

The Magnitude and Causes of Hazardous Child Labour in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

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Abstract

The main objective of this study was to assess the magnitude and causes of hazardous child labor in Addis Ababa. To address this objective, a mixed method research design that tilts towards quantitative approach was employed. The result revealed that about 90% of child laborers in Addis Ababa are working in hazardous working conditions, which is much higher than the Sub Saharan Africa average and ILO and CSA estimates for Addis Ababa. This affects physical and mental health and moral development of the children. Considerable proportions of child laborers are working in unhealthy environment mainly in areas exposed to dust, smoke, and fume; extreme cold and heat; loud noise or vibration as well as physical, psychological, and sexual abuses because of their work. Children work or engage in child labor for a variety of reasons. Accordingly, the most important factors behind child labor among children were found to be poverty, children's economic interest, and rural-urban migration. Therefore, the federal and regional governments are required to collaborate to reduce poverty induced child migration from regional states to Addis Ababa. That means there is a need to have poverty reduction strategies that reduce general poverty at the source and increase incomes and hence are likely to have a positive effect on reducing child labor. Every poverty reduction strategy needs to take child labor into account.

Key words: Child labor, hazardous, magnitude, cause, Addis Ababa

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Introduction

In the earlier years, work was considered as effective way of teaching children about life and the world. The residue of this notion still remains in developing countries. There is still a belief that children should take on casual jobs alongside school, both to gain an understanding of the way the world functions and to earn spending money for their own or their families (UNICEF, 1997). As a result, the vast majority of children were pushed into work that is often damaging to their development. For example, International Labor Organization (ILO) reported that approximately 168 million children aged between 5 -17 were trapped in child labor. The worst forms of child labor accounted for 85 million children (ILO, 2015) and larger proportion of these children were from developing countries. Consequently, developing countries are expected to experience high long term social and economic cost of child labor (ILO, 2015).

Like other Sub-Saharan African countries, many early age children in Ethiopia enter into the labor market that leads to high child labor prevalence. For instance, Young Lives survey showed that 90% of children engage in some form of work at age 8 (Woldehana et.al. 2011 and Pankhurst et.al, 2018). According to the 2015 National Child Labor Survey, national child labor size was 42.7% with 48.8% rural versus 14.7% urban areas while 23.3% of child labor were working in hazardous condition (CSA and ILO 2018). Considering the challenge, this study assessed the magnitude of hazardous child labor and suggested policy recommendations. Moreover, the findings of this study help to make informed decision.

Statement of the Problem

Children need to be protected from physical and psychological harm that have lifetime impact. To protect child right, Ethiopia has ratified various UN conventions and the constitution has considered basic rights and privileges of a child. Moreover, Ethiopia has ratified the ILO's Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No.138) in 1999; the African Charter on Rights and Welfare of Children in 2002; and the ILO's Worst Forms of Child Labor Convention, 1999 (No. 128) in 2003. To realize these conventions a national action plan was designed and implemented in different periods. Despite efforts to address the problem, many children enter into child labor at early age.

In Ethiopia there are a number of factors behind this high child labor. Among these, poverty, cultural values, social factors, and failures of development efforts are the most common one (ILO, 2017; PIN, 2009). The report of ILO showed 90% of the children engaged into productive activities either to supplement family income or improve family condition. The other factor related to poverty is inability to support schooling (ILO, 2017). Cultural values are the other factor behind child labor. Ethiopian culture encourages the working of children as it is believed that it can enable children to acquire the necessary skills (PIN, 2009). Social factors including divorce, orphan hood, and various conflicts are behind child labor in Ethiopia. Also, this high and persistent child labor is partly because of failures of development efforts (ILO, 2010). These coupled with high rate of urbanization and migration the amount of child labor is increasing in cities like Addis Ababa.

According to 2015 NCLS the prevalence of hazardous child labor in Addis Ababa City was as low as 3.6% and preceded by 4.7% in Dire Dawa (CSA and ILO, 2018). Low prevalence of child labor in Addis was associated with sampling. That is, NCLS

conducted at household level underestimated the magnitude of child labor and its worst forms. This is because children engaged in child labor in Addis Ababa came from outside the city are not easily accessed for sampling as they often have no formal address or they may not have permanent working place during the survey. Hence, this study fills this gap by conducting establishment survey instead of household survey. Thus, this study assessed the magnitude and causes of child labor in Addis Ababa. The result of this research has suggested viable strategies that help to address the problem of child labor in Addis Ababa.

Concepts of Child Labor

The concept of child labor is based on the ILO Minimum Age Convention (No.138), 1973 which represents the most comprehensive international definition of minimum age for admission to employment or work. Child labor refers to work that is in some way harmful or carries a high risk of harm to children. This is because of the nature of the work or hours of work or the way children are treated at work or simply it is exploitative in terms of low payment. In general, it refers to employment or work that is carried out by children that does not conform to standards established in the ILO Conventions on child labor and national laws/regulations in line with them (ILO, 2010). Not all work done by children should be classified as child labor. Children's work above the nationally designated minimum age that does not interfere with their schooling and health is generally regarded as being something positive. This type of child work is known as "light work". It includes activities such as helping the parents around the home or assisting in a family business (ILO, 2010). It includes the occasional performing of light work after school, or formal apprenticeship opportunities. Instead, in "child labor" an

exploitative situation prevails that involves: work at too early an age, full time, requiring exertion, under bad conditions, with inadequate pay, too much responsibility, denying access to education, undermining dignity and self-esteem, and detrimental to full social, and psychological development (ILO, 1983 and Fekadu, 2008).

Hazardous work refers to a work in dangerous or unhealthy conditions that could result in a child being killed, injured and/or made ill as a consequence of poor safety and health standards and working arrangements. It can result in permanent disability, ill health and psychological damage (ILO, 1999; ILO, 2013). Hazards could also derive from excessive workload, physical conditions of work, and/or work intensity in terms of the duration or hours of work even where the activity or occupation is known to be non-hazardous or "safe".

