

International Labour Organization

International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour



Good Practices

in Action
against

Child Labour

A synthesis report
of seven Country Studies, 1997-98
by independent researchers

Brazil
Indonesia
Kenya
Philippines
Tanzania
Thailand
Turkey

2001

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ILO-IPEC

‘Good Practices’ in action against child labour

A synthesis report of seven Country Studies, 1997-98 by independent researchers :

Brazil, Indonesia, Kenya, Philippines, Tanzania, Thailand and Turkey

Geneva, International Labour Office, 2001

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Preface

This Synthesis Report is the result of a project funded by the Canadian government for studies on action against child labour in some of the countries in which IPEC has worked since its inception in 1992. The project funded studies in six countries, while additional funding from the German Government made it possible to include a seventh country study to cover a wider range of experience from some of the first IPEC participating countries. Thanks are also due to those donors who funded the programmes behind the proposed good practices in this report.

The studies, carried out by independent researchers, were initiated in 1997 to take stock of the lessons learned after five years of work in the first countries, with the aim of developing guidelines for policy makers. The initial review of the studies suggested a series of good practices that would be useful in choosing interventions and programmes, as well as some indications of issues in policy development. The current report therefore focuses on documenting these good practices.

The wealth of information in the country studies has also been used to prepare two internal working papers, one on developing a set of indicators to determine progress in eliminating child labour, and the second on the situation in the countries with regard to hazardous work. Both of those papers are being used in the continuing process of further developing the work of IPEC in these areas.

This report is a first step towards an intensified effort by IPEC to identify, document and disseminate in a more structured way, the type of interventions and actions against child labour that have proved to be feasible, effective and sustainable in addressing particular types of child labour. As part of this effort, IPEC intends to publish a series of compendiums of good practices that have emerged from the work of IPEC and its partners on specific themes in child labour. This will be supplemented with updated databases on current and evolving good practices that IPEC partners and others involved in action against child labour can access when designing and implementing policies and programmes.

IPEC is grateful for the support of the Canadian Government, which has enabled it to produce this first report on the good practices. The preparation of this report has given IPEC valuable experience in identifying and documenting good practices that will be used for future compendiums of good practices. This will hopefully benefit first, all those organizations working against child labour and, second and most importantly, the child labours for whose benefit policies and programmes are designed to combat child labour. The individual country studies have already been actively used in the preparation of action against child labour; this report, which focuses on the more general aspects, will allow other countries to benefit from the experiences gained.

Contents

Preface
Contents
Executive summary
Acknowledgements
Acronyms and abbreviations
Overview of the Synthesis Report

Part I. “Good Practices” from the Country Studies

List of good practices in Part I

1. Creating the conditions needed for action on child labour
 - 1.1. Policies and law
 - 1.1.1. Examples of “Good Practice” in the *content* of law and policy
 - 1.1.2. Examples of “Good Practice” in *developing* or *changing* policy
 - 1.2. Public awareness
 - 1.2.1. Examples of “Good Practice” in *public awareness-raising* at the *national level*
 - 1.2.2. Examples of “Good Practice” in *public awareness-raising* at the *local level*
2. Building capacity to address child labour
 - 2.1. Multi-sectoral/multi-level
 - 2.1.1. Examples of “Good Practice” at *multi-sectoral/multi-level*
 - 2.2. National level: government, unions, employers
 - 2.2.1. Examples of “Good Practice” with reference to *government*
 - 2.2.2. Examples of “Good Practice” in working with *unions*
 - 2.2.3. Examples of “Good Practice” in capacity-building of *employers*
 - 2.3. Community level
 - 2.3.1. Examples of “Good Practice” in empowering *communities*
3. Direct action with children
 - 3.1. Children in *slavery*
 - 3.1.1. Example of “Good Practice” regarding children in *slavery*
 - 3.2. Children being *sexually exploited*
 - 3.2.1. Examples of “Good Practice” regarding children being *sexually exploited*
 - 3.3. Children in *crime*
 - 3.3.1. Example of “Good Practice” regarding children in *crime*
 - 3.4. Children in *factory-based work*
 - 3.4.1. Examples of “Good Practice” on children in *factory-based work*
 - 3.5. Children doing *outside physical labour*
 - 3.5.1. Examples of “Good Practice” on children doing *outside physical labour*
 - 3.6. Children in *family- and home-based work*
 - 3.6.1. Examples of “Good Practice” for children doing *family-based work*

- 3.7. Children in *legal street-trades*
 - 3.7.1. Examples of “Good Practice” on children in *legal street-trades*
- 3.8. Children in *subsistence production*
 - 3.8.1. Example of “Good Practice” on children in *subsistence production*

Part II. Technical Review and Policy Analysis

- 1. Overview of the “Seven Country” project
 - 1.1. Background
 - 1.2. Method of analysis
 - 1.2.1. Criteria
 - 1.2.2. Assumptions
 - 1.3. Organization of the data
- 2. Assessment of the Country Studies
 - 2.1. General assessment of the studies
 - 2.2. Subsequent use of the Country Studies
 - 2.2.1. Brazil
 - 2.2.2. Indonesia
 - 2.2.3. Kenya
 - 2.2.4. Philippines
 - 2.2.5. Tanzania
 - 2.2.6. Thailand
 - 2.2.7. Turkey
- 3. Observations regarding child labour policy issues
 - 3.1. Contribution to overall development
 - 3.2. International economic and social forces
 - 3.3. Poverty and child labour
 - 3.4. Child labour and education
- 4. Observations regarding programme interventions
 - 4.1. Necessary Conditions
 - 4.1.1. Policy, law and political will
 - 4.1.2. Awareness-raising
 - 4.2. Capacity-building
 - 4.3. Direct Action with children
 - 4.4. Programme design, development, partners and processes
 - 4.4.1. Research
 - 4.4.2. Partners
 - 4.4.3. Gender
 - 4.4.4. Sustainability

Conclusions and Recommendations

- 1. Conclusions and recommendations
 - 1.1. Conclusions and recommendations on programmes from the Country Studies
 - 1.1.1. Take a gradual, step-by-step approach
 - 1.1.2. Make use of opportunities presented by the larger context
 - 1.1.3. Monitor change
 - 1.1.4. Combine the different elements
 - 1.1.5. Develop a committed core
 - 1.1.6. Understand the problem
 - 1.1.7. Involve children, parents, and employers
 - 1.1.8. Emphasize prevention

- 1.2. Recommendations and conclusions on policy issues from the Country Studies
 - 1.2.1. Reduce poverty
 - 1.2.2. Improve information
 - 1.2.3. Collaboration
 - 1.2.4. Education
- 1.3. Recommendations from the *Synthesis Report*
 - 1.3.1. For IPEC as an organization
 - 1.3.2. For country programmes in general

Annexes

- I. Indicators for measuring impact and evaluation
(Relevant parts of separate earlier internal working paper done by Michael Hopkins)
- II. List of country studies and other documents consulted
- III. List of programmes referred to in the report

Executive summary

This *Synthesis Report* draws together the results of an extensive research and analytical exercise in seven countries that was undertaken to identify “lessons learned” in the fight against child labour. The Country Studies of Brazil, Indonesia, Kenya, Philippines, The United Republic of Tanzania (hereafter Tanzania), Thailand, and Turkey contain a wealth of important, useful information on the complicated process of developing a country child labour programme under challenging conditions. Over the last three years, these Country Studies have found practical utility in their own countries, being used to design policy, prepare three-year plans, and raise awareness among the public and policy-makers. Now, through this *Synthesis*, we hope the Country Studies will have a more far-reaching impact by stimulating discussion on what is “good practice”.

Lessons can be learned from the Country Studies at both a policy and programme level. At the policy level, they provide an opportunity to view the phenomenon of child labour against the backdrop of transnational economic and political currents and to study the various aspects of child labour in different areas of the world. The studies reflect the economic boom in Asia, and the economic bite of IMF Structural Adjustment Programmes in Africa. Although this was not their intention, they in fact present a sort of panorama of the first five to seven years of concerted work on child labour by the ILO and its partners. At the programme level, the Country Studies give some indication of the process by which “good practices” were evolved and implemented. Taken as a whole, they make it possible to see patterns of what can obstruct progress, or of what can be useful.

The Country Studies were carried out in 1997-98 by teams of independent researchers. The content reflects the situation at that time. For most countries, this is their first attempt to take a comprehensive look at child labour action – over time and nation-wide. Many of the child labour programmes, which included non-IPEC supported programmes, were relatively new at the time the study was carried out and concentrated simply on getting a critical mass of work underway. They were not, by and large, thinking in an evaluative way nor incorporating evaluation into their programmes. As a result, the country research teams who produced the reports found it difficult to use a consistent and evaluative methodology and relied much more on describing the child labour work to date. A particular methodological challenge for them (which is also a design strength) is that virtually all child labour approaches described in the studies were carried out in combination with other measures. Because these constituent approaches act synergistically, it is not particularly productive to try to disentangle which of them is “most effective”; on the other hand, it is useful to examine how they interact in various contexts, and any constraints or limitations that they contain. On the whole, the Country Studies have produced a “short list” of approaches, extracted from a wide range of methods and processes that have been tried, which the researchers feel are promising as “good practices”. This represents quite an achievement.

What is now needed is for child labour practitioners and activists to take these promising approaches and test them over a period of time and under a variety of conditions. We need to determine their cost-effectiveness, the order in which they should take place, and

even more importantly, how they should be undertaken – whether they stand alone or should be strategically deployed as part of a comprehensive, time-defined plan. At the same time, all of us who are working in the child labour field must constantly think in terms of impact. All child labour action needs to be designed so that its effects – especially on the children – can be closely monitored over the period that the work is underway, and then assessed later on as to its long-term sustainability, scope, and ultimate impact. It is perhaps understandable that these first attempts at comprehensive Country Studies have proved more descriptive than evaluative. The challenge is for the future to have the design, the indicators, and have done the necessary assessments to be able to truly say, “these are our good practices”.

Acknowledgements

The *synthesis report* is largely the result of the good work of the research teams in the selected countries, including: Indonesia (Nafsiah Mobi, Irwanto, et al); Kenya (Benson Odera Oyuga, Professor Collette Suda, and Afia Mugambi); Philippines (Jeanne Frances Illo, Sylvia Bagadio-Engracia, et al); Tanzania (H.M. Rwegoshora, Dr. F.E. Mbeo, H.H. Amma); Thailand (Senator Dr. Saisuree Chutikul, Natalie Bennett, Chariya Khanthavit, Rataya Kobsirikarn, et al); and Turkey (Yusuf Ziya Ozcan, Batattin Aksit, Meltern Dauioglu, Ayse Gunduz-Hosgor).

Updates on subsequent use of the original Country Studies were provided by Andrea Bolzon (Brazil), Jane Ong'olo (Kenya), Thetis Mangahas (Philippines), William Mallya (Tanzania), Susanne Schroth (Thailand), and Sule Caglar (Turkey). Our special thanks also go to them for reviewing the manuscript and making comments.

Responsibility for compiling the *Synthesis Report* was carried out by Susan Gunn, with assistance of Veronika Gruber.

Part II of the report and the Annexes draw heavily on ILO internal working papers: Iman Hashim's excellent summaries of each Country Study and her summary report, and Michael Hopkins' recommendations regarding future evaluation indicators.

Acronyms & abbreviations

CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CLU	Child Labour Unit
DME	Design, monitoring and evaluation
DOLE	Department of Labour and Employment
IGP	Income generating project
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPEC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
MOLSW	Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare
NGO	Non-governmental organizations
NPM	National Programme Manager
NSC	National Steering Committee
PME	Planning, monitoring and evaluation
UNDAF	United Nations Development Assistance Framework
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WTO	World Trade Organization

Overview of the synthesis report

This document analyses the key lessons and understandings from each of the studies, and draws these together in a common analysis. Its purpose in doing so is to make sure these insights are not lost in large volumes of material, but are accessible to those who can use them. A wide range of practitioners and policy-makers are making decisions every day about what approaches to choose for their country programmes on child labour, and how to proceed. This report is for them.

Part I, designed for wider, more popular use, contains the “good practices” emerging from the Country Studies. It describes lessons learned, strengths and weaknesses of the identified “good practices”, and is referenced to the Country Studies. It is written so that it can stand alone if necessary. **Part II** is a technical section that provides background on the project and its implications for policy. Within it, chapter 1 sets the stage by presenting the assumptions on which the country studies were analysed and the way the data have been organized. Chapter 2 assesses the methodologies used in the studies and the subsequent use of the studies. Chapters 3 and 4 make observations concerning (respectively) the macro-policy and micro-policy elements in the Country Studies.

Part I. “Good Practices” from the Country Studies

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 - 1.1.2. Examples of “Good Practice” in *developing* or *changing* policy
 - 1.2. Public awareness
 - 1.2.1. Examples of “Good Practice” in *public awareness-raising* at the *national level*
 - 1.2.2. Examples of “Good Practice” in *public awareness-raising* at the *local level*
2. Building capacity to address child labour
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 - 2.1.1. Examples of “Good Practice” at *multi-sectoral/multi-level*
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 - 2.3. Community level
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 - 3.1. Children in *slavery*
 - 3.1.1. Example of “Good Practice” regarding children in *slavery*
 - 3.2. Children being *sexually exploited*
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 - 3.6. Children in *family- and home-based work*
 - 3.6.1. Examples of “Good Practice” for children doing *family-based work*
 - 3.7. Children in *legal street-trades*
 - 3.7.1. Examples of “Good Practice” on children in *legal street-trades*
 - 3.8. Children in *subsistence production*
 - 3.8.1. Example of “Good Practice” on children in *subsistence production*

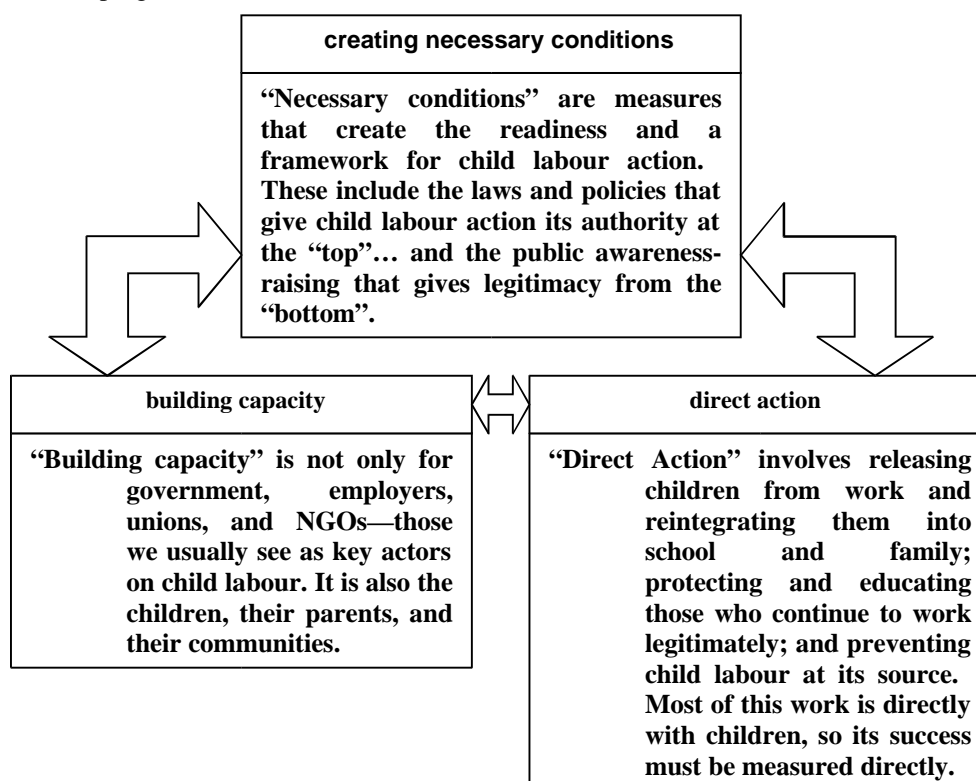
What works? What doesn't? Some patterns are starting to emerge. Sometimes it is difficult to explain why or how – child labour action is still more of a craft than a science. But the last 10 years of experience have taught us several lessons.

This section contains some highlights of child labour action in seven countries: Brazil, Indonesia, Kenya, the Philippines, Tanzania, Thailand, and Turkey. Each item contains:

- a description of the approach
- a note on the factors and conditions under which this approach has been shown to be effective if these are known
- an assessment of what makes it a “good practice”
- an assessment of its weaknesses or “constraints”¹
- reference to which countries have used this approach, and where it is described in the Country Study²

It must be remembered that there are no guarantees: they are approaches that have worked well or, which show considerable promise. We offer them as potential “good practices” to try, critique and refine. We have made the assessment that was possible given the information in the country studies. These approaches are not the only ones. Other approaches exist from other countries not covered in the study and not currently subjected to this type of analysis. Furthermore, our world is changing as we watch. There are factors beyond our control that will affect good practices. Good policy guidelines need to be updated to keep pace with the constant changes.

The “good practices” are divided into three main sections: *Necessary Conditions*, *Building Capacity* and *Direct Action* because these are the crucial elements in a child labour programme.



¹ As noted in the Country Study or by the author of this report.

² References are given in footnotes on each page. Page numbers refer to the original country studies.

List of good practices in Part I

1. Creating the conditions needed for action on child labour

Examples of “Good Practice” in the *content* of law and policy:

1. Ensuring support and protection of the whole child
2. Forming a national policy with clear objectives
3. Increasing years of compulsory schooling
4. Making education practical in style and content
5. Offering sanctions and rewards
6. Instituting district and local child labour laws

Examples of “Good Practice” in *developing or changing* policy:

7. Using research to change policy
8. Making use of “the moment” to change policy
9. Facilitating the law making process
10. Harmonising child labour laws and jurisdiction
11. Getting political commitment

Examples of “Good Practice” in *public awareness-raising at the national level*:

12. Maximizing use of the media
13. Using documentaries of child labour
14. Organizing large-scale national events, marches and rallies
15. Targeting public messages
16. Making effective use of international pressure/input/support

Examples of “Good Practice” in *public awareness-raising at the local level*:

17. Using theatre, drama, dance
18. Involving children and local leaders
19. Community-based awareness-raising

2. Building capacity to address child labour

Examples of “Good Practice” at *multi-sectoral/multi-level*:

- 20. Cultivating a core group of activists
- 21. Organising networks
- 22. Training in planning tools

**Examples of “Good Practice”
with reference to *government*:**

- 23. Creating a child labour unit
- 24. Using national training institutions
- 25. Mobilizing government action through high-level
commitment
- 26. Mobilizing government agencies against
hazardous work
- 27. Training labour inspectors to work with social
partners
- 28. Training labour inspectors through research
participation
- 29. Improving government action through public-
private linkages

**Examples of “Good Practice”
in working with *unions*:**

- 30. Including a child labour clause
in collective bargaining agreements
- 31. Mobilizing trade unions

**Examples of “Good Practice”
in capacity-building of *employers*:**

- 32. Influencing employers through other employers
- 33. Establishing codes of practice

**Examples of “Good Practice”
in empowering *communities*:**

- 34. Creating community child labour committees
- 35. Training local officials as change agents
- 36. Using mixed methods at the community level

3. Direct action with children

**Example of “Good Practice”
regarding *children in slavery*:**

- 37. Preventing customary forces labour

**Examples of “Good Practice”
regarding *children being sexually exploited*:**

38. Market-oriented training for girls
39. Healing trauma

Example of “Good Practice”
regarding *children in crime*:

40. Release and reintegration of smugglers

**Examples of “Good Practice”
for *children in factory-based work*:**

41. Reducing risk in hazardous factory work
42. Skills training and subsidies for factory workers
43. Recreation and sensitization for factory workers
44. Education and training for factory workers

**Examples of “Good Practice”
for *children doing outside physical labour*:**

45. Protection of boys and girls in sea-based trades
46. Releasing and reintegrating of scavengers
through education
47. Protecting children working in plantations

**Examples of “Good Practice”
for *children doing family-based work*:**

48. Releasing and reintegrating domestic helpers
49. Preventing the recruitment of domestic workers
50. Protecting children in home weaving through
education policies

**Examples of “Good Practice”
for *children in legal street-trades*:**

51. Training for children who work on the street
52. Assisting migrant children
53. Community based education and economic
activities
54. Reaching children to prevent their recruitment
into abusive conditions

**Example of “Good Practice”
for *children in subsistence production*:**

55. Protection of children in small-holding agriculture

1. Creating the conditions needed for action on child labour

Creating the right environment will make child labour action infinitely easier. A number of points could be included, but two are really basic: favourable policies and law “at the top”; and an aware and concerned public “at the bottom”. Particularly important is a connection between the two. Laws and policies are usually prescriptive, so a dialogue in which the top is informed by the bottom is essential if the laws and policies are going to be realistic and effective. As one Country Study noted, “If we focus on control, then child labour is pushed underground ... if we change to a service policy ... we will get cooperation from employers, families and children and they will give us information.”³

1.1. Policies and law

Why start with policy? A policy signals that child labour is officially recognized. Policies rely on law for their authority, then expand upon it by interpreting how its directives can be put into practice. Having a policy implies a certain level of political commitment. And since policies cannot generally be enacted in democratic societies unless there is some measure of social awareness and concern about the problem, it also implies a certain level of public commitment. Thus the existence of a policy is an important benchmark.

Several countries report a complex body of law that relates to children: colonial law that is still active, religious law (“shari’a”), traditional law and custom, modern decrees, laws, regulations, and implementation regulations. Amidst this legal cacophony, there are examples of “Good Practice” of how child-friendly laws can be designed and enacted.

1.1.1. Examples of “Good Practice” in the *content* of law and policy:

1. Ensuring support and protection of the whole child
2. Forming a national policy with clear objectives
3. Increasing years of compulsory schooling
4. Making education practical in style and content
5. Offering sanctions and rewards
6. Instituting district and local child labour laws

1. Ensuring support and protection of the whole child

Instead of seeing child labour solely as a labour market issue (therefore primarily under the jurisdiction of ministries of labour, and of labour law that regulates formal employment and worksites), some Country Studies report positive results in exploring

³

Thailand, p. 35.

child labour as a human development issue.⁴ This approach directs the labour, education and social welfare ministries to develop a common framework that focuses on what children in this society need in order to survive and develop. The framework encompasses both the elimination of “child labour” (exploitation, abuse, danger, and loss of opportunity), and the regulation of children’s productive activities that are safe, developmental, and prepare the child for successful adulthood. It can be expressed in “children’s policies”^{5,6} that create an improved format for multi-agency consultation and work, or it can be seen when child labour concerns are mainstreamed in national development plans.^{7,8,9} One report describes it as “a “service” orientated approach, including actions such as offering support and assistance to employers of child workers, to child workers themselves and to their families, with the primary concern on aiding children’s healthy development, rather than enforcing rigid laws or criteria.”¹⁰

Elements of good practice:

- the policy itself is multi-sectoral, and thus facilitates and supports innovative combinations of approach from different sectors or ministries (e.g. combining education with work)
- the policy is positive rather than punitive, supporting at-risk (working) children, giving them the help they need to leave work, to enter or stay in school, or to work safely

Constraints:

- a weakness of a policy that requires coordinated implementation by so many parties is that it may end up being the responsibility of none
- no single agency may have the necessary influence to ensure that action is carried out

2. Forming a national policy with clear objectives

National child labour policies that give good grounding for child labour action appear to have the following characteristics: they define a target or goal regarding child labour,¹¹ describe the nature and causes of the problem and list the primary institutions to be involved. They may also specify the main programme areas/target groups and the type of interventions to be used for each. Child labour policy often directs that a formal structure (e.g. a Child Labour Unit) be created with a mandate to oversee the work on this issue, and a set of targets to be achieved (e.g., a country plan of action).

⁴ Indonesia, p. 49-52; Tanzania, p. 58-59.

⁵ Kenya, p. 32: a “major accomplishment was the introduction of the children’s Bill of 1995” which is currently being held up by debate over its labour amendments.

⁶ Philippines, p. 27: The “National Plan for Children” and its successors “serve as the basis in modifying the Philippine development plans”.

⁷ Tanzania, p. 215; also Thailand, p. 38: child labour issues are included in the current (8th) National Development Plan; the report notes: “it is hard to establish any direct impact of the plan; its importance lies more in its evidence of changing attitudes at high levels in the bureaucracy”.

⁸ Turkey, p. 17 (intro); pp. 60-61 notes that child labour has been gradually increasing as part of the five-year development plan, but not yet a separate section.

⁹ Kenya, p. 103: “mainstreaming in development plans includes the district as well as national level plans ... and bringing all child labour projects under one programme for a more cost-effective management”.

¹⁰ Thailand, p. 36.

¹¹ Brazil, p. 48 In addition, “strategies” are outlined that show the underlying philosophy for the plan of work.

