

Child Labor

What Works Towards Addressing Child Labor in IRC Relevant Contexts: An Evidence Review

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1 Overview

In this review we explore the breadth of interventions that have been utilized to address child labor and the worst forms of child labor¹ with touch points at the child level through the national government. These interventions are cross-cutting and include a variety of sectors. While most programs report positive results, they don't necessarily find significant impacts. Some predominant approaches that contribute to a mixed or negative effect are cash for work, vouchers or food for education and business improvement support for parents. However, there are a number of other interventions that show promising positive impacts on child labor levels as well as on child welfare and education. For example, cash conditional on school attendance has shown improvements to parental investment and children's educational outcomes. Additionally, social labelling can reduce child labor at monitored worksites, and when coupled with awareness-raising activities, can increase community support for creating child-labor free zones.

The document is organized in the following way. The first section gives an overview of the key findings and provides links to annex documents which give more in depth information on the identified literature. Sections two through seven discuss the intervention coverage and some of the key interventions in each of the subject areas of the theory of change: legal/governance, economic, education, social norms, health, and cross-cutting. While many of the identified interventions cover multiple subject areas, the interventions are categorized under their primary subject area, with the exception of cash transfers which is placed under cross-cutting for its unique ability to impact so many subject areas with one component.

EVIDENCE BASE

This review looked at 39 studies; of which, 3 were systematic reviews, 1 was a literature review, 18 were impact evaluations, and 15 were observational/case studies. 16 reports which provide further program guidance can be found in Annex 1. An explanation of the literature search, the distribution of the literature across touchpoints as well as some cost related information, may also be found in Annex 1 [here](#). Further in depth exploration of the included literature may be found in Annex 2 [here](#).

KEY FINDINGS

Legal/Governance

- Programs targeted at increasing political awareness and action around child labor are most effective when part of a larger program with upstream - national, governmental - and downstream - local, family-level - components.

¹ The Worst Forms of Child Labor are defined by the ILO in Article 3 of ILO Convention No. 182. WFCL includes slavery and indentured, sexual exploitation, the involvement of children in illicit activities, and work which could harm the "health, safety, and morals" of the involved children. See the ILO's [International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour](#) for more information.

Economic

- NGOs have found success in funding CSOs to engage the local governments of the target areas in advocacy and legislative action.
- Child labor committees and other community monitoring mechanisms can reduce the burden upon the formal legal system when properly utilized by the community, but the committee mechanisms must be accessible in person and location to the community to be properly used.
- Youth training programs can increase earnings and safe employment as well as help youth to withstand shock.
- When training programs are offered to parents, the household income can improve, however the impact on child labor is mixed.
- Youth appear to be more interested in self-employment than wage labor, skills and vocational training programs can assist them in this goal.
- Agricultural training programs (especially on labour saving or improving technologies) have the ability to reduce child labor and to increase awareness of safe work for legal workers. However, there may be some obstacles to adopting new technology and practices due to existing attitudes and social norms, there is limited evidence on financial obstacles.
- Workplace improvements for safety and efficiency can both reduce child labor and improve the economic and health outcomes for adults and older, working youth.
- Social labelling is an effective way to address child labor in manufacturing and agriculture, although the entire supply chain must be monitored to ensure full compliance, not just the final production steps.
- When cash or subsidies are used for increased economic activities, child labor can increase to fulfill the duties the parents performed before the new activities.
- Coupling access to microcredit with requiring health and safety insurance for adults and children has the potential to reduce child labor, but more research is needed.

Education


- Mobile schools and other forms of informal education are a protective measure against child labor, offering the opportunity to bring education to out of school children in remote manufacturing locations as well as to street children and street performers, as well as creating linkages to formal education. Tutoring and other educational activities can be offered at existing community structures to increase access to education.
- The educational outcomes of street children can be improved through comprehensive and education-specific programs. Integration with local authorities and local services can improve success.
- Education for street children and child laborers can be coupled with health checks and health education to address the effects of hazardous work. Awareness building activities can also be added for multicomponent programming.
- Cash transfers can offer the opportunity to decrease child labor and increase educational attainment if parents use the funds for the child's welfare.

Community Awareness-Building, Mobilization and Action
Health

- Child labor is a major barrier to educational attainment, programming which addresses educational catchup and linking to formal education as well as social norms and policies can reduce the rate of child labor and the increase educational attainment in children and youth.
- Making schools more financially and physically accessible - through programs like school fee subsidization, conditional cash transfers, and conscious efforts to build schools in remote, rural locations where children do not have access to educational facilities - can reintroduce children and youth to formal education and decrease child labor participation.
- Multimedia activities like murals and film can successfully compliment community dialogue in raising awareness among children and adult community members.
- Involving former child laborers can increase awareness as they disseminate information to their peers and can improve their feelings of empowerment and improve their life skills.
- Communities can improve their awareness and attitudes towards education and child labor through a variety of awareness-building activities but the infrastructure and local investment must be in place to support the efforts for success.
- Community structures like child protection committees can improve the ability of communities to address instances of child labor but they are limited in success without local and governmental buy-in. Working with traditional structures can help local investment in the committees.
- Youth are receptive to health guidance from their trained peers as well as professionals.
- Health programs can link street children and youth to necessary social and health services as well as provide space for the children to learn about health risks associated with child labor and other risky behaviors.





THEORY OF CHANGE/KEY OUTCOMES

The theory of change is that child labor can be reduced and/or eliminated through improved programming in areas such as governance, economic-wellbeing, education, and health and through addressing knowledge, attitudes and behaviors with the goal of shifting social norms.

	Legal/ Governance	Economic	Education	Social Norms	Health
Primary Outcome	All forms of child labor are reduced				
 Sub Outcomes	- Increased capacity of the government (local and central) structures to develop, monitor and enforce child	- Households' basic needs are systematically met and have access to resources (skills, technologies and financial) to increase	- Education infrastructure is accessible and offers age-appropriate skills in safe settings.	- Communities, households, and individual address harmful norms and behaviors to prevent and discourage child	- Health services can diagnose and report child labor victims (referral pathways) - Health services

	labor prevention measures	<p>their income and assets to afford education of their children</p> <p>- Private sector entities enforce strict anti Child labor policies and procedures in their own business (and along their supply chain</p>	<p>Support is available for financial obstacles and education is physically accessible to students.</p> <p>- Communities and households promote the reintegration of children back into school and prevent school dropouts.</p>	<p>labor cases</p> <p>- Families understand the risks of child labor and the benefits of education for children and explore alternative strategies to reduce child labor.</p>	<p>offer awareness-raising on the negative physical and mental health effects of child labor</p> <p>- Health services treat mental and physical health consequences of child labor</p>

KEYS FOR UNDERSTANDING CATEGORIZATION TABLES

<p>Interpreting the evidence strength</p> <p> = Strong [2 or more systematic reviews demonstrates impact: whether positive, negative, uncertain or null]</p> <p> = Moderate [At least 1 systematic review, at least 1 literature review with predominantly IE-based evidence, or 2 or more IEs demonstrates impact: whether positive, negative, uncertain or null]</p> <p> = Promising [At least 1 IE demonstrates impact: whether positive, negative, uncertain, or null]</p> <p> = Limited [Only observational or qualitative evidence demonstrates impact including literature reviews of only observational or qualitative data: whether positive, negative, uncertain or null]</p>	<p>Interpreting context (at the time of the study)</p> <p>Stable: Contexts not experiencing conflicts, disasters, or crisis</p> <p>Fragile: Contexts that are very impoverished or rendered vulnerable due to past crises. Will also include contexts that frequently experience a crisis</p> <p>Humanitarian: Contexts facing conflicts, disasters, or crisis</p> <p>LIC: Calculated by the World Bank to have a GNI of \$1,035 or less</p>
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The Direction of Impact (Positive, Negative, Null, or Mixed with Significance)


- + = Findings indicate a positive, non-significant result
- +* = Findings indicate a positive, significant result
- ± = Findings offers a mixed result, without any significant results
- ±* = Findings offer a mixed result, with at least one significant result
- ? = Findings were uncertain or inconclusive
- ∅ = Findings indicate a null result, without any significance
- ∅* = Findings indicate a null result, with at least one significant result
- = Findings indicate a negative result, without significance
- * = Findings indicate a negative result, with a least one significant result



2 Legal/Governance

a. General national and district political interventions

The evidence for interventions that directly interface with the government or the legal system is largely qualitative or descriptive and focused on short-term success metrics such as the enactment of a legislation or creation of a monitoring system as opposed to tracking long-term impacts or key pathways . This is likely because such programs can be abstract and difficult to quantitatively evaluate, therefore limiting the available impact data. They also likely need longitudinal studies that are often hard to sanction or fund. The evidence that does exist points to the fact that programming focused on governance can be successful, particularly if it is combined with other components such as education, awareness-building as well as direct interface between child laborers and representatives from the government. Additionally, piloting successful programs can improve government buy-in and adoption.

i) Evidence categorization table.

