



EVALUATION FINDINGS REPORT

A norms and behaviour change campaign targeting employers of child domestic workers in Ethiopia

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Photo credit

All images in this report are from eight TV spots released between June and July 2022 as a part of Freedom Fund's Norms and Behaviour Change Campaign 'Chora' which means dawning in Amharic. The aim of the campaign is to improve the treatment of child domestic workers by encouraging employers to reduce working hours and enable access to education. The ads were developed by the Freedom Fund and Girl Effect, and photography by Urban Production. All those pictured are actors.

CONTENTS

Executive summary	1
Introduction	5
Methodology	7
Key findings	12
Summary and recommendations	30
Annex 1 - References	34
Annex 2 - Methodological details	35
Annex 3 - Supplementary data	37

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Evaluation objectives	6
Table 2. Respondent demographics	12
Table 3. Inclusion and exclusion criteria	36
Table 4. Comparison of the relative impact of campaign media	39

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Evaluation locations	8
Figure 2. Summary of the baseline and endline surveys	8
Figure 3. Levels of disaggregation used in the analysis	9
Figure 4. Reasons employers' past CDWs left	13
Figure 5. Demographic profile of CDWs	14
Figure 6. Mean index of exposure, by all levels of disaggregation	16
Figure 7. Recognition of campaign materials	17
Figure 8. Respondents' perceptions of the campaign	18
Figure 9. To what extent respondents agreed/disagreed that CDWs are perceived differently than other groups, by survey round	20

Figure 10. Perceived prevalence of formal working agreements for CDWs, by survey round and employers' relationship to their CDW	21
Figure 11. In-kind remuneration of CDWs, by survey round	22
Figure 12. Employers' perceptions and attitudes regarding CDW working hours, endline data	23
Figure 13. Reasons employers might or might not give CDWs time off to see their families, by survey round	24
Figure 14. Valid reasons for giving CDWs time off, by survey round	25
Figure 15. Awareness of child labour laws	26
Figure 16. School enrolment among of CDWs, by employers' relation to their CDW	26
Figure 17. Reasons for why or why not employers' CDWs are enrolled in school, by employers' relation to their CDW	27
Figure 18. Employer perceptions on access to education for CDWs, by survey round	28
Figure 19. Overview of sampling strategy	35
Figure 20. Extent to which respondents agree that CDWs are perceived differently than other groups, by level of exposure to the NBCC	37
Figure 21. Valid reasons for giving CDWs time off, by level of exposure to the NBCC	38

ABBREVIATIONS

ANOVA	Analysis of variance
CDW	Child domestic worker
CSA	Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia
EA	Enumeration area
EPHA	Ethiopian Public Health Association
ETB	Ethiopian birr
ILO	International Labour Organization
USD	United States dollar

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Child domestic workers (CDWs) in Ethiopia tend to face challenging working conditions with limited access to education. Child domestic work refers to live-in or live-out work done in a household where the child's biological parents do not reside and which often but does not always include some form of remuneration. Child domestic work is common in Addis Ababa as it serves as an entry point into the labour market for girls migrating from rural to urban areas in Ethiopia (Erulkar et al., 2017). Indeed, a recent study estimated the prevalence of domestic work among girls aged 12-17 in Addis Ababa to be 37% (Erulkar et al., 2022). Though domestic work is not necessarily a harmful form of child labour, CDWs in Ethiopia often face mistreatment and abuse from their employers (Population Council and Freedom Fund, 2021). This mistreatment is linked to broader social norms which place CDWs as inferior and less worthy than other members of the household.

In an effort to change norms and behaviours towards the treatment of CDWs, the Freedom Fund implemented a norms and behavioural change campaign (NBCC) in 2022. The NBCC targeted employers of CDWs in Addis Ababa. It was funded through the Program to End Modern Slavery, an initiative of the United States Department of State's Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons and was part of the Freedom Fund's broader 'Reducing the Prevalence of Child Domestic Servitude in Ethiopia' programme. Based on the findings of formative research, the main objectives of the NBCC were to shift norms and behaviours relating to CDWs' working conditions and access to education.

This report presents the findings of an evaluation of the NBCC. The evaluation assessed the extent to which the NBCC was successful in shifting norms and behaviours through baseline and endline surveys of a sample of employers of CDWs. Each survey round consisted of a randomly selected sample of employers of CDWs residing in the three sub-cities of Addis Ababa targeted by the NBCC as hotspots for the employment of CDWs: Addis Ketema, Gulele and Kolfe Keraniyo. The baseline sample consisted of 705 employers while 710 were included in the endline sample. Respondents were identified following a household listing with CDWs defined as either girls identified by their employers as domestic workers, or girls aged 18 and below working at least 14 hours per week in domestic work.

The NBCC reached 57% of employers interviewed during the baseline. Television was by far the main medium through which respondents were exposed to the campaign (95%) followed by online media (13%), physical posters (13%), and community discussions (6%). Using data on recall of campaign materials and participation in campaign activities, respondents were classified into three categories based on level of exposure: no exposure (43%), low exposure (17%), and high exposure (40%). The NBCC's reach appears to have been uneven as younger respondents, women, and those with more education tended to have a higher level of exposure.

Survey findings emphasised the differences in working conditions and access to school between CDWs who are related to their employer and those who are not. Whereas some CDWs are recruited as domestic workers, others are relatives of their employer (for example, a niece) and have been sent by their family to live in Addis Ababa. Those in the first category tend to work longer hours, as reported by their employer (35 per week compared to 24 for those related to their employer) and are less likely to be enrolled in school (25% compared to 75%).

In general, baseline-endline comparisons point to the NBCC having a positive impact in shifting the norms and behaviours of employers of CDWs. For instance, compared to the baseline, respondents were more likely to disagree that CDWs are perceived differently than other children, a possible sign that the campaign reduced the "othering" of CDWs. Furthermore, employers' attitudes towards CDWs' access to education generally improved from the baseline to the endline. For ethical and safety reasons, the survey focused on perceptions rather than employers' own treatment of their CDWs. However, the fact that CDWs' average estimated work day decreased from 8.8 hours during the baseline to 7.8 could be a sign that attitudinal changes are leading to behavioural change.



The positive impact of the campaign is also supported by disaggregating endline data based on exposure to the campaign. For example, respondents exposed to the campaign were more likely to be aware of legally mandated restrictions on children working late and days off. Additionally, respondents generally agreed that the campaign was effective in changing attitudes towards CDWs. Respondents exposed to the campaign were also more likely to be aware of their CDWs' career aspirations, a possible sign of them taking on a greater personal interest in them. Furthermore, those exposed to the campaign were generally in agreement that it was effective in changing their own attitudes, as well as those of the broader community. However, evidence for a dose-response relationship was limited as the low and high exposure groups rarely differed significantly. Nevertheless, this could be an encouraging sign that the threshold for shifting perceptions is low.

Despite improvements, CDWs continue to face difficult working conditions and have limited access to education. These conditions include long workdays, little rest, and low remuneration. Though respondents estimated that CDWs typically work 7-9 hours per day, they also indicated that CDWs tend to start work around 7am and finish around 9pm. This means that CDWs' are expected to be available to work throughout a 14-16-hour window every day. Additionally, weekly rest days do not appear to be the norm as it is more common for CDWs be given a day off on a bi-weekly or monthly basis. Finally, CDWs' only tend to earn the equivalent of less than USD 30 per month. Though the estimated usual monthly salary for CDWs was higher during the endline, the increase was only around 1 USD, far less than inflation.

Based on the findings of the evaluation and lessons learned from its implementation, the following recommendations can be made for future NBCCs which aim to promote CDWs' rights:

Civil society or state organizations tasked with designing and/or implementing NBCCs which promote CDWs' rights should:

1

Keep CDWs at the centre of the campaign. CDWs have first-hand experience of living with and working for an employer while still a child. Their practical experience needs to be harnessed to ensure effective messaging and to formulate practical solutions. The commitment of Girl Effect to consult CDWs, employers and relevant civil society actors ensured the campaign messaging resonated with the target audience and reflected the priorities of CDWs.

2

Ensure sufficient investment in the NBCC to make it engaging, relatable and at scale. The level of effort and capacity of Girl Effect to embed the work alongside their other programs and existing brand (Yegna) was instrumental to the campaign's quality and success. Girl Effect already had an established name and platforms that were accessed and accepted in the target communities, especially by younger employers. Using their platforms for the campaign enabled us to reach more of our target groups, and the campaign's association with Yegna enhanced its visibility and acceptance. Without this, considerably more financial resources would have been required. The NBCC thus demonstrated the need to ensure sufficient investment in building on local expertise and local brand awareness to make the campaign engaging and relatable.

3

Work with a campaign designer that understands the local norms and context. Girl Effect Ethiopia's team was embedded in the context, produced high quality content and understood the extent of the norms they were challenging. This enabled an added level of nuance in their design and approach for the NBCC and close collaboration with Freedom Fund partners and team members when finalising deliverables that was imperative to the quality and relatability of the campaign content.

4

Use a wide range of mediums for transmitting campaign information that are reflective of the communities' preferences. Insight gathering conducted as part of the NBCC showed TV to be the single most widespread communication medium for urban households in Ethiopia.¹ YouTube and social media platforms were also found to warrant ongoing use.

5

Expand the use of in-person activities as part of a NBCC, thus increasing opportunities to discuss key messaging with the target populations and address misunderstandings/misconceptions. Partner monitoring of in-person activities attests these provided the best opportunity to increase comprehension of campaign messaging through personalised activity sessions, discussions, and encouragement of positive deviance from hegemonic social norms. Ways of bolstering in-person activities in future campaigns could include organising more sessions targeted at specific sub-groups and increasing efforts to promote in-person activities and incentivise attendance.

6

Increase investment in tailoring messaging to engage different demographic groups and secondary target audiences.

- **Digital social media content.** The campaign targeted its messaging at employers of CDWs. However, the findings illustrate that employers are not a homogeneous group, with employers who are related to their CDW typically offering different working conditions to those not related to their CDW. The messaging for both groups of employers would therefore benefit from further segmentation and tailoring. Furthermore, since the evaluation found that the campaign was less likely to reach men, older people and people with less formal education, further research is also needed to explore whether this was because the messaging did not resonate with these

1 This finding is likely influenced by the urban target areas of the campaign in Addis Ababa and its sub-cities

sub-groups and needs further tailoring, and/or because other communication modalities could have been used to complement TV.

- **Utilise existing positive norm structures in messaging to employers of CDWs that position them as allies.** Insight gathering found that most people in communities with high rates of child domestic work saw the work as a positive opportunity that would lead to better life chances later on. Therefore, utilising messaging focussed on the employer's sense of self as a good person and their duty to fulfil this 'opportunity' through good treatment and abiding by existing laws, was found to be an effective, achievable first step for the campaign. Using the rule of law against employers who are not compliant or abusive through regulation of workplace protections for CDWs is the long-term goal. However, gradual buy-in from the community is a proven approach to achieving sustainable normative change and limits the risk of community backlash.

7

Build on personal relationships between CDWs and employers to improve treatment.

The success of campaign messaging which encourages employers to have greater personal investment in their CDWs was reflected in the evaluation finding, with employers who 'cared' for their CDW more likely to report treating them better. The campaign's messaging encouraged employers to recognise CDWs as children requiring care and attention just as their own children would. However, insights also attest to differences in experience, depending on whether the CDW is related to their employer. It is therefore imperative that NBCCs also emphasise that employers have statutory responsibilities towards CDWs that go beyond being a 'carer' for the child, such as the right to time off and consistent pay.

Evaluators tasked with assessing the outcomes of NBCCs should:

8

Employ quantitative and qualitative methods to fully explore norms and behaviours.

The evaluation has demonstrated the effectiveness of quantitative methods in capturing the scale or homogeneity of specific social norms. However, there is value in combining quantitative methods with qualitative methods to identify new/unexpected norms that may not be captured by structured questionnaires and explore social norms in greater depth. For instance, qualitative methods could be used to explore why there is a gap between what employers think should be provided to CDWs and what they believe is actually provided. Other possible topics of interest include the extent to which poor treatment of CDWs is perceived, tolerated, and sanctioned by the wider community, and – given the reported differences in working conditions between CDWs employed by relatives and non-relatives – whether different sub-groups of employers have different understandings of who is a CDW.

9

Consider including questions relating to employers' own experiences and behaviours in relation to their CDWs.

The evaluation focused more heavily on community perceptions rather than the respondents' own experiences and behaviours in regard to children in domestic work. Whilst this approach ensures adherence with ethical standards, on reflection, questions could have been included on the least sensitive issues, such as questions on basic working conditions in the employer's own household.

10

Given the difficulties of accurately measuring norms, especially socially undesirable ones such as child exploitation, further experimentation and testing is needed to develop more nuanced assessment tools.

In addition to measuring self-reported beliefs and willingness to act, future tools could consider techniques borrowed from the field of psychology in order to reduce social desirability bias. For example, techniques like games designed to uncover hidden preferences, or to statistically estimate and adjust for social desirability bias. These methods could lead to more accurate and reliable measures of undesirable norms.

INTRODUCTION

Background

Child domestic work is commonplace in Ethiopia, especially in Addis Ababa. In the context of largescale rural-urban migration, domestic work (that is, live-in or live-out work done in a household where the child's biological parents do not reside, and which often but does not always include some form of remuneration) is often the entry point into the labour market for young girls. Indeed, 67% of adolescent girls who migrated from rural to urban areas were found to have joined the labour force as domestic workers (Erulkar et al., 2017). This trend was confirmed in a more recent study of child domestic workers (CDWs) in Addis Ababa that found that 88% of CDWs were migrants to the area with the average age at migration being 13 years old (Erulkar et al., 2022). Overall, the same study estimated the prevalence of child domestic work among girls aged 12-17 to be 37% - a value unchanged from a previous study across seven regions of Ethiopia (Erulkar et al., 2010).

Though domestic work is not necessarily a harmful form of child labour, CDWs can be subject to exploitative and dangerous conditions. Although domestic work can be a source of income for girls, it also places them at risk. A scoping study found that CDWs in Addis Ababa can face a wide range of harm including dangerous and strenuous work with little rest, malnourishment and neglect, and deliberate abuse (Population Council and Freedom Fund, 2021). It appears to be common for employers to use physical and emotional punishment to exert control over CDWs. Sexual abuse by employers is also assumed to be widespread but underreported. Compared to adult domestic workers, CDWs tend to be in a weaker bargaining position and are at a greater risk of being trafficked (Population Council and Freedom Fund, 2021).

The poor treatment of CDWs is linked to social norms which place them as inferior in the eyes of employers and the broader community. Broader social norms on the acceptance of verbal and emotional abuse of children are amplified for CDWs as they are often considered to be inferior to other children (Population Council and Freedom Fund, 2021). Consequently, they are seen as less deserving than other members of the household and it is more acceptable to mistreat and abuse them. Hosting households (as well as the natal families of CDWs) may see themselves as doing a net favour for CDWs by creating an opportunity for girls to live in a desirable urban area, which further undermines broader social norms about the rights of children to lives free of abuse and exploitation.