ILO convention no. 182 recommendation 190 provides that hazardous work shall be defined by the competent national authority, after consultation with organizations of employers and workers. In particular, it recommends that any definition of hazardous work should include:

1. Work which exposes children to physical, psychological or sexual abuse; work underground, under water, at dangerous heights or in confined spaces;
2. Work with dangerous machinery, equipment or tools or work which involves the manual handling or transport of heavy loads;
3. Work in an unhealthy environment which may expose children to hazardous substances, agents or processes, or to temperatures, noise levels, or vibrations damaging to their health;
4. Work under particularly difficult conditions, such as work for long hours or during the night, or work where the child is unreasonably confined to the premises of the employer.

Theoretical Literature Review

Child labor theories date back to influential social scientists such as Adam Smith, Karl Marx, and Thomas Malthus in the 18th and 19th century. Smith argued that labor shortages led to increased fertility. Marx on his side noted that child labor replaced adult men labor, which in turn were replaced by machines during the industrial revolution. On the other hand, Malthus believed that increasing size of families made it harder to meet their basic need, which forces families to accept child labor. More specifically, according to Boyden, Ling and Myers (1998), there are about five theories that explain the causes of child labor based on large empirical studies and qualitative information.

Theory 1: Child labor as a contribution to the family. According to this theory, most children in developing countries work because the family needs their children to contribute to the family income and to engage into unpaid household work.

Theory 2: Child labor as a means of self-actualization. The principal argument of this theory is that many children would want to work even if they did not require to work. Many children also believe that work is a good way for them to get education and thus become competent and prosperous adults.

Theory 3: Child labor as a consequence of family-dynamics. This theory is the explanation of child labor as a result of inadequate family decision-making or relationships. Child labor can be a consequence of a breakdown in family values in which they do not fulfill their protective function and parents' ignorance about future benefits of investing in education. A breakdown in values is, for example, when parents sell their children into prostitution or bondage with the purpose of material benefit, for example a wedding. This theory also claims that child labor can

be a result of ignorant and irresponsible parents.

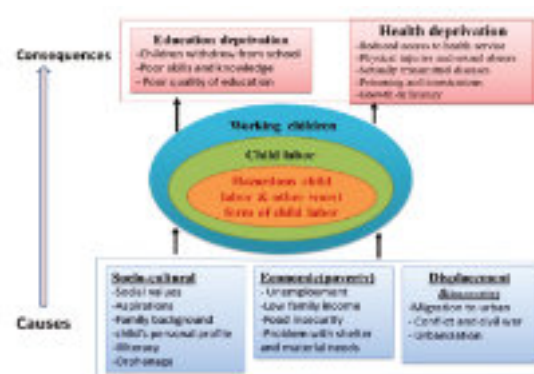
Theory 4: Child labor as a result of poverty. According to this theory, poverty is a cause of child labor in most developing countries. Poor families put their children in child labor more often than families in a better economic situation.

Theory 5: Child labor as a result of low return to education in the labor market. This theory considers child labor as a rational response to adults' low returns to education in the labor market, whether these low returns are actual or just perceived.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework below depicts the causes of child labor and their effects on children's life. In general, determinants of child labor can be categorized as economic/poverty, socio-cultural, and political factors. Although economic factors can be considered as circumscribing the social and political factors at play, it is important to note that these factors are interrelated and not entirely mutually exclusive (Aldaba, Lanzona and Tamangan, 2004).

Figure 2.1. Conceptual frame work of the study



Source: Researchers' own construction

Many authors agreed that **poverty** (inability to meet the basic needs-food, shelter, and clothes) due to unemployment/underemployment had been the major (but not the only) push factor into child labor in developing countries. When parents fail to meet the basic needs of the household, in most cases, forces their children to engage in employment in their effort to improve their conditions and livelihood (Dachi and Garrett, 2003). The survival of many poor families depends on income generated by child labor. As a result, poor families put their children in child labor so as to contribute to family income and help with unpaid household work (Del Rosario & Bonga, 2000 and Anker, 2000). Therefore, many of young kids are obliged to work at a very young age while the older kids have to become a wage laborer working in places notorious for their poor health and safety conditions with very low pay (Anker, 2000).

Socio-cultural dynamics is another factor which leads to child labor. Social values, aspirations, illiteracy, child's personal profile, low returns to education, orphanage, and family background are among the main factors responsible for child labor. The last but not least reason for child labor is **displacement and insecurity**. This factor includes civil war/conflict, rural to urban migration, and urbanization. Political turmoil and warfare have a destructive impact on the socio-economic environment and can increase the risk factors associated with child labor. Conflict also increases the potential for children already working to be involved in more dangerous and harmful work. On the other hands, migrants are usually at high risk of exploitation for both cultural and economic reasons (ILO 1997). Children of migrant workers have to encounter at least two problems: no or limited opportunity for education, and to health care services existing in the destination country/region. As a result, the

probability of migrant children to engage in child labor remains high.

Child labor may adversely affect health status and educational attainment of children. Involvement in child labor has an adverse effect on health. Specifically, child laborers are more likely to be exposed to long and tiring working days, use of toxic chemicals, handling of dangerous items like axe, hot pans, knives, electrical equipment and lifting of heavy loads, insufficient meals, physical violence and sexual abuse. All these may expose them to many illnesses/injuries like poisoning & intoxications, physical injuries, sexual abuse, electrical shock, emotional health problems, musculoskeletal problems, malnutrition, infectious diseases, unwanted pregnancy, and sexually transmitted infections (Han, Fukui, & Miwa, 2008). For this reason, an international consensus has arisen against child labor and worst forms of child labor. The 1999 ILO Convention on Worst Forms of Child Labor reflects this concern and international consensus. In addition, child laborers may also be subject to educational deprivation. Usually those who engage in child labor are subject to dropout, absenteeism, and not attending at all. As a result, they are more likely to have poor skill and knowledge (Ibid).

