International
Labour
Office

Ending child labour by 2025: A review of policies and programmes

ALLIANCE

CONTRIBUTION
TO ACHIEVING
SDG TARGET 8.7

Ending child labour by 2025: A review of policies and programmes

GENEVA, 2017

Copyright © International Labour Organization
First published 2017

This is an open access work distributed under the Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 IGO License (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/igo). Users can reuse, share, adapt and build upon the original work, even for commercial purposes, as detailed in the License. The International Labour Office (ILO) must be clearly credited as the owner of the original work. The use of the emblem of the ILO is not permitted in connection with users' work.

Translations – In case of a translation of this work, the following disclaimer must be added along with the attribution: This translation was not created by the International Labour Office (ILO) and should not be considered an official ILO translation. The ILO is not responsible for the content or accuracy of this translation.

Adaptations – In case of an adaptation of this work, the following disclaimer must be added along with the attribution: This is an adaptation of an original work by the International Labour Office (ILO). Responsibility for the views and opinions expressed in the adaptation rests solely with the author or authors of the adaptation and are not endorsed by the ILO.

All queries on rights and licensing should be addressed to ILO Publications (Rights and Licensing), CH-1211 Geneva 22, Switzerland, or by email to rights@ilo.org.

Ending child labour by 2025: A review of policies and programmes
International Labour Office (ILO), Geneva, 2017

ISBN: 978-92-2-131399-1 (print)
ISBN: 978-92-2-131400-4 (web pdf)

Also available in French: Mettre fin au travail des enfants d'ici 2025: Analyse des politiques et des programmes, ISBN 978-92-2-230995-5 (print); ISBN 978-92-2-230996-2 (web pdf), ILO, Geneva, 2017; and in Spanish: Poner fin al trabajo infantil a más tardar en 2025: Análisis de políticas y programas, ISBN 978-92-2-328402-2 (print); ISBN 978-92-2-328403-9 (web pdf), ILO, Geneva, 2017.

The designations employed in ILO publications, which are in conformity with United Nations practice, and the presentation of material therein do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of the International Labour Office concerning the legal status of any country, area or territory or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers.

The responsibility for opinions expressed in signed articles, studies and other contributions rests solely with their authors, and publication does not constitute an endorsement by the International Labour Office of the opinions expressed in them.

Reference to names of firms and commercial products and processes does not imply their endorsement by the International Labour Office, and any failure to mention a particular firm, commercial product or process is not a sign of disapproval.

Information on ILO publications and digital products can be found at: www.ilo.org/publns.

Funding for this report was provided by the United States Department of Labor under Cooperative Agreement numbers GLO/10/55/USA and GLO/11/11/USA. This report does not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the United States Department of Labor, nor does mention of trade names, commercial products, or organizations imply endorsement by the United States Government.

Table of contents

Part 1. Child labour and the sustainable development goals **7**

1.1 Global child labour estimates 8

1.2 Child labour estimates by region and national income grouping 13

1.3 Assessing the pace of progress 14

Part 2. Identifying a policy response to child labour **19**

2.1 Legal commitment to child labour elimination 22

2.1.1 The rationale 22

2.1.2 Policy approaches 22

2.2 Decent work for adults and youth of legal working age 24

2.2.1 Rationale 24

2.2.2 Policy approaches 25

2.3 Social protection 32

2.3.1 Rationale 32

2.3.2 Policy approaches 34

2.4 Education 41

2.4.1 Rationale 41

2.4.2 Policy approaches 42

2.5 Addressing child labour in supply chains 48

2.5.1 Rationale 48

2.5.2 Policy approaches 49

2.6 Protecting children in situations of fragility and crisis 53

2.6.1 Rationale 53

2.6.2 Policy approaches 55

Part 3. The road forward to 2025 **61**

Annex: Statistical concepts and definitions used in this report **71**

© Lisa Kristine

Part 1.

Child labour and the Sustainable Development Goals

> *"The message that we must act now to stop child labour once and for all has been affirmed by the Sustainable Development Goals.*
>
> *Acting together, it is within our means to make the future of work a future without child labour."*
>
> **Guy Ryder, ILO Director-General**

The international community has made clear that the persistence of child labour in today's world is unacceptable and, in the Sustainable Development Goals, has renewed its commitment to eliminating all forms of child labour by 2025. This report aims to contribute to that endeavour by offering an analysis of trends and an evidence-based discussion of policy solutions. As we show, available evidence suggests that investment in expanding free education of good quality, extending social safety nets, improving the governance of labour markets and the functioning of family enterprises, and strengthening social dialogue and legal protections hold particular promise in the fight against child labour, offering an important recipe for efforts in the lead-up to 2025.

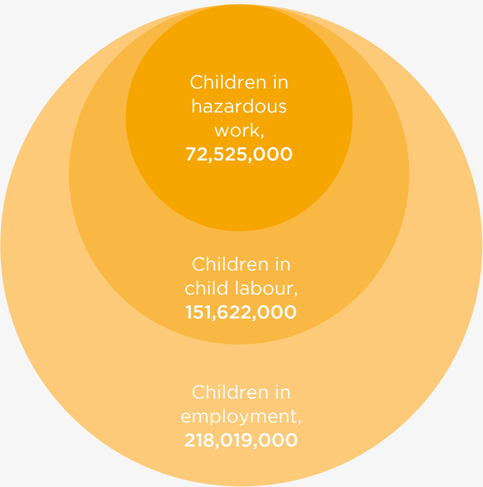
1.1 Global child labour estimates

The latest global estimates indicate that 152 million children – 64 million girls and 88 million boys – are in child labour globally, accounting for almost one in ten of all children worldwide. Seventy-one per cent of children in child labour work in the agricultural sector and 69 per cent perform unpaid work within their own family unit. Nearly half of all those in child labour – 73 million children in absolute terms – are in hazardous work that directly endangers their health, safety, and moral development. Children in employment, a broader measure comprising both child labour and employment of children above the legal working age, number 218 million. Children in forced labour, a worst form of child labour that is estimated using a separate methodology, number 4.3 million (see Panel 1).[1]

Children's involvement in employment, child labour and hazardous work remains common in the world.

Figure 1

Absolute number of children in employment, child labour and hazardous work, 5–17 years age range, 2016



Panel 1

Children in forced labour

Forced labour of children is defined as work performed by a child under coercion applied by a third party (other than his or her parents) either to the child or to the child's parents, or work performed by a child as a direct consequence of his or her parent or parents being engaged in forced labour. The coercion may take place during the child's recruitment to force the child or his or her parents to accept the job. It may also occur once the child is working, to force him or her to do tasks that were not part of what was agreed to at the time of recruitment, or to prevent him or her from leaving the work.

Forced labour for the purposes of ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182) constitutes a worst form of child labour. According to the 2016 Global Estimates of Forced Labour,[2] children in forced labour number 4.3 million, of whom 1.0 million are children in commercial sexual exploitation, 3.0 million are children in forced labour for other forms of labour exploitation, and 300,000 are children in forced labour imposed by state authorities. These figures do not constitute a significant change from those published four years earlier.

The estimates of child victims of forced labour, however, should be interpreted with caution, as the unique circumstances in which forced labour is exacted, and its often hidden and illicit nature, makes it very difficult to measure. The elements of involuntariness and coercion in the context of children's work are particularly difficult to capture through surveys, unless they are specifically designed to investigate the phenomenon of forced labour among children.

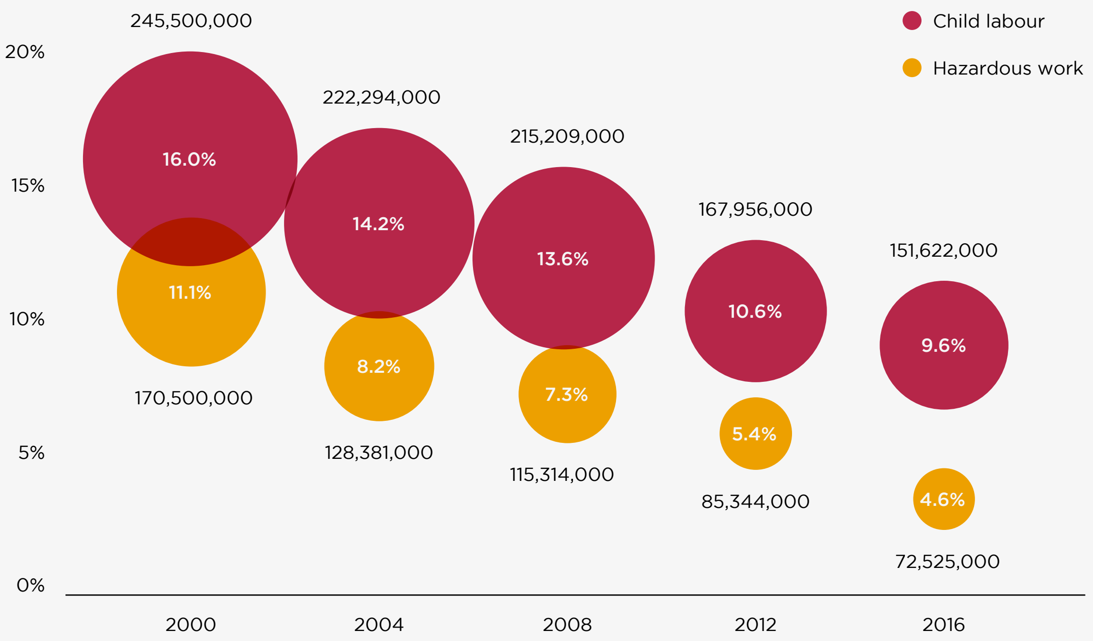
Forced child labour, in which the children suffer both the impact of child labour and the trauma of coercion, threats of penalty, and lack of freedom, requires urgent action from governments and the international community. The development of specific survey tools to improve understanding of the scope and nature of forced labour among children will be critical to guiding action.

The issue of children in forced labour is taken up in greater detail in the forthcoming ILO policy report on Forced Labour.

While the challenge is still great, the evidence shows promising movement in the right direction. The Global Estimates for 2016 show that child labour has again declined worldwide, continuing a trend seen since the publication of the ILO's first global estimates of child labour in 2000.[3] The 16-year period starting in 2000 saw a net reduction of 94 million in children in child labour. The number of children in hazardous work fell by more than half during the same period. There were almost 134 million fewer children in employment in 2016 than in 2000. Real advances have been made in the fight against child labour, providing an important foundation for efforts moving forward.

Figure 2

Percentage and absolute number of children in child labour and hazardous work, 5–17 years age range, 2000 to 2016



But a narrower focus on the most recent four-year period indicates a significant slowing of progress. The reduction in the number of children in child labour amounted to 16 million for the 2012 to 2016 period, just one-third of the 47 million reduction recorded from 2008 to 2012. Expressed in relative terms, the share of children in child labour fell by only one percentage point during 2012 to 2016 compared to three percentage points in the previous four-year period. The decline in hazardous work slowed in a similar fashion. The rapid pace of progress recorded from 2008 to 2012, which had seen a reduction of 30 million in hazardous child labour and 17 million among the youngest children who were in child labour but not in hazardous work, had raised hopes of a gathering and comprehensive momentum in the fight against child labour, bringing us closer to the target set by the ILO's constituents of eliminating the worst forms of child labour by 2016. We now know that we have fallen well short of the 2016 target.

Child labour has trended downwards in the period since 2000; progress, however, slowed during the 2012 to 2016 period.

Beyond the general slowdown in progress, the 2016 results highlight other specific areas of concern, particularly the limited progress among children under the age of 12. Similar to the 2004 to 2008 period, the decline during 2012-2016 touched only a half million children in this group. The Global Estimates also show that child labour and educational marginalization are closely related, underscoring the importance of investment in education and related policies to help prevent the youngest children from entering child labour. While there is much attention to school to work transition, we are still achieving too little success in ensuring successful transition from early childhood to school. Getting children off to a good start through appropriate early childhood development, care, and pre-primary education is especially important in this regard. It is a first step on which the success of following steps depends.

Gender differences in recent progress are another concern. The decline in child labour among girls was only half that of boys during the period from 2012 to 2016 and the gender gap in child labour involvement has therefore narrowed. The 2016 Global

Estimates break new ground in providing, for the first time, estimates of children's involvement in household chores in their own homes. The results, which show that girls shoulder disproportionate responsibility for household chores, also raise important gender concerns that merit consideration in child labour policies (see Panel 2).

Panel 2

Children's involvement in household chores

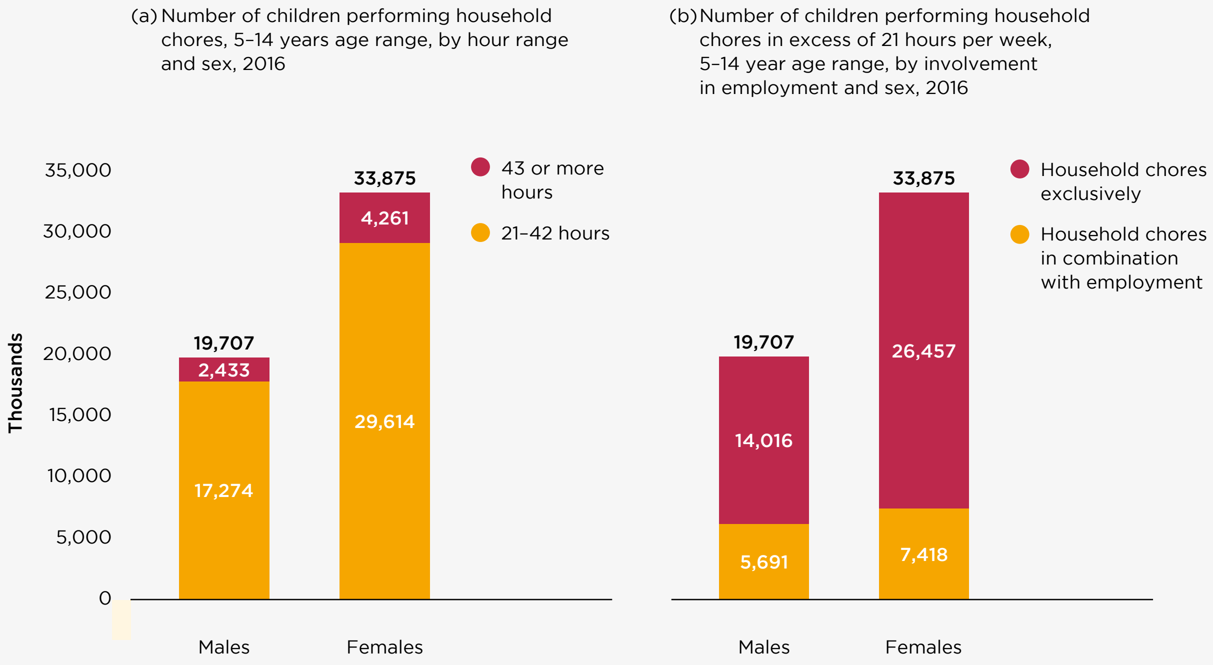
Estimates of children's involvement in household chores,[4] produced for the first time for the 2016 Global Estimates of Child Labour, indicate that responsibility for chores is common among children: 800 million children aged 5-17 years spend at least some time each week performing chores for their households. Girls are much more likely than boys to perform household chores at every age range and in every weekly hour bracket, confirming the common assumption that girls must shoulder a greater responsibility for this form of work in most societies.

There are 54 million children aged 5-14 years who perform household chores for at least 21 hours per week, the threshold beyond which initial research suggests household chores begin to negatively impact on the ability of children to attend and benefit from school (see Figure 3a).[5] Girls account for 34 million of this group, or about two-thirds of the total. There are 29 million children aged 5-14 years – 11 million boys and 18 million girls – performing chores beyond a higher threshold of 28 hours per week. Nearly 7 million of those performing household chores in this age range do so for extremely long hours – 43 or greater each week; again, two-thirds of these are girls.

Household chores and economic activity of children are not, of course, necessarily mutually exclusive activities. Many children undertake both forms of work as part of their daily lives. The new estimates indicate that this holds true even among children logging substantial numbers of hours – at least 21 – each week in household chores. One-fourth of these children – 13 million children in absolute terms – also work in economic activity, adding to the total time they must allocate to work each week, and consequently making it even more difficult for them to find time for their studies (see Figure 3b). Again, a larger number of girls than boys must shoulder this form of double-duty.

Figure 3

Children's involvement in household chores


(a) Number of children performing household chores, 5–14 years age range, by hour range and sex, 2016

(b) Number of children performing household chores in excess of 21 hours per week, 5–14 year age range, by involvement in employment and sex, 2016

The slowdown in progress over the last four years is driven primarily by the slippage in progress witnessed in sub-Saharan Africa.

Why have we seen a slowdown over the last four years? While there is no single or simple answer to this question, it is worth noting that the overall slowdown is driven primarily by the slippage in progress witnessed in sub-Saharan Africa. Progress in the other regions continued over the 2012-2016 period. The question becomes, therefore, mainly about the factors that have hindered progress in sub-Saharan Africa, despite the number of targeted policies implemented by governments in the region to combat child labour. It is likely that the lack of progress in the region relates primarily to broader economic, demographic, geopolitical, and climatic forces acting against governmental efforts, although this is a matter requiring further research.[6] The sub-Saharan Africa region, for instance, is the only one to have seen a rise in the absolute numbers of poor in recent years. It is also among those affected by situations of state fragility and crisis, and by natural disasters and population displacements associated with global climate change, which in turn are known to heighten the risk of child labour.

African leaders recognize the size of the challenge they face and the African Union has initiated the process for the formulation of a comprehensive action plan for achieving SDG Target 8.7, which calls for the immediate prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour and, by 2025, an end to child labour in all its forms. Positive policy experiences in a number of African countries are also helping to guide efforts in the region moving forward. Initial evidence concerning the impact of cash transfer in countries such as Lesotho[7] and Malawi,[8] for example, point to their promise in reducing family reliance on child labour and in permitting them to instead invest in their children's education.

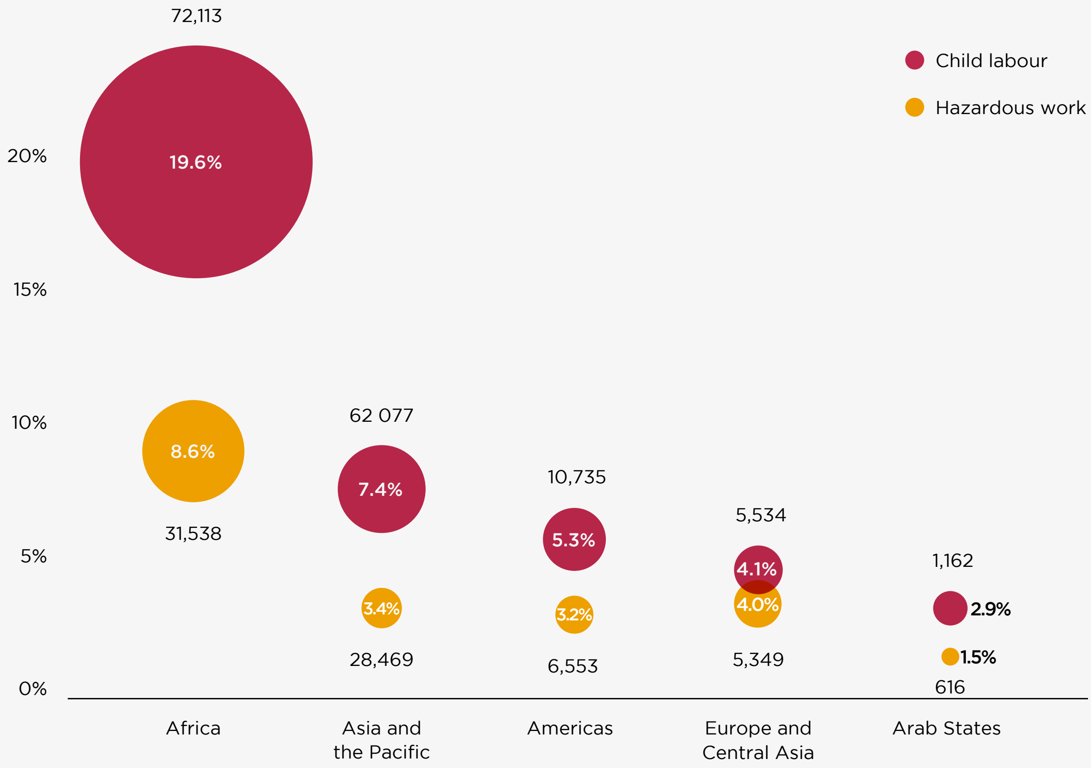
1.2 Child labour estimates by region and national income grouping

There are large regional variations in terms of the number and percentage of children in child labour.

Africa ranks highest among regions both in the percentage of children in child labour – one-fifth – and the absolute number of children in child labour – 72 million. Asia and the Pacific ranks second highest in both these measures – 7 per cent of all children and 62 million in absolute terms are in child labour in this region. The Africa and the Asia and the Pacific regions together account for almost nine out of every ten children in child labour worldwide. The remaining child labour population is divided among the Americas (11 million), Europe and Central Asia (6 million), and the Arab States (1 million). In terms of incidence, 5 per cent of children are in child labour in the Americas, 4 per cent in Europe and Central Asia, and 3 per cent in the Arab States.