Elements of good practice:

- provides the basis for a wide range of stakeholders to discuss and “buy in” to what would otherwise be too complex a problem to address
- goal-oriented

Constraints:

- sometimes hard to achieve at early stages;
- documentation – seldom available – is needed to assess the effectiveness of legislation and policy

3. Increasing years of compulsory schooling

The major factor responsible for its recent progress on child labour, one country reports, is an increase in compulsory schooling from 6 to 9 years.¹² A second country increased its requirement from 5 to 8 years, mirroring a rapid increase in religious education.¹³ Another, which has no compulsory education policy, felt that schooling did not necessarily reduce the number of children working because children were often found to be attending school as well as working, especially those in part-time employment.¹⁴

Elements of good practice:

- increased education is recognized as having a positive effect on child labour (reducing it)
- the effect on children whose productive activities would not be classed as “labour” will also be positive, but perhaps less so

Constraints:

- raising educational requirements is likely to have repercussions on society as a whole and it may provoke considerable opposition
- may have other unintentional effects on the children (and therefore needs thorough study in advance)

4. Making education practical in style and content

Educational policies are crucial. The studies noted, time and again, that a major reason why children are discouraged or deterred from attending school is the nature of the educational system itself. Although much of this relates to infrastructure and costs,¹⁵ there is also a policy element in the relevancy of the curriculum^{16,17} and in the way it is taught. When additional supports are provided for children who work (e.g. classes outside the regular school building or during the evenings or weekends), there appears to be an increase in learning. When those who are likely to drop out to work are identified and given extra support (e.g. lunch or help with homework), this also encourages them.

¹² Thailand, pp. 14, 18: (within seven years, the number of children in lower secondary schooling increased from 40 per cent to 80 per cent).

¹³ Turkey, pp. 15-16: note the industrial sector saw the higher age requirements as upsetting apprenticeship arrangements; (still too new to show results).

¹⁴ Tanzania, p. 213.

¹⁵ Philippines, p. 44.

¹⁶ Tanzania, p. 212: “the contents of the curriculum were irrelevant for poor children who may have felt that what they learnt at school did not provide them with useful skills or make any difference for their future”.

¹⁷ Turkey, p. 59: “For rural children, investment in education does not pay back”.

Including a child labour component in the curriculum was well received by teachers and students in one case.¹⁸

Elements of good practice:

- recognizing, in policy, that simply providing schools is not enough; in order for poor or rural child to forego work, education must be affordable, accessible, attractive, and of practical value

Constraints:

- raising educational requirements and adapting education to the circumstances of the poor is expensive
- it is not clear whether a standard curriculum or one specially adapted (e.g. pre-vocational skills) is better for child workers

5. Offering sanctions and rewards

The weakness of enforcement efforts was raised in almost all Country Studies. In an attempt to “crack down” on particularly heinous forms of child labour, one country tried to broaden the law so as to make it more difficult for offenders to raise legal technicalities and thereby slow or stall the process. In this case, substantial penalties were imposed on employers, and penalties introduced for parents who knowingly allowed or “sold” their children into labour. There were also explicit penalties for officials who failed to carry out their duties in enforcing the law.

Elements of good practice:

- an approach which holds accountable all those involved – parents, employers, and police (or labour inspectors) – promises to have more impact than any one individual culprit

Constraints:

- the courts are not involved in the approach; if penalties are not enforced the impact will be lost
- in widening the law and limiting the opportunity for challenge, there is the possibility of abuse

6. Instituting district and local child labour laws

Many of those involved in the child labour field do not appreciate the initial successes and potential inherent in local ordinances and by-laws which make it possible to monitor child labour directly in the communities.¹⁹ These play both a symbolic and practical role, lending support to local child labour action and offering a chance for multisectoral initiatives (especially joint NGO-government) to monitor and ensure enforcement. Local ordinances can focus on highly localized hazardous child labour (e.g., pyrotechnics), an area the broad brush of national legislation is unable to reach effectively.²⁰ District-level

¹⁸ Tanzania, p. 61-62.

¹⁹ Tanzania, p. 77.

²⁰ Philippines, pp. 63, 45.

child labour policies and plans also show promise.²¹

Elements of good practice:

- facilitates a multi-pronged approach – parents, employers, and police (or labour inspectors)

Constraints:

- laws, at whatever level, are only useful if they are enforced – which they generally are not (according to the studies)

1.1.2. Examples of “Good Practice” in *developing* or *changing* policy:

7. Using research to change policy
8. Making use of “the moment” to change policy
9. Facilitating the law-making process
10. Harmonising child labour laws and jurisdiction
11. Getting political commitment

7. Using research to change policy

What are the conditions necessary for enacting or updating policy? The Country Studies repeatedly show that research, which demonstrates the nature and extent of the problem “is particularly important in efforts to encourage legal change”. Being confronted with the reality, particularly a reality that is often hidden, is a potent stimulus for the public and policy-makers alike.²²

Elements of good practice:

- produces specific facts to replace opinion and stereotype

Constraints:

- research takes time and money, and often is not seen as essential by over-stretched policy-makers

8. Making use of “the moment” to change policy

Approaches that are simple and unassuming in themselves have had an impressive impact by gearing themselves to what is happening in the larger national or regional context. They have “captured the moment”, moving quickly with a consciousness-raising campaign when the media expose a child labour incident, or building a new school-based initiative when a growing economy creates resources for the education system. Alternatively, when the situation is deteriorating, such as in the face of structural adjustment programmes, approaches which are ordinarily effective may not be, and special efforts are required. Overcoming political inertia is difficult. An economic boom gave one country the opening to strengthen its educational policies (raising the age of compulsory schooling to 15) and vigorously pursue them.²³ The UN target of

²¹ Tanzania, p. 86; Thailand, p. 74.

²² Thailand, p. iii; Turkey, p. 52; Kenya (comments).

²³ Thailand, pp. ii, 18: A reduction in child workers is seen as “primarily a result of changes in government policy” on education, moving from six years of compulsory schooling to nine years.

“Education for All by the Year 2001” gave others a rallying point to give educational policy real priority and to invest heavily in education;²⁴ another used the International Year of the Child.²⁵

New international instruments (e.g., ILO Convention No. 182) and older ones (e.g., the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and ILO Convention No. 138) have been used by activists to build a coalition among government, private sector, labour unions, and NGOs to call for new policy. In one case, this broad alliance was able to secure a quick ratification, whereas other labour matters had taken years.^{26,27} In another country, this alliance was able to use the momentum gained during the ratification campaign for other purposes, e.g. to elect child rights advocates into local legislative bodies,²⁸ and led to collateral legislation being passed.²⁹ In another situation, it strengthened the partnership among the agencies and “promoted the development of a small number of NGOs focusing particularly on children’s rights including child labour”.³⁰

Elements of good practice:

- the child labour proponents used strategic thinking (capitalising on an external event) to effect policy change
- in some cases, the momentum was strong enough to even go beyond policy change; the agencies took maximum advantage of the opportunities it afforded

Constraints:

- trying to use ratification in this way can also have the opposite effect – bogging down action in debate over whether the standards are appropriate to the developing country situation.³¹

9. Facilitating the law-making process

Child labour activists often find the legislative process too slow, and support for such legislation is generally weak – often attributed to the fact that children have no political voice,³² or to the strength of an industrial lobby that is dependent on cheap labour. NGOs have demonstrated that they can be helpful in moving this process along by undertaking some of the time-consuming work of researching and preparing a “draft regulation”. But essential to this draft being accepted by government is that there be ongoing dialogue between the civil society and government, and that the civil society follows through until the new policy is adopted^{33,34} Even more impressive are two cases

²⁴ Kenya, p.v.

²⁵ Thailand, p. 26: “A conference ... in conjunction with other events associated with the International Year, acted as an initial consciousness-raiser, which slowly bore fruit over the next few years”.

²⁶ Philippines, pp. 31, 33: “the campaign to build a broad support for the Convention’s ratification was spearheaded by both government agencies and NGOs. This groundswell of support inspired Congress to briskly ratify it once it came to a vote.”; Kenya (comments).

²⁷ Brazil, pp. 28-30: not so with Brazil, as apparent conflicts between Convention No. 138 and existing Brazilian law. However, the CRC has had a positive effect.

²⁸ Philippines, p. 88.

²⁹ Philippines, p. 34.

³⁰ Thailand, p.29.

³¹ Turkey, p. 58.

³² Tanzania, p. 57.

³³ Indonesia, p. 68: example of a regulation regarding children in fishing platforms being used by the Department of Labour in its training manuals.

³⁴ Philippines, p. 31.

where a labour union made a major impact in the policy arena. The first “single-handedly accomplished the reformation” of a law regarding vocational training by using its “muscle” – its members in the industry – and its connections with the public sector.³⁵ The second was “a torch-bearer in developing child labour policy” by mustering support for new policy, producing operational guidelines for that policy, and harmonizing existing law with international Conventions.³⁶

Elements of good practice:

- labour, NGOs, and government work together to make best use of limited staff of each

Constraints:

- legal knowledge, not just enthusiasm, are required

10. Harmonizing child labour laws and jurisdiction

In most countries, child labour legislation is scattered throughout the legal code and frequently certain parts contradict each other and/or international Conventions. Similarly, countries report that a major bottleneck to the legal system is the fact that authority over working children is spread between several ministries (social welfare, health, labour, etc.). All studies call for harmonization but one or two go further, based on their experience, to call for child-related laws and regulations be contained in one specific act³⁷ and/or overseen by one governmental unit.

Elements of good practice:

- acknowledgement of a significant problem, and a creative approach (a single child labour act) for addressing it

Constraints:

- ministries may not give as much attention to an independent child labour unit as they would to one under their own jurisdiction

11. Getting political commitment

There is a circular relationship among public attention, politicians’ interest, and media. “Experience is showing that politicians are not keen on directing funds to issues that are not likely to bring immediate political returns. Children don’t vote. However, politicians are eager to become involved when public attention is drawn to an issue. Essential to obtaining political commitment is to constantly keep the issue on the public agenda and pressure the government to take action against it.”³⁸ One country reports the following practical sequence of activities to focus politicians’ interest on child labour:

- (a) identify political leaders at different levels;
- (b) organize sensitization seminars for them on the difference between child labour and activities of children that are safe and productive, as well as on its magnitude and effects;
- (c) involve political leaders in child labour forums (workshops, conferences) by inviting

³⁵ Turkey, p. 54.

³⁶ Kenya, p. 67.

³⁷ Turkey, p. 39-40.

³⁸ Turkey, p. 16; Philippines, (comments) AKAP of Ateneo Human Rights Center has been very active in providing paralegal training for officials at national and local levels.

them to officiate;

(d) mobilize the different categories of people (parents, teachers) who ultimately are likely to act as pressure groups to the political leaders.

Elements of good practice:

- thinking through and implementing a coherent sequence of actions

Constraints:

- a focus on political leaders alone – without general public awareness and concern – may not be effective

1.2. Public awareness

In the developing world, given the circumstances that prevail, most people think that work is good for children and that children should help the family when necessary; the studies show this clearly.³⁹ What can be done about this perception of children's roles, which is seemingly at odds with the child labour effort? An essential condition for action to make political decisions possible is to rouse public opinion.⁴⁰

1.2.1. Examples of “Good Practice” in *public awareness-raising at the national level*:

12. Maximizing use of the media
13. Using documentaries of child labour
14. Organizing large-scale national events, marches and rallies
15. Targeting public messages
16. Making effective use of international pressure/input/support

12. Maximizing use of the media

Use of radio, TV, and the press is top of the list in most Country Studies for awareness-creation strategies. One of the most effective examples of how to reach children was a 10-part series on the lives of working children shown on a popular children's television programme (based on *Sesame Street*). Later reproduced on video and shown in schools, the popularity of the TV series ensured a large and growing audience for the video. In some countries, television-based material is easily disseminated to regional cities as local stations pick it up. One country spoke highly of the effectiveness of its “tri-media” campaign, which ensured that each message was delivered using a variety of communication channels.⁴¹ On the other hand, a single media approach – limited to the print media (in this case, newspapers) – was innovative.⁴² By working with journalists of national and rural media through a series of training workshops, supplements were prepared and published that presented profiles of working children and facts about child

³⁹ Tanzania; Indonesia, p. 104.

⁴⁰ Kenya, p.43.

⁴¹ Philippines, p. 36.

⁴² Tanzania, p. 147.

labour in certain settings. Although not evaluated, the experience demonstrated that “not enough vivid accounts of the gravity of intolerable forms of child labour are being written, particularly of “invisible” forms and in situations where employers use dirty tricks to conceal child workers” or to prevent them speaking to the media.⁴³

Elements of good practice:

- it is crucial to match the medium to the target group, even when seeking to raise awareness on a wide scale

Constraints:

- if media exposure is not frequent and continuous, and if materials are not re-used in different settings, the awareness-raising has little effect and can be very expensive

13. Using documentaries of child labour

In some countries, discussions on child labour have been detrimentally affected by their inclusion in debates about street children, prostituted children and other issues dramatized by the media. In one, it was not until documentaries on child labour were produced and widely shown throughout the country that child labour became an issue in its own right. The success of the videos was due in part to wide dissemination; they were presented and discussed in schools, parents’ meetings, and community gatherings. The images were potent and evocative; children identified with them; and they generated public outrage.⁴⁴ The same videos were used again and again at the beginning of community or NGO meetings on child labour: they created the necessary feeling of outrage to stimulate the discussions. Supplementary activities (e.g., role playing) were found to be especially important with young audiences⁴⁵ and were a good substitute in case the videotape or equipment did not work properly.

Elements of good practice:

- videos used repeatedly in this way become very cost-effective

Constraints:

- videos need to be coupled with discussion so that the emotions aroused are channelled in a constructive way

14. Organizing large-scale national events, marches and rallies

A *Global March against Child Labor*, which spanned several countries, put the issue of child labour on the front pages of national newspapers, and prompted numerous media articles and discussions. “At least for a few days, the nation was forced to face the child labour issue, and a collective consciousness on the plight of child workers seemed to form.”⁴⁶

Elements of good practice:

- a large-scale event provides a focus for otherwise dissimilar or independent agencies to

⁴³ Tanzania, p. 154.

⁴⁴ Philippines, p. 35.

⁴⁵ Philippines, p. 65.

⁴⁶ Philippines, p. 38.

collaborate and work together

- can give the partners, especially participating children, a sense of empowerment

Constraints:

- requires a major organizational effort
- needs to be followed up quickly, otherwise the benefits may be difficult to sustain

15. Targeting public messages

The best messages start from what the audience (a) wants to hear, and (b) does not know (due to ignorance or misinformation) – not just what activists want to tell them. And generally, promoters try to say too much: they try to explain the concept of child labour, the impact, the measures to combat it, the role of parents, community, etc.). This result in there not being enough time within the event for any message to be internalized.⁴⁷ It is important to define the “core message”. For example, the core message of two national campaigns was morality – every citizen has the duty to recognize, promote and protect the rights of the children.⁴⁸ This was very different from another directed to labour unions: that child labour means less employment for adult workers⁴⁹ Similarly, descriptions (of actual situations) and briefings (using video, statistics, case studies) are most effective when the audience or public can relate directly to them. Thus information needs to be packaged according to the region, sector, industry, or community type.⁵⁰ Results from the national survey often form the backbone of the message of national-level campaigns.⁵¹

Elements of good practice:

- putting the audience first in determining the content

Constraints:

- difficult to prepare powerful messages if research on child labour has not yet been carried out

16. Making effective use of international pressure/input/support

Funding, per se, is not necessarily the primary consideration. Several Country Studies observed that international attention provided a necessary push or stimulus for national policy-makers. One example was a BBC story on child labour in Thai “sweatshops” that threatened to create a negative image of the country, both in the region and especially among multinational companies with factories there. In similar cases, international media attention was instrumental in prompting the government to undertake research on child labour,⁵² making employers consider a code of conduct,⁵³ or having the country launch a child labour programme⁵⁴.

⁴⁷ Tanzania, p. 51.
⁴⁸ Kenya; Tanzania, p. 52.
⁴⁹ Indonesia, p. 90.
⁵⁰ Philippines, p. 66.
⁵¹ Philippines, p. 36.
⁵² Thailand, p. 26, p. 28, p. 29.
⁵³ Philippines, p. 62.
⁵⁴ Kenya, p. 56.

Elements of good practice:

- recognizing that international “pressure” can take a variety of forms other than those that are official

Constraints:

- too much outside involvement can have a “boomerang” effect, causing nationalist sentiment to build up.⁵⁵

1.2.2. Examples of “Good Practice” in *public awareness-raising at the local level*:

17. Using theatre, drama, dance
18. Involve children and local leaders
19. Community awareness raising

17. Using theatre, drama, dance

Campaigns at local levels have made some – but not enough⁵⁶ – use of traditional forms of culture and local languages to impress upon parents the importance of education and the dangers of child labour. In one noteworthy case, children themselves gave the performances.⁵⁷ What is one of the most popular ways of reaching young people? Through popular singers and songs⁵⁸ – but the studies reflect almost no use of this medium.

Elements of good practice:

- inexpensive
- can be tailored to the local situation
- very effective in capturing interest, conveying the message

Constraints:

- while effective and easy at the local level, it may be difficult to implement at the national level

18. Involving children and local leaders

A technique that has proved very effective but that is rarely used is to engage children themselves in awareness-raising campaigns. They can make an incredibly powerful presentation of their own direct experiences.⁵⁹ Most countries report good experience in using influential people to deliver the message – whether through seminars and meetings, or via the media. It is vital to have local resource people who are knowledgeable and who know the local conditions, especially in community-level campaigns and follow-up to the event.⁶⁰ Local education officials – because they are seen as worldly-wise – are good partners; and especially in industry-targeted campaigns, owners and employers are extremely potent allies because they can convey the message

⁵⁵ Indonesia, p. 90.

⁵⁶ Tanzania, p. 51.

⁵⁷ Kenya, p. 43; Philippines, p. 37.

⁵⁸ Tanzania, p. 51.

⁵⁹ Tanzania, p. 51.

⁶⁰ Tanzania, p. 104, p. 52.

that released child workers will not suffer and actually ensure that this is the case. Women's groups have also proved to be effective in generating action, especially with regard to work involving girls.⁶¹

Elements of good practice:

- children, local leaders, business owners – all can carry a certain credibility that others, such as government or national NGO staff, may not

Constraints:

- the time required to prepare them to be effective spokespersons is a deterrent

19. Community-based awareness-raising

Only slightly behind the media in terms of popularity in some of the studies is the use of local community rallies, or *barazas*.⁶² “Community-based advocacy has generated more visible results” in one multi-media campaign.⁶³ Central management of an awareness-raising campaign may be necessary initially, but it is at the community level that the majority of people can be effectively reached. One reason that community-level awareness-raising is so effective is that it allows the use of participatory methods. If the message is coming “down from above”, this method can help the audience to understand what is being conveyed. The most successful type of awareness-raising – in one country's experience⁶⁴ – was not only community-based, but targeted at specific areas, such as mining sites and plantations.

Elements of good practice:

- local focus
- participatory methods

Constraints:

- for national coverage, a “top-down” approach requires one action; whereas a “bottom-up” approach requires thousands of actions

⁶¹ Thailand, p. 37.

⁶² Kenya, p. 81.

⁶³ Philippines, p. 93; Tanzania, p. 54.

⁶⁴ Tanzania, p. 52.

2. Building capacity to address child labour

Capacity-building is popular.⁶⁵ And because it acts indirectly on child labour, capacity-building can be difficult to evaluate. Nonetheless, it is very important because under the umbrella of “capacity-building” are all the activities necessary to get work off the ground and to ensure sustainability: setting up a structure to facilitate planning and management; training and funding; and finally, bringing it all to life through mobilization.

2.1. Multi-sectoral/multi-level

Included under this heading are capacity-building measures that are country-wide or which cut across sectors.

2.1.1. Examples of “Good Practice” at *multi-sectoral/multi-level*:

20. Cultivating a core group of activists
21. Organising networks
22. Training in planning tools

20. Cultivating a core group of activists

At least two countries⁶⁶ emphasized that having “a committed core of individuals, linked by regular contacts, representing a range of actors (government agencies, NGOs, international agencies, and the media) is essential”, especially at the initial stages. This commitment can be achieved by:

- holding meetings and seminars, often with international backing, to help the relevant, interested people gain support from each other;
- exposing people to actual child labour situations and to projects that are addressing it, to allow them to understand the issue, its importance and how to find solutions;
- broad consultations when examining child labour policies, so that new advocates can be heard; and
- maintaining contact with core group members, even if they are transferred out of positions immediately relevant to child labour.⁶⁷

This core group must be vocal in its concern about child labour, especially those in senior political positions. It must recognize that people will become involved in stages. “Action against child labour can begin with those actors who are available for and interested in the work, and then new institutional and individual actors can be enlisted as they become interested or obviously essential to the work”.⁶⁸ One particularly unique

⁶⁵ In one country, 85 per cent of its projects were devoted to preparing the people who would carry out the child labour work.

⁶⁶ Philippines, p. 59, Thailand, p. ii.

⁶⁷ Thailand, p. ii.

⁶⁸ Thailand, p. iv; Indonesia, p. 68.

and interesting effort is the development of a core group of child and youth leaders.⁶⁹

Elements of good practice:

- cross-cutting, not defined by sectoral or official lines
- practical and economical

Constraints:

- it takes time to manage and support the group

21. Organising networks

Most networks are nation-wide (now, even international) and include government, social partners, NGOs and other interested parties, such as universities. They have a central focus – some as broad as needy children, others limited to girls, or child labour by itself. Their purpose is to inform and coordinate action on the focal topic in order to create potential links and avoid duplication.⁷⁰ Some have functioned politically as a broad social alliance, promoting action and awareness, and leading to high-profile national efforts.⁷¹ A database of agencies and individuals has proved helpful in strengthening a network.⁷²

A very interesting example is of a district-level network. Government and NGOs have formed a loose partnership, rather than a committee that designs and directs a rigid plan. They have focused on drawing together all relevant parties and encouraging them to exchange information and experiences in a fairly informal environment. This enables them to get an overview of child labour issues in the province and to see where their own efforts can fit in.

Elements of good practice:

- breaks down traditional divisions between sectors
- the provincial network offers a way of enlisting support from a wide range of agencies without threatening their boundaries or control over their own work; it can easily adapt to changing situations

Constraints:

- needs an organizing agency or unit; might be improved by documenting its links and agreements
- heavily dependent on the quality and commitment of the individuals involved, and on clear support from the authorities

22. Training in planning tools

Several Country Studies commented on the usefulness of PME (planning, monitoring, evaluation) techniques and rapid assessment methods.⁷³ They noted that although groups that run child labour programmes may be good at what they do, they “are rarely already equipped to venture into action to combat child labour and protect working children”.

To address this weakness, one country used an interesting two-step training in PME to

⁶⁹ Philippines, p. 65

⁷⁰ Kenya, p. 93.

⁷¹ Kenya, p. 102; Philippines, p. 63.

⁷² Indonesia, p. 96.

⁷³ Tanzania, p. 95.

create a “national pool of trainers” for child labour programmes.⁷⁴ Another went into partnership with the local university to acquire the necessary expertise. This proved beneficial for both.⁷⁵ But PME, in its simplest form, is not enough. It needs to include training in detailed problem analysis, collection and use of information in programming, financial management, and methods for resource accountability. These are consistently raised as needs.⁷⁶ Others explained that, in their experience, most programmes fail because they are centrally-initiated, -planned and -installed in the communities, while the target group plays only a passive role.⁷⁷ They found the “Rapid rural assessment methodology” helpful in addressing this problem because it solicited the children’s views, and involved children in designing the interventions.⁷⁸

Elements of good practice:

- tools that enable the target group to be involved from the very beginning
- PME that enables a more systematic and objective approach

Constraints:

- difficult to assess the effect that short-term training has on child labour
- without a critical mass of trained people so that the benefits are evident, many remain unconvinced that training can really help them
- the extent to which trainees actually make use of these tools is uncertain
- depends on whether the concepts are accepted by their organisation and funds are available to carry out the plans

2.2. National level: government, unions, employers

This sub-section includes capacity-building initiatives derived from or relating to the official bodies of the government and social partner organizations at the national level.

2.2.1. Examples of “Good Practice” with reference to *government*.

- | | |
|-----|---|
| 23. | Creating a child labour unit |
| 24. | Using national training institutions |
| 25. | Mobilizing government action through high-level commitment |
| 26. | Mobilizing government agencies against hazardous work |
| 27. | Training labour inspectors to work with social partners |
| 28. | Training labour inspectors through research participation |
| 29. | Improving government action through public-private linkages |

⁷⁴ Philippines, p. 58.

⁷⁵ Philippines (Comments) noted that they have an expanded DME training manual that includes sustainability.

⁷⁶ Indonesia, (Comments).

⁷⁷ Tanzania, p. 222; Thailand, p. 61.

⁷⁸ Tanzania, pp. 94-96.

