005) supports a CRBA in strengthening an all-inclusive child protection framework especially if it ensures domestic does not hinder the realization of other children's rights. Though protection approaches do vary depending on children's situations, and how their rights get violated, a more inclusive approach that caters to all children in exploitative situations while prioritizing the best interest of the child can accord CDWs protection and render them their desired rights.

2.2 Using a feminist perspective to child domestic work

Feminist epistemology is about knowledge from a feminist perspective. The feminist perspective informs the study by the feminist beliefs that acknowledge analysis can be from people's experiences, for instance, what domestic workers go through in employment (Collins, 2000). This theory informs the research because it prioritizes the standpoint of people who are neglected, exploited, and oppressed depending on their situations and happenings in life. From the feminist perspective, CDWs are oppressed and exploited who need protection. The approach provides an understanding of exploitation as a central issue and shows that CDWs' several rights are violated including protection (Liebel, 2012). As Collins (2000) asserts that an employee requires to understand their situation as a marginalized category of people. With Collins' assertion, if CDWs understand their lower position in the employment space, and that they are only employees, it can enable them to learn to survive even while working under challenging working conditions such as work with no rest, and abuse from employers. However, (Hooks, 1994; Alcoff, 1991) hold a different perspective in acknowledgment that workers have been silenced and their voices are also neglected. For CDWs to realize protection rights, their voices are significant within the domestic working space. On the other hand, Alcoff (1992) argues in support of article 19 of the CRC ensuring children's protection rights through their active involvement in protection initiatives. Using the child protection framework, Harding (1993) argues that the realities of most social actors are always constructed based on different perspectives and standpoints. Having multiple standpoints enables identification of the exploitation problem female children to encounter as well as understand how their social identities such as gender, age, race, and background relate to issues like oppression and discrimination that children are faced within the domestic employment in households. This can be linked to Crenshaw's (2015) view on intersectionality, where he stresses recognizing that social identities such as gender, age, class, and position reinforce and constitute one another.

2.3 Application of the concept of intersectionality

Intersectionality is a theoretical framework that explains how power structures affect those that are marginalized the most in society (Crenshaw, Hawkesworth & Cooper, 2015: 2-3). The intersectional theory brings about an understanding of how different aspects of people's social identities come together to create different modes of privileges and discrimination (Crenshaw, 2015). Hence, the theory considers different identities such as gender, age, class, religion, position, and orientation which are intertwined. Crenshaw (2015) argues that the intersectional theory often shows how different people are disadvantaged by multiple sources of oppression, which can be based on their gender identities, age, class, race, sexual orientation, position, etc. Precisely, intersectionality looks at the intersections between such identities and how they lead to specific types of oppression. So, for instance, even though women, in general, are oppressed, oppression for black women looks different from that of white women but also from that of black men. Basing on Crenshaw's example of the black lesbian, they had both similarities as well as differences from other groups of people facing oppression in a way that they are assigned to their multiple positionalities.

From an intersection perspective, the employers are unwilling to change the CDWs working situations such as giving days off for rest despite being a child's right, but rather subject the children to oppression because of their gender and age identities. Although CDWs often face oppression, it is done based on different identities. For example, oppression on CDWs in households is usually different from children in other kinds of work in

terms of getting time off to rest, the opportunity to attend school. This can cause tension for CDWs and affects the relational aspect with employers. While the employers create several modes of discriminatory practices such as unfair long hours of work without days off, they on the other hand are privileged to have someone take up household tasks. Though Harding (1993) argues that the most marginalized groups have entitlement over the privileged, CDWs are denied their entitlement through the employers violating their rights to protection, education, play, and time with their families. Collin(2000) argues that CDWs who are marginalized, hence need to understand their position to survive under difficult circumstances such as harsh working conditions. Adichie's (2009) claims that this theory helps to expose the challenges of a "single story" that lessens difficulty in people's experiences to one perspective. While the theory is significant in exposing the inequality in different situations through identities, it renders the different groups vulnerable.

In addressing the exploitation problem of CDWs, the intersectional approach focuses on the experiences of CDWs and its overlapping discrimination yet has no protection (Crenshaw, 1994). Taking an example of gender and race identities, Crenshaw (1989: 139) asserts that intersectionality helps to indicate how the interaction between race and gender shape different dimensions of women's experiences in employment. I agree with this argument because gender, age, and position play a role in shaping the work experiences especially CDWs experiences. For example, most CDWs face some exploitative situations due to their female gender, young age identities, and low position in households in the guise that they are meant to do the tasks. However, there are different kinds of intersections within CDWs which makes them different from children in other kinds of work. For instance, in CDW, intersections are in such a way that children in irregular migration status are confined in one household with restricted movement while children in other forms of domestic work that do not reside with employers have access to free movement, which makes them different from the live-in CDWs. Consequently, it necessitates the need to analyze exploitation of CDWs and their protection concerns through the lens of social identities and how power structures play out in the lives of the minorities, for instance, the children in domestic employment facing oppression and discrimination from employers which affects their relationship with employers as well as attaining their basic rights.

Chapter 3

3.1 A review of the literature on CDWs exploitation and protection.

Although CDWs make a tremendous social and economic contribution, they are the most exploited in the employment sector in Uganda due to the informal and invisible nature of domestic work and lack of legislation for CDWs specifically. In examining CDWs' experiences in domestic work, and their relationship with employers, it is relevant to discuss and review the debates on CDWs situations that contribute to exploitation, and their rights especially protection in Uganda. The relational aspects between the employer and CDWs are inclusive. The review discusses literature from Uganda and more broadly on CDWs specifically from exploitation, using Kampala district as a case. The review is organized in themes as follows; -debates on CDWs situations, and child protection basing on scholars' views, and secondly, trends in the CDWs labour situations and rights, feminization and vulnerability of CDWs due to social construction of domestic work attached to women rendering them vulnerable to exploitation and their relationship with employers in domestic work to inform the research project.

3.2 Debates on CDWs' situations, rights, and work relationships.

The need for protection of all children including CDWs from exploitation is emphasized internationally in the UNCRC (1989). The adoption of the CRC as a children's protection instrument has been broadly embraced towards the realization of children's rights including protection. CDWs' situations and realization of their different rights require protection interventions, therefore, adopting a CRBA as a framework for child protection can ensure positive change in children's situations and rights. Nevertheless, protection approaches for working children differ in societies because of several factors ranging from social, cultural, and economic sometimes interfere with child protection interventions devised against exploitative situations within households. Upon this background, different scholars, children's rights bodies have put across debates and views regarding protection interventions and CDWs situations in domestic work as well the relationship of CDWs and their employers concerning exploitation encountered during work in households. Therefore, the review helps me demonstrate an understanding of the problem of exploitation of CDWs in the study especially identifying gaps in the existing literature to be addressed in the research.

3.3 Overview of Child protection in a broader context

Child protection is a social-oriented term that has been adopted by policymakers and entails interpreting the children's experiences during their childhood stage (Parton, 2014). Among them includes children's risks such as abuse and vulnerability which encourages exploitation to thrive in households. UNICEF (2017) defines child protection as ways of preventing and responding to exploitation, neglect, and abuse against children. This can be linked to Pells (2012) who holds a view that the protection of children should aim at preventing, responding, and resolving children's situations, especially those that can lead to exploitation and abuse such as poverty, and their invisibility in households. This justifies Pells (2012) perspective that acknowledges that economic and social factors such as chronic poverty, power imbalances, and harmful cultural practices are some of the root causes of failure in protecting children. Commonly, children from poor families cannot afford education hence drop out of school, neither can they afford the basic needs such as food, clothing, etc. Such a situation forces parents to decide that the girls go for domestic work to support their families or some like total orphans leave on their own which exposes them to more exploitation.