Figure 4

Percentage and number (in thousands) of children in child labour and hazardous work, 5–17 years age group, by region, 2016

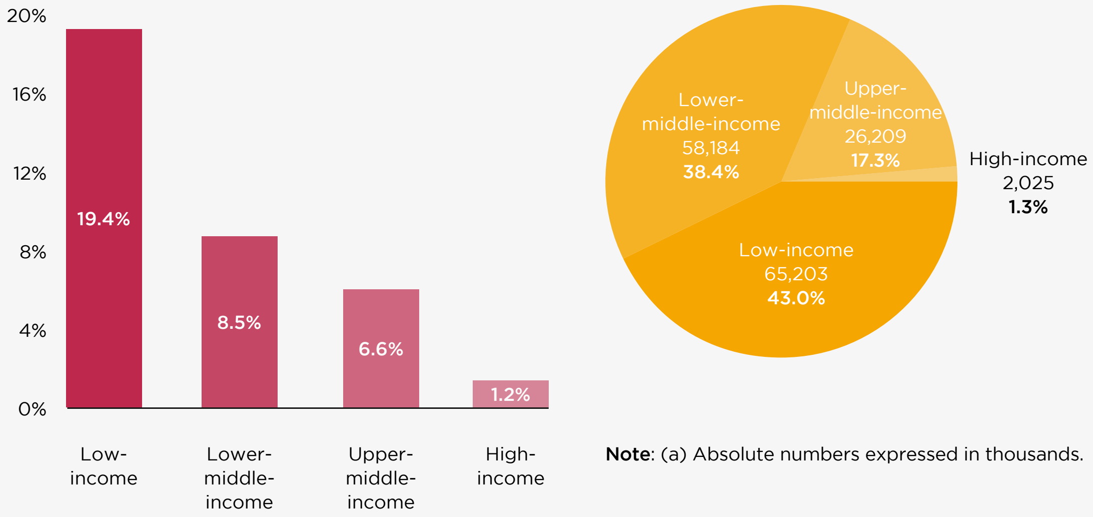


Dividing countries by national income levels offers additional insights into where child labour occurs in the world. As reported in Figure 5a, the incidence of child labour is highest in the low-income countries, at 19 per cent, but it is also far from negligible in countries belonging to other income groups. Nine per cent of all children in lower-middle-income countries, and 7 per cent of all children in upper-middle-income countries, are in child labour. Statistics on the absolute number of children in child labour in each national income grouping, reported in Figure 5b, indicate that 84 million children in child labour, accounting for 56 per cent of all those in child labour, actually live in middle-income countries, and an additional 2 million live in high-income countries. These statistics make clear that while poorer countries will require special attention, the fight against child labour will not be won by focusing on poorer countries alone. Across poor, middle-income, and rich countries, the common denominator appears to be family and community poverty.

The incidence of child labour is highest in the low-income countries but it is also far from negligible in countries belonging to other income groups.

Figure 5

Child labour and national income



(a) Percentage of children in child labour, 5–17 years age group, by national income level, 2016

(b) Percentage distribution of children in child labour, 5–17 years age group, by national income grouping, 2016[(a)]

Note: (a) Absolute numbers expressed in thousands.

1.3 Assessing the pace of progress

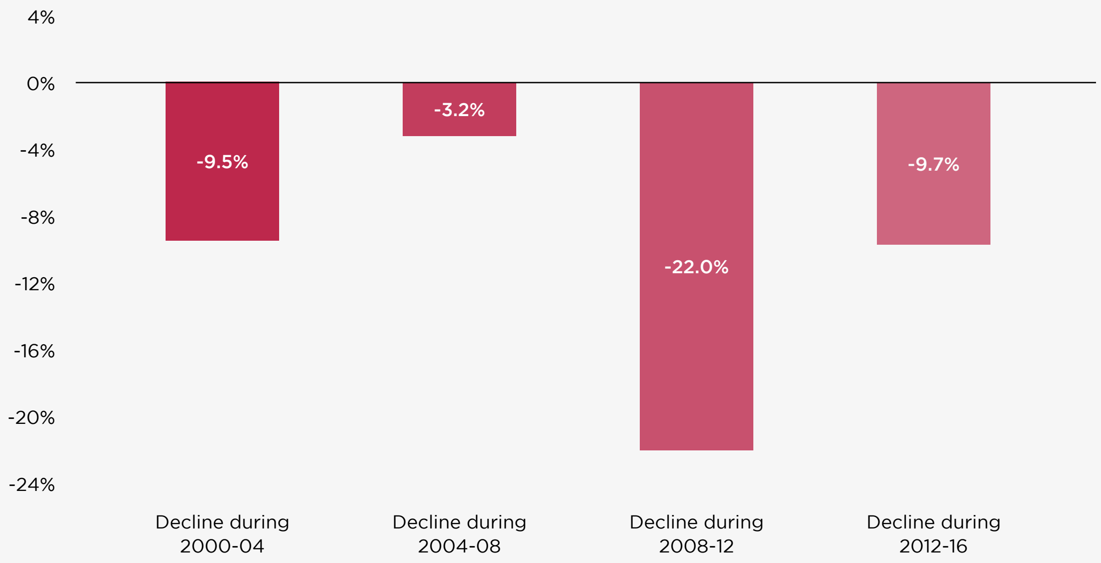
A simple charting of rates of decline over the four-year intervals starting in 2000 highlights the uneven nature of progress to date (Figure 6). The first four-year interval, 2000 to 2004, saw substantial strides forward, leading to the optimistic conclusion that the end of child labour was "within reach" by 2016.[9] But this optimism was tempered considerably by the results of the next interval, 2004 to 2008, which pointed to a marked slowing of progress and provided an early warning sign that attaining the 2016 target would be difficult if existing policies were not changed. The penultimate four-year interval, 2008 to 2012, brought much better news – a decline in the number of children in child labour of 22 per cent. Although this period coincided with a deep global economic recession, a number of emerging economies with significant child

Progress since 2000 has been uneven; we have not succeeded to date in generating sustained momentum towards ending child labour.

labour challenges continued reasonable levels of economic growth, invested in labour market and social protection policies, and saw significant declines in the incidence of child labour. The progress during 2008 to 2012 led to renewed hope that the worldwide movement was turning the corner on child labour and that progress towards ending it was picking up pace. But, as noted above, progress during 2012 to 2016 once more slowed, pushing the timeline for ending child labour further into the future.

Figure 6

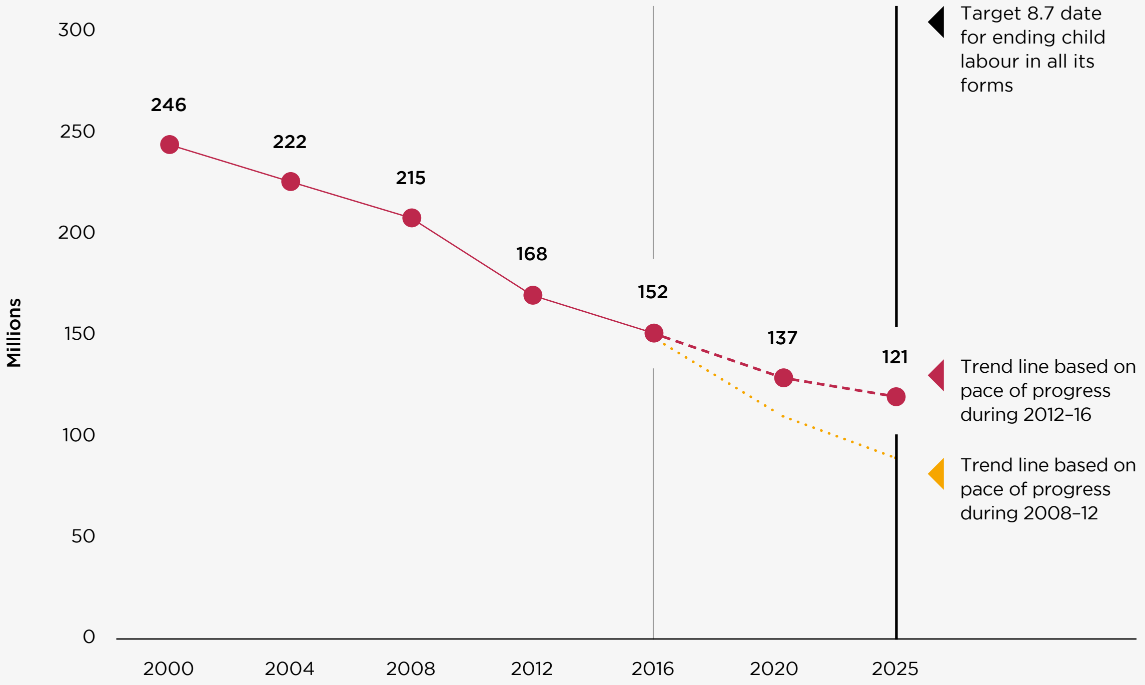
Percentage change in the number of children in child labour, 5-17 years age group, four-year intervals, 2000 to 2016



Thus, the experience over the 16-year period has *not* been one of quickening or even steady progress. Instead, periods of acceleration have been immediately followed by periods of slowdown; we have not succeeded to date in generating *sustained* momentum towards ending child labour. This momentum will be urgently needed if we are to quicken the pace of progress toward the goal of eliminating child labour.

Figure 7

Number of children involved in child labour, 5-17 years age range, actual and projected trends lines



Authors' calculation based on *ILO: Methodology of the global estimates of child labour, 2012-2016, Geneva, 2017*.

How much faster do we need to go in order to realize Target 8.7 of the SDGs calling for the end of child labour in all its forms by 2025? A simple projection of future progress based on the pace of progress achieved during 2012 to 2016 clearly indicates the challenge ahead. As reported in Figure 7, maintaining the current rate of progress would leave 121 million children still engaged in child labour in 2025, of whom 52 million would be in hazardous work. A similar calculation, also shown in Figure 7, indicates that even maintaining the pace achieved during 2008 to 2012, the fastest recorded to date, would not be nearly enough. Getting to zero by the end of 2025 will require accelerated efforts. The task that lies ahead is enormous. We are moving in the right direction, but we have to do so at a much faster rate.

Reaching Target 8.7 of the Sustainable Development Goals will require a significant acceleration of efforts.

The global child labour trends mask a more complicated picture at the country level. Indeed, while many countries have achieved progress with large reductions in child labour, there is also a significant number of countries at the other end of the spectrum that have experienced net *increases* in child labour. In the middle of the spectrum are countries whose progress against child labour has stalled. This variation among countries underscores the importance of understanding *why* some have been more (or less) successful than others in order to guide upcoming efforts to end child labour in all its forms by the 2025 target date.

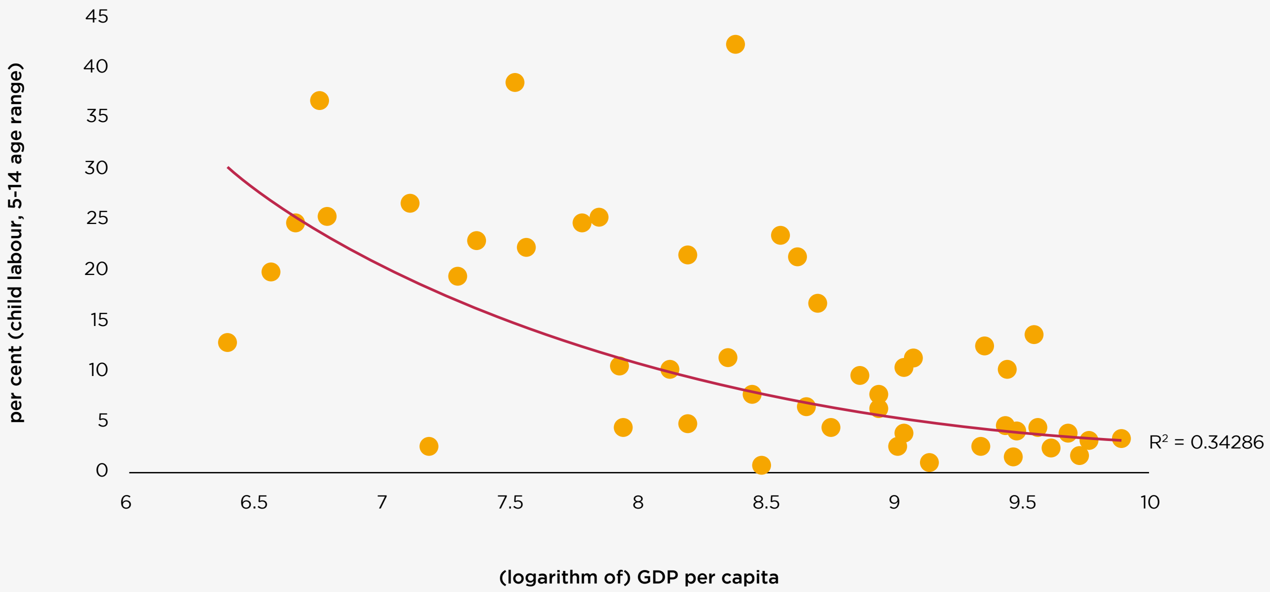
© Lisa Kristine

Part 2.
Identifying a policy response to child labour

How do we get from where we are now to where we want to be by 2025? Thanks to a growing body of practical experience, research, and impact-evaluations, we know progress relies centrally on an active government policy response – supported by workers' and employers' organizations and the wider international community – that addresses the array of factors that push or pull children into child labour. Progress does not, in other words, happen by itself, nor does it depend only on forces beyond the realm of policy. While economic growth is relevant, the accumulated evidence and experience suggests that policy choices and accompanying resource allocation decisions can matter even more.

Figure 8

Percentage of children in child labour, 5-14 years age group, and GDP per capita



Source: ILO calculations based on national household survey datasets.

While economic growth is relevant to progress toward ending child labour, the accumulated evidence and experience suggest that policy choices and accompanying resource allocation decisions can matter even more.

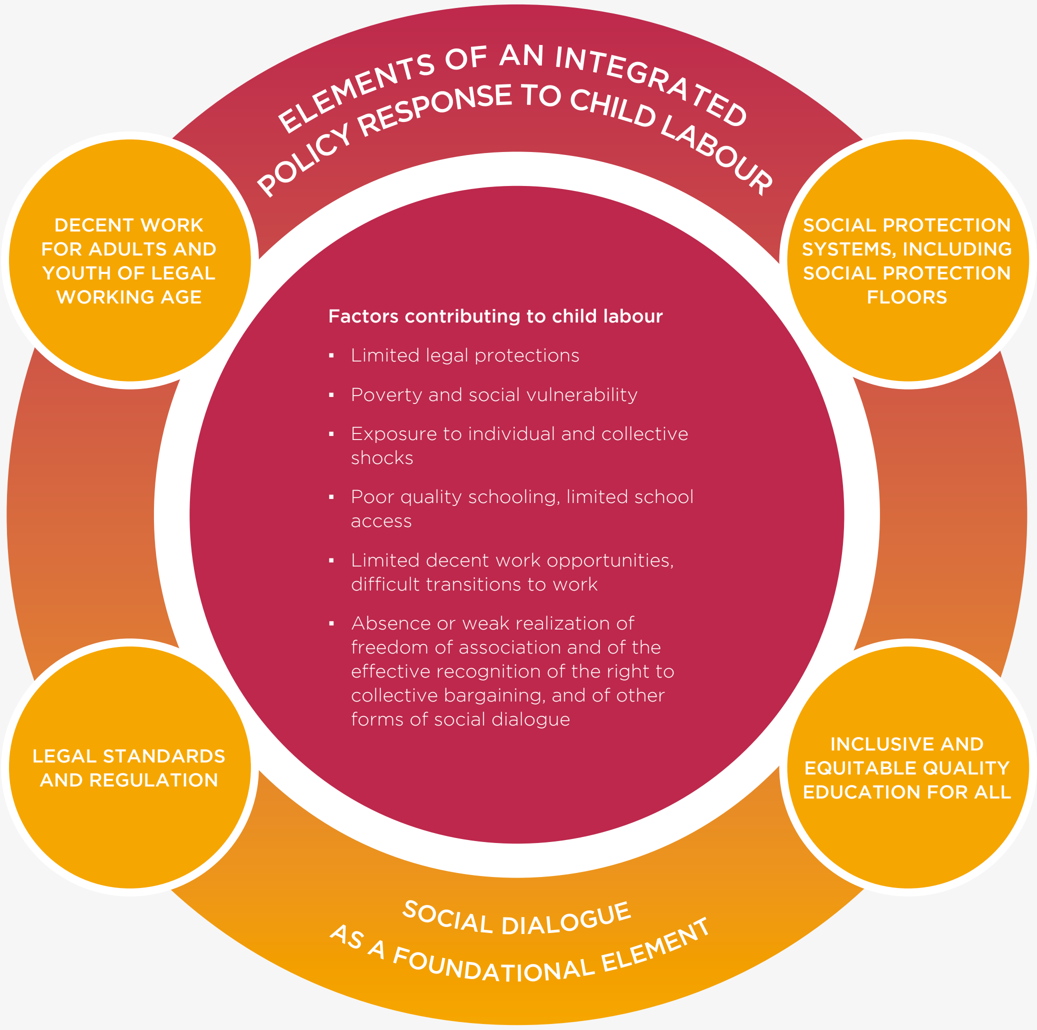
Figure 8, which plots recent child labour levels and per capita GDP for 48 countries, helps illustrate this point. While the figure demonstrates a general negative correlation between income levels and child labour, it also shows that very different levels of child labour can be observed in countries with a similar level of economic development. This indicates that an array of other factors is at play in determining a country's performance and success in reducing child labour.

Policy making is particularly important. In many cases, countries succeed in achieving lower levels of child labour than other countries with similar (or higher) national income levels principally because they make better or more appropriate policy choices. Rich and middle-income countries sometimes make policy choices that are not pro-poor and do not contribute to greater social justice and inclusion or to progress against child labour, while poor countries – even if they lack the resources and still require development assistance that supports their nationally-determined development priorities – can make good policy choices that begin to break the cycle of poverty that underpins child labour.

A recent study of the experiences of Brazil and Mexico in reducing child labour provides even more compelling evidence of the importance of policy.[10] The study makes use of econometric methods to estimate the causal effects of an array of variables in reducing child labour in the two countries over the last two decades. The results indicated that while long-term structural changes in the characteristics of the population and the economy played an important role, the largest share of the total decline in the two countries was attributable to policy-related factors, which are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1

Elements of an integrated response to child labour


ELEMENTS OF AN INTEGRATED POLICY RESPONSE TO CHILD LABOUR
DECENT WORK FOR ADULTS AND YOUTH OF LEGAL WORKING AGE
SOCIAL PROTECTION SYSTEMS, INCLUDING SOCIAL PROTECTION FLOORS
LEGAL STANDARDS AND REGULATION
INCLUSIVE AND EQUITABLE QUALITY EDUCATION FOR ALL
SOCIAL DIALOGUE AS A FOUNDATIONAL ELEMENT

Factors contributing to child labour

- Limited legal protections
- Poverty and social vulnerability
- Exposure to individual and collective shocks
- Poor quality schooling, limited school access
- Limited decent work opportunities, difficult transitions to work
- Absence or weak realization of freedom of association and of the effective recognition of the right to collective bargaining, and of other forms of social dialogue

We also know a lot about *what* policies are most relevant. The accumulated evidence and experience suggests that four principal policy areas stand out – legal standards and regulation, social protection, education, and labour markets – all underpinned by social dialogue, which ensures their relevance. These priority policy areas were highlighted by the international community in The Hague Roadmap agreed to at The Hague World Child Labour Conference of 2010 and reaffirmed at the 2013 Brasilia Global Conference on Child Labour. Addressing the specific groups for which progress has been slowest – youngest children and female children - is a particular priority across all of these policy areas.

In the remainder of this chapter, we look in further detail at policy interventions within each of these broad areas and at what the evidence tells us of their impact. We also look at special policy measures needed to address child labour in situations of state fragility and in supply chains.

2.1 Legal commitment to child labour elimination and the importance of social dialogue

2.1.1 THE RATIONALE

Legislation alone cannot eradicate child labour. However, it is equally impossible to eliminate child labour without adequate and effective legislation. A solid legislative framework offers many contributions to efforts against child labour: it translates the aims and principles of international standards into national law; it articulates and formalizes the State's duty to protect its children; it sets forth specific rights and responsibilities; it provides sanctions for violators; and it provides legal redress for victims. But, above all, the legal commitment to protecting children from child labour that can be established through legislation is strongly linked to concrete progress in reducing child labour. Indeed, one of the more striking and encouraging results of a recent 48-country study of child labour trends is the strong correlation between ratification of international legal standards and reductions in child labour incidence.[11]

2.1.2 POLICY APPROACHES

With India's ratification of the Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138) and the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182) in June 2017, almost all children in the world are now covered by Convention No. 182 and coverage of Convention No. 138 has risen to 80 per cent of world's children. But ratifying the ILO's two child labour conventions is not by itself sufficient to eliminate child labour. Much more has to be done to turn the commitment of eliminating child labour into a reality.