23. Creating a Child labour unit

Before a child labour unit was set up, a number of countries had seen initiatives being “launched by various institutions and organizations quite independently from each other without really being aware of each other’s accomplishments and failures”. National child labour units were commended as a good response to this problem by providing coordination, networking and monitoring. Two felt that their prime contribution was as a catalyst in establishing coordination among the implementing agencies, which in turn resulted in a more integrated approach.⁷⁹ Some child labour units prepared draft policy, reviewed laws that had implications on child labour, organized various training workshops, and raised national awareness. Achievements include the creation of resource libraries, bibliographies of child labour literature, and major national events on child labour.⁸⁰ Particularly interesting was a child labour unit established within a labour union and within an employer federation.⁸¹ Experience in one case suggests that child labour units might be usefully instituted at regional and district as well as at the national levels.⁸²

Elements of good practice:

- recognized as a facilitator

Constraints:

- located within a ministry of labour, as many are, may make it less powerful in mobilizing other ministries than if it were a free-standing body (although some report that it has a pronounced effect on the departments, e.g. labour inspection, within the ministry of labour)
- they may not be sustainable as most rely on outside funding, which is not a long-term solution

24. Using national training institutions

A long-term but promising approach is incorporating child labour modules into the curriculum of social work and labour training institutions where future staff are being trained.⁸³ The intent is for the students to act as “trainers of trainers” who, in the future, will be able to advocate, mobilize, monitor and influence policies concerning child labour in their respective workplaces.

Elements of good practice:

- conveys information about child labour at a “teachable moment” – when they are preparing for their careers

⁷⁹ Turkey, p. 161, p. 9; Tanzania, p. 69.

⁸⁰ Kenya, p.66 and subsequent comments “elevation of the Child Labour Unit into a full-fledged division creates ownership and is probably the best “good practice” a country can adopt as child labour interventions will no longer be seen as something externally driven but a structure within Government with authority and resources to implement even in the absence of IPEC and other external donors.”

⁸¹ Kenya, p. 67.

⁸² Tanzania, pp. 69, 104.

⁸³ Tanzania, p. 92.

Constraints:

- the material cannot merely be taught, it must be discussed between faculty and students to internalize it;
- given that students disperse, it may be hard to evaluate the effects

25. Mobilizing government action through high-level commitment

A two-prong strategy – whereby pressure is exerted on key government departments (e.g. labour, social welfare) from both above and below – has been effective in cases where bureaucracy is very rigid. In four cases the Head of State or Prime Minister was encouraged to take the lead⁸⁴ Pressure from below was provided by street activists. Reports describe how pronouncements by key government officials and presidential statements have triggered a chain of events that include the adoption of a plan of action, launching of a national child labour programme, allocation of public resources, and the enactment of legislation. For government agencies in particular, they hold the key for true involvement in the child labour issue.⁸⁵

Elements of good practice:

- recognizes and utilizes the strength of different parties, e.g. noting that there is a place for even symbolic measures in a national program against child labour

Constraints:

- a number of felt that government initiatives often promised things which in practice were hard to implement and enforce

26. Mobilizing government agencies against hazardous work

All Country Studies deplore the poor record of official units (e.g. labour and school inspection) in addressing children in the high-risk occupations of the informal sector. One example worth mentioning is that of an occupational health and safety unit which produced a training manual and curriculum on hazardous occupations and workplaces. These were used to train officials who, thus informed, could work effectively in partnership with other agencies.⁸⁶ A similar example, this time by a ministry of education, was cited as “a very successful programme”. It activated the school system by training school inspectors about child labour, developing a child labour curriculum for the schools, and setting up 5 model schools in which to place children who were out of school and working in hazardous conditions.⁸⁷ Another country was particularly successful in targeting the worst forms of child and adolescent labour, with labour inspections resulting in a significant number of prosecutions (3,545), closure of establishments (26) and the freeing of workers (338) between 1995 and 1997.⁸⁸ Unfortunately no details were given of how this was achieved. Perhaps one of the best examples combines the energies of several government agencies, an NGO and a trade

⁸⁴ Philippines, p. 39; Kenya, p. 31; Indonesia; Thailand, p. 44.

⁸⁵ Philippines, p. 63.

⁸⁶ Kenya, p. 65.

⁸⁷ Kenya, p. 65.

⁸⁸ Brazil, pp. 24 f.

union to create “rapid response centres” empowered to respond immediately to reports of serious child labour. These “research and rescue” operations, comprising both legal prosecution of the perpetrators and psycho-social services for the victims, show a steady increase in the number of children removed from dangerous situations.⁸⁹ These examples apart, no other Country Studies presented really convincing evidence of an effective effort against hazardous child labour, or that they were having a demonstrable effect on hazardous child labour.

Elements of good practice:

- shows a combination of awareness creation, education and training, legislation and enforcement
- ensures that child workers do not suffer, by linking improved labour inspection *to other agencies and initiatives* which offer the “freed” children shelter, welfare, and counselling in terms of immediate action, as well as educational and income opportunities as a longer-term solution.

Constraints:

- if labour inspectors’ duties are expanded, their areas of power should be extended into the informal sector also. A clear description of duties, instructions and procedures as well as good lines of communication between national agencies and local government are vital.⁹⁰

27. Training labour inspectors to work with social partners

Four countries⁹¹ have piloted a new approach to labour inspection that they deem quite successful. They trained labour inspectors to use non-confrontational methods, to replace punishment with cooperation, and to work with employers to carry out self-inspection through a mechanism known as “quality circles”. Approached in this way, employers were able to understand that improved conditions at the workplace would benefit both themselves and the workers. Another instance, where there was concern about lack of coverage of workplaces with few employees (usually exempt from labour inspection), “inspection groups” were created at the worksite that were affiliated with the trade union for that sector.

Elements of good practice:

- cooperative rather than adversarial approach
- innovative approach to self-policing

⁸⁹ Philippines, p. 49 and comments.

⁹⁰ ⁹⁰ Philippines, p. 67.

⁹¹ Turkey, pp. 62 ff (where problems and solutions were defined jointly by working children, employers, and foremen); Thailand, p. 116; Philippines, p. 63; Indonesia, p. 93.

Constraints:

- although the idea was appealing because it reaches down to the level at which most abusive child labour occurs, experience showed that the groups were ineffective without proper training
- labour inspectors may be vulnerable to pressure, especially in situations where they are not well paid

28. Training labour inspectors through research participation

Another country dramatically increased the effectiveness of its labour inspectors by training them to be interviewers in the national child labour survey. This enabled the inspectors to present themselves to the public (and see themselves) in a non-policing, non-punitive role – they could actually talk to the children and employers instead of arresting them. Through the survey, the inspectors could observe at close hand the actual risks in various sectors and could begin to devise possible solutions to tackle them.⁹² The importance of grounding training for labour inspectors in field work was reiterated in three other cases. In one case, after seeing that class visits to child labour sites attracted too many onlookers, each inspector was assigned to a site on which he/she later wrote a report.⁹³ The second case was an exceptionally well-received series of “echo” sessions that labour inspectors trained in child labour conducted with their fellow inspectors and regional labour department staff. What made this effective was using child labour stories taken from the labour inspectors’ field reports as part of the training. The Country Study reports an “awakened interest of labour inspectors in child labour” and that it created resource persons within the ministry.⁹⁴ Finally, in the third case, a “landmark programme” used the ILO training guide for labour inspectors in an initial training of selected inspectors, who then following their field experience, drafted a manual of their own for their colleagues, relevant to the local situation.⁹⁵

Elements of good practice:

- using labour inspectors in child labour research achieved two goals simultaneously – producing facts on child labour and training inspectors

Constraints:

- although inspectors became concerned about child labour, many still felt it was someone else’s job to deal with it (i.e. the child labour unit)
- in some cases, to see any significant change in labour inspectors’ daily practices, senior management has had to give them appropriate instructions

⁹² Turkey, p. 10.

⁹³ Tanzania, p. 112.

⁹⁴ Philippines, p. 59.

⁹⁵ Indonesia, p. 59, Training manuals, by themselves, are noted as having made a substantial contribution to inspectors’ increased ability to detect child labour; Thailand, p. 54.

29. Improving government action through public-private linkages

To help labour inspectors identify cases of child labour, a hotline service (advertised on radio, through posters, etc.) provided an avenue for the public to report cases of child labour. It reported a 50 per cent rate of confirmed cases of abuse but appears to have particular potential for picking up new or otherwise hard-to-find child labour cases.⁹⁶ It should be noted that children themselves rarely use the hotline because they want to keep their jobs. To help the government prosecute child labour cases, young lawyers with special training in child labour issues – working either alone or through an NGO – provide legal counselling services for working children; this is an approach that is showing promise but as yet no quantitative results.⁹⁷ To help the government cope with staff constraints, a promising mechanism is for government agencies to fund or subcontract specific segments of work to NGOs that have the necessary expertise, experience and more suitable structural conditions.⁹⁸ The challenge for NGOs, on the other hand, is to develop the capacity to implement programmes at a larger scale, meet reporting and accounting requirements and effectively sustain long-term programmes.

Elements of good practice:

- agencies recognize their areas of strength and weakness, and plan linkages accordingly

Constraints:

- one assumes such efforts are part of a national plan, otherwise they will remain disconnected and localized actions, that may even work at cross purposes

2.2.2. Examples of “Good Practice” in working with *unions*:

30. Including a child labour clause in collective bargaining agreements

31. Mobilizing trade unions

30. Including a child labour clause in collective bargaining agreements

Two countries⁹⁹ report labour negotiations between trade unions and employers that led to child labour being covered by the labour agreement. The first, involving an agricultural industry, documented improved working conditions in the short term, and in the longer term (referred to in a subsequent study¹⁰⁰) showed that employment of children below the age of 15 had been effectively stopped in the target regions. The bargaining agreement, of course, was not solely or even primarily responsible for this, but it provided the framework for discussion. Subsequently, capacity of both the social partners – trade unions and employers – was increased through the formation of child labour committees on the estates to carry out inspections on child labour. Back-up

⁹⁶ Thailand, p. 53: for example, abuse of illegal immigrants.

⁹⁷ Indonesia, p.68.

⁹⁸ Thailand, p. 89.

⁹⁹ Philippines, p.43; Tanzania, p. 129.

¹⁰⁰ Tanzania PIR, p. 1.

support by an NGO might have been a critical factor as well as the inclusion of all the primary target groups. All in all, launching the social partners into a leadership role in combating child labour in this industry was followed up by a range of measures, such as: pre-vocational schools for children withdrawn from work; day-care centres; credit schemes; and support in construction and running of schools (primary, secondary and vocational centres) within and around the estates. Another effort incorporated some aspects of this programme into a training programme for trade union leaders, enabling them to bargain for better and safe working conditions for children. Although primarily for union leaders, it also involved employers (plantation and estate managers, farm managers, and supervisors). This in turn led to monitoring and policy at the local level, and into trade union workers' education programmes at higher levels on women's education, and on occupational health and safety.¹⁰¹

Elements of good practice:

- involves social partners in a way that takes account of their strengths, roles, and capacities
- enables employers and unions to solve child labour problems together in some cases

Constraints:

- no documented effects

31. Mobilizing trade unions

In one country, a training programme for a small group of national union leaders, designed to sensitize them to child labour issues, had a trickle down effect when they in turn carried out additional awareness-raising seminars for local union leaders, and then for women, children and other workers. Though limited (12 in the initial group, and later reaching over 80 people), this simple capacity-building exercise culminated in well over 100 children returning to school.¹⁰² Weak and fractured unions in some of the countries made mobilization difficult, but others reported that seminars and training do yield a shift in attitude on the part of union members, from a preoccupation with their own job security and wages, to an active concern for younger workers.¹⁰³

Elements of good practice:

- mix of strategic goals: prevention, removal from hazardous and dangerous work

Constraints:

- these appear to be “one-off” efforts, rather than sustained, systematic, on-going programmes

2.2.3. Examples of “Good Practice” in capacity-building of *employers*:

32. Influencing employers through other employers
33. Establishing codes of practice

¹⁰¹ Tanzania, pp. 113-119.

¹⁰² Tanzania, pp. 124-131.

¹⁰³ Thailand, p. 40.

32. Influencing employers through other employers

Rapid changes leading to the decline of the State, the growth of urban chaos and expansion of technology-based industries have resulted in the emergence of the business sector as a major political player. Employers are becoming involved in child labour issues because they are beginning to see the need for better-qualified workers in order to compete in the global economy. In one interesting example, an NGO with close connections to the business sector has become involved in the child labour issue. It initially entered the arena by providing play centres, raising awareness and other activities related to children's health and nutrition. Subsequently, however, it has taken on a more focused strategy aimed at encouraging companies: not to take on child labour; to support children returning to and staying in school, and to protect the adolescent workers where they exist.

Introducing the concept of "productive chains" with reference to child labour, the employers consider the whole process of production, ensuring that raw materials or components that larger companies use are certified as not having been produced through child labour. Participating companies are then entitled to use a seal on their products to indicate the ethical manner of production.¹⁰⁴ However, the majority of Country Studies tended to view efforts to encourage coordinated employer initiatives as problematic. Not unique was the experience of one country that undertook a trial series of seminars with an employers' federation. Not only did the seminars meet with little enthusiasm, but they yielded almost no subsequent action.¹⁰⁵ However, what do appear effective are child labour actions by employers associations within a particular industry. One country reports a vigorous and successful programme in which employers were fully involved in all stages – from survey, to plan of action, to mobilizing commitment.¹⁰⁶ An extremely interesting attempt to reach enterprises with three or fewer workers was an employers' initiative that organized "Workplace inspection and consultation groups". Operating through moral persuasion, they had some impact, but required more training to reach their full potential.¹⁰⁷

Elements of good practice:

- attempts to involve employers – even if not at first successful – in establishing the groundwork for future partnerships and preventing adversarial relationships arising
- focused and targeted measures, such as within a specific industry

Constraints:

- composed of large or medium-sized businesses, the employers' associations tend to have few child workers, have little influence on the informal or small-scale employers that do, and are in any case aware of the laws and careful to keep within them

¹⁰⁴ Brazil, no page.

¹⁰⁵ Thailand, p. 40.

¹⁰⁶ Tanzania, pp. 81-85.

¹⁰⁷ Turkey, p. 11.

33. Establishing codes of practice

Only one Country Study¹⁰⁸ reported on a move by national employers to develop a voluntary code of practice; none noted it as a device being explored by multinationals. Scepticism about the potential of this approach may have been affected by the economic situation at the time the study was carried out. However, an effort by employers is noteworthy in itself: it indicates that problems are being solved and, with employer participation, remarkable results can sometimes be achieved.

Elements of good practice:

- an initiative on the part of employers

Constraints:

- is susceptible to those problems noted in “Good Practice” n° 30 above

2.3. Community level

Some of the very strongest “good practices” and creative, cutting edge models for capacity-building are at the community level. As one report described it: “Since the problem is widespread and touches everyone ... one of the most effective and sustainable approaches ... is to have the community to eliminate child labour where the problem is “lived” and where child labour action can be rooted into the socio-cultural backgrounds and aspirations of particular cultures. We thus need to convince the community to own this problem and fight it collaboratively. Together as communities we can succeed.”¹⁰⁹

Building the capacity of communities – “community empowerment” – includes (1) building structures (e.g. child labour committees); (2) developing legal measures (e.g. local laws and regulations on child labour) that provide an alternative route where “national labour law reform has been slow or where new legislation and enforcement has not yet taken hold”; and (3) raising awareness of the members of the community so they can develop their own solutions.

Effectiveness has been measured in some cases. One study summarizes numerous smaller ones, concluding that “the community-based approaches have proven to be instrumental in curbing child labour practices”. In local communities where school committees and village leadership have agreed on measures towards increased enrolment and retention in primary schools, the incidence of child labour has been reduced. This means that it is quite possible for district- and community-level action to prevent child labour through various strategic measures even while action at the national level is still limited.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Thailand, p. 82.

¹⁰⁹ Tanzania, p. 226.

¹¹⁰ Tanzania PIR: 98-99, p1.

2.3.1. Examples of “Good Practice” in empowering *communities*:

34. Creating community child labour committees
35. Training local officials as change agents
36. Using mixed methods at the community level

34. Creating community child labour committees

These are intriguing means for specialist child labour action at the local level. Two countries describe such efforts as follows: “The committees are not uniform in all villages because they are formulated by the villagers themselves.”¹¹¹ The members (8-10) are elected by a village assembly and usually include a teacher, religious leader, etc. Their main role seems to be to review and report back to the official bodies on the child labour situation in the area, and to enforce local restrictions and by-laws regarding child labour (including setting penalties). Success is reported in increasing awareness, keeping children in school, and discouraging parents from sending their children out to work. Another country’s experience with district-level committees¹¹² notes that these local structures improved targeting, and provided a contact point for seminars, workshops and organized field visits. In a third example, communities have been prepared to assume more responsibility for the protection of their working children through a process of community organization; this has taken tangible form in the activation of community councils and in local organizations taking the lead to unify services and take direct action for children in hazardous work situations.¹¹³

Elements of good practice:

- enables close monitoring, particularly in areas or occupations where child labour is found in small pockets; works on the basis of peer pressure rather than directives from above

Constraints:

- difficult to provide adequate monitoring, support or training for the committees themselves

35. Training local officials as change agents

Some success, demonstrated by the inclusion of child labour in district development plans, is being achieved by training district-level Community Development Officers,¹¹⁴ teachers,¹¹⁵ and their committees as social mobilizers. One month’s training (in the case of the former) using trainers’ manuals, videos, and rapid assessment techniques has proved helpful in putting the ideas across, although even the concept of child labour was difficult to convey. In the case of the latter, the trainees developed teaching manuals and flipcharts that could be re-used in subsequent sensitization campaigns. Labour unions

¹¹¹ Tanzania, p. 67.

¹¹² Kenya, p. 91: also at the district level through “District Children’s Advisory Committees”.

¹¹³ Philippines, (comments).

¹¹⁴ Tanzania, p. 85.

¹¹⁵ Tanzania, p. 131; Thailand, p. 57.

have developed a similar effort that selects rank-and-file members in the communities and neighbourhoods and trains them as “Trade union anti-child labour advocates”.¹¹⁶ In all cases, a manual – often locally-developed – seems to be an important “crutch” for those who are new to working on child labour issues.

Elements of good practice:

- using existing local officials and local institutions rather than hiring someone new or creating something new
- being community-based, this approach empowers school committees and leaders to be active on child labour, and to maintain a continuous practice
- close involvement makes it possible to identify the really poor and to closely monitor the follow-up¹¹⁷

Constraints:

- probably not sustainable without continuing financial support and, in particular, a coordinator
- without some supervision, may result in abuse (social mobilization for personal or political gain)
- requires support materials, such as manuals

36. Using mixed methods at the community level

An example from the mining sector used two community-empowering mechanisms to stop children from mining rubies: (a) organization of village committees; and (b) awareness raising targeted at community leaders (religious leaders and influential people from 36 communities), primary school teachers (360), and parents (900). The latter proved useful in broadening the impact because each group can reach a much wider range of the population. Grounded in the locality, they were able to use the vernacular – simple messages and jargon that the local people use to describe the mining process. These give the campaign greater authenticity. This community method was obviously very successful in taking the target villages to the first level of awareness and readiness for action (and some children thereby stopped working); but they were unable to carry it forward to the next level of monitoring removal of children from the mines without the necessary resources.¹¹⁸

Elements of good practice:

- village committees were good in that they collaborated with school authorities to monitor truancy and drop-out rates, put child labour as a permanent part of the village assembly agenda, and enacted local by-laws to prohibit child labour

Constraints:

- village committees can be weak in that there is no NGO, finance or other mechanism to support them over a longer period of time

¹¹⁶ Philippines, p. 60.

¹¹⁷ Turkey, p. 63.

¹¹⁸ Tanzania, p. 87.

3. Direct action with children

In the following pages, we look at what the Country Studies tell us about how children can be *released* from work and *reintegrated* into school and family; how those who continue to work legitimately can receive *protection* and *education*; and finally, how to *prevent* child labour at its source.

Most of this work is directly with children, so its success can also be measured directly – in the numbers of children who are no longer working but in school, who laugh and play, who have bright eyes and glossy hair. Most examples involve more than one intervention type, and it is the mix of these interventions and the way they are applied that is the key to their success, not one single intervention on its own. The typology employed here groups together several occupations based on common features in the nature of the work, its degree of risk, and in the way that it might be addressed. There are eight of these:

- 3.1. Children in *slavery*
- 3.2. Children being *sexually exploited*
- 3.3. Children in *crime*
- 3.4. Children in *factory-based work*
- 3.5. Children doing *outside physical work*
- 3.6. Children in *family- and home-based work*
- 3.7. Children in *legal street-trades*
- 3.8. Children in *subsistence production*

Each of these are discussed in turn, presenting as much detail on the process by which they are undertaken or specificity on the effects as is available from the studies.

3.1. Children in *slavery*

Includes bonded labour, alone or with the family, indentured, trafficked, work in slave-like conditions, and children who have been kidnapped by militias or forcibly recruited by military units to fight or serve the soldiers.

Work is typified by the child having no choice and no chance to escape – either temporarily, or sometimes for a lifetime. The physical and psychological trauma are almost impossible to describe.

The needs of these children – and most probably of their families as well – are typically best met by a series of measures within integrated programmes that create an entirely different world; otherwise recidivism may be high as they may know no other life than slavery.

Few of the Country Studies acknowledged the existence of bonded labour, children who have been indentured, or children working in slave-like conditions. Of those who did, there was little information about them since this type of occupation would not be visible in a labour force survey. None acknowledged those children who had been kidnapped or captured by military units and forced to serve as fighters or servants.¹¹⁹ These omissions

¹¹⁹

Philippines, p. 46 mentions an NGO “Children’s Rehabilitation Center” which caters for children in

are telling in themselves.

3.1.1. Example of “Good Practice” regarding children in *slavery*.

37. Preventing customary forced labour

37. Preventing customary forced labour

Two programmes reported some success in dealing with this most severe form of child labour. One was part of the formal structure, the Ministry of Education, the other was organized by an informal group, an NGO. The former set up “model schools” for children who were drop-outs. Of the 200 children who joined the programme, 40 per cent had been in forced labour. In order to retain the children in school, income-generating activities were introduced to generate funds for running the school. The report rates the project “very successful”.¹²⁰

The second example, based in an extremely poor area, focused on keeping 10-11 year olds in school. Children of this age – especially boys – were taken to a market in a labour-short region, where they were, in effect, “rented out” by their fathers to the highest bidder for periods of up to six months. This practice has a long tradition in this region. Although those children suffer arduous and long hours of work, they are immensely proud of the fact that they have contributed to the household income and acquire social status because of it. What made this child labour project feasible was that it was part of a much larger rural development programme. There were two main interventions: providing school support (expenses and materials), and providing economic support (vocational training and the necessary equipment to start their own businesses). After one year, about two thirds of the targeted children were not rented out the following year, presumably thanks to this assistance.^{121,122}

Elements of good practice:

- in both cases, the interventions were tailored to the very special needs of this target group
- in the latter case, the NGO’s long experience in the area and sensitivity to the local culture had generated the community’s trust; the cumulative effect of years of work is what made the child labour project a “striking success”
- a holistic approach, addressing families’ general poverty, which was a root cause for renting out children. Economic activities were selected in cooperation with both the villagers and the local authorities

armed conflict, but there is no discussion of its services or effectiveness.

¹²⁰ Kenya, p 64-65.

¹²¹ Turkey, p.124-130 Development Foundation of Turkey (TKV).

¹²² See also Philippines, p. 22 and Thailand, p. 36 for additional examples.

Constraints:

- **Culture:** Forced labour may be traditional and consequently difficult to change. Fathers of the “rented” boys stated that they too had been rented as children. But culture also evolves; seasonal labour movement has now become the norm for older men, making the children’s work take on the aura of preparation for manhood. The pull of tradition was evident in that it was easy for fathers to slip back into renting their school-age children whenever there was an immediate need for hard cash
- **Inequities:** The Ministry of Education addressed its programme to both boys and girls. The NGO programme initially addressed boys only, assuming they were the most affected. This led to families with more girls receiving less inputs than those with boys

3.2. Children being *sexually exploited*

Includes child prostitution and child pornography.

Work is typified as lucrative and illegal, with extreme risk to health.

The children typically need multi-sectoral assistance, with special attention to possible psychological or physical damage, and to addressing economic needs, whether actual or envisaged.

With the threat of AIDS and the rampant belief that men can avoid – and even cure – this fatal illness through having sex with a young person, child labour in this occupation is increasing. Global communication systems and travel also contribute. Sexual exploitation represents a risk to a child’s morals and especially grave risks to a child’s emotional health and physical health. Socially condemned, in most cases, yet also having allure and generating comparatively good remuneration, it has similarities to the category “Children in crime” and presents special challenges to those trying to abolish it. It is perhaps the most sensationalized form of child labour and there is a considerable amount of work on it underway, much of it by NGOs.