Intervention Name/Type	Strength of Confidence	Direction of Impact	Study Reference #
Engaging National Leadership, Communities and other Stakeholders through Consultation and Technical support		+	7 , 9 , 10

Grant schemes targeting local CSOs to influence policy-making		+	17
Fostering Community Leadership Engagement and Producer Association Building		+	9

Further in depth exploration of the literature, including types not described in the key interventions, may be found in Annex 2 [here](#).

ii) Discussion of key interventions

ENGAGING NATIONAL LEADERSHIP, COMMUNITIES AND OTHER STAKEHOLDERS THROUGH CONSULTATION AND TECHNICAL SUPPORT

A case study was done of ILO-IPEC's Support the National Action Plan to Combat Child Labour in Malawi (SNAP) project ([ILO 2013](#)). This project built on ILO-IPEC previous efforts to combat child labor in the country, and was “*designed to counter the displacement effects of previous interventions and address the remaining gaps in previous efforts to mainstream child labour into national policies and legislation and provide alternative to vertical programming and sector based efforts which fell short of achieving lasting results*” (page 6, [ILO 2013](#)).

As part of its mandate SNAP Malawi provided technical support to the national government in the finalization and launch of the “Child Labour National Action Plan (NAP) for Malawi (2010-2016)” in line with Malawi Growth Development Strategy and the Decent Work Country Programme priority—which included the elimination of the worst forms of child labour as a key priority, while also focusing on expanding better employment and income generation opportunities particularly for vulnerable groups, such as youth, women and people with disabilities. It also supported the finalization of the list of hazardous child labour and the placement of a focal point person in the Child Labour Unit (CLU) of the Ministry of Labour.

To address the shortcomings of vertical programming and sector based initiatives, SNAP Malawi introduced the integrated area-based approach (IABA) that engaged multiple stakeholders, such as local communities, government entities, employers' and workers' organizations and civil society organizations, into dialogue and cooperation to identify the root causes of child labour and combat it by changing supply chains through policy coherence, institutional development and community level interventions. A mid-term evaluation found that the project goals were exceeded as far as withdrawing children from child labor (114.6%, 2,553/2,192) and preventing children at-risk from entering child labor (105%, 3,064 /2,790) by providing them with rehabilitation and educational services, particularly business and vocational skills training. Other achievements included the enactment of legislation, such as the Child Care Protection and Justice Act and the National Registration Act and piloting of child labour free zones in several districts.

SNAP Malawi also advanced on its previous work towards improving Malawi's child labour knowledge base. Previous efforts had laid the groundwork for a national data base on child labour (NCLDB) to generate data and inform policy and planning and a Child Labour Monitoring System (CLMS). SNAP Malawi further supported the development of the CLMS. The monitoring system served to identify working children and foster referral linkages to local services, such as basic education, counselling and skills training for older children who didn't want to return to school, and skills and income generation opportunities for households to help working children and those at risk stay in school and out of child labour.

The system was piloted through local structures in targeted action plan districts. The project introduced the Community based Child Labour Monitoring System (CB-CLMS) and used community-based organizations to surveill and identify working children and to pass on to District Child Labour Committees (DCLCs) for analysis and referral to competent services. The project also introduced community infrastructure programmes (CIPs), that

incentivized communities to continue to combat child labor by supporting local economic development, while also educating parents, employers and the community on child labour issues. Finally, the project also introduced by-laws in specific communities as per which all children of employable age who sought employment were required to register with Traditional Authorities i.e. traditional leaders/chiefs so that their working conditions could be monitored and children could be protected against abuses like trafficking or other hazardous work. Forums were also set-up to discuss issues of working children for example., domestic child workers and ways to address them in collaboration with Community based Child Labour Committees (CCLCs).

Important Note: SNAP Malawi exemplifies promising child labour interventions that often build on existing structures and strategies and draw from past lessons where all and partial successes are valued as the basis for ongoing improvement. It also showcases that combating child labour requires holistic approaches using both “upstream” at national and international levels as well as “downstream” in families and communities strategies to create and ensure sustainable change.

A mixed method evaluation ([ILO 2014](#)) was conducted of the ILO-IPEC’s efforts in Indonesia to develop a sustainable system to remove and prevent children from hazardous work in jermal fishing. More specifically, the project sought to establish an Integrated Monitoring Team (IMT) with participation from government at the provincial and central levels, labor inspectors, NGOs and private sector entities like journalists. The team was trained on the design, management, and evaluation of programs to combat child labour in jermal fishing. The team actively monitored jermal platforms, social protection sites, families, and the child labourers and ensured that children were removed from hazardous work and that they stayed out of other forms of hazardous work when being removed or prevented.

Adult family members of working children were also provided opportunities to improve income earning capacity through social protection schemes including community-based services, livelihood assistance, and micro-finance. Additionally, families and communities were engaged through group discussions and radio campaigns to raise awareness. The project was also linked with already existing educational programmes such as youth vocational and skills training and non-formal education activities, seeking to bring children back into the formal schooling system at junior and senior high school levels.

The project reported success in active monitoring by the IMT with databases developed under the project being regularly updated. Stakeholders were also found to be regularly convening, with this being a positive sign that they took ownership of the project. There have also been reported attitudinal changes at the community level and adult family members of working children have also reported an increase in income. Overall 255 children were removed from child labor over 4 years and 1,723 children (70% boys) were prevented from entering child labor. Additionally, direct participation in social protection activities by older children such as vocational skills training, fund assistance from the project for small business was credited with preventing 1,500 children at risk from entering hazardous work. Finally, school attendance also increased in the treatment areas.

“This project helped the North Sumatra Provincial Government to progressively eliminate child labor in Jermal. It became a good initiative and a starting point to support the elimination of other worst forms of child labor”.

- Governor of North Sumatra, Tgk. Rizal Nurdin

“...a strong sense of awareness against child labour has been created among the concerned children, parents and within the often remote villages. The activities of the projects have broken this silence and created a broad alliance against the use of child labour in the hazardous practices. There is visible evidence of the change of attitude and behaviour among the concerned groups of people”

- Notes from an external evaluation

A case study on the ILO-IPEC's efforts in Ghana reported success with the Integrated Area Based Approach (IABA) in addressing district leadership to reduce child labor ([ILO 2015](#)). IABA incorporated efforts of 10 NGOs and 3 district governments, targeting the Worst Forms of Child Labor.² IABA supported the mainstreaming of CL into development plans and budgets as well as raising awareness among community members and government stakeholders. The IABA complimented the efforts of the National Action Plan for the Elimination of Worst Forms of Child Labour (2012/13-2016/17) and was applied at the national and district level and included awareness-raising events for stakeholders and engagement with trade and employers' unions on top of engagement with district authorities. Over two years 8,438 children were targeted for withdrawal or prevention from joining child labor. In addition, governmental institutional capacity was increased and better-informed by-laws and programs were introduced. Some districts also introduced Child Free Labor Zones.

See '3. Economic: b. Social Labelling' for more information on CFLZs

TAILORED GRANT SCHEMES

A literature review of case studies was performed around Anti-Slavery International's grant scheme to address child domestic workers ([Blagbrough 2013](#)). The program offered grants in multiple countries to local civil society organizations (CSOs) that provided plans on how to specifically work with the community and the government to support child domestic workers (CDWs). The value of the individual grants depended on individual organizations and re-grants were possible. Interventions that received grants broadly focused on advocacy and awareness building as well as direct contact between government officials and child domestic workers. The individual case studies reported success among local authorities in Costa Rica, India, Peru, Tanzania, and the Philippines as far as convincing the authorities to address child domestic workers as part of their policymaking. The grants also bolstered CDW-led organizations in the Philippines. Some of the resultant legislation included considerations for CDWs in the domestic worker regulations in Togo and by-laws that increased onus on employers to report child labor, a requirement for a written contract between a legal child domestic worker and their employer, and a requirement that children under the minimum working age be reunited with their families in Tanzania.

FOSTERING COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP ENGAGEMENT AND PRODUCER ASSOCIATION BUILDING

A multicomponent intervention ([ILO 2014](#)) was utilized in the Dominican Republic to address the issue of child labour in the tomatoes production system. The program facilitated creation of provincial committees (one in each province) to monitor and combat child labour and the strengthening of local labour inspectorate and agriculture extension workers. Within the committees representatives from worker and employer organizations negotiated fair marketing arrangements so that processors would not buy production if children were found working.

These activities were complemented by awareness raising on the negative consequences of child labour amongst community leaders, representatives from local authorities and government institutions (city council, labour inspectors, extension workers, health authorities, and teachers), parents, local media, associations of small producers, main tomato producers, and tomato processing companies. These stakeholders also worked towards the development of a strategy and agreement to address child labour. For example., the association of small producers integrated the movement to eliminate child labor into their agenda and also reached an agreement with the tomato industry to raise the price of tomato by nearly double from RD\$57 to 105.