Table 2

Progress in transposing international standards into national laws and concrete policies, by region, 2004-14

	Establishment of legal frameworks based on the International Standards on child labour		**Development of national policies and programmes to combat child labour**		**Inclusion of child labour concerns in relevant development, education, social protection, and other social policies and programmes**	
Region	Number of countries	Number of laws	Number of countries	Number of policies, plans & programmes	Number of countries	Number of policies, plans & programmes
Africa	23	47	22	62	20	60
Latin America	16	90	15	129	12	65
Asia and the Pacific	11	31	10	56	11	52
Central Asia, Eastern Europe & Arab States	9	26	10	32	13	34
Total	59	194	57	279	46	211

Source: ILO

There remain important incoherencies between compulsory school laws and labour laws in many countries.

The first step is to transpose these international standards into national laws and concrete policies. A simple enumeration of laws and policies passed in individual countries provides a snapshot of the progress (Table 2). During the period from 2004 to 2014, a total of 59 countries developed, revised, or updated their legislative framework at the national and subnational levels, affecting a total of 194 laws. Fifty-seven countries adopted and implemented 279 specific policies, plans, and programmes designed to combat child labour or the worst forms of child labour. Over the same 2004 to 2014 period, the ILO recorded the inclusion of child labour concerns in relevant development, education, social protection, and other social policies and programmes in 46 countries and in 211 policies, plans, and programmes.[12] This process of integrating child labour into the development priorities of countries is especially important to achieving reductions in child labour.

This progress notwithstanding, the challenge of developing an effective legal and policy architecture on child labour at the national level remains large. For example, recent research has highlighted important incoherencies between laws governing the minimum age for admission to employment and those dealing with the age range for compulsory schooling. Currently, out of 170 ILO member States that have ratified ILO Convention No. 138, 44 set an age for the completion of compulsory education that is higher than the minimum age for admission to employment they specified upon ratification.[13] Children in these countries, in other words, are allowed to enter employment *before* they are allowed to leave school.

Comments by the ILO Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations[14] suggest that many countries are also lagging in terms of honouring the commitment made upon ratification of ILO Conventions Nos 138 and 182 to adopt or review national lists of hazardous work prohibited to people under 18 years of age. Such lists are relevant not only in terms of child labour, but also in informing efforts aimed at promoting decent work among young people of legal working age.

Effective monitoring and enforcement of child labour laws is an even greater challenge. Workplace inspection systems remain generally weak, owing to both capacity and resource constraints. Moreover, even in contexts in which workplace inspection systems are in place, they rarely reach workplaces in the informal economy where most child labour is found.

It is also critical that the legal architecture extends to safeguarding other fundamental labour rights, including freedom from discrimination, and freedom of association and the effective recognition of the right to collective bargaining, as we know that the persistence of child labour and violations of other fundamental labour rights are closely related. This too remains a major challenge in many countries.

Table 3

Legal commitment to child labour elimination

Policy goal	Strategies and measures
Strengthening legislative and policy frameworks as a foundation and guide for action against child labour.	Promote ratification of international legal standards concerning child labour.
	Establish national legal architecture based on the international legal standards concerning child labour.
	Determine national hazardous work lists.
	Ensure coherency between laws governing the minimum age for work and those dealing with the age range for compulsory schooling.
	Include child labour concerns in relevant development, education, social protection, and other social policies and programmes.
	Strengthen systems for monitoring and enforcement of child labour laws.
	Extend the national legal architecture to other fundamental labour rights, including freedom of association and freedom from discrimination.

2.2 Decent work for adults and youth of legal working age[15]

2.2.1 THE RATIONALE

Decent, secure, and properly remunerated work for adults and youth of working age remains the cornerstone of combating family and community poverty, and child labour is most prevalent where adults and youth of working age cannot access their rights to decent work and where social protection fails to fill the poverty gap created by the absence of decent work. That is a key reason why the ILO's integrated policy approaches to combating child labour place such importance on the rights of working people – whether they are in an employment relationship or are own-account workers, and whether they earn their living in the formal or the informal economy, rural or urban – to exercise their freedom of association and their right to collective bargaining. In addition, well-functioning labour markets that provide decent work in well-functioning enterprises also provide the economic base for the effective taxation systems required to finance social protection systems and education and health provision – the "social wage" that is so crucial in combating inequality and social exclusion.[16]

Work that delivers a fair income, security in the workplace, and social protection means that households do not have to resort to child labour to meet basic needs or to deal with economic uncertainty.

Child labour and decent work are directly linked in a number of ways. First and foremost, work for adults and youth of legal working age that delivers a fair income, security in the workplace, and social protection means that households do not have to resort to child labour to meet basic needs or to deal with economic uncertainty. Decent work also implies the empowerment of working people, strong labour relations, and effective freedom of association, which are in turn inimical to child labour.

Returns to education are another channel through which decent work can influence child labour. Greater opportunities for decent work in the labour market often mean greater potential returns to education. In such circumstances, evidence suggests that families are more likely to postpone their children's involvement in work and invest instead in their education. A study of industrial transformation in Brazil, for instance, shows that expansions in high-skilled job opportunities tend to increase time spent in school while increases in low-skilled job opportunities tend to lower school attainment.[17] Evidence also suggests that low skill production, which predominates in the informal economy, makes child labour more likely. A recent study involving 48 countries indicates that the demand for child labour grows when forms of production that require only low skill levels gain in importance.[18] Another Brazil study demonstrates that conversely reduction in the importance of low skill industries contributed to the reduction of child labour in rural areas.[19]

2.2.2 POLICY APPROACHES

Improving rural livelihoods and incomes and the functioning of small family farms and enterprises is vital to reducing family dependence on child labour.

Promoting decent livelihoods in the rural economy

The vast majority of children in child labour - 71 per cent globally and 85 per cent in the Africa region – work in agriculture and its various subsectors: crop production, animal husbandry, forestry, fishing, and aquaculture. Many of them work alongside their inadequately paid parents on farms, plantations, and in other registered, formal agricultural enterprises owned by a third-party employer. But the greatest share – probably two-thirds or more – perform their child labour as unpaid family work in family farms and enterprises. Typically, they do so because families depend on the additional income that their work generates or because the family enterprise depends on their work in order to function.

Panel 3

Working together to address farm-based child labour: the International Partnership for Cooperation on Child Labour in Agriculture

Since 2007, the International Partnership for Cooperation on Child Labour in Agriculture brings together the ILO, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations, the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), CGIAR (formerly the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research), the International Federation of Agricultural Producers (IFAP), and the International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers' Associations (IUF). The partnership was launched to foster the participation of agricultural organizations and agriculture stakeholders in global efforts to eliminate child labour in agriculture.

The partnership has gained increasing recognition thanks to its steady engagement in major child labour policy dialogues, including the second and third Global Conferences on Child Labour. Advocacy and awareness-raising efforts have contributed to a better understanding of this issue and on the need for agricultural and labour market professionals to join forces and dedicate their combined knowledge and expertise towards the elimination of child labour. The partnership also carries out capacity building activities at the country level to support key actors in the agricultural sector as they address child labour issues in national policies and programmes, extension services, and monitoring activities.

The partnership works at national, regional, and global levels to:

- Promote cooperation between agriculture and labour stakeholders and ensure coherence of policies and programmes on child labour prevention.

- Promote youth employment opportunities in agriculture.
- Integrate child labour concerns in the programming of activities of agricultural and labour organizations.
- Promote the adoption of safer agricultural practices and prevent children from carrying out hazardous work in agriculture.
- Improve rural livelihoods and income-generating activities.

Source: FAO (http://www.fao.org/rural-employment/background/partnerships/international-partnership-for-cooperation-on-child-labour-in-agriculture/en/); and ILO (http://www.ilo.org/ipec/areas/Agriculture/lang--en/index.htm).

These basic facts underscore the importance of improving rural livelihoods and incomes and the functioning of small family farms and enterprises to reduce household dependence on child labour as a negative coping strategy, and instead to enable informal family enterprises to hire adult workers to replace the unpaid work of their children.

The extent of paid work in agriculture is often understated. Although, as reflected above, it is true that the vast majority of child labour in the sector is performed as unpaid family work, this in no way diminishes the importance of secure and adequate incomes for waged adult workers, nor the primordial importance of their rights to freedom of association and collective bargaining. Indeed, inadequate piece rates for adults and youth of legal working age have always been a key cause of child labour, as families in such circumstances have depended on the work of all family members to make ends meet. That has been the case, historically, wherever inadequately remunerated piecework has prevailed, regardless of sector or region. It remains so today.

Alongside the need for fair pay for waged work to redress the family poverty gap, family enterprises need fair prices for what they produce. And those that are “functionally dependent” on the work of their children need to become viable enough to replace their unpaid work with appropriate labour-saving and productivity-enhancing methods and with adults and youth of working age employed in decent work. Pooling adult labour resources, as well as inputs, tools, and other facilities, can assist in those efforts and small producers’ associations and well-functioning cooperatives[20] are important vehicles to achieve such collective improvements.

A preliminary study in Rwanda underscores the important role that agricultural cooperatives could play.[21] While the operational parameters differ from cooperative to cooperative, most involve some form of agronomic support, access to improved storage, processing, and marketing, and more stable pricing for agricultural outputs. They are also often associated with more efficient and advanced farming methods and with less reliance on non-manual labour. The results of the study indicate that child labour among farm households belonging to agricultural cooperatives is about one-third lower than child labour in other farm households, even when controlling for other household characteristics. More research is needed to confirm and explain this result, but it is likely that cooperative membership helps reduce reliance on children’s labour by limiting income volatility and improving farm livelihoods.[22] These benefits depend, of course, on good governance of democratic cooperatives in line with the ILO Recommendation on the subject.[23]

One of the most significant recent activities of the International Partnership for Cooperation on Child Labour in Agriculture (see Panel 3) was a workshop in Ghana that brought together rural workers' trade unions, national trade union centres, and small producers' organizations, including cooperatives, from 13 countries in Africa to exchange their experiences of "organizing against child labour". The Call to Action issued by the participants reflects a broader set of tried and tested policies and actions for tackling child labour and promoting rural livelihoods:

- supporting the self-organization of those who earn their livelihoods in the rural economy and strengthening their representative voice for collective bargaining with employers, including in plantation agriculture; for product price negotiations to improve adult incomes; and for influencing and promoting relevant public policies, legislation, and regulation, including mainstreaming child labour concerns into polices at all levels;
- ending the dependence on child labour of family farms and enterprises by making them viable enough to instead employ adults in decent work, through the upgrading of their skills by improving access to inputs and credit - including through the development of community savings and credit unions - and through the introduction of sustainable and appropriate technologies and alternative practices;
- diversifying production and investing in food-processing and infrastructure, which add quality and value to locally grown produce, and improving market access; and
- developing strategies to mitigate the loss of agricultural land to urban expansion and desertification, which are also causing rural unemployment and migration and displacement from rural to urban areas, where children are vulnerable to entering child labour in the urban informal economy.

While these policy recommendations reflected the experience of organizations representing those who work in agriculture in the Africa region, many of the essential components reflect experience elsewhere and have wider application.

Addressing the informal economy

Informality is another critical obstacle to decent work and to progress against child labour.

A recently adopted ILO international labour standard, Transition from the Informal to the Formal Economy Recommendation, 2015 (No. 204), has placed a renewed focus on informality as a barrier to decent work for all. Workers in the informal economy – which is comprised of numerous sectors, urban and rural – are among the most vulnerable and least protected groups. The informal economy exposes working people to the risk of denial of rights at work, including the right to organize and bargain collectively (and thus to a lack of social dialogue); absence of sufficient opportunities for quality employment and assurance of occupational safety and health; inadequate social protection; and low productivity. All of these run contrary to the concept of decent work and increase the likelihood that working households must rely on children's labour as a negative coping strategy.

The informal economy is characterized by a high concentration of children in child labour and of young workers in low-productivity jobs with difficult working conditions. While child labour is most widespread in informal work in agriculture, there are number of other sectors in which child labour has an important presence, either because of the numbers involved or because the prevalence of hazardous and often extremely hazardous work; or because of the forced labour of children, notably in the form of bonded labour. Among these are artisanal mining, including of gold, cobalt, mica and coal; brick kilns; manufacturing; street work; and the very large number, especially of girls, still engaged in child labour in domestic work.

Identifying the specific factors that contribute to the dynamics of formality and informality in national and local contexts is a necessary, though complex, step for developing appropriate policy responses. Current policy initiatives around the world, reviewed in an ILO report prepared for the 103rd Session of International Labour Conference in 2014,[24] show that there is no one-size-fits-all policy approach to promoting transition from the informal to formal economy, but rather a set of multidimensional approaches that can be adapted to each specific country context. The policies adopted most often simultaneously target the following objectives:

- promoting formal employment through pro-employment macroeconomic and sectoral policies focusing especially on the development of sustainable micro, small, and medium enterprises;
- reducing informal employment by lowering the cost of transitions to formality through the creation of an enabling policy and regulatory environment that reduces barriers to formalization while protecting workers' rights, as well as increasing the benefits of being formal through business development services that promote access to markets, productive resources, credit programmes, and training and promotional programmes to upgrade informal economy units; and
- increasing decent work in the informal economy by developing a national social protection floor for all, implementing a minimum wage and health and safety incentives, enabling the self-organizing of informal economy workers, encouraging informal enterprises to join together in producers' associations, including cooperatives, and supporting the development of social economy enterprises and organizations.

The same ILO review of country experiences shows that approaches anchored in social dialogue, based on capacity building and opening up access to a full range of resources, as well as tailoring taxation, financing, and social security systems to the specific challenges faced by informal economy actors, can make formalization a much more attractive option and have a more sustained impact.

Investing in skills development and in lifelong learning opportunities is especially important to the ability of workers in the informal economy and young people entering the labour market to access gainful and productive jobs in the formal economy.[25] Training needs to be responsive both to the diverse requirements of informal economy workers and to the evolving demands of the labour market. Priorities should include reforming formal training systems so they are more open to informal economy workers and establishing better linkages with employers in the design and provision of training. Informal apprenticeship schemes have also shown considerable promise in imparting skills in the informal economy in many developing countries, and particularly in Africa.[26] Skill accreditation is another important priority. The ability of many informal economy workers to move up the skills ladder is constrained by the fact that skills acquired through experience, on-the-job training, and apprenticeship are not recognized in formal labour markets or by training institutions. Bangladesh offers a model in that it has established a National Technical and Vocational Qualifications Framework to encourage accreditation for skills acquired through work in the informal economy by providing benchmarks for skills attainment, alignment, and recognition.[27]

Progressively extending minimum wage protections to workers in the informal economy through the process of formalization is another one of the specific recommendations contained in ILO Recommendation No. 204. In recent years, many countries have established or strengthened minimum wage systems to address working poverty and inequality and to promote decent work.[28] These include developing and emerging economies such as China, Brazil, the Russian Federation, and, most recently, South Africa, which announced a new national minimum wage coming into force in 2018.

In earlier debates, some scholars had suggested that the implementation of minimum wage legislation could have ambiguous effects if it caused some adults to become unemployed and, consequently, send their children to work.[29] Recent evidence has shown, however, that if they are set an adequate level, adverse effects of minimum wages are small or non-existent and that adequate minimum wages can increase consumer demand for basic requirements and stimulate employment creation. A World Bank review noted “although the range of estimates from the literature varies considerably, the emerging trend in the literature is that the effects of minimum wages on employment are usually small or insignificant (and in some cases positive)”.[30] But differences in findings across countries and studies point towards the importance of good policy design and the need for further research on the links between minimum wages, living wages, and child labour. In fact, child labour may be linked not only to the level of adult wages but also to wage payment systems. Anecdotal evidence and historical research suggest that poorly designed piece rate payment systems may lead to greater use of child labour to increase the output of adult workers.

More broadly, securing adequate wages for vulnerable workers can have a dramatic impact in reducing child labour. In Egypt, for instance, a study shows that a 10 per cent increase in the market wage for illiterate males decreases the probability of child labour by almost 22 per cent for boys and 13 per cent for girls.[31]

Promoting decent work opportunities for youth of legal working age

Expanding decent work opportunities for youth, and particularly for vulnerable youth, is a necessary element of a strategy that addresses child labour.

Ensuring a successful start to working life by expanding decent work opportunities for youth of legal working age is of particular importance. The costs of prolonged unemployment or underemployment during this critical period of life are well known. It can permanently impair productive potential and therefore influence lifetime patterns of employment, pay, and job tenure. Negative work-related behaviours and attitudes established during this period can also persist into later stages of working life. The benefits of successful transitions from education to decent work are equally clear. Success early in working life is linked to better long-term career prospects. More broadly, it moves young persons into situations of self-sufficiency and helps them exit from poverty.[32]

While there is no one-size-fits-all approach in terms of how to promote and facilitate the transition to decent work for young persons, an extensive body of evidence and policy experience points to a set of core policy areas that need to be considered in relation to national and local circumstances. Besides pro-employment macroeconomic policies, relevant active labour market interventions include training and skills development; public works; job search support and other labour market services; employment subsidies; and self-employment and entrepreneurship promotion.[33]

Youth employment efforts should be framed within a broader emphasis on ensuring young persons’ rights at work in order that they receive equal treatment and are protected from abuse and exposure to hazards.[34] The resolution dealing with youth employment, agreed by the representatives of governments and workers’ and employers’ organizations at the 101st session of the International Labour Conference in June 2012, identifies a number of key areas that can guide governments and the social partners in developing youth employment policies that are consistent with the provisions of international labour standards.[35] In particular, the enforcement of labour laws and collective agreements should be strengthened and the participation of young people in employers’ and workers’ organizations and in social dialogue should be enhanced.

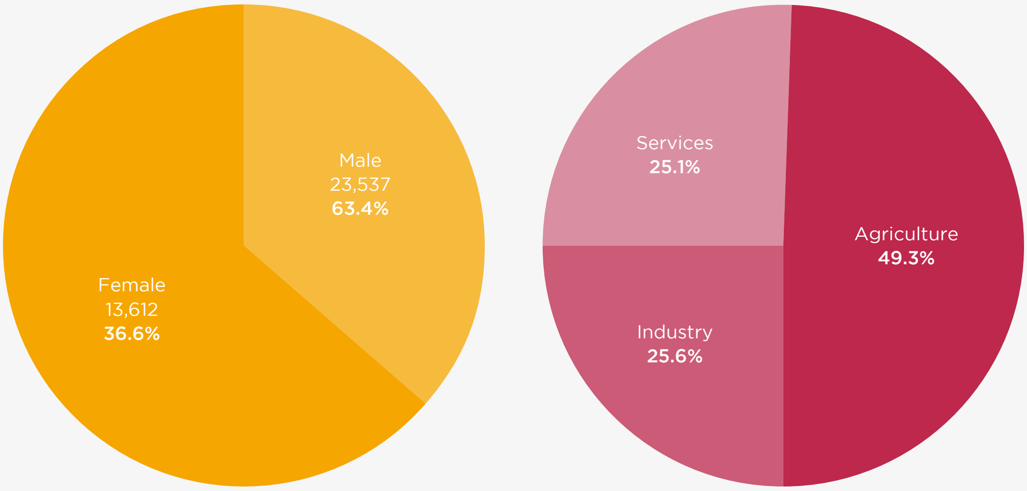
Addressing child labour among adolescents

There are more than 37 million children – 23.5 million boys and 13.6 million girls – in the 15-17 years age range in child labour. About half are found in agriculture and the remainder are divided evenly between services and industry (Figure 9). These children, though they may be above the general minimum age for work, are considered to be in child labour precisely because their work is hazardous or because they are engaged in another worst form of child labour. They account for 42 per cent of all 15-17 year-olds in work and employment. Hazardous work poses immediate threats to health and safety and can create huge barriers – educational, physical, psychological, and social – that impede a young person from transiting successfully to adulthood and working life.[36] This discussion underscores the importance of giving the necessary attention and emphasis to 15-17 year-olds in child labour within broader efforts to promote decent work for youth and to promote occupational safety and health (OSH) in all workplaces.

Efforts to promote decent work among youth should not overlook the group of children of legal working age in hazardous work.

Figure 9

Hazardous work among children aged 15-17 years, 2016



(a) Percentage distribution of 15-17 year-olds in hazardous work, by sex (absolute numbers expressed in thousands) 2016

(b) Percentage distribution of 15-17 year-olds in hazardous work, by branch of economic activity, 2016

An integrated strategy is needed to remove youth from intrinsically hazardous jobs or, where appropriate measures can be taken, towards eliminating the hazardous conditions encountered by youth in the workplace. In instances in which adolescents in the 15-17 years age range are working in sectors or occupations designated as hazardous, or where there is no scope for improving working conditions, the policy requirement is clear – they must be removed from the hazardous job.[37] In these cases, it is imperative that there is also a strategy in place for providing withdrawn youth with adequate support services and second chances for education, training, and securing decent work. Adolescents withdrawn from worst forms of child labour frequently also need a range of social services such as emergency shelter, medical care, psychosocial counselling, legal support, family tracing, and assessment and post-reintegration follow-up.