3.2.1. Examples of “Good Practice” regarding children being *sexually exploited*:

38. Market-oriented training for girls

39. Healing trauma

38. Market-oriented training for girls

Prevention of sexual service requires action near the “sending” site. Targeting girls who are most vulnerable to entering the commercial sex industry, the model involves a fairly long training course (five months) in a field in which graduates can easily be employed after the training or that enables the young women to return to their villages where their skill is in demand. One programme provides training in hotel management – unusual in that it involves collaboration between government (Ministry of Education) and the private sector (a five-star hotel); another provides for a two-year college nursing course. Another example, located in a very depressed area, is a training enterprise that offers

high-quality sewing courses to young girls of 14 to 18 years. Trainees enjoy free training, accommodation and meals, which are supplemented by their own contribution of rice. As the trainees develop their skills, they can already earn from the garments they produce. Orders and market outlets are provided by the principal. Since the quality of training is widely recognized, the trainees can easily find employment in factories or can work from home. This project started off as a private initiative by a former trade union activist. The strong leadership from the founder in the beginning made it possible to turn this project into a unique training enterprise. Public and private donations were collected for the construction of the training centre and the dormitories.¹²³

Elements of good practice:

- clear target group orientation
- cooperation with a commercial employer during the training, assuring permanent employment
- training in a skill which is in demand; products were marketable
- using highly skilled trainers means that specialized skills can be disseminated to a large number of individuals
- trainees are able to earn some income during training which creates self-esteem and confidence
- contains preventive aspects

Constraints:

- number of graduates that can be accommodated by nursing and hotel-type training is limited; training in sewing is less so
- there is potential for abusive conditions in sewing factories
- should government take responsibility for training future employees or is this the domain of the private sector?
- replication may be hampered if any of the above elements are missing

39. Healing trauma

A number of NGOs working with former prostituted children recognized the psychosocial needs of these children. In one example, a “peace house” provided counselling as well as health and other services, with the objective of reuniting children with their families.¹²⁴ A particularly innovative example provided “creative healing therapy”, a means by which abused children could talk about their experience and regain their self-esteem.¹²⁵ Different therapeutic approaches were used for girls and boys. The underlying premise of the programme was that the care-givers were crucial to the outcome. They had to understand the child’s “inner” and “outer” worlds, and they had to be able to act as safe and reliable role models, avoiding unhealthy cultural biases as much as possible. Extensive training was given to care-givers to prepare them for this

¹²³ Thailand, p. 63, pp. 120-127: three programmes preventing girls from entering the commercial sex industry, Huay Krai School, Daughters' Education Programme (DEP), SE-MA Pattana Chewit Secondary School.

¹²⁴ Philippines, pp. 50, 52.

¹²⁵ Kenya, p. 64, Child Welfare Society of Kenya.

role and a monitoring and evaluation system was set up to track the involvement of the agencies cooperating in this programme.

Elements of good practice:

- recognizes that children in such circumstances are likely to be traumatized and designs a programme according to their needs – underlying needs as well as more superficial ones
- organized from the child’s point of view

Constraints:

- not clear whether other approaches are also used

3.3. Children in *crime*

Includes drug trafficking, smuggling, stealing.

Work is typified by being illegal, with great risk to morals and safety. This illegality, presents particular problems in identifying the children and involving them in rehabilitative programmes.

Children typically need a secure environment, long-term, and well-organized and well-structured programmes.

Children in crime are in double jeopardy. The fact that they work is illegal, and the work they do is illegal. Rather than by labour inspectors, these children will be discovered – or captured – by the justice system, which may or may not treat them as children. The children will have multiple problems, not least of which is they may have to be incarcerated. They probably have no family as such. What relationships they do have may be in the criminal sector. Studies report that this is a growing sector; yet all too often it seems to be ignored.

3.3.1. Example of “Good Practice” regarding children in *crime*:

40. Release and reintegration of smugglers

40. Release and reintegration of smugglers

A good example of a programme that demonstrates the full process from protection to reintegration is an NGO effort to rehabilitate children involved in goods trafficking along the border. It aims to empower, remove and rehabilitate, and provide follow up through schooling or skills training. It established a drop-in centre to clothe, feed and shelter the children, then placed some with prospective employers for skills training; some children were reintegrated into the formal school system. In addition, the program tried (unsuccessfully) to empower parents through income-generating programmes and to mobilize and collaborate with care-givers, policy-makers, local officials, and religious leaders.

A negative example was an attempt to use a legal approach (a local ordinance instituting

a curfew for children under 17 years), which had the effect of criminalizing street children; their plight was compounded by putting them in the same detention cells as criminals.¹²⁶

Elements of good practice:

- the elements cited are indeed necessary for addressing the several different needs that child workers in these occupations have

Constraints:

- a multi-sectoral project has, by definition, a number of objectives. But in this example, too many were attempted by the same agency or under one programme; delegation to other partners might have made it more feasible and ensured that the programme would not fizzle out

3.4. Children in *factory-based work*

Includes manufacturing of all kinds: dying, leather-work, weaving, brick-making, stone-carving, brick-making, jewellery, assembly-line manufacture of everything from fireworks and matches to clothing and furniture.

Work typically requires the child to work away from home with sharp, often dangerous tools, for long hours, in fast repetitive motions. The child generally works with others and is comparatively visible to the outside world.

Interventions should consider that the needs of the children are typically for schooling, and removal with adequate alternatives. Parental awareness-raising may be sufficient. Working conditions – hours, hazards, etc. – need close attention.

Children working in the industrial sector often come from landless families or urban workers, who are proud – as are the children – that they have been able to secure a factory job and earn some money. In factories, children’s jobs are always at risk (they will be the first to be fired) and they tend to be under enormous pressure to be “willing and able”, for example, to work overtime, irrespective of the conditions. Beatings and scolding are common. These work environments, however, are sometimes less hazardous than work in the informal sector because they are more easily monitored.

3.4.1. Examples of “Good Practice” on children in *factory-based work*:

41. Reducing risk in hazardous factory work
42. Skills training and subsidies for factory workers
43. Recreation and sensitization for factory workers
44. Education and training for factory workers

¹²⁶ Kenya (KEFAN), p.63, still seen an effective approach that can be built upon (comments); Philippines, p. 46.

41. Reducing risk in hazardous factory work

Some of the most effective examples of reducing workplace risk in factories involve a range of measures which couple education with production. One example, undertaken by a government agency in a depressed urban area, targeted children working in stone-cutting and pyrotechnic industries.¹²⁷ Following a needs assessment and consultations with parents, local government officials and workers, the project embarked on children's livelihood projects (production of fashion accessories for which there is a market from indigenous materials) that were reinforced in classroom teaching, as well as literacy classes for parents. Production actually took place in or close to the school, the children could still attend classes and the work setting was closely monitored. This approach saw a decrease in school drop-outs, but was difficult to quantify in that children continued working in their "free time".

A second example approached the problem from the opposite direction – that of removing the risk from the work.¹²⁸ After labour inspectors found that children working in shoe factories were subject to nervous system damage and narcotic effects because cheap solvents were being used, the inspectors approached the producers to convince them to provide safer solvents. The solvent producers were given training on the physical and neurological risks, and inspectors subsequently observed some improvements.¹²⁹

Elements of good practice:

- addressing the roots of the problem
- community-based approach involving all relevant players from the outset
- addressing the problem at the work site
- children's need to work in the interim is acknowledged
- education arrangements tailored to the needs of the children – and, in the second example, to other key stakeholders
- work is transformed to become less hard and dangerous

Constraints:

- in the first example, the newly created employment could be abused if not carefully monitored
- in the second example, the premise that solvent producers and shoe manufacturers would maintain higher standards out of sheer altruism, particularly in the face of a declining economy, is simply not realistic

42. Skills training and subsidies for factory workers

A mixture of approaches – skill training and school subsidies – was used in this attempt to remove children from work involving quarrying and carving soapstone, an industry which requires them to work long hours and with dangerous tools. An initial survey demonstrated that these children were primarily working alongside their families who had traditionally worked in the industry. They usually drop out of school as a result of

¹²⁷ Philippines, p. 52.

¹²⁸ Turkey, pp. 93-94.

¹²⁹ Turkey, p. 93-5.

families' inability to pay school fees. The programme's approach was to provide school subsidies for particularly poor children and training in (presumably) less hazardous methods of stone carving at a training centre it ran. The parents were given income-generating activities to enable them to pay school fees and other expenses. Health services, such as health checks or a "mobile clinic", are provided. Overall, the authors believe that this combination of measures had a fairly high success rate, although it was not replicated.^{130,131}

Elements of good practice:

- clear definition of the target group and its environment

Constraints:

- high likelihood of the children continuing to work, possibly in high-risk work
- questionable whether parents' income-generating projects would sustain children's school fees and offset the loss of their wages

43. Recreation and sensitization for factory workers

To provide protection for factory workers, there are two examples of NGOs using a drop-in centre near the workplace as a means to strengthen children's ability to protect themselves against arbitrary action or exploitation by employers. In one case, the drop-in centre provided the children with a safe place for recreation in their free time after work and during holidays.¹³² To encourage them to become involved, NGO staff visited the children's boarding houses and homes. As a result of these measures, the child workers reportedly showed increased self-confidence and growing sophistication about their rights as workers. In another case, the children wrote and published a bulletin about working children. Ancillary services included counselling services for parents and recreation for the children. Most observers agreed that this was effective as child factory workers increasingly enjoyed the same rights as adult workers (wages, insurance, leave), overtime was no longer compulsory, and there seemed to be some shift of child workers away from hazardous tasks.

Elements of good practice:

- a drop-in centre gives children some freedom: they can choose whether or not to go; they come or not as they choose
- treats children as active participants in efforts to improve their welfare. Especially important is helping them understand their rights

Constraints:

- unclear whether these services, although welcome, actually contributed to reduction in child labour or safer working conditions

¹³⁰ Kenya, p. 127-132.

¹³¹ Turkey p. 130ff provides a similar example.

¹³² Indonesia, p. 74, KOMPAK; YPRK, p. 75.

44. Education and training for factory workers

Girls working in factories, producing food, beverages, plastics, glass and garments, were beneficiaries of programmes combining services for young workers (non-formal education, pre-vocational skills training, health care, training in workers' rights and religion, nutrition, music, etc.) with approaches to their parents and their employers.¹³³ One of the programmes provided vocational training in traditional female areas (sewing, embroidery, knitting, cooking). The other provided vocational training in new and innovative areas (manufacture of ornaments from coconut leaves, wood carving, drying bananas, screen printing). The parents reported the latter as successful. The non-formal education was provided in a simple way: package "A" for elementary level; package "B" for junior high school level.

Elements of good practice:

- it appears that the repeated use of the same elements under different conditions (e.g. the non-formal education packages), is creating a replicable model

Constraints:

- no discussion as to whether the "two package" model of education is being tested
- no record that children were being sensitized to their rights, or that they were being taught about abusive working conditions. Preparing children for less hazardous manufacturing jobs is only acceptable if there are monitoring systems in place – either external or internal (the child's own knowledge) – to ensure that they were not sucked back into abusive situations

3.5. Children doing *outside physical labour*

Includes commercial agriculture and commercial fishing, scavenging, construction, mining.

Work is typically hard physical labour, in the presence of many people, risk of exposure to the elements, chemicals, and power equipment and thus considerable risk of accident.

Children typically need to be removed from this adult environment, as the hazards cannot reasonably be reduced. Changing attitudes on the part of the community and parents could be particularly important.

In commercial production, children are often expected to work like adults: to get up early, be paid by the unit, and to work to a quota. If they are part of a family work unit, children may not be paid at all. Pesticides frequently pose a problem in agriculture. Sea-based industries (work on fishing platforms, pearl-diving, salting fish on land or at sea, dynamite fishing, stevedoring, deep-sea diving, etc.) pose a particular hazard, and these child workers have proved particularly difficult to approach. When children travel

¹³³

Indonesia (LWRA), p. 75.

or live with adults, as often happens in commercial enterprises, they are exposed to and often, themselves, become involved in adult habits (commercial sex, gambling, smoking, drinking).

3.5.1. Examples of “Good Practice” on children doing *outside physical labour*.

45. Protection of boys and girls in sea-based trades
46. Releasing and reintegrating of scavengers through education
47. Protecting children working in plantations

45. Protection of boys and girls in sea-based trades

A model that had been demonstrated to be successful with urban child workers, called the “double study” programme, was adapted and tested with children who set nets and salt fish. The model consisted of a vocational training course (training in automotive, electronics, sewing), and non-formal education to prepare the youth for the junior high school equivalent examination. The success rate with children in the fisheries work was much lower than that among the urban workers, with only half the children who entered the programme completing it. Two programmes were directed toward children who worked on the docks.¹³⁴ Both offered scholarships. In addition, one set up a “working children’s centre” in the seaport that offered the children (and their parents) information about the hazards of early labour, and provided them with health and food. Organized by an NGO, one worked closely with a trade union to obtain access to children at risk; the other collaborated with the government and port authorities.

Elements of good practice:

- programmes located where the children work
- the latter shows good integration with other agencies

Constraints:

- such hazardous work would seem to require stronger measures
- no apparent preventive activities

46. Releasing and reintegrating of scavengers through education

A number of NGOs providing assistance to child scavengers have gained valuable experience over the years. Education appears to be one of the most popular approaches. In one example, parents of scavenger children were targeted to raise their awareness about the need for their children to be educated. As a result, the parents agreed to allow their children some time off for school in the morning and some time off for non-formal education in the afternoon. An agreement with the local school authorities provided access to the formal education system. The local government school admitted them after they completed the non-formal education. This “time out” had the added advantage of

¹³⁴

Indonesia, pp. 77-78, Muhammadiyah Training Unit; Philippines, p. 48, Kaugamaon Foundation.

reducing the children's exposure to the unhealthy environment of the dump.¹³⁵

Another example keeps children in school through a range of interventions, depending on the child's needs and age: (a) a pre-school for younger children, aged 5-6, to prepare them to do well in formal school; (b) tutoring, given by trained community educators, for those who are slipping behind in school; (c) books, uniforms and fees for those who cannot afford the costs of regular public school; and (d) vocational training for older children who are school "drop-outs". This "learn" programme is coupled with an "earn" programme which includes design, production, and marketing of hand-painted t-shirts and hand-made paper, the latter using materials from the dump. The proceeds from these group income-generating projects are distributed to the children to help offset the loss of wages. To prevent child labour, the children, youth, mothers, and other community members organize among themselves to advocate for children's rights. The programme networks extensively and draws on the resources of theatre groups, museums, etc. to provide exposure opportunities for the children.¹³⁶

Elements of good practice:

- clearly defined target group
- community-based approach
- safe income-generating activities for the children
- Effective collaboration among NGO, parents, government agencies and local authorities

Constraints:

- no mention of whether the children's contribution to the family's income has been acknowledged and considered for supporting measures

47. Protecting children working in plantations

Long working hours often lead to children dropping out of school because they have neither the time nor energy to study on their own. What is noteworthy about an Indonesian example (which included the usual mix of community involvement, education and skills training) was that it was able to sufficiently raise awareness of the community and galvanize other local support to sustain the programme after external funding had run out. One Indonesian programme in particular was striking in its use of religious students, religious leaders, and religious networks to spread the word about child labour on the plantations.¹³⁷ Because the secular messages about child labour was presented in a Moslem framework, they were well-received by the public. And because the religious schools provided the non-formal education for the child workers on the estates, there was virtually no resistance from the employers (which would not otherwise have been the case).

A second example, from Kenya, is interesting because it was initiated by a church, and because it appears to have focused on improving conditions of work and getting children

¹³⁵ Indonesia, p. 54, p. 79 YBP.

¹³⁶ Philippines: ERDA's "learn and earn" approach, p. 48, 64, 76, Children's Lab for Drama and Education, p. 55.

¹³⁷ Indonesia, pp. 61, 76-78, LPKP, Paramitra, YPSM, LEKMAS.

into school, rather than removing the children from work entirely.¹³⁸ The programme also included income-generating activities for parents, vocational training and counselling for the children. A similar mix of activities was used in a Tanzanian example.¹³⁹ In addition, this programme worked with union leaders to enable them to bargain for better and safer working conditions for the children. It also conducted sensitization campaigns with both employers and workers (community, parents, children).

Elements of good practice:

- first example was able to reduce reliance on external support
- third example used a survey to “have a true picture of the child labour problem in the selected regions”

Constraints:

- information too limited for first two examples
- third example showed that, without good backstopping from the national union leadership, the local union was unable to sustain its work on the plantations

3.6. Children in *family- and home-based work*

Includes domestic service, child care, subcontracted piecework, family business.

Work is typically within a family setting; risk of abuse due to isolation from public view, and risk of developmental stunting due to isolation from stimulation and peers.

Needs of these children include companionship of children their own age, schooling, and psychological support.

Domestic workers often work as unpaid “helpers” in a pseudo-family context. They represent probably the largest group for whom little has been done, because child labour in domestic settings is not visible to the public and can be reached only through personal contacts. Child domestic workers may be scattered over a wide area; gathering them in one place is difficult. Timing of activities is crucial as their days off are limited and may vary. One study observed that the children had a high turn-over rate in domestic service that made it difficult to monitor them and, more alarming, tended to lead them into other, possibly more dangerous, forms of employment.

3.6.1. Examples of “Good Practice” for children doing *family-based work*:

- 48. Releasing and reintegrating domestic helpers
- 49. Preventing the recruitment of domestic workers
- 50. Protecting children in home weaving through education

¹³⁸ Kenya, p. 64, PCEA – Ihuru Parish.
¹³⁹ Tanzania, pp. 113-119.

policies

48. Releasing and reintegrating domestic helpers

In the first example, said to be “one of the most successful under IPEC”, the focus is on young girls who work as maids, many of whom are deprived of schooling, social activities and family support. Not infrequently, they are physically and sexually molested. A centre provides a range of services for these girls: creating awareness of the hazards, training them in tailoring, cookery and/or typing, providing basic education, counselling, and legal advice. The awareness-raising was extended to a wide sector of the community: “guardians” of the girls, churches, women’s and youth groups, and the slum communities where the girls presumably came from.

The second example, also by an NGO, focuses more directly on the characteristics of the children in this work. Since the first difficulty is often to find the child domestic workers, this NGO carried out field outreach in parks, churches, and other places where they might congregate and provided them with counselling, legal help, medical care, and education. Started as a “Sunday high school programme”, the programme linked with another NGO in order to provide more services. The child domestic workers were organized into “core groups” for mutual support and given training. The NGO felt that the participation of the children themselves in outreach, counselling, in the workers’ organization, and its core groups were the primary strengths of the programme.¹⁴⁰

Elements of good practice:

- using the networks of the community to raise awareness and identify children at risk
- using existing natural support networks among the children that responds to their social needs
- by participating in advocacy and awareness-raising work, child workers learn how to express and explain their views

Constraints:

- Episodic assistance only because of the nature of the work which leads to limited impact and effectiveness

49. Preventing the recruitment of domestic workers

This example comes from a programme which identified those villages and wards from which girls were recruited, then sensitized the relevant actors (children, parents, community leaders) on the hazards of this work.¹⁴¹ This was followed by income-generation programmes for parents with low incomes to enable them to remove girls from hazardous domestic work and return them to school. The success of the programme was put down to its community-based nature, and the building of capacity. The programme included training for female trade unionists on problems faced by female domestic workers.

¹⁴⁰ Kenya, p. 65, Sinaga Women and Child Labour Resource Centre (SINAGA) – an IPEC programme which is now being brought to scale and has been joined by a trade union (Kenya Union of Domestic, Hotels, Educational Institutions, Hospitals, and Allied Workers); Turkey, p.115, Women’s Library and Information Centre Foundation. (WCLRC) conducted a study on historical and current profile of female child labour in domestic work; Philippines, p. 48, 65 Visayan Forum.

¹⁴¹ Tanzania, pp. 119-124.

Elements of good practice:

- recognition of the need to prevent the problem at its source
- community-based approach
- income-generating activities and credit schemes for poor parents as an alternative to income accrued from their children's employment
- issues of child labour mainstreamed into trade unions' programmes

Constraints:

- difficult to sustain
- trade unions often assume that they cannot be effective in the informal sector, e.g., domestic workers

50. Protecting children in home weaving through education policies

This example concerns a family-based industry common to several countries: carpet-weaving. Most carpet-makers are women and girls. Because they work in their own homes and in small rural workshops, they are difficult to locate and quantify. They are not regulated or covered by social security since carpet weaving is not recognized as “work” but as leisure. Concerned that child workers might be at risk of eyestrain, deformities in their hands and backs, and possibly mental impairment, two agencies undertook a survey of actual conditions. Their intent was to demonstrate abuse that would lend support to raise the age of compulsory schooling from 12 to 15 years. However, the survey found that the degree of child exploitation is not as high as speculated in the literature, mainly because children worked in a family setting, and also that girls started work as weavers after completing their primary schooling. A process of negotiation and discussion ensued as to what effect an increase in schooling age would have: would the girls start to work at a later age or drop out? Craftsmen argued that 15 years was too late as an older child would be harder to train; in fact they preferred children to start apprenticeships at 11 years. Employers, on the other hand, felt that children needed more education, as technological developments would require a more qualified and educated labour force. Teachers and social workers, of course, supported an increase in the minimum age, whereas children valued their work, recognizing its importance for the family's survival.

In a similar case, the process of considering a new labour law led to vigorous debate among NGOs, the labour movement, the business community, etc.¹⁴² One side subscribed to traditional views (“work is good education for children” and “poor children have to work”) while the other was concerned with protecting the child from having to enter the workforce too soon.

¹⁴²

Turkey, p. 19.

Elements of good practice:

- all parties were consulted, which meant that the new policy could be fine-tuned or operationalized in a way that takes into consideration this range of views

Constraints:

- awareness-raising among the public seems to be missing

3.7. Children in *legal street-trades*

Includes selling, car-washing, begging, delivery, shoe-shining, service at roadside eating places.

Work is typified by self-employment; risk of financial and physical insecurity.

The needs of the children depend on their age but may include schooling, accommodation, drug counselling, and viable vocational training.

Children who are alone trying to earn money in the streets is a heart-wrenching sight. They are highly visible, obviously in need,¹⁴³ and generally receptive to any overtures that might make their lives easier. Not surprisingly, it appears that the –are directed to children who are working on the street. UNICEF’s focus on this group over the last decade no doubt also contributes to this large number of programmes. But do the majority of these programmes actually get children off the street? Are these the children who warrant the greatest investment in time and resources?

3.7.1. Examples of “Good Practice” on children in *legal street-trades*:

51. Training for children who work on the street
52. Assisting migrant children
53. Community based education and economic activities
54. Reaching children to prevent their recruitment into abusive situations

51. Training for children who work on the street

Vocational training appears to be a common intervention for children who work on the street. A Turkish example provided training in automobile maintenance and repair and other trades through “apprenticeship centres”. The programme reported very high levels of satisfaction by the children, who viewed this as their last opportunity to get a regular job in the formal sector, and at least initially there was high attendance in the training.¹⁴⁴ An Indonesian example, undertaken by the oldest and largest Muslim welfare organization of the country, provided pre-vocational training for street children which was seen as unusually successful as there was a very low drop-out rate and high performance scores at the end of the training. This success was said to be due to the

¹⁴³ A Turkish study indicates that compared to the children working on the street, apprentices or child factory workers have a higher level of education and more promising future, no matter how hard their working conditions are. Turkey, pp. 113-114.

¹⁴⁴ Turkey, p. 137ff.

organization's reputation as a responsible institution, and to its skill at building and maintaining collaborative relations that gave all partners a sense of ownership, ensuring allies among and support from both the government and the community. This project ultimately became self-sustaining.¹⁴⁵ A Kenyan programme, undertaken by a government agency, set up pre-vocational centres that offered skills training to children along with awareness-raising for public leaders. A similar programme, run by an NGO, added research into the street children's network and the formation of child rights clubs as a way of raising awareness.¹⁴⁶ In Tanzania, informal and artisan training was given to children on the streets, but the main effort was to reunite them with their families or return them to formal schooling. The success of this programme was attributed to it being located in the heart of the city where most of the children worked, and because it offered accommodation, as well as counselling and educational facilities.^{147,148}

Elements of good practice:

- collaborating relations with both government departments and the community
- inclusion of partners such that they felt they "owned" the project
- good networking which resulted in the programme becoming self-sustaining
- organizational and religious strength of the organization
- since the organization is capable of mobilising resources for other national and international funding organizations, the project is likely to be sustained
- the interventions may be replicated. The organizational strength and the effective cooperation with government agencies and community were crucial to their success

Constraints:

- vocational training sometimes prepared children for jobs in sectors that were already saturated
- some of the trades for which children were being trained are hazardous (e.g. automobile repair)
- older children were unwilling to come into apprenticeships because (a) they were used to their freedom, and (b) they could earn more money on the streets than in small workshops

52. Assisting migrant children

An NGO specialized in vocational training and small industry development offered training to migrant children (11–15 years) who were working in the informal sector under exploitative conditions.¹⁴⁹ The children were contacted personally while working on the street. The parents were also involved as they depended on their children's income. The trainees were highly motivated during the apprenticeship and received a certificate approved by the Ministry of Education after the training. Eighty-six per cent of the trainees found jobs in their field of training, and that is considered a high success

¹⁴⁵ Indonesia, p. 62ff, p. 83 Laskar Mandiri.

¹⁴⁶ Kenya, p. 63, Entrepreneurship Development Centre, p. 64, Child Welfare Society of Kenya (CWSK), Nairobi City Council (NCC).

¹⁴⁷ Tanzania, p. 98-102, Dogodogo Street Children Centre.

¹⁴⁸ For additional examples see Philippines, p. 46, PAG-AMONA Children's Development Foundation, Bahay Pasilungan, et al.