Empirical Literature

According to the ILO (2002), in 2000 more than 245.5 million children were engaged in child labor which is damaging to their mental, physical and emotional development. About 178.9 million children (aged 5–17) were engaged in the worst forms of child labor in sectors including agriculture, mining, construction, manufacturing, service industries and domestic service. This includes all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery such as the trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom, and forced or compulsory labor, the forced or compulsory recruitment of children

for armed conflict, child prostitution and any forced work which is likely to harm the health or safety of children. Children in hazardous work represented the majority of these (170.5 million) with 8.4 million children engaged in unconditional worst forms of labor. Of those involved in hazardous work, 111 million were aged 5-14 and 59 million aged 15-17. ILO (2002) also disaggregated the number of children engaged in different types of unconditional worst forms of child labor.

More recent estimates indicate that the number of child laborers declined from 215-168 million from 2008-2012, Out of these, the number of children exposed to hazardous work – often used as a proxy for the worst forms of child labor fell from 115-85 million (IPEC, 2013). In 2012 it was estimated that there was a total of 85 million children engaged in hazardous work in the 5-17 years age group. That means it accounts for 51 per cent of child labor among 5-17-year age group (IPEC, 2013 as cited by ILO, 2017).

Accordingly, what the estimates show is that one-fifth of all African children are involved in child labor, a proportion more than twice as high as in any other region. Nine per cent of African children are in hazardous work, again highest of all the world's regions. In absolute terms, 72.1 million African children are estimated to be in child labor and 31.5 million in hazardous work (ILO, 2017).

The prevalence of child labor is highest in sub-Saharan Africa. Around 29 per cent of children (aged 5 to 17 years) are engaged in labor that is considered detrimental to their health and development. In the Middle East and North Africa, fewer than 1 in 10 (7 per cent) of children in this age group are performing potentially harmful work compared to 11 per cent of children in Latin America and the Caribbean (UNICEF, 2017).

Research methodology

Research Design

To quantify the magnitude of hazardous child labor the study employed descriptive research design. The study used mixed method research approach that combines both quantitative and qualitative data which were collected from primary and secondary sources. Accordingly, a cross-sectional survey was conducted to collect data from children engaged into child labor and aged between 5 and 17 from all sub-cities of Addis Ababa in the year 2018 and qualitative data were collected using focus group discussion (FGD), key informants' interview (KII), and in-depth interview.

Sample Size Determination

To determine the sample size, we have used the following formula which is commonly used when the population size (N) is unknown:

$$n = \frac{z^2 * p (1 - p)}{e^2}$$

Where:

n = the resulting sample size

z = the standard normal variable at specified confidence interval

p = the proportion of the variable in the studied population

e = margin of error

Therefore, taking the assumption of child labor in Addis Ababa = 0.037 (3.7%) based on the 2015 child labor survey, the usual z= 1.96, and the wanted margin of error e=0.010816 (1.08%), the total number of sampled children engaged into child labor were 1172.

Data Collection Techniques

To collect the primary data from child laborers, samples were taken from children

working in formal and informal sectors. Stratified sampling technique followed by simple random sampling was used to select children engaged in child labor from each 117 *woredas* in Addis Ababa. To select sample from different forms of child labor, strata was formed based on formal and informal sectors in which child labor were prevalent (which intensively use child labor) in Addis Ababa. To do this, information about the prevalent forms of child labor was collected from each sub-city and *woredas*. Then proportional sample was taken from each form of child labor from each *woreda*. Once the proportion was determined under each *woreda* a simple random sampling technique was employed to select a child worker from each of the strata from a given *woreda*. Then data was collected from each child by structured questionnaire. Similarly, to collect qualitative data, focus group discussion (FGD), key informant interview (KII), and in-depth interview (II) were used. The qualitative information was collected from government offices at different level which have a stake on children issues, NGOs working on children, researchers who have experience on children issues, members of the community who have more information about children issues, and children themselves. Furthermore, in-depth interviews were conducted to probe further information from children engaged into child labor. The main purpose of conducting the in-depth interview was to have insight how children engaged into child labor and understand their working conditions and how their engagement into child labor affects their education and health.

Data Analysis

To analyze the quantitative data, various descriptive statistics techniques such as mean, variance, standard deviation, percentages, graphs, and correlations were used. In addition, the audio recorded data from all sources were transcribed and

analyzed manually using thematic content analysis.

Results and Discussion

Background of the Respondents

This section presents the conditions of children that have already been engaged in child labor in Addis Ababa. The mean age of a child was found to be 15 years. About 85.28% of the children were in the age range of 14-17 years. The result revealed also considerable number of children came from outside Addis Ababa (87.46%). This implies that the problem of child labor in Addis Ababa needs to be addressed at the source. Similarly, the result of the survey indicated that the majority of the respondents came from three regions, namely Southern Nations Nationalities and People's (38.91%), Amhara (26.71%), and Oromia (15.27%). Children were also asked to state with whom they were living preceding the survey. About 86.8% of children were living not with their parents, but with friends (40%) and relatives (18.51%). This implies many children engaged into child labor are living far from their parents and this push them to engage in child labor and subjected for exploitation.

Regarding the condition of parents of children, 66.01% of the children reported their parents were alive. This implies most children engaged into child labor either to satisfy their own need or support families. The finding showed 67.91%, 30.26%, 1.83% of the children came from poor, middle income, and rich family, respectively. This shows that majority of the children engaged into child labor are from poor families. Moreover, 67.81% and 79.48% of the children reported their fathers and mothers were never attended school, respectively. This implies that parents' level of education and child labor are related.