There is optimism among scholars and researchers on child protection views about the context as being significant in protecting children. Dodge (2011) notes that establishing strategies for children's safety and development requires giving attention to children's contextual issues, for instance, the creation of community child protection strategies. The contextual details of the lives of children impact their lives, hence focus on different ways of protection offered to children may be of advantage. Howard (2012) and Karin (2016) in their studies of adolescents migrating to work in Bangladesh reveal that children's and adults' support to them needs consideration including children's contribution to their families and get support in return. They also note that children are affected differently by poverty and shocks depending on their positions in a family. Therefore, when the local and international standards find children's work undesirable, it may have protection functions within households' strategies in dealing with poverty. It should be noted that families and local communities usually provide some protection to children without outside help. Heissler (2016) asserts that though effort in protection interventions to safeguard children has been made, conformity to the standardized norms is not adequate. This is because of children's lower position in domestic employment, for instance, CDWs are not provided for by protection interventions

such as child labour laws in the Ugandan constitution (1995). Children's continued involvement in domestic work in such situations encourages exploitation and violation of their rights to protection and other rights. So, from a child protection perspective, more attention needs to be spent on preventing children from leaving their families to work as domestic workers.

3.4 Discussing CDWs and their vulnerability to exploitation

According to ILO (2011), a child domestic worker is "any young individual engaged in household domestic chores within a working relationship". I consider children in domestic work as CDWs because they help with day-to-day tasks of running a household which includes cooking, cleaning, and caring for children (ILO, 2011). CDW differs from child slavery because in most cases, these workers are usually working full time and can be either live-in child domestic workers or just move to work in different households at their own or parents' will (Black, 2002), while child slavery entails forced labour not on the child's will and often harmful to children's health and development (ILO, 2012). Currently, CDWs are estimated to be 53 million globally of which 83% are females and work in private independent households (ILO, 2013). Human Rights Watch (2010) acknowledges that domestic workers play a crucial role in households and communities, though CDWs undergo exploitation in the hands of employers. This is due to children's isolation in private households, separation from their families, dependency on employers, and ignorance about their rights makes them particularly vulnerable to exploitation (CRIN, 2012).

In the Ugandan context, around 6 million domestic workers are estimated to be domestic employment (PLA, 2014). The Population Secretariat, Uganda (2013), indicates the country has the youngest population in the world with over 70% being less than 30 years of age. This explains the high unemployment rate, which pushes the young girls to migrate from rural areas to towns to engage in domestic employment since it is a readily available form of employment (Bamutaze, Mugarura, Mukwaya & Benson, 2012). However, Atieno (2012) argues that CDWs lived experiences in households encourage exploitation and frustrates access to protection. While Wallace (1991) acknowledges that children's engagement in domestic work provides some opportunities such as getting some income, he critiques the challenges that come with it such as heavy workload without rest that is detrimental to children's health. This highlights how children's involvement in domestic work impacts on children's wellbeing and shows the trends in CDWs situations as a labour struggle in achieving protection from exploitation.

A recent study in Ethiopia by Young Lives (Crivello and Chuta 2014), reveals that CDWs' situations can impact children's well-being and rights both negatively and positively. According to studies indicate that children lose several rights such as education opportunities while working as CDWs, most children continue working to contribute to their family's income (UNICEF (2017). Discussing why children get into domestic is important as it brings an understanding of the genesis of exploitation that CDWs encounter within households. Thorsen (2012) notes that children get to work in different ways, for instance, some are sent out of school to work for household survival while others are fostered but instead end up as workers in households. Such scenarios reflect the same for Uganda, where relatives like aunts or uncles foster children especially orphans or those from very poor economic backgrounds. Although CDW affects children's life opportunities and rights to subjective well-being, and protection rights and development, an integrated approach is needed to address the broader economic, social context in which children in Uganda live. However, Cheney (2020), Nardos, and Gina (2012) in their studies show how trends place children in various circumstances that identify them with vulnerability. For instance, orphans whose parents

have died from HIV or refugees have always been recognized as vulnerable and such a situation triggers the need for protection. Hence, the relationship that exists between employers and CDWs that triggers children's situations renders them vulnerable. Consequently, children in the most difficult situations with no support such as the orphans who need support the most should be prioritized instead of viewing them as a means of attracting financial support by their caretakers.

3.5 Trends in the CDWs labour struggles and employer-employee relationship

Though scholars on DW acknowledge that labour exploitation is existent in domestic responsibilities within households, most have not fully unpacked the various forms of the exploitative practices in specificity. However, the majority of scholars emphasize CDWs experiences during work and their expectations in terms of fulfilling the goals that pushed them into domestic work and also challenging the disciplinary power of social and cultural norms that belittle their work decisions (Choo and Cheng, 2015).

CDWs face a lot of work struggles during work and most of the experiences condition the relationship between employers and the children they employ. The exploitation as one of the labour struggles for CDWs can be understood differently depending on the context in which the practice is done. According to Torre des Hommes (2019), child exploitation means involving children in harmful work that is hindering their growth. For example, children are considered exploited when abused for someone else's benefit at the expense of their own or when given work beyond their age, for long hours, and in unhealthy conditions and this is what exploitation looks like in many scenarios. Scholars have highlighted that CDWs are socially constructed and necessary for human capital accumulation and literature shows that very little is known about how children in domestic workers address their challenges such as loss of freedom of movement and other basic needs (Agarwala & Saha, 2018). While several studies have been instrumental in depicting CDWs as victims of exploitation which has contributed to debates on children's situations and rights violations, they merge the CDWs exploitative challenges in their work. Agarwala (2018) notes that domestic work offers advantages such as offering human capital to many employers, it turns out problematic when it comes to how domestic work is structured whereby it requires full-time availability indicating struggles in the working conditions like denial of time off for rest. Salzinger (1991) and Romero (1992) agree with the assertion that in different employment sectors, the work structures and dynamics determine employees' conditions of work and these can include work challenges such as unclear terms of employment and employer-employee relationship in households in terms of how CDWs are treated by employers. In terms of the employee-employer relationship, scholars Romero and Salzinger (1992) demonstrate that the way domestic work is structured determines their labour situations and children's rights as well as their struggle for a better working relationship with employers within households. For instance, in Kampala domestic work is done in private households and dependant on a verbal agreement, instead of writing. This leaves CDWs unprotected as employers easily take them for granted and exploit and affects relations within the household space.

Child domestic workers are different from other employees in a way that the labour laws do not address their unique vulnerabilities and rights like it does for other children employees who have limited working hours to allow them time to attend school (CRIN, 2012). Another difference is that CDW requires full-time availability be it at night or daytime hence no time to rest, while other jobs allow some time off for rest. According to ILO (2011), the relationship between employers and employees enables workers to achieve their rightful rights such as good working conditions, protection, and other opportunities like education.