Risk mitigation is a strategic option in instances where youth are exposed to hazards in sectors or occupations that are not designated as hazardous in national hazardous work lists and where scope for changing working conditions exists. Such a strategy involves measures to remove the hazard, to separate the child sufficiently from the hazard so as not to be exposed, or minimize the risk associated with that hazard. Within existing and potential programmes, there may also be opportunities to change practices and technologies that offer a sustainable solution to occupational safety and health concerns for all ages. Addressing OSH concerns of youth in isolation from the OSH concerns of adults – and vice versa – makes little sense. If a workplace or work process is not safe for an adult, it cannot be safe for a child aged 15-17 years.

Especially important in the context of risk mitigation is training and awareness-raising about occupational safety and health for employers and their young workers, master craftspersons and their apprentices, and trade union OSH representatives, including on adequate and consistent supervision. Another priority is the implementation of adequate monitoring mechanisms. Trade unions, employers' and business associations, chambers of commerce, community organizations, and social protection agencies – when properly trained and linked with the labour inspectorate – can monitor minimum age guidelines, the safety of the workplace, and its adolescent workers. Agricultural extension services can also be involved in these efforts. All evidence indicates that unionized workplaces, and especially those with joint employer-union procedures to promote OSH, are safer.[38]

The institution of a "strategic inspection plan" can be useful in identifying workplace hazards facing adolescents and that require follow-up. Such a plan draws from statistical evidence to steer labour conditions monitoring and compliance resources toward the sectors and occupations where young workers and adolescents are most likely to be found (agriculture, construction, small–scale manufacturing, services, etc.). In this way, scarce and persistently inadequate compliance resources can be directed to benefit the most vulnerable worker populations.

Table 4

Policies to promote decent work for adults and youth of legal working age

Policy goal	Strategies and measures
Promote decent rural livelihoods.	Promote small producers' associations and democratic cooperatives as means of pooling adult labour resources, as well as inputs, tools and other facilities.
	Strengthen the collective, representative voice of those who earn their livelihoods in the rural economy, including for collective bargaining with employers, not least in plantation agriculture, and for product price negotiations to improve adult incomes.
	Improve access to inputs and credit of family farms and enterprises, including through the development of community savings and credit unions.
	Introduce sustainable and appropriate technologies and alternative practices in family farms and enterprises, in order to improve productivity and viability.
	Invest in food processing and infrastructure, to add quality and value to locally grown produce.
	Develop strategies to mitigate the loss of agricultural land due to urban expansion and desertification.
Promote transition from informal to formal economy.	Promote the development of sustainable micro, small and medium enterprises.
	Create an enabling policy and regulatory environment that reduces barriers to formalization while protecting workers' rights.
	Promote a greater awareness among informal entities of the advantages and protection that come with formalization (business development services for micro, small and medium enterprises, access to the market, productive resources, credit programmes, and training and promotional programmes to upgrade informal economy units).

Policy goal	Strategies and measures
Promote transition from informal to formal economy.	Enable the self-organizing of workers from the informal economy and encouraging informal enterprises to join together in producers' associations, including cooperatives.
	Invest in skills development and training that is responsive both to the diverse requirements and levels of informal economy workers and to the evolving demands of the labour market, including informal apprenticeship schemes.
	Reform skill accreditation systems to permit accreditation for skills acquired through work in the informal economy.
	Extend minimum wage protections to workers in the informal economy.
Promote decent work for youth of legal working age.	Enact active labour market interventions targeting young people, including training and skills development; public works; job search support and other labour market services; employment subsidies; and self-employment and entrepreneurship opportunities.
	Ensure young persons' rights at work, in order that they receive equal treatment and are protected from abuse and exposure to hazards.
	Ensure the participation of young people in employers' and workers' organizations and in social dialogue.
End child labour among adolescents aged 15-17 years.	Develop systems for providing youth removed from hazardous work with second chances for education, training, and securing decent work.
	Develop systems for providing youth removed from worst forms of child labour with necessary social services: emergency shelter, medical care, psychosocial counselling, legal support, family tracing and assessment and post-reintegration follow-up.
	Provide training and awareness-raising about occupational safety and health for employers and their young workers, master craftspersons and their apprentices, and trade union OSH representatives, including on adequate and consistent supervision.
	Mobilize trade unions, business associations, chambers of commerce, community organizations, social protection agencies in monitoring minimum age guidelines, the safety of the workplace and its adolescent workers, in conjunction with the labour inspectorate.
	Institute "strategic inspection plans" to help in identifying workplace hazards facing adolescents and that require follow-up.

2.3 Social protection[39]

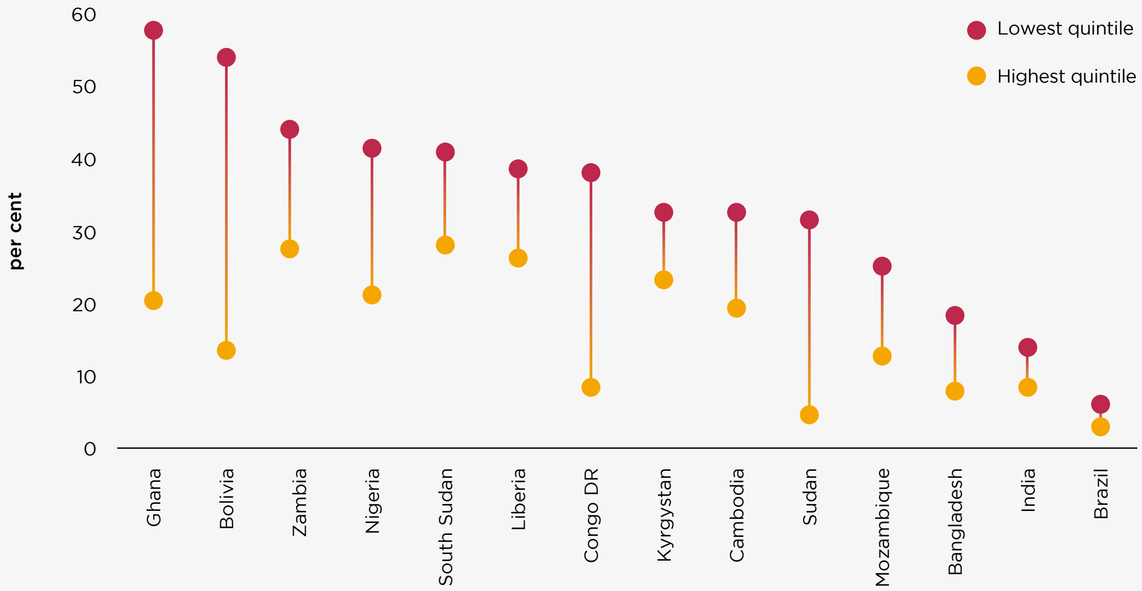
2.3.1 THE RATIONALE

The relevance of poverty and shocks to child labour is straightforward. Poverty constrains a household's ability to postpone children's involvement in work and invest in their education. In other words, poor households are more likely to have to resort to child labour at the expense of their children's education in order to meet basic needs and deal with uncertainty. Exposure to shocks such as sudden job loss, or illness or injury to breadwinners or other family members, can also influence household decisions concerning child labour. In the absence of other coping mechanisms, households can be forced to resort to child labour as a fall-back mechanism. For this reason, social protection systems, including social protection floors,[40] are vital elements of policy responses to reduce and prevent poverty[41] and to eradicate child labour.

Child labour is driven in important part by household vulnerabilities associated with poverty and economic uncertainty. Social protection is critical to mitigating these vulnerabilities.

Figure 10

Percentage of all children aged 5-14 years in child labour,[(a)] by income quintile, selected countries



Notes: (a) Child labour is proxied as children performing economic activity.

Source: *World report on child labour: Economic vulnerability, social protection and the fight against child labour* / International Labour Office, Geneva, 2013.

There is also substantial evidential support for the relevance of poverty and shocks to child labour. Simple correlations of income and poverty show that child labour is much more common in poorer households (Figure 10). More robust evidence, controlling for household attributes that accompany income poverty, also points to a strong positive correlation between poverty and child labour. Country studies on child labour, for instance, consistently show that poor children are more likely to work than their better-off peers, other factors being equal.[42] A growing number of longitudinal studies also consistently support the view that poverty induces households to rely more on child labour.[43]

Evidence also lends support to the argument that families often use child labour as a buffer against shocks. Studies in Cambodia[44] and Tanzania,[45] for instance, found that child labour was substantially higher in villages experiencing agriculture-related shocks such as drought, flood, and crop failure. A study looking specifically at unemployment shocks in urban Brazil found that adult job loss had a sizeable effect on the likelihood of child labour and school dropout.[46] Another study of the impact of the harsh economic downturn in Venezuela during 2002-3 found that the proportion of children engaged in market work nearly doubled during the period of declining GDP and then fell back as the economy recovered.[47]

2.3.2 POLICY APPROACHES

This evidence makes clear that continued progress against child labour will require policies that help mitigate the economic vulnerability of households. There is a growing body of research and experience pointing to the relevance of social protection instruments in this regard.[48] Below we look at evidence of the child labour impact of six such instruments – cash and in-kind transfer programmes, public works programmes, health protection, social protection for people with disabilities, income security in old age, and unemployment protection. We do not look explicitly here at the other main types of social security benefits identified in ILO Social Security (Minimum Standards) Convention, 1952 (No. 102), namely sickness benefits, employment injury benefits, maternity protection, and survivors' benefits. These benefits, while also potentially important, have not yet been evaluated from a child labour perspective.

Transfer programmes directed at families with children

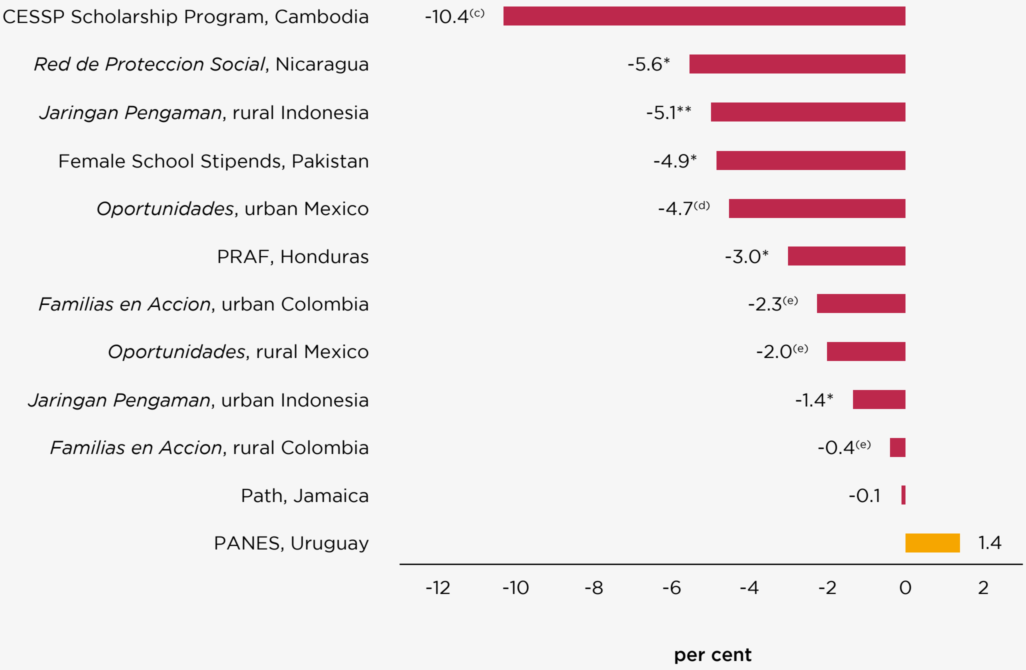
Cash transfer schemes appear to lower child labour; the magnitude of their impact depends on their specific design features.

Cash and non-cash transfer programmes are forming an increasingly important part of social protection floors in a number of countries. These programmes can be either conditional or unconditional; that is, they can require households to fulfil certain behavioural conditions in order to be eligible for benefits, or they can make these benefits available without regard to the activities of household members. There is strong evidence that transfer programmes have a clear and positive impact on enhancing human development, enhancing and stabilizing consumption, and facilitating social cohesion and inclusion.[49] While these programmes therefore appear successful in achieving their broad policy objectives, we are interested here in assessing their effectiveness in tackling child labour.

The extensive evidence on conditional cash transfer (CCT) schemes indicates that they tend to lower both the prevalence and time intensity of child labour and to mitigate the effect of economic shocks that may push children into work.[50] In addition, most impact evaluation studies show that CCTs have a strong impact on work for pay and on work outside the house for boys and older children, and on household chores for girls. However, these studies also indicate that the magnitude of their impact varies substantially from one programme and location to the next, as reported in Figure 11. In no instances are CCTs successful in eliminating child labour altogether, underscoring that cash transfers alone can be an important but not a complete policy response to child labour.

Figure 11

Average percentage point impact[a] of conditional cash transfer programmes on child labour,[b] by programme and country



Notes: (a) *p<0.05, **p<0.01; (b) The definition of child labour is not consistent across studies; (c) Imputed estimate based on non-significant disaggregated estimates; (d) Imputed estimate based on partly significant disaggregated estimates; and (e) Imputed estimate based on significant disaggregated estimates.

Source: *World report on child labour: Economic vulnerability, social protection and the fight against child labour* / International Labour Office. Geneva: ILO, 2013.

In what circumstances do cash transfer schemes appear to be most effective? Most impact-evaluation studies show that children from poorer backgrounds exhibit stronger reductions in child labour than those from wealthier households,[51] underscoring the importance of ensuring that poorer children and families are effectively reached by cash transfer schemes. The evidence also suggests that impact is larger when cash transfer schemes are coupled with supply-side interventions such as provision of after-school education or of generalized benefits such as health and education facilities.[52] The evidence suggests that transfers may be less effective, on the other hand, in instances where transfers are invested in productive activities such as land, livestock, or micro-enterprises, as these investments often have the effect of creating opportunities for children's involvement in family production.[53] The size of the transfer relative to household income is not directly related to the size of the impact. What presumably is relevant, however, is the size of the transfer relative to the amount necessary to offset the income from children's labour.

Panel 4

Working together towards universal social protection coverage: the World Bank Group and ILO Universal Social Protection Initiative

The Vision: Universal social protection to ensure that no one is left behind

The World Bank and the ILO share a vision of a world where anyone who needs social protection can access it at any time. The vision states that both institutions recognize that universal social protection is a goal that we strive to help countries deliver. Achieving universality would facilitate the delivery of the World Bank's corporate goals of reducing poverty and increasing shared prosperity and the ILO's mandate of promoting decent work and social protection for all. This shared mission would drive the development agenda to ensure lasting peace, prosperity, and progress.

The Objective: Increase the number of countries adopting universal social protection

The ILO and the World Bank's shared objective is "to increase the number of countries that can provide universal social protection, supporting countries to design and implement universal and sustainable social protection systems". The objective recognizes the aspirational elements of the ILO and the World Bank's shared vision, and that the means of achieving the vision is through either the progressive or immediate realization of social protection, as well as through ensuring that there is no retrogression on progress achieved.

The objective recognizes that if countries develop comprehensive systems providing universal protection across the life cycle, and there is sufficient evidence that social protection systems are affordable, efficient, effective, and equitable, then more countries will adopt these systems as part of their national development strategies. It also recognizes that there are large synergies and advantages if the ILO and World Bank collectively support the development of universal social protection systems in countries, with a focus on sustainable domestic financing.

Social protection and, in particular, universal social protection, figure prominently in the Sustainable Development Goals. SDG Target 1.3 calls specifically for implementation of nationally appropriate social protection systems and measures for all, including floors, and by 2030 achievement of substantial coverage of the poor and vulnerable. Social protection policies feature elsewhere in SDG goals to achieve gender equality and to reduce income inequality both between and within countries.

Timebound Actions

The World Bank and the ILO have declared that they will work together to achieve this shared vision until the Sustainable Development Goals are realized.

In the short term, the ILO and the World Bank will document country experiences on universal social protection coverage, preparing succinct case studies presenting how countries achieved universal social protection coverage and extracting good practices relevant for other countries. The two organizations will also analyse the financing implications of universal social protection, gather evidence about ways this can be innovatively resourced, and collaborate on other topics important to generate political will, such as by presenting the investment case and socio-economic benefits of providing universal social protection.

In the medium term, the World Bank and the ILO will use their individual and collective resources and influence to support countries in their move towards providing universal coverage. This will include joint support to countries in their efforts to harmonize social protection policies, programs, and administration systems, expand fiscal space for universal social protection, address bottlenecks, and effectively integrate universal social protection into their national development strategies.

Source: ILO (http://www.ilo.org/global/topics/social-security/WCMS_378991/lang--en/index.htm)

A question that often arises in discussion on the impact of cash transfers is the relevance of conditionality. In other words, the question of whether the addition of a schooling requirement or other human development-related behavioural conditions to cash transfer schemes changes their impact on child labour. This question is of course critical for the purposes of policy design, but there is unfortunately little solid evidence addressing it. More research is needed concerning the impact of conditionality on families' child labour decisions, building on recent research addressing links between conditionality and school attendance.[54] Also needed is a better understanding of the comparative effects of means tested versus generalized benefits, not least on children in family enterprises that are dependent on their children's labour, not simply to increase direct income but in order to function.

More evidence about the long-term effects of cash transfer programmes is also needed. A study of a schooling promotion project for children working in the export-oriented, handmade carpet sector in Nepal, for instance, shows that cash transfers covering school expenses conditional on school attendance reduced child involvement in carpet weaving, in particular for girls, but that the effects dissipated after the programme ended.[55]

Public works programmes do not appear to lower child labour; indeed, in some instances, they can have the opposite effect.

Public works programmes

Public works programmes are popular policy tools aimed at fighting poverty in developing countries. They serve the primary goal of providing a source of employment to adult members of the household and the secondary goal of helping rehabilitate public infrastructure and expand basic services. These temporary programmes are common in post-conflict or post-disaster situations, to provide some of the poorest a basic income with a potential multiplier effect on local economies, and to help address youth employment and ex-combatant reintegration.[56] While public works programmes do not target child labour directly, the additional income they provide to the household and the temporary increase in demand for unskilled labour may affect the allocation of children's time.

The effectiveness of public works programmes in reducing child labour remains an open question. To date there are studies of the child labour impact of five separate public works programmes – Ethiopia's Public Safety Net Programme,[57] India's Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (one of the largest public works programmes in the world),[58] Youth Cash for Work programme in Sierra Leone,[59] the Programme for Unemployed Male and Female Head of Households in Argentina,[60] and the Labour Intensive Public Works Programme in Malawi.[61] Overall, the results from the available impact evaluations seem to indicate that public works programmes do not generate any relevant reduction in child labour. On the contrary, the evidence indicates that in some instances these programmes increase child labour, as children may take over the activities otherwise undertaken by participating parents, particularly with regard to household chores.

It is not clear, however, how the design features of public works programmes affect the main results. Potentially, the temporary nature of the employment programmes explains why children's time is spent on household chores or in activities previously carried out by adults. Public works programmes aim to provide short-term employment to the poor; thus, they should be distinguished from other labour programmes that are meant to have a longer-term impact on adult employment. If beneficiaries of public works programmes know that the programme will provide employment for only a short period (weeks or few months), they may resort to child labour to substitute for adult work temporarily while adults are engaged in public works programmes, then after the programme ends parents and children return to their normal activities.

Complementary programmes to address the need for household labour while the adult beneficiary is employed, and to support school leavers' transition into long-term employment, could potentially alleviate the reliance on children. In addition, some public works programmes provide child care facilities at worksites, which could alleviate the burden on older children to care for their younger siblings. However, the number of public employment programmes that have been evaluated from a child labour perspective remains limited, notwithstanding their increasing popularity with government and funding partners. This is an area where additional information to guide programme design is especially needed to guard against adverse programmatic effects on children.

Other social protection instruments

The limited evidence relating to other social protection instruments suggests that they, too, are relevant to efforts against child labour.

We know much less about the child labour impact of the other social protection instruments, so more empirical research will be required. The limited evidence available to date, however, suggests that health protection, social protection for persons with disabilities, income security in old age, and unemployment protection are all of potential relevance to efforts against child labour.

Health protection. Extending health protection to address the social distress and economic loss associated with ill health appears to be directly relevant to efforts against child labour. Studies in Zambia[62] and Togo[63] show that households can respond to health shocks by significantly increasing their use of child labour, suggesting that child labour acts as a buffer or insurance against the impact of health-related shocks to the household. At the same time, evidence from Guatemala[64] and Pakistan[65] indicates that providing families with health insurance can reduce reliance on child labour. Evidence from Kenya[66] suggests that providing access to essential health services (in this case, antiretroviral treatment for HIV-positive household members) can have a similar effect. The ultimate objective should be to achieve universal health protection, defined as effective access to at least essential, affordable, and available health care of adequate quality and financial protection in case of sickness. Achieving this objective would effectively remove one important cause of child labour.