Children's Engagement in Child Labor

The result from the analysis showed the mean age of joining the labor market for the sampled children was 13 years with standard deviation of 2.18 years. The minimum and maximum age for joining the labor market for the sampled children was 6 and 17 years, respectively. Children were also asked whether they joined the labor market by force or voluntarily. Accordingly, 92.44% of the children reported they started to work voluntarily because they were from poor families (67.91%) while 7.56% reported they involved in to work because they were forced to work. Furthermore, children were asked the bases of their employment. Accordingly, 6.93% of the children reported they have written agreement. This very low level of written agreement may expose children for exploitation. Among those who were employed using written contract, 46.97%, 39.39%, and 13.64% of the children reported the duration of the contract was less than one year, greater than one year, and do not know their contract duration, respectively.

Duration of Child Labor

According to the ILO convention no. 182 recommendation 190, children should not work for long hours. It is exploitative when children work for long hours, as this not only endangers their health but also affects their school attendance. The Ethiopian labor proclamation No 377 /2003 allowed young children to work for 7 hours in a day and 6 days in a week. Similarly, ILO and CSA (2018) have taken 42 hours per week as a threshold so as to determine hazardous child work in Ethiopia. For the purpose of statistical measurement, we have followed this framework.

Then, based on the reported number of working days per week and number of hours worked per day, working children were grouped in to two: those children working

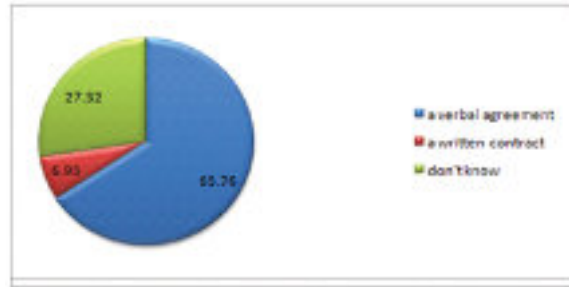


Figure 1. Distribution of Bases of employment of children
Source: Survey data 2018

more than 42 hours per week and those working less than 42 hours per week. Accordingly, those children working more than 42 hours were termed as being in hazardous work conditions. Duration of hours worked by children is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Hours Worked Per Week by Children

Main background characteristics	Working more than 42 hours per week		Working less than 42 hours per week		Total		Mean weekly working hour
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Sex							
Female	335	89.81	38	10.19	373	32.72	64.77
Male	708	92.31	59	7.69	767	67.28	63.09
Total	1043	91.49	97	8.51	1140	100	63.64
Age group							
5-10 years	16	80	4	20	20	1.76	66.10
11-13 years	132	92.31	11	7.69	143	2.60	69.01
14-17 years	890	91.56	82	8.44	972	85.64	62.84
Total	1,038	91.45	97	8.55	1,135	100	63.64
Economic activities							
Paid and Unpaid family work	590	92.19	50	7.81	640	100	63.49
Hotel/cafe/restaurant	157	87.71	22	12.29	179	100	63.60
Night clubs and sex workers	66	70.21	28	29.79	94	100	53.37
Carrying heavy loads and ponders	257	92.11	22	7.89	279	100	63.54
Shoe-shining	139	88.54	18	11.46	157	100	65.68
Assisting taxi drivers	156	92.86	12	7.14	168	100	73.17
Street workers and vendors	174	91.10	17	8.90	191	100	65.21
Urban agriculture	65	84.42	12	15.58	77	100	60.51
Construction	102	93.58	7	6.42	109	100	56.08
weaving or spinning	53	86.89	8	13.11	61	100	57.87
Wood work	68	93.15	5	6.85	73	100	51.85
Metal work	83	91.21	8	8.79	91	100	53.97

Source: Survey data 2018

The average number of working hours per week among the sampled children was 63.46 hours. The average hours worked by a child

was significantly larger than the official maximum hours of work by an adult (i.e., 48 hours per week) in Ethiopia. When the distribution of work hours per week is disaggregated by sex, girls were found to have a higher mean number of working hours per week than boys (64.77 hours versus 63.09 hours per week). Children aged between 11 and 13 years spend 69.01 hours on work per week, which was slightly higher than 66.10 mean labor hours of work per week by children aged from 5 to 10 years and the average child labor hours of children aged between 14 and 17 years was 62.48 hours a week. This result implies that child labor hours of children within the age range 11 to 13 years are longer than child labor hours of children other two age cohorts.

With regard to economic activities, the research finding indicates that almost in all sectors children are working for a long hour.

However, the average child labor hours of children engaged in assisting taxi drivers (73.17 hours per week), shoe-shining (65.68 hours per week) and street work and vending (65.21 hours per week) was significantly higher than the mean value (63.46 hours per week).

Given the standards for child labor of Ethiopia and ILO the result signals that in Addis Ababa both the child labor and hazardous child labor size is significant. The length of hours of worked per week by children and average number of working days per week in Addis Ababa are contradicting with the national and ILO standards for hours worked and number of working days by children per week. The result from an *in-depth interview* with children engaged in weaving and shoe shining here under shows this fact as follows:

The *in-depth interview* results of two children migrated from southern Ethiopia (from Hadiya and Gamo zones) confirmed that they are working for longer hours in a bad working condition. Although these children were in their school age of thirteen, they are involving in weaving and shoe polishing. Their parents are alive. Although parents did not force their children to take child labor, parents could not afford education equipment including cloth. They drop out from grade three and four aiming to engage in child labor and their parents agreed with their migration for child labor. A shoe polishing child was from Hadiya and self-employed. A weaving child was working for another person for free for the coming three years until he develops good skill in weaving. The duration of child labor was long, for example, the child involved in weaving was working for six days or 78 hours per week. The working condition of children is bad even for adults. A shoe polishing child said that he is working on the road side, feeling bad smell from ditches; and dusts are blowing up on him and there is risk of car accident every day. A shoe polisher added that he has been suffering from headache and typhoid fever for the last 45 days, however; he lacked money and was not visit a doctor. A weaving child was working in confined place for the whole day, luckily, he has not faced a disease associated with his work.