This means that in a situation where an employer creates a good relationship with the CDW by providing good working conditions like giving days off for rest, the employee can realize their rights to protection, rest, and leisure, and social security.

Alternatively, the issue of power relations comes into play whereby children in domestic work are marginalized because of their less privileged situation in households, this renders them vulnerable for easy exploitation by privileged employers with power. As Collins (2000) suggests, children need to understand their position in the employment sphere to thrive in difficult circumstances. Nonetheless, Pells (2012) asserts that protection policy practitioners view children as vulnerable and hence need protection from adults instead of considering them as active social agents in households. In the context of Uganda, children are left unprotected as they take charge of their own lives through engaging in domestic work to fend for their families, a responsibility that should be for adults. The Child Rights-Based Approach was availed to work and protect children at risk such as in exploitation. Pells (2012) holds a view that to address the vulnerability of children in situations that affects their lives, adoption of a CRBA can lead to that. Therefore, the focus should be on certain categories of children such as vulnerable and orphans who are perceived as more exposed to risks of exploitation given their needy situations. While child protection aims at improving protection for children and reducing risks, Karen Seccombe (2002) holds a different view as she notes that this CBRA to child protection tends to enable children to "beat the odds" rather than "changing the odds" hence requiring the need to target root causes of life chances rather than just symptoms.

3.6 Vulnerability of CDWs and Feminization of Domestic Work

Kyomuhendo (2006) a Ugandan feminist scholar asserts that reproductive roles such as cleaning, child upbringing, cooking, etc have always been cultural and social responsibilities done by women in households. This can be connected to the feminization of DW as a woman job culturally meant for women, though employers use this notion to exploit CDWs through long hours of work or lack of rest days within households. However, this has changed due to the current urbanization and capitalism that has come with women getting into paid employment in most societies in Uganda (Kyomuhendo, 2006). From a feminist perspective, Lowe & Gregson (1994) note that the gender division of labour in Uganda, whereby responsibilities such as reproductive roles are largely a "woman job". As women are seen to take up such roles, men are considered breadwinners, and therefore, the construction of women as domestic labourers, which is usually unpaid and the transformations as a result of urbanization has seen women take up work outside the home. Similarly, CDW has also been there while women worked inside their homes because stay home mothers also need CDWs as house helpers especially running errands within the house, which creates the need for domestic workers to take over responsibilities for both employers outside homes as well as stay home. In a similar case as Uganda, Yeoh & Haung (1996) studies on domestic employment in the state of Singapore, highlight formal employment for women is good, however, it is a "solution that brings about injustices of its own which further establishes gender politics"(Haung & Yeoh, 1996: 489). This scenario is true for Uganda because children in domestic employment take up responsibilities in households for purposes of income and survival which sometimes breeds injustices if the work is too much or not done to the employer's expectations. The situation of injustices results in exploitation and ruins the employer-employee relationship in households as both parties remain disgruntled. Finally, since domestic work is predominantly done by young girls, it puts them in a vulnerable position for easy exploitation by employers.

Child domestic workers are among the most exploited workers in Uganda because domestic household tasks are feminized as naturally women jobs (Namuggala, 2015: 568-580). The naturalization of domestic work, its location in private households and the distinctiveness of the relationship between employers and CDWs renders them vulnerable and creates an opportunity for exploitation. Since domestic is uniquely constructed in a way that is done from the employer's residence, there is tension between the employer and employee which can affect the CDWs' performance (ILO, 2011). This happens because most employers often have control over household issues which creates tensions in the relationship between employees and their bosses in households. Anjula (2016: 63) highlights that the employer-employee relationship takes a different form unlike other kinds of employment and admit that respect is among the factors dominating the domestic work domain, especially women. Anjula (2016) emphasizes that CDWs situations in domestic work such as long working hours are often determined by the employer's personality and their humane considerations towards a specific employee. For instance, in a situation where a relative such as an aunt takes in a child as a house helper, usually, a child is subjected to more work which can be in exploitative conditions and seen as normal or will not complain since the CDW is in a relative's residence. Therefore, domestic work having a closer linkage to feminism, and the situational nature of DW in isolated households and its complexity due to the verbal terms of work agreement and having no proper government guidelines on CDWs specifically heightens exploitation and hinders realization of protection for CDWs in Uganda.

Conclusion

In the literature reviewed, findings indicate that in Uganda, especially girls are vulnerable to exploitation given their young age and gender which places them in a lower position in society hence cannot make any decisions and are marginalized. Additionally, most CDWs in cities like Kampala are young children who in most cases are children that drop out of school, while some have never enrolled or attained any education. The working hours of CDWs in Uganda needs to be investigated including finding out if children in domestic work have access to legal and social protection programs that can offer the necessary assistance. Additionally, recognizing the vulnerability of CDWs in their daily domestic work activities to inform policy and legal change-makers to design supportive programs that can transform these children's lives needs to be considered. Several scholars speak a common voice that CDWs go for domestic work for financial gains, however, I think not all children achieve that as most end up working freely or in exchange for a home.

Chapter 4 Data Analysis and Findings

Under this section, I will answer the sub-questions 1, 2, 3. I will analyse the study findings and apply the CRBA and feminist perspective to questions 1 and 2, about the factors that drive children to domestic work, and CDWs situation, and rights in households. For the 3rd question on the relationship between employers and CDWs and its impact on wellbeing, am going to use the feminist, intersectional approach in analysing and answering the question.

4.1 Understanding CDWs situations in the domestic employment sphere

The urgent need to consider the situation of CDWs in the domestic employment sphere is emphasized to free children from exploitation. Black and Offley (2002) highlight that in considering the CDWs experiences in domestic work, emphasis should be put on how children are placed or aspects that drive them into domestic employment. Similarly, Anti-Slavery International (1990) a human rights organization urges inclusive protection of people including children in employment from all forms of exploitation situations through addressing children's rights violations in exploitative labour regardless of gender, age, race, and economic situations. CDW in households has features such as children working without any designated time off for rest which holds children captive without protection (ASI and Black, 2002). In similar situations, CDWs in other countries like India, a country with the highest number of CDWs as an example at a global level, ILO's Committee of Experts on the Application of the Convention of labour standards highlights that CDWs are usually separated from families, work without rest and experience physical and sexual exploitation. These demonstrate some of the exploitative conditions and experiences children face in domestic employment (ILO, 1993), and what exploitation looks like which is a similar case in Uganda.

In Kampala, CDW is a common pattern, though there are features that distinguish it from other forms of labour. The practice of CDW can mean a situation where children below 18 years of age involve in light and non-harmful domestic work yet in an exploitative situation (ILO, 2012). I agree that not all work children engage in is child labour, but work that takes children away from enjoying education is harmful to a child's development is considered child exploitative labour (ILO, 2011). For instance, CDWs are held in household tasks full-time hence with no opportunity to acquire educational skills. According to the survey on young and CDWs in Uganda (2015), children in domestic work are a source of labour to their families, hence participate in their upbringing. This justifies ILO (2012) assertion that CDW is good for children's growth and their preparation into responsible adulthood and marriage, especially for the girls. Considering the trend of mass movement of people from rural areas to urban cities such as Kampala in search of employment, Statistics from the Uganda National Planning Authority (2013) shows that 85 % of Uganda's population is still rural, this has increased the rate at which people migrate to urban areas, especially young people in the hunt for jobs. Among the job seekers are young girls who sometimes have dropped out of school or lack education to accord them marketable skills in other career ventures and so resort to the readily available jobs in domestic employment (UNPA, 2013). However, the use of domestic assistance in households in Uganda is regarded as a normal practice because of its values attached to young girls as part of their cultural, social, and economic life (Valdivia & Lyon, 2010). Many employers consider having young girls work in their households because they can be easily manipulated into obedience and are a cheaper source of labour as opposed to adults. Though domestic work is used as a mechanism for children's upbringing in most societies in Kampala, parents and employers see nothing wrong with the practice because it is considered childhood training of young children into adulthood.