Social protection for persons with disabilities. The social and economic vulnerabilities associated with disabilities can increase household reliance on child labour. Detailed studies in Nepal,[67] Bangladesh,[68] and Gansu Province, China[69] have found that children in households where adults are sick, disabled, or have missed work are more likely to be in child labour or household chores. There is a wide array of social protection measures that can be taken to address the vulnerabilities accompanying both short-term and long-term disabilities. These include contributory and non-contributory disability benefits, wage replacement for disabling injuries and illnesses, and provision of social care services for people with disabilities or who suffer long-term illness. More research is however needed to identify the specific impact of such measures against child labour.

Income security in old age. A guaranteed, reliable pension can have a noticeable impact on the lives of children and on their vulnerability to child labour in particular. This is evidenced by studies in South Africa[70] and Brazil[71] indicating that pensions help reduce child labour, and by studies from a range of countries linking pensions with improved schooling outcomes. Pension schemes or similar measures help provide income security and a social protection floor for older persons, helping them offset social vulnerabilities associated with aging. The benefits of such schemes, however, extend well beyond the direct recipient. In multi-generational households, which are commonplace in the developing world, old age pensions can play a key role in the economic security of the household as a whole, including its youngest members.

Unemployment protection. Involuntary unemployment is another source of economic vulnerability for families that is associated with child labour. Evidence from Tanzania,[72] Argentina,[73] Brazil,[74] and Togo[75] suggests that when an adult member of the household loses his or her job, the household can be forced to rely on their children's labour as a coping strategy in the absence of unemployment protection. These findings point to the potential of unemployment protection in efforts against child labour. The objective of unemployment protection is to provide at least partial income replacement, enabling the beneficiary to maintain a certain standard of living during the transition period until a new employment is available.[76] By securing the income needs of households buffeted by loss of work, they can have a role to play in reducing household dependence on child labour. No studies, however, have been undertaken to date directly linking unemployment protection schemes or other statutory income support programmes for the unemployed with child labour. Such research would need to take into account the nature of work performed by adults, particularly in their own small family farms and enterprises in which much child labour takes place, when there is no identifiable employer.

Complementary social finance schemes

The limited evidence relating to microcredit schemes is inconclusive; further research is needed into how these programmes affect child labour.

Social finance schemes, such as appropriate microcredit and microinsurance, can complement social protection systems by facilitating access of vulnerable families to the financial market and enable them to hedge against part of the risks they face.

Microcredit. Lack of access to credit has been recognized as one of the causes of the inability of vulnerable households to engage in profitable entrepreneurial activities.[77] Microcredit programmes may increase household income and concomitantly reduce child labour by addressing the constraint to entrepreneurial activity. However, access to credit may also open new opportunities for children to work in the household enterprise (depending on the degree of complementarity between physical capital, adult and children's work) or to substitute for activities otherwise carried out by adults in the household.

The limited evidence on the impact of microcredit on child labour is inconclusive. Studies in rural Morocco and rural Ethiopia analysed the impacts of microcredit on several socioeconomic outcomes in a context where microfinance was not targeted towards women and was almost non-existent in the village prior to the intervention. In rural Morocco, children from households that had access to microcredit showed a significant reduction in time spent on household chores and work activities outside the household,[78] while in rural Ethiopia there was no evidence of changes in the total number of hours worked either outside the household or in self-employment activities.[79] Two other studies examining the impacts of lending programmes targeted specifically to women – a group lending programme targeted at women in Hyderabad, India,[80] and an expansion of microcredit in north-central Sonora, Mexico[81] – showed no impact on child labour, either measured in terms of working hours or participation in economic activity. Further studies are also needed about the effect of successful microcredit and savings schemes on women's empowerment and consequent effects on child labour.

Microinsurance. Evidence on other types of social finance programmes is also limited. A study of Pakistan's National Rural Support Programme suggests that insurance against health shocks has the potential to lower child labour.[82] The programme provides eligible clients with microcredit accompanied with mandatory health insurance for loan clients, their spouses, and their children under the age of 18. The results show that the insurance extension reduced participation in child labour and children's engagement in hazardous work, hours worked by children, and children's earnings. The exact magnitude of these effects are particularly strong for boys. Given that there is only one study, however, more is needed to establish the potential effectiveness of microinsurance programmes in addressing child labour.

An integrated social protection systems approach

The range of contingencies associated with child labour should be addressed by a combination of social protection instruments within an integrated systems approach.

What conclusions can be drawn from the evidence concerning the social protection instruments that are most effective in addressing child labour? Child labour is driven by economic vulnerabilities associated with an array of inter-related contingencies – e.g., inadequate and insecure incomes, unemployment, ill health, disability, and old age – encountered over the life cycle. Following from this, there is no single "optimal" social protection instrument for addressing child labour; rather, the range of contingencies associated with child labour needs to be addressed by a combination of instruments within an integrated systems approach. Transfer programmes, public employment programmes, health protection, social protection for people with disabilities, income security in old age, and unemployment protection, *inter alia*, are all relevant in this context. For this reason, accelerating progress towards universal social protection through strengthening social protection systems, including social protection floors, are key for the eradication of child labour, and for achieving SDG targets 1.3 and 8.7.

Table 5

Social protection: policies for reducing household risk and expanding household social protection

Policy goal	Strategies and measures
Mitigate economic vulnerabilities associated with child labour.	Introduce or expand unconditional cash transfer schemes, to help ease budget constraints and supplement incomes of poor households vulnerable to child labour.
	Introduce or expand conditional cash transfer schemes, to help alleviate current income poverty (through cash benefits) as well as reduce children's time available for work (through conditionality based on children's school attendance)
	Introduce or expand in-kind transfer schemes, including food for education schemes, in order to help reduce household food insecurity and provide an additional incentive for school attendance; school meals can also improve student concentration and performance, meaning greater benefit from classroom time.
Mitigate the impact of other contingencies leading to a reliance on child labour.	Extend health protection to address the social distress and economic loss associated with ill health.
	Extend social protection for persons with disabilities to address the social and economic vulnerabilities associated with disabilities, including through contributory and non-contributory disability benefits, wage replacement for disabling injuries and illnesses, and provision of social care services for people with disabilities or who suffer long-term illness.
	Ensure income security in old age through pension schemes or similar measures, to help offset the social vulnerabilities associated with aging and help provide income security in multi-generational households.
	Extend unemployment protection, in order to secure the income needs of households buffeted by loss of work.
Complementary social finance schemes[(a)]	
Expand household access to credit.	Introduce microcredit and microinsurance schemes for vulnerable families to facilitate their access to the financial market and enable them to hedge against part of the risks they face.

Notes: (a) Complementary social finance schemes are not technically part of social protection systems.

2.4 Education[83]

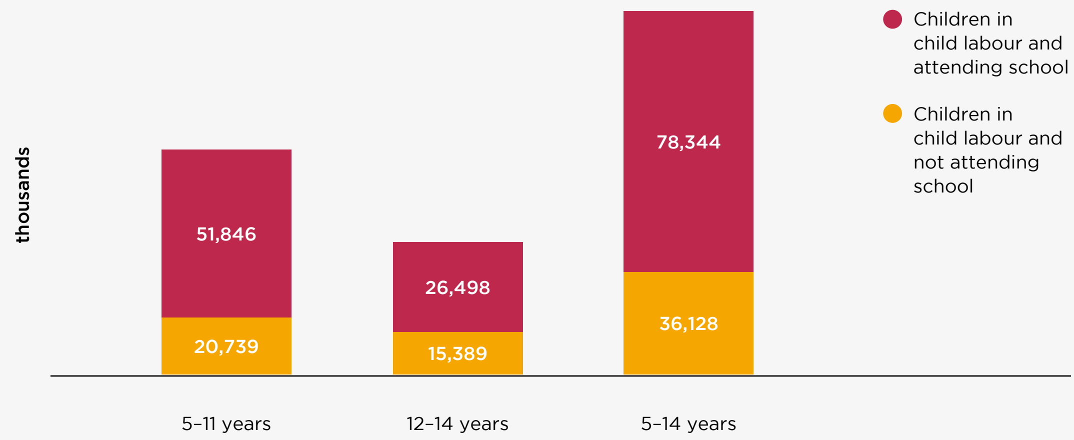
2.4.1 THE RATIONALE

Education of good quality, at least up to the minimum age of employment, is a key element in the prevention of child labour.

The international community's efforts and the obligations of member States towards ending child labour and ensuring inclusive and equitable quality education for all (Sustainable Development Goal No. 4) are inextricably linked. There is broad consensus that the single most effective way to stem the flow of school-aged children into child labour is to improve access to and quality of schooling, so that families have the opportunity to invest in their children's education and the returns to such an investment are greater than those associated with involving children in work. Conversely, when the expected returns to education are low or education costs are unaffordable, schooling is likely to be seen by households as a less attractive or viable alternative to work for their children.

Figure 12

Number of children in child labour, 5-14 years age range, by school attendance status, 2016



At the same time, child labour is one of the main obstacles to achieving SDG 4, as involvement in child labour is generally at a cost to children's ability to attend and perform in school. The ILO global estimates for 2016, reported in Figure 12, indicate that a very large number of children in child labour are completely deprived of education. In the 5-14 years age group, there are 36 million children in child labour who are out of school, 32 per cent of all those in child labour in this age range. Country level statistics also indicate a significant attendance gap between children in child labour and children not in child labour in almost every country.[84] Studies suggest that child labour also adversely affects the learning achievement of the considerable number of children who combine work and school, often resulting in these children leaving school prematurely and entering full-time into work.[85] These indicators point to a matter of key concern demonstrated by the new Global Estimates: between 2012 and 2016 there was almost no reduction in the number of children of primary school age engaged in child labour.

2.4.2 POLICY APPROACHES

Early childhood development, care, and pre-primary education

The 2016 Global Estimates highlighted the lack of progress in reducing child labour among youngest children as a particular concern. Getting children off to a good start through appropriate early childhood development, care and pre-primary education programmes is one of the most important strategies for ensuring that children transition successfully from early childhood to school rather than to the workplace. These programmes play a vital role in promoting learning readiness and in sensitizing parents to the importance of school participation. These benefits can in turn help to increase school enrolment, reduce grade repetition and dropout from school, and reduce the flow of children into child labour.

In Cambodia, for instance, availability of preschool facilities is consistently associated with lower rates of involvement in economic activity and with higher rates of school attendance.[86] An evaluation of the impact of a preschool programme implemented in Mozambique in 30 villages[87] indicates a substantial increase in preschool participation as well as a reduction in hours worked on the family plot. A study in Uruguay indicates that preschool attendance has a positive effect on completed years of primary and secondary education through reduced grade repetition and lower dropout.[88]

Evaluations of more comprehensive early childhood development programmes indicate that they can be especially effective in improving children's success in school and later life, particularly for vulnerable, at-risk children who live in poverty or in low-income households. For example, the Uganda Nutrition and Early Child Development Project, initiated in 1998, aims to improve the nutrition, health, psychosocial, and cognitive growth and development of children under six years of age. An evaluation of this project indicates positive and significant effects on school enrolment for children aged 3 to 5 years and a positive and significant effect on the highest grade attended.[89] Similarly, in the Philippines, a programme aimed at enabling local governmental units to deliver a broader and better set of early childhood development services caused improvement in cognitive, social, motor, and language development.[90]

Early childhood development, care, and pre-primary education programmes can play an important role in promoting learning readiness, which in turn is critical to avoiding premature dropout and early entry into work.

Panel 5

The SDG-Education 2030 Steering Committee: working together towards ensuring inclusive and equitable quality education and promoting lifelong learning opportunities for all (SDG4)

The SDG-Education 2030 Steering Committee is the global multi-stakeholder coordination mechanism for education in the 2030 Agenda. Its primary objective is to harmonize and strengthen support to member States and their partners to achieve the education-related targets of the global agenda.

The Steering Committee is composed of 38 members representing a majority from member States, the World Education Forum 2015 convening agencies (ILO, UNESCO, UNDP, UNFPA, UNHCR, UN Women, and the World Bank), the Global Partnership for Education, the OECD, regional organizations, teacher organizations, and civil society networks, in addition to representatives from the private sector, foundations, youth, and student organizations.

The Steering Committee meets once or twice a year to provide strategic advice on priority issues. It is supported by four working groups, which contribute technical input and recommendations in the following areas:

1. **Policies and strategies**: develops recommendations on follow-up actions at global, regional, and country level sto facilitate implementation of SDG4. It bases its guidance on the Global Education Monitoring report findings and recommendations, as well as on other resources, which review progress on policies and strategies on implementation of education targets.
2. **Financing of education**: suggests strategies and recommendations on finance and resource mobilization for Education 2030; engages, with other global financing mechanisms for education; and seeks means to align and avoid duplication of efforts.
3. **Review, monitoring and reporting:** proposes recommendations on the monitoring and indicator framework implementation at global, regional ,and national levels; harmonizes perspectives across partners around review, monitoring, and reporting on SDG4 targets; and facilitates the endorsement of indicator frameworks as elaborated by the Technical Cooperation Group, led by the UNESCO Institute for Statistics.
4. **Advocacy and communication**: shares information and resources across the different constituencies, develops key messages, and proposes actions to advocate for increased political commitment to SDG4–Education 2030 based on the findings of the Steering Committee working groups.

Source: UNESCO (https://en.unesco.org/education2030-sdg4/SDG-Education2030-Steering-Committee)

Reducing direct schooling costs

The direct and indirect costs associated with schooling need to be addressed to ensure that school is affordable as an alternative to child labour.

The high costs associated with schooling can mean that school is simply not affordable as an alternative to child labour. In some instances, for example, a lack of public facilities can mean a reliance on costly private providers that are beyond the means of many of the poorest.[91] In other cases, out-of-pocket costs for school fees and necessary items such as textbooks and uniforms can keep children out of the classroom. High transportation costs are another frequently cited barrier. In Tanzania, for example, almost 40 per cent of children who have never attended or dropped out of school cite that school is either too far away (21 per cent) or too expensive (17 per cent).[92] Similarly, in Ghana, more than one-third of out-of-school children do not go to school because of distance (19 per cent) or high costs (17 per cent).[93]

Evidence also underscores the positive effect of reducing or eliminating school costs. The elimination of school fees in many countries at the beginning of the new millennium contributed to a large rise in enrolment; this was especially the case in sub-Saharan Africa.[94] Evaluations of interventions designed to reduce costs indicate a positive effect on enrolment. For instance, in rural Kenya, a small programme provided free uniforms and textbooks, along with better classrooms. An evaluation of this programme shows that dropout rates fell considerably in treatment schools and that after five years, pupils in treatment schools had completed about 15 per cent more schooling as compared to students in control schools. Increased availability of textbooks also helped to improve test scores, but only among the better-performing students.[95]

Reducing indirect schooling costs

At least as important as a barrier to schooling are the indirect costs associated with children's time in the classroom; in other words the value of children's foregone earnings or production arising from studying instead of working. Conditional cash transfer schemes that provide monthly cash transfers to households conditional on children's school attendance are one means of offsetting indirect schooling costs. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the extensive evidence on these schemes indicates that generally succeed in lowering child labour.

The much more limited evidence suggests that in-kind transfers, not covered in the discussion on cash transfers earlier, can also affect child labour by reducing the indirect cost of sending a child to school. There are two types of in-kind transfers where child labour outcomes have been reported: school feeding programmes (some of which have a take-home component) and school vouchers. A study of the Bangladesh Food for Education Programme, which comprises take-home rations given to poor households with children in primary school, shows a reduction of child labour, but by a markedly lesser magnitude than the increase in education.[96] A study on Colombia's PACES programme, involving the provision of vouchers to lower the cost of attending private schools, is one of the few on school vouchers that includes child labour impact.[97] The results indicate that the programme did not affect the likelihood of engaging in work of either boys or girls, but that the number of hours worked by girls decreased significantly.

Extending school access

Other children are unable to go to school instead of working because of a lack of nearby schools.

There is large body of evidence linking improved school access with reduced child labour (e.g., Bangladesh, in rural Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Yemen, Morocco, and Cambodia).[98] The impact of school access appears especially strong for girls. In Guatemala, for instance, distance to primary school has an influence on girls' time allocations but not on those of boys.[99] Each ten additional minutes of travel time to primary school decreases the probability of a Guatemalan girl attending school by 2.4 percentage points and increases her probability of performing household chores by 2.2 percentage points. Evidence from Morocco, Yemen, and Guatemala also points to an important gender dimension to the issue of school access.[100]

Why is school access important? Both economic and cultural considerations are likely important. Long travel distances to school can translate into high transport costs and a significant time burden, both raising the economic price of schooling. Families may also be reluctant to send their children, and especially their daughters, to schools far from home due to concerns about girls' mobility in the public space.

Many children, particularly in rural areas, are unable to proceed in school beyond the primary level for the simple reason that post-primary schools are not available, leaving them little alternative to premature entry into work. Studies suggest that even when school access constraints are limited to higher levels of schooling, they can be part of the reason why primary-aged children work rather than attend school (e.g., in Tanzania, Ghana, and Vietnam).[101] The most common explanation for this finding is that returns from education tend to be much higher for secondary than for primary schooling. Parents therefore have an incentive to send their children to primary school rather than to work if they know that their offspring will also have access to secondary education, where the seed of the initial investment in education begins to bear fruit.

Increased investment in expanding educational opportunities also appears to have an important intergenerational impact. A longitudinal study of the experiences of Brazil and Mexico in reducing child labour indicates that long-term changes in adult education levels, driven by substantial investments in education starting in the 1970s and 1980s, were critical. As the younger and more educated generation of Brazilian and Mexican parents began to have school-aged children, this apparently induced a substantial reduction in the number of children sent to work, perhaps because of these parents' greater awareness of the benefits of education and dangers associated with child labour. This result, it should be noted, is net of the effect due to the fact that better-educated parents are wealthier and therefore less in need of their children's labour.[102]

While we know that children become available for child labour when there is no school available, better school access does not always translate into reduced levels of child labour. In some cases, attendance gains resulting from improved access come from "inactive" children (i.e., those neither in school nor in employment) more than from children in child labour (e.g., in Tanzania,[103] and some sub-groups in Yemen,[104] Morocco,[105] and Cambodia[106]). And in at least one instance, nearer schools and the resulting shorter journey times may have freed additional children's time for *greater* involvement in work.[107] This suggests that the decision to send children to work cannot always be reversed simply by improving school access. Nonetheless, school proximity seems to matter, especially for girls, and appropriate targeting of school construction can go a long way in generating the conditions for children to leave work for school.

Also important is the *amount of time* each day that children have access to schooling. The school day should be of sufficient duration to reduce the possibility that children work after school. Access to after-school programmes and extra-curricular activities can be important in this regard by providing parents with alternatives to work for their children outside of official schooling hours. In Brazil, for instance, a conditional cash transfer programme that included a mandatory after-school programme[108] had a much larger impact in terms of reducing child labour compared to an otherwise similar programme than did not include the after-school component,[109] suggesting that the extended school day associated with the former programme was instrumental in keeping children out of work.

Improving school quality

While access to schooling clearly matters, in many countries it is only a part of the problem. Greater access needs to be complemented by policies to raise school quality, the relevance of which to child labour is theoretically well established. The allocation of children's time across different activities depends, among other things, on the relative returns of such activities. To the extent that school quality affects returns from education, it influences household decisions concerning investment in children's education.

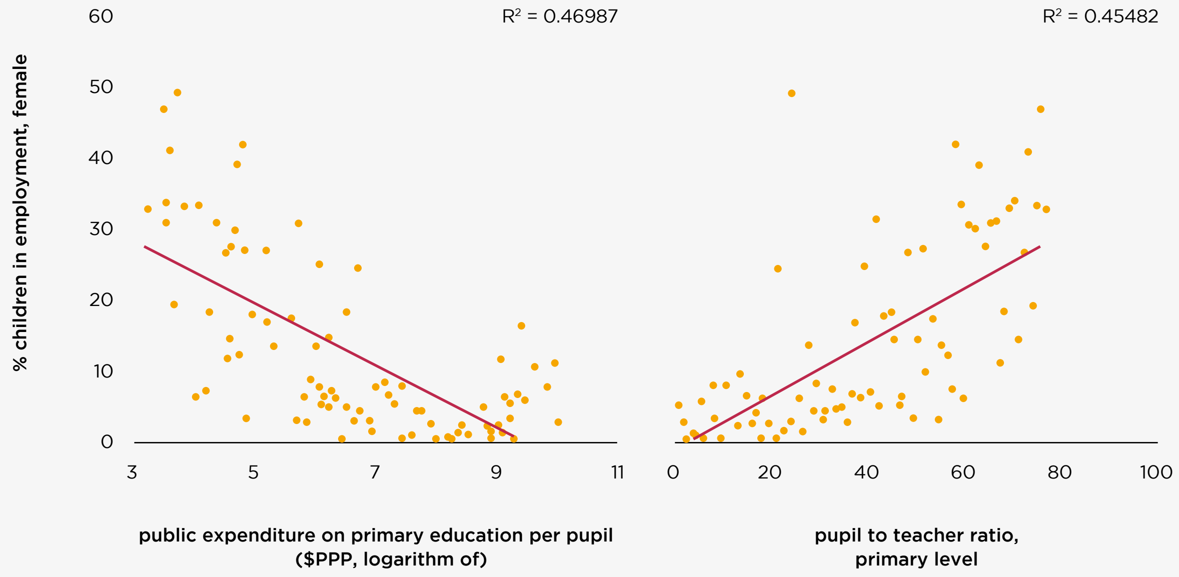
Simple correlations between available indicators of quality and child labour provide an initial suggestive picture of how the former affects the latter. As illustrated in Figure 13a, there is a clear and negative correlation between child labour and the level of public expenditure on primary education. Overcrowding in the classroom also appears relevant. The percentage of working children rises as the number of students per teacher increases (Figure 13b). Feedback from out-of-school children also points to quality concerns. In countries such as Tanzania, Ghana, and Ecuador, for instance, out-of-school children cite lack of interest in school is an important motive, a response likely driven in important part by negative perceptions of school quality and relevance.[110]

Figure 13

Inputs to educational quality and child labour, female children

(a) Public expenditure on primary education per pupil and percentage of female children in employment

(b) Pupil-teacher ratio and percentage of female children in employment[(a)]



Source: ILO calculations based on data from UNESCO Institute of Statistics (accessed October 2017).