The Magnitude of Hazardous Child Labor

The result from our primary data shows that about 90% of the children were involving in hazardous child labor in Addis Ababa. This shows that on average 9 children out of ten total children in child labor are subject to hazardous child labor which is detrimental to

physical and mental health of children and their moral development. Our finding is higher than the SSA average and the finding of ILO and CSA (20018) for Ethiopia but lower than the findings of Ali, Khan, & Kazmi(2014) for Pakistan.

As reported in Table 2, the proportion of female children involved in hazardous child labor was 91.71% which is higher than 89.06% of male children undertaking hazardous child labor. The magnitude of hazardous child labor differs by age in Addis Ababa. Almost all of children in the age group 5 to 10 years were involving in hazardous child labor. The share of children aged 11 to 13-year old in child labor engaged in hazardous child labor are about 97 percent, while the hazardous child labor size for children age between 14 and 17-years was 89%.

This is an indicator that working children in Addis Ababa are in serious conditions that can affect their overall personality very badly. Therefore, there is a pressing need to design and strengthen a framework which focuses on appropriate prohibition and protection against hazardous work.

The result from the qualitative research also indicated that hazardous labor was the case

in all sub cities. Children are forced to work for their employers for long hour with no adequate food and water as well as payment. This was particularly the case of children who involve in weaving, weighing scale, street vending and domestic work. Children engaged in street prostitution and work in Shisha and chat chewing houses are the major evidences for the practice of worst and hazardous forms of child labor in Addis Ababa. Smugglers (illegal brokers) traffic young girls and use them for sex business (some even force young boys for homosexual purpose) that exposes them to sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/

the children also get desperate because of the psychological stress which they face for being unable to have someone around to emotionally support them.

Hazardous Child Labor by Working Conditions

For the purpose of in-depth statistical analysis, we examined the hazardous working conditions in to four subsections. First, we examined children working in unhealthy environment. Second, we identified children operating heavy machines, tools and working with heavy loads. Third, we examined children working in hazardous work locations.

Table 2: Magnitude of The Hazardous Child Labor (Worst Form of Child Labor)

Main background characteristics	Hazardous child labor		Non-Hazardous child labor		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Sex						
Female	354	91.71	32	8.29	386	100.00
Male	700	89.06	86	10.94	786	100.00
Total	1,054	89.93	118	10.07	1,172	100.00
Age group						
5-10 years	24	100.00	0	0.00	24	100.00
11-13 years	143	96.62	5	3.38	148	100.00
14-17 years	884	88.84	111	11.16	995	100.00
Total	1,051	90.06	116	9.94	1,167	100.00

Source: Survey data 2018

AIDS and moral damage. Apart from working for longer hours, day and night, girls who work in hotels and restaurants are exposed to sexual abuse at night times. Even their employers force them to involve in sex work when they see they are beautiful and young so that they can attract more male customers.

In most industries many children are working in dusty, suffocated, dark and cold working conditions with no safety wears. Those children are highly exposed to back pain, eye infection, kidney disease, and they have no access to schooling. Apart from physical harm resulting from restlessness,

Finally, we examined children exposed to work related abuse. The first group includes work environment exposed to dust, smoke, fume, fire, gas, flames, extreme cold or heat, loud noise or vibration, chemicals and explosives. The second group includes work which involves operating dangerous tools, operating heavy machine and work subject to heavy loads. The third category comprises work in underground; work at heights; work in polluted water/pond/river; workplace in too dark or confined places; and workplace with insufficient ventilation. The last group includes physical, psychological and sexual abuses.

Children Working in Unhealthy Environment

Different studies indicated that many children in urban centers are working in a number of unhealthy environments (hazardous work conditions). For instance, a research conducted in 2009 in Luanda, Angola confirmed that, 88 percent of the observed children were working in areas where the air was contaminated by exhaust, smoke, or dust. Similarly, 72 percent of the observed children were exposed to excessive noise (BILA, 2017). Another research done in Pakistan, Punjab district described that 69.6 percent of the children were exposed to dust and fumes and the other most frequent hazard is heat of cold that was reported by 44.2 percent working children. This research confirmed that female children are more exposed to these types of hazardous work conditions (Ali et al., 2014)

In our research, children were asked about their work environment and any risk present there. Accordingly, children exposed to dust, smoke and fume in a work place account 56%, children working in an area with extreme cold and heat are 42%, children exposed to loud noise or vibration are 20.05%, children exposed to fire, gas and flames are 8.28% and children exposed to chemicals and explosives are 6.83% and 0.77% respectively. This finding is almost consistent with earlier studies conducted in Luanda and Pakistan. Male children are more likely exposed to dust, smoke, fume; loud noise/vibration; and chemicals than female children. On the other hand, female children are more exposed to extreme cold or heat than male children (see annex Table 1).

Children aged 11-13 years were more exposed to dust, smoke, fume and extreme cold or heat in their working place. When this is disaggregated by sector, children engaged in construction (76.36%), carrying heavy load and ponders (73.26%), and urban agriculture (70.89%) were exposed to dust,

smoke and fume. Concerning extreme cold or heat, night clubs and sex workers (50%), carrying heavy loads and ponders (48.96%) and assisting taxi drivers (45.61%) were more vulnerable than children engaged in other sectors. Further, children working in metal work (51.61 percent), wood work (50.68 percent), night clubs and sex workers (38.54 percent) and construction (25.45percent) are more vulnerable to loud noise and vibration. Over all our research indicates that considerable proportions of children are working in unhealthy environment mainly in areas exposed to dust, smoke & fume; extreme cold and heat; and loud noise or vibration. The result from an *in-depth interview* with taxi driver assistant here under shows this fact:

Abraham Mulugeta is a 15 years old child working as a taxi driver assistant in Addis Ababa. He came from Gonder, Zone 1 seven years ago. He has attended his primary school up to grade 7 and dropped out of school because of lack of family support. He doesn't know his father and he was living with his mother. His mother could not afford to support him in his education, and he was forced to leave the school and come to Addis for daily labor to support him and his mother. He came to Addis, Ababa with the perception that he can do daily work and generate some money for him and for his mother. After he came to Addis, his mother doesn't know even where and work where he lives. He came to Addis and employed in a small grocery shop and worked for almost a year. He was not happy with his employees because they didn't pay and feed him well. He decided to leave the grocery and started working as a taxi driver's assistant. He is working the whole day. He is now working for himself and supports his mother. But the payment is not so good. The driver and Abraham took the car to pay 200 birr per day and then, if they were more than 200 birr, the driver and Abraham will distribute the money among themselves. But he mentioned that his share depends on the will of the driver. Sometimes they may not make money over 100 per day. Sometimes there will be maintenance cost.