The definition of child domestic work is broad, and, in Ethiopia, their treatment varies between two main groups defined based on their relationship to their employer. Indeed, not all those classified as CDWs identify themselves as such. Only around half do while the remainder are considered to be CDWs because they live away from their nuclear family and are responsible for domestic work (Erulkar et al., 2022). CDWs in Addis Ababa can thus broadly be categorised into those who are not related to their host household family (and are more likely to describe themselves as domestic workers) and those who are related to their employer (and are less likely to identify as domestic workers). By virtue of their familial relation, those in the second category tend to be treated better and are more likely to be in school but are less likely to be paid in cash.

Child workers in Ethiopia are protected through national and international legislation but enforcement of child protection laws is limited. For example, Ethiopia has ratified the International Labour Organization's (ILO) Minimum Age Convention 1973 (No 138) which sets a minimum working age of 15² and Article 3 of ILO Convention No 182 which defines the worst forms of child labour (CSA, UNICEF Ethiopia and C4ED). The national legal framework includes the National Children's Policy of 2017, the National Action Plan to Eliminate the Worst Forms of Child Labor (2021-2025), and the National Plan of Action to Combat Trafficking in Persons (2015-2020). However, enforcement of these policies is limited and the exploitation and abuse of CDWs continues to be common (CSA, UNICEF Ethiopia and C4ED). Importantly, domestic work is not considered as a form of labour under

2 14 in some circumstances

current Ethiopian labour law, thus creating a legal loophole that limits any ability to regulate child domestic work.

Besides enforcing policies and laws, shifting social norms and attitudes towards CDWs may be a means of improving CDWs' working conditions and access to education. Indeed, the misconceptions regarding CDWs and a lack of awareness of the potential harms of child labour have been described as being at the root of the widespread of child domestic work in Ethiopia (CSA, UNICEF Ethiopia and C4ED, 2020). Consequently, changing how CDWs are perceived, raising awareness of their needs, and improving knowledge of the legal framework protecting children's rights and child workers have been identified as a means of improving the treatment of CDWs by employers. It is in this context that the Freedom Fund launched a campaign aiming to change the norms and behaviours of employers of CDWs in Addis Ababa, which is the focus of this evaluation report.

Objectives

This report presents the findings of an evaluation of a norms and behavioural change campaign (NBCC) targeting employers of CDWs in Ethiopia. The Freedom Fund is implementing the 'Reducing the Prevalence of Child Domestic Servitude in Ethiopia' programme, with funding from the United States Department of State's Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, as part of the Program to End Modern Slavery. With a focus on Addis Ababa, the programme aims to reduce the exploitation of CDWs through the NBCC, improve government capacity, support the capacity development of civil society organisations, and improve the quality of services available to CDWs and ex-CDWs. The NBCC, which is the focus of this report, was implemented by Girl Effect over the course of 2022. Its main objective was to change the way CDWs are perceived and treated and to reduce the worst forms of child labour and exploitation, including human trafficking. Based on the findings of formative research, the NBCC focused on changing norms and behaviours tied to CDWs' working conditions (specifically excess working hours) and access to education.

The main objective of the evaluation was to assess to what extent the NBCC shifted the norms and behaviours of employers of CDWs. The study included both a baseline (data collection from January to February 2022) and an endline (data collection in March 2023). The evaluation focused on assessing norms and behavioural changes with respect to the themes of working hours and access to education. Sub-objectives for the baseline and endline phases of the evaluation are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Evaluation objectives

Baseline	Endline
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Identify the typical norms and behaviours of employers towards CDWs Identify notable 'positive deviants' norms and behaviours 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Assess the efficacy of the NBCC in shifting norms and behaviours Assess whether the NBCC has changed broader perceptions of CDWs Identify lessons learned for norms and behaviour change campaigns

METHODOLOGY

Evaluation questions

The evaluation questions were based on the study's objectives. These included:

- How effective has the campaign been at shifting the social norms underpinning the treatment of CDWs by employers and improving the behaviour of employers towards them? What are the specific changes that have been observed in the target group and did this differ among sub-groups?
- What aspects of the campaign were more (or less) effective? Were there messages that were more (or less) influential among the target group? Were there communication channels that were more (or less) successful in reaching the target group?
- Is there an indication that the perception of CDWs has changed more broadly as a sustained result of the campaign?
- What are the lessons learnt for future norm and behaviour change campaigns to positively influence the norms and behaviours of employers toward CDWs?

Approach

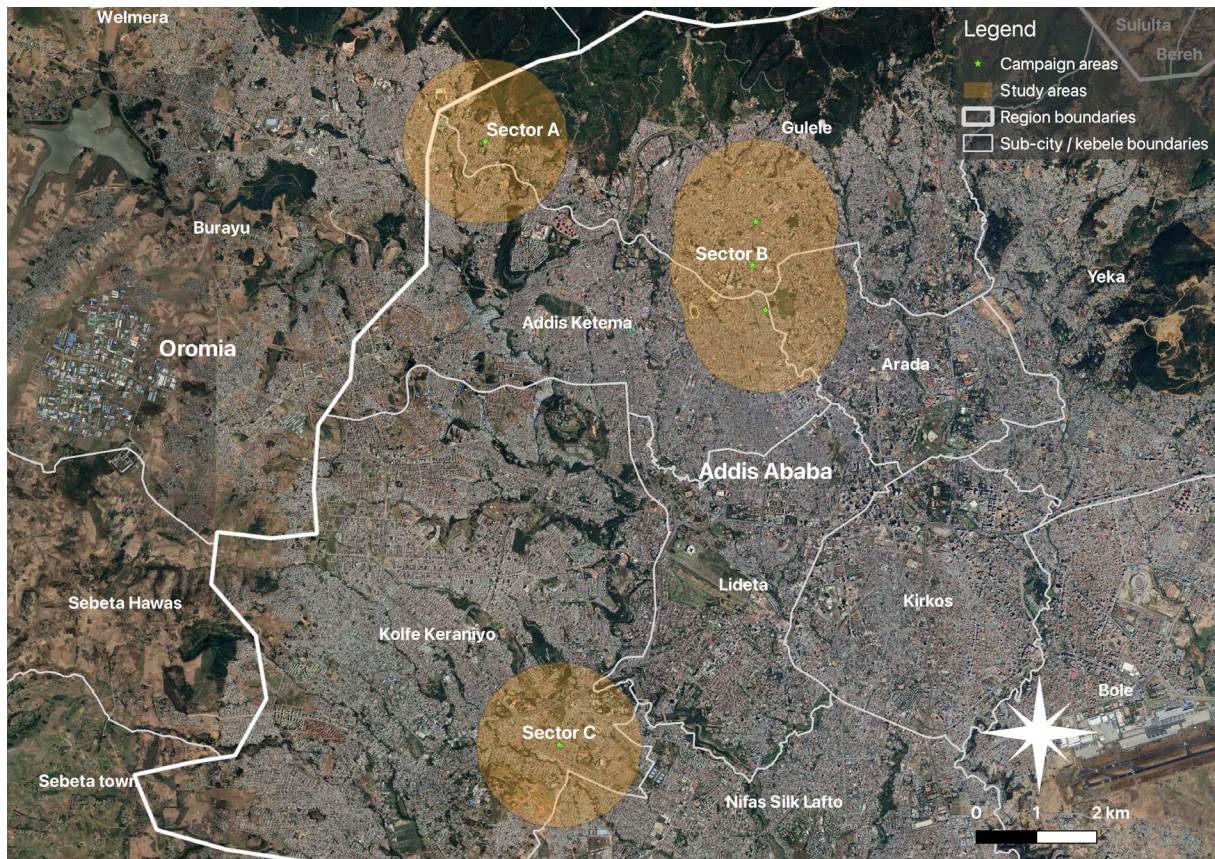
The evaluation took place in three stages. First, formative research based on semi-structured interviews with former CDWs, employers of CDWs, and community leaders working with CDWs was conducted to inform the design of the NBCC and evaluation tool. Second, a baseline survey was conducted to establish a record of employers' norms and behaviours. Finally, an endline survey employing the same methodology was completed to evaluate the impact of the NBCC. The baseline and endline surveys were both based on a sample of 700 employers and followed the same methodology based on a household listing followed by a household survey.

The evaluation study covered three hotspots for the employment of CDWs in Addis Ababa where the NBCC was carried out. The study was conducted in the following three sub-cities of Addis Ababa: Addis Ketema, Gulele and Kolfe Keraniyo. These areas were chosen as suitable sites for the NBCC (and, consequently, the evaluation study) after a scoping study by the Population Council and the Freedom Fund (2021) identified that the three sub-cities are areas of high prevalence of CDWs. Within these sub-cities, the NBCC was based out of five campaign areas in which the evaluation was carried out. The evaluation was limited to a radius of 1.4 kilometres around the five campaign areas. Since the radii for three campaign areas overlapped, this resulted in three distinct sectors in which the study was implemented. As seen in Figure 1 the study area also covered additional sub-cities and extended beyond Addis Ababa into the Oromia region. The Freedom Fund also implemented other activities to improve the working conditions of CDWs in Addis Ababa. These focused on different areas so that the impact of the NBCC could be isolated and evaluated.

The evaluation focused on employers of CDWs, following the definition of CDWs previously used by Population Council in Addis Ababa. The CDW prevalence study conducted under the 'Reducing the Prevalence of Child Domestic Servitude in Ethiopia' programme used a broad definition to capture not only those who self-identify or are labelled as CDWs (Erulkar et al., 2022):

- Females aged 18 and younger whose main occupation was reported in the household listing as 'Cleaner, maid, domestic worker, nanny, babysitter, cook in household'; OR
- Females aged 18 and younger whose relationship to household head was reported in the household listing as "Employee/domestic worker"; OR
- Females ages 18 and younger who were not the daughter or spouse/partner of the household head and whose estimated weekly domestic work was 14 hours or more.

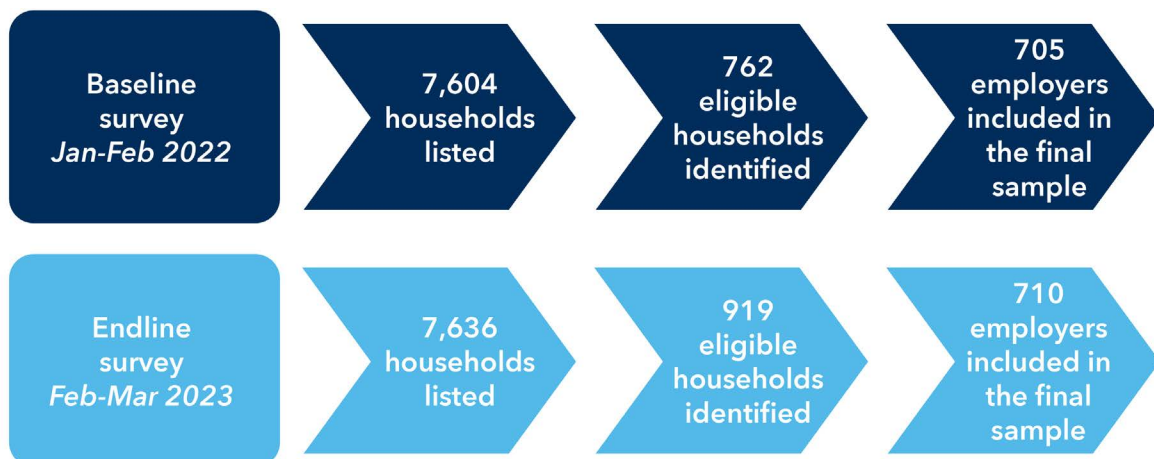
Figure 1. Evaluation locations



Methods

Both the baseline and endline surveys were implemented using the same methodology. In 50 selected enumeration areas (EAs) a household listing was conducted to develop a sampling frame of households employing CDWs. Given an assumed prevalence of CDWs in 10-15% of EA households, at least 150 households were listed per EA. Next, 14 eligible households per EA were randomly selected to reach the target sample size of 700. The implementation process of both the baseline and endline surveys is summarised in Figure 2 and additional information on the sampling approach is available in Annex 2.

Figure 2. Summary of the baseline and endline surveys



Ethical guidelines, in line with best practices and tailored to the needs of the project, were developed and approved by the Ethiopian Public Health Association (EPHA). A detailed research protocol was developed and submitted to the EPHA ethics review board. Approval was granted for the baseline survey in December 2021 and renewed in January 2023 for the endline. The protocol was based on best practices, including voluntary and non-coercive participation, informed consent, do no harm, anonymity, and confidentiality. Data protection guidelines were aligned with the European Union’s General Data Protection Regulation. Though employers of CDWs were considered to be at low risk of harm from participation in the survey, additional steps were taken to help ensure their safety and wellbeing. These included designing the survey tool to focus on community perceptions rather than personal experiences that could trigger emotional distress. Protocols were also in place to protect the data collection team (such as not conducting fieldwork when political or religious tensions were high) and no incidents were reported during either the baseline or endline survey.

To assess the impact of the campaign on different sub-groups, the analysis was disaggregated by eight key variables of interest. These were centred on the campaign’s coverage areas (spread over three sectors), the demographic profile of respondents (gender, age, level of education), the profile of the CDWs they employ (age, relationship to the employer, length of employment), and respondents’ exposure to the campaign. The levels of disaggregation are summarised in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Levels of disaggregation used in the analysis

Gender of respondent		Age of respondent		Level of education		Relation to CDW	
Male		18-29		No education		Related	
Female		30-39		Primary		Not related	
		40-49		Secondary			
		50-59		TVET / College			
		60+		University			
Location		Age of CDW		Length of CDW tenure		Exposure to the NBCC	
Sector A		< 13		< 1 year		No exposure	
Sector B		13-14		1-2 years		Low exposure	
Sector C		15		3-5 years		High exposure	
		16		6-10 years			
		17		11+ years			
		18					

Given the data available, three main analyses are presented in this report. First, key indicators included in the evaluation tool are summarised and discussed. Given the many levels of disaggregation, only important differences between sub-groups are specifically mentioned. Second, changes between the baseline and endline are analysed. Since the baseline survey was used to inform the design of the NBCC along with formative research, significant changes were made to the survey tool used for the endline to reflect the NBCC’s focus on CDWs’ access to education and working conditions. Consequently, baseline/endline comparisons are only available for a subset of variables - all of which

are presented in this report. Third, to compensate for the fact that newly added variables cannot be evaluated against the baseline, exposure to the campaign as measured during the endline was added as a level of disaggregation.

Campaign exposure was measured through three different sets of indicators, which were then used to assess level of exposure. First, respondents were directly asked whether they were aware of campaign activities over the past year. Second, respondents were asked whether they had participated in campaign activities, namely in-person sessions facilitated by Girl Effect and an SMS campaign inviting viewers to follow up on a television advert produced as part of the campaign. Third, respondents were asked whether they recognised a set of 12 images, such as specific characters related to television and digital content produced as part of the campaign.³ Based on their exposure according to the three sets of indicators, respondents were classified into three groups for the purpose of the analysis: no exposure, low exposure, high exposure. To obtain a more granular understanding of different sub-groups' exposure to the NBCC, an index ranging from 0 to 1, with a higher value indicating a higher level of exposure, was developed. The specific methodology for developing the index and classifying respondents is available in Annex 2.

Various statistical tests were used to analyse the impact of the campaign. The dataset broadly comprised three types of variables that could be used to measure differences between groups (especially between the baseline and endline surveys): continuous data, ordinal Likert scale data, and categorical data. For continuous data, either t-tests or one-way analyses of variances (ANOVAs) were used to test for statistically significant relationships on continuous data.⁴ For the purposes of the analysis, Likert-type data was treated as continuous so it could be more easily analysed. When relevant, mean Likert scores for sub-groups are reported. Chi-squared tests were used for categorical data. For all analyses, two-sided p-values were used, and the level of significance was set at 0.05.