There was an emphasis on education with awareness-raising activities emphasizing the importance of education to children and their parents and the project offered leveling classes and vocational training (English language, IT) to out of school adolescents. Families were also given access to microcredit and provided training on how to set-up and run a micro-business.

The project reported 1,000 direct beneficiaries under the age of 14 who had been working on tomato plantations being withdrawn, and 2,500 under 14-year-olds who were at risk of being prevented from dropping out or

² WFCL as defined by the ILO includes slavery, sexual exploitation, involvement in illicit activities and activities which harm the health or safety of the child.

entering child labor. Additionally, around 28,000 under 14-year-olds were also enrolled in schools. School attendance was also found to have increased during production season and basic education indicators improved; school performance improved, drop up rate during tomato harvest season reduced from 50% to 2%. Overall, parents and children have increasingly recognized and appreciate the importance of education and that child labour only perpetuates the cycle of poverty.





The study quotes “*The involvement of children and their families, of community leaders, teachers, etc from the early stage of the Project and throughout the whole implementation has been crucial for achieving ownership and support against child labour*” (page 24). Some other factors that have contribute towards success include; participatory processes for need identification, improved dialogue and coordination between stakeholders, taking ownership and responsibility of the project by local partners, commitment from government institutions at all levels, identification and capacity building of strong community leaders and finally attitudinal change (and reduced tolerance) amongst the communities, local authorities and other key actors.

3 Economic

a. Skills and Business Training

Skills and business training have shown largely positive impacts on participants to improve employment or business outcomes, improving household and individual incomes, stabilizing households against shocks, decreasing needs for child labor involvement. Evidence for skills and business training primarily comes from case studies and other qualitative studies but some evidence does come from systematic reviews and impact evaluations. Improvements to the vocational and business skills for youth and family offers opportunities to work within safe formal employment or in entrepreneurial efforts, avoiding the need for hazadarous or unsafe child labor. Programs that integrate program operations with the community may increase participants' feeling of belonging with the community and can improve community perceptions of the participants.

i) Evidence categorization table.

Intervention Name/Type	Strength of Confidence	Direction of Impact	Study Reference #
Business training for Parents		±	7 , 22
Business training for Youth		± *	8 , 27 , 32
Vocational Training for Youth and Former Child Laborers		±	5 , 14
Combination Vocational and Business Programs for Youth		± *	5 ,

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Further in depth exploration of the literature, including types not described in the key interventions, may be found in Annex 2 [here](#).

ii) Discussion of key interventions

BUSINESS TRAINING FOR PARENTS

Business skills training for parents has been offered in a number of contexts in an effort to improve the household economic status, therefore reducing the need for child labor. A regression discontinuity designed study of a program in El Salvador, covered in a systematic review on public policy and child labor, offered both educational bridging services to child laborers as well as vocational training, business training, or a business starter kit to the laborers' mothers ([Dammert et al 2018](#)). While there were improvements to household income and an initial decrease in hours worked per week by the child in the study, the systematic review was concerned that the long-term impact on child labor may be mixed. While child labor outside of the home may decrease, the children may do more productive household activities, making the effect on child labor “theoretically undefined” or null as child labor can both increase and decrease. Business skills training was also offered to parents of children benefitting from ECOWAS' child labor programs in Malawi ([ILO 2013](#)). The parents received business skills training sessions and business start-up materials. The training program supported over 700 parents, however more robust data is needed on the impact of the program, including its effect on child labor rates.

BUSINESS TRAINING FOR YOUTH

In Kenya, the TACKLE project targeted 100 beneficiaries between 15 and 17 years old who had previously been child laborers who were given apprenticeship training, entrepreneurship training, and/or a business start-up kit—depending on the business concept - diverting the youth from reentering child labor. This program was assessed using a mixed-method assessment ([ILO 2014](#)). Only 40 of the program graduates were given start-up kits for their businesses based on business concepts they developed during the training. The project found that 96.6% of the beneficiaries (30/100) were earning a living with 74% earning a living through self-owned business. The highest income was reported among those who received all three components, and the reported earnings indicate a sustainable impact on their livelihoods. The reported return on investment went up with increased support and empowerment of the beneficiaries. Some of the beneficiaries reported going on to start their own businesses and others went on for more training and exams for trade certifications. Beneficiaries who went on for training after the project also reported more self-confidence. Program beneficiaries reported a willingness to draw other child laborers out of child labor and to prevent other at-risk youth from entering—by sponsoring their education. The study recommends having follow-up mentorship support after the training sessions to reinforce skills and also combining entrepreneurship training and life skills training.

A randomized controlled study was done of the Youth Employment Support Project which inadvertently tested the benefit of business training on young urban women, with the minimum age of 15, under stress, for example, during a humanitarian crisis ([Rosas, Acevedo & Zaldivar 2017](#)). The project intended to improve the employability of youth, drawing them into better jobs. The training was interrupted by the Ebola crisis which allowed researchers to study the effect of training when stress was applied. The training included 2 days of introductory seminars on business proposals. There was a quality screening of the business proposals which were filtered into a shortlist and then through a public lottery. The Treatment groups were a tech package (package A, n=791), a business package (package B n=791), a combination package (package C n=794), and a control group (n=943). The study found that YESP increased household resilience to aggregate shock with improved labor-market outcomes. The Project reported that employment improved for the treatment group by 1.8% and at 12 months follow-up they were more likely to be self-employed (19.2%). Labor earnings significantly rose for women in packages A and C. Overall labor earnings for treated women rose to 62.9%. The per capita household consumption grew 60-70% for treatment group women. The trainees were also found to have improved cognitive and noncognitive skills as well as improved resilience—which was tested during the crisis. This was evident through the positive employment rates despite the crisis.

Important Note: The Youth Empowerment Support Project is unique in its inadvertent testing of the program's ability to improve clients' shock resistance due to it coinciding with the start of the Ebola outbreak and the ability of clients to attain employment despite this crisis.



COMBINATION VOCATIONAL AND BUSINESS PROGRAMS FOR YOUTH

To examine a combined vocational and business training program for youth and in its potential for decreasing child labor and improving safer, better work, a case study was done of a business development program run by a vocational service for 38 youth in Indonesia ([ILO 2011](#)). The targeted children were out of school youth who had been working as street peddlers and street performers. An NGO, YPI, partnered with the vocational service to provide the program on motorcycle repair and maintenance training that was held for 82 hours over three months. The training was held in two phases, basic tuneup and then major services including engine restoration. The training focused on this sector based on a needs assessment. Apprenticeship training following the vocational training was offered by the NGO to 9 youth for 108 hours over 1.5 months. 6 youth were selected to set up a joint business. The onsite supervisor of the training program reported that the children had high levels of motivation and had the capacity to understand instructions. One child failed his apprenticeship due to poor attendance. The evaluation determined that the amount of training was sufficient as the children were able to start a joint business group. The children's motivation or lack of motivation to work was seen as the largest challenge to program success. Continuous facilitation by program staff is recommended to maintain motivation. To prevent disappointment and discouragement during the business group stage, the study recommends continuing entrepreneurship skill development and other activities at the learning centers to support the business efforts and to encourage the participants to keep returning and pursuing the efforts. The program ultimately resulted in the six apprenticed children no longer working on the street, however the case study did not mention the outcomes for the remaining children.

b. Labor Saving and Worker Safety

The evidence for labor saving efforts and labor improving technology, especially in agriculture, comes from largely observational or descriptive studies. The evidence reports largely positive results on child labor. Interventions to improve work safety have been shown to have a positive impact on working youth in their safety and their productiveness as well on general worker safety and health.

i) Evidence categorization table.

Intervention Name/Type	Strength of Confidence	Direction of Impact	Study Reference #
Greenhouse Improvements as labour saving technology for Agricultural Families		+	9
Trained Oxen Package		+	9

OSH Training and Championing on farms, textile factories, and other sites of economic activity		+	9.11
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Further in depth exploration of the literature, including types not described in the key interventions, may be found in Annex 2 [here](#).

ii) Discussion of key interventions

GREENHOUSE IMPROVEMENTS AS LABOUR SAVING TECHNOLOGY FOR AGRICULTURAL FAMILIES

Labour saving technology, particularly the use of greenhouses have been used in rural Dominican Republic to discourage the use of children in agricultural work. The project ([ILO 2014](#)) was delivered through a multi-pronged strategy targeting the whole rural community. It began with the sensitization of the community, through existing ‘Community Councils’ (CCs), including local authorities and social workers to the risks and presence of child labor and providing agricultural, financial and health services to children and their families. With support from the project CCs began monitoring child labor and once identified, they developed procedures to remove the children from work and reintegrate them into the educational system. Levelling classes were offered - in collaboration with the Ministry of Education - to support over age children and children who were having difficulties with mainstream classes. In collaboration with the provincial office of the Ministry of Health, community health centers were set up, which detected and monitored sicknesses and injuries amongst children due to exploitative labour. The project also revived health programming in schools, including nutrition, preventive health and dental care—as a collaborative effort between the Ministries of Health and Education.