He is out of school now. He wanted to finish and complete his education but he can't do it because of his family problem. He is planning to continue his education after saving some money and support his mother. But he doesn't know where to come adequate money and start his education. The working condition is bad according to him. He is working with a lot of sun light, rain and cold weather. He said his work is full of conflict with customers. Some customers wanted to leave the taxi without payment, some ask change and some he as if they paid. Some wanted to get off before they reach the place where we are supposed to let them get off. So, he said the job is really bad but he has no choice. He can't not if he doesn't work. He said, I need to finish faster but the payment was not too much and my friend's paid in. I had minor injury because of the conflict I had with one of our customers. He was not willing to pay for the service and I confronted with him. He tried to do some things and my finger was injured. My eyes were also affected by the injury but I didn't go to hospital.

The qualitative survey indicated that in many sectors, children are exposed to sun, heat, cold, rain, dust, bad smell and bad noise in their environment, especially those who work on the streets. In auto mechanic field, apart from the physical work, children are exposed to fire, fumes, and sharp materials. There are also many children who engaged in street vending and assisting taxi drivers. These children are highly vulnerable to abuse and different accidents. Street vendors often face with car accidents and falling while running to escape from the police officers chasing them. Taxi drivers harass, beat and abuse their assistants for not working properly, especially the young ones.

Even the taxi users don't treat young taxi assistants well. The discussants also mentioned the working condition of children is exposing them to addiction, unethical and immoral behaviors.

The research participants discussed, children engaged in domestic work and those working on weighing scale on the street are vulnerable to different types of labor exploitation. Traffickers or relatives or so-called employers purchase weighing scales and give it to the children and collect the money they make. Those children spend their whole days on the street being exposed to sun and dust with no proper compensation; however, they are expected to generate a minimum of 50 birr per day. Children who are engaged in domestic work are also being exploited by their own relatives who brought them to the city. According to the participants, the weaving industry is one of the sectors where children get highly abused and exploited. Additionally, the city is suffering from criminal activities where children are forced to involve in theft, drug trafficking and other illegal activities by those who benefit from it.

Children Working with Heavy Loads, Operating Heavy Machines and Dangerous Tools

Out of the total sampled children, 27.73 percent were working with heavy loads, 12.63 percent were operating dangerous tools and only 9.64 percent of them were operating heavy machines. Child labor is gendered in Addis Ababa. Male children are commonly operating heavy machine and were working with heavy loads while relatively more female children are exposed to dangerous tools like knife, hot pan, and others.

As presented in Table 3, children aged 14-17 years were more exposed to heavy loads and heavy machines while those aged 5-10 were exposed to dangerous tools. Children operating heavy machine, working with

dangerous and heavy tools also varies spatially. Furthermore, most of the children engaged in carrying heavy loads and ponder (79.86%) and constructions (65.45%) were exposed to heavy loads.

The qualitative result also indicated that the conditions in which children are working are observed to be too bad. Some discussants emotionally raised their worry about children working in construction sites; based on their observation they believe the children are not treated as a human being. A participant from Bole sub city said "what you load on a donkey even need to be limited, however here they are forced to work beyond their physical capacity". Especially the girls are expected to work harder to convince their employers to secure their job.

Table 3: Children working with heavy loads and operating heavy machines and tools

Main background characteristics	Operate dangerous tools		Operate heavy machine		Work with heavy load	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Sex						
Female	87	22.54	17	4.40	36	14.51
Male	61	7.76	96	12.21	269	34.22
Total	148	12.63	113	9.64	325	27.73
Age group						
5-10 years	4	16.67	2	8.33	6	25.00
11-13 years	11	7.43	4	2.70	35	23.65
14-17 years	131	13.17	107	10.75	282	28.34
Total	146	12.51	113	9.68	325	27.68
Economic activities						
Paid and Unpaid family work	97	14.76	79	12.02	191	29.07
Hotel/cafe/restaurant	41	22.40	5	2.73	15	8.20
Night clubs and sex workers	8	8.33	5	5.21	15	15.63
Carrying heavy loads and ponders	33	11.66	70	24.31	230	79.86
Shoe-shining	10	6.25	7	4.38	45	28.13
Assisting taxi drivers	6	3.51	7	4.09	55	32.16
Street workers and vendors	17	8.72	19	9.74	58	29.74
Urban agriculture	6	7.59	8	10.13	19	24.05
Construction	14	12.73	26	23.64	72	65.45
weaving or spinning fibers for weaving	1	1.61	1	1.61	5	8.06
Wood work	17	23.29	17	23.29	24	32.88
Metal work	16	17.20	17	19.78	37	39.78

Source: Survey data 2018

Children Working in Hazardous Work Locations

Children in a child labor reported whether they had been working in dangerous work locations in the last 12 months preceding the survey. The proportions of children exposed to hazardous work locations were moderate.