¹⁴⁹ Turkey, pp. 134-136.

rate. This programme was replicated elsewhere with similar results.¹⁵⁰

Elements of good practice:

- the NGO worked closely with employers' organizations, public institutions, national and international trade associations to secure employment for the trainees as well as formal education
- careful selection of the children and involvement of the parents
- the NGO envisaged mobilization of resources to expand this model

Constraints:

- sustainability depends on the financial resources and good networking capability of the NGO

53. Community-based education and economic activities

A very creative approach was used in two examples to provide a low-cost programme for children working on the streets. They each used local waste materials as the basis for, respectively, an income-generating and an educational programme. In the former, the children collected papers and bottles from apartments after distributing small advertisements and asking permission from the residents. This activity gave the children the feeling that they were a part of a community.¹⁵¹ The second, also an urban poor community, offered street-based education as an alternative to school-based education. It involved the parents, through neighbourhood organizations, in running the project and in producing educational material from waste retrieved from the community dumpsite. Mothers and high-school graduates were trained as "facilitators". The basic curriculum stressed humanistic activities, social action and communication which was imparted mainly through drama. To cover staff costs, the NGO conducted drama training workshops.¹⁵²

Elements of good practice:

- community-based approach involving children and parents
- educational programme and material fitted to the needs of the target group
- assistance provided at the site
- financial independence is likely to contribute to the sustainability of the project

Constraints:

- limited coverage
- do social and "humanistic" activities really make a difference to the child's future or is it only a temporary recreational opportunity?

54. Reaching children to prevent their recruitment into abusive situations

A small club run for children by an NGO on Sundays provided them with informal education and information on their rights.¹⁵³ Located near the central station where

¹⁵⁰ Thailand, p. 17.

¹⁵¹ Philippines, p. 53-54.

¹⁵² Kenya, p. 64, provision of "peace house" for street children, Turkey, p. 114.

¹⁵³ Thailand, pp. 60f.

children arrived from rural areas looking for work, its intent was to intercept children and put them in touch with government agencies that would steer them away from dangerous work and find them more appropriate work. It was seen as a very useful programme but was only able to reach a small number of children who lived close to the club.

Elements of good practice:

- Strategic location to meet the target group; and to meet it before they begin work
- Non-threatening approach to children
- Offers services which are adapted to children's needs

Constraints:

- reaches only a limited number of children
- having it once a week would seem to be too infrequent to make a difference

3.8. Children in *subsistence production*

Includes livestock herding, gardening, family fishing, water and wood procurement.

Work typically involves children working with their family or peers; risk is of accident and environmental hazards.

Needs of the children may be for appropriate and accessible education (e.g. mobile schools).

Few child labour programmes seem to attempt to deal with this common form of child work. Because of the traditional nature of these tasks and the fact that they take place in the family unit, people tend to assume that there is little danger or exploitation. Since subsistence communities are also highly dispersed – and hence less visible – it is difficult to design programmes to reach them. Nonetheless, some have tried.

3.8.1. Example of “Good Practice” on children in *subsistence production*:

55. Protection of children in small-holding agriculture

55. Protection of children in small-holding agriculture

In this example, a residential social worker was assigned to work in each hamlet.¹⁵⁴ He/she mingled with the people, especially formal and informal leaders, and participated in all activities there, gradually collecting data on the working children and their families. This raised the issue of concern about child labour and identified young people who might be recruited as volunteers and tutors. In close collaboration with the people, a centre and programme of activities was designed. Tutors and volunteers were then trained, and supervised through daily guidance and monthly meetings. They also worked with parents of the children, helping them set up savings and loan groups. The NGO, hamlet leaders, and the parents reported this as a successful programme; the fact

¹⁵⁴

Indonesia, p. 77.

that the learning activities have continued after the end of the programme is another positive indicator.

Elements of good practice:

- personal involvement and research before attempting action
- community-based

Constraints:

- labour-intensive

Part II. Technical review and policy analysis

1. Overview of the “Seven Country” project
 - 1.1. Background
 - 1.2. Method of analysis
 - 1.2.1. Criteria
 - 1.2.2. Assumptions
 - 1.3. Organization of the data
2. Assessment of the Country Studies
 - 2.1. General assessment of the studies
 - 2.2. Subsequent use of the Country Studies
 - 2.2.1. Brazil
 - 2.2.2. Indonesia
 - 2.2.3. Kenya
 - 2.2.4. Philippines
 - 2.2.5. Tanzania
 - 2.2.6. Thailand
 - 2.2.7. Turkey
3. Observations regarding child labour policy issues
 - 3.1. Contribution to overall development
 - 3.2. International economic and social forces
 - 3.3. Poverty and child labour
 - 3.4. Child labour and education
4. Observations regarding programme interventions
 - 4.1. Necessary Conditions
 - 4.1.1. Policy, law and political will
 - 4.1.2. Awareness-raising
 - 4.2. Capacity-building
 - 4.3. Direct Action with children
 - 4.4. Programme design, development, partners and processes
 - 4.4.1. Research
 - 4.4.2. Partners
 - 4.4.3. Gender
 - 4.4.4. Sustainability

1. Overview of the “Seven Country” project

1.1. Background

Concerted action against child labour began only about 10 years ago. It progressed slowly at first, with only one or two countries active on the problem, but has steadily gained momentum as international attention has been drawn to the issue and through the technical and financial support channelled to it by IPEC. In 1997, over 30 countries had national programmes and a wealth of experience in combating child labour. It is this experience – as seen through the eyes of the seven Country Studies – which the current project draws upon to understand the factors and conditions that foster or impede action against child labour, and the effects of concrete measures being taken to address it. IPEC has supported a Country Programme in five of the seven countries since 1992, and with the Philippines and Tanzania since 1993.

This project, *Development of guidelines for policy-makers on sustainable action against child labour*, was designed by the ILO’s International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) and made possible thanks to the generous support of the Canadian Government, with assistance from the German Government for the Indonesian study. It was implemented in two stages. The first stage was an in-depth national study of child labour policy and action in the seven selected countries. The studies were conducted by national research and evaluation teams, who were specialists in social research and child-related issues. Their mandate was to assess the relevance and effectiveness of child labour policies, programmes and budgets at all levels; the conditions which foster or hinder these measures; and their impact on attitudes, institutions and child labour incidence. The studies looked at both action supported by IPEC and action by others. Their aim was to delineate the characteristics of successful initiatives and indicate how the measures should be employed and made sustainable. Finally, based on their findings, they were to make recommendations for policy, noting the roles of various actors and the indicators for assessing progress if the policies were implemented.

The second stage was an analysis of these studies for lessons learned that would point to areas for replication. This list of “good practices” was to form the basis for a policy instrument for ILO member States on how to initiate a sustained, holistic, country-driven process towards the elimination of child labour.

Between the time the studies were launched in early 1997 and preparation of the present synthesis, additional analytical work has been carried out. A methodological working paper was commissioned, in part, to develop a set of indicators to determine progress made in eliminating child labour. An internal working paper has also been prepared on each Country Study to examine the situation with regard to hazardous child labour and the approaches used to address it; excerpts from them have been incorporated in the text. Of greatest importance, however, is the follow-up uses to which the Country Studies have been put in each country. These are described in Part II 2.

The next logical step following the *Synthesis Report* will be to assess these selections of

good practice in a larger context. Other countries implementing child labour programmes need to try them to see whether they are adaptable to their cultural and economic conditions. An important part of this expanded use will be to rigorously evaluate the measures and to share the results.

Since the studies were conducted, additional experiences and developments have taken place in the seven selected countries, as well as in other countries receiving support from IPEC. It will be important to keep building on the knowledge base initiated by this study, adding new examples of good practice to those contained herein.

1.2. Method of analysis

This synthesis was prepared as follows. First, the approaches used in each of the following three categories – necessary conditions, capacity-building, and direct action – were charted to determine their frequency of appearance in the Country Studies. Second, the approaches which showed particular strength were highlighted and described in a master list. The “strength” of the approach was primarily determined by the judgement of the national research team. If quantitative indicators were not evident but the team, drawing on its analysis of contextual and internal features of the approach, believed it had particular merit, it was included. “Reasonably successful” was how one of the studies spoke of its selection of good practices, and it probably offers the best way of describing the approaches in this document overall. Finally, a composite description of the approach was prepared to describe, to the extent the data allowed, the conditions which made this approach successful. The aim here was to reduce or abstract the approach to “a model”, cutting away the details specific to a time and place, in order to be able to see its critical elements – the part that can be considered for replication.

1.2.1. Criteria

The criteria used for including an activity as “good practice” were one of the following:

- at least three countries identified it as reasonably successful,
- a good evaluation had demonstrated it to be successful, or
- most commonly it was unique or particular to a country, but had a strong internal logic.

The definition of a “good practice” therefore, is that it is based on a pattern of positive experiences from a variety of situations. While some of the good practices identified here are unique experiences, a pattern will emerge from further identification of good practices in other countries as part of building the knowledge base through evaluations and other studies. A logical next step in the future would thus be to assess these choices in other countries and then to subject this list of good practices to a rigorous analysis.

1.2.2. Assumptions

- in embarking on the synthesis of the seven Country Studies, a number of assumptions guided the work:
- regardless of their comparability and consistency of scholarship, the seven Country Studies would contain important information to help IPEC position and focus its efforts. The studies represented an impressive amount of time and energy on the part of national professionals; and because theirs was a local perspective, it would be an important voice to hear
- in determining what is a “good practice”, we must be practical. This means the approach must be capable of practical implementation and of being assessed under less than ideal research conditions
- there would be no such thing as “best” practices, since what is superb in one situation may be less so in another where culture, stage of programme development or resources differ. But highlighting those interventions which have achieved singular results, or which have been seen to have a positive effect in a number of situations, would give practitioners, particularly those starting from scratch, an idea of where to start
- identifying “good practices” would not lead to a static document but rather start an ongoing process of learning. The list of good practices could be used at any time for guidance, but must be understood as constantly changing, particularly as the global economy and other international forces exert new influence on the local situation. It would need continual updating as new lessons are learned, and new data become available
- some actions would be right for “eradication” of child labour, others for improving the situation of working children. Some would be long term, while others would show impact in the short term
- “good practices” would include those initiated and supported by IPEC, as well as those carried out by others



1.3. Organization of the data

To simplify the very complex set of material emanating from the Country Studies, the Synthesis Report uses a framework with three main categories: **necessary conditions**, **building capacity** and **direct action**. Most child labour work falls within these three categories and, in well-constructed programmes, there is a close interaction among the three.

“**Necessary conditions**” refers to measures that create the readiness and a framework for child labour action. It includes the laws and policies that give child labour action its authority at the “top”. And the public awareness-raising that gives it legitimacy from the “bottom”. With laws and policies at the top, and an aware public at the base, the stage is set for implementing effective child labour programmes.

Creating *necessary conditions* with:

- **Policies and laws**

Content of policy and law

Developing and changing policy and law

- **Awareness-raising**

National level

Community level

“**Building capacity**” is not only for government, employers, unions and NGOs who are usually seen as the key actors on child labour. The families, the communities, and the children themselves are crucial as they are fundamental units of society.

Building capacity of national actors by:

- **Training the actors**

National level

(government, unions, employers associations)

Community level

(local leaders)

- **Organising support systems**

- **Mobilizing the whole system**

Multi-actor/Multi-level

“**Direct action**” involves releasing children from work and reintegrating them into school and family; protecting and educating those who continue to work legitimately; and preventing child labour at its source. Most of this work is directly with children, so its success must be measured directly.

Undertaking *direct action* by:

- **Release and reintegration**

- **Protection and education**

- **Prevention**

There are various ways the **direct action** approaches could be organized: by target group (age or sex, rural or urban), by occupation, or by type of approach (e.g. education, welfare service). The latter is most commonly used in the literature on child labour

(including the project document). We have chosen not to use it in this case for two reasons:

- (1) most examples involve more than one intervention type, and it is the mix of these interventions and the way they are applied that is the key to their success, not one of the interventions in and of itself;
- (2) focusing on interventions may encourage practitioners to start with a solution and apply it to whatever problem presents itself, rather than to start with the problem or perceived need and then identify the appropriate solution for that problem.

A combined, and hopefully simpler, system is employed here, one which groups together several occupations based on common features in the nature of the work, similarities in the degree of risk, and – most important for the purpose of the good practice guide – commonalities in the way these types are most effectively addressed. There are eight of these child labour “types”:

- **children in *slavery*** (bonded labour; sale or trafficking, forced recruitment for use in armed conflict.
→ *where the child has no choice, no escape*
- **children being *sexually exploited*** (prostitution, pornography)
→ *where the child’s morals are at risk, and there is great physical and emotional danger*
- **children in *crime*** (drug trafficking, stealing)
→ *where the child works in a dangerous and corrupting environment*
- **children in *factory-based work*** (brick-making, stone-carving, weaving, manufacturing of all kinds – from fireworks and matches to clothing and furniture)
→ *where the child works with other but away from home, with sharp or power tools, for long hours, in repetitive and straining tasks*
- **children doing *outside physical work*** (commercial agriculture and fishing, scavenging, construction, mining)
→ *where the child does hard physical labour and is endangered by chemicals, accidents, and exposure*
- **children in *family/home-based work*** (e.g. domestic service, child care, sub-contracted piecework, family business, artisanry)
→ *where the child works within a family setting, risk can come from long hours, isolation from peers and public, making them vulnerable to abuse*
- **children in *legal street-trades*** (selling, car-washing, begging, delivery)
→ *where the child is self-employed and their food, lodging, and safety are insecure*
- **children in *subsistence production*** (e.g. livestock-herding, gardening, family fishing)
→ *where the child works with family or peers. Risk from*

2. Assessment of the Country Studies

2.1. General assessment of the studies

A substantial part of each Country Study is descriptive. It reviews what is in place in terms of laws, policies, agreements, and programmes, and also what the child labour situation is in terms of statistics and occupations. This material is less important for the “good practices” guidelines but useful for individual country purposes. Much of the material relevant for the “good practices” section was speculative (what they would do in future) or prescriptive (what people should do). Few measures in the remaining material were evaluated in a robust way to determine their actual effect on child labour incidence or prevalence.

A description and review of the evaluative methods used in the seven Country Studies, along with recommendations for future assessment of child labour initiatives, was prepared in 1999.¹⁵⁵ It concluded that “it was difficult to assess “best methodological practice” from the written reports. What is “best” for one may be “worst” for another...the reports do not provide the scientific basis ...” to rank the practices and thus present a quantitative statement about the practices.

The methods that the national research teams used to prepare the seven Country Studies included the following:

- desk review of reports
- questionnaire-based interviews with government, NGOs and local partners
- open-ended interviews with the above

If an approach or measure had itself been evaluated, a summary of that report was included in the Country Study. Few were in fact evaluated as many child labour programmes were relatively new and had concentrated on establishing policy frameworks and pilot programmes.

Nonetheless, the quality of the reports overall was commendable.¹⁵⁶ Averaging over 100 pages, they followed the guidelines set out in the project document – often to their detriment, as the guidelines were quite complex and in places repetitive. If they could not present a quantitatively verifiable report of good practices, they still did their best to try and describe what measures were effective and why. The lack of consistent indicators in the studies means that, technically, we have no grounds on which to declare something as “good” or not. However, it is important to recognize that overall these studies represented brand new programmes that were on a steep learning curve, struggling to get basic requirements such as an office, staff and official acceptance. They were still trying to find out what existed. The quality of the methods used in the project challenges us to consider what evaluation methods are appropriate and really feasible in developing country conditions.

Although all the studies were presented in a consistent format, there was a remarkable

¹⁵⁵ “Toward a Methodology to Assess the Measurement and Impact of IPEC Country Programmes”, based on *A Synthesis of Best Practices in Seven Countries*, by Michael Hopkins, April 1999.

¹⁵⁶ Brazil was an exception.

diversity in interpretation and, hence, a wide variation in results. A positive aspect of this diversity was that it reflected each country's own particular needs and concerns. Many studies – so intent on being practical that they went well beyond their mandate of describing and assessing – conducted a detailed critique of each activity and presented exhaustive recommendations for improvement! In one way this was encouraging: the studies were obviously seen by the authors as being of merit for and benefit to an internal audience, not as merely an external theory-based exercise.

2.2. Subsequent use of the Country Studies

Is it just another study gathering dust on the shelf? An advantage in doing this follow-up three years after the study is that we can easily determine whether it has actually been used. The National Programme Managers in the seven countries were asked to comment on three variables: the accessibility of the study (languages, distribution), its reception, and its subsequent use in planning, programme design, and policy. We are happy to report that what every researcher dreads – dust on the shelf – is not true in the case of the “Seven Country Studies”.

In some cases, the original document has been used to help formulate one or more popular, more user-friendly versions which preserve its essence. Reflecting on how it was received, what stands out in the minds of most child labour staff is its participatory nature. The official stakeholders (workers, employers, government, NGOs, UN agencies) were all involved: both in the study itself, and in the review workshop at the end. The fact that this range of partners was consistently involved is impressive; but it is noteworthy that none mentioned the “other” stakeholders: parents, children, and small-scale employers.

2.2.1. Brazil

Unfortunately, the country study report was never finalized. Some material on Brazil, from the first draft, is included above; as the study was not concluded, it was not made available for public use. The draft is in English, although the documents prepared by the researchers were written in Portuguese and then translated. No copies were made, nor was it disseminated to our partners because the information was not complete and the report was not approved.

Although it was an unsatisfactory work, it raised some important questions and issues, which were discussed with the research team. First, the importance and the impact of IPEC in mainstreaming child labour into national agenda; second, the number of activities developed with different partners nation-wide, which resulted in a good visibility and wide dissemination of IPEC's objectives in Brazil: thanks to this, IPEC is now seen as a source of reference and information for national institutions and the media.

2.2.2. Indonesia

The Country Study, “Indonesian Experience with Child Labour: Looking for Best

Practices”, was conducted by a national research team (Nafsiah Mboi, MD, MPH; Dr. Irwanto and Mr. Wiladi) in 1997. It was produced in English; 25 copies were made and distributed to key persons in government, NGOs, employers and trade unions at a follow-up workshop in July 1999 organized to discuss the findings.

The study was carried out before the economic crisis and so is now rather out of date. However, to bridge the gap, another study, “Rapid Assessment: The Impact of the Indonesian Economic Crisis on Child Labour”, was conducted by Mr. Simon Johnson, Winandyn Imawan and Arum Kusumanegara.

The government agencies commented that the original study was the first and most comprehensive study and analysis on child labour in the city; although they felt that it was difficult to implement because of budget constraints. One recommendation from the study is being used to develop a programme on the worst forms of child labour, i.e. child labour in the fishing platforms (“jermal”), child prostitution, domestic workers and child trafficking. On the basis of recommendations in the study, IPEC has also tried to strengthen and mainstream child labour into the major government poverty alleviation programme of the Ministry of Home Affairs. Other study results were: (a) Ministry of Manpower Circular No. SE 12/M/BW/1997 on operational guidelines on child labour inspection; and (b) Ministry of Home Affairs Circular No. 3/1999 on technical guidelines to combat child labour which instructed all governors, majors and heads of districts throughout the country to make an effort to combat child labour in a sustainable way. Both circulars are available in Bahasa Indonesia only.

2.2.3. Kenya

The research for “A Study of Action Against Child labour in Kenya – Towards a best practice guide on sustainable action against child labour for policy makers” was carried out between May and September 1997. The final draft was put together with the collaboration of the workers’ organization, the trade unions, the government, implementers of IPEC Action Programmes, and other UN agencies (UNICEF), during a workshop. IPEC staff have constantly referred to it, during programming to set priorities, and also as a yardstick to appraise the draft child labour policy. Several copies were produced and one each forwarded to ILO Geneva, the ILO Area Office and ILO Regional Office; one copy kept in the IPEC-Kenya Library; and one copy each to National Steering Committee members (the main stake-holders). It has not been translated as English is the prime medium of communication among officials in Kenya, and therefore this should not limit its accessibility.

Kenya produced a new document from the Country Study which is still used frequently – in early 2000 to facilitate revision of the National Child Labour Policy, and again in November 2000 as reference material to finalize the policy.

The study has proved useful in three areas: first, it has clearly affected overall policy development. (recommendations from the report are being used to mainstream child labour in all policies and programmes and now appear in policies of other ministries. Second, it has to a large extent influenced the thinking behind the Country Programme Management Review. Third, it has had a clear influence on programming: both the 1998-1999 and 2000-2001 plans (“implementation strategies”) reflect some of its

recommendations. Points worth mentioning, which in two cases have resulted in specific projects, include:

- replicability of successful projects
- expansion of target groups
- support for policy initiatives as a priority: without the right policy and legal framework, other interventions, although successful, can have only a limited effect
- building sustainability into work at both the national and local level
- need for hard data on child labour
- collaboration with media to increase awareness

2.2.4. Philippines

Two hundred copies of the report were published and distributed to government, employer, trade union and NGO partners as well as to academic organizations. Copies were provided to Department of Labor officials, regional child labour representatives, and other major organizations active on child labour, such as UNICEF, USAID, Save the Children, etc. as well as “interested publics” and libraries of leading universities in the country. What makes this wide distribution particularly important is that much of it was done at the personal level.

In general, the study was positively received, since key stakeholders had had a chance to review the initial drafts and to make comments. Specific recommendations for consideration in subsequent work are the lack of:

- Coordination and management of the lead agency (Department of Labor and Employment, Child Labor Programme Management Team): this has been taken seriously, repeated in a number of planning meetings, and is one of the reasons for the ongoing strategic planning exercises on the national child labour program of the DOLE.
- Employer/business sector visibility: the Employers’ Confederation of the Philippines provided more funds and attention to their “recognition of child-friendly firms” and this has since received more public and business sector attention.
- Coordination of the donors: the United Nations Development Assistance Framework for the Philippines (UNDAF) has established a theme group on child labour, headed by the ILO, to smooth relations between and among UN agencies, initially, concerning their programmes on child labour.
- Monitoring framework – (child labour indicators) for the national and IPEC child labour programme: the DOLE is trying to establish common indicators for this programme and a tentative list has been produced. IPEC-Philippines also considered asking the project consultant to develop such a monitoring framework, but this has been put on hold as core funds for the period 1998-1999 ran out.

Proof that the document was indeed being used was that the USAID officer received a copy of the report from the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines. He used this extensively in developing USAID’s programmes on child labour and the paper has been cited in several documents. In IPEC-Philippines, this study has been an important resource document for anyone seriously studying the child labour programme there. It

soon becomes outdated because of new developments, so would benefit from frequent updates. When the study was presented, two or three other workshops were held in addition to the “required” one. The consultants presented the study’s results in the Biennium Planning Conference held in 1998, and a discussion group considered its findings. Finally, the study (“Children Who Toil”) is used in most planning meetings.

2.2.5. Tanzania

One hundred copies of the full Tanzania report were produced and distributed in April 1998 and the Country Studies are available (in English). Copies were sent to the tripartite partners: international organizations, national NGOs and government ministries, with a forwarding note from the Minister for Labour and Youth Development. An additional 400 copies of the summary findings and recommendations were printed and distributed.

The report on the study was well received at the national round-table meeting where policy makers and social partners acknowledged both the study and its policy recommendations as valuable input in the efforts to address child labour in the context of a national policy perspective. The policy recommendations provided the basis for dialogue at different levels on various policy issues with a potential impact on child labour, and also on the need for a national policy on child labour, which the government is now in the process of drawing up.

There was only one national round-table meeting on the studies. The commitment of the government to formulating a national policy on child labour was partly a result of the study and its recommendations. The draft document on the national policy on child labour has already been endorsed by the tripartite Labour Advisory Board and is being forwarded to the Cabinet Secretariat for final approval.

2.2.6. Thailand

The study is not available in the local language(s) but an informal translation was made and 100 copies produced. Of the *English version*, 5,000 copies were produced and distributed to all ILO-IPEC partners (NGOs, unions, government agencies, etc.) and interested persons in ILO, other UN agencies, and the US Embassy. In addition, researchers gave copies to various government offices and distributed them in international meetings. The *Thai version* was distributed to participants of the national seminar (24-25 February 1999), organized by the Child Labour Unit in the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare.

Some concerns were that the study:

- (a) was in English, which few people could read and thus not comment on;
- (b) included children under 18 years, except for children who work under the new labour standard;
- (c) did not produce clear practices for specific children’s groups and did not prioritize child labour problems; therefore, some groups were overlooked;
- (d) did not mention how communities or families were to be involved in solving child labour problems and did not emphasize that families should not be separated;

(e) was not well-planned in terms of sampling nor were interviews adapted to the interviewees;

(f) did not really indicate which practices could be sustained. It looked only at those practices which should be continued, leaving child labour practitioners to try to adapt and address problems themselves.

Although the study had difficulty in identifying what were the best practices, it had to accommodate the environment and external factors prevailing at that time. To identify actions that would be both sustainable and practical was not easy. However, overall, a number of positive points emerged at three main levels: (a) policy level, (b) organizational or operational level, and (c) the family or community level. The study had analysed and studied thoroughly the evolution and current practices. It could have made more of a point about the need to strengthen the education system so the children will be able to deal with various problems. Consideration should also have been given in the study to both structures and financial sustainability, noting that IPEC and also the partner agencies should contribute resources to sustain the activities and that there should be no conflict or duplication among the networks or alliances. An evaluation should be made of the potential and capacity of the organizations involved. In trying to solve the problem of child labour, the major areas of concern must be emphasized: social, economic, political and educational.