Factors that compromise education quality can also play a role in pushing children into child labour.

This evidence suggests that factors that compromise education quality can play a role in pushing children into child labour. It follows that policies designed to raise education quality are an important part of the solution to child labour. Empirical evidence also bears this out. A study covering Cambodia and Yemen, for instance, indicates that the impact of improved school quality on reducing child labour is significant even when compared to the impact of expanded school availability.[111] In Mexico, the impact of a specific school quality improvement programme (CONAFE[112]) shows that quality enhancement can be an effective strategy for both encouraging schooling and discouraging children's work, especially for children of secondary school age, and even when enacted alongside a major demand-side programme like *Progresa*.[113]

Raising school quality requires as a first step an investment in quality teaching through national teacher policies adopted in consultation with stakeholders. Quality teachers are one of the most important factors in achieving education outcomes, and clear policies on training, recruitment, deployment, and decent working conditions for teachers are essential for developing the workforce that can provide quality education.[114] The recruitment of well-trained teachers and teacher assistants from the local community, and ensuring gender balance in the teaching corps, can help encourage girls to attend school. Involving parents more directly in the life of the school can also produce important quality benefits at minimal cost in resource terms. And protection of all children, girls and boys, against violence, including sexual violence at school, is a human rights obligation in its own right. Schools must be safe places for children if students are to stay the course and complete at least compulsory education. Moreover, buildings must be able to protect children against natural disasters.

Not to be underestimated are the challenges facing teachers – and teacher recruitment and retention – often most especially in isolated rural areas. The ILO has been party, with UNESCO, to the joint Committee of Experts on the Application of the Recommendation concerning Teachers (CEART) since its inception. It tackles, among other things, working conditions, academic freedom, violence affecting teachers, teacher migration and mobility, and institutional independence. Just as the parents of children in child labour need secure and decent work if the root causes of child labour are to be addressed, so also does quality education for all children require decent work for teachers and other education personnel.

Fundamental shifts in the nature of work have profound implications for the education and skills needs of tomorrow's school leavers.

Education and the future of work

Even with the vast backlog of deficits in education access and quality that must be overcome to ensure quality education for all children, it is also timely, given the ILO's Centennial Project of the Future of Work, to ask questions about the future of education in the context of a changing world of work. Technological innovation, changing production modes, and economic restructuring are just some of the global forces that are causing fundamental shifts in the nature of work. The prospect of one lifelong job in one enterprise using one set of vocational skills, a pattern that was prevalent in a number of industrialized countries for several decades, is increasingly a thing of the past.

These changes have profound implications for the education and skills needs of tomorrow's school leavers. Flexible skills and lifelong learning that are conducive to what we have called "lifelong employability" are growing in importance. But the changing world of work is also placing increased focus on the wider purpose of education. If, as predicted, the world's children will soon become adults in a world in which many will not have productive work as it has long been understood, we need to begin to think about how education can equip children to lead full and fulfilling lives outside the world of work as it previously existed.

Table 6

Education: policy options for strengthening education as an alternative to child labour

Policy goal/targets	Strategies and measures
Expanded access to early childhood development opportunities for vulnerable households.	Targeted introduction/expansion of local centre-based preschool programmes.
	Targeted introduction/expansion of home outreach programmes on better parenting and care-giving.
	Targeted introduction/expansion of comprehensive early children care programmes.
Reduced direct schooling costs.	Elimination of school fees.
	Provision of free uniforms and textbooks.
	Provision of free school transportation.
Reduced indirect schooling costs.	Introduction of conditional cash transfer programmes.
	Introduction of in-kind transfer schemes, including food for education schemes.
Improved school quality.	Address teachers' working conditions, academic freedom, violence affecting teachers, teacher migration and mobility, and institutional independence.
	Recruit well-trained teachers and teacher assistants from the local community, and ensure gender balance in the teaching corps to help encourage girls to attend school.

Policy goal/targets	Strategies and measures
Improved school quality.	Promote the involvement of parents and communities in the life of the school.
	Ensure the protection of all children, girls and boys, against violence, including sexual violence, at school.
	Curriculum reform aimed at improving relevance.
Expanded school access.	Targeted school and classroom expansion based on needs assessment (including of children with learning difficulties or with physical disabilities).
	Expanded schooling hours and after-hours activities as an alternative to child labour.

2.5 Addressing child labour in supply chains

2.5.1 THE RATIONALE

While global supply chains can be an "engine of development" – promoting technology transfer, new production practices, and a way for enterprises to move into higher value added activities bringing increased productivity, skills development, and enhanced competitiveness – failures of governance at all levels within global supply chains have contributed to decent work deficits, and the presence of child labour in some global supply chains is acute in their lower segments.[115]

Research on child labour has been conducted in a number of supply chains such as cocoa and tobacco, at times following media reports exposing child labour in supply chains. However, to date it has not been the subject of systematic, quantitative research covering all major affected supply chains. While reliable numbers are therefore difficult to come by, it is safe to say that the issue of child labour in supply chains extends to most sectors and most regions of the world. Beyond child labour in high profile, global supply chains, many children in child labour are also found in supply chains producing for local and national consumption, where there is often even less – or no – scrutiny and oversight.

Reliable numbers are difficult to come by, but it is safe to say that the issue of child labour in supply chains extends to most sectors and most regions of the world.

With the recent updates to the ILO Tripartite Declaration of Principles Concerning Multinational Enterprises and Social Policy (MNE Declaration) and the OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises, and most recently the adoption of the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights, there is now broad international consensus on both the need to address child labour and other violations of fundamental labour rights in global supply chains and on the guiding principles and standards for doing so. This consensus was further strengthened with the G20 Leaders Declaration issued in 2017, which states "We will work towards establishing adequate policy frameworks in our countries such as national action plans on business and human rights and underline the responsibility of businesses to exercise due diligence. We will take immediate and effective measures to eliminate child labour by 2025, forced labour, human trafficking and all forms of modern slavery".

In parallel, there has been a surge of regulations adopted by governments requiring companies to conduct due diligence in their supply chains. As a result, global business has come under increasing pressure to demonstrate their respect for human rights, including children's right to be free from child labour. But serious governance gaps, including inadequate enforcement of laws against child labour and forced labour, the widespread absence of effective systems of labour relations – often fuelled by policies and practices that seek to deny the right of freedom of association and collective bargaining – as well as widespread informality, present formidable challenges to businesses seeking to ensure that their supply chains are free of forced and child labour. At the same time, for public authorities, the challenge of effectively monitoring and enforcing national laws, already significant in the face of limited resources and capacity, is compounded by complicated subcontracting arrangements and labour supply chains crossing national jurisdictions.

2.5.2 POLICY APPROACHES

Addressing root causes – area-based approaches

Progress in addressing child labour in global supply chains – as with child labour generally – depends firstly on addressing the factors leading households to involve their children in work. This in turn brings the discussion back to the preceding sections of this chapter. Better social protection is needed to avoid a reliance on child labour as a negative household coping mechanism. Access to free and good quality education at least until the minimum working age is critical to providing households with a worthwhile alternative to child labour for their children. Expanding decent work opportunities for adults is vital for ensuring adequate livelihoods and providing income security without resorting to children's labour. "Formalizing" production in the informal economy and ensuring fundamental labour rights, including freedom of association and freedom from discrimination, are critical to broader efforts towards decent work.

Panel 6

Child Labour Platform: helping business stop child labour

The Child Labour Platform is the leading cross-sectoral initiative to tackle child labour in supply chains. Co-chaired by the International Organisation of Employers and the International Trade Union Confederation, with affiliates in 150 and 156 countries, respectively, it is a forum for exchange of good practice globally, and direct action locally. It is part of the ILO's contribution towards business engagement under Alliance 8.7.

The Child Labour Platform provides concrete solutions for buyers, factory owners, and suppliers by supporting member companies through a comprehensive process of due diligence. This includes support for embedding strong policies and good business practices, measuring impact, and engaging in meaningful dialogue with workers' organizations and other stakeholders.

With complex and geographically diverse supply chains becoming the norm for global companies, the business risks from failing to address child labour in supply chains are escalating. Major scandals now break routinely with enormous costs to business. In these circumstances, there is both a strong ethical and business case to act and there is no more authoritative global body on the issue than the ILO.

The main activities of the Child Labour Platform include:

- Hosting regular in-person meetings and webinars, and engaging with member companies in frank discussions on practical approaches to tackling child labour in supply chains, including cocoa, seafood, apparel, forestry, and telecommunications. With meetings held under the Chatham House Rule, companies save time and money by learning from each other about what works.

- Developing innovative company collaboration models to tackle child labour in specific geographic zones and industries.
- Producing practical guidance for child labour due diligence and good practice reports.
- Assisting member companies in improving company policies and practice in light of the ILO child labour Conventions and UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights.
- Training members in the use of easy-to-replicate materials that convey essential messages on the identification, prevention, and remediation of child labour in supply chains.
- Connecting members with ILO initiatives to prevent and remediate child labour in sourcing countries.
- Ensuring members are up to date on emerging trends, risks, and issues through regular alerts.

Source: ILO (http://www.ilo.org/ipec/Action/CSR/clp/lang--en/index.htm)

A recognition that there is a common set of root causes of child labour is the logic behind area-based approaches for addressing child labour in supply chains. Rather than focus specifically on supply chains, area-based approaches address factors driving *all* types of child labour in a given geographic area. This broader approach helps prevent children simply moving from one supply chain to another, or into a more hidden form of child labour. It is also consistent with government policies and commitments under ILO child labour Conventions, which are not limited to child labour within a specific sector.

The number of industries and enterprises adopting an area-based approach is on the rise, and this is a positive sign for the future. While individual enterprises and groups of enterprises may start from particular concerns they have about the use of child labour in specific products in their supply chains, there is nonetheless increasing recognition that child labour should not be displaced from one type of work or product to another and that sustainable solutions require the deployment of integrated area-based approaches in which the goal is to support the creation of child labour-free communities.

The child-labour free community approach is not restricted to the global supply chains of multinational enterprises. It has been deployed through similar strategies with other names such "child-friendly villages" in Africa and South Asia and could be replicated on a wider scale.

Strengthening regulation and enforcement

The establishment and enforcement of an adequate regulatory framework is critical to the creation of an enabling environment for addressing child labour in supply chains and, more broadly, to ensuring sustainable supply chains. Such a framework should clearly establish the expectation that all business enterprises domiciled in the national territory or jurisdiction respect human rights throughout their operations. It should be part of a coherent policy approach designed to ensure that investment treaties and corporate governance law enable, rather than hinder, business respect for these rights. Governments can also play an important role in promoting and guiding business enterprises on means of compliance. Governments themselves can set a good example by taking extra steps to conduct due diligence against child labour and other labour rights abuses by business enterprises that are owned or controlled by the State and in their own public procurement activities.

Adequate means of enforcement is also critical. Labour inspection services everywhere still need greater resources – and in some cases, capacity - to fulfil their essential role of transposing the authority and obligations of the State into practical measures to ensure prevention, enforcement of the law, and protection of adults, youth, and children in the world of work.

Promoting industry compliance

Translating the international frameworks and national regulations into concrete progress against child labour in global supply chains will require continued support to industry in meeting its compliance responsibilities.

Translating the international frameworks and national regulations into concrete progress against child labour in global supply chains will require continued support to industry in meeting its compliance responsibilities. Several promising models for intervention have emerged in recent years, offering an important foundation and guidance for future efforts in this regard.

International Framework Agreements. Of relevance are the increasing number of global framework agreements between multinational enterprises and sectoral global trade union federations, which include all fundamental rights at work. These agreements rely on the ILO's principal means of action – social dialogue between those that represent the economic actors – for their effectiveness, and they reflect the integrated deployment of all fundamental rights at work to combat both the symptoms and the root causes of child labour.

Industry-wide collaboration initiatives. Business-led, voluntary initiatives focused on child labour in supply chains demonstrate the value of industry-wide collaboration to ensure a level playing field in which child labour in supply chains is not a source of competitive advantage. Prominent examples include the International Cocoa Initiative and the Eliminating Child Labour in Tobacco Growing Initiative. The International Cocoa Initiative, for example, works with the cocoa industry in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana – alongside civil society, farmers' organizations, communities, and the national governments – in addressing child labour in the cocoa supply chain as part of a broader holistic approach to child protection.

Cross-industry collaboration initiatives. Cross-sectoral cooperation between industries takes such collaboration a step further to ensure that when child labour is addressed in one supply chain it is not simply displaced into another. This cross-sectoral collaboration can be especially useful in accelerating progress deep in supply chains in the informal economy, where monitoring and follow-up can be a particular challenge. One prominent example is the ILO-UN Global Compact Child Labour Platform as mentioned above.[116] The Platform facilitates the exchange of experience and know-how and promotes cross-industry collective action to tackle child labour in supply chains.

Public-private partnership. Public-private partnerships help promote more effective interaction between private compliance initiatives and public enforcement activities, which too often are disconnected, resulting in fragmentation and inefficiency. They address the urgent need for remedy while at the same time laying the foundation for improved governance and enforcement. The public-private partnerships established in the cocoa-growing areas of Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire represent a successful example. These partnerships saw the cocoa industry work with the governments and the ILO to reduce reliance on child labour by improving yields and agronomy practices and at the same time to strengthen enforcement by introducing national child labour monitoring systems.

Multi-stakeholder engagement. The issue of child labour in global supply chains concerns a variety of parties – government, industry, international buyers, employers' and workers' organizations, and civil society – and bringing these parties together to identify and coordinate actions can be critical to their ultimate effectiveness and sustainability.

The importance of such additional measures by enterprises to fulfil their obligations has been enhanced by the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights. Voluntary measures are neither a substitute for the rule of law, nor for social dialogue, and should be deployed responsibly to support the obligations of States to ensure that the rule of law "protects" and the realization of the fundamental rights of freedom of association and the right to collective bargaining, which are the bedrock of well-functioning labour relations systems.

Table 7

Policy options for addressing child labour in supply chains

Policy goal/targets	Strategies and measures
Addressing root causes.	Area-based approaches addressing factors driving all types of child labour in a given geographic area.
Strengthening regulation and enforcement.	Establishment of an adequate regulatory scheme setting out clearly the expectation that all business enterprises domiciled in the national territory or jurisdiction respect human rights throughout their operations.
	Building capacity of labour inspection services.
Promoting industry compliance.	International framework agreements between multinational enterprises and sectoral global trade union federations, which include all fundamental rights at work.
	Business-led, voluntary initiatives focused on child labour in supply chains to ensure a level playing field.
	Cross-industry collaboration initiatives to ensure that when child labour is tackled in one supply chain it is not simply displaced into another.
	Public-private partnerships to promote more effective interaction between private compliance initiatives and public enforcement activities.
	Multi-stakeholder engagement to bring all parties concerned – government, industry, international buyers, employers' and workers' organizations, and civil society – together to identify and coordinate actions.

2.6 Protecting children in situations of fragility and crisis

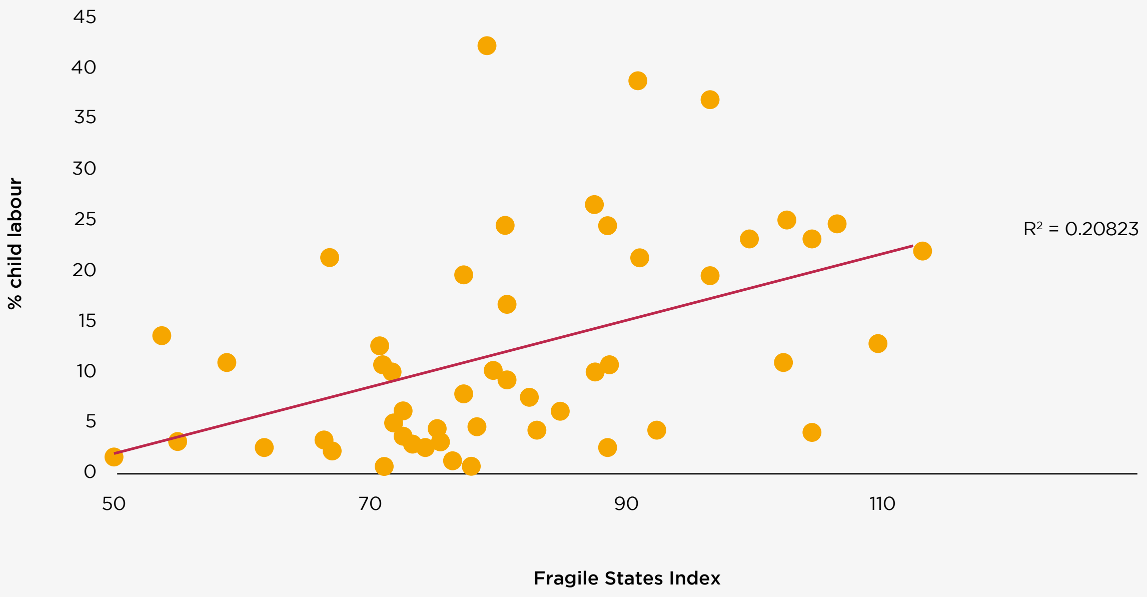
2.6.1 THE RATIONALE

There is a strong positive correlation between state fragility and child labour; the link between child labour and situations of armed conflict appears especially strong.

Globally, more than 1.5 billion people live in countries that are affected by conflict, violence, and fragility. At the same time, each year disasters affect around 200 million people, a third of whom are children – figures that are likely to grow in the future. These fragile situations – characterized by income shocks, a breakdown in formal and family social support networks, migration, and disruptions in basic services provision – create the conditions for further violations of fundamental labour rights, including an elevated risk of child labour. We know from a large body of research that households can use their children's labour as a coping mechanism in situations of heightened vulnerability.[117] We also know that children, once pulled out of the classroom to work, often do not go back to school, so that even short-term crises can have enduring adverse consequences for children.

Figure 14

Fragile States Index (FSI) and child labour, children aged 5-14 years, multiple countries



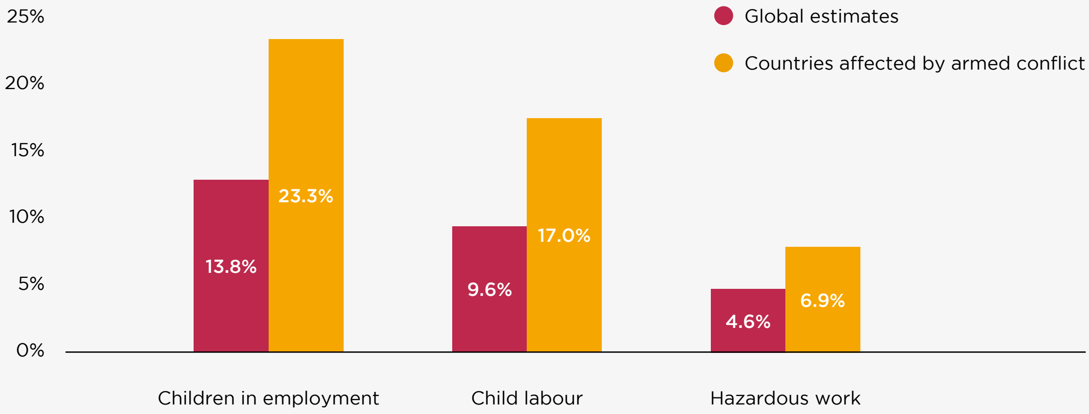
Source: UCW calculations based on national household survey datasets; and The Fund for Peace (2016), Fragile States Index 2016. Data available at http://fsi.fundforpeace.org/.