Children worked underground are 3.84 percent, children worked at height are 6.06 percent, children worked in polluted water/pond/rivers are 2.65 percent, and children worked in a very dark or confined area 4.95 percent and children worked with insufficient ventilation 4.61 percent. When it is disaggregated by sex, relatively more proportion of male children are working in underground, at height, in a polluted water while more proportion of female children worked in a very dark or confined and suffocated work place. In terms of sector, relatively more child laborers (19.35 percent) engaged in weaving or spinning are working in underground, 31.82 percent children engaged in construction are working at height, 15.19 percent children engaged in agriculture are working in polluted water, 23.96 percent children engaged in night clubs and sex work are working at a dark and confined area, 12.5 percent children engaged in night clubs and sex work are working in a workplace with insufficient ventilation.

Children Exposure to Work Place Violence

Article 19(1) of the UN convention on the Rights of the Child stipulates that all children have the right to be free of "all forms of physical and mental violence, injury or abuse. But many working children—especially those away from home—experience threats to their wellbeing as well as abuse and exploitation by their employers and fellow workers (HRW 2006 ; UN 1989 : as cited by Hartjen & Priyadarsini, 2012). Child abuse not only affects them psychologically but also emotionally. They lose their self-esteem and confidence and fear to face any strangers and even their friends. In some extreme cases, they are left in trauma that keeps them haunting for rest of life. This type of shocks sometime is worse than physical shocks. Friends and family member console them in case of physical shocks but children usually hide where

they face emotionally or psychologically (Ali et al., 2014).

In this particular section, the prevalence of children to work place abuse is assessed which includes physical, psychological and sexual violence. As presented in Table 4, a considerable proportion of the children engaged in child labor are exposed to physical, psychological and sexual abuses in work places in Addis Ababa as presented in Table 6. Children engaged in child labor and emotionally harassed were 55.2%, children physically bitten were 20.82%, and about 10 percent were sexually abused. The share of female children involved in child labor that were exposed to emotional harassment were 67.62%, and female children faced physical harassment were 28.76%. With female children involved in a child labor and experienced sexual harassment rate of 26.68% were largely higher than 1.53% of male children that were experiencing sexual harassment. Overall, the work place violence is gendered in the city as female children in the child labor are experiencing more all forms of work place violence than that of male children.

Table 4: Children Exposure to Work Place Violence

Characteristics of a child	Bitten/physically hurt		Emotionally harassed		Sexually abused		Others	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Sex								
Female	111	28.76	261	67.62	103	26.68	6	100.0
Male	133	16.92	386	49.11	12	1.53	10	100.0
Total	244	20.82	647	55.20	115	9.81	16	100.0
Age group								
5-10 years	8	31.33	14	58.33	1	4.17	1	100.0
11-13 years	43	29.05	88	59.46	11	7.43	3	100.0
14-17 years	193	19.40	542	54.47	103	10.35	12	100.0
Total	244	20.91	644	55.20	115	9.85	16	100.0
Economic activities								
Paid and Unpaid family work	160	24.35	397	60.43	71	10.81	12	100.0
Hotel/cafe/restaurant	48	26.23	114	62.30	49	26.78	3	100.0
Night clubs and sex workers	47	48.96	79	82.29	70	72.92	1	100.0
Carrying heavy loads and ponders	65	22.57	174	60.42	12	4.17	3	100.0
Shoe-shining	23	14.37	69	43.13	2	1.25	3	100.0
Assisting taxi drivers	42	24.56	107	62.57	7	4.09	4	100.0
Street workers and vendors	43	22.05	112	57.44	14	7.18	4	100.0
Urban agriculture	12	15.19	44	55.70	2	2.53	0	0.00
Construction	17	15.45	54	49.09	5	4.55	2	
weaving or spinning fibers for weaving	11	17.74	36	58.96	0	0.00	0	0.00
Wood work	5	6.85	23	31.51	1	1.37	1	
Metal work	9	9.68	34	36.56	1	1.08	0	0.00

Source: Survey data 2018

When the type of abuse is disaggregated by age cohorts, children in the age group 5-10 were more prone to physical abuse (33.33 percent) than those in the other two agecohorts age groups. This could be due to the fact that children of this group could not protect themselves from physical abuse as they are physically immature. On the other hand, children aged 14-17 years were more prone to sexual abuse (10.35 percent) than the other age groups. This might be due to the sexual attractiveness of these age groups as they are in the age of puberty.

Work place child violence varies by sector. For example, children engaged at night clubs and sex work were more subject to physical psychological, and sexual abuse than those engaged in the other sectors. Following night club and sex workers, children who work in hotels/cafeterias/restaurants and those working as paid and unpaid family workers were more vulnerable to different abuses

than children engaged in the other sectors (see Table 6 for detail). The finding related to physical, psychological and sexual work place abuse of children is based on self-report of children involved in a child labor. But children exposed to various work place abuses cannot usually tell the misconduct for other people. Therefore, the actual magnitude of abuse is expected to be more than the above report. Over all those female child laborers; those children engaged in night clubs and sex work; hotels/cafeterias/restaurants and paid and unpaid family work need a particular policy concern as they are the most vulnerable to workplace abuses.

Causes of Child Labor

Children work or engage in child labor for a variety of reasons. These may include poverty or low family income; cultural values; family disintegration due to divorce or separation; death of parents; inability to support schooling such as uniforms, exercise books, school fees, food, etc.; lack of interest

in schooling; family debt; absence of school in the nearby areas; deception by brokers or forced; civil war and conflict; and rural-urban migration. There are different classifications of these causes of child labor. Some classified these causes (factors) into three: child related factors, household related factors, and community related factors. UNICEF (1997) classified the causes of children into three key factors: poverty, absence of education, and traditions. Others like Johansson (2009) classified child labor as a contribution to the family; as a means to self-actualization; as a consequence of family dynamics and; as a result of poverty.