Finally, a new productive model was established with the ministry of agriculture and supported by the ministry of labor, by utilizing greenhouses for complementary productions to coffee—families were provided monetary support (grants, revolving funds, micro-credits), training and technical monitoring by extension workers to construct and operate the greenhouses and they were provided with seeds to start producing other products,. The main objective of the model was to reduce demand for child labor, by diversifying production and production cycle (beyond coffee), so that family incomes increase while also establishing predictability and reliability of production and keeping plagues and climatic effects under control.

Results from assessments conducted by ILO-IPEC to capture good practice ([ILO 2014](#)) find that the new productive model enabled families to diversify agricultural production and start producing and marketing other products, for example., green peppers. This led to an improvement in family income and self-sufficiency through-out the year—within the first year families earned RD 7,000 (in-addition to their earnings through coffee production) and they also reported improvements in infrastructure, housing, education expenditure and reinvestments in maintenance of the production unit. Productivity also improved and families were able to produce the same quantity of green peppers on a surface 12 times smaller than traditional outdoor production. The level of workforce reduced to 4-6 hours as compared to 10-12 hours outdoors and production cycle also increased from 3 to 9 months. All of this, including attitudinal change regarding child labour, led to a decline in demand for children’s participation and 2,000 children were withdrawn and another 4,000 at-risk children were prevented from entering child labor. Families also used their generated income in a better way by investing in their children’s education.

Some barriers were, however, noted: some farmers were resistant to change in production methods, there was a lack of solidarity between farmers which was difficult when families had to share greenhouses, and there was insufficient land in some instances for families to set-up an independent greenhouse. Small farmers also faced difficulty in agreeing on a minimum price to sell their products to buyers. No information was provided on how the project addressed these barriers.

TRAINED OXEN PACKAGE

In order to prevent and eliminate child labour in tobacco production, an ILO program in Tanzania sought to promote public-private partnership involving tobacco companies, government and farmers associations. As part of this partnership tobacco companies explored labour saving technologies as a way to reduce child labour ([ILO 2014](#)). They identified that the use of oxen could contribute to reducing child labour, and started to provide a package including a pair of trained oxen, plough, cart, and other equipment on credit to farmers—without charging any interest or collateral.

Additionally, companies formulated workshops on how to manufacture oxcart and provided training to local artisans on repair and maintenance through farmers associations. They also inserted a child labour module into the training programme for tobacco leaf technicians (LTs), so that LTs could identify child labourers, encourage farmers to take-up the oxen package and release children so that they can attend school. The LTs were also trained to monitor children's school attendance, report drop-out cases and inform parents about the importance of regularly sending children to school and that they needed to comply with the child labour free requirements from tobacco companies. Colorful leaflets in Swahili were also distributed to tobacco farmers about preventing child labour and the Association of Tanzania Tobacco Trader (ATTT) also carried out spot checks during the farming season to identify child labour cases and report them to the District Child Labour Committee (DCLC). ATTT also sponsored mass-media programming (radio, films, drama) and other communication materials (farmers' calendar) with messaging about child labour. Finally, the program also identified CSR (corporate social responsibility) funds for the construction, renovation and equipment of classrooms and dispensaries, and rehabilitation of teachers' homes.

As a result of the program, 350 farms incorporated oxen as part of the land preparation and over 80% of the tobacco growers began using the promoted pesticide on their crops. Both adaptations were reported to lower the occurrence of child labor. Pesticide was particularly effective in reducing child labor as the children previously were used to remove pests prior to pesticide uptake. Child labor in general dropped in the treatment region, with 1700 children being prevented or withdrawn from child labor and supplied with educational materials for school and 473 children between 15 and 17 attended vocational training. 45 leaf technicians and 900 farmers were trained by the program to identify and report child labor. The trained leaf technicians reported that the rate of child labor dropped from 26% to 13% over that period. The seed farm manager also estimated that child labor dropped, credited the farming improvements like the oxen carts and pesticide used to be have reduced child labor by 50%. There were also policy changes outside of farms as two tobacco companies in the area added anti-child labor clauses to their policies and contracts with local farmers, incentivizing no longer using child labor. As a result of the educational components of the program, 12 classrooms were built and over the two and a half-year treatment period school attendance was reported to increase from 75% to 84%.

The cost and supply of the improved oxen cart package is a barrier to greater uptake. The study noted that the package larger benefitted wealthier farms despite the current loan system. Also, the availability of oxen is not able to keep up with the demand. There is a recommendation to develop and incorporate a credit scheme to support the interest in poorer farmers. A village-level monitoring system to watch for child labor is recommended as families may feel the lose of their child's income and move their children into other forms of child labor, a development program for families to find alternative forms of income is also recommended.

See 5: 'Community Awareness-Building, Mobilization and Action': a. 'Child Protection Committees' for more information on community-level child labor monitoring systems

OSH TRAINING AND CHAMPIONING

Two interventions have been utilized to improve occupational safety and health (OSH) for young workers through education training models.

A mixed-method evaluation was done in the Philippines of an OSH program for family farms ([ILO 2014](#)). The WIND towards Safety strengthened common knowledge of OSH and appropriate methods of hazard mitigation including addressing community labor through multiple community outreach methods including focus group




discussions and a culturally adapted translated manual. The WIND towards Safety resulted in a memorandum of understanding between the government and the communities to eliminate hazardous work for children on family farms. 7 communities were included in this agricultural reform effort and 145 OSH-WIND champions, OSH-WIND couples, and 93 paratechs were trained. Families reported increased sensitivity to child labor and increased productivity.

In Côte d'Ivoire, a case study was done of the SafeYouth@Work program which targeted young worker safety ([ILO 2019](#)). Twenty young workers in three communities received special OSH advocacy and outreach training, who then, in turn, targeted community outreach specifically in the cocoa industry. The community outreach groups worked to raise awareness of child labor and its dangers as well as safer production and processing of cocoa pods. SafeYouth@Work reported immediate improvements to safety in cocoa production. The peer educators reported reduced injuries and safer management of pesticides. The peer educators state that safety and health work practices were also key to diversifying production and therefore improving household incomes.

c. Interventions for the Private Sector

Private sector interventions target commercial businesses to reduce child labor and improve worker conditions. The evidence primarily comes from qualitative studies. Private sector interventions have largely reported positive impacts on child labor with statistically significant improvements reported when social labelling or improved worksites and equipment are used. Oversight through program implementers as observers and unions encourages responsibility and safety on the part of both businesses and workers.

i) Evidence categorization table.

Intervention Name/Type	Strength of Confidence	Direction of Impact	Study Reference #
Improved Worksites and Equipment		+*	15
Unionizing		±	35
Social labelling of products made without child labor		+*	2, 10, 19, 31

Further in depth exploration of the literature, including types not described in the key interventions, may be found in Annex 2 [here](#).

ii) Discussion of key interventions

SOCIAL LABELLING

Social labelling has been effective in targeting children as well as adults to address child labor. Sugar Cane, carpets, and other objects certified to have been produced without child labor can be labeled as such for the consumer ([ILO 2010](#), [ILO 2015](#), [Chakrabarty & Grote 2009](#), [Ottolini 2014](#)). An observational study in El Salvador found that coupled with awareness events and educational services, social labelling efforts in sugar cane reported 7,000 children being withdrawn from child labor over 5 years ([ILO 2010](#)). An observational study of the Rugmark carpet program in Nepal and India which was financed through importers and exporters paying a fee to

be involved in the sale of the child-labor free labelled products found improvements to both child and household welfare and is seen as an effective way of addressing child labor - among households above subsistence level ([Chakrabarty & Grote 2009](#)). For very poor households below the subsistence levels, the improvements were not seen in the study. It is advised that improving household incomes below subsistence level households, should be the first step in addressing child labor. There was a positive correlation between household/family debts and child employment as well as a significant relationship between the head of household's education and the decrease in child labor in Nepal. Despite the reduction in child labor in the weaving process, at production steps without direct oversight by the Rugmark program observers, child labor could still be found.

Two case studies looked at the impact of Child Labor Free Zones in Kenya ([Chakrabarty & Grote 2009](#), [Ottolini 2014](#)), and one additional case study reviewed Child Labor Free Zones in Uganda ([ILO 2015](#)). Rural areas were especially targeted ([Chakrabarty & Grote 2009](#)). As part of a comprehensive approach, the intervention included child-labor-free business or product certifications for social labelling purposes, child labor committees, and area advisory councils to identify, and rescue child laborers, and make referrals to appropriate services. Community awareness programs, education and skills training support, and family support including healthcare from Rugmark rehabilitation centers and adult education services were also incorporated into the overall intervention. The CLFZs were implemented in areas where there was already an integrated model and interaction with companies to move towards higher ethical standards in work environments and child labor. The program prioritized children's informed participation in the program and utilized assemblies and children's club to improve awareness and knowledge of child labor. In general, there was an improvement in school attendance since the establishment of the child labor free zones and an increased feeling of community responsibility around eliminating child labor ([ILO 2015](#)). Child-free certifications can be placed on products made in those regions ([Ottolini 2014](#)). This can increase corporate social responsibility and foster public-private partnerships to address child labor. Child labor free zones were shown to have a positive impact on corporate responsibility standards and child welfare outcomes. Companies were noted to be more proactive in ensuring their products were child labor free. The project emphasized the importance of the children's informed participation, underlining the importance of awareness-building activities.