In view of these facts, it is not surprising that there is a correlation between child labour and state fragility. The Fragile States Index (FSI) produced by the Fund for Peace (FFP) is a tool for measuring the array of social, economic, and political pressures contributing to state fragility.[118] It is useful in highlighting not only the normal pressures that all States experience, but also in identifying when those pressures are pushing a State towards the brink of failure. A simple plotting of composite FSI scores against child labour rates across countries indicates a strong positive correlation between fragility and child labour (Figure 14). States that are more fragile, in other words, tend to have higher levels of child labour than States that are relatively more stable.[119]

The link between child labour and situations of armed conflict appears especially strong. An analysis of child labour data for countries listed in the Report of the Secretary-General on Children and Armed Conflict (S/2015/409), submitted to the UN Security Council in 2015, indicates that the share of children in employment, child labour, and hazardous work is significantly higher in countries affected by armed conflict than global averages. As reported in Figure 15, the incidence of child labour in countries affected by armed conflict is 77 per cent higher than the global average, while the incidence of hazardous work is 50 per cent higher in countries affected by armed conflict than in the world as a whole. The Syria crisis represents one of the most tragic contemporary examples of this link. A recent ILO study of Syrian refugees in Jordan shows poor Syrian children are much more exposed to child labour than are their Jordanian peers.[120] Other studies also suggest that the Syria crisis is associated with an alarming rise in child labour.[121]

Figure 15

Percentage of children in employment, child labour, and hazardous work, 5–17 years age range, globally and in countries affected by armed conflict, 2016



Note: countries classified as "affected by armed conflict" are taken from the Report of the Secretary-General on children and armed conflict, submitted to the UN Security Council in 2015. The category "countries affected by armed conflict" includes Afghanistan, the Central African Republic, Colombia, Iraq, Mali, Nigeria, the Philippines, South Sudan, Ukraine, Yemen, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Countries affected by armed conflict for which child labour data is not available in the current Global Estimates include Libya, Myanmar, Somalia, Sudan, and the Syrian Arab Republic.

Natural disasters are also associated with an increased risk of child labour. A qualitative study undertaken by ILO Sri Lanka points to the link between child labour and natural disasters such as drought, floods, and landslides. The study, which focused on three Districts that have been affected by recurrent natural disasters, also indicates a greater risk of permanent school dropout and a major deterioration of school quality as a result of disasters.[122] Numerous other studies, for example, in Guatemala and Cambodia, also indicate an increase in child labour as a result of natural disasters and related shocks.[123]

2.6.2 POLICY APPROACHES

Child labour must be treated as a priority in all phases of humanitarian action.

Mainstreaming child labour concerns in all phases of humanitarian action

Child labour must be treated as a priority in crisis preparedness and contingency plans, humanitarian responses, and in post-crisis reconstruction and recovery efforts. Governments, workers' and employers' organizations, and humanitarian actors all have a critical role to play in this context. Rapid assessment tools need to be regularly updated in evolving and increasingly complex crises to quickly determine the risks of child labour and other fundamental labour rights violations. At the same time, new intervention models need to be developed and tested to address child labour in crisis or in fragile situations and to strengthen protection and remedies for children and other affected groups. The Child Labour in Emergencies Toolkit produced by the Child Labour in Emergencies Task Force, co-chaired by ILO and Plan International, represents an important resource in this regard (see Panel 7).[124]

Building on national systems

Humanitarian responses addressing child labour should, to the greatest extent possible, engage public authorities and build upon existing national systems. Parallel systems targeting only those communities affected by the crisis, with minimal involvement of the actors who have traditionally taken the lead on the issue of child labour (e.g., ministries of labour and agriculture and employers' and workers' organizations), tend to be difficult to reconcile with time and to contribute less to post-conflict recovery and development.

In instances where the children concerned are refugees or internally-displaced persons, effectively building on national systems is contingent on agreement from state authorities to accommodate these groups of children within national systems. The ILO's Employment and Decent Work for Peace and Risilience Recommendation, 2017 (No. 205) acknowledges that such accommodation should be within the limits of national resources and capacity and with acknowledgement on the part of the international community of the importance of equitable burden- and responsibility-sharing.[125]

Collective efforts and coordination

The complexity of crisis and fragile situations, and the many overlapping mandates for responding to them, means that ensuring close coordination around the issue of child labour is another important priority. There are a number of existing mechanisms, including the Inter Agency Standing Committee, the Paris Principles Steering Group on children associated with armed forces and groups, the Child Labour Task Force of the inter-agency Alliance for Child Protection in Humanitarian Action, and the Global Partnership to End Violence against Children, that are relevant in this context. Alliance 8.7's Action Group on Conflict and Humanitarian Settings also provides an important vehicle for collaboration around protecting children from child labour in situations of fragility and crisis. While these multiple mechanisms and forums are playing important roles, careful attention must be paid to their respective mandates so that each addresses elements of the response for which it is most competent.

Collaboration among development and humanitarian actors in addressing child labour also needs to be made more effective and rapid in emergencies with the aim of ensuring that short-term emergency measures are consistent with, and help support, longer-term efforts to combat child labour.

Panel 7

Protecting children from child labour in emergencies: Child Labour Task Force of the Alliance for Child Protection in Humanitarian Action

The Child Labour Task Force,[126] co-led by Plan International and the ILO, was formally re-established in March 2017 under the Alliance for Child Protection in Humanitarian Action.

The Task Force seeks to address the widely recognized need to improve responses to child labour in emergencies.[127] Its overall goal is to ensure practical coordination and collaboration on the issue of child labour among humanitarian responders and development actors at all levels. It also is a vehicle for ensuring child labour concerns are effectively "mainstreamed" in emergency preparedness plans, prevention efforts, emergency responses, and in humanitarian standard setting.

Specific taskforce objectives include:

1. **Technical tools and guidance**. Humanitarian responders have access to and use inter-agency guidance to prevent and respond to child labour in emergencies with a specific focus on its worst forms.
2. **Capacity building**. Humanitarian responders have enhanced knowledge, skills, and behaviours to prevent and respond to child labour in emergencies with a specific focus on its worst forms.
3. **Knowledge management**. Evidence, research, good practices, and lessons learned on child labour in emergencies contribute to a better understanding of child labour issues in emergencies and are systematically collected, shared, and integrated into policy and practice.
4. **Coordination, policy, and advocacy**. Linkages between the Child Labour Task Force and the other global platforms and initiatives are established, including but not limited to Alliance 8.7 and other task forces that operate under the Alliance for Child Protection in Humanitarian Action.

The Child Labour Task Force is responsible for the upcoming revision of the module on child labour standards in the Minimum Standards for Child Protection in Humanitarian Action in 2018 and 2019. The Task Force also developed the Inter-Agency Toolkit on Supporting the Protection Needs of Child Labourers in Emergencies,[128] which is being piloted in 2017.

In addition to the co-leading agencies, Plan International and the ILO, Task Force membership includes a wide range of both United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations. It also includes the Child Protection Area of Responsibility, a UNICEF-led grouping of humanitarian agencies providing field-based support to child protection responses.

Source: The Child Protection Task Force.

Link to livelihoods

The sudden loss of livelihoods faced by families in crisis situations can lead to child labour as a negative coping mechanism; providing affected populations with access to livelihoods is therefore critical.

The sudden loss of livelihoods and heavy economic burdens faced by families in crisis situations can make them extremely vulnerable and lead to child labour as a negative coping mechanism, and this link between child labour and economic vulnerability is especially apparent in conflict and disaster situations. The sooner affected populations are given access to livelihoods the more effectively child labour can be prevented and addressed. The ILO's Recommendation 205 emphasizes the importance of ensuring livelihoods in crisis situations and provides a framework for actions in this regard.[129] Based on a coordinated and inclusive needs assessment with a clear gender perspective, the Recommendation calls for "immediate employment measures and income-generation opportunities for population groups and individuals who have been made particularly vulnerable by the crisis".[130]

With the global population of forcibly displaced persons exceeding 65 million – a significant percentage of them refugees who have moved to another country – addressing the legal and regulatory impediments facing refugees in accessing the labour market and gaining decent work in host communities is of particular importance. ILO Recommendation 205 calls for measures to "promote the access of refugees to formal job opportunities, income-generation schemes and entrepreneurship, by providing vocational training and guidance, job placement assistance, and access to work permits, as appropriate, thereby preventing informalization of labour markets in host communities".[131] These measures should take place as a part of broader efforts to build the resilience and strengthen the capacity of host communities by investing in local economies and promoting full, productive, freely chosen employment and decent work, and skills development of the local population.[132]

Children in armed conflict

More attention is urgently needed to the worst forms of child labour suffered by children caught up in situations of armed conflict.

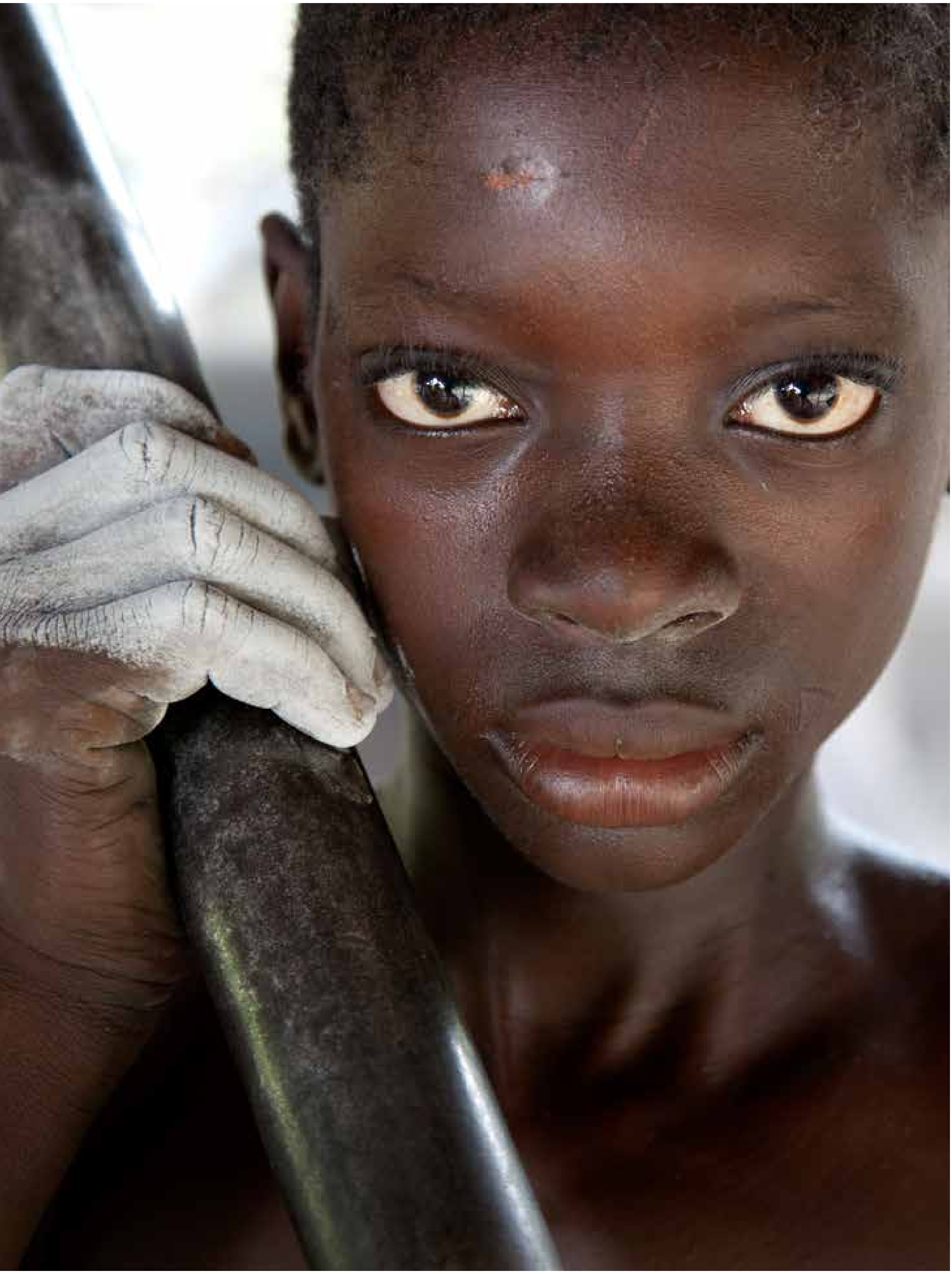
Some of the most egregious violations of children's rights occur in contexts of armed conflict. Children in conflict zones are recruited as combatants, used as human shields, sexual slaves, and suicide bombers, or forced to commit acts of extreme violence. In addition, they may be forced to perform extremely hazardous child labour in the production of conflict minerals. All of these horrific violations continue to be practiced with impunity in many situations of armed conflict. More attention is urgently needed to these worst forms of child labour. Efforts should be made to ensure that children associated with armed forces and groups and other children caught up in armed conflict are prioritized in peace plans and processes and in demobilization efforts. Special advocacy efforts directed towards armed groups and aimed at the release of these children must also continue.

ILO Recommendation 205 also calls for specific youth employment components in disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration programmes. Providing sustainable work opportunities for young people of legal working age formerly associated with armed forces and armed groups can be critical to their successful reintegration into society. The provision of psychosocial counselling and other interventions to address anti-social behaviour and post-traumatic stress is also vital in many instances.

Table 8

Policies to protect children from child labour in situations of state fragility and crisis

Policy goal	Strategies and measures
Child labour concerns mainstreamed in all phases of humanitarian action.	Prioritize child labour in crisis preparedness and contingency plans, humanitarian responses, and in post-crisis reconstruction and recovery efforts.
	Develop and update rapid assessment tools to quickly determine the risks of child labour and other fundamental labour rights violations in crisis situations.
	Develop and test intervention models to address child labour in crisis or in fragile situations.
Humanitarian responses addressing child labour are built into national systems.	Engage public authorities and build to the extent possible upon existing national systems to avoid the creation of parallel systems that are difficult to reconcile with time and contribute less to post-conflict recovery and development.
	Seek agreement from national authorities to accommodate refugees or internally-displaced groups of children within national systems within the limits of national resources and capacity and with acknowledgement on the part of the international community of the importance of equitable burden- and responsibility-sharing.
Strengthened coordination and collective action.	Promote clear delineation of roles and mandates so that each humanitarian actor addresses elements of the response for which it is most competent.
	Promote improved coordination among development and humanitarian actors in order that short-term emergency measures are consistent with, and help support, longer term efforts to combat child labour.
Improved access to livelihoods to reduce reliance on child labour as a negative coping strategy.	Develop public employment measures and income-generation opportunities for affected population groups and individuals.
	Address the legal and regulatory impediments facing refugees in accessing the labour market and gaining decent work in host communities.
	Build the resilience and strengthen the capacity of host communities by investing in local economies and promoting full, productive, freely chosen employment and decent work, and skills development of the local population.
Improved responses to the urgent needs of children in armed conflict.	Ensure that children associated with armed forces and groups and other children trapped in armed conflict are prioritized in peace plans and processes and in demobilization efforts.
	Continue special advocacy efforts directed towards armed groups aimed at the release of these children.
	Provide sustainable work opportunities for young people of legal working age formerly associated with armed forces and armed groups.
	Provide psychosocial counselling and other interventions to address anti-social behaviour and post-traumatic stress among children and young people formerly associated with armed forces and armed groups.



© Lisa Kristine

Part 3.

The road forward to 2025

Achieving a world free of child labour remains as urgent today as ever. But our pace must be faster and our efforts more ambitious if we are to make such a world a reality. The latest estimates indicate that 152 million children are still engaged in child labour, accounting for almost one in ten of all children worldwide. The global community has clearly acknowledged that the persistence of child labour in the 21st century is unacceptable and has renewed its commitment in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) to eliminate all forms of child labour by 2025 (SDG Target 8.7). Now we must turn this renewed commitment into accelerated action and consign child labour to the dustbin of history, once and for all.

A growing consensus to address child labour through an integrated rights-based approach

The extensive body of knowledge and experience reviewed in the previous chapters of this report underscores the importance of an active policy response to child labour and sheds important light on the contents of such a policy response. Measures in four main policy areas – legal standards and regulation, labour markets, social protection and education – underpinned by social dialogue, emerge from this review as especially important pillars of a policy response to child labour. These pillars for addressing child labour are linked not only to SDGs on poverty eradication, quality education, and decent work (SDG Goals 1, 4, and 8, respectively), but also to the struggle to achieve and maintain "peaceful, just, and inclusive" societies – an integral and foundational element of the 2030 Agenda.

The rationale for each of the four pillars is straightforward. International standards and national labour laws and regulations articulate and formalize the State's duty to protect its children. They set out an unambiguous definition of child labour and the principles and framework for national action against it. Properly designed labour market policies focused on where most children in child labour are found – the rural economy and the informal economy – can help curb the demand for child labour and improve the prospects for decent work for youth of legal working age and for adults. Social protection helps prevent households from having to rely on child labour as a negative coping strategy in the face of poverty and economic uncertainty. Quality education helps break intergenerational cycles of poverty and child labour reliance and provides a worthwhile alternative to child labour.

The increasingly wide consensus concerning these main pillars has developed over the years, in particular since the 2008-2012 period, during which the greatest acceleration of progress was achieved since the ILO began collating global statistics. Taken together, they reflect a major shift towards more coherent and integrated policy approaches directed to systemic change and the eradication of root causes. They also reflect a recognition that child labour cannot be effectively addressed in narrow sectoral terms as an isolated issue or through limited-scale project-based approaches, but rather must be viewed as an integral part of broader economic and social development policies. Addressing child labour is critical to the achievement of broader social development goals, which in turn is critical to addressing child labour. Policies need to reflect this interrelationship.

The implicit recognition of the limits of enforcement also underpins this emerging consensus. Raid and rescue approaches have a place in the right circumstances and at the right time, but with 152 million children in child labour, most of the them performing unpaid contributing work in their own families, it is essential that adequate resources are devoted to combating the root causes of child labour and that enforcement is directed appropriately and does not further harm the child victims or penalize parents and families who are themselves victims of poverty, inequality, and social exclusion.

The consensus around a common set of policy priorities does not and cannot mean that there also exists a common set of measures for addressing child labour that are equally applicable everywhere. In other words, there is no one-size-fits-all approach to addressing child labour. Rather, the specific measures that make up policy responses need to be tailored to the variety of contexts in which child labour persists, based on social dialogue at the national and local level and on the policy building blocks already in place.[133] These contexts include situations of state fragility and armed conflict, in which a large share of children in child labour are found; natural disaster related to climate change; widespread economic informality; and the contexts of global supply chains. Each of these presents its own special challenges in terms of protecting children from child labour.

Ensuring an adequate legal architecture for protecting children from child labour

Progress in the ratification of the two principal ILO legal standards relating to child labour has been dramatic. ILO Convention No. 182 (on the worst forms of child labour), with 181 ratifications,[134] is the most, and most rapidly ratified, Convention in the history of the ILO. More than 99.9 per cent of the world's children aged 5-17 years are now covered by it. Convention No. 138 (on minimum age), with 170 ratifications, now covers 80 per cent of the world's children.

But the challenge of creating an adequate legal architecture for addressing child labour does not end with ratification. Transposing these international standards into national laws and regulations is also critical. We noted earlier in this report that important progress has been made in this regard but that important challenges remain. Incoherencies, for example, persist in a number of countries between laws governing the minimum age for admission to employment and those dealing with the age range for compulsory schooling. Many countries have also been slow in honouring their commitment made upon ratification of ILO Conventions Nos 138 and 182 to publish or review national lists of hazardous work prohibited to people under 18 years of age. Labour inspection systems remain generally weak, owing to both capacity and resource constraints, and rarely reach workplaces in the informal economy where most child labour is found.

On a broader strategic level, while there has been a growing understanding of the complementarity of the two child labour Conventions, ensuring an integrated approach to their application remains a challenge in many countries. This requires, first and foremost, a recognition that the priority of combating worst forms of child labour does not override the need to continue to combat child labour involving those who are not in hazardous work or other worst forms. An integrated approach to the application of the two child labour Conventions, recognized and reinforced in the Brasilia Declaration, is crucial to ensuring the human rights of all children to be free of child labour and to have access to free, quality education and to avoid the displacement of children below the minimum age from worst forms to "non-worst" forms.

More progress is also needed in integrating the application of child labour laws with those relating to other fundamental labour rights, in keeping with the 1998 ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work and reinforced by the 2008 Declaration on Social Justice for a Fair Globalization and the 2012 and 2017 ILO Conference resolutions on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work. These instruments proclaim, more clearly than ever, that eliminating all forms of child labour also requires the realization of the other fundamental rights: of freedom *of* association and the right to bargain collectively, and freedom from forced labour and *from* discrimination in the world of work. This integrated fundamental principles and decent work approach is also reflected in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

Labour market policies to promote decent rural livelihoods and address the informal economy

The Global Estimates indicate that most children in child labour work unpaid on family farms or in other family enterprises. Typically, they do so because the family depends on the additional income that their work generates or because the family enterprise depends on their work in order to function. These basic facts underscore the importance of improving rural livelihoods and incomes, along with the functioning of small family farms and enterprises, in order to reduce family dependence on child labour. Alongside the need for fair pay for waged work to redress the family poverty gap, family enterprises need fair prices for the products they produce. And those that are "functionally dependent" on the unpaid work of their children in order to perform all the tasks required for the enterprise to operate also need to become viable enough to replace the unpaid labour of their children with adults and youth of working age in decent work and/or with appropriate labour-saving technologies.

We also know that child labour is concentrated in the informal economy – both urban and rural – and is closely related to working conditions there. Workers in the informal economy commonly face the denial of rights at work, including the right to organize and bargain collectively (and thus also face a lack of wider social dialogue), limited or no assurances of occupational safety and health, and inadequate social protection, all of which run contrary to the concept of decent work and increase the likelihood that working households must rely on their children's child labour as a negative coping strategy. Labour market policies promoting the transition from the informal to formal economy – many of which overlap with efforts to improve rural livelihoods – are therefore also critical in the fight against child labour.