4.2 Situating of CDWs and children's rights in the International and Local context.

Although CDW is largely practiced in most households across the globe, ILO (2011) recognizes that it is one of the exploitative labours that children suffer. Most countries have ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) agreeing to abide by the

standards set to treat children with care and protection. However, children's massive involvement in domestic work as well as the continued need for domestic labour by employers is hindering the fulfilment of several rights like protection from exploitation or abuse, leisure, play, and education. Moreover, the UNCRC and ILO (2011) Forced Labour Convention together with the Convention on the minimum age of entry into employment provides international legitimization for action on behalf of CDWs (ILO, 2011).

In Uganda, the rights of CDWs are rarely respected and fulfilled as stipulated in the different articles in the CRC (1989). The convention sets standards upon which all children ought to enjoy all rights, including the protection of CDWs from exploitation by employers. In the study, among the children's rights, the focus is on the rights to protection, education, leisure, and play because a child needs to be protected to enjoy the other rights. Unfortunately, children in domestic work require urgent protection because employers have exchanged protection for domestic work (Namuggala, 2016: 138-148). For instance, in Kampala, situations where relatives take in children like orphans, in the pretext of taking responsibility usually turn these children into domestic workers in exchange for the favour of being granted a home. Such a situation exposes children to exploitation with no alternative to the protection which violates children's other rights to education, or leisure, as they are full time occupied with domestic work. This justifies the CRC's emphasis on the protection of all children's rights and interferes with children's education because they drop out of school to support their families through domestic employment.

Evidence from Platform for Labour Action (2014) an organization in Kampala that works to protect and promote domestic workers' economic and social rights through resolving conflicts between employers and domestic workers, indicates that physical exploitation is extensive in households and has deprived CDWs of several life opportunities such as education opportunities, good health, and proper childcare. Despite the legal framework especially child labour laws (Ugandan Constitution, 1995) and employment Act (2006) which specifically excludes CDWs, children and labour rights such as UNICEF, Save the Children as well as PLA (2014) work to protect and promote domestic workers' social and economic rights through offering legal support and educational programs on children's and workers' rights in Kampala. Also, article 19 of the CRC (1989) emphasizes the children's protection as this interferes with their growth and development. Although realizing CDWs protection rights requires an inclusive approach to exploitation, policymakers should consider the CRC's basic principle of the best interest of the child within the legal framework, especially in the child protection interventions as emphasized in article 3 of the CRC. This can be attained by removing children from exploitative situations in households for their rights like protection and education to be respected.

This approach requires state and private institutions to act in the children's best interest to ensure the wellbeing and realizing rights including their protection needs in the labour market because the removal of children from exploitative situations would ensure their rights are respected (Theis,2004). For instance, Platform for Labour Action organization in Kampala removes children from exploitative working situations in households and relocates them in safer environments including enrolling them in schools and supporting with scholastic materials to protect them from exploitation and abuse by employers (PLA, 2012). It also offers support in income-generating projects to children's families so that they do not send children to work as DWs to support families, but rather support them to attend school. Hence, this inclusiveness also needs to apply to CDWs employers so that as children work, their employers consider granting them some rights like an opportunity to acquire an education alongside working in employers' households. Such an arrangement would be indicating

that an employer has the child's best interest. This kind of inclusiveness can cause significant change through which CDWs will be able to achieve their rights, development and can eliminate conflicting needs and rights between both employers and employees. Although Lyon and Valdivia (2010: 5-6) argue that CDW is traditionally considered a suitable way of child upbringing, this norm goes against the legal perspective that it violates children's rights as employers turn domestic work into an exploitative practice. This provides a background and understanding of CDWs rights and situation and shows why children in domestic work lack protection in Kampala, Uganda, making it relevant in the actual analysis of the study findings and considering how and why children are driven into domestic employment.

4.3 Analysis

Above, I situated CDWs in domestic work including their rights to bring to light the actual circumstances surrounding children in domestic work. In this research, multiple theories as frameworks are used in the analysis of rights and CDWs employment experiences in households. Namuggala (2016: 131-136) notes that using multiple frameworks in the analysis of a research problem gives a feasible understanding of how a problem can be better addressed unlike analysis from a single perspective. Situating the CDWs experiences first enables analysis of the findings as well as answering the research questions, hence meeting the objectives. The frameworks I found useful in the analysis of the study findings are the Feminist, intersectional approach because of the feminization of DW as women job and the CBRA perspective because it emphasizes an inclusive approach to the protection of all children's rights regardless of gender, age, social and economic situation or position and prioritizes strengthening of an inclusive child protection framework (Save the Children, 2005). CRBA guarantees children's rights are respected, fulfilled, and ensures children below the age of 14 are removed from salaried employment as set by ILO (2011).

The study questions are guiding the research analysis. I reviewed data and organized them into themes to answer the sub-questions and below, the themes explain the findings. In analysing the findings, the major themes are the: **1)** factors driving children into domestic work; **2)** the situation of CDWs and their rights during the execution of their daily work in households and **3)** the relationship between CDWs and employers and its impact on children's wellbeing and rights.

1. The factors driving CDWs into domestic work in households?

i) CDWs Poor economic backgrounds

Many factors such as poverty drives most children into domestic work in Kampala. Atieno (2012: 12) notes that children are pushed into domestic employment due to poverty as most of them hail from poor family backgrounds in rural areas and move to urban areas to earn income to get basic needs. Most children from very poor families consider domestic work as an avenue to improve their economic situation (CRIN, 2012). Due to poverty, many households are unable to afford quality education for their young children. However, the Ugandan government introduced the free Universal Primary Education (UPE) to keep children in school and gain some helpful skills, instead of being diverted into domestic work for an income (. Despite the free primary education for all children, girls still leave school for domestic work to earn money to sustain their family's needs. Using the CRBA to the issue of poverty which pushes children into domestic work, the problem that arises is the denial of children's education opportunities. This is interpreted as a violation of CDWs educational rights and goes against article 28 of the CRC (1989). The CRC emphasizes children's protection especially focusing on the best interest of the children which can be attained by

considering article 28 of the CRC on the rights to education and act on achieving it through empowering children and adults to make use of the UPE. Furthermore, sometimes girls drop out of school due to poor academic performance which is attributed to coming from a disadvantaged family background that cannot afford school fees. Atieno (2012) highlights that children especially girls who attend school first carry out domestic chores at home which makes them arrive late and fatigued at school hence affects their concentration and performance. Therefore, rather than keep in school, some children prefer to go look for survival through engaging in domestic work. Concerning this, Namuggala (2015: 569) asserts that girls' limited pursuit of education is due to the cultural construction in communities in Kampala whereby the boy child is given THE privilege to have an education as opposed to girls who are groomed to be good in marriage through performing typical household chores. Therefore, children partly work in domestic work to support their families such as young siblings with necessities such as school fees, food, medical care and this makes poverty a big motivating factor for children's involvement in domestic work in Kampala and Uganda as a whole.