The study helped practitioners and IPEC staff to be more aware of networking, of the need to pool resources from all concerned agencies, and to think about sustainability of the action programme. There was only one seminar which used the Country Study (February 1999), followed by a discussion of the results of the seminar at the National Steering Committee meeting on how to really apply the study and to integrate it into current practice. It was proposed that the recommendations be accepted at the national level (government) as the “National Child Labour Practices/Policy of Thailand”. At present, this proposal is still in process and the office of the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare is about to evaluate the half plan (Child Labour Protection Plan 1997-2001).

References to the study were made in official documents, such as the report of the action research on Child Labour Situational Study in Bangkok, implemented by the Chulalongkorn Social Research Institute. Published on 2000. The ILO-IPEC Screening Committee (Subcommittee of NSC) used the summary of the best practices study as guidelines to screen the new ILO-IPEC proposals for the 2000-2001 budget, and it was included in the manual for submission and screening of the IPEC Action Programme for Thailand 2000-2001. All new action programmes from Thailand requesting final approval from Geneva (6 Action Programmes) were developed using the best practices study as a guide.

2.2.7. Turkey

The country report was finalized in 1998. The conclusions showed that IPEC played a critical role as a catalyst in creating interest and support among the strategic institutions to act on child labour issues. As a result, a marked change has taken place in the way child labour issues are viewed today. IPEC’s role is also crucial in establishing close

cooperation and coordination and strengthening the influence of institutions directly concerned with child labour. Replicable models of health services for working children, income-generating activities and vocational training for rural child labour, improve working conditions of children working in industry and a sustainable model of service provision for children working on the streets have been established. In order to consolidate and build on the experience gained over the last six years, the team recommended that for further improvement of the programme, it was vital to help Turkey take ownership of its child labour issues. The acceleration of the progress achieved so far requires implementation of an integrated, comprehensive and proactive policy at the national level. Policies and programmes at the macroeconomic level are necessary to respond to the needs of working children. At the same time, the country report identified a further need to strengthen monitoring and evaluation components of the programmes to achieve the greatest possible impact.

The main findings and recommendations of the report and its assessment of IPEC programmes carried out in Turkey between 1992 and 1997 were presented at a panel discussion. The meeting brought together employers and workers, governmental and non-governmental organizations, national and international agencies and university students. The final conclusions of the meeting were:

- (a) a National Programme of Action against child labour in Turkey should be prepared with the active involvement of all related parties, and this should be considered as a mobilizing tool in the fight against child labour;
- (b) the Child Labour Unit of the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, as the focal point of child labour activities, should be strengthened in terms of its capacity. The Unit's current status should be changed to that of a General Directorate to ensure its stability and longevity. A framework for this process should be prepared as soon as possible;
- (c) ILO/IPEC has been instrumental in the forming of an advisory group on child labour which forms an informal part of the Ministry's Child Labour Unit. This group should be legitimized so it can make a more effective contribution.

The meeting felt that a key aim was the identification of the most intolerable forms of child labour and all parties concerned should collaborate to this end. Once these forms have been identified, they can be targeted as priority areas in line with the ILO's new Convention. The meeting felt these areas are likely to include rural child labour, child prostitution and children who are outside the basic eight-year education system. There is also a need to encourage greater involvement on the part of national and local political parties and their representatives in the process of combating child labour in Turkey.

It was apparent from the earliest days of the ILO/IPEC projects in Turkey that project staff would need to liaise extensively with their counterparts in other countries where similar programmes were under way. Initially this process involved a one-way transfer of experience and advice and the meeting recognized that there are still lessons to be learned from those colleagues. But it is encouraging to see that project staff in Turkey are in a position to reciprocate and pass on the lessons learned to others.

It has become apparent that one of ILO/IPEC's key roles in Turkey is that of coordinating the various national partner organizations. While the initial time-frame

calls for the ILO/IPEC programme to finish at the end of 2001, the meeting felt it was imperative that a presence should be maintained to assist during the changeover in responsibility for running the programme.

The following programmes were implemented following the recommendations of the report:

- enhancing the capacity of the Child labour Unit of the Ministry of Labour and Social Security;
- increasing the attendance, retention and performance rates of working children in the primary education system;
- time-bound policy and programme framework on the elimination of child labour.

3. Observations regarding child labour policy issues

The Country Studies are relevant at both the macro and micro levels. They were not intended to examine larger philosophical questions about child labour strategy, nor to assess the state of child labour in their countries in terms of its causes and consequences, much less to look at the impact of external, international forces. The focus of all the studies was clearly on a review of action against child labour. Nonetheless, throughout the documents, the research teams convey some of their own viewpoints on these three topics. These observations are interesting because they represent the only in-depth review, to date, of so many countries at any one point in time. Some of these concerns and observations are set out below in question form

3.1. Contribution to overall development

Do the child labour programmes contribute to overall national development (e.g. by strengthening social foundations and labour market institutions) and thereby eventually contributing to the elimination of child labour?

The Country Studies reflect at most some six years' work on child labour; the programmes are not being evaluated in terms of their impact on child labour, much less their effect on collateral issues. What is relevant is that the Country Studies and the work they reflect do not consider this larger issue. Most give a summary of the socio-economic situation in the country but do not relate this to child labour issues. Thailand is the only study to call for incentives and to promote the view that strengthening moral values and families is an avenue worth exploring. None of the studies tackles in any depth the relation between labour market policy and child labour. They note only the type of activity engaged in by working children, but not how labour market policy affects these activities.

3.2. International economic and social forces

Is child labour becoming worse under the pressure of international economic and social forces?

Not all Country Studies examined the worst forms of labour – what they were and where they occurred. Of those that did, there was a general sense that the number of children working in the worst forms of labour was increasing. For example, the Tanzania report comments on the changing nature of child labour, by suggesting that historically, children had worked in gradually increasing stages of responsibility as a part of their socialization toward adulthood. However, under colonialism, work of all kinds became monetized, including that of children. The time required to produce the same level of returns or to support a family has increased. Children were drawn into production at a much earlier age, and performed work that was arduous and exploitative. Instead of socialization, the motivating factor behind children's work became economic, with the

benefits accruing to someone other than the child. In the Philippines, the age profile of the population is described but not related to later assertions about the increase in export promotion policies, to child labour in these industries, or to a rise in domestic service industries.

3.3. Poverty and child labour

What is the connection between poverty and child labour?

Most of the Country Studies assume that poverty is the prime cause of child labour. This premise leads to recommendations for activities that will increase family income through income-generating projects, income replacement, subsidies for education, etc. Poverty, especially in the subsistence sector, is not easy to measure; when measured, meaningful comparisons are hard to make. It may be true that children work because the family needs the extra income, as several studies mentioned; it is not true that the family need is satisfied when the same level of income is achieved through other means. It seems that under the influence of international culture, families' (and the children's) expectations and requirements for material goods simply increase as incomes increase. Hence the need for child labour continues. Again, a change in attitude is called for but it is not enough to merely say "child labour is bad": it must promote the concept that poverty is not an excuse for hazardous or abusive child labour.

The two African studies and Thailand raise an extremely important point: under conditions of general economic decline (e.g. such as the Asian financial crisis, or structural adjustment programmes, both of which took place during the study period), an increase in child labour is inevitable. Are current models of child labour action (policies, mobilization and action programmes) adequate to handle a major disruption in the international economic system? Some studies noted that rising income inequalities, especially between rural and urban areas, were generating new types of child labour. Children who previously worked within the rural family unit now moved into the cities on their own with no social support and where they were exposed to new and dangerous phenomena (e.g. glue-sniffing, prostitution). Only one study mentioned AIDS. Subsequently, we know that poverty generated by international debt, national corruption and conflict, and family disease is bringing some societies to the breaking point. How do strategies to eliminate child labour change in the face of crises of this scale?

In designing new approaches to eliminate of child labour, we need to consider the trends. Rapid change is taking place in most areas of the world due to the booming economy, capital flows, and conflicts over resources. These result in population shifts, bringing people together in ethnic clashes of unprecedented ferocity, and a lack of protective structures in emerging situations, either governmental or civil, to regulate personal and collective behaviour. Child labour can be expected to take new forms, often clandestine, in such situations (e.g., as in Russia).

3.4. Child labour and education

What is the connection between child labour and education?

Does lack of education “cause” child labour? Will a good educational system “solve” it? Several reports state that a common reason for child labour is that education is not valued, or that families are frustrated with the type of education on offer, or that education is simply inaccessible due to cost or distance. Some children work in order to go to school (Kenya and Tanzania). Noting these concerns, the vast majority of action programmes contain some educational provision as part of the mix of approaches they use. To simply remove children from work and put them in regular schooling is seldom successful. Additional support or services are needed, at least initially, to address the specific reasons why the child was not attending school in the first place. Good results were reported using non-formal education, extended school hours and vocational training, coupled with parent consultations to convince them of the need for children to go to school. Frequently, however, these measures appear may not remove children from work but simply add schooling to their economic activities. And the child worker ends up with an even longer day.

Where child labour rates and enrolment rates are comparable (i.e. in the same age range, such as in Kenya, Philippines and Turkey), there is certainly a strong correlation between school enrolment rates and rates of children’s participation in the labour market. However, as the Brazilian authors note, enrolment rates tell us very little; they do not show whether children actually attend school or complete their schooling. When completion rates are taken into consideration (e.g., the Philippines), data suggest that child labour is probably significantly higher. This does assume that children who are not at school are working, which is a significant generalization. However, studies that look at the relationship between drop-out rates and economic participation find a correlation. For instance, studies of Tanzanian plantations found that the working children were those who had dropped out of school. There is also certainly a correlation between poverty and participation rates: one study found that school enrolment rates of lower income groups are 17 per cent less than higher-income ones at the primary level, rising to 52 per cent at the secondary level. Based on these data, it seems relatively safe to assume that most cases of drop-outs indicate child labour, economic or otherwise.

Even where school enrolment rates are increasing, one cannot assume that this automatically results in a decrease in child labour. The Tanzanian report states that working children are more visible after school hours and during school holidays, suggesting that many both work and go to school. In addition, given the continued significance of the informal sector and increasing trend for outsourcing, there will continue to be many opportunities for children to combine work and school. Many of these child workers are in the unregulated sector and the work may be detrimental to their education and development, health and safety.

Even more significant, however, are some of the attitudes to education which are reported in the case studies. Of the seven Country Studies, four report parents’ frustration with the education system: schools far from home, a curriculum that is not relevant, poor level of teaching, and large class sizes. Moreover, even when education is

free there are costs involved, such as to purchase school uniforms, books, stationery and travel costs, not to mention the “opportunity cost” of the child’s labour. Therefore, despite education being free and compulsory in five of the seven countries, parents were either unwilling or unable to comply with the law. Some children work in order to attend school and programmes should be careful that in their attempts to eliminate child labour, they also ensure that children have the means to attend school.

4. Observations regarding programme interventions

The following comments are presented according to the three main organizing themes of the document: necessary conditions, capacity-building, and direct action, with a section on overall programme design and implementation. Comments are also made on aspects not covered in the Country Studies, but which the analysis suggests could have been covered.

4.1. Necessary conditions

4.1.1. Policy, law and political will

Genuine political will to stop or transform child labour is still missing: all the reports express concern about this in one way or another. Two reports attribute it to the fact that children do not have a political voice. But this is even more true of the poor and marginalized in general, and consequently particularly true of poor children. In a way, the examples of good practice which we have been able to identify in the law and policy sector gain added weight because they are seen as relatively rare accomplishments.

Some good practices the Country Studies have identified in stimulating political commitment are:

- (a) in-country advocacy for new or updated policies, where some of the best advocacy is behind-the-scenes work by NGOs and others who are drafting legal text and encouraging adoption when it comes to the floor;
- (b) creating opportunities for political leaders to take the spotlight during rallies or conferences has two positive effects: it requires them to become familiar with the rough outline of child labour in the country and it puts them forward as visible proponents of child labour action, who can later be called on to enact policy; and
- (c) international incentive or censure which can be a potent, though sometimes volatile, force that local activists can capitalize on to push forward a call for change.

It is simply a fact that what the seven countries have been able to accomplish in child labour has been basically due to the latter point. International financial assistance (through IPEC, UNICEF, and others) and international attention to this problem is the primary factor generating policy change. It may well be that this heavy external investment was crucial in the early 1990s when child labour was little known. It may be less so now when the international environment is far more sensitized to the problem.

The reports were silent on the extent to which a memorandum of understanding or other high-level agreement has been an effective mechanism for either launching a child labour initiative, or in securing high-level involvement. There is some indication that formulating a child labour policy, ratifying a child labour Convention, or upgrading legislation to form a coherent legal foundation for future action may have the same effect as a memorandum of understanding.

The Country Studies show that labour laws often omit certain categories of work such as domestic work, agricultural, self-employment, the informal sector, and work undertaken

in the family context. Almost all ignore children in the military and illegal industries. This means that those children who are often the most vulnerable, particularly due to the traditional and increasing importance of the informal sector to poorer sectors of society, are not protected. Employers and employees may not be conversant with the provisions of the law and, even where laws exist and employers are aware of them, penalties are often so small that they are not a disincentive to the employment of children.

Certain questions about policy and law not clarified in the studies are, for example, whether it is best for government policy to precede or to follow public awareness activities; whether it is better to have a single overarching child-focused policy, or separate but harmonized policies within each sector (education, health, labour); and whether law and policy, together with an aware public really do constitute the main or only “necessary conditions” for child labour action.

It is significant that there are virtually no “good practices” to report on enforcement of law and policy. The section on capacity-building contains examples of ways to improve the attitudes and knowledge of enforcement personnel. But the question of enforcement itself – how child labour policy can be effectively enforced – is clearly tied to the problem of ambivalence over whether to prosecute child workers (see the discussion below on awareness-raising).

Many of the reports recommend further training of labour inspectors. But it seems that a great deal of money has been spent on training inspectors with relatively little effect, for well-known reasons: children are primarily employed in sectors which are not under the remit of the inspectors; there are so few inspectors that they can cover only a small percentage of business establishments; labour inspectors are often disinclined to remove children when the children themselves do not wish to give up their jobs and because they recognize the reasons why children are working. Until or unless this training is preceded by a change in these conceptions it is questionable whether further training is cost-effective.

Finally, the increasing practice of outsourcing and sub-contracting means that large companies are both placing the burden of good conditions of work on smaller companies and absolving themselves of responsibility to employees. This is a legal area which is identified in one study as a potential loop-hole in enforcing labour laws. Overall, existing labour laws in the seven countries appear to require harmonization, review and amendment to include more areas of work, more deterrents for those employing children and to clarify areas of responsibility within government departments.

4.1.2. Awareness-raising

First, it appears that awareness-raising activities are paying off. All participating countries report that a significant part of the general public has now heard something about child labour. The countries attribute this new awareness to the various informational activities that they have carried out, although few studies have demonstrated what has been successful or which sectors of the public are aware of it or not.¹⁵⁷ It seems that an eclectic mix of campaigns, children’s marches, front-page

¹⁵⁷ An exception is the Philippines, whose surveys from “Social Weather Stations” indicate a demonstrable increase in public awareness of laws on child labour over the past several years. (from

articles, town meetings, and official conferences have created a foundation of general public awareness in most countries, which can now be built on. This is an important step, and one that should be acknowledged and applauded.

Having said that, what is it that people are aware of, and what do they intend to do about it? This is less clear. The public knows about child labour, but what is child labour? Almost universally in the awareness-raising materials and in the studies themselves, the term “child labour” is used to cover virtually all children’s activities in the economic or domestic sphere other than play or education. A distinction is occasionally drawn between extremely abusive forms (prostitution, mining) and ordinary child labour but in no instance is a distinction drawn between ordinary child labour – that which is undertaken at too early an age, without protection, etc. – and activities which do carry due regard for a child’s needs and capabilities. This raises two issues that are evident throughout the studies. First, people say “we are told that child labour is bad, but our own experience tells us that work is actually good for children ... work teaches a trade; it builds character; it helps the family. Why should it be condemned?” Most awareness-raising messages do not take this very basic question fully into account. They have focused on a broad message about child labour, perhaps embellished with some examples of extreme work, but do not mention where to draw the line between acceptable and unacceptable work. A central issue raised by the Country Studies is that the general public in all seven countries does not, in general, view child labour as a problem.¹⁵⁸ This has implications for the awareness raising strategy used.

The second issue problem is that because the public is told that children should not work at all, yet they see it as profoundly impractical to do anything else, they become resistant or at least apathetic to taking personal action. It suggests a need to include in awareness raising strategies a clear explanation of the practical scope of ILO standards on child labour. Interestingly, the Country Studies show that when an awareness-raising campaign was focused on a particular industry, especially an industry where the hazard is obvious, attitudes toward child labour do seem to change in response to an informational effort and the people appear ready to act. There are two examples in which a well-implemented local awareness-raising campaign apparently resulted directly in reduced child labour. When a critical mass of community members understood the problem and agreed that it was indeed a problem, they were ready and able to take action on it.

Does an initial broad campaign designed to mobilize general opinion against child labour help pave the way for more specific work? Should national campaigns be more

comments).

¹⁵⁸ Probably because the links with the child’s development are insufficiently understood. A line between unacceptable and acceptable activities for children could be drawn based upon a flexible set of minimum ages for different types of work with different impacts on children’s development.

specific and focus only on hazardous child labour? The reports do not shed light on this. But what is clear is that the most effective informational campaigns are those which are focused. Presumably this helps parents, employers, and the children themselves know what is acceptable and what is unacceptable. One needs to assume that even ardent allies of children – government officials, community leaders, NGO staff – may not be clear on the negative impact on children of entering the workforce too early, working too long hours, or working without protection. In sum, the message to be delivered must be simple and clear, tailored to the intended target group, focused on specific industries, and involving local leaders (women as well as men) – and the children themselves.

In general, awareness-raising without any action plan can leave a group dissatisfied. Action planning serves as a closure activity for an awareness-raising session.¹⁵⁹ One study suggests that awareness raising at the community level should link the child labour issue to the lack of services, adult employment, appropriate and free education (or whatever the particular reason for the incidence of child labour). This can ensure the issue remains a priority and that political commitment to the problem is sustained when the issue no longer receives attention in the press.

Raised awareness can be achieved through a number of mechanisms, and the Country Studies recount several. For example, one case study reported that documentaries regarding the effect of child labour on children had a significant impact when shown to parents; radio programmes can be effective in reaching poorer and remoter regions, and so on. Looking at these mechanisms overall, however, the “core” message of effective awareness-raising campaigns, especially those at the local level, seems to be one that conveys:

- what constitutes the worst forms of child labour
- practical ways to oppose this (whichever form is being targeted)
- how and where to report violations
- what actions will be taken against violators

4.2. Capacity-building

Many seem to assume that “capacity-building” means simply funding and training – in other words, external assistance. However, capacity-building can instead be seen as a country organizing and mobilizing its own internal resources so that they can be brought to bear more effectively on the child labour problem.

The only system that the reports describe as a way to organize and mobilize resources was either a child labour unit or an informal network of interested parties. Neither made a convincing case, partly because of jurisdictional issues. A unit or network that crossed sectoral boundaries invariably had to rely on voluntary commitment of its members; whereas one which was located within a single sector or ministry (e.g. Ministry of Labour) had only ancillary involvement from other sectors or ministries. Would commitment be stronger if the President or Prime Minister’s Office was the lead agency?

¹⁵⁹

Philippines, p.66.

The reports gave no clear indication whether the capacity of various actors was enhanced by having an overarching plan of action as there were no examples of such a plan existing at the time of the study. A number of the reports, however, bemoaned the fact that there were many discrete projects being undertaken with little coherence or interconnection. This may have been remedied in later years, but it is probably the hallmark, or most distinguishing feature, of Country Programmes in the first 10 years of child labour action in the seven countries – and to the extent that they are indicative of the rest, which is likely, of child labour action throughout the world.

At the individual level, probably the most effective capacity-building method was to bring officials (labour inspectors, NGO leaders, political officials, etc.) into direct and sustained contact with child workers. There is some indication that it helps to have more than one type of social partner involved, for example government labour inspectors with a labour union, a union with the employer, an employer with parents, etc. as if having a witness to the encounter helps prolong the resolution to act.

What also appears to be effective, although there are as yet only subjective reports, is for employers (and sometimes labour unions as well) to take the lead in anti-child labour activities. This has been difficult since informal sector employers, who hire the most child workers, do not belong to employers' associations. Wherever goods are produced for the international market, however, there is the chance to put pressure on producers all along the line – from sub-contractors to those who produce the raw materials – to assure that child workers are not involved.

Another capacity-building measure that was acclaimed in the Country Studies was training in programme planning, design, monitoring, and evaluation. Since few of the programmes described in the studies had actually done this on its own, it is difficult to judge whether such training was sustainable internally. There were also few indications that follow-up evaluations had been carried out as a result of the training. The question needing serious consideration is: what is necessary to really get child labour practitioners to use PME techniques?¹⁶⁰

Raising the issue of child labour through both local and international media has been effective in mobilising opposition to child labour. For example, the international outcry against child prostitution was a primary motivation behind the clamp-down on this practice by the Thai Government. However, the media's tendency to sensationalize a story can work to the detriment of the children involved. Accounts of the use of child labour in clothing and shoe manufacture for export has led to international concern about loss of jobs in the developed countries and calls for sanctions and boycotts. Does such exposure result in children getting out of work and into school? If not in the short term, does it achieve a positive long term effect? The studies warn against this. But the studies contain no examples of the media being used in a truly strategic way to draw attention to child labour abuses and to promote safety measures for those children who

¹⁶⁰ Again, the Philippines reports good sustainability, apparently through systematic training of its partners in PME/DME and the adaptation of the manuals to the Philippine context.

might suddenly lose their livelihoods as a result of increased media and international attention.

In all types of capacity-building, measures need to be taken at the outset to ensure that a national child labour programme which is growing rapidly through a rich mix of resources and favourable conditions, develops the roots it will need to sustain itself. These roots are created by including it right from the beginning in the regular budgets of the agency or by developing some form of “payment for service”. As noted at the beginning of this section, capacity-building is almost entirely dependent on external assistance.

4.3. Direct action with children

What have we discovered from the Country Studies about “direct action” on child labour? Much of each country report is a catalogue of the child labour programmes currently underway in that country. Some entries are simply listed by the name of the implementing agency. In order to be able to make observations that would be useful to others, we had to put some order into these long lists. One of the findings that clearly stands out is that the more successful programmes are those where the intervention is focused and targeted, e.g. to a particular occupation, or a particular group of children. Therefore, we put the children at the centre and ordered the data according to the children towards whom each programme was directed. The children were grouped into eight categories, as noted above.

Seen this way, what immediately becomes apparent is that the majority of programmes are “general”, i.e. they serve multiple target groups, or large undifferentiated categories such as poor children, or street children. Although they also employ multiple interventions, there is usually one method that predominates. What this seems to indicate is that the process by which government and non-governmental agencies became involved in the child labour field was by applying the “method” typical for them – education, health care, advocacy – to the problem of child labour. They applied their method to whatever child workers were available, without differentiating between them and with little discussion with the children or assessment of their particular needs. There is a saying, “when all you have is a hammer, everything looks like a nail”. The fact that the agencies now report this as a problem (although the work they are doing was still largely in the old mode at the time of writing) is a positive sign of growth and evolution in their thinking.

This is where a community-based model may have some immediate utility. Those Country Studies which describe child labour programmes operating in a community-based structure (as opposed to a national government or national NGO base) speak highly of the results. It is hard to carry out a programme within a neighbourhood or small community that does not involve a focus on a particular group of children, and considerable knowledge about those children and why they are working. There do not seem to be any community-based programmes which have been well evaluated in the current group of Country Studies, but there are strong indications that actions of all types – “creating the conditions”, then “capacity-building” and on to “direct action” – are

more effective than broad, general programmes at the national level. However, they do require back-up support.

The pattern that results nation-wide is then a kind of “patch-work”, because it reflects the heterogeneity of the agencies themselves. It also means that any geographical or occupational area where no agency had been working before found itself ignored initially. The discussions on Child Labour Units and national child labour frameworks or networks in the Country Studies do not refer to a need to assess the whole country or to identify where agencies should be working but are not.

Another pattern in the Country Studies is that of child labour being “addressed”, rather than “solved”. There is no indication that any of the programmes described in the reports intend to make a substantive change in the problem. They seem to be operating on a service model, much like a school or health-care system, that is predicated on their always being needed. Although this might seem only prudent, to aim only at chipping away at a particular child labour problem rather than to eliminate it creates the illusion of progress and clouds the financial and policy picture such that it is difficult to monitor change.

Several Country Studies refer to the need for measures to absorb children who might be released from work as the result of an informational or enforcement campaign, but they cite few examples where they actually do that. Many child labour action measures, even education, may have unintended and hidden side effects that will increase stress on families and/or increase child labour in another form. This only emphasizes how crucial it is to analyse the whole potential chain effect of any action being considered.