3 Respondents were asked whether they recognised each of the 12 images individually

4 When comparing the means of two groups t-tests were used while ANOVAs were used to compare three or more groups

Challenges and limitations

When interpreting the evaluation findings, the limitations of the study should be acknowledged.

Key limitations include:

- **Modifications to the survey tool:** The changes to the survey tool between the baseline and endline limits the number of variables that can directly be compared. However, indicators from all key areas of interest were retained to ensure the possibility of comparisons across themes. Additionally, metrics on exposure to the campaign offer means of assessing the impact of the campaign within the endline sample.
- **Representation at strata-level:** Although the study was designed to be representative of all employers of CDWs in the study location, it is not representative of specific sub-groups. This should be kept in mind when considering disaggregated data. Nevertheless, the sample size was large enough to identify statistically significant differences between many sub-groups.
- **Focus on perceptions and norms:** To minimise the risk to respondents and CDWs, the survey tool was designed to focus on community-level perceptions and norms rather than individual behaviours. As such the evaluation is better suited to assessing normative rather than behavioural change. Still, the tool was designed to best capture changes likely to result from the campaign and information collected during the listing provided some behavioural insights (for example, on reported CDW working hours and access to education).
- **Social desirability bias:** To comply with research ethics best practices, the informed consent script clearly described the study and its objectives. Consequently, respondents were aware that the NBCC aimed to improve CDWs' working conditions and access to education and may have been subject to social desirability bias. Even if this were not the case, this bias likely still would have led to discrepancy between employers' responses and the lived realities of CDWs. This limitation is mitigated by the fact that both survey rounds were conducted under the same conditions using the same methodology.
- **Reliance on close-ended questions:** Finally, the survey tool was largely based on close-ended questions to facilitate the quantitative analysis of the NBCC's impact. It may thus be beneficial to use qualitative methods to unpack and add nuance to the evaluation findings.



KEY FINDINGS

Respondent demographics

Key takeaways

- CDWs are likely to be hired by households that have a specific need for support in doing domestic work.
- CDWs can broadly be classified into two categories based on whether or not they are related to their employer.
- Those hired specifically to do domestic work tend to be older and work longer hours.

Employers

The demographic profile of respondents points to reasons why households might employ CDWs.

As seen in Table 2, the baseline and endline surveys were based on similar samples of employers of CDWs. A large majority of respondents were women which is likely due to the fact that men were more likely to be away during the day when the survey took place. The fact that respondents tended to be older indicates that CDWs are often employed in multi-generational households. Similarly, the high proportion of widowed respondents could be a sign that CDWs are recruited to support households that have lost someone who generated income for the household. Indeed, though most widowed respondents were above the age of 60, a relatively high proportion of those in their 40s and 50s were widowed. Though the level of education of male and female respondents was similar, older respondents generally had lower levels of education.

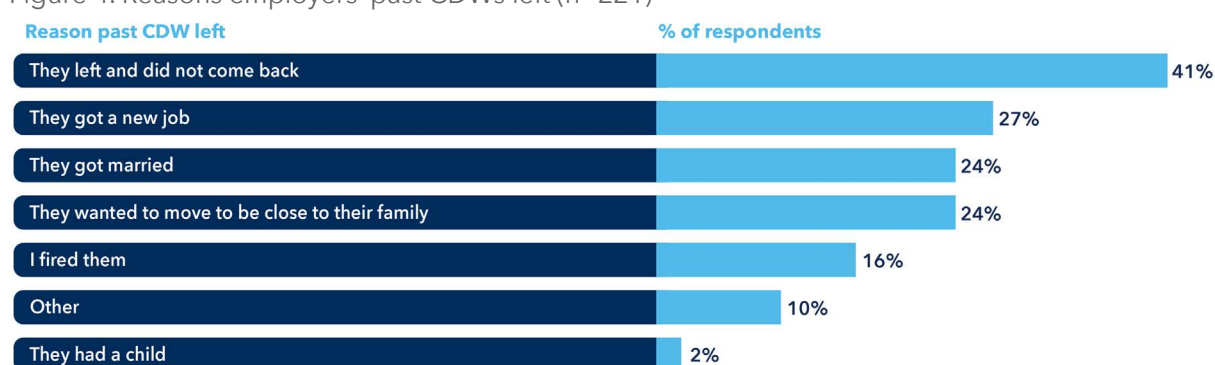
Table 2. Respondent demographics

	Baseline (n = 705)	Endline (n = 710)	Combined (n = 1,415)
Location			
Sector A	20%	20%	20%
Sector B	61%	60%	60%
Sector C	19%	20%	20%
Gender			
Female	80%	85%	82%
Male	20%	15%	18%
Position within the household			
Head of household	64%	54%	59%
Spouse of head of household	35%	46%	40%
Partner of head of household	2%	1%	1%
Age			
18-29	23%	23%	23%
30-39	33%	27%	30%
40-49	10%	11%	11%
50-59	9%	12%	11%
60+	25%	26%	26%

	Baseline (n = 705)	Endline (n = 710)	Combined (n = 1,415)
Marital status			
Never married	8%	5%	7%
Currently married	69%	68%	68%
Divorced / separated	6%	6%	6%
Widowed	18%	21%	19%
Education level			
No education	29%	17%	23%
Primary	17%	27%	22%
Secondary	20%	26%	23%
College / technical and vocational training	14%	12%	13%
University	19%	17%	18%
Household size			
Number of household members (mean) ⁵	3.4	3.4	3.4

Respondents' history of employing CDWs indicates that turnover is higher when CDWs are not related to their employers. During the endline, respondents were asked about their employment history of CDWs over the past five years. Though most respondents had not employed CDWs before their current one, those with higher levels of education and who were unrelated to CDWs were more likely to have had one or more prior CDWs. Besides suggesting that those with the means to do so are more likely to hire 'professional' CDWs (i.e., CDWs hired specifically to do domestic work rather than distant relatives who come live with them), the turnover could also suggest that certain groups prefer employing CDWs rather than adult domestic workers or that CDWs may 'age out' of the job. Indeed, as seen in Figure 4, CDWs getting married, moving to be closer to their family, and leaving for another job were among the most common reasons why employers' previous CDWs left. Still, CDWs leaving and never coming back was the most common reason; the high turnover could therefore be related to poor working conditions.

Figure 4. Reasons employers' past CDWs left (n=221)



CDWs

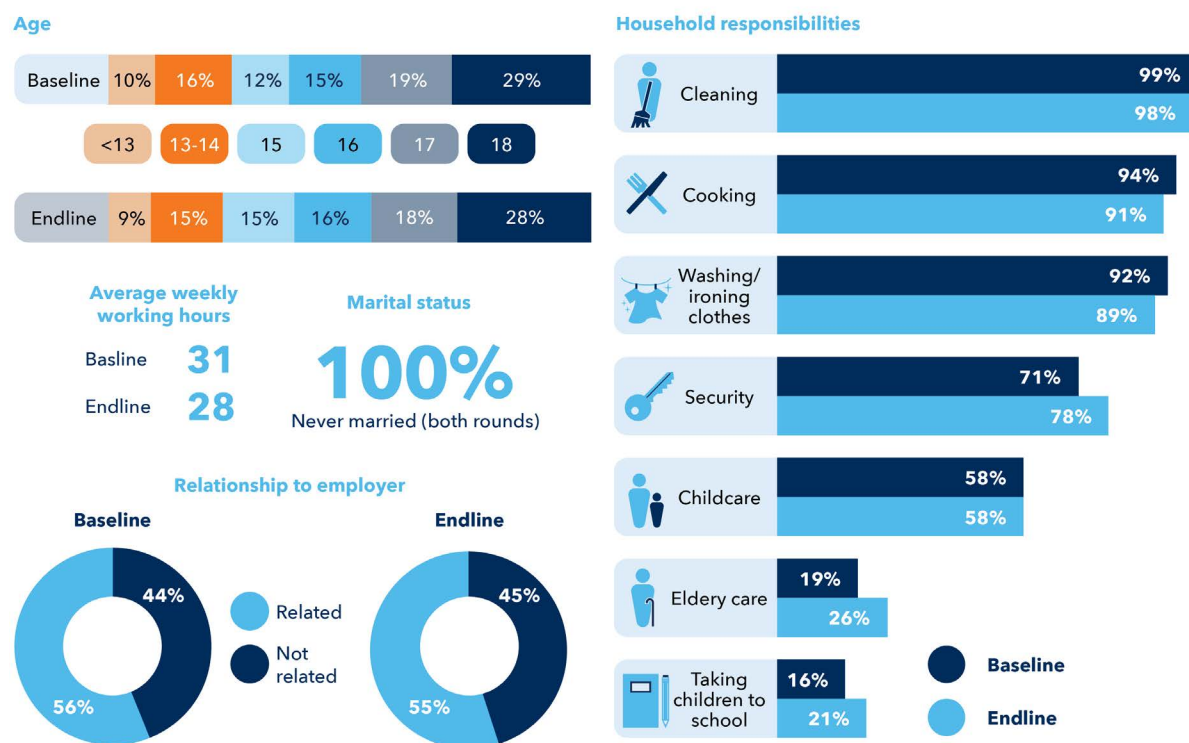
CDWs employed by respondents can roughly be classified into two categories based on their relationship with their employer. Though the evaluation focused on employers, limited information about the CDWs they employ was obtained through the listing process. The baseline survey revealed that there are considerable differences between CDWs who are related to their employer and those who are not. Indeed, CDWs not related to their employer tend to be older, have been more recently recruited (also indicating that employers hiring CDWs unrelated to them tend to recruit slightly

5 Including resident domestic workers

older girls), and are less likely to be in school. They also tend to work significantly longer hours as reported by their employer (34 hours per week on average compared to 23 for CDWs related to their employer). However, these hours are much lower than the reported working hours obtained through Girl Effect’s monitoring during implementation of the NBCC which found that CDWs tend to work 7-8 hours per day with only a monthly day off (49-56 hours per week). In both the baseline and endline, CDWs related to their employers were most commonly their niece.

Despite the profile of CDWs being consistent, some changes to their working conditions were observed between the baseline and endline. As seen in Figure 5, the CDWs employed by respondents during both rounds were similar in terms of their age, tenure, and, most importantly, relationship to their employer. Nevertheless, a significant reduction in working hours from an average of 31 hours per week during the baseline to 28 during the endline was recorded.⁶ Although this reduction cannot be definitely attributed to the campaign as it was consistent regardless of exposure, it could nevertheless be a sign of shifting norms regarding the treatment of CDWs. The fact that the reduction was highest among younger CDWs (around 5 hours less for those 14 years old and under) further supports this theory. However, this finding should nonetheless be treated with caution given the discrepancy between survey findings and Girl Effect’s monitoring.

Figure 5. Demographic profile of CDWs (Baseline n = 705; Endline n = 710)⁷



The duties of CDWs depend on the needs of their employers. As seen in Figure 5, there was a general consensus that CDWs’ responsibilities include cooking, cleaning, caring for children and older people, and laundry. Security was also commonly cited as one of CDWs’ responsibilities. A majority of employers under the age of 40 - and thus more likely to have young children - listed childcare as being among their CDW’s responsibilities while those over the age of 60 were more likely to rely on their CDW for care of older people. These general trends were consistent across both the baseline and endline.

⁶ $t_{705,709} = 3.54, p < 0.001$

⁷ The overall figure for marital status rounds to 100% but two CDWs in the baseline sample were married and the marital status of one was unknown. One CDW in the endline sample was widowed

Exposure to norms and behavioural change campaign

Key takeaways

- Campaign penetration is estimated at 57%, with television by far the most effective medium.
- The campaign was more likely to reach women, younger employers, and those with more formal education.
- Respondents generally agreed that the campaign affected a shift in norms and behaviours.
- There appears to be a need to tailor messaging and media to different demographic groups.

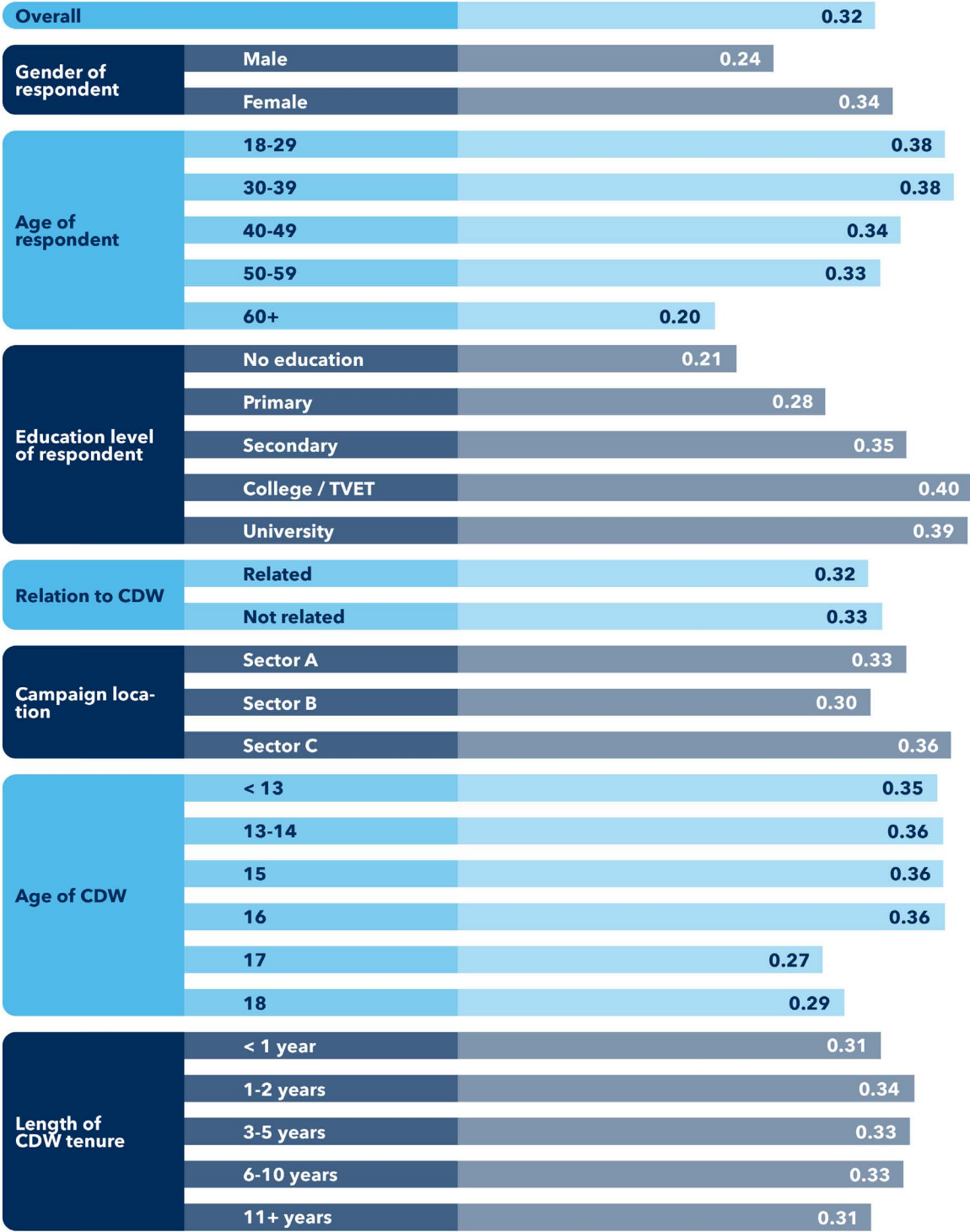
Campaign penetration

Overall, the campaign reached 57% of respondents to some degree, primarily through television. Though only 46% of respondents immediately recalled content about CDWs, a further 14% recognised campaign materials or activities when prompted. Television was by far the main medium through which employers of CDWs were reached (95% of those who immediately recalled the campaign) followed by online media (13%), physical posters (13%), and community discussions (6%). Additionally, 5% of respondents said they replied to an SMS prompt based on a television spot that aired as part of the campaign.