Important Note: "The sustainability of the CLFZs is predicated on the utilization of an integrated area-based approach which ensures leveraging of resources from different stakeholders to address all forms of child labor." ([ILO 2015](#))

UNIONIZING

A literature review covered several attempts at unionizing garment workers and formalizing garment jobs as a means of addressing child labor in the garment industry and protecting the workers ([Tilly et al 2013](#)). When formal unions were attempted in South Africa for both workers and employers, the review found that they were limited by governments who devalued their voice and the value of informal work, and were undermined by small enterprises who could close and move quickly to avoid regulation. However, given that regulatory oversight is necessary to limit child labor and ensure the safety of the other workers, by reinforcing the value of informal work, informal workers would be more likely to buy-in to the unions and collectivize their voices. While informal work can be affirmed by unions to increase membership, the review also noted that in similar work environments in Brazil, the most viable alternative in lieu of political investment in changes to regulations, would be formalizing the garment jobs through microenterprises and worker cooperatives. Such Informal unions, an alternative to traditional and independent unions, have been attempted in India, and have found success in leveraging employers for better livelihoods for their members through increased piece-rates and buyer cooperatives. It should be noted that informal unions have run into opposition from formal unions and government entities due to the nature of informal unions and their support of independent production firms.



IMPROVED WORKSITES AND EQUIPMENT

A mixed-method evaluation was conducted of an improved carpet loom and work environment package in rural Pakistan ([Awan & Nasrullah 2013](#)). The loom made safety and ergonomic improvements with an adult weaver in

mind including setting the height to be comfortable for adults but difficult for children to discourage child labor. The workspaces were improved with respirators, better lighting, and better ventilation as well as training and supplies for first aid. Workers were given training through posters and videos on relevant health issues. The health outcomes indicate that those who used the improved looms and workplaces reported better respiratory health and less joint pain compared to traditional looms and environments. But because of the delays in data collection on health outcomes and the cross-sectional design the data should be evaluated with caution. The results indicate improved working conditions for adolescents between 15-17 years. Families who received looms did not previously use children under 14 and no children under 14 were found to be using the new looms. Adolescents 15 to 17 years old and adults reported reduction in joint pain ($p=0.002$) and improved respiratory health ($p=0.02$). Those working with the new looms also reported improved income.

d. Financial access

i) Evidence categorization table.

Intervention Name/Type	Strength of Confidence	Direction of Impact	Study Reference #
Access to Credit		± *	16 , 22 , 28
Microinsurance		?	22

Further in depth exploration of the literature, including types not described in the key interventions, may be found in Annex 2 [here](#).

ii) Discussion of key interventions

ACCESS TO CREDIT

Microfinance groups involve collectivizing community members, often women, into small groups so that they can pool money, offer each other loans at a set rate, and build credit to apply for formal loans. The programs can be coupled with livelihood and welfare programming like family planning and business training. A systematic review of microfinance groups found that they have mixed effects on households ([Dammert et al 2018](#)). Some implementations lowered child labor but did not affect the likelihood of school enrollment or school attendance.

In India a PRADAN-sponsored microfinance program, analyzed through an impact evaluation, had groups of 15-20 women gather together to eventually become autonomous ([Baland, Demont & Somanathan 2020](#)). Once autonomous the NGO focus shifts to livelihood programs for the community including income-producing activity training. Comparing treatment and control groups in the Indian microfinance program, there was a strong increase in children's secondary school enrollment of ~20%, the majority of the increase came 6 years after the start of the program, implying that microfinance may take significant amounts of time to have measurable household impacts. There is a significant increase in the likelihood of child enrollment in middle school and secondary school. There was no significant impact on the total number of hours worked and there was a tendency towards an increase in the number of children being economically active in the treatment group. The results indicate that children in the treatment groups spend more time earning an income than at home or school. There is a peer effect in the self-help microfinance groups influencing children towards school enrollment, the effects are more significant in households with no secondary education.

A systematic review of brick kilns and child labor efforts reported a pre/post observational study in Nepal where individuals were gathered into a microfinance intervention which included educational support, financial literacy and livelihood support, non-formal education, and scholarships for formal schooling on top of microfinance access






([Larmar et al 2017](#)). 91.5% of the children who received educational support, formal and informal, completed the course. The average days of class attended increased by 40 after the coaching sessions and the average marks on exams improved by 10.6%

4 Education

a. Educational Support

Interventions to improve education access and educational attainment have reported largely positive impacts on child labor and educational outcomes. The evidence for these interventions comes from a mix of sources including systematic reviews, impact evaluations, and case studies. The results are largely positive with some interventions reporting mixed-effects. In particular out of school programming that includes non-formal education interventions through mobile sites, educational programs at worksites, and community-based learning programs allow children easier access to educational resources and may allow them to “catch up” to their peers to reintegrate into formal schooling after the program’s completion. They can also provide out of school children (who also participate in child labor) with the educational skills they need to succeed in safe work. Support for formal school integration in conjunction with other awareness raising and support components, has also been studied with mixed results, highlighting the need for long-term support for sustainable change.

i) Evidence categorization table.

Intervention Name/Type	Strength of Confidence	Direction of Impact	Study Reference #
Mobile Schools		+	3, 24, 28
Worksite-based informal education		+	1, 28
Community Learning Center		+	5
School Integration Support		±	40, 41, 42
Child-Friendly Space		±	26

Further in depth exploration of the literature, including types not described in the key interventions, may be found in Annex 2 [here](#).

ii) Discussion of key interventions

MOBILE SCHOOLS

Mobile schools offer the chance to reach children in multiple remote sites where formal education systems are not as accessible. The mobile schools also allow multiple sites to be reached by one equipment set and one educator. The schools may be a set of collapsible boards and activity kits, or it may be a vehicle pre-loaded with learning boards and activity sets. A systematic review reports that the mobile school curriculums may follow the standard educational curriculum for the area to serve as an informal catch-up program ([Larmar et al 2017](#)).

Mobile schools have been utilized in Romania and India. In Romania, the mobile school project utilized collapsible boards to reach street children ([ILO 2010](#)). The project used games and lectures to teach about child's rights and the dangers of living on the street, social integration, and basic educational outcomes such as literacy and counting. Health issues were also addressed in the educational package. 45 children were reached by mobile schools. 21/45 were prevented from being exploited or trafficked and 24/45 were withdrawn from child labor. Mobile schools have been used in multiple programs in India ([Goswami 2015](#); [Larmar et al 2017](#)). A bus-based mobile school was used to reach children near a dumping group in Mumbai which helped create linkages to the formal education system and bridge the learning gap ([Goswami 2015](#)). The program reached 1,728 children with 686 in year one and 1,042 in year two. An additional 588 children were reached through existing children's groups. 382 children were admitted to formal schooling, 8 special needs children were enrolled in formal, state-run schools and 1,102 children were enrolled in Anganwadi centers. 1,441 families were also counseled on the importance of schooling. Additionally, a separate implementation of the mobile schools program also targeted children and parents at brick kilns. At this site the program led to 20-45% of local children gaining access to education, however, it did-not have any impact on improving access for migrant children

WORKSITE-BASED INFORMAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Non-formal education support was offered as part of a multicomponent intervention to children of unspecified ages at brick kilns in Nepal ([Larmar et al 2017](#)). 43 children in 5 brick kilns were offered education support including occupation safety, vocational training, non-formal training, and supplemental elements including food support, micro-finance, familial support, and children's clubs. The multicomponent education program averaged 10 attendees per day in the program but no further outcomes were given. The study did note that work and family responsibilities were prioritized by the students over school. Additionally, distance and cost of schooling were barriers to children continuing school. Another program at 7 brick kilns in Nepal added additional support including food, hygiene maintenance, and health checks for children, again of an unspecified age range. The program benefited 120 children in its food dispersal and 30 went on to formal education.

An evaluation of efforts to address child labor in Mongolia found two non-formal education programs at mining worksites ([ILO 2007](#)). One program offered a program utilizing specially trained miners and an equipped classroom space to teach children a nationally approved curriculum as well as skills training. As part of the program, older teens, over the age of 15, were also trained on occupational safety. The program ended up impacting 142 children and was able to negotiate work opportunities across different industries for the older teens who did not reintegrate into the formal education system. There was an awareness-raising component utilizing seminars and multimedia to reach the surrounding community. Another program by the local women's council added onto the educational component to also train local administration on the dangers of having children involved in hazardous work and the importance of reintegrating children into the formal school system.