ii) Increase in demand for domestic workers in Kampala

The continuing economic and social crisis that leads to increasing demand for domestic workers affects individuals and most communities in rural areas determine both adults' and children's decisions into domestic employment. In Uganda, domestic work has been feminized as well as constructed socially mainly in the gendered labour division in households which places all domestic labour burden on women (Namuggala, 2015: 561-580). The household responsibilities such as childcare, cooking, washing clothes, and cleaning are perceived as a "woman role" by which women are expected to perform these roles without any complaint. Studies show that domestic work is largely considered a woman's domain in households hence viewed as an inferior kind of work as opposed to other kinds of work (Namuggala, 2015; Oelz, 2011; Tokman, 2010; Tacoli, 2012). Using the feminist perspective, the problem of gender is exposed as domestic work is considered naturally a female gender responsibility. Since girls are socially constructed to perform domestic work as female roles, it indicates that girls go into domestic work because they have been made to believe that domestic work is their place (Namuggala, 2016: 131-148). However, while the household responsibilities do not change over time, and domestic work is customarily considered a good mechanism for children's upbringing and prepares young girls for future marriage (UNICEF, 2017). Therefore, the normality of domestic as well as the continuing need for domestic worker services in most households in Kampala coupled with the view that CDW is good for children's upbringing contributes to their engagement in domestic work.

The intersectional approach in the study helps to show the problem of gender and age in CDWs situations in a way that domestic work is seen as a job exclusively for females. This feminization of domestic work contributes to individuals in society overlooking the exploitation of children hence allowing the continuation of the practice in households (Mulumba, 2014). The concept of intersectionality, inequality emerges as a problem in a way that as young women working as CDWs are viewed to be where they are supposed to work, another class of people who are the employers emerge and Have withdrawn from the household roles as they have to work outside. This puts such people in a different class of people, leaving the domestic workers in a lower class hence inequality. Consequently, the feminization and normality of domestic work in society push children into domestic employment because it is perceived as a normal practice for a girl child hence no problem taking it up. However, this turns out exploitative and a violation of children's rights when experiences such as long hours of work, with no rest and abuse, come into play yet employers are

expected to protect these children. Finally, Namuggala (2015: 568-579) holds a different view than the feminization of domestic work in communities in Uganda is relevant as it holds the cultural norms and values intact.

iii) Orphanhood of CDWs

Orphanhood is one of the factors that put children in critical situations that forces them into domestic work in Kampala, Uganda. Orphanhood and the situation of CDW seem to have a close relationship in Uganda because most children that are orphaned end up in the hands of relatives or other people that take them in as domestic workers (Lyon & Valdivia, 2010). The HIV/AIDS that has claimed the lives of many adults has left so many young children orphaned in Uganda and cannot take care of themselves or fellow young siblings (UNICEF, 2017). This forces children to look for ways to survive in domestic work from different households. Bourdillon (2006: ix) justifies this argument that employing young children is a path to giving orphans ways of earning a living. Children being in such a situation shows why CDW especially in developing countries like Uganda is prevalent. According to UNAIDS (2012), the HIV prevalence in adults stands at 7.2 % with around 1.2 million children having been orphaned due to the virus. This orphanhood situation leaves so many children stranded without protection from anyone because in most cases relatives are not willing to step up or help the orphans with support like school fees (UNICEF, 2017). Using intersectionality as an approach to this orphanhood issue, the theory enables me to think about the problem of social identities like age, gender, and position in CDWs. I interpret it in a way that children's young age and their female innate characteristic that domestic work is naturally a woman's work. Therefore, due to their gender, young age, and position as orphans who most cases lack protection, they work as CDWs for both shelter and earn a living. In a similar line, children are forced into domestic work as a result of insurgencies, for example, the civil wars that happened in northern Uganda and landslides in Bududa district in eastern Uganda where both scenarios caused the loss of parents (Soto, 2009; Cheney, 2007; Namuggala and Mulumba, 2014). Concerning this, Stephanie Nolen (2008) argues that insurgencies such as conflict leaves children orphaned, hence how have no support which forces them to work as CDWs. As a survival strategy, these children are forced to find their way from far rural areas to Kampala city in search of domestic work to earn a living. This leaves children vulnerable and in the hands of strangers who employ them as CDWs and exposes them to exploitation. By the virtue of domestic work where there is no written agreement coupled with children's young age, children are easily taken for granted and leave them unprotected which pushes them to find work in households.

Next, to analyse the findings on children's situation and rights in domestic employment in Kampala, Uganda, I found it relevant to first discuss some of the factors that drive children into domestic work. Below, I examine children's experiences in domestic work in Kampala using both CBRA and feminist theory. It should be noted that despite the several factors that encourage CDWs in domestic work, most children's experiences entail exploitation by employers who are supposed to protect them. The analysis focuses on CDWs working conditions, their terms of employment, confinement, and restriction on movement leading to missing out on several life opportunities and rights such as schooling hence damages children's childhood.

(2). The situation of CDWs and their rights during daily execution of their work in households?

In this part, I analyse the situation and rights of children in domestic work and I apply the CRBA in analysis and answering the research question. The children's situation includes the nature of the

CDWs working conditions (tasks performed), terms of employment (remuneration), confinement, and restriction of movement. This analysis exposes the aspects that encourage exploitation of CDWs by employers and can impact children's well-being and realization of protection and other rights.

i) Working conditions of CDWs in households.

The CDWs' experiences during their day-to-day work in households lead to the loss of their rightful rights as most of them suffer from exploitation, abuse, and neglect from employers and also lose other opportunities for their growth and development (Human Rights Watch, 2012). Child domestic work entails working conditions quite different from other forms of children's employment. The Human Rights Watch (2012) highlights that CDW is characterized by long hours of working with no rest or days off. For instance, CDWs work 24-hours a day since they live within the employers' residence, hence can be called upon anytime to perform duties. Moreover, CDWs work for very little or no payment at all since there is no agreement written between the worker and employers which would compel them to hide to a payment agreement (ILO, 2011). However, the minimum wage bill (2019) in Uganda was passed stating a monthly salary of (130, 000UGX= 31 Euros) for domestic workers (The Ugandan Constitution, 1995). However, this does not solve the wage issue because it leaves out CDWs after all the labour laws do not specifically cater for CDWs. On the other hand, CDWs' situation is dominated by poverty, hence employers' earnings are quite low which makes it challenging for some employers to pay the amount stated as minimum wage (Ugandan Constitution, 1995).