Campaign penetration varied considerably between groups, especially based on respondents' gender, age, and level of education. As described in the section on analysis, exposure to the campaign was analysed in two ways: by clustering respondents into three groups based on their exposure to their campaign, and through an index of exposure derived from the survey data. In total, 43% of respondents could not recall exposure to the campaign, 17% had low exposure, and the remaining 40% had high exposure. The mean index of exposure for each sub-group is summarised in Figure 6 below. There are notable differences with women, younger respondents, and those with higher levels of education having a higher level of exposure. This is to be expected given that the NBCC targeted women and relied on media that are more likely to be accessible to employers with higher socio-economic status (TV and online media). There was also minor variation between the three campaign areas which could be linked to the demographics of each area as well as campaign activities on the ground. Characteristics of employers' CDWs appear to be less relevant though exposure was lower among those with older CDWs (age 17-18). Despite gaps in campaign penetration, exposure was similar regardless of employers' relationship to their CDW, an influential factor in shaping norms and behaviours towards CDWs.



Figure 6. Mean index of exposure, by all levels of disaggregation (n = 710)⁸



8 The index of exposure ranges from 0 to 1 with a higher value indicating a higher level of exposure. See Annex 2 for more details

Metrics on exposure to specific campaign materials confirm that television initiatives had greater penetration than online ones. This is apparent in Figure 7 which summarises the proportion of respondents that recognised 12 images drawn from the campaign. The greatest difference was between online content and content related to the television programme produced as part of the NBCC, which was the main medium by which respondents were exposed to the campaign. Since the index of recognition is based on recall of these images, trends between groups followed those evident in Figure 6.

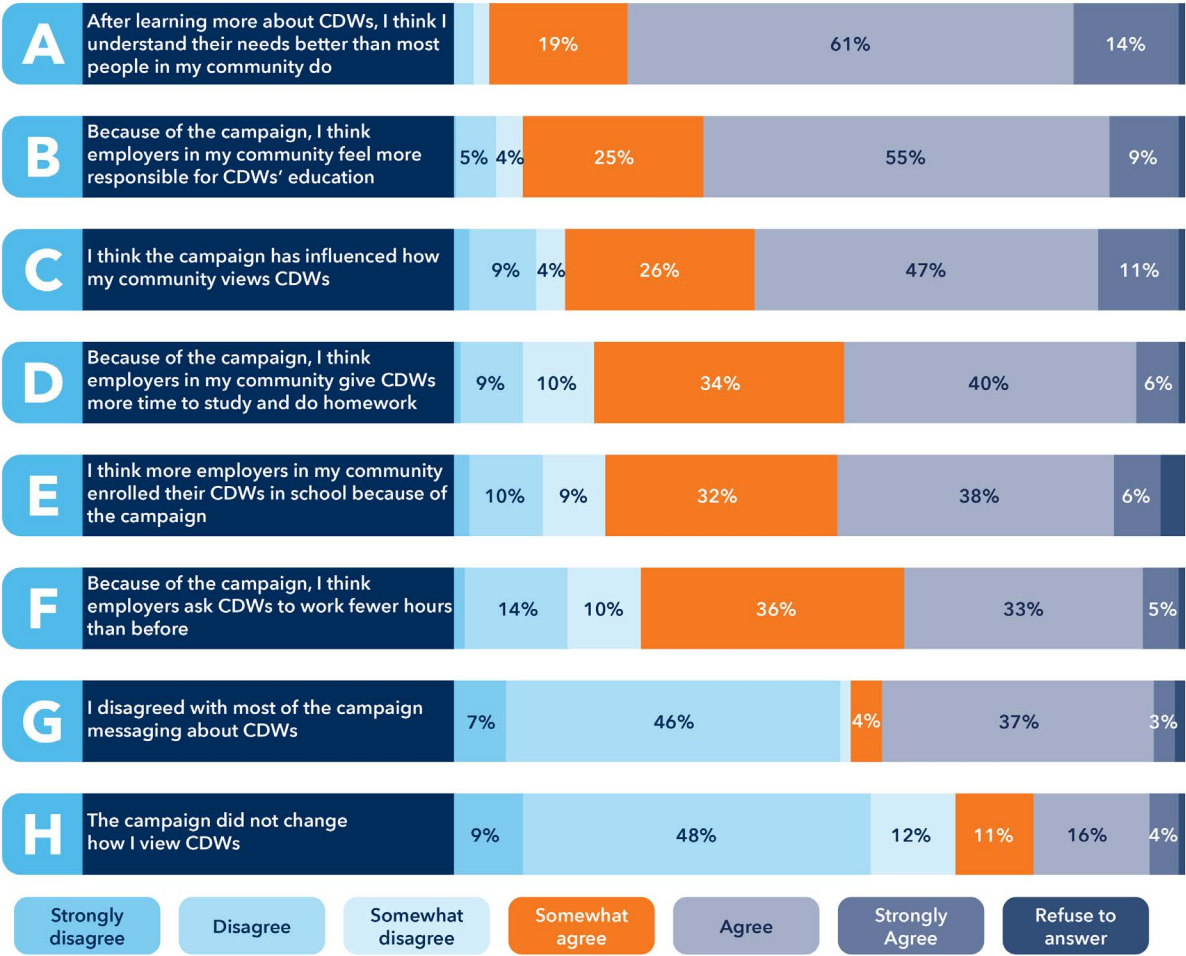
Figure 7. Recognition of campaign materials (n = 710)



Perceptions of the campaign

Employers of CDWs exposed to the campaign generally agreed that it succeeded in shifting norms and behaviours regarding the treatment of CDWs. As seen in Figure 8, most respondents agreed at least to some extent that the campaign improved perceptions of CDWs, their working conditions, and access to education. Nevertheless, respondents were more likely to 'somewhat agree' or 'agree' rather than 'strongly agree', suggesting that there is still work to be done.

Figure 8. Respondents' perceptions of the campaign (n = 328)⁹



Besides perceiving changes in their community, respondents indicated that the campaign affected their own perspectives. This is evidenced by statements A, G, and H in Figure 8. However, given responses to the other statements, it is somewhat surprising that such a large proportion of respondents agreed with statement G. This may be in part due to respondents getting confused by the negative framing of the statement, although a closer examination of the data suggests that the campaign resonated more with some groups than others. For instance, women were 10 percentage points more likely to agree with the statement to any extent than men (36% vs. 26%). Furthermore, agreement with the statement tended to decline with level of education (ranging from 40% of those with no education to 21% among those who attended university) and increase with age (34% for those under 30 and 48% for those over 60). These trends mirror those observed for campaign penetration meaning that respondents may have disagreed with the campaign messaging because they did not fully understand it. Taken together, these findings suggest that there is a need to tailor campaign messaging to different demographic groups.

⁹ Questions only asked to respondents who immediately recalled the campaign

Perceptions of CDWs

Key Takeaways

- Besides helping their employer, CDWs are seen as benefiting from their work experience.
- The campaign appears to have shifted how CDWs are perceived compared to employers' own children and adult domestic workers.
- Exposure to the campaign may have led employers to recognise that CDWs are in fact not usually treated like family.

According to employers, the employment of CDWs is perceived as a mutually beneficial relationship.

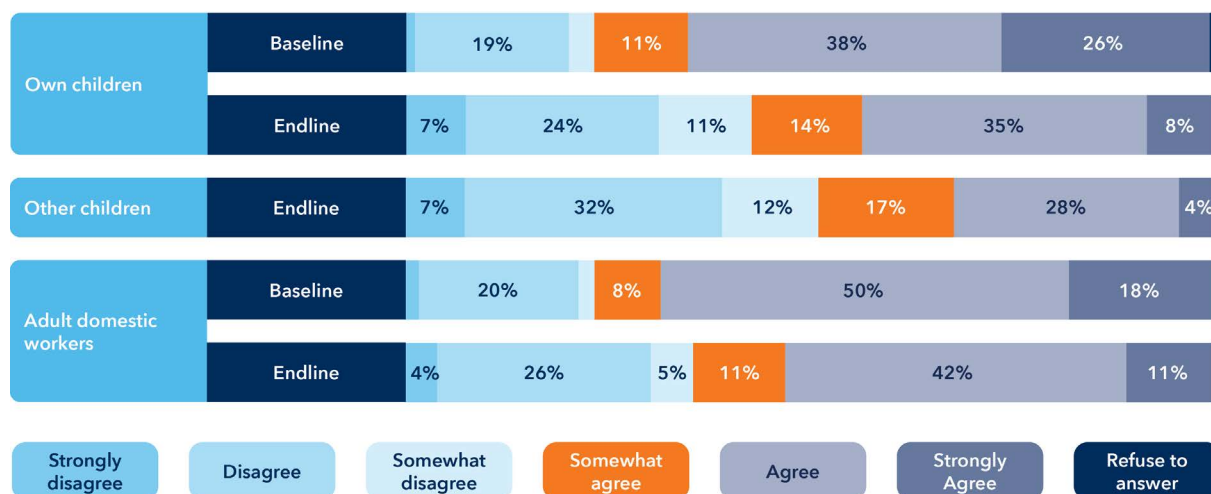
On the one hand, CDWs are perceived as valuable members of the household. A large majority (88%) of respondents agreed with this notion, with broad consensus across demographic groups. On the other hand, CDWs were consistently seen as benefiting from their work experience. An even larger majority (93%) agreed with this statement, including 56% answering 'agree' and 26% 'strongly agreeing'. These perceived benefits are diverse and include better opportunities for education (mentioned by 51% of respondents), better living conditions (50%), the chance to learn how to manage a household (45%), and more income (44%). There was some variation in perceived benefits based on employers' relation to their CDW as those not related were more likely to include opportunities to learn how to manage a household (51% vs. 40%) and that is better to live in the city than in rural areas (39% vs. 30%) among the benefits of employment as a CDW.

Despite a generally positive perception of the practice of employing CDWs, they are still perceived differently from other children.

Figure 9 summarises how respondents believed CDWs are perceived in the community in comparison to employers' own children, other children more generally, and adult domestic workers. The same data disaggregated by level of exposure to the campaign is available in Figure 18 in Annex 3. Findings were unclear on whether the campaign had an effect on these perceptions. During the endline, respondents were significantly more likely to disagree that CDWs are perceived differently than employers' own children (the mean value of the responses decreased from 4.5 to 3.7, with a lower score indicating greater disagreement), implying that CDWs are seen as closer to family. However, this trend was reversed when endline data were disaggregated by level of exposure to the NBCC (mean of 3.4 for those with no exposure compared to 4 and 3.9 for the high and low exposure groups, respectively). Though the question was not asked during the baseline, the trend is similar for perceptions of CDWs compared to other children more generally (3.1 for the no exposure group, 3.6 for low exposure, and 3.5 for high exposure). This could indicate that the campaign led people to acknowledge that CDWs are in fact perceived differently than other children, but the findings are not clear.



Figure 9. To what extent respondents agreed/disagreed that CDWs are perceived differently than other groups, by survey round¹⁰



During the baseline, there was also a consensus that CDWs are perceived differently than adult domestic workers. However, like for the comparison with employers’ own children, respondents were significantly less likely to agree that CDWs are perceived differently to adult domestic workers during the endline than during the baseline (mean of 4.4 during the baseline compared to 3.9 for the endline).¹¹ Respondents exposed to the campaign, though, were more likely to agree that CDWs are perceived differently than adult domestic workers (3.7 for no exposure compared to 4.1 for the low and high exposure groups).¹² A possible explanation is that the campaign provided its audience with a better understanding of child labour, leading it to appreciate the differences between CDWs and adult domestic workers.

Working arrangements and conditions

Key Takeaways

- CDWs are typically paid in cash with employers estimating their monthly salary to be around ETB 1,500.
- There is a discrepancy between what in-kind support employers think CDWs should be given and what they believe is normally provided.
- CDWs continue to face difficult working conditions and knowledge of Ethiopian labour laws is low but employers were receptive to improving CDWs’ working conditions.

10 Respondents were asked to what extent they agree with the following statements:

- “Within your community, employers of CDWs perceive CDWs differently from their own children”
 - “Within your community, employers of CDWs perceive CDWs differently from other children”
 - “Within your community, CDWs are perceived differently from adult domestic workers”
- Baseline n = 705; Endline n = 710

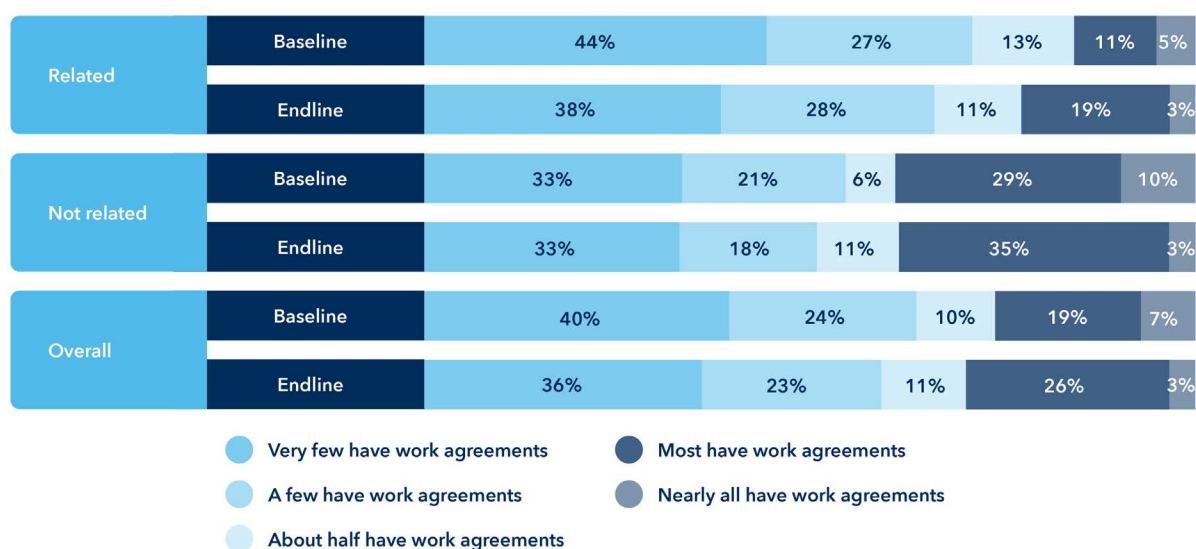
11 $t_{700,705} = 5.86$, two-sided $p < 0.0001$

12 One-way ANOVA ($F_{2,701} = 7.76$, $p < 0.001$); post-hoc Tukey test ($p < 0.05$ for pairwise comparisons between respondents with no exposure to the campaign and any level of exposure)

Arrangements and remuneration

Whether CDWs have formal work agreements appears to depend on their relationship with their employer. Indeed, as seen in Figure 10, respondents related to their CDW were much less likely to believe that most CDWs have work agreements outlining their working conditions (for example, salary, benefits, working hours, time off). This trend was consistent during both rounds of the survey and perceptions on the prevalence of work agreements were not affected by exposure to the campaign.