A question that a number of Country Studies are wrestling with is whether child labour programmes can really offer services to improve children’s working conditions in the short term while working toward the long-term goal of eliminating child labour. They find that often the best strategy is to offer support and assistance to employers of child workers and to the children themselves, instead of pushing it underground. One programme described how its original objective had been to remove children from hazardous work, but found that released children were simply going to work in other factories which were equally hazardous. The programme altered its approach to negotiate with the employers for safer tasks for working children, and carried out a health programme that monitored the children’s health and treated any problems that arose. Its authors, however, are concerned that this strategy appears to be tolerating child labour. This suggests the need to design integrated programmes, particularly that include components on education and health, and tailor them to the factors causing child labour in the specific situation.¹⁶¹

¹⁶¹

This aspect has particularly been stressed in the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention No. 182.

4.4. Programme design, development, partners and processes

4.4.1. Research

The Country Studies all affirm that knowledge is essential. Although most seemed to have envisaged a survey type of study employing a carefully constructed research plan to determine the scope and nature of the child labour problem nationally, several expressed interest or awareness of rapid research techniques which offer relatively inexpensive options for gathering necessary information for programme design or evaluation. It appears that few considered (or mentioned) other ways to get the qualitative information needed for preparing or fine-tuning programmes, such as simple informal discussion to identify why children are working in a particular place. All of these methods can contribute to the pool of knowledge about child labour.

4.4.2. Programme partners

Given the importance of collaboration, a central issue which appears to emerge from many of the programmes is the importance of identifying effective partners, governmental or non-governmental, through whom or with whom to work. Again this can be at a variety of levels.

- identification and capacity-building of government institutes which have the power and remit to tackle child labour
- identifying political leaders at different levels with whom one can work
- identification of rural development NGOs, whose grassroots operations provide access to and an understanding of rural communities likely to be involved in child labour
- most of the case studies point to the importance of collaboration with the local community in prioritization, planning and implementation, to ensure appropriateness, ownership of the programme and future sustainability

It seems that no studies went further to examine whether selection of one or another type of implementing agency (e.g. NGO, government agency, union, etc.) was a factor in the success of the programme, other than the general feeling that community-level work had particular potential. Nor was there an attempt to assess which sectoral partners (education, health, labour, social welfare) were most appropriate. In general, there seemed to be an assumption (unexamined) that the brunt of the work would necessarily fall upon the NGOs.

At the time the Country Studies were carried out, very little impact assessment, cost-effectiveness exercises, analysis of data, or sharing of information took place. As a result, country programmes were continually “reinventing the wheel” and repeating costly mistakes. Without knowing the impact of programmes on children’s lives, programme strategies could not be readjusted as needed. Similarly, only one report mentions accountability. Monitoring and evaluation procedures are the best method by

which to ensure that programmes are having an impact and that funds are being spent wisely, and consequently programmes are more efficient and effective.

4.4.3. Gender

Overall, there is relatively little information on gender issues in the reports. Although child labour statistics show gender differences, there is rarely information about gender attitudes to work and education. The reports suffer from a bias towards economic employment which keeps these issues very much hidden. For example, available information shows that more boys are working than girls. However, all but one of the studies indicate that girls are less likely to be enrolled and/or to complete primary education. This suggests that girls are just not going to school, or that they are working but in more hidden – and consequently more unregulated and potentially exploitable – sectors than boys, or in the domestic arena as unpaid members of the family. In the latter case, then girls would be at a particular disadvantage since a number of the Country Studies point out that children often work to pay for their education.

One case study noted that girls complained that they had to do household work in addition to schoolwork and economic work. If this is common, it suggests that girls are likely to be working the longest hours. None of the reports address the value of girls' labour vs. that of boys. Another issue that is rarely explored is the connection between mothers' and daughters' labour. For example, it might be that as the need for cash incomes increase, mothers are increasingly likely to be working in the "economic" sphere, with the result that girls are pulled out of school to undertake the household tasks that mothers would otherwise have been performing.

It would be useful to see if there is a correlation between a mother's level of education and children's education rates and child labour, such that the more educated a woman is, the more likely it is that her children are educated, in particular her daughters. Other attitudes regarding gender roles may also have a significant impact on girls' education and employment experiences. For example the Turkey report suggests that parents and employers often assume girls will marry, at which time they will stop work (an inaccurate assumption according to that report), and therefore are usually not concerned about their education or training. Similarly, common gender perceptions that women, and consequently even more so girls, are least likely to complain may mean that they are more likely to be employed by individuals who wish to take advantage of this, or that they are not likely to report abuses or attempt to exercise their rights (where these exist).

4.4.4. Sustainability

The loudest silence in the Country Studies concerns sustainability and dependency on external support. Many of the countries were still in the early stages of their relationship with IPEC and were only beginning discussions about national inputs, but one would have expected that this would be a matter for analysis, if not a criterion for inclusion of a programme in the report. Sustainability may be the area that requires the greatest attention in the future.

Conclusions and recommendations

1. Conclusions and recommendations
 - 1.1. Conclusions and recommendations on programmes from the Country Studies
 - 1.1.1. Take a gradual, step-by-step approach
 - 1.1.2. Make use of opportunities presented by the larger context
 - 1.1.3. Monitor change
 - 1.1.4. Combine the different elements
 - 1.1.5. Develop a committed core
 - 1.1.6. Understand the problem
 - 1.1.7. Involve children, parents, and employers
 - 1.1.8. Emphasize prevention
 - 1.2. Recommendations and conclusions on policy issues from the Country Studies
 - 1.2.1. Reduce poverty
 - 1.2.2. Improve information
 - 1.2.3. Collaboration
 - 1.2.4. Education
 - 1.3. Recommendations from the *Synthesis Report*
 - 1.3.1. For IPEC as an organization
 - 1.3.2. For country programmes in general

1. Conclusions and recommendations

There are two sets of conclusions in this report. One set presents the recommendations of the researchers who produced the Country Studies (and acknowledged in at least three of the Country Studies). These are divided into two sections: (a) those recommendations that relate to the content, design or implementation process of child labour programmes; and (b) those recommendations that relate to contextual issues and macro-policy. The second set of conclusions come from the preparation of the *Synthesis Report* itself and the recommendations relate to action by IPEC as an institutional follow-up.

1.1. Conclusions and recommendations on programmes from the Country Studies

1.1.1. Take a gradual, step-by-step approach

Advances in child labour action often build on each other: practical programmes stimulate new legislation which in turn creates new practical programmes. Rather than targeting the ideal solution, it is better to focus on addressing one issue at a time, using each advance to lever change in collateral areas.

1.1.2. Make use of opportunities presented by the larger context

Simple, straightforward approaches have had impressive results through gearing themselves to what is happening in the larger national or regional context. They have “caught the moment” and responded quickly with, say, a consciousness-raising campaign when the media has exposed a child labour incident, or introducing a new school-based initiative when a rising economy has created resources for the education system. Alternatively, when the situation deteriorates, such as in the face of structural adjustment programmes, approaches which are usually effective may not work and special measures are required.

1.1.3. Monitor change

A good monitoring system rarely exists. This results in initially successful efforts losing their impact, and in good policy not being implemented. It creates the sense that no one cares. Accountability must be built into action programmes.

1.1.4. Combine the different elements

Multi-sectoral initiatives are more likely to effect long-term results than single-sector programmes. Mainstreaming and integrating child labour concerns into non-child labour programmes is likely to be the best way of ensuring sustainability.

1.1.5. Develop a committed core

Dynamic people are needed at all levels who understand the problem of child labour. They should be supported and encouraged to keep them involved as work progresses, even if they are transferred into other agencies or areas.

1.1.6. Understand the problem

All actions at the policy and practical level should be supported, and usually preceded, by high-quality research. The contribution of a national survey on child labour to the understanding of the magnitude of the problem “is tremendous”.

1.1.7. Involve children, parents, and employers

In societies that are traditionally highly structured and authority-centred, in particular a more consultative, cooperative model offers opportunities for significant advances by encouraging integration of efforts without threatening individual areas of control or clashing with other institutional structures.

1.1.8. Emphasize prevention

Most of the Country Studies advocate a move towards more preventative rather than rehabilitative work (although there are remarkably few examples of preventative programmes, and few specify what they consider to be a preventative strategy to be).

1.2. Recommendations and conclusions on policy issues from the Country Studies:

1.2.1. Reduce poverty

All the studies recommended that child labour be incorporated in a broader programme of poverty alleviation. Their rationale is that, without action on poverty, child labour programmes will have little effect on those children likely to be pushed back into the labour market at times of economic stress or crisis. The Studies recommend additional funding, and better distribution of effort to overcome rural/urban income disparities (such as increased input in agriculture to achieve higher productivity, and into rural infrastructures). Several studies recommended economic alternatives for child workers and their families and called for “recognition of the relationship between poverty, education, uneven development, health, employment (etc.)”. A holistic approach should be taken when developing and implementing national policies and child labour must be mainstreamed into all policies, at every level.

1.2.2. Improve information

Since relatively little is known about the extent and nature of child labour, particularly in Africa, nearly all the studies recommend national surveys to improve the basis for developing policies and programmes. They recommend that child labour information be

collected as part of labour surveys, and that household surveys be used to identify children who might otherwise be invisible. Where child labour is likely to be deliberately hidden, either by parents or employers, more innovative methods are necessary, such as drawing on the knowledge of NGOs, researchers, health workers, etc. The Country Studies recognize that more qualitative information is needed to help understand the social, economic and cultural factors which promote child labour, and the socio-economic characteristics of child labourers and their families. Some work on this has already been carried out; it merely requires analysis, consolidation and implementation. More information is needed on the social relations which influence the nature, extent and characteristics of the worst forms of child labour.

1.2.3. Collaboration

All Country Studies recommend greater collaboration among actors at all levels. International collaboration is vital for funding, mobilization, and generating commitment of those in power and information on best practices, successful programmes, potential pitfalls, etc. must be shared. Because of the magnitude and complexity of the child labour problem, the Studies recommend involving a variety of actors to ensure that all aspects of the issues are addressed, and that different departments (such as labour, health and education) work together. The Turkey Country Study noted that IPEC was helpful in bringing together the previously dispersed and uncoordinated activities of various such parties. Collaboration with NGOs is useful, as their structures may be more suited to working with those children who are unlikely to approach more official institutions (such as illegal immigrants or street-children). NGOs have the benefit of using a grass-roots approach, with which many of the target families and children can associate.

Most Country Studies recommended the replication of the successful community-level approaches, which combined different sectors in various ways, such as:

- involvement of government, civil society, NGOs and community organizations in planning
- use of government and NGO facilities to provide health services for children at special risk of injury in their work
- collaboration between school authorities and community committees (which can increase enrolment rates and reduce drop-out rates) to mobilize efforts to build more primary schools
- collaboration among employers, communities and action programmes, resulting in commitments to improve working conditions

1.2.4. Education

One of the central issues to emerge from several Country Studies is that a significant factor in children's low school enrolment is due to the poor quality of the education available, as well as an inability to pay school fees and collateral costs. The Studies

recommend that education should be restructured so it is free, accessible, appropriate, compulsory and valued for all children.

1.3. Recommendations from the *Synthesis Report*

1.3.1. For IPEC as an organization

The Country Studies exercise seems to have been universally positive. Does its value merit the time and financial cost of having all countries that have (or plan to have) a child labour programme complete one? Should the original seven Country Studies be reviewed and improved upon? The answer is probably: yes. To make the exercise manageable, the outline could be simplified and it could be treated as purely descriptive rather than attempt to be evaluative. To facilitate organizational learning, a good system for disseminating the reports within the country, to other country programmes, and to interested parties worldwide is needed. A local language version is essential.

- 1. *Recommend that the existing Country Profile format is completed for all IPEC countries by the end of 2001 and it that will be widely disseminated, be available in at least one international and one local language, and be used as a basis for discussion and planning.*

The “good practices” highlighted in this document require evaluation. While the standard Country Programme Evaluation used by IPEC looks at these good practices in the overall context of that programme, further elaboration of the most promising good practices is necessary. Each country could put forward one or two examples for immediate evaluation by an external team. If an evaluation process does not already exist, the team could assist project implementers in preparing an ongoing monitoring and evaluation process.

- 2. *Recommend an external evaluation of selected “good practices” from each of the seven countries participating in this initial study by the end of 2001. The evaluations would become an addendum to the **Synthesis Report** and/or subsequent documents to be incorporated in 2 above?*

The existing Country Studies contain useful information and it would be foolish not to take advantage of this. If technology permits, copies should be made available in a library or archive, and included in bibliographies of child labour information.

- 3. *Recommend that the existing IPEC programme database be expanded to include a module on good practices and a computer-based archive system be established (if one does not exist already) so as to facilitate retrieval, research, analysis, and information sharing.*

1.3.2. For country programmes in general

If the Country Studies are an indication of child labour action elsewhere in the world, we should be very concerned that they do not see themselves in the larger picture. Few studies examined how current child labour patterns in their countries were being influenced by larger economic and social events. Thailand, Kenya and Tanzania are the exceptions. None really looked ahead to the global and national trends that were bearing

down upon them, HIV/AIDS being a prime example.

- 4. *Recommend that country programme planning and future Country Studies concentrate on the problems they face now and those they will face very soon. This analysis must be based on solid and informed scholarship.*

It is easy to find examples of good child labour programmes that relate to visible groups (e.g. street children) or repugnant forms of child labour (e.g. child prostitution) but the Country Studies show that little attention is being given to a number of the worst forms of child labour. If these Country Studies are anything to go by, it appears that countries are focusing on the “easy” end of child labour. They tend to work with the children who are out in the open and to use approaches that are familiar. Hidden child workers, such as those working in crime or in the military, or “new” categories, such as undocumented and migrant workers, are still largely ignored. There was no recognition in the Country Studies that ethnic minorities and politically excluded groups would be at special risk. We need to go beyond standard categories to see and work effectively with the children whose lives are being really destroyed.

- 5. *Recommend that country programmes give the highest priority to finding the worst forms of child labour in all categories (defined not merely by the occupation, but by the circumstances) and then develop a systematic, time-defined plan for addressing each. This would form part of strategic programming through country programme management reviews, country programme evaluations, country profiles and preparation of country strategies. The timebound programme approach, currently being used in three pilot countries, could be a major instrument with its focus on basic and sustainable impact on the worst forms of child labour.*

A major omission in the Country Studies is that they do not address the issue of children’s age. They treat children as virtually one mass – similarly vulnerable and with similar needs. The one exception shows the importance of considering age when designing action. A vocational training programme accepted children of all ages during its first phase, but found that the older ones had negative effects on the younger ones; thereafter it limited the trainees to those under age 12.¹⁶² Similarly, there is some suggestion from the educational policy descriptions (see Table 1) that there is a sharp increase in drop-out rates around the age of 10. No one has studied whether this relates to cultural views regarding the age at which children should enter work, is the result of some common economic pressure, or some other factor.

- 6. *Recommend that programmes and research both differentiate children by age and sex, and be cautious in taking western cultural models as the norm for suitable child behaviour elsewhere in the world.*

Policy and programme guidelines need to find an acceptable framework for children who work in activities that are non-hazardous, non-arduous, and which help prepare them for life in a practical way. Plans and informational campaigns continue to skirt the issue, the result being unnecessary resistance by the public.

As there is nothing in the Country Studies on which to base a recommendation, one can only call for urgent attention to this matter.

- 7. *Recommend clear guidance for country programmes on the matter of non-exploitative children's economic activities.*

It is generally accepted that multi-pronged approaches are essential to address the multiple causal factors of child labour, but too often they are planned within each ministerial jurisdiction and then cobbled together. New mechanisms for programme planning and management are needed at all levels so that programme elements are truly integrated. These mechanisms and structures need to be sustainable without outside assistance.

- 8. *Recommend a study of "good practices" among planning and management techniques in current use in order to identify practical new alternatives to the "Child Labour Unit in the Ministry of Labour" model. Based on the findings of this study, design a manual and training course that demonstrates how to design and run integrated, multi-pronged projects in a simple manner.*

The call is clearly being sounded to (a) try "bottom-up" approaches that galvanize local authorities – whether district, community, traditional village leadership, or household heads (who are frequently women) – and empower them to delve into the child labour problem at the point where it is most directly felt; and (b) build children and family participation into the whole process. At the same time, the most powerful incentives to eradicating child labour come from international scrutiny and international norms.

- 9. *Recommend a series of pilot projects that explore how best to engage the strengths of both community and international levels, e.g. the understanding and access provided by local community structures coupled with the power of incentives emanating from the international markets. A major element of the pilot projects would be to evaluate the extent to which community-based measures can be self-reliant and sustainable over a long enough period of time to effect change in attitude and practice. And secondly, what monitoring or backstopping system needs to be in place in order for communities to be accountable for action and enforcement.*

Annexes

- I. Indicators for measuring impact and evaluation
(Relevant parts of separate earlier internal working paper done by Michael Hopkins)
- II. List of country studies and other documents consulted
- III. List of programmes referred to in the report

Annex I Indicators for measuring impact and evaluation

“Toward a Methodology to Assess the Impact of IPEC Country Programmes”

(Selected Extracts)¹⁶³

by Michael Hopkins

Introductory remarks

The extract below is taken from the internal working paper produced as an initial finding of the Country Studies. Its purpose was to serve as one input to the continuing effort of IPEC to collect and analyse information on the child labour situation globally, and on individual countries for policy, programme and advocacy purposes. Several other studies on indicator methodology have been carried out and have led to refinement of the approaches. Since 1998 the Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme of Child Labour of IPEC has supported and carried out data gathering and analysis in over 28 countries. A range of methodologies is used, from national surveys, secondary sources research, household and workplace level surveys to rapid assessment approaches. Country Profiles are being compiled and updated with key information on the child labour situation in each country. Impact assessment methodologies are being developed that will measure and assess sustainable impact on specific interventions. Monitoring and evaluation of IPEC interventions is carried out through thematic evaluations, Country Programme Evaluations covering all IPEC interventions in the country over a given period and project evaluations for specific sectoral or area-based projects. Child labour monitoring systems and tracking systems are used to monitor and assess impact on children and their families. Guidelines on how to identify and use indicators with suggested indicator, (including most of those listed below) for different types of interventions are used by IPEC and its partners for specific programmes and projects.

The extract below is included to show the methodological lessons that emerged from the wealth of information in the Country Studies. Many of the proposals and suggested indicators below have been considered and included in the development and refinement of the approaches described above.

There is increasing demand for tools that will contribute to and support work in information gathering, statistical data and research on child labour. The following paper used the Seven Country Studies as the basis for a method to assess the effects and impact of country programmes on child labour. It presents issues, measures and a number of indicators that practitioners might find useful in evaluating such work. Special effort

¹⁶³

Extracts have been edited for understanding and to link between extracted parts of the full report.

Some information is presented in table form for ease of reference.

has been taken to ensure that the indicators can actually be measured, e.g. has capacity been built is translated into concrete questions (and sometimes subjective questions) such as after the capacity building activities were carried out, did it translate into better service to clients on a scale of 1=worse, 2=no change, 3=improved, 4=greatly improved. What we do here is to take the key issues identified above and the discussion on them, and then suggest a number of indicators that can be used to measure progress or impact for each of the issues. We note that there is a conceptual difference between straightforward measuring progress of projects with clear objectives, indicators etc. and the measuring of progress of countries in dealing with their child labour problem. The focus here is on the latter. Thus, in the following each section covers an issue (the section heading), then a measure is suggested and then this is followed by a list of suggested indicators that can be used for the monitoring and evaluation of national programmes. An asterisk determines what the author considers are the key indicators and can be used for the basis of a rapid assessment in countries with limited resources. For each measure there is sometimes no indicator because the measure concept is too fuzzy, or there is one or more indicators. Eventually we can juxtapose issues, measures and indicators in the same table. When indicators emerged from specific country studies are marked.¹⁶⁴

We have further divided the issues into three main categories:

Category A: First, there are a number of indicators that measure the progress made in the elimination of child labour (i.e. essentially output indicators such as whether the objective of IPEC and governments who have signed in on IPEC coincide).

Indicators to be used would be the one on key indicators and from that the PECLI would be calculated.

Category B: Second, there are indicators for the main (technical) programme areas: legislation, enforcement, socio-economic development policies and programmes in the fields of employment/labour market, education and training for children/youth, social protection, poverty alleviation, awareness-raising and community mobilization, and international action.

Category C: Third, there are indicators for modes of operation/organizational arrangements: capacity building (including training), direct action, horizontal and vertical cooperation mechanisms and accountability mechanisms.

To each of these divisions are added whether the indicator helps at the macro, meso, and/or micro policy dimension – the macro level is essentially the national or international policy level, the meso level is the link between macro and micro i.e. the channels between the top and the grassroots and the micro level is the direct contact with the beneficiaries where on-the-ground activities take place.

¹⁶⁴ NB Ph-Philippines, Th-Thailand, Tk-Turkey, In-Indonesia, Br-Brazil, K-Kenya, Tn-Tanzania; Tn/a - Tanzania and adjusted by author; *- priority indicator.

Child Labour Index (PECLI)

A ranking of countries according to how well they performed on a synthetic index (Programme to Eliminate Child Labour Index) would help to promote the notion of responsible action toward child labour among countries. The main advantage of a composite indicator and ranking is that it synthesises in any easy-to-understand manner a complex set of underlying phenomena. Hopefully, too, it can serve as a sort of Trojan Horse whereby interest is stimulated enough for people to wish to delve more deeply into the theory and data underlying the composite indicator and ranking. This is exactly what happened to the United Nations Human Development Index of countries. That one country performed better than others was interesting enough for the individual countries to see why they were behaving less spectacularly than others. A PECLI would have the same effect.

What could a PECLI contain? First, it should be composed of indicators that indicated positively how a country performed, 100: the percent of children in the labour force, for instance. Second, the indicators should be scaled so that they range between 0 and 1, where 1 means perfection and 0 the worst performer. Weightings can be chosen using the principle of Occam's razor, i.e. the simplest is preferred in the light of no competing theory, hence equal weights are chosen. Third not too many indicators should be included. Fourth, the underlying theory is that the higher a country (or region or province) performs the better its treatment of child labour.

Suggested elements of the indicators (first ideas):

- percent of children aged 3-15 working over all children aged 3-15, with higher weighting given, in some way to be determined, for the younger children
- percent net enrolment rate in schools for children aged 5-15
- percent of government re-current expenditure over all expenditure devoted to *directly averting* child labour

This can then be calculated, with a little but not insuperable difficulty, for all countries.¹⁶⁵

Tables of proposed indicators

Specific indicators in Category A are given in Table 1, for Category B in Table 2 and for Category C in Table 3.

¹⁶⁵ See application of this methodology in M. Hopkins: "The measurement of Corporate Social Responsibility and its application to What does Human Development mean for corporations" (*UNDP 1999 Human Development Report*, Background Papers, Nov., HDRO/UNDP, New York, 1998).