COMMUNITY LEARNING CENTER

To address child labor and lack of educational opportunities as well as involve the community in the process, a case study was done of a rural community learning center in North Sumatra ([ILO 2011](#)). The study was done over a four-month period in 2010, operationally supported by Link Penguatan Rakyat (LINGKAR). Local stakeholders and leaders provided an existing space for the learning center which recruited and utilized local teachers and tutors with additional funding coming from the local government; the center pulled in identified under 18-year-old children who were either at risk of entering child labor, already were involved in child labor, or were out of school. As the center progressed, some children were involved in program planning and identifying other children to be brought into the center's programming. The community center held campaigns to raise awareness around hazardous work conditions in addition to the educational services the teachers and tutors provided. Children

benefited from the program during the study period, being diverted from child labor to focus on their education - however the evaluation did not mention how many children were included. During the study period, teachers and tutors advocated for the center both to children and to stakeholders, The buy-in from educational and governmental stakeholders was credited as being an asset for the success of the community learning center, however, capacity building is important for both groups. Community buy-in is also important as education might not be historically prioritized so both parents and the larger community involved in the learning center need to understand the importance of children continuing their education and not entering child labor. The community learning center continued past the study period and petitioned for further governmental support for increased sustainability.

SCHOOL INTEGRATION SUPPORT

Several programs have been developed to address child labor through formal education integration support in conjunction with awareness-raising and governmental-supportive efforts. In general, the findings have been promising but show how complex and long-term the need is to fully address child labor, and that education alone is not sufficient.

A mixed-method impact evaluation was done of the Combating Exploitive Child Labor in Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, and Ethiopia Together Project (KURET) across the region and found a range of largely positive, but still overall mixed results ([Tietjen 2007](#)). KURET brought together multiple operational partners including World Vision, IRC, and the Academy for Educational Development and aimed to address child labor for those under 18 years old through educational support at the child and teacher levels as well as awareness building events and governmental support. The evaluation found across the four countries: 23,509 children directly benefited from the project, 12,575 of the children withdrew from child labor, 5,191 were prevented from entering child labor, 5,743 were withdrawn and prevented from engaging in child labor. However, the report found that many of the beneficiaries still participate in child labor, but at a lesser level than before the intervention. While KURET added to existing large class sizes in the region, teachers exposed to training demonstrated some positive behavior changes including patience and willingness to work with children, and appeared to have an understanding of child-labor and in effects. Teachers who were touched by the IRC Alternative Basic Education center in Ethiopia demonstrated more physical changes in their classrooms towards learner-centered methods. KURET was successful in raising awareness at the community and government level and was successful in policy changes in Uganda, Kenya, and Rwanda - however, there is the caveat that awareness-raising alone has not been sufficient for changing behaviors and attitudes in the communities. The evaluation concluded that “education is not an alternative to child labor, but child labor is a barrier to educational participation.” The support package for students and the existing four-year timeline is not sufficient to address the full range of child labor-related concerns the program intended.

Important Note: Education and sustained coverage over an extended time are important factors in reducing child labor.

“Education is not an alternative to child labor, but child labor is a barrier to educational participation.”

— ([Tietjen 2007](#), page v)

An mid-line, mixed-method evaluation of another multicomponent collaborative educational effort in Tanzania, WEKEZA/INVEST similarly found mixed results on decreasing child labor involvement ([Orsini 2015](#)). WEKEZA intended to address six markers or drivers of involvement in child labor: “poor school attendance, low household income, lack of youth employment opportunities, absence of social protection services, need for child labor policies and programs at the local and national level, and lack of awareness of child labor issues in the

community.” To do so, the project supported the children through educational, livelihood, and employment support as well as governmental support for policy changes. The awareness-raising efforts had a special focus on addressing domestic child laborers. At the midline evaluation, the educational and awareness-raising outcomes were doing well and considered “above average” and the progress on the improved livelihoods was considered acceptable. However, progress on social protection, was lacking due to problems implementing a child labor monitoring system in the targetted regions. An obstacle for both the evaluation and for the programming is the lack of robust monitoring and evaluation with clear data. The evaluation recommended increased check-ins or meetings across multiple component areas to improve data and accountability. The goal of the project was to target over 12,000 children and youth between ages 5 and 24 years old. While a final evaluation report was not available, the summary website indicated by the end of the project evaluation period 20 months after the midterm evaluation, 13,096 children engaged in or at-risk of the worst forms of child labor and livelihoods benefited from the education services ([Bureau of International Labor n.d.](#)).

See ‘2: Legal Governance: a. General national and district political interventions’ for more information on advocating for legal and policy changes

CHILD FRIENDLY SPACE

World Vision Bangladesh studied 20 child friendly spaces through a mixed-method evaluation ([Islam 2019](#)). The spaces offered support to children aged 3 to 12 years old, with the children being taught in two groups: 3-5 year olds and 6-12 years olds. The spaces were offered to the children during weekdays for play and for education. Many of the children were considered at risk or were already child laborers. When comparing child development and education outcomes of the children in the program to those in non-child friendly space areas, the results were mixed and largely not significant. There was a lower education dropout rate in the treatment areas compared to the areas without the child friendly spaces. There were also statistically significant increases in working hours for the childrens’ mothers in the treatment areas.


Important Note: World Vision Bangladesh recommends collaboration with multiple stakeholders for program sustainability.

b. Comprehensive support specifically for street children

Street children lack access to formal education and linkages to other needed social services including health and employment services. The evidence for services targeting street children is limited to case studies of individual programs that have been implemented in a variety of contexts. The impacts on child labor and the welfare outcomes for street children have been largely positive. The services to street children can provide housing or can serve as an outreach to children to provide the needed linkages to other services, reaching the children where they socialize or congregate.

i) Evidence categorization table.

Intervention Name/Type	Strength of Confidence	Direction of Impact	Study Reference #

Comprehensive outreach services on the street or residential settings		±	37
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Further in depth exploration of the literature, including types not described in the key interventions, may be found in Annex 2 [here](#).

ii) Discussion of key interventions

COMPREHENSIVE OUTREACH SERVICES

A comprehensive outreach program for young children and adolescents was implemented in the city of Salvador through private-public cooperation ([Volpi 2002](#)). Children spending time on the streets were targeted by an outreach bus which fostered artistic and multimedia activities to try and increase the children's interest and to entice them to become students at the project's education or training centers. Supplemental care through food, medical care, legal protection and assistance, and some financial support was also provided to children to replace street work-based earnings. More artistic activities like theater and dance were used to engage children in learning and civics. Literacy and attempts to reintegrate children into formal education were also included in the learning center activities, provided that a family member sponsored the child. 823 adolescents were contacted by the program in one year about family reunification, of those youth 769 were reunited with their families. 3,000 total children were reached by the program overall. It was reported that many of the contacted adolescents developed new life plans and returned to school. The program was reported to be the least successful in moving beneficiary of-age children into the labor market. Integration into the labor market was complicated by overall high levels of unemployment in the country at the time. However, there were still governmental requests to replicate the program nationally and regionally.

A case study was done of a four-stage residential program in Colombia ([Volpi 2002](#)). Children below the age of 18 years old were first contacted on the street by program representatives and encouraged to spend a night at the program's shelter. For children who stayed at the shelter, the second stage provided them with activities to develop their educational and life skills including social-emotional skills. Children were then given the option to attend primary and secondary school provided by the program. Vocational training was also offered. In addition to the four training stages, nutrition, and health services including psychological therapy were provided to the residents. The center averaged reaching 400 children per year and a large number of children graduated each year with a diploma.

c. Subsidies for education







The cost both monetarily and in time can be a major barrier to children accessing education, the children could be instead benefitting their families through work if the cost was that great. To rectify this, programs can supply physical benefits of food, cash, or vouchers to families to incentivize school attendance. Programs can also work to bring schools closer to the children, an asset when the children are in rural locations where schools are harder to access. These programs can involve the parents and increase buy-in through their participation in the program. The evidence for the programs is largely mixed and comes from systematic reviews of education programs.

Evidence for the impact of cash transfers on child labor is mixed and comes from a variety of sources including literature reviews, systematic reviews, impact evaluations, and observational studies. While data comes from a variety of sources, more robust evidence is needed on programs that provide microinsurance to parents and cash for work programs.

Results show that when improvements to the family's economic status are directly used for child welfare and education, cash transfers can improve child labor outcomes. However, the cash transfer opportunities can also

take parents away from the home and cause children to increase their household or farm labor, or take over for their parents in their previous economic activities. There is also the fear that increased financial access and opportunities for increased economic activity can reduce parental involvement in the child, as the parents' attention could be divided and the focus would be placed on the new economic activity, not child development.

i) Evidence categorization table.