Figure 10. Perceived prevalence of formal work agreements for CDWs, by survey round and employers' relationship to their CDW¹³



There is a strong consensus that CDWs are typically paid in cash although their monthly salary can vary. Indeed, 97% of respondents interviewed during the baseline agreed that CDWs usually receive a cash payment with the median estimated monthly salary being 1,500 Ethiopian birr (ETB). Answers ranged from ETB 500 to 3,000, with 1,000 and 2,000 being the most common answers besides 1,500. Although this figure was consistent based on exposure to the campaign, the average perceived normal salary significantly increased from ETB 1,244 during the baseline to 1,504 during the endline.^{14,15} It is likely that average salaries between neighbourhoods was based on socio-economic status as there was variation between the three study areas and salaries generally increase with respondents' level of education. During the endline, salary estimates were also significantly higher for employers not related to their CDWs (ETB 1,548 vs. 1,467). However, the magnitude of the change in average perceived normal salary from baseline to endline was small as this is roughly equivalent to an increase from USD 27.44 to USD 28.96. Additionally, this increase of around 5.5% over the course of around a year is even less impactful given that the annual inflation rate in Ethiopia was over 30% throughout 2022.¹⁶

A comparison of baseline and endline data reveals discrepancies between what respondents think employers ought to provide to CDWs and what they believe is actually provided. In this case, data are not directly comparable as the wording of the question was tweaked between survey rounds. During the baseline, respondents were asked what "employers have a responsibility to provide [...] to CDWs as part of their compensation" while during the endline they were asked about what employers "usually provide CDWs as a part of their compensation". Besides cash, there was a consensus that food and accommodation should be and are usually provided. However, the gap between expectations

13 Baseline n = 705; Endline n = 710

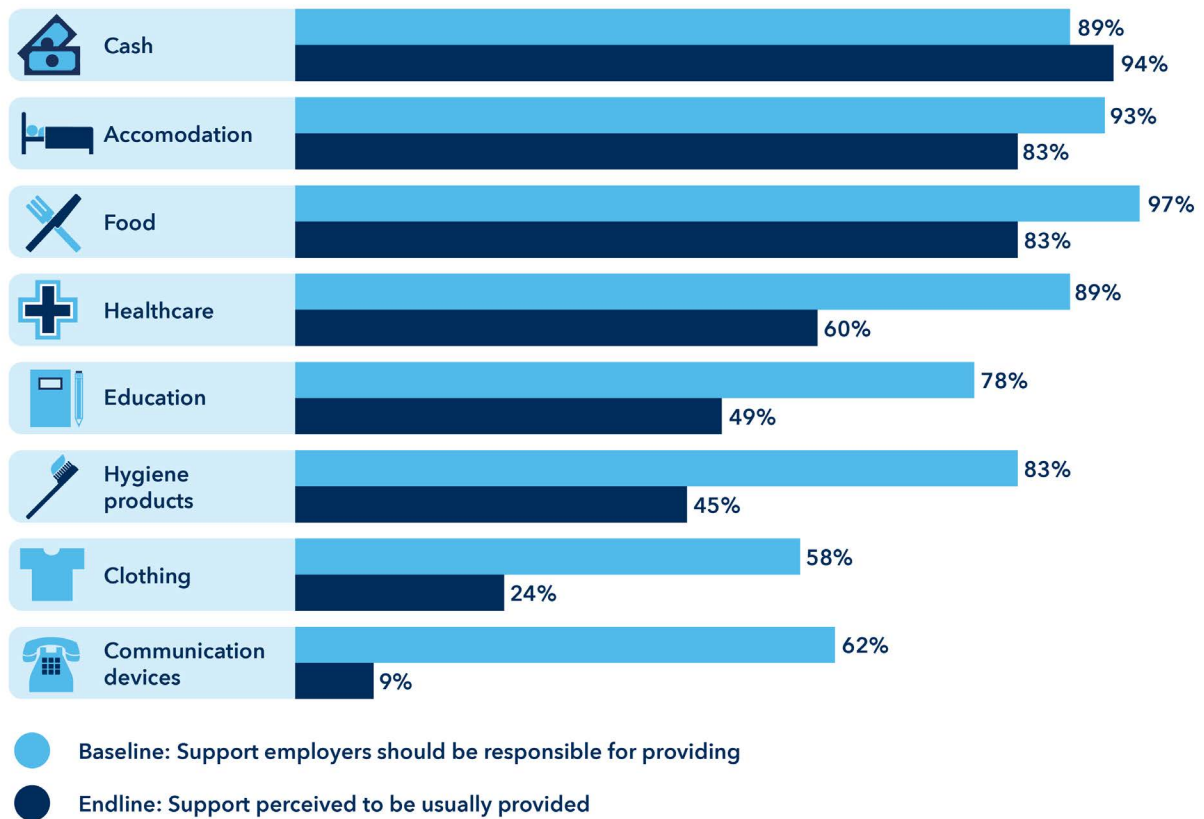
14 $t_{699,685} = -11.03$, two-sided $p < 0.0001$

15 $t_{370,315} = -2.17$, two-sided $p < 0.05$

16 World Food Programme, 2023. Ethiopia Market Watch, March 2023. Retrieved from: <https://reliefweb.int/report/ethiopia/wfp-ethiopia-market-watch-march-2023>

and practices grew for other forms of in-kind compensation, especially access to education, hygiene products, clothing, and communication devices. The most notable difference in perceived support to education was between employers related to their CDWs (of whom 53% believed access to education is usually provided) and those not related (45%). These findings are summarised in Figure 11 below.

Figure 11. In-kind remuneration of CDWs, by survey round¹⁷



Working hours

Long work days appear to be the norm for CDWs. During both the endline and baseline, the median estimated typical work day of CDWs was 8 hours. However, the average work day was significantly lower during the endline (8.8 vs. 7.8 hours), perhaps signalling a shift towards shorter days and indicating some slight shifts in behaviours as well as norms.¹⁸ Still, when considering CDWs' *expected availability for work*, their total work day was reported to far exceed this figure - 66% of respondents believed that most CDWs usually start between 6am and 7am while 47% believed that they end between 9pm and 10pm. This was validated during the implementer's own monitoring data. This means that CDWs are expected to be available to work over the course of a 14-16-hour window every day and indicates that employers do not count time spent waiting for a task to be assigned or doing passive tasks such as guarding the house as part of a CDW's labour.

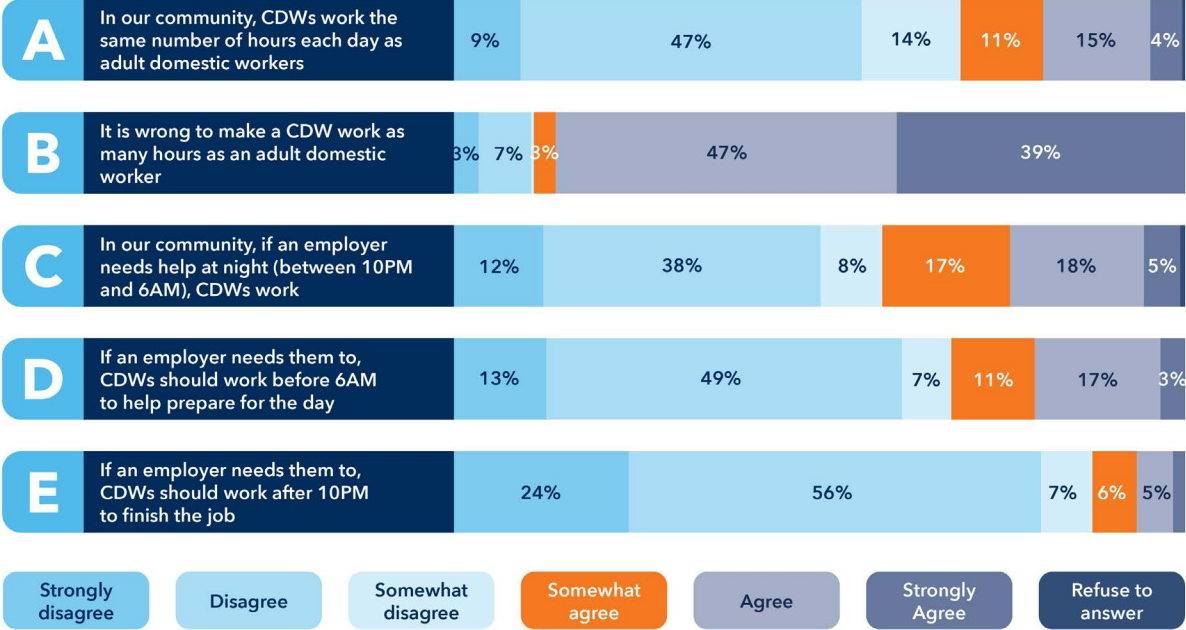
Despite the current situation, employers expressed an interest in improving CDWs' working conditions. As seen in Figure 12, employers generally believe that CDWs should not work as much as adult domestic workers and should not work between 10pm and 6am. There is also limited evidence that the NBCC shifted attitudes regarding working hours. Though exposure to the campaign did not have a significant effect on most responses to the statements in Figure 12, respondents exposed to

17 During the baseline employers were asked about which forms of support employers should be responsible for providing while during the endline they were asked about which ones they thought employers usually do provide.
Baseline n = 705; Endline n = 710

18 $t_{705,710} = -7.47$, two-sided $p < 0.0001$

the campaign were less likely to agree with the statement E (mean response of 2.4 for no exposure compared to 2.1 for low exposure and 2.0 for high exposure).¹⁹ Taken together, these findings indicate that there is an appreciation of the need to reduce CDW working hours that could be leveraged in future programming.

Figure 12. Employers’ perceptions and attitudes regarding CDW working hours, endline data²⁰



Rest periods and time off

Besides working long hours, CDWs are rarely afforded regular time off. In fact, 93% of endline respondents believed that CDWs in their community typically work seven days a week. Furthermore, 73% of respondents disagreed to some extent with the statement “in our community, CDWs typically take one rest day per week.” Conversely, 57% agreed to some extent with the statement “in our community, it is acceptable for CDWs to work 7 days a week.” Instead of a weekly day off, it appears to be more common to give CDWs a certain number of hours off per day (for example, 2-4) or a less frequent day off (for example, bi-weekly or monthly).

Nevertheless, employers acknowledged the importance of rest periods and time off for CDWs. Respondents were generally in agreement that a rest period is when a CDW is doing no work rather than simply doing light tasks, such as making coffee. Furthermore, 91% answered that periods of complete rest are important for CDWs and 95% considered time off for schoolwork to be important. An even higher percentage (97%) considered time off to see family to be important - higher than the 95% that said so during the baseline, but not significantly so.²¹

Altruistic reasons and reasons tied to self-interest drive whether or not employers give time off to CDWs to see their families. According to respondents, employers might give time off for CDWs to see their families out of concern for their wellbeing and because it is seen as the right thing to do.

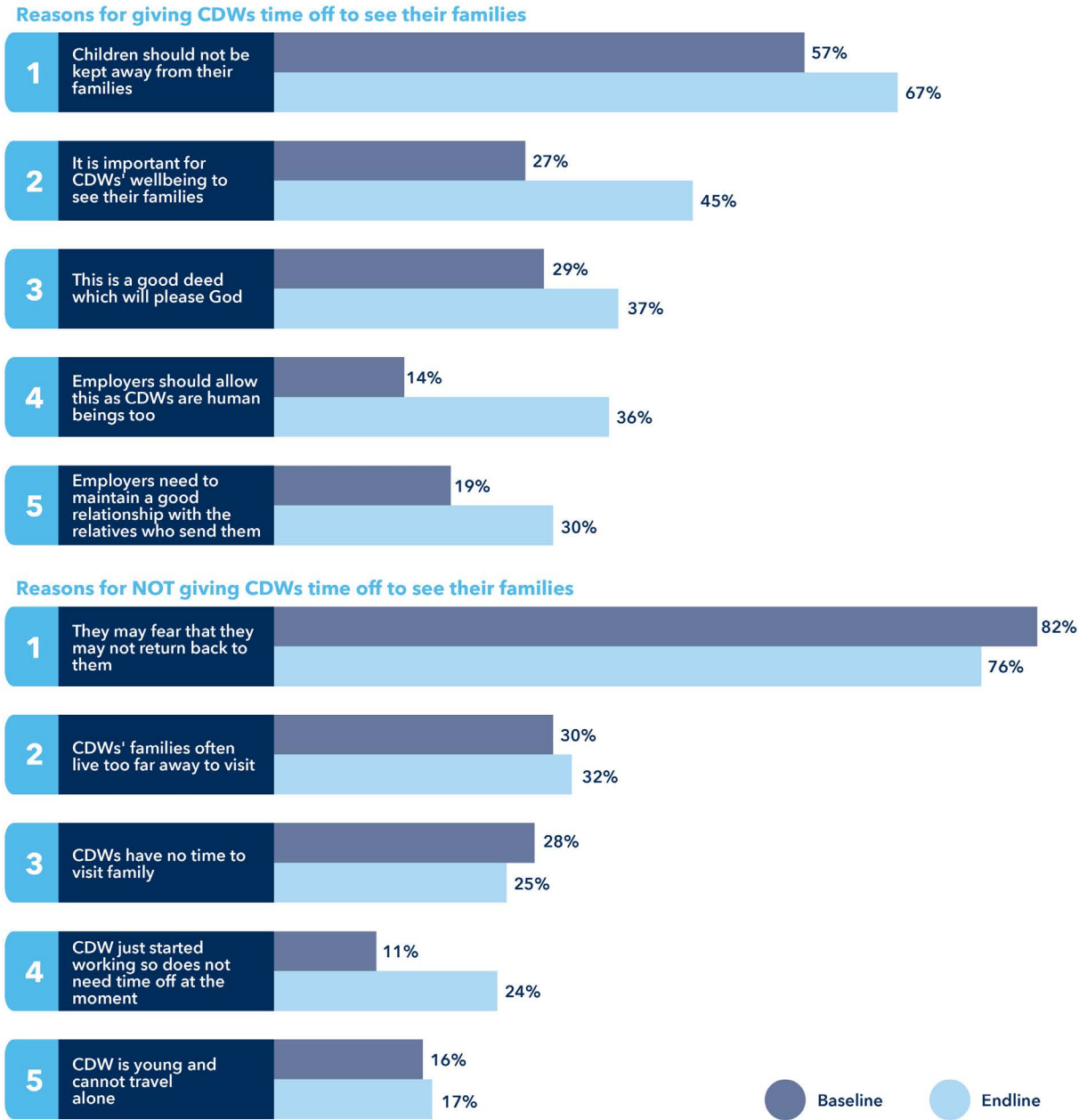
19 One-way ANOVA ($F_{2,707} = 7.93, p < 0.001$); post-hoc Tukey test ($p < 0.001$ for the pairwise comparison between respondents with no exposure to the campaign and those with a high level of exposure). Though the magnitude of the difference between the no and low exposure groups was similar, the difference was not statistically significant given the smaller number of respondents in the low exposure category

20 $n = 710$ for all statements except A which had 3 refusals ($n = 707$)

21 $t_{705,710} = -0.47, \text{two-sided } p = 0.44$

By far the main reason employers might not give such time off is because they fear their CDW might not return. As seen in Figure 13, this reasoning was fairly consistent across survey rounds with some variation in specific responses. In general, respondents were more likely to give multiple reasons for why employers do give time off during the endline, with the top five reasons all listed by a higher percentage of respondents. Responses were also relatively consistent based on exposure to the campaign.