Table 5: Causes of Child Labor by The Sex of The Child

Causes of child labor	Female		Male		Total		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Poverty	yes	18	47.67	372	47.33	556	47.44
	no	41	52.67	414	52.67	616	52.56
Family dynamics	yes	56	14.51	91	11.58	147	12.54
	no	33	85.49	695	88.42	1,025	87.46
Family dissolution	yes	17	4.40	35	4.45	52	4.44
	no	36	95.60	751	95.55	1,120	95.56
Dispute with	yes	23	5.96	46	5.85	69	5.89
	no	36	94.04	740	94.15	1,103	94.11
To help family	yes	13	33.68	261	33.23	391	33.36
	no	25	66.32	525	66.79	781	66.64
Help pay family	yes	6	1.55	12	1.53	18	1.54
	no	38	98.45	774	98.47	1,154	98.46
Parents like their	yes	61	15.80	130	16.54	191	16.30
	no	32	84.20	656	83.46	981	83.70
Self interest	yes	26	67.62	623	79.26	884	75.43
	no	12	32.38	163	20.74	288	24.57
Peer pressures and	yes	53	13.73	96	12.21	149	12.71
	no	33	86.27	690	87.79	1,023	87.29
Forced by	yes	42	10.88	12	1.53	54	4.61
	no	34	89.12	774	98.47	1,118	95.39
Education	yes	53	13.73	128	16.28	181	15.44
	no	33	86.27	658	83.72	991	84.56
Not interested in	yes	26	6.74	73	9.29	99	8.45
	no	36	93.26	713	90.71	1,073	91.55
Schooling not	yes	10	2.59	36	4.58	46	3.92
	no	37	97.41	750	95.42	1,126	96.08
Public school too	yes	10	2.59	21	2.67	31	2.65
	no	37	97.41	765	97.33	1,141	97.35
Conflict and	yes	8	2.07	5	0.64	13	1.11
	no	37	97.93	781	99.36	1,159	98.89
Rural-urban	yes	71	18.73	157	20.33	228	19.79
	no	30	81.27	616	79.69	924	80.21

Source: Survey data 2018

In Addis Ababa children do both paid and unpaid works from their very young age because of a number of reasons. Accordingly, the most important factors behind child labor among children were found to be poverty, children's their own economic interest, and rural-urban migration. The result reported in Table-5 showed that about 75% of the sampled children involved into child labor because of

their own economic interest. This high interest of children to work may arise from low understanding of children and their parents on the negative effects of child labor on futurity of children. The result also showed that poverty is among the most powerful force that derives children into child labor. Significant size of children (47.44%) reported that they were working because of poverty i.e., because of low family income or to supplement low family income or to have enough to eat. Thus, there is a need to have poverty reduction strategies that reduce general poverty and increase incomes and hence are likely to have a positive effect on reducing child labor. Every poverty reduction strategy needs to take into account also child labor. The other factor found to be important cause of child labor was rural-urban migration. For example, 19.79% of the children reported that they engaged into child labor because they have migrated from outside Addis Ababa. This implies tackling child labor requires tackling problems at the source. The result from the qualitative study also showed socio-cultural, political, and attitudinal factors were contributed to child labor. It is important to note that these causes of child labor are not mutually exclusive.

Summary and Conclusion

The result of this study showed that 90% of the children engaged in child labor were involved in hazardous child labor in Addis Ababa which is significantly higher than hazardous child labor ratio estimated by ILO and CSA. Majority of children involving in hazardous child labor in Addis Ababa were migrant children. The disaggregated analysis clearly showed that considerable proportions of child laborers were exposed to hazardous work conditions (dust, smoke and fume; extreme cold and heat; loud noise or vibration; and heavy loads). Moreover, the child laborers were exposed to emotional, psychological, physical and sexual violence.

The result also indicates that almost all children are working for a long hour which may not only endangers their health but also affects their school attendance. Specifically, approximately 91% of children were involving in hazardous child labor with an average 63.46 working hours per week. The exposure to hazardous child labor varies with gender, age and economic sectors in which children engaged. Over all those female child laborers; those children engaged in night clubs and sex work; hotels/cafeterias/restaurants and paid and unpaid family are more subject to physical, psychological, and sexual abuse than the other groups. Children exposed to any abuse usually cannot tell anyone about any misconduct. Hence, the actual magnitude of abuse is expected to be more than reported.

With regard to the causes of hazardous child labor, the most important factors behind child labor among children were found to be poverty, children's their own economic interest, and rural-urban migration. About 75% of the sampled children involved into child labor because of their own economic interest. This high interest of children to work may arise from low understanding of children and their parents on the negative effects of child labor on futurity of children. Poverty is also among the most powerful force that derives children into child labor. Significant about 47% of the children reported that they were working because of poverty i.e., because of low family income or to supplement low family income or to have enough to eat. The other factor found to be important cause of child labor was rural-urban migration.

For example, 19.79% of the children reported that they engaged into child labor because they have migrated from outside Addis Ababa. This implies tackling child labor requires tackling problems at the source. The result from the qualitative study also showed that socio-cultural, political, and

attitudinal factors have contributed to child labor.

Recommendations

Child labor is the product of an array of economic, social forces and political forces. Thus, a clear understanding of the push and pull factors behind child labor is indispensable for designing appropriate interventions to address the problem. As the cause of child labor is not a single factor, child labor problem cannot be addressed with single policy. Therefore, policy responses to child labor requires a set of policy instruments such as awareness creation, alleviating poverty, enhancing stakeholders' collaboration, and enforcing laws and regulations directed towards regulating child labor exploitation. Besides the policy interventions need to be integrated into broader national development efforts and adapted to local circumstances. Thus, mainstreaming child labor into broader social development policies, rather than treating it as an isolated issue is important.

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Author Contributions

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Competing Interests

The authors declare that they have no competing interests.

Ethics Approval

Administrative clearance for the research was obtained from the Ethiopian Civil Service University and Addis Ababa City Administration Bureau of Labor and Social Affairs.

Availability of Data and Materials

The data along with the survey questionnaire may be made available and accessible at the University data center

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