Intervention Name/Type	Strength of Confidence	Direction of Impact	Study Reference #
Food for Education		±	22
School Construction		+	22
School Vouchers		± *	22
School Incentivizing		±	28
Conditional Cash or Subsidy Transfers		± *	7 , 12 , 13 , 20 , 22 , 30 , 33
Unconditional cash transfers		±	22 , 29 , 34

Further in depth exploration of the literature, including types not described in the key interventions, may be found in Annex 2 [here](#).

ii) Discussion of key interventions

SCHOOL INCENTIVIZING

A randomized controlled trial in Nepal, reported in a systematic review, studied the impact of scholarships plus a stipend for youth aged 10-16 years old at risk of entering hazardous work ([Larmar et al 2017](#)). One treatment group received just a scholarship while another treatment group received the scholarship plus a stipend. The intervention targeted 660 children at carpet factories. The second treatment group, the scholarship plus stipend group, increased their school attendance by 11%. There was also a decrease in failing grades among this group. There was a 48% decrease in carpet weaving among children at the treatment carpet factories. However the beneficial effects on grades, attendance, and child labor, of either treatment did not extend beyond the study period

SCHOOL VOUCHERS

A systematic review of education programs reported that a school voucher program in Colombia for low-income students had mixed effects on child labor ([Dammert et al 2018](#)). The vouchers were conditional on the recipients' performance in school. More information on the characteristics of the qualifying students and the minimum marks needed to maintain the voucher were not provided by the systematic review. While the voucher program did find a significant decrease of ~1.5 hours worked by girls as a result of the program, there was not a significant reduction of labor across the board with participants and the program did not affect the likelihood of the voucher recipient engaging in economic activity.

SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION

A systematic review of education interventions reported on two regression discontinuity studies evaluated the impact of girl-friendly school construction in Burkina Faso ([Dammert et al 2018](#)). An additional implementation of school construction was reported in Mozambique and studied through a randomized controlled trial. The schools included sanitation sites and in Burkina Faso, incentives were used to entice children to attend school. Meetings were held to mobilize parents and the larger community to support these efforts and especially to support child education. In Burkina Faso, there was limited impact on the children's activities outside the home, there was some increase in work both inside and outside of the home by boys who did not have female siblings. The Mozambique trial indicated that child work at family plots decreased among the 5-9 year old group by 1.3 hours per week. The results also indicated that the parents were sensitized to the importance of participation in schooling.

FOOD FOR EDUCATION

Like conditional cash transfer, food rations can be delivered to households with school-age children with the condition that the children attend formal school. A systematic review which included food for education programs found mixed results on the impact of such food transfers ([Dammert et al 2018](#)). The impact differs depending on the delivery mechanism of the food. A cluster-randomized trial in rural Burkina Faso found that the take-home ration group reported significantly decreased farm and non-farm economic activities. School meals did not have an impact on either activity. While there was a difference between meal delivery mechanisms, the mechanisms were not compared within the study so a conclusive decision cannot be made about the value of one over the other.

CONDITIONAL CASH TRANSFERS

Conditional cash transfers have been implemented in several contexts. The programs are generally classified by cash being transferred to families of children, with the condition that children be enrolled and/or attending school for a certain amount of time. Some programs have an additional condition that children receive a certain standard of healthcare. A systematic review of conditional cash transfers in LMICs reported that the impact on education can be gender-specific and can be context-specific ([Dammert et al 2018](#)). The indication is that due to practices often being rooted in gender norms, addressing the gender discriminatory practices would require longer and more complex interventions to improve education outcomes. However, the programs do seem to have a positive impact on children who are already enrolled in school staying in school. In some cases, cash transfer may increase child labor especially gendered child labor in the household but in general, there tend to be positive outcomes but there needs to be more long-term research on the outcomes around child labor.

A randomized controlled trial of conditional cash transfer for internally displaced persons in Somalia included peer to peer support in addition to cash transfers of 62 USD in total ([Akwii et al 2018](#)). Weekly group sessions were held and supervised by program staff who were trained in psychosocial approaches. 10 group sessions were held for each group. 497 women received cash transfers and of those, 208 received peer to peer support in addition to the cash. There was a reported increased likelihood of children working for pay and an increased rate of household chores. The conclusion was that the group sessions were a problematic arm of the intervention. There was a significant impact on the proportion attending schools ($p < 0.05$), a significant impact on seeking pay outside of the home ($p < 0.01$), and an impact on time spent fetching water or firewood ($p < 0.1$). In Malawi, there was the additional benefit of health insurance for children for one program where the subsidies were reliant upon

school attendance and provision of health insurance (IPEC 2013). The observational study reported positive beneficiary perspectives indicating that the practice was beneficial and should be replicated.

Public works or cash for work (CfWs) programs have often been used to provide cash and sometimes other beneficial goods like credit and agricultural extension support in exchange for a specified amount of labor. In some programs, parents can be offered job-training instead of eligible work in exchange for cash and other services. A systematic review comprising of impact evaluations found that CfW programs do not lead to a significant reduction in child labor (Dammert et al 2018). There have in fact been instances where children have taken over the household or other paid activities of adults participating in the CfW program. For example, The Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Scheme (M-NREGA) in India provides 100 days out of the financial year of paid unskilled labor to qualifying adults, with one-third of the jobs reserved for women (Sjoblom, Pant & Prasad 2016). Crèches are available for children and the program has been redesigned to be more child-sensitive in its daily job or activity requirements of parents that would ordinarily take them away from their children, to allow for better child-care and less household burden upon children when their parents are working. The observational study indicates that there may be an improvement in educational attainment of children who are affected by the program. The study also reported a 13.4 percent reduction in child labor for boys and girls by 8.2 percent. However, withdrawal from school to take over household duties of the participating parents has also been noted. There is a possibility that girls might be more negatively impacted as cultural norms may expect them to take over more household duties.


“Komal will not go to school. If she goes to school, then who will look after the other children?”

— Lakshmi Bai, mother of 5 children

d. Supporting the education system

Formal education systems are often reliant upon the local and national governments for support, which can undermine the quality of education and the access to education for children, especially hard to reach children like child laborers. To support the educational system, programs can offer comprehensive services to the children and families to bolster the welfare of the clients. The evidence for the programs to support the education system comes from a systematic review and reports non-significant improvements to the outcomes.

i) Evidence categorization table.

Intervention Name/Type	Strength of Confidence	Direction of Impact	Study Reference #
Strengthening Systems Approach		+	28

Further in depth exploration of the literature, including types not described in the key interventions, may be found in Annex 2 [here](#).

ii) Discussion of key interventions

STRENGTHENING SYSTEMS APPROACH





A systematic review of education programs reported that the strengthening systems approach was used in Nepal to address child laborers ([Lamar et al 2017](#)). The purpose of the program was to remove children from child labor and to rehabilitate them. Multiple services were offered including shelter, educational services, vocational services, food, psychosocial counseling, and physical health care once children were removed from child labor. Support was also offered to the families with mediation, family support, and legal support in an effort to address the variety of connected systems around the children. There were limited reported outcomes for the program, however the number of children reported to have been removed from child labor and reunited with families was 9,000 and 10,000 at-risk children were reported to have been prevented from entering work. The impacts on educational and health outcomes were not reported in the systematic review.

5 Community Awareness-Building, Mobilization and Action

a. Child Protection Committees

The evidence for child protection committees (CPCs), which are community groups formed to address the problem of child labor at the community-level largely comes from case studies. CPCs have largely positive effects on the reduction of child labor and the removal of children from the worst forms of child labor. They also increase parental awareness of the risks involved. Some committees contributed to improved legislation. The success of this approach is influenced by active community participation, public support, and leadership buy-in. Leadership buy-in and public support in-turn appear to improve community buy-in and utilization of the committees and their protection mechanisms. Community participation increases feelings of ownership and support of the committees.

i) Evidence categorization table.

Intervention Name/Type	Strength of Confidence	Direction of Impact	Study Reference #
Child Welfare Committees in Sierra Leone with elected community members and a social welfare officer		∅	39
Community Child Labor Committees		+	10
Community-based Child Protection Groups		+	38
Multicomponent community programming to target Worst Forms of Child Labor		+	5

Further in depth exploration of the literature, including types not described in the key interventions, may be found in Annex 2 [here](#).

ii) Discussion of key interventions

COMMUNITY-BASED CHILD PROTECTION GROUPS IN COMPARISON TO CHILD WELFARE COMMITTEES

A literature review of child protection systems reported that child protection groups follow several models but generally are volunteer-based groups formed within the communities, often initiated by an NGO or CSO ([Wessells 2009](#)). The groups monitor their communities for signs of child labor, child trafficking, and the wellbeing of children, especially vulnerable children. They engage their communities in increasing awareness of the importance of education and assist in linking formal and informal protection systems. The review found that community-based child protection groups can be effective in protecting children from harm and ensuring their wellbeing. Groups are generally scalable but that is impacted by the resources available. The effectiveness of the groups is affected by its linkages between different systems, formal and informal. More robust evidence is needed on child protection groups especially their sustainability. There is some evidence that shows that groups are more sustainable and more effective when built upon existing programming and structures such as informal protection systems and previous child labor programming.