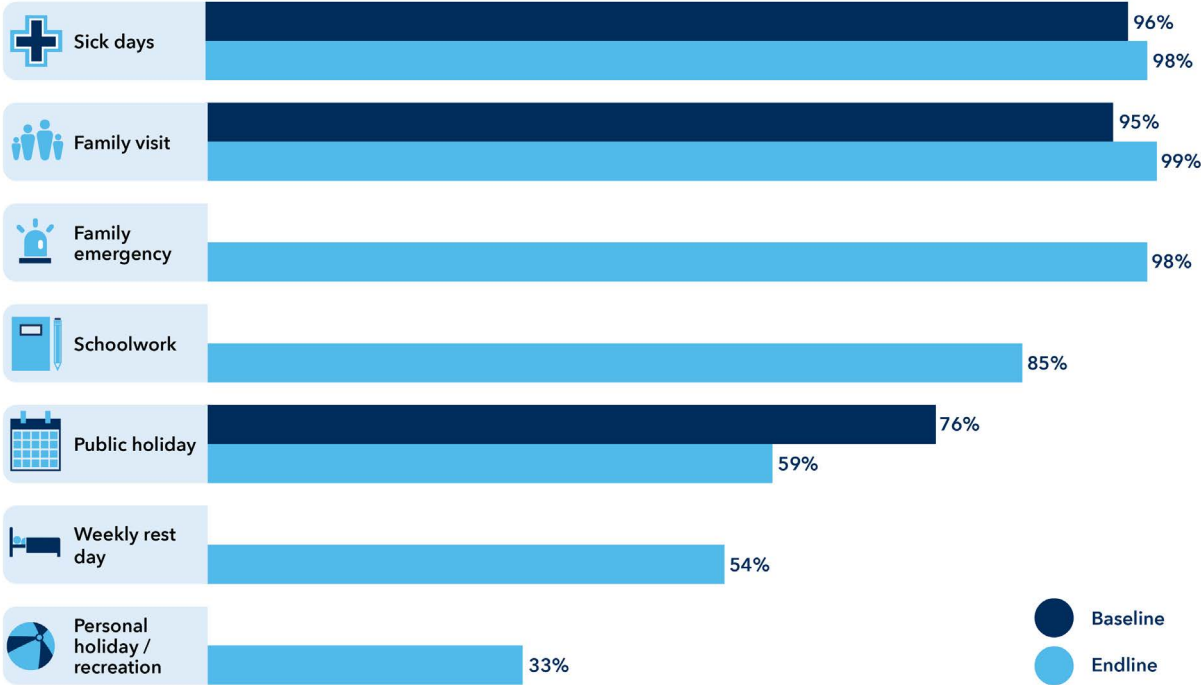
Figure 13. Reasons employers might or might not give CDWs time off to see their families, by survey round (n = 710, multiple response)



Besides family visits, there is also a broad consensus that illness and family emergencies are valid reasons for giving CDWs time off. As seen in Figure 14, during the baseline, respondents were nearly unanimous that these three reasons warrant time off. Furthermore, a large majority (85%) agreed that CDWs should be given time off to complete their schoolwork though this did not vary based on exposure to the NBCC. However, respondents exposed to the campaign were more likely to include weekly rest days and public holidays as reasons to give time off (see Figure 21 in Annex 3), suggesting a possible shift in understanding of their responsibilities as an employer. However, it is not clear whether this translated into these employers actually giving their CDWs days off. Finally,

it should be noted that respondents were significantly less likely to include public holidays during the endline (76% vs. 59%).²² Though it is unclear why this might be, it could be linked to the fact that additional options were included in the endline survey.

Figure 14. Valid reasons for giving CDWs time off, by survey round²³



Knowledge of labour laws

Working conditions for CDWs are generally in contravention of Ethiopian labour laws, of which employers have limited knowledge. In fact, only 12% of respondents during both the baseline and endline surveys correctly answered that 15 is the minimum age for minors to engage in paid work in Ethiopia.²⁴ Age 18 was by far the most common answer during both surveys (over 60%), which is the minimum age for hazardous work. Furthermore, only 6% of respondents interviewed during the endline correctly answered that 15-17-year-olds are legally limited to 7 hours of work per day. However, since the median answer to this question was actually lower at 6 hours, this indicates that employers do believe there are limits to how much time CDWs should work in a day. Although employers’ response to this question did not vary depending on exposure to the NBCC, the campaign did improve their knowledge of limits on children working late and legally mandated rest days. As seen in Figure 15, respondents with any exposure to the campaign were more likely to know that 15-17-year-olds cannot legally work between the hours of 10pm and 6am and that 15-17-year-olds are legally entitled to one rest day per week and cannot work on public holidays.²⁵ It is not known, though, whether they complied with these regulations. Still, overall awareness of these laws remains low – particularly relating to mandatory rest periods.

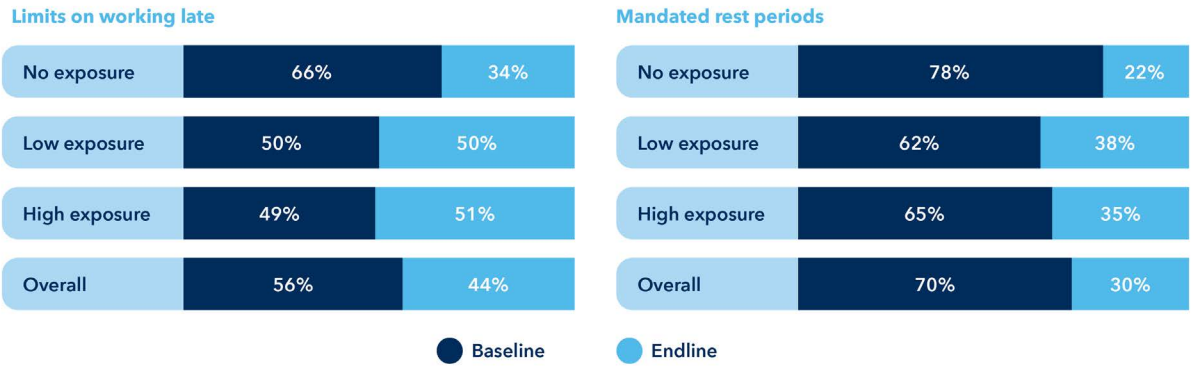
22 $X^2(1, n = 1,415) = 51.44, p < 0.001$

23 For each option, respondents were asked whether it was a valid reason for giving time off. Additional reasons for giving time off were added to the survey tool based on the findings of the baseline and insights derived from the implementation of the NBCC. Baseline n = 705; Endline n = 710

24 Ethiopian law stipulates a minimum age for work of 15 with certain forms of light work permitted for those aged 13-14, and a minimum age for hazardous work of 18 (The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, 1994; Labour Proclamation No. 1156-2019, 2019)

25 Labour Proclamation No. 1156-2019, 2019

Figure 15. Awareness of child labour laws (n = 710)



Access to education

Key takeaways

- Enrolment of employers’ CDWs remained unchanged from the baseline at 53%.
- Access to education is much lower for CDWs who are not related to their employer.
- CDWs related to their employer tend to go to day school while those who are not tend to attend evening schools.
- Despite low enrolment, employers indicated that they value education and there are signs that the NBCC shifted perspectives in favour of education.

CDW participation in education

Just over half the employers indicated that their CDW had ever been enrolled in school since she began her employment in their household, with no change between the baseline and endline. As seen in Figure 16, CDWs’ relationship to their employer was by far the most important predictor of whether they had access to education - during both the baseline and endline, the gap was 50 percentage points between the two groups. The difference between the two groups is further reinforced by the fact that CDWs related to their employer are more likely to go to day school (70%), while those not related to their employer tend to attend evening school (80%). Enrolment was not significantly related to exposure to the campaign, although it was slightly higher among those exposed to the campaign (50% for no exposure, 59% for low exposure, 53% for high exposure).²⁶ In most cases, CDWs who had ever been enrolled in school currently were enrolled (97% during the baseline, 96% during the endline). School attendance was reported to be high; only 27% of employers whose CDW was in school said that they had missed a day of class in the past week and when they did, school vacation was the most common reason.

Figure 16. School enrolment among of CDWs, by employers’ relation to their CDW²⁷

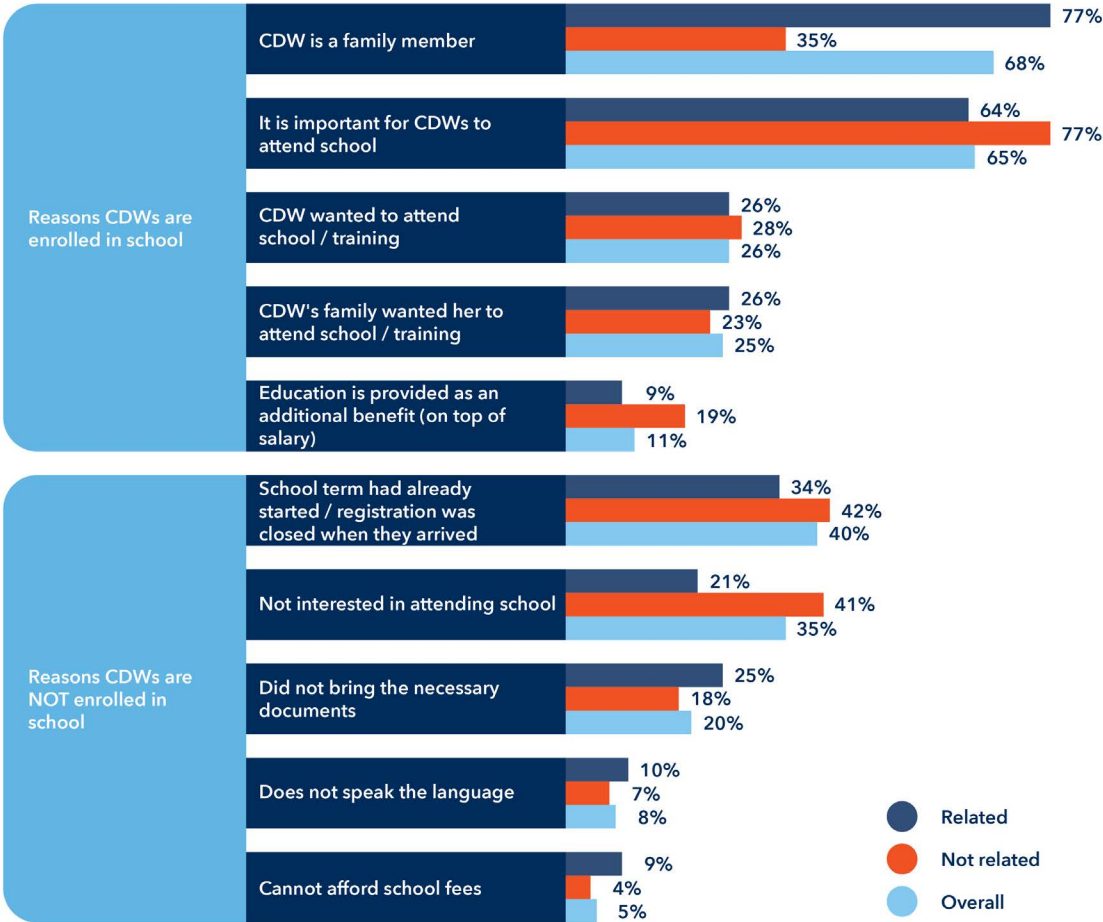


26 $X^2(1, n = 1,415) = 0.06, p = 0.80$

27 Baseline n = 705; Endline n = 710

Employers’ reasons for sending their CDWs to school indicate that they recognise the value of education. Indeed, considering the CDW as a family member and considering education to be important were the most common reasons why employers said they enrolled their CDW in school. It is notable that 35% of employers unrelated to their CDW still considered them as a family member. According to employers, CDWs tend to be out of school for either logistical reasons (registration was closed or they did not have the necessary documents) or due to a lack of interest from the CDW. Among those employers whose CDW was no longer in school, a lack of interest was the most common reason for dropping out. Reasons why employers said their CDW was or was not enrolled in school are summarised in Figure 17 below. These reasons were relatively consistent based on exposure to the campaign, and notably so for the two most common reasons given for why employers might send their CDW to school, suggesting a possible impact of the campaign on social norms.

Figure 17. Reasons for why or why not employers’ CDWs are enrolled in school, by employers’ relation to their CDW²⁸



Whether employers are aware of their CDWs’ career aspirations provides further evidence of the link between CDWs’ access to education and their relationship with their employer. Indeed, employers related to their CDW were significantly more likely to be aware of their CDWs’ career aspirations (39% vs. 25%).²⁹ Furthermore, those who were aware of their CDWs’ career aspirations were significantly more likely to have enrolled their CDW in school (70% vs. 46%). This suggests that beyond a familial relationship cultivating a personal bond between employers and CDWs could improve access to education. Finally, employers who were exposed to the campaign were significantly more likely to be aware of their CDWs’ career aspirations, a sign that the campaign may have led to employers having more interest in their CDWs’ lives (25% no exposure, 44% low exposure, 36% high

28 Reasons why: n = 375; Reasons why not: n = 335
 29 $\chi^2(1, n = 710) = 15.80, p < 0.001$

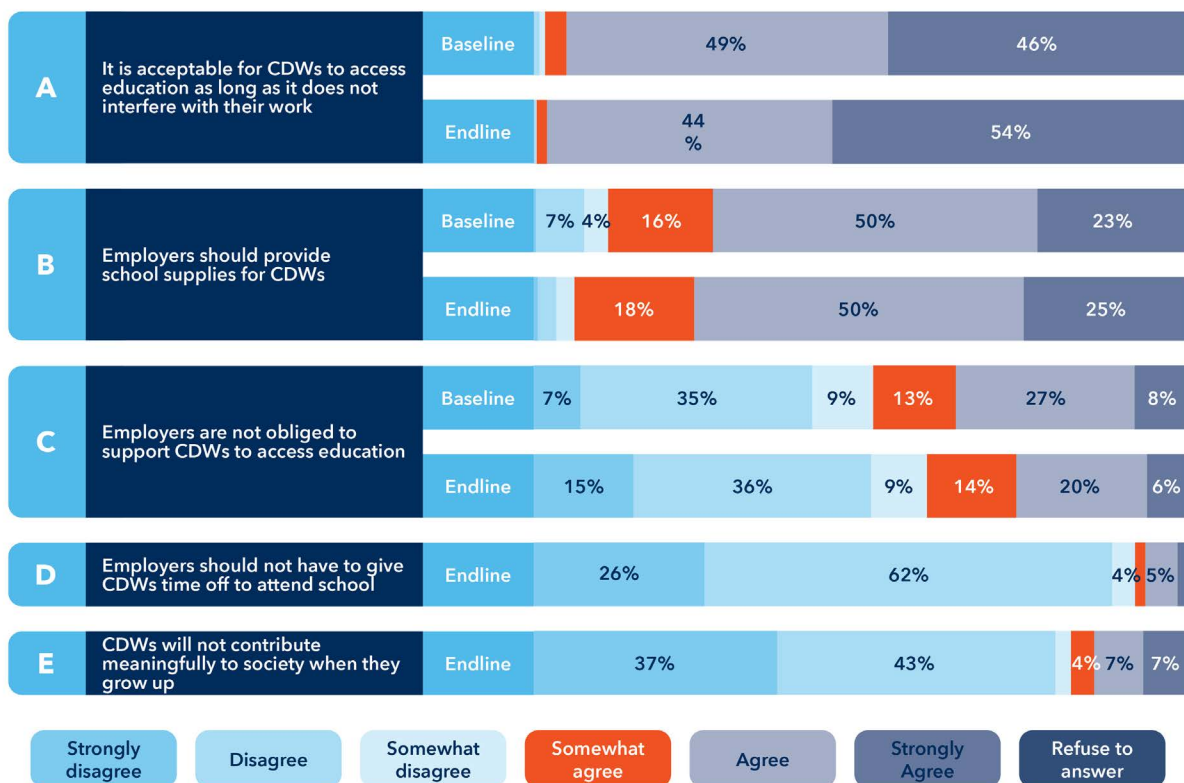
exposure). This suggests a possible shift in norms and behaviours, with employers viewing their CDW as a child with aspirations and taking the time to explore what these are. According to employers, CDWs' career aspirations broadly fall into three categories: pursuing a professional job (for example, doctor or engineer), working to earn a decent livelihood (for example, through further education or entrepreneurship), or emigrating to a country offering better opportunities (typically in the Middle East).³⁰

Employer perceptions

Despite not always providing access to education, employers generally do recognise its importance.