Table 1 - Category A: Key indicators measuring progress

measures	indicators
4.1. Child Labour Index	
4.2. Objectives and how they are achieved	
A The main issue is the elimination of child labour in as short a time as possible. Most governments in the case studies may adhere to this but, in practice, do little substantively to achieve this goal.	A1. All the indicators identified in this section show, in one way or another, progress toward meeting the objective. However, a succinct, easily memorized and conceptualized overall indicator to measure progress toward the elimination of child labour would be useful - the PECLI indicator in the previous section.
4.3. Political cCommitment and sustainability	
A. Policies against child labour adopted and programmes implemented by government, employers=' and workers=' organizations, and NGOs.	<p>A1. The PECLI indicator (*) and indicators under capacity development below. [A]</p> <p>A2. The Government has a national policy statement on child labour. (Yes/No) (*) [A]</p> <p>A3. Programmes implemented (sum more than \$50K) by government? (Yes/No) [A,E]</p> <p>A4. Programmes implemented (sum more than \$50K) by employer='s organizations? (Yes/No) [A,E]</p> <p>A5. Programmes implemented (sum more than \$50K) by worker organizations? (Yes/No) [A,E]</p> <p>A6. Programmes implemented (sum more than \$50K) by NGOs? (Yes/No) [A,E]</p>
B. Increased number of public statements highlighting the undesirability of exploitative child labour practices by policy makers, celebrities, other public figures, and advocates.	<p>B1. Content analysis of major newspapers/radio/TV/internet to see how often the phrase “child labour” appears by major category (e.g. in connection with policy/NGOs/protest/by celebrities/by public figures/by advocates). [A]</p> <p>B2. Content analysis of major political speeches in one year as reported by newspapers/radio/TV/internet to see how often the phrase “child labour” appears by major category (by type of major policy). [A]</p>
C. The degree to which child labour concerns have been mainstreamed into major development programmes.	C1. The programmes in A2 to A6 are stand alone or major parts of existing programmes? Percent in each case. [A,E]
D. Sustainability can be measured by progress on an indicator such as the PECLI and whether capacity has been developed in major institutions in the country.	<p>D1. Progress in PECLI since previous year? [A]</p> <p>D2. Capacity been developed on scale 1 to 5 according to questionnaire of Appendix A? [A,E,I]</p>

Table 2. - Category B: Technical programmes (Input indicators)

measures	indicators
4.4. Legislation	
A. The adoption or revision of key legislation in the fields of labour, education and social protection by the Government e.g. raising the minimum age for employment or expansion of protective legislation to cover children in the informal and/or the agricultural sector.	A1. Legislation exists in the fields of labour, education and social protection by the Government e.g. raising the minimum age for employment or expansion of protective legislation to cover (*) children in the informal and/or the agricultural sector? (Yes/No in each case) [A,E]
	A2. Legislation implemented in each case? (Yes/No) (*) [A,E,I]
B. Legislation exists to make education compulsory for all children aged 5 to 12 and assistance is given to parents having financial difficulties.	B1. Legislation exists to make education compulsory for all children aged 5 to 12? (Yes/No) (*) [A,E]
	B2. Assistance is given to parents of children 5 to 12 having financial difficulties? (Yes/No) [A,E]
C. Legislation exists whereby enterprises that use child labour (both males and females) guarantee no hazardous work, no work before 5 am and after 7pm, and insists upon time off for education provided or assisted by the enterprise.	C1. Copies of legislation posted prominently in villages, provincial capitals and work places? [E,I]
4.5. Enforcement	
A. Effective legal action taken e.g. through an increase in the number of child/forced/hazardous labour cases reported, filed for prosecution, the number of cases taken to court and the actual number of prosecutions.	A1. The number of prosecutions against employers of child labour lodged, heard and successfully completed. (Th) [I]
	A2. The number of children rescued from abusive circumstances and the number of these children known to have been successfully re-integrated within their home or other appropriate community. (Th) [I]
	A3. Printed pages of legal documentation publicly available covering enforcement of child labour. [I]
B. Enforcement officers made aware of the law and its implementation?	B1. The number of enforcement officers (police, labour inspectors, social workers, human rights ombudsmen etc.) trained in a given period and length of period in days. [E]

measures	indicators
4.6. Socio-economic issues	
4.6.1. Socio-economic policy and incentives	
A. Increases in investments by the Government or private sector organizations in socio-economic development for disadvantaged groups, prone to resorting to child labour are allocated and used.	A. These follow the indicators in the social protection section below i.e.: A1. Government expenditure as proportion of all expenditure on medication, food, accommodation, education, etc. targeted specifically to child labourers. (*) [A] A2. Number of centres that provide child labourers with medication, food, accommodation, education etc. [E] A3. Government expenditure on child benefits x poor/non-poor households. [A] A4. Average monthly income from child labour by region and productive sector. (Br) [A]
B. Incentive structure established by Government to encourage enterprises not to use child labour or if they do to encourage enterprises to provide educational allowances and time off for education. (?)	B1. Incentive structure established by Government to encourage enterprises not to use child labour or if they do to encourage enterprises to provide educational allowances and time off for education (Exists?). [A]
C. The extent to which the Government insists that large foreign investors have a code of conduct that has an enlightened child labour policy ¹⁶⁶ in its factories and for its sub-contractors. (?)	C1. The extent to which the Government insists that large foreign investors have a code of conduct that has an enlightened child labour policy in its factories and for its sub-contractors. Code of conduct exists along these lines for foreign and domestic investment in industrial activities? [A] C2. : Code of conduct is distributed? [E,I] C3. : Training is given in Code of Conduct? [E] C4. :Code of conduct is independently monitored? [E,I]
D. Labelling initiatives exist in the country to assert that child labour has either not been used or used with appropriate measures taken?	D1. :Labelling initiative exists in country? [A] D2. How many? [A] D3. What products? [A]
E. Child labour issues are considered in macro-economic policy decisions.	E1. Child labour issues are considered, explicitly, in macro-economic policy decisions. (Yes/No, Which sectors? which decisions?) [A]
F. Overall socio-economic context of country.	F1. Socio-economic indicators of the country such as GDP per capita, GDP growth rate, selected labour force statistics (population, labour force, size of informal sector and major activities and geographic locations, functional literacy of population, unemployment rate [if follow ILO definition], definition of poverty line and percent of population below it). [A]

¹⁶⁶ Defined as those enterprises, either public or private, that do not use child labour below the age of 12, or if they do to encourage enterprises to provide educational allowances and time off for education.

measures	indicators
4.6.2. Labour market policy	
A. A decrease in the number of children involved in child labour, (this indicator is relatively easy to use in programmes which aim to withdraw a number of children from work, but more difficult in the case of measures geared towards prevention, for example through awareness-raising).	A1. National household survey exists to examine child labour situation? (*) [A] A2. Informal sector survey exists that covers child labour? (*) [A] A3. Percent of children working over all children in the same age bracket (3-16, say) (Tk) (*) [A] A4. Census has questions covering activities of children? [A] A5. Incidence of working children (based on children who worked for at least one hour during the reference day or week preceding the survey) aged 3 to 17 years of age as proportion of all children in the age group x male/female x urban/rural x age group (Ph/b) [A] A6. Child Unemployment rates. (Br) [A] A7. Children employed by Hours per Week. (Br) [A] A8. Employed children with families who earn less than the mean minimum wage. (Br) [A] A9. Employed children presence in school and weekly working hours (not studying, 14h/wk, 15-39h/wk). (Br) [A] A10. Child labour by region and economic activity. (Br) [A]
B. A decrease in the number of children involved in the worst forms of child labour. A related issue is to determine the potential hazards to working children (Tn). The worst forms of child labour are defined as “bonded labourers, children in hazardous working conditions and occupations and children who are particularly vulnerable, i.e. very young working children (below 12 years of age) and working girls”. (ILO/IPEC).	B1. Child workers'= exposure to hazardous environment (% of children 5 - 17 years of age) x not exposed/exposed (chemicals/physical environment/biological) x urban/rural x male/female. (Ph) [A]
C. Agreement is reached and widely known (within government, civil society and the business community) on 2 or 3 most intolerable kinds of child labour, the national commitment to eliminate them, and actions which are under way or can be taken to support the commitment. (Tk?)	C1. What agreements are there (within government, civil society and the business community) on 2 or 3 of the most intolerable kinds of child labour. [A] C2. Is there a national commitment to eliminate them? [A] C3. What are the actions under way ? [E] C4. Are the actions effective? (Yes/No) [E,I]
D. A system is established in work-related situations which is made known and is easily accessible to children, families, workers, supervisors, the general public etc. (Tk?)	
E. Assess working conditions in which working children are subject to. (Tn)	F1. The main problems facing parents in keeping their children at school. (*) [A]
F. Finding the causes of child labour. (Tn)	F2. Establishing the nature and magnitude of child labour problem. Emphasize the worst forms of child labour which are defined as “bonded labourers, children in hazardous working conditions and occupations and children who are particularly vulnerable, i.e. very young working children (below 12 years of age) and working girls”. (Tn/a) [A]
G. Incentives exist for entrepreneurs not to use child labour or to use child labour but in good conditions with possibility of education?	G1. Do incentives exist for entrepreneurs not to use child labour or to use child labour but in good conditions with possibility of education? [A]

measures	indicators
4.6.3. Education	
A. Increased percentage of national Government budgets allocated for the provision of compulsory, free, quality education, including specific provisions for disadvantaged population groups.	A1. The level of national spending on primary and secondary education, including vocational training for school-leavers. (Th) [A] A2. Net and gross attendance and enrolment rates by age by sex for primary and secondary schools. [A]
B. An increase in (pre-) primary and secondary school enrolment, retention and completion rates by age-group.	B1. Dropouts as percent of all students who stay in school, aged 5-15. (Tk/Th/a) (*) [A] B2. Socio-economic characteristics of children who never enter school. [A] B3. The retention rates of children from Grade 6 to 7 and Grade 9 to 10. (Th) [A]
C. There is a need to establish baseline data on child labour in primary schools. (Tn)	C1. Percent of working children who go to school over all children in school for specific age groups (5-16 say). (Tk) (*) [A]
D. What activities are done on the demand side to keep children at school (e.g. free school meals, free transport, incentives for parents etc.)	D1. Government expenditure on demand side incentives for parents to send their children to school. [A]
E. What are the main problems facing parents in keeping their children at school?	E1. The main problems facing parents in keeping their children at school. (*) [A]
F. Why are dropout rates for young children for each sex so high?	F1. What are the socio-economic characteristics of school dropouts? [A]
4.6.4. Training of Individuals	
A. Training is carried out for officials (labor inspectors, police, educational inspectors, social workers etc.) on the most intolerable forms of child labour and how to recognize them. (In)	A1. How many trainers for anti-child labour practices exist? [E] A2. Number of days per year given by trainers to officials (labor inspectors, police, educational inspectors, social workers etc.) on the most intolerable forms of child labour and how to recognize them. [E]
B. Training is carried out for a wide variety of people in addition to officials in (A) (national pool of trainers, child and youth leaders, para-legal workers etc.)	B1. Number of days per year given by trainers to a wide variety of people in addition to officials in (A) (national pool of trainers, child and youth leaders, para-legal workers etc.). [E]
C. What has been the effectiveness of training?	C. What has been the effectiveness of training i.e. has it impacted on reducing the incidence of child labour? The indicators under the labour market section above can be used i.e. C1. Incidence of working children (based on children who worked for at least one hour during the reference day or week preceding the survey) aged 3 to 17 years of age as proportion of all children in the age group x male/female x urban/rural x age group. (Ph/b) [A,I] C2. Child workers' exposure to hazardous environment (% of children 5 - 17 years of age) x not exposed/exposed (chemicals/physical environment/biological) x urban/rural x male/female. (Ph) [A,I] C3. Incentives exist for entrepreneurs not to use child labour or to use child labour but in good conditions with possibility of education? [A]

measures	indicators
4.6.5. Social protection	
A. Increases in investments by the Government or private sector organizations in social protection programmes for disadvantaged groups, prone to resorting to child labour are allocated and used.	A1. Government expenditure as proportion of all expenditure on medication, food, accommodation, education, etc. targeted specifically to child labourers. (*) [A]
	A2. Government expenditure on child benefits x poor/non-poor households. [A]
	A3. Number of centres that provide child labourers with medication, food, accommodation, education etc. [A]
4.6.6. Poverty alleviation	

A. Increased numbers of people from poor population groups benefit from poverty alleviation, income generating, job promotion and/or social protection measures and refrain from utilizing child labour.	A1. The percentage of households in the population classed as poor. (Th) [A]
	A2. The gap between the income of the top and bottom 20% of households. (Th) [A]
	A3. Number of child labourers x status of household head. [A]
	A4. Number of child labourers x income or consumption category of household head. [A]
	A5. Number of child labourers x location x poor/non-poor families. [A]
	A6. Number of child labourers x sex x poor/non-poor families x location. [A]

measures	indicators
4.7. Awareness and community mobilization	
A. Child labour issues are addressed in programmes and projects by an increased number of public or private sector organizations.	<p>A. Use indicators under labour market analysis, and see how these change over time, to examine impact i.e.:</p> <p>A1. Incidence of working children (based on children who worked for at least one hour during the reference day or week preceding the survey) aged 3 to 17 years of age as proportion of all children in the age group x male/female x urban/rural x age group. (Ph/b) [A]</p> <p>A2. Child workers=' exposure to hazardous environment (% of children 5 - 17 years of age) x not exposed/exposed (chemicals/physical environment/biological) x urban/rural x male/female. (Ph) [A]</p> <p>A3. Incentives exist for entrepreneurs not to use child labour or to use child labour but in good conditions with possibility of education? [A]</p>
B. Increased media attention and reporting on child labour abuses and means to address them (e.g. TV clips and programmes, radio programmes, newspaper articles).	B1 Content analysis of media attention on the reporting of child labour abuses and means to address them (e.g. TV clips and programmes, radio programmes, newspaper articles). [A]
C. Coverage of children at work is frequent, constructive and educational. (In)	<p>C1. Number of newspaper articles on child labour. [A]</p> <p>C2. Type of newspaper article on child labour (frequency, constructive or not and educational or not). (In) [A]</p>
D. Total number of articles and television items on child labour where child labour is the predominant issue. (Th/a)	D. Total number of articles and television items on child labour where child labour is the predominant issue. (Th/a) [A]
E. Which is the most effective media method to raise awareness about child labour?	E. Which is the most effective media method to raise awareness about child labour? [A, E]
F. Which is the most effective media method to impact upon reducing child labour?	F. Which is the most effective media method to impact upon reducing child labour? [A,E]
G. To what extent does the national action programme emphasize community participation?	<p>G1. Does the national action programme emphasize community participation (Yes/No)? (*) [A]</p> <p>G2. Proportion of government expenditure on child labour that is allocated to promoting communities. [A]</p>
H. How many people and communities have been involved in child labour related activities?	<p>H1. How many people have been involved in child labour related activities? [A]</p> <p>H2. How many communities have been involved in child labour related activities? [A]</p>

Table 3. - Category C: Modes of operation/organization

measures	indicators
4.8. Capacity building of institutions	
A. What are the types of institutions to which capacity development has been addressed?	[Appendix in original internal working paper gives questions and, implicitly, indicators to each of the four above-mentioned issues].
B. What forms of capacity development appear to be the most successful? (*)	
C. To what extent has capacity development been effective and sustainable?	
D. Is the capacity development component part of an overall 3-M national strategy?	
4.9. Building alliances	
A. Increase in the number and effectiveness of institutional and coordination mechanisms on child labour at national and decentralized levels.	A1. Do institutional and coordination mechanisms on child labour exist at national levels? (Yes/No) [A,E]
	A2. Do institutional and coordination mechanisms on child labour exist at decentralized levels? (Yes/No) [A,E]
B. The degree to which responsibility for action against child labour has devolved from the national to the local levels and an increased number of programmes and institutions in place at the local level to address child labour.	B1. Government expenditure on child labour programmes and institutions at national and local level. [A,E]
	B2. Other bodies expenditure (Donors, NGOs, private sector organizations etc.) on child labour programmes and institutions at national and local level. [A,E]
C. To determine what are the most effective ways in which alliances can be built at the national and local level.	C1. What is the most effective ways in which alliances can be built at the national and local level (regular meetings, newsletters, video information, other)? [A]
D. Does decentralization hold out much promise for reducing child labour?	

E. How can successful local level initiatives and experiences be absorbed at national level and thereby replicated throughout the country?	E1. Same as C1. [A]
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measures	indicators
4.10. International aspects	
A. Has the government signed any major international conventions concerning child labour?	A1. Which are the major international conventions concerning child labour signed by the Government? (*) [A]
B. If so have these initiatives been widely publicized and then monitored and evaluated for their effectiveness?	B1. Has an evaluation report been produced on the effectiveness of the signed initiatives? (Yes/No) (*) [A]
	B2. Have these signings been widely publicized. (Yes/No). [A]
	B3. Have the signed initiatives been monitored for their effectiveness? (Yes/No) [A]
C. Have international bodies examined the effectiveness of their resolution, conventions and conference decisions?	C1. Are quantitative results available on the effectiveness of resolutions, conventions and conference decisions on child labour across all signatories? (Yes/No and report results) (*) [A]
	C2. Have international bodies examined the effectiveness of their resolution, conventions and conference decisions across all signatories? (Yes/No for each convention signed) [A]
D. Has the government researched the impact of a “level playing field” or creating codes of conduct for foreign investors on its trade level? Does it promote a social clause in trade agreements?	D1. Has the government researched the impact of a “level playing field” ¹⁶⁷ on foreign investment? (Yes/No) [A]
	D2. Has the government insisted on the creation of codes of conduct for foreign investors? [A]
	D3. Does the government promote a social clause in trade agreements? [A]
E. Has the government encouraged the “social labelling” of products whereby it guarantees that the products for export have been made within a progressive environment for child labour?	E1 Has the government encouraged the “social labeling” of products whereby it guarantees that the products for export have been made within a progressive environment for child labour? (Yes/No) [A]
4.11. Accountability	
This is covered in enforcement. It is possible to split hairs and, say, count the number of labour inspectors or policemen newly recruited to enforce the law and then to use this section on accountability to estimate the number of successful prosecutions etc. However, we have put all these issues under the section on enforcement following the fact that, as can be seen in our synthesis, none of the case studies, themselves, distinguished between the two concepts.	See those in the section on enforcement above. [A]

¹⁶⁷

I.e. has the government compared its national legislation on foreign inward investment with other countries?

How can these indicators be measured on a regular basis?

There are at least nine main methodologies through which information on the above indicators can be obtained: (1) rapid appraisal methods using slimmed down survey methods, (2) full-fledged household surveys, (3) censuses, (4) registration data, (5) opinion surveys and other subjective questionnaires, (6) media content analyses, (7) key informants, (8) time-use surveys, (9) open-ended surveys and interviews. Most of these, of course, are expensive which is the oft-used rationale for *not* carrying out the data collection. The relatively inexpensive methods (5, 6 and 7) have a number of limitations and pitfalls that the more expensive ones attempt to avoid. We look next at each technique in greater detail.

- (1) Rapid appraisal techniques (RAT) do not mean “unscientific” nor do they mean “rapid” necessarily, perhaps the best way to describe them is “efficient and focussed on the key issues”. To this end they can use a number of methodologies. A slimmed down questionnaire to a smaller sample than a full-fledged household survey for example. The World Bank does this using a “priority survey” instead of its full-fledged “Living standards measurement survey”. However, the exercise is still lengthy and rarely costs less than US\$ 250’000. A RAT can also simply mean adding questions to censuses and surveys about child labour practice.
- (2) Household surveys are, perhaps, the most widespread method of collecting information on child labour. But it is worth repeating a cautionary tales from the Indonesia case study on the national household survey that collected information about child labour. The survey demonstrated the limits of conventional approaches to understand the scope of “harmful child labour”. For instance, work performed by some children is “hidden or invisible”; many will have been sensitized about the issue and thus reluctant to report work which might be considered inappropriate; the definition of “household” is such that children living with other children on the streets or shanty huts would not be covered; and economically active respondents to the survey are all household heads (mostly men). Regardless of gender, many busy household heads have little idea how or where their children spend their time. Furthermore, some of the worst forms of child labour – slavery, prostitution, those living in gangs – are not covered by household surveys, so special investigations are needed there. But these limitations should not obscure the fact that the household survey methodology is still the cheapest way to get accurate information on most forms of child labour.
- (3) Censuses use essentially the same questions as household surveys: they try to be as comprehensive as possible but not necessarily more accurate – witness the struggle currently going on in the US Bureau of Census to use a method to assess immigrant populations only, while Congress wishes to survey the whole population.
- (4) Registration data collected by labour inspectors are often somewhat patchy in scope and coverage, and only cover modern sector activities. Nevertheless, they can draw the public’s attention to child labour practices that occur even in the “best” work

locations, since the informal sector and unregistered business will certainly not appear.

- (5) Opinion surveys are well known in industrialized countries but less apparent in developing countries. A number of the indicators listed in the previous section are subjective or can be rapidly collected using a combination of an opinion type questionnaire with key resource people and informants. Appendix A/B in original study shows the sort of hybrid that can be quickly developed and applied for specific investigations.
- (6) Content analysis of speeches, articles etc. is easy to do, provided the material is computerized. There are many computer programmes for this type of analysis.
- (7) Time use surveys follow a family or individual over a period of time and record every activity. This may not yet have been done to record child labour activities, but in principle there is no reason not to use the technique.
- (8) The use of key informants at the village or household level can provide a rapid assessment of what is happening in a specific area. Of course, biases can creep in this way; how to select the right people for this has never been an easy exercise.
- (9) Open-ended surveys, much favoured by anthropologists, can be useful if carefully organized. They should contain some kind of protocol questionnaire, which must not be too long. The questions should be structured in an “opinion-poll” manner to elicit more subjective information than one would find in the three other types of data collection listed here. An example of a questionnaire and its application is given in Appendices A and B in original study.

To assess progress, monitoring must be carried out on a regular and systematic basis over time and to preserve comparability. It is only normal to try to allocate as large a part of available cash resources as possible to averting child labour, rather than using these resources for perceived overhead expenditure such as survey data, monitoring and evaluation. But major programmes in the industrialized countries rarely devote less than 5 per cent of total resources to monitoring and evaluation and this should be the case in the developing countries as well. This is because inefficient allocation of resources, however well meaning, can lead eventually to total failure. Consequently, the main conclusion of this study is to use rapid appraisal techniques as far as possible to collect key data at the national level for monitoring progress on the aversion of child labour. It is worth stressing that any resources allocated to data collection must be matched almost equally with resources for analysis and research of the data collected. Statistical and project offices around the world are littered with information collected but not analysed.

Annex II List of Country Studies and other documents consulted

A. Country Studies

- Brazil: “Programme for the Eradication of Child Labour in Brazil” (unfinished manuscript), no author, no date.
- Indonesia: “Indonesian Experience with Child Labour: Looking for Best Practices”, by Nafsiah Mboi et al., February 1998.
- Kenya: “A Study of Action Against Child Labour in Kenya”, by Benson Odera Oyuga et al., September 1997.
- Philippines: “For Children Who Toil: An Assessment of Child Labor Initiatives in the Philippines”, by Jeanne Frances Illo et al. (no date).
- Thailand: “Thailand Country Study Towards a Best Practice Guide on Sustainable Action Against Child Labour”, by Senator Dr. Saisuree Chutikul, January 1998.
- Turkey: “Developments of Guidelines for Policy Makers”, “Country Report Turkey On Sustainable Action Against Child Labour”, by Yusuf Ziy Ozcan et al., 1997.

B. Other documents

- Hashim, Iman. “Summary Report focusing on Intolerable Forms of Child Labour” (plus individual reports on each Country Study), IPEC, 1998.
- Hopkins, Michael. “Toward a Methodology to Assess the Measurement and Impact of IPEC Country Programmes based on a Synthesis of Best Practices in Seven Countries”, IPEC, 1999.
- IPEC. “Implementation report, IPEC South East Asia, 1998-1999”.

Annex III List of programmes referred to in the report

Please note that the following list is incomplete in that a number of the Country Studies did not always identify the programmes they described by their formal names. Nor did they usually distinguish between those supported by IPEC and those supported by government or other agencies. Especially in the case of policy, research, or advocacy/public awareness-raising, IPEC-supported “projects” were not identified by name. They may have been identified by the agency or group carrying it out (e.g. Kenya), or the target group to which the action programme was directed. This accounts for the disparity in the length of the lists below – some are very complete, others quite limited – but does not mean that fewer action programmes were undertaken in that country or fewer contributions made by that country in the Synthesis Report.

Brazil

(No action programmes described; none used in the Synthesis Report)

Indonesia

(Many action programmes described and used in the Synthesis Report, but not necessarily listed by name)

Kenya

(Many action programmes described and used in the Synthesis Report, but not listed by name)

Philippines

(Many projects not named)

- Sagip Batang Manggagawa project
- An Action-Research and Intervention Programme to Create a Child-Focused Environment for Children with Experiences in Prostitution
- Project NODROPS-EFA
- Sanayan ng mga Batang Mananambakan (SABANA)
- Sunday High School Forum
- Paaralang Pang Tao (School for the People)

Tanzania

- Towards Elimination of Child Labour in Tea and Tobacco Plantations in Iringa Region
- Enhancing the Capacity of Employers to Combat Child Labour
- Training and Sensitization of Community Based Campaign Against Child Labour

- Prevention of Child Labour in the Mining Sector
- Integration of child labour components in the curriculum for social workers and labour administrators at the National Social Welfare Training Institute
- Advocacy and Sensitization Programme on Girl Child Domestic Workers in Urban Centres
- Protection and Rehabilitation of Street and Working Children
- Enhancing the Capacity of the Child Labour Unit
- Training Programme on Labour Inspection and the Adoption of a Policy on Child Labour
- Combating Child Labour in Plantations (TFTU)
- Preventing the Recruitment of Girl Child Domestic Workers
- Training Trade Union Leaders to Campaign against Child Labour
- Public awareness-raising about child labour through newspaper supplements
- Training of rural based media practitioners on child labour
- Children of Street Welfare Association (non-IPEC programme)
- National programme for poverty eradication strategy

Thailand

- The Klong San Unit for Receiving Complaints about Child Labour and Prostitution
- Ban Khanon School
- Volunteer Child Labour Monitors
- Huay Krai School
- Daughters' Education Programme
- Phak Boong Play
- Rural Sri Sa Ket Women's Association for Occupational Promotion and Development
- Se-Ma Pattana Chewit Secondary Schools
- Training on Research on Child Abuse and Neglect
- Thai Trade Unions Against Child Labour
- Child Garland Sellers in Chiang Mai
- Newspaper Coverage of Child Labour Issues

Turkey

- Upgrading Labour Inspection Skills on Child Labour (and subsequent projects)
- Training of Primary School Principals and Their Environment on Child Labour
- Understanding the Profile of TESK Inspectors; Training Programme of the TESK
- Enhancing the Capacity of Trade Unions
- Training of the Regional and Provincial Offices of TURK-IS
- Improving the Working Conditions of Children in Small Scale Enterprises in the Metal Sector (and following project)
- Increasing the Awareness of TESK on Child Labor (handicrafts)

- Enhancing the Capacity of the General Directorate of Police, Dept. of Security, Division of Child Protection
- Program to Enhance Child Labor Unit (and following)
- Analysing the Effects of Chemical Products on Child Labor
- National Survey on Child Labor
- The Role of Child Labor in the Carpet Industry
- Child Labor in Rural Turkey
- Children Working on the Streets in Ankara
- Vocational Training for Migrant Children in Eastern Turkey
- Establishment of a Child Labour Unit within the Dean of Students at Bilkent University
- Increasing the Awareness of Solvent Producers in Istanbul