A case study of Community Welfare Committees in Sierra Leone demonstrates what can be considered a null effect on child labor ([Wessells et al 2012](#)). The CWC consisted of 13 community members including members of the social welfare structures, religious bodies, traditional leaders, and a male and female child representative. Most members were elected except for social welfare officers. Committees were charged with identifying instances of child labor, referring child laborers and their families to social services, and in some cases removing children from child labor. Welfare committees were reported to help reduce the burden on the formal justice system however they were seldom used. Instead informal systems at the family or community level were leveraged. The lack of proper referrals to appropriate authorities and impractical distance people would need to travel to report to the committees were credited with contributing to the lack of use. The small minority that saw the committees as effective reported that they were most effective when the Paramount Chief supported the work and the committee members had ongoing and consistent training and logistics support.

MULTICOMPONENT COMMUNITY PROGRAMMING TO TARGET WORST FORMS OF CHILD LABOR

In a targeted effort to address child labor in rural North Sumatra, Indonesia, an intersectoral integrated monitoring team and database was studied as part of a case study ([ILO 2014](#)). The team drew from government agencies, labor inspectors, and NGOs, emphasizing local partnerships. Key partners and stakeholders including journalists were also trained on design, management, and evaluation of programs. Additionally, families and communities were engaged through group discussions and radio campaigns to raise awareness. Families were provided with community-based services and livelihood support like micro-finance, and income generation activities. Youth received skills training to introduce them to safer, better employment opportunities.

The case study found that there was an increase in partnerships and improved capacity amongst targeted organizations and agencies. There were reported attitudinal changes at the community level. 255 children were removed from child labor over 4 years and 1,723 children were prevented from entering child labor. Additionally, direct participation in social protection activities was credited with preventing 1,500 children at risk from entering hazardous work. Overall school attendance also increased in the treatment area. The case study did note that the four and a half year implementation period was too short to develop the needed partnerships and the implementation partnerships will need to be continually developed. Regardless, the multiple modalities utilized to address WFCL was credited as being a major factor in the program's success.

“A number of adult workers of Jermal asked me to work again in Jermal. But, I did not want to. I benefited from skills training on motor cycle repair from the project in 2002. I found better work and established a motorcycle workshop with Jafar and Sularso, who also worked in Jermal. I do not think working in jermal was good. That is why I am eager to




enlarge this entrepreneurship as a part of efforts to get better job and better life.”

- Rahmad, who benefited from vocational skills training, fund assistance from the project, and started motorcycle repairing workshop in Abdullah Lubis in Medan altogether with Jafar and Sularso.

b. Community Conversation and Dialogue

Awareness campaigns can help improve referral linkages between child laborers and social services but campaigns often integrate multiple components to address different levels of awareness from parents to government stakeholders. Including children in the design and implementation appears to enhance success. Much of the evidence for awareness-building interventions comes from case studies and all report positive outcomes.

i) Evidence categorization table.

Intervention Name/Type	Strength of Confidence	Direction of Impact	Study Reference #
Community Conversation Facilitation		+	10
Community Mobilization with/out education programming		+	37
Social Dialogue + Education Programing		+	9

Further in depth exploration of the literature, including types not described in the key interventions, may be found in Annex 2 [here](#).

ii) Discussion of key interventions

SOCIAL DIALOGUE + EDUCATION PROGRAMMING

A mixed-method evaluation was done of a multicomponent intervention in Nicaragua which utilized social dialogue as well as educational programming ([ILO 2014](#)). The intervention targetted child labor on coffee plantation and involved collaboration between the coffee producers and the state institutions to creating education bridges during school breaks to increase the educational outcomes of child laborers. The bridging activities also included pay for teachers on plantation, improving the infrastructure of those plantation-based schools, and providing food for the children attending school. Social dialogue activities were held for trade and employer unions on the plantation. Export companies incentivized a purchase price to producers who carried out actions to prevent and eliminate child labor. Gender equity was also promoted along with increased awareness of child labor. Gender equality/equity was addressed through education and income-generating programs for girls and adolescent women. The evaluation reported positive outcomes in both education and child labor. 5,5000 5-7 years old were withdrawn from work and parents were noted as having increased knowledge and awareness of child labor and ways to access credit. The goals was that through the access to credit to improve the household




farms and in turn improve household income, child labor would be unnecessary. A noted barrier to the program was the lack of basic infrastructure on the plantations which impeded the educational elements of the program.

Important Note: Vertical coordination and engagement within the education sector as well as among all staff on the plantation was seen as an important contributor to program success.

c. Multimedia activities

Multimedia activities offer visual and/or auditory aid to awareness-building events in order to reach community members. The evidence for multimedia activities comes from case studies and reports positive outcomes. Activities are meant to increase community awareness of the risks of child labor and the importance of education and keeping children from entering child labor. The multimedia components often include social dialogue as part of the implementation. In the case of community theater or a film screening, the production may pause to ask a question to the audience or may have a period of discussion after the film or play is concluded. Engaging children in the interventions can help with their feelings of empowerment and some case studies report increased school attendance following involvement in the multimedia awareness-raising events.

i) Evidence categorization table.

Intervention Name/Type	Strength of Confidence	Direction of Impact	Study Reference #
Art mural created by former child laborers		+	10
Community Drama productions		+	10
Film Screening by the community		+	10

Further in depth exploration of the literature, including types not described in the key interventions, may be found in Annex 2 [here](#).

ii) Discussion of key interventions

ART MURALS BY FORMER CHILD LABORERS



As part of the SCREAM programming by the ILO-IPEC in Uganda, a case study was developed of the art mural component ([ILO 2015](#)). Former child laborers were brought into the project to help design and paint art murals on topics around child labor. The children were also involved in identifying potential mural sites and securing the sties' owners' permission to install the murals. The children involved in the project also explained the murals to other children and family members. The mural installation was accompanied by community discussions on the risks and signs of child labor and the importance of education for children. A total of 25 children in two districts were involved to develop 11 murals in those districts. The murals and discussions were credited with helping parents to support education for their out of school children. There was also a reported increased awareness of

child labor among children of the communities, and there was a dispersal of that information among their peers and community members. The children involved also reported strengthened self-esteem and communication skills as a result of the mural development activities. The murals were also credited with raising awareness of child labor concerns among district officials and political leaders.

6 Health

Improvements to the health outcomes of child laborers can be made through peer connections as well as formal health services. Child labor is often hazardous to a child's wellbeing and the children often do not have access to necessary medical care. Health systems also need to be aware of the signs of child labor so that proper referrals can be made to identify and remove children from child labor. Few interventions were identified that directly targeted health service provision to child laborers. The evidence found came from a case study-in a high-income context-and a mixed methods evaluation and it targeted children and youth in general. These studies did indicate a positive impact on health-related outcomes. The identified interventions interfaced government entities to create linkages between youth and health services and health information.

i) Evidence categorization table.

Intervention Name/Type	Strength of Confidence	Direction of Impact	Study Reference #
Health Peer Counseling		+	37
Outreach health services		+	37

Further in depth exploration of the literature, including types not described in the key interventions, may be found in Annex 2 [here](#).

ii) Discussion of key interventions

HEALTH PEER COUNSELING

A case study was performed on the Ghana Ministry of Health's health "peer promoters" program ([Volpi 2002](#)). The promoters participated in a 7-day workshop to address HIV/AIDS prevention and control among youth and young adults in the 10-24 years old range. Using the communication and counseling skills they learned in the workshop, the promoters led HIV/AIDS programming at schools and villages. In addition, the promoters increased access to subsidized condoms and other contraceptive methods and provided one-on-one counselling. The program reached 1,5000 children and youth. An evaluation found that participants of the education programs were better informed about HIV/AIDS after the program

OUTREACH HEALTH SERVICES

A case study ([Volpi 2002](#)) was done of the "Vivre" outreach program in urban Italy, targeting street children. The program coordinated between the primary NGO and local municipalities and social services to provide referral

linkages. Outreach would first be made by going to where youth congregate initiate contact, then activities and projects would be implemented to involve the contacted youth. A mobile health unit provided counseling, contraceptives and AIDs prevention to the identified neighborhoods. The health unit also provided information on jobs and social services. When possible program educators provided referrals to social services for the youth. The municipality also adopted the program model for other neighborhoods in need of youth service outreach. Focus group discussions with the youth noted that the services allowed youth time to explore topics of sex and potentially illegal behaviors without fear of judgment. The program was reported by the participants to improve confidence and better awareness and use of community services and employment opportunities. It is estimated that ~2,000 youth were given information on HIV/AIDs prevention and contraceptive use.

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