As seen in Figure 18, employers were generally in agreement that CDWs should be able to go to school so long as it does not interfere with their work and, though less emphatically, that employers should provide school supplies to CDWs. There was broad disagreement with the notions that employers should not have to give time off to attend school and that CDWs will not contribute to society. Opinions were most divided on whether employers are obliged to support CDWs in accessing education. Still, a majority during both surveyed rounds disagreed that employers are not obliged to provide access to education, meaning that most employers sided with the aims of the NBCC on all five statements presented to them.

Figure 18. Employer perceptions on access to education for CDWs, by survey round³¹



There are strong signs that the NBCC shifted employer perceptions on education for CDWs though there remains a gap based on employers' relation to their CDW. Indeed for all three statements included in both rounds of the survey, there was a significant shift in favour of education.³² However, no

30 The most common answers given to an open-ended question.

31 Baseline n = 705; Endline n = 709

32 Statement A: Baseline mean 5.4 response, endline mean 5.5 ($t_{705,709} = -4.02$, two-sided $p < 0.001$)
 Statement B: Baseline mean 4.8, endline mean 4.9 ($t_{704,709} = -2.61$, two-sided $p < 0.001$)
 Statement C: Baseline mean 3.4, endline mean 3.1 ($t_{704,709} = 4.40$, two-sided $p < 0.001$)

significant effect was detected based on campaign exposure for any of the five statements.³³ A possible explanation is that during the endline, attitudes converged and employers were more consistent in their support for CDWs' access to education. Additionally, there was no control neighbourhood so it is possible that unrelated initiatives implemented in parallel to the NBCC could have shifted perceptions on CDWs' access to education. Nevertheless, noticeable differences remain based on employers' relationship to their CDW. Indeed, those related to their CDW were significantly more supportive of statements A and B while being more likely to disagree with statement C.³⁴ Thus, where campaigns aim to promote CDWs right to education as per their wishes, this finding emphasises the need to specifically target employers with no familial relation to their CDW.

Relative impact of different media

There are signs that in-person sessions, online media, and posters may have been more effective than TV in shifting employers' perspectives. Since most respondents were exposed to the NBCC in the same way (TV) it is not possible to conduct a robust analysis to isolate the relative impact of different media. Additionally, those exposed to the campaign through media other than TV also tended to have seen it on TV. Nevertheless, a limited analysis of key indicators suggests that the campaign's impact differed based on how employers were exposed to it. For example, respondents who attended an in-person session were much more likely to have their CDW enrolled in school (71% compared to 52% for those who did not attend such a session). The same is true for exposure to online media (61% vs. 53%) and posters (80% vs. 50%). Furthermore, those who attended an in-person session and who recalled a poster reported that, on average, their CDWs worked fewer hours per week (4.1 and 3.3 hours less, respectively). In contrast, those who were exposed to the campaign through TV reported that their CDWs work 9.5 hours more than employers who were exposed to the campaign exclusively through other media. An analysis of additional variables assessing employers' perspectives, available in Table 4 in Annex 3, revealed similar trends. A possible explanation is that compared to TV, which may be playing in the background, the other media were more likely to require active engagement on the part of employers, and thus were more effective in delivering their message. In any case, the limits to this analysis mean that these findings should be treated with caution and investigated further.




33 One-way ANOVAs: Statement A ($F_{2,706} = 0.86, p = 0.42$); Statement B ($F_{2,706} = 1.39, p = 0.25$); Statement C ($F_{2,706} = 2.07, p = 0.13$); Statement D ($F_{2,706} = 1.50, p = 0.22$); Statement E ($F_{2,704} = 1.16, p = 0.31$)

34 Statement A: Related mean 5.6 response, not related mean 5.5 ($t_{390,319} = 2.35, \text{two-sided } p < 0.05$)
 Statement B: Related mean 5.0, not related mean 4.8 ($t_{390,319} = 3.56, \text{two-sided } p < 0.001$)
 Statement C: Related mean 2.9, not related mean 3.2 ($t_{389,320} = 3.17, \text{two-sided } p < 0.01$)


SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

In general, the evaluation provided evidence of a shift in the norms and perceptions of employers of CDWs, with the NBCC likely a major contributing factor. Indeed, endline survey findings indicated a consistent improvement in the way CDWs are perceived and treated as compared to the baseline. Furthermore, an analysis of the endline data on exposure to the NBCC suggested that the impact was greatest among those directly reached by the campaign. Nevertheless, challenges persist and lessons for future programming can be drawn from the evaluation findings. Key findings in relation to the evaluation questions are summarised below:

-  **Statistically significant changes to norms and perceptions on CDWs' working conditions and access to education were observed:** This includes a shift towards a greater acknowledgement of the need to limit CDW's working hours, provide adequate rest, and improve access to education. Importantly, respondents themselves were generally in agreement that the campaign succeeded in shifting norms and perceptions guiding the treatment of CDWs. Limited findings indicate that some modes of dissemination (for example, in-person sessions, online media, posters) may have had a greater impact than television programming though further investigation is needed to more definitely assess the relative efficacy of different media.
-  **Despite improvements, CDWs continue to face challenges:** Indeed, behavioural change may lag behind attitudinal and normative change as CDWs continue to face long workdays with limited rest and limited days off. Access to education also remains low – particularly for CDWs who are not related to their employer. Although CDW school enrolment was unchanged between the baseline and endline, the observed reduction in reported working hours could be a sign of behavioural change.
-  **There is a clear divide based on CDWs' relationship to their employers:** Findings further reinforce the difference between CDWs who are related to their employers and those who are not. Perhaps the most striking finding is that school enrolment is around 50 percentage points lower for the latter. Combined with the fact that CDWs not related to their employer tend to go to evening schools while working long hours (often into the evening) it is likely that even those who are in school have worse educational outcomes than their peers due to fatigue and less time to do schoolwork. These results echo findings from previous studies with CDWs in Addis Ababa (Erulkar et al., 2022).
-  **There is gap between what is reported by CDWs and employers:** Although a systematic comparison of the evaluation findings to those of the CDW prevalence study which was based on data obtained directly from CDWs was not performed (Erulkar et al., 2022), it should still be noted that there appears to be a sizeable gap between how employers say they treat CDWs and how they are actually treated. For example, the average number of hours worked by CDWs as reported by employers was 28 per week, but CDWs themselves reported working 55 hours. Similarly, employers were more likely to estimate higher average monthly wages (ETB 1,500) than what was reported by CDWs (ETB 1,100). Besides social desirability bias, discrepancies could also be driven by the fact that employers may be referring to 'professional' CDWs rather than the broader definition used for the two studies, which includes distant relatives that employers may not always consider to be CDWs. It should also be noted that there are discrepancies between evaluation findings and those of Girl Effect's monitoring conducted during the campaign (for example, with respect to CDWs' reported working hours). This could be due to differences in the methods for sampling respondents and collecting data.
-  **Though overall penetration was relatively high, the campaign was less successful in reaching certain groups:** Though 57% of respondents indicated they were exposed to the campaign to some extent, this was much lower for several sub-groups. In particular, the campaign was less likely to have reached men, older employers, and those with less formal education. This is in part due to the fact that women were targeted and that the campaign relied heavily on television

and social media, which may be less accessible to older and less educated individuals. These barriers may also have affected their understanding of the NBCC's messaging and could help explain why these groups were more likely to disagree with it. It should also be noted that selection bias could also have influenced the findings as certain groups may have been more likely to be home when the survey was conducted.

 **Although there are signs that the campaign had broader impact, evidence for a dose-response relationship is limited:** In most cases where baseline-endline comparisons could be performed, the data points to the campaign having a positive impact. Similar trends were also apparent when comparing respondents exposed to the campaign against those who were not. However, while the low and high exposure groups often differed significantly from the no exposure group, they rarely differed from each other. This could be an encouraging sign that the threshold for engendering attitudinal change is low but could also be a reflection of the way in which exposure was measured. Indeed, the emphasis was placed on recall rather than comprehension meaning that the high exposure group did not necessarily retain more of the campaign's messaging. Consequently, the high and low exposure groups may appear more similar than if they were differentiated based on comprehension.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of the evaluation and lessons learned from its implementation, the following recommendations can be made for future NBCCs which aim to promote CDWs' rights:

Civil society or state organizations tasked with designing and/or implementing NBCCs which promote CDWs' rights should:

- 1** | **Keep CDWs' perspectives and priorities at the centre of the campaign.** CDWs have first-hand experience of living with and working for an employer while still a child. Their practical experience needs to be harnessed to ensure effective messaging and to formulate practical solutions. The commitment of Girl Effect to consult CDWs, employers and relevant civil society actors ensured the campaign messaging used relatable characters, reflected real-life scenarios and highlighted the struggles faced by a typical household. Most importantly, it accurately portrayed and promoted the priorities of CDWs.
- 2** | **Ensure sufficient investment in the NBCC to make it engaging, relatable, and at scale.** The level of effort and capacity of Girl Effect to embed the work alongside their other programs and existing brand (Yegna) was instrumental to the campaign's quality and success. Girl Effect already had an established name and platforms that were accessed and accepted in the target communities, especially by younger employers. Using their platforms for the campaign enabled us to reach more of our target groups, and the campaign's association with Yegna enhanced its visibility and acceptance. Without this, considerably more financial resources would have been required. The NBCC thus demonstrated the need to ensure sufficient investment in building on local expertise and local brand awareness to make the campaign engaging and relatable.
- 3** | **Work with a campaign designer that understands the local norms and context.** Girl Effect Ethiopia's team was embedded in the context, produced high quality content and understood the extent of the norms they were challenging. This enabled an added level of nuance in their design and approach for the NBCC and close collaboration with Freedom Fund partners and team members when finalising deliverables that was imperative to the quality and relatability of the campaign content.

4

Use a wide range of mediums for transmitting campaign information that are reflective of the communities' preferences. Insight gathering conducted as part of the NBCC showed TV to be the single most widespread communication medium for urban households in Ethiopia.³⁵ YouTube and social media platforms were also found to warrant ongoing use.

5

Expand the use of in-person activities as part of a NBCC, thus increasing opportunities to reinforce key messaging with the target populations and address misunderstandings/misconceptions. Partner monitoring of in-person activities attests these provided the best opportunity to increase comprehension of campaign messaging through personalised activity sessions, discussions, and encouragement of positive deviance from hegemonic social norms. Ways of bolstering in-person activities in future campaigns could include organising more sessions targeted at specific sub-groups and increasing efforts to promote in-person activities and incentivise attendance.

6

Increase investment in tailoring messaging to engage different demographic groups and secondary target audiences.

- **Digital social media content.** The campaign targeted its messaging at employers of CDWs. However, the findings illustrate that employers are not a homogeneous group, with employers who are related to their CDW typically offering different working conditions to those not related to their CDW. The messaging for both groups of employers would therefore benefit from further segmentation and tailoring. Furthermore, since the evaluation found that the campaign was less likely to reach men, older people and people with less formal education, further research is also needed to explore whether this was because the messaging did not resonate with these sub-groups and needs further tailoring, and/or because other communication modalities could have been used to complement TV.
- **Utilise existing positive norm structures in messaging to employers of CDWs that position them as allies.** Insight gathering found that most people in communities with high rates of child domestic work saw the work as a positive opportunity that would lead to better life chances later on. Therefore in these communities, utilising messaging focussed on the employer's sense of self as a good person and their duty to fulfil this 'opportunity' through good treatment and abiding by existing laws, was found to be an effective, achievable first step for the campaign. Using the rule of law against employers who are not compliant or abusive through regulation of workplace protections for CDWs is the long-term goal. However, gradual buy-in from the community is a proven approach to achieving sustainable normative change and limits the risk of community backlash.

7

Build on personal relationships between CDWs and employers to improve treatment.

The success of campaign messaging which encourages employers to have greater personal investment in their CDWs was reflected in the evaluation finding, with employers who 'cared' for their CDW more likely to report treating them better. The campaign's messaging encouraged employers to recognise CDWs as children requiring care and attention just as their own children would. However, insights also attest to differences in experience, depending on whether the CDW is related to their employer. It is therefore imperative that NBCCs also emphasise that employers have statutory responsibilities towards CDWs that go beyond being a 'carer' for the child, such as the right to time off and consistent pay.

35 This finding is likely influenced by the urban target areas of the campaign in Addis Ababa and its sub-cities.

Evaluators tasked with assessing the outcomes of NBCCs should:

8

Employ quantitative and qualitative methods to fully explore norms and behaviours.

The evaluation has demonstrated the effectiveness of quantitative methods in capturing the scale or homogeneity of specific social norms. However, there is value in combining quantitative methods with qualitative methods to identify new/unexpected norms that may not be captured by structured questionnaires and explore social norms in greater depth. For instance, qualitative methods could be used to explore why there is a gap between what employers think should be provided to CDWs and what they believe is actually provided. Other possible topics of interest include the extent to which poor treatment of CDWs is perceived, tolerated, and sanctioned by the wider community, and – given the reported differences in working conditions between CDWs employed by relatives and non-relatives – whether different sub-groups of employers have different understandings of who is a CDW.

9

Consider including questions relating to employers' own experiences and behaviours in relation to their CDWs. The evaluation focused more heavily on community perceptions rather than the respondents' own experiences and behaviours in regard to children in domestic work. Whilst this approach ensures adherence with ethical standards, on reflection, questions could have been included on the least sensitive issues, such as basic working conditions in the employer's own household.