Hence, due to the invisibility of domestic work and CDWs isolation in separate households, monitoring the working conditions and following up on whether CDWs work for the right hours or paid as provided for by the law as a labour right becomes a challenge for policymakers in Kampala. Applying the CRBA to the CDWs poor working conditions during their work, the problem that arises is exclusion specifically from the labour laws in Uganda and persistent discrimination in households by employers. This shows a lack of inclusiveness in labour rights as well as protection for all children in employment especially CDWs. From the rights-based perspective, this is interpreted as a violation of child labour rights, and denial of protection rights from exploitation or abuse. This goes against article 3 of CRC's basic principles that emphasizes duty bearers having the best interest of the child in protection interventions by fulfilling all children's rights (UNCRC, 1989). Concerning this, UNICEF and UNHCR (2017) also advocates for a CRBA as a mechanism for reinforcing an inclusive child protection intervention. Precisely, from a CRBA perspective, domestic work performed by children impacts their rights, most notably the right to protection from exploitation or abuse, and education especially when the form of work is mentally or physically detrimental to the CDWs health and prevents them from attending school or forces them to drop out of school (Child Rights International Network, 2015). Nakanyike et al (2003) assert that the working conditions affect children's attendance concentration and consistency that leads to eventual dropping out of school by most children in DW. Therefore, the long hours of work, or having no time to rest impacts negatively on CDWs social, physical, and mental development. However, though the CRBA emphasizes duty bearers such as state institutions being accountable for ensuring children's rights entitlements like protection (Theis, 2004), I think the children entitled need to understand their rights especially those facing exploitation because when they know their entitlements as individuals with rights, then it can enable the duty bearers to help with the processes of seeking for justice. In this way, the approach can work in their favour as well as be accorded the protection they desire.

Furthermore, CDWs are exposed to household occupational hazards including suffering injuries from the use of household and kitchen equipment such as hot flat irons, sharp knives, electrical appliances, and dangerous chemicals which most are not familiar with but rather require training before use (CRIN, 2012). This puts CDWs at risk of acquiring body burns from failure to properly operate the hot electric appliances and with no guarantee of proper medical treatment hence threatens their lives. From a child protection perspective, such a situation violates the CDWs rights to protection and wellbeing. Consequently, the persistent discrimination and exclusion of domestic workers specifically CDWs from the Ugandan legislation provides room for exploitation in households by employers. However, the ILO (2011) convention emphasizes that governments address the minimum age of children in domestic work and their rights such as protection from all exploitative practices and abuse, including setting out measures for monitoring children's situation and experiences during the execution of their daily work in households. For instance, domestic work in situations that are dangerous to lives like the stated occupational hazards that threaten CDWs wellbeing and achievement of rights. While these legislative interventions have the potential to either compel or increase the rate of exploitation of CDWs in households, Cooper (2012) argues that having laws and policies in place does not guarantee the achievement of protection for children in this case. Despite these interventions, most national labour legislation exempts domestic workers from their right to protection including Uganda.

ii) Terms of Employment for CDWs

Most of the children working in households in Kampala do not have any binding written contract stating the amount of money they are to earn as well as the terms of service, in most cases the agreement is verbal (Namuggala, 2015: 565-580). This situation puts children in a vulnerable situation and as a result, employers easily exploit them through less payment than originally agreed or do not pay any amount completely. When I apply the CRBA to CDWs experience of lack the job specification and contract from employers, the problem that arises is the failure by employers to hid to the verbal agreements, most giving reasons that CDWs do not perform satisfactory work to their expectations. From the CRBA perspective, the issue of power relations comes into play in a way that lack of contracts or job specification gives the employers the power to do inhumane treatment towards the CDWs including working in uncertainty, hence violating children's labour rights and protection. This can be interpreted as holding children in uncertainty due to lack of job security which heightens exploitation. Black (2002: 13-14) highlights that children working under conditions such as those without any job security holds them in exploitative situations detrimental to the achievement of CDWs protection concerns.

In a similar situation, evidence from the National Social-Economic Survey (1980) on CDWs in India indicates that the absence of written contracts between employers and CDWs should not be used as a way to exploit children, children should rather be protected and cared for by the people in whose households they work as universally emphasized by the CRC for all countries including Uganda. However, CDWs are almost non-existent because contracts are a rare practice after all domestic work is in the informal sector, hence not recognized as real employment by the child labour laws in Uganda (Ugandan Constitution, 1995). In using the CRBA, the problem of marginalization emerges because CDWs have been specifically neglected by the labour laws in Uganda, yet it supports other categories of children in other work fields. Though the CRC emphasizes children's protection from all kinds of exploitation and accorded their rightful rights (1989), the employment Act (2006) does not protect Ugandan CDWs from exploitation by employers. This is because home is

not recognized as a designated place for work. About CDWs protection concerns, Weber (2013) asserts that children become vulnerable to exploitation and abuse especially when the legal instruments do not protect them. Although Namuggala (2015: 574-578) agrees that children are often exploited under uncertain circumstances such as the denial of employment contracts or no remunerations, she however asserts that CDWs tend to have unannounced departures from the households without the employers' knowledge. Consequently, some employers sometimes hold onto remunerations of the CDWs as a way of keeping them in a vulnerable position so that they are unable to leave employers' residences because they lack funds, especially given that most CDWs hail from far rural areas that require a lot of money for transport. Therefore, much as I condemn CDWs' exploitation situations brought about by employers which at the same violates children's rights like protection, employers equally have a reason for their actions. Nonetheless, it does not justify employers' exploitative practices towards CDWs because it violates the CRC's article 19 which stresses the protection of all children's rights.

iii) Children's Confinement in households and restriction of movement

The findings reveal that the restriction on children's movement and confinement in households is among the situations of CDWs experience that are damaging to children's lives in domestic work. Most employers do not allow children to leave home to visit friends or relatives, hence are required to first seek permission from employers. This indicates the denial of children's rights to play, make friends, and communicate with family (Namuggala, 2015: 568). Becker (2013: 2) argues that confinement of CDWs in private homes isolates them from the outside world and puts them at risk of exploitation. When I apply the CRBA to the problem of confinement of CDWs, the loss of several opportunities arises such as getting an education, and denial of social life with friends or family. Black (2002: 16-17) argues that confinement and restricting children from movements puts them in a situation whereby are isolated from family and friends. The CRBA perspective enables me to think about CDWs as dependants on employers and therefore need to be protected and cared for, according to their rightful rights such as protection, and education. OHCHR (2006) asserts that employing a CRBA is significant in combating the exploitation of children because of its comprehensiveness in protecting the interest of the rights of all children. Though Lansdown (2005) supports a CRBA in strengthening an all-inclusive child protection framework, protection approaches and interventions do vary depending on the situations of children, and how their rights are violated, hence a more inclusive approach that caters to all children in abusive situations is needed. From the economic perspective, I get an understanding that economic factors such as poverty discussed that drive most children into domestic work, also put them in positions of dependency on employers. Likewise, confinement and restricted movements also make CDWs discriminated alone in households while employers become dominant (Namuggala, 2015: 563). From the legal perspective, article 3 of the CRC emphasizes actors in child protection prioritizing the best interest of the child during designing and employing protection mechanisms such as removing children facing exploitation from households and relocating them to safer places where their lives are not threatened (CRC, 1989). For instance, the child protection actors like the Police collaborating with village local councils to report cases of exploitation of CDWs within their areas and also work with labour organizations like PLA to provide legal, social, and economic support to victims of exploitation and realize their rights such as education which they are robbed off while working as domestic workers. In this way, CDWs' rights to protection and education can be fully respected and attained by prioritizing the best interest of the child.

(3) The relationship between employers and CDWs in households and their impact on children's wellbeing.

In this section, I analyse the employer relationship with CDWs and look at how social identities of gender, race, age, and position intersect to shape the structural aspects of exploitation against CDWs in households. I chose to use the intersectional approach as a framework to address the exploitation of CDWs because social identities such as gender, age, race are critical in shaping the experiences of women in employment including their relationship with employers.

To analyse the relationship of CDWs and their employers, and how this impacts on children's wellbeing and rights, it was relevant to discuss and understand how CDWs situations such as conditions under which they work and live affect their wellbeing including denial of their rights. Therefore, the analysis of the employer-employee (CDWs) relationship is focusing on the support children receive while working within the households and the ways employers use to control CDWs, which sometimes limits good working relationships and threatens CDWs safety in households. Some of the methods employers use to control CDWs include rude comments on work performance, threats of dismissal from the job, which limits a good mutual understanding with the employer, and CDWs safety in the households.

Presently, the relationship between employers and employees is increasingly becoming diverse. Romero (1992: 17) argues that children's working conditions in households can be determined by how domestic work is structured by employers which can either ensure or deny CDWs wellbeing and rights. Agarwala (2014: 251-257) views the employer-employee relationship as responsibilities and mutual rights which connect CDWs and employers when these children perform tasks in households for remunerations from employers. Since the relationship looks at support CDWs receive from employers and how they control CDWs, in this situation the employer offers financial support or other basic needs like accommodation, feeding to CDWs in exchange for tasks performed in the households. While the domestic worker expects payment, most employers sometimes deliberately delay or deny payment and instead apply threats of CDWs losing the jobs as a strategy to control the domestic worker making them vulnerable to exploitation and lose their labour rights. Hence, such key strategies through which domestic work is structured, for instance, working based on verbal agreement determines entails employers using rude comments towards the CDWs. Such struggles for improved employer-employee relationship within households impacts on realization of CDWs wellbeing and protection.

Several studies point out that labour rights established among domestic workers and their employers are a basis for improvement of domestic employment conditions including the support given to CDWs and their relationship (Dinkelman & Ranchhod, 2012; Corsani, 2007). The Uganda National Household Survey (UNHS) (2005) on the employer-employee relationship indicates that close ties that exist between CDWs and employers determine the treatment working children receive within households. For instance, in Uganda the closer the relationship a CDW has with the employer, the lower the risk of exploitation such as working for long hours with no rest. This usually happens when the employer has a close attachment or blood relation to the child involved, for example, if the employer is a maternal aunt or uncle, it prompts a fair treatment to maintain a good relationship with the child's biological parents (UNHS, 2005). Though Lyon & Valdivia (2010: 11-12) agree in the assertion that closeness is significant in determining how a child is treated within the household, I do not agree and hold a different view that a closer relation does not guarantee

good treatment because some close relatives do exploit CDWs like deprivation of food, working long hours without rest especially children distantly related to employers are usually more vulnerable to situations like denial of education opportunities and having to devote to long hours of work. Taking orphans as an example in Uganda, the majority working in households do not have anyone to turn to for help when facing abuse and exploitation which draws them further to have a close relationship with employers to have a home. Consequently, the dynamics surrounding the relationship between the employer and CDWs cannot be conclusively one-sided in the sense that exploitation of domestic workers does not matter the closeness or how distant the employee is to the employer. In some circumstances, children experience exploitation from both scenarios.

Nevertheless, by the nature of the domestic job that requires full-time availability of CDWs and done in secluded households, employers and CDWs can easily develop emotional and social ties. While the employer-employee relationship is significant in creating an impact on children's wellbeing including improving their working situations and realizing rights, Namuggala & Mulumba (2014: 25-38) argue that CDWs and their employers usually create challenges for each other, yet each is important for the existence of the other. This means that each depends on the services of the other, for instance, a CDW doing household chores is dependent on the employer for a wage to better her wellbeing and support her family, while the employer relies on the CDW for services like maintaining hygiene in the home, caring for children, cooking, etc. In a situation where the employee's expectations of payment are denied or delayed yet she continues to work daily as instructed by the employer, it jeopardizes their relationship in households because not meeting the expectations of the worker indicates oppression. Such circumstances demoralize the CDWs from performing their roles spontaneously and worsens the employer-employee relationship. As a result, CDWs can be subjected to more exploitation including abusive working conditions because of their dependency on employers. The ILO (2010), agrees by highlighting that most children are subjected to exploitative conditions such as long hours of work and other injustices like sexual or physical abuse within the domestic work set-up especially because it involves threats to dismissal from employment, which is one-way employers control and oppress the CDWs.

Consequently, applying the concept of intersectionality to the relational issue between CDWs and employers, the intersectional approach becomes relevant because according to authors Romero (1992) and Agarwala (2015), they assert that the complexity of social identities of gender, race, and class intersections embrace the relationship between employers and employees in households. This theory enables me to think about the problem of gender, age, class, and working conditions that when these social identities come together in CDWs issues in particular ways, they have an impact on the employer-employee relationship, CDWs wellbeing, rights, and working conditions which heightens exploitation of children in DW. Firstly, domestic work is socially and culturally constructed as a woman's job, and therefore, it is naturally expected of women and girls to take up domestic roles in households (Namuggala, 2015: 561-580). Considering the feminization of domestic work, the problem that emerged is the marginalization of CDWs and oppression based on gender, class, and age social identities and how cultural norms make domestic work normalized and constructed work for women. However, much as cultural norms feminize domestic work as normal work for women, and dictates CDWs duties in households, it has instead provided room for oppressive experiences and exploitation of CDWs by employers. Cheney (2007) asserts that the intersection of age and gender for CDWs produces experiences that are so challenging given the Ugandan cultural and social construction which marginalizes children. Crenshaw (2015) seems to agree with Cheney (2007) that intersectionality recognizes that social identities such as gender, age, class, and position reinforce and constitute each other. I agree with Cheney's

assertion because the culture has caused the normalization of domestic tasks in households even though it sometimes gets too much and society embraces it, overlooking its impact on children involved. Consequently, this provides an understanding of identities like gender, class, age, and their relationship to situations of CDWs in households which entails discrimination, oppression, and domination by employers. Such circumstances create tension and worsen the relationship between the employers and CDWs because in most cases oppression and discrimination are accompanied by rude comments on work performance from employers which affects children's esteem, wellbeing, and realization of their rights including labour and protection rights.

Child domestic workers are in an informal employment setting and relationship with individual employers with no written contract stating the terms of employment, rather hiring is on a verbal agreement (ILO, 2012). This shows how CDWs occupational experiences can be enabling or challenging for the children involved and impacts employer-employee relationships and children's wellbeing. Namuggala (2015: 567) notes that the employer and CDWs relationship is fragile due to mutual dependence and power relations. For instance, mutual dependence happens in a way that CDWs live in the employers' residences, hence dependent on the employer for accommodation, food, clothes, and money, while the employer in return expects more than the usually performed tasks, yet employers often do not appreciate CDWs efforts. This makes the CDWs dependent on their employers for basic needs such as clothes, sanitary towels, food, etc. The dependency puts CDWs in a vulnerable position for easy exploitation by employers and affects their work relationship (Human Rights Watch, 2012). Relatedly, Williams (2008) and Anderson (2006) argue that CDWs position and roles in households show the nature of the relationship of dependency and power relations between the employer and the child domestic worker. For instance, most CDWs hail from rural and poor economic backgrounds, which puts them in the category of the unprivileged, while employers are privileged with power over employees, which enables them to dictate CDWs working conditions.