10

Given the difficulties of accurately measuring norms, especially socially undesirable ones such as child exploitation, further experimentation and testing is needed to develop more nuanced assessment tools. In addition to measuring self-reported beliefs and willingness to act, future tools could consider techniques borrowed from the field of psychology in order to reduce social desirability bias. For example, techniques like games designed to uncover hidden preferences, or to statistically estimate and adjust for social desirability bias. These methods could lead to more accurate and reliable measures of undesirable norms.



ANNEX 1 - REFERENCES

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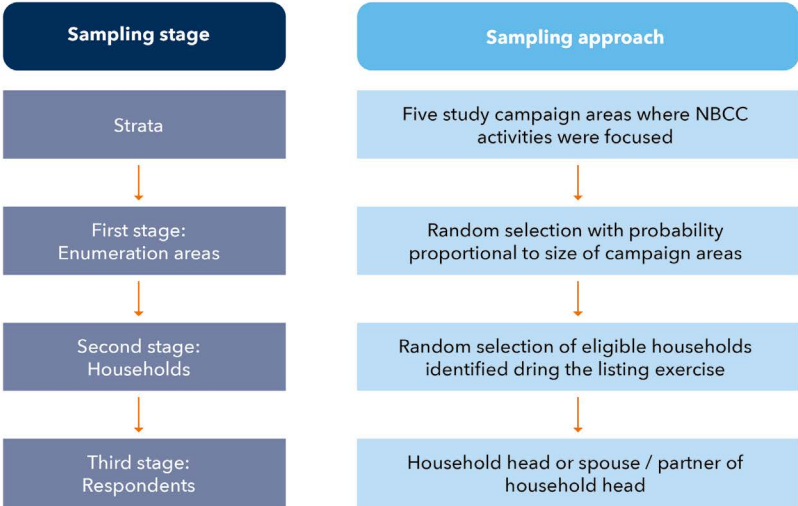
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ANNEX 2 – METHODOLOGICAL DETAILS

Sampling strategy

The samples for the evaluation study (baseline and endline) were drawn using a multi-stage cluster sampling approach. This approach is summarised in Figure 19, with each stage described in detail below.

Figure 19. Overview of sampling strategy



Stage One

Selection of Strata: Five campaign areas served as the strata which allowed findings to be analysed at the location level. These were distributed across the three sub-cities identified as hotspots for CDW employment.

Stage Two

Selection of Enumeration areas: 50 enumeration areas (EAs), or smaller sampling units within the campaign areas, were selected. These were drawn from a sampling frame of EAs with a 200m radius. EAs served as the primary sampling unit and were distributed across the target sub-cities using a probability proportional to size approach. Accordingly, ten EAs per campaign location were selected meaning that Sector B (which covered three campaign locations) included 30 EAs while the other two Sectors, with one campaign location each, had 10. Within sectors, EAs were randomly selected by sorting them based on a randomly generated number to ensure equal probability of selection.

Stage Three

Selection of Households: Following a household listing exercise to determine the eligibility of households, 14 households were randomly sampled from within each of the selected EAs. These were households which have reported hiring a CDW (as per the definition used in this study - see section 2.2.1). If not enough households employing CDWs were identified in an EA, replacements were drawn from an EA in the same sector.

Step Four

Selection of Respondents: The final stage was the selection of respondents within the sampled households. For the purpose of this study, eligible respondents were limited to the head of the

household or the spouse/partner of the head of the household. Respondents will therefore be purposively selected according to the exclusion and inclusion criteria summarised in Table 3.

Table 3. Inclusion and exclusion criteria

	Inclusion criteria	Exclusion criteria
Household listing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Adult household member (18 years and above) capable of providing information about the household 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Household members below the age of 18 Domestic workers Did not consent to take part
Survey (baseline and endline)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Adult head of a household employing CDWs; or adult spouse / partner of head of a household employing CDWs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Other household members Head of household or their spouse/partner who was below the age of 18 Domestic workers Did not consent to take part

Campaign exposure

Classification of respondents

The three levels of campaign exposure used for the analysis were defined as follows:

- **No exposure:** The respondent did not recall anything on TV, online, or in-person related to CDWs in the past year AND did not recognise any of the 12 images from the campaign AND did not participate in either an in-person session or the SMS initiative organised as part of the NBCC.
- **Low exposure:** The respondent did not recall anything on TV, online, or in-person related to CDWs in the past year but recognised some of the campaign images (but less than 50%); OR The respondent did recall hearing about CDWs but recognised less than 50% of the images.
- **High exposure:** The respondent recognised at least 50% of the campaign images OR participated in an in-person session OR responded to the SMS initiative.

Index of exposure

The index of exposure was based on the same three components used to categorise respondents' level of exposure to the campaign. The index was calculated using the following formula:

$$Index = (A \times 0.35) + (B \times 0.5) + (C \times 0.15)$$

A = Binary variable (0 or 1) for whether the respondent recalled anything on TV, online, or in person related to CDWs in the past year

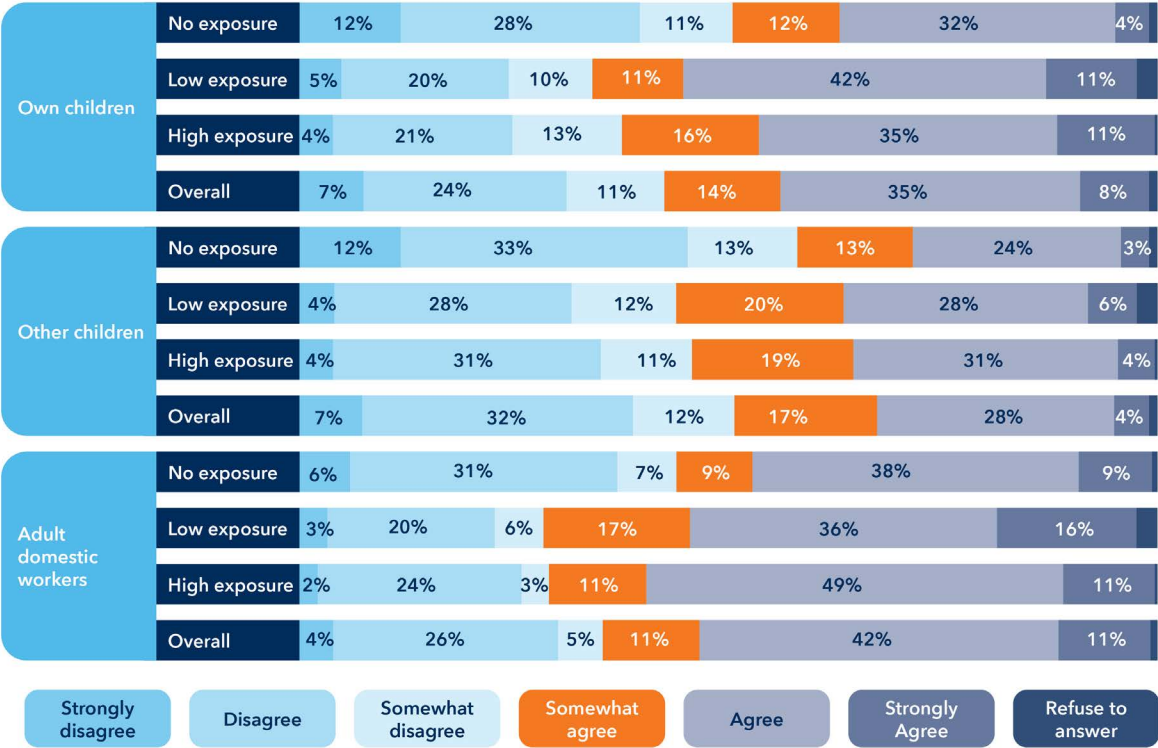
B = Proportion of campaign images that the respondent recognised

C = Binary variable for whether the participant participated in an in-person session or responded to the SMS initiative

ANNEX 3 - SUPPLEMENTARY DATA

Perceptions of CDWs

Figure 20. Extent to which respondents agree that CDWs are perceived differently than other groups, by level of exposure to the NBCC



Time off

Figure 21. Valid reasons for giving CDWs time off, by level of exposure to the NBCC

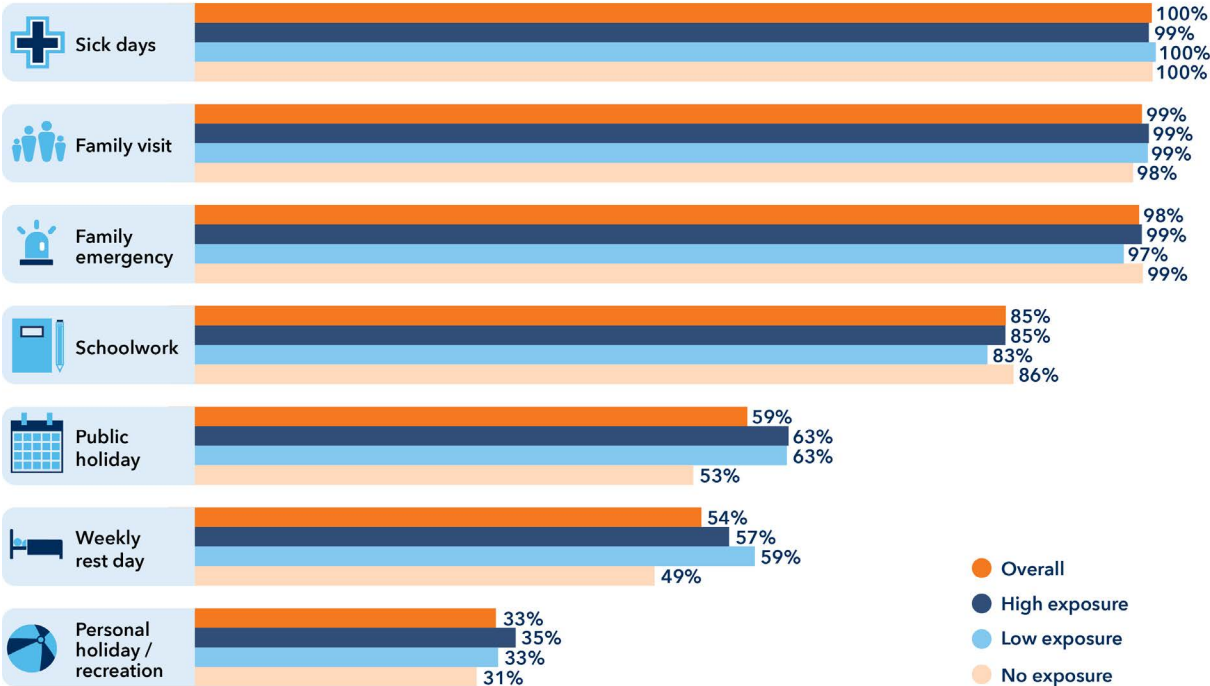


Table 4. Comparison of the relative impact of campaign media (n = 328)³⁶

Category	Survey question	In-person session			TV			Online			Poster		
		No	Yes	Diff.	No	Yes	Diff.	No	Yes	Diff.	No	Yes	Diff.
Treatment of CDW	CDW ever enrolled in school	52%	71%	19%	53%	53%	0%	53%	61%	8%	50%	80%	29%
	Reported weekly working hours	28.7	24.6	-4.1	19.2	28.7	9.5	28.1	28.7	0.6	28.6	25.3	-3.3
Working hours	If an employer needs them to, CDWs should work before 6AM to help prepare for the day	2.7	2.7	0.0	3.2	2.7	-0.5	2.7	2.5	-0.2	2.7	2.6	-0.2
	If an employer needs them to, CDWs should work after 10PM to finish the job	2.0	2.1	0.1	2.7	2.0	-0.7	2.0	2.1	0.1	2.0	2.1	0.1
	It is wrong to make a CDW work as many hours as an adult domestic worker	5.0	5.3	0.3	5.7	5.0	-0.7	5.0	5.4	0.4	5.0	5.3	0.4
	CDWs are taking a break from work, or a rest period, when they make coffee or do other light activities where they are sitting down	2.6	3.0	0.3	2.4	2.7	0.2	2.7	2.6	0.0	2.6	2.7	0.1
	A rest period means that the CDW is not doing any activity for an employer, including making coffee or other light activities where they are sitting down	4.7	4.9	0.2	5.1	4.7	-0.4	4.7	4.8	0.1	4.7	4.9	0.3
	How important do you think it is for CDWs to be given rest periods during the day, if a rest period is when the CDW is doing NO activities for their employer?	4.5	4.5	0.0	4.5	4.5	0.0	4.5	4.5	-0.1	4.5	4.6	0.1
	It is acceptable for CDWs to access education as long as it does not interfere with their work	5.6	5.5	-0.1	5.8	5.5	-0.2	5.5	5.8	0.3	5.5	5.7	0.2
Education	Employers should provide school supplies for CDWs	5.0	5.0	0.0	5.4	5.0	-0.4	4.9	5.3	0.3	4.9	5.3	0.3
	Employers are not obliged to support CDWs to access education	2.9	2.8	-0.2	3.3	2.9	-0.4	3.0	2.4	-0.6	2.9	2.8	-0.1
	Employers should not have to give CDWs time off to attend school	2.0	2.1	0.1	1.7	2.0	0.3	2.0	1.8	-0.2	2.0	2.0	0.0
	CDWs will not contribute meaningfully to society when they grow up	2.1	2.9	0.8	2.5	2.2	-0.3	2.2	2.1	-0.1	2.3	2.0	-0.3
	I disagreed with most of the campaign messaging about CDWs	3.0	2.9	-0.1	3.1	3.0	-0.1	3.0	2.6	-0.4	3.0	2.8	-0.3
Perspectives on the campaign	I think the campaign has influenced how my community views CDWs	4.4	4.7	0.3	4.6	4.4	-0.2	4.4	4.3	-0.2	4.4	4.4	0.0
	The campaign did not change how I view CDWs	2.9	2.9	0.0	3.1	2.9	-0.2	2.9	2.8	-0.1	2.9	2.8	-0.1
	I think more employers in my community enrolled their CDWs in school because of the campaign	4.1	4.3	0.1	3.9	4.2	0.3	4.1	4.2	0.1	4.1	4.3	0.1
	Because of the campaign, I think employers in my community feel more responsible for CDWs' education	4.6	4.6	0.0	4.9	4.6	-0.3	4.6	4.6	0.0	4.6	4.8	0.3
	Because of the campaign, I think employers in my community give CDWs more time to study and do homework	4.2	4.3	0.1	4.7	4.2	-0.5	4.2	4.3	0.1	4.2	4.4	0.2
	Because of the campaign, I think employers ask CDWs to work fewer hours than before	4.0	3.8	-0.2	3.8	4.0	0.2	4.0	4.0	0.0	4.0	4.0	0.0
	After learning more about CDWs, I think I understand their needs better than most people in my community do	4.8	4.9	0.1	5.2	4.8	-0.4	4.8	4.9	0.1	4.8	5.0	0.2

36 For the 328 respondents who recalled the campaign, the mean response for those exposed to a particular form of media is compared to that of those not exposed to that media. All questions after the first category were Likert-scale type questions with a higher value indicating a greater level of agreement. Values highlighted in green indicate a difference in the desired direction, those in red indicate an undesirable difference.

VISION

Our vision is a world free of slavery.

MISSION

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

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