Furthermore, findings from studies indicate that there is a connection between domestic work and femininity which is not easy to be disputed in Uganda (Namuggala; 2015, Feiner & Baker, 2010). When I apply the feminist theory to the feminization of domestic work where it is culturally perceived as a woman's domain due to how low DW is placed in society, the problem that arises is the stigmatization of CDWs. I interpreted it in a way that CDWs experiences like poor working conditions in households are because domestic work is stigmatized and attached to feminism. This becomes a problem because stigmatization undermines CDWs who are seen as mere servants in households by employers and encourages exploitation through being subjected to poor working conditions such as long working hours, rude comments on work performance, and threats of loss of the job. Relatedly, while some legislative rights conventions like ILO (2013) convention apply to most exploitative practices in domestic work, cultural perceptions of domestic work being considered as "woman job", of low status and domestic workers viewed as "house helpers" instead of actual "workers" create an environment full of tension which affects CDWs performance in households (Namuggala, 2015: 563). As a result, this ruins the relationship between CDWs and employers and hinders the achievement of labour and other children's rights. Given the nature of domestic work being stigmatized as a female's job, it creates room for employers to exploit and abuse CDWs in households hence affects their wellbeing and work relationship with employers.

Concerning the social identity of class, power structures come into play and this makes the feminist perspective relevant in the study as Gorban & Tizziani (2014: 56-58) argue that

power structures constitute CDWs and employer relationship, and because of that, it does not only affect the actions and situations of CDWs in households but also influences their work-life hence enabling exploitation to thrive. Likewise, domestic work is equally viewed as an unproductive contribution to the stigmatization of CDW as a low-status job and typically done by low-class women (Shirin & Bedford, 2010). Using the feminist theory, it enables me to identify CDWs as the oppressed, isolated, and unprivileged, hence need protection. The children's position and standpoint should be prioritized especially in protection interventions from exploitation and abuse by employers. From the feminist perspective, Collins (1999: 85-88) argues that the standpoint theory of the marginalized people's perspectives about their happenings is divergent, hence superior to dominant groups. This can be linked to Rosser (1992: 542) who highlights that people oppressed by class identity have a more extensive perspective of the actual reality which makes the standpoint of exploited and oppressed groups to be understood including that of the dominant group. Therefore, CDWs epistemic position as the marginalized in households provides an understanding of children's position in the domestic work sphere which determines the relationship between CDWs and employers as well how they can be controlled by employers and be treated in terms of support given to CDWs including during work in households. The outcome of this can determine the realization of their rights and wellbeing.

Chapter 5

Conclusion and recommendations

At the beginning of the study, the concern of exploitation of children in domestic employment was raised and that CDWs specifically have been ignored by the labour protection interventions. The CDWs work-life challenges through their experiences, rights violations including working conditions, and the employer-employee relationship and its impact on CDWs wellbeing and rights were discussed. The analysis of the study shed light on the aspects that drive children into domestic work, where exploitation seems still problematic in Uganda. The exploitation practices are characterized by experiences under different situations and various protection perspectives fostered by problems such as oppression and marginalization that arose. The intersectional perspective indicated that social identities of gender, age, race, and position when brought together construct feminization of domestic work as culturally constructed. Findings indicated that cultural norms play a big role in the persistence of exploitation of CDWs because domestic work is entrenched in culture making it so hard to eliminate exploitation. Consequently, the cultural dominant construction of domestic work as a woman job and its consideration as a mechanism for child upbringing and preparing young girls for future marriages hinders rescuing many children facing exploitation in households. Furthermore, it was clear that many children from poor economic backgrounds go for domestic employment to support their families and most households need a DW to perform the household tasks. This justifies the argument that CDWs are source of human capital for most households in Kampala, Uganda, despite the exploitation involved.

Most of the literature on CDWs raises concerns about violations of CDWs rights such as protection in the labour market, education, and the role social-cultural norms play in domestic work contributing to the exploitation of CDWs in Kampala. However, critical viewpoints on CDWs' exploitation and findings from the literature enabled me to expose the reasons why children involve in domestic employment, including their different experiences

during the process of executing their work within employers' households. The analysis of the CDWs work situations and rights plus their relationship with employers are based on both the legal rights framework, current, and historic social-cultural perceptions of domestic work in the global context and locally in Ugandan communities. This helps to justify the urgent need for child protection especially from exploitation in domestic employment because it can help address the exploitation concerns. Due to the issue of power relations between employers and CDWs, protection interventions against exploitation of children have not provided lasting solutions. However, from the legal perspective, the analysis discovered that protection interventions like labour laws miss the actual problems of CDWs, especially their work situations, which indicated big gaps exist in the legislation hence affect CDWs' safety. Therefore, policy change in the legislation of labour rights including protection of all children in employment, prioritizing the best interest of the child, and addressing social identities that give room for exploitation should be considered by the government of Uganda. This can be a feasible strategy in addressing exploitation and realizing children's rights.

Although labour organizations like PLA and the Uganda National Labour Agency have introduced some activities in different suburbs in Kampala, for instance, in Katwe to prevent and protect workers specifically CDWs in domestic employment through community education activities to encourage children to attain education instead of working as CDWs, if community members are not trained and enlightened to recognize the problem in CDW especially in situations when it becomes problematic to children's lives, for instance, when it prevents children from acquiring education, then these mechanisms will go to waste and children in domestic work may never receive the protection needed. Hence, from a child protection perspective, more attention needs to be spent on preventing children from leaving their families to work as domestic workers through providing opportunities for CDWs to continue with education. This can be attained by providing easy access to both informal and formal education programs similar to the Universal Primary Education and vocational skills training and effort should be put on follow up with families to ensure they send children to acquire those skills. Policymakers should consider creating awareness on children's rights, having a feasible monitoring and prevention mechanism on CDWs' employment situations. There should be coordination between the local leaders and communities to enable the withdrawal of CDWs from households in case of noticeable exploitative conditions that threatens their lives following the best interest of the child. Consequently, the legal provisions such as the Employment Act (2006) should be amended to include CDWs because it specifically excludes them and the household as the domestic work location needs to be legalized as a real "workplace" so that it is subjected to labour inspection for underage children and make a follow up on children's rights violation.

The government institutions like MGLSD in collaboration with other stakeholders need to protect and promote social and economic rights such as domestic workers' labour rights countrywide by enacting a domestic workers' law to specifically resolve conflicts between CDWs and their employers including legal aid for victims of exploitation in households in Uganda instead of relying on the employment Act (2006) whose coverage leaves out CDWs concerns. Inquiries should be made on the CDWs situations and rights to address enormous abuse in households so that CDWs are not deprived of social life, education opportunities, and other attributes to a healthy childhood and growth. To eliminate exploitation, an inclusive approach to policy change towards child protection including labour rights for all children including CDWs is recommended. Finally, effective programs to identify abusive working conditions, laws, and policy protection strategies tailored to the unique nature of domestic work and CDWs special protection needs such as awareness creation on child

labour rights, recognizing domestic work as significant employment by incorporating into the labour laws like the Employment Act (2006) in Uganda can secure protection and rights for children in domestic employment in Uganda.

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