Promoting the self-organization of women and men who earn their living in the informal urban and rural economies is also critical to furthering this transition. In addition to wage workers, who need to be able to exercise their rights to freedom of association and collective bargaining, this group also includes, for example, own-account workers, smallholder farmers, and artisanal fishers. Several innovative approaches have proven effective, not least among domestic workers, who now have an international federation of their trade unions. Widening the collective, representative voice, sometimes also through the establishment of cooperatives, enables those who are not in employment relationships with an identifiable employer to influence their working conditions, productivity, and incomes. At the community level, too, it can help strengthen the "village voice" in dealings with public authorities, for example, about the provision of public service obligations, including education for all.

Building and extending social protection systems, including floors

Social protection measures that seek to provide income replacement and security to families that are dependent for part of their family income on the child labour of their children have proved successful and must be extended. The ILO Social Protection Floors Recommendation, 2012 (No. 202) provides a key framework for achieving this. We saw earlier that cash transfer schemes appear to hold particular promise in keeping children in school and out of child labour. However, social protection extends beyond cash transfers. There are a number of other instruments identified in the ILO Recommendation that need to be implemented in a way that enhances their capacity to address child labour. The more limited evidence concerning public employment programmes, social health protection, and unemployment protection to income security in old age are all potentially relevant within a well-designed social security system. Social finance schemes, such as microcredit and microinsurance, can also play an important complementary role in making sure that vulnerable families have access to the financial market and are able to hedge against part of the risks they face.

Design considerations are, however, critical in all of these areas. A key conclusion emerging from the evidence to date is that close attention must be paid to avoiding unintended negative consequences relating to child labour. Even in instances when some social protection instruments or complementary social finance schemes are achieving their broader social goals, they can increase child labour if they create new opportunities for children's work in the family enterprise or if they lead to children undertaking work that would have otherwise been undertaken by adults in the household. This risk comes out most clearly in the initial evidence relating to the child labour impact of public employment programmes. Provisions, therefore, should be included in the design of social protection instruments and complementary social finance schemes to address possible unintended negative consequences regarding child labour.

Expanding access to free, quality public education

The latest Global Estimates indicate that the overall decline in child labour masks a stagnation of progress against child labour among children of primary school age. This means, simply, that the withdrawal of children from child labour is not being matched by the prevention of their entry into child labour in the first place. Ending entry of children into child labour requires a number of measures. Among them, most obviously, is to ensure that the 36 million children aged 5-14 engaged in child labour and not attending school are able to go to school, stay at school, and complete their education, and that the 78 million who are combining child labour and school are able to devote their childhood to their education and no longer have it undermined by child labour. To paraphrase the words of Nobel Peace Laureate Kailash Satyarthi, we will not end child labour until every child is in school, and we not will not succeed in ensuring every child is in school until we eradicate child labour.

This discussion points to the need for massive investment in what we know works in getting children out of work and into the classroom – or, better still, into preschool and primary school at the outset and preventing them from entering child labour in the first place. This includes ensuring a good start by promoting early childhood development, care, and pre-primary education. It also includes offsetting the direct and indirect costs associated with schooling with measures such as abolishing school fees and providing cash transfers to poor families. Other priorities include ensuring a professional and competent teaching force with rights at work and decent working conditions; ensuring that all girls and boys have a safe and quality learning environment; and providing second-chance learning opportunities for older children who have so far missed out on formal schooling, including through targeted vocational training programmes that also offer basic education support. Ensuring coherence and enforcement of laws on child labour and school attendance, including coherence between the minimum age for work and the minimum school leaving age, as noted above, is critical.

At the same time, we must take into account that the "Fourth Industrial Revolution" will entail a vast restructuring of the global economy and of labour markets, which, in different ways, will affect working lives and the lives of children in all parts of the global economy. A narrow "business as usual" approach to school to work transition needs to be widened, not only to pay appropriate attention to transition from early childhood to school but also to an open and thoughtful debate about the purpose and nature of education – as a human right and as a preparation for a fulfilling adult life – in economies that, in the coming decades, may see a major decline in the availability of "jobs" as we commonly think of them today.

Addressing child labour in supply chains

Reliable numbers are difficult to come by, but we know that children in child labour are found in supply chains in most sectors and most regions of the world. Effectively addressing this issue will therefore also be critical along the road to 2025. Particularly important in this regard will be promoting the continued growth of integrated, area-based approaches on the part of enterprises seeking to ensure that their supply and value chains are free of child labour. This means supporting the creation of child labour-free communities in the areas where their supply chains operate, rather than approaches limited solely to the products they source or to worst forms of child labour. Such an approach takes into account that children performing child labour in their supply chains may also be engaged in child labour in other sectors – for example, combining child labour in agriculture with child labour in artisanal mining, in brick kilns, or in domestic work. The wider vision that underpins this approach also helps support the development of strategies to address child labour – often performed in the same communities, sometimes even by the same children – relating to the production of goods for family and local consumption, which represents the majority of child labour in the world. Development assistance targeted only at internationally traded goods needs to be recalibrated to support integrated approaches aimed at realizing the human rights of all children in child labour.

A number of other strategies and models of intervention for addressing child labour in supply chains were also identified in this report. The establishment and enforcement of an adequate regulatory framework is critical to the creation of an enabling environment for addressing child labour in supply chains and, more broadly, to ensuring sustainable supply chains. Business-led, voluntary initiatives focused on child labour in supply chains demonstrate the value of industry-wide collaboration to ensure a level playing field in which child labour is not a source of competitive advantage. Cross-sectoral collaboration between industries takes this approach a step further to ensure that when child labour is tackled in one supply chain it is not simply displaced into another. Public-private partnerships help promote more effective interaction between private compliance initiatives and public enforcement activities; too often these efforts are disconnected, resulting in fragmentation and inefficiency. Finally, multi-stakeholder engagement recognizes the importance of bringing together all parties concerned - government, industry, international buyers, employers' and workers' organizations, and civil society – to the effectiveness of actions to rid supply chains of child labour.

Child labour in situations of state fragility and crisis

Major regional and national conflicts during the 2012-2016 period – as well as natural and climate change related disasters – have continued to dislocate economies and communities and destroy or diminish family incomes and livelihoods, and have created the greatest flows of refugees – including of children – that the world has seen for decades. According to UNICEF, an estimated 535 million children (almost one in four children) live in countries affected by conflict or disaster. Children also comprise more than half of the 65 million people presently displaced by war. Whether children affected by conflict and disaster are trapped in their home communities or on the move in search of safety and refuge, they are more vulnerable to child labour. Indeed, we saw earlier that there is a strong correlation between child labour and situations of state fragility and that the link between child labour and situations of armed conflict appears especially strong.

This report has identified a number of urgent priorities for addressing the risk of child labour in situations of state fragility and crisis. First and foremost, child labour concerns need to be integrated into all phases of humanitarian action – crisis preparedness and contingency plans, humanitarian responses, and post-crisis reconstruction and recovery efforts. Rapid assessment tools need to be regularly updated in evolving and increasingly complex crises to determine quickly the risks of child labour and other fundamental labour rights violations. At the same time, new intervention models need to be developed and tested to address child labour in crisis or in fragile situations and to strengthen protection and remedies. The complexity of crisis and fragile situations, and the many overlapping mandates for responding to them, means that ensuring close coordination around the issue of child labour is another important priority. Ensuring the livelihoods of families in crisis situations is essential to avoiding their reliance on child labour as a negative coping mechanism. Some of the most egregious forms of child labour occur in contexts of armed conflict, and efforts should be made to ensure that children associated with armed forces and groups and other children affected by armed conflict are prioritized in peace processes and demobilization efforts and are provided necessary support for their reintegration into society. The ILO's founding motto "if you want peace, cultivate justice" is more relevant than ever for the children affected by conflict and for every one of the 152 million of our children who are still in child labour.

Building knowledge to guide action

A lack of information cannot be an excuse for inaction. But, at the same time, filling key knowledge gaps on child labour, the forces underpinning it, and the best approaches for addressing it will be important to informing and guiding actions on the road to 2025. The nature of the functional dependence of family enterprises on the unpaid labour of their children is an especially important knowledge gap. As 72 per cent of all child labour (and 85 per cent of child labour in Africa) is in agriculture and 69 per cent is performed as unpaid contributing family work, this is not a peripheral matter. If we are to have coherent and comprehensive policies to address the systemic root causes of child labour, a clearer understanding of the nature of that dependence, and of the support such enterprises require to be able to replace that child labour by adults engaged in decent work, is urgently required.

Although there are still fewer girls than boys in child labour and in hazardous work, the proportional decline among girls is now slower than among boys. In addition, girls' work may still be undercounted and we need to improve our statistical research and measurement to capture better the child labour that girls, in particular, perform. That concerns, not least, our need to understand better the threshold at which household chores cease to be normal family activity for children and, because of their harmful effects on the child's development, become analogous to child labour.

There is an ongoing need for information on the *impact* of policies and interventions in the child labour sphere. With the exception of cash transfers, too little is known about the effectiveness of interventions in policy areas of relevance to child labour. This knowledge gap, in turn, is impeding policy development,[135] makes it difficult to demonstrate to the international community that money invested has been well spent, and hampers future resource allocation decisions.

There is a general need for more knowledge about the implications for child labour of broader global challenges, including climate change, migration, inequality, and the future of work. We also need to know more about how child labour is linked to other violations of fundamental labour rights, including discrimination in the workplace and restrictions on freedom of association and collective bargaining. Better information on children in the worst forms of child labour other than hazardous work[136] is another important continuing priority, building on the research work already undertaken in the field of child forced labour and utilizing the measurement tools already developed by the ILO and other groups for this purpose.[137]

Some gaps also remain in child labour data and statistics, despite the large strides that have already been made. Data on child labour is now available for much of the less-industrialized world, but there is still a need in many countries to ensure the regularity and consistency of data gathering for the purpose of monitoring progress. The need for more and better data also extends beyond the less-industrialized world, as some middle-income countries have ceased to collect or publish data on work below the minimum working age and many high-income countries have never collected data on child labour, despite the fact that we know that child labour persists in countries of all income levels.

The importance of partnership and international cooperation

In 2016, Alliance 8.7 was launched as a global partnership to end forced labour, modern slavery, human trafficking, and child labour, in accordance with SDG Target 8.7. Alliance 8.7 recognizes that no single actor can solve these challenges alone and that eradication can be accelerated only through efforts that leverage expertise across a wide range of stakeholders. The ILO has supported Alliance 8.7 since its inception and remains committed to working with like-minded partners to accelerate the eradication of child labour. It currently serves as the secretariat for Alliance 8.7 and, in that capacity, has supported a range of Alliance 8.7 meetings around the world. The ILO is working with Alliance 8.7 members across all four of the partnership's goals: accelerating action towards compliance with the target, conducting research and sharing knowledge, driving innovation, and increasing and leveraging resources.

The ILO involvement with Alliance 8.7 is part of its broader commitment to partnership in efforts to end child labour and achieve related goals. Previous sections of this report have highlighted a number of other key partnerships in this context. The International Partnership for Cooperation on Child Labour in Agriculture brings together the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the ILO, the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), the the International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers' Associations (IUF), and a variety of other organizations and stakeholders in global efforts to eliminate child labour in agriculture. The World Bank Group and ILO Universal Social Protection Initiative is aimed at promoting the shared vision of the two agencies of universal social protection to ensure that no one is left behind. The SDG-Education 2030 Steering Committee is the global multi-stakeholder coordination mechanism for education in the 2030 Agenda. The Child Labour Platform, co-chaired by the International Organisation of Employers and the International Trade Union Confederation, is a forum to tackle child labour in supply chains. Finally, the Child Labour Task Force of the Alliance for Child Protection in Humanitarian Action, co-led by Plan International and the ILO, is a response to the widely recognized need to improve responses to child labour in emergencies. The Global Partnership to End Violence Against Children also supports the elimination of child labour.

International development cooperation will continue to be critical to success in achieving child labour goals. In many countries, the cost of required action far exceeds available government resources, meaning that governments will not be able to achieve child labour targets if they are left to act unassisted. International development cooperation is therefore imperative within the spirit of Article 8 of ILO Convention No. 182.[138] UN agencies, other multilateral and bilateral organizations, international non-governmental organizations, and a variety of other groups involved all have an important role to play in this regard. The returns on the investment in ending child labour are incalculable. Children who are free from the burden of child labour are able to fully realize their rights to education, leisure, and healthy development, in turn providing the essential foundation for broader social and economic development, poverty eradication, and human rights.

© Lisa Kristine

Annex: Statistical concepts and definitions used in this report

Three main international Conventions – the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and ILO Conventions Nos 138 and 182 – together set the legal boundaries for child labour and provide the legal grounds for national and international action against it. Resolution II concerning statistics of child labour approved in 2008 at the 18th International Conference of Labour Statisticians (ICLS) translates these legal standards into statistical terms for the purpose of child labour measurement. The statistical concepts and definitions used in this report are consistent with this ICLS resolution.

- *Children in employment* are those working in any form of market production and certain types of non-market production (principally, the production of goods such as agricultural produce for own use). This group includes children in forms of work in both the formal and informal economy; inside and outside family settings; for pay or profit (in cash or in kind, part-time or full-time); and domestic work outside the child's own household for an employer (paid or unpaid). It includes children who are engaged in child labour, as well as children above the relevant minimum age who are engaged in forms of work that are permitted for children of that age.

- *Children in child labour* is a narrower category than children in employment. It *excludes* children in employment who are in permitted light work and those above the minimum age for work whose work is not classified as a worst form of child labour, or, in particular, as "hazardous work".

- *Children in the worst forms of child labour* are those in the categories of child labour set out in Article 3 of ILO Convention No. 182. These categories comprise: (a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom, and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict; (b) the use, procuring, or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography, or for pornographic performances; (c) the use, procuring, or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties; and (d) work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety, or morals of children.

- *Children in hazardous work* are those involved in any activity or occupation that, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm their health, safety, or morals. In general, hazardous work may include night work and long hours of work, exposure to physical, psychological, or sexual abuse; work underground, under water, at dangerous heights, or in confined spaces; work with dangerous machinery, equipment, and tools, or which involves the manual handling or transport of heavy loads; and work in an unhealthy environment which may, for example, expose children to hazardous substances, agents, or processes, or to temperatures, noise levels, or vibrations damaging their health. Hazardous work by children is often treated as a proxy category for the worst forms of child labour. This is for three reasons. First, reliable national data on the worst forms of child labour other than hazardous work, such as children in bonded and forced labour or in commercial sexual exploitation, are still difficult to come by. Second, children in hazardous work account for the overwhelming majority of those in the worst forms of child labour. Third, children in the three other worst forms of child labour are also commonly exposed to hazards likely to harm their health, safety, or morals.

- *Children in light work*. According to Article 7 of ILO Convention No. 138, national laws or regulations may permit the employment or work of persons from 13 years of age (or 12 years in countries that have, as an interim measure, specified the general minimum working age as 14 years) in light work which is: (a) not likely to be harmful to their health or development; and (b) not such as to prejudice their attendance at school, their participation in vocational orientation or training programmes approved by the competent authority or their capacity to benefit from the instruction received. For the purpose of statistical measurement, in this report light work includes children 12-14 years old in employment who work in non-hazardous work for less than 14 hours a week.

- *Children performing household chores* refers to those performing domestic and personal services for consumption within *their own* households. Household chores include caring for household members; cleaning and minor household repairs; cooking and serving meals; washing and ironing clothes; and transporting or accompanying family members to and from work and school. In more technical terms, these tasks constitute a "non-economic" form of production and are excluded from consideration in the UN System of National Accounts (UNSNA), the internationally agreed standard set of guidelines for measuring national economic activity, as well from the ILO global estimates of child labour. However, if such chores are performed for an excessive number of hours, in an unhealthy environment, involving unsafe equipment or heavy loads, or in dangerous locations, they may result in harm to the child that make them analogous to child labour.

© ILO

End notes

1. For more details on methodology and underlying data concerning children in forced labour, see: ILO and Walk Free Foundation: *Modern slavery: Global estimates of forced labour and forced marriage 2017*, (Geneva, International Labour Office, 2017).

2. ILO and Walk Free Foundation: *Modern slavery: Global estimates of forced labour and forced marriage 2017*, (Geneva, International Labour Office, 2017).

3. ILO: *Child Labour: Global Estimates and Trends, 2012-2016*, (Geneva, International Labour Office, 2017).

4. Household chores refer to activities that are performed for and within one's own household such as caring for siblings or sick, infirm, disabled, or elderly household members; cleaning and carrying out minor household repairs; cooking and serving meals; washing and ironing clothes; and transporting or accompanying family members to and from work and school. In more technical terms, household chores are defined as the production of domestic and personal services by a household member for consumption within their own household. They are a "non-economic" form of production and are excluded from consideration in the UN System of National Accounts, the internationally agreed standard set of guidelines for measuring national economic activity. For further information, see (a) ILO: *Unpaid household services and child labour*, 19th International Conference of Labour Statisticians (ILO, Geneva, 2013); and (b) Resolution II concerning statistics of child labour in ILO: *Report of the Conference, 18th International Conference of Labour Statisticians, Geneva, 24 November–5 December 2008. ICLS/18/2008/IV/FINAL* (ILO, Geneva, 2009).

5. See, for example, Dayıoğlu, M.: *Impact of Unpaid Household Services on the Measurement of Child Labour*, MICS Methodological Papers, No. 2, Statistics and Monitoring Section, Division of Policy and Strategy, (UNICEF, New York, 2013); and S. Lyon, M. Ranzani, and F.C. Rosati, *Unpaid household services and child labour*, Understanding Children's Work Programme, working paper series, (Rome, 2013). It should be stressed, however, that there are no agreed legal or statistical norms governing work-hour thresholds in the measurement of household chores.

6. The question of the forces underlying child labour trends is analysed in detail in G. Dachille, L. Guarcello, S. Lyon, and F.C. Rosati, *Understanding trends in child labour,* Understanding Children's Work project, Working paper, Rome, 2017

7. L. Pellerano, E. Porreca, and F. C. Rosati: *Heterogeneous impact of unconditional cash transfer: evidence from a randomized experiment in Lesotho*, Understanding Children's Work, Working Paper, Rome, 2017.

8. K. Covarrubias, B. Davis, and P. Winters: "From Protection to Production: Productive Impacts of the Malawi Social Cash Transfer Scheme," *Journal of Development Effectiveness*, 4 (1), 2012, pp. 50-77.

9. ILO: *Report of the Director-General, Global Report under the follow-up to the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work*, International Labour Conference, 95th Session 2006, Report I (B), International Labour Office, Geneva, 2006.

10. G. Dachille, L. Guarcello, S. Lyon, and F.C. Rosati, *Understanding trends in child labour*, Understanding Children's Work project, Working Paper, Rome, 2017.

11. Ibid.

12. ILO: "Major results of ILO work on child labour", Brochure, 2014, p. 4 (http://www.ilo.org/ipecinfo/product/download.do?type=document&id=25895).

13. ILO calculations based on UNESCO database for age of completion of compulsory education (http://uis.unesco.org/en/home#tabs-0-uis_home_top_menus-3) and the ILO database of ratifications of Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138) (http://www.ilo.ch/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:11300:0::NO::P11300_INSTRUMENT_ID:312283). The databases were accessed in October 2017.

14. Comments can be searched at: http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:1:

15. This section draws in part on *World Report on Child Labour: Paving the way to decent work for young people*, International Labour Office, Geneva, 2015.

16. https://blogs.imf.org/2017/10/11/inequality-fiscal-policy-can-make-the-difference

17. D. Atkin, 2012. *Endogenous Skill Acquisition and Export Manufacturing in Mexico*, Working Paper. See also, for example, Shastry, G.K. 2012. "Human Capital Response to Globalization: Education and Information Technology in India", in *Journal of Human Resources*, Vol. 47, No. 2, pp. 287-330; and R. Jensen, 2010. "The (Perceived) Returns to Education and the Demand for Schooling", in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 2010, Vol. 125, No. 2, pp. 515-548.

18. G. Dachille, L. Guarcello, S. Lyon, and F. C. Rosati, *Understanding trends in child labour*, Understanding Children's Work project, Working Paper, Rome, 2017.

19. M. Manacorda, F. C. Rosati, "Industrial structure and child labour. Evidence from Brazil.", *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, vol. 4, 2011, ISSN: 0013-0079.

20. See R193 - Promotion of Cooperatives Recommendation, 2002 (No. 193) Recommendation concerning Promotion of Cooperatives. Adoption: Geneva, 90th ILC session (20 Jun 2002).

21. Understanding Children's Work Project, *Farm cooperatives, household vulnerability and agricultural child labour in Rwanda. Policy Appraisal*. UCW Working Paper, Rome, July 2016.

22. See also ILO: "Cooperating out of Child Labour" Geneva, 2009 http://www.ilo.org/ipecinfo/product/download.do?type=document&id=23875.

23. R193 - Promotion of Cooperatives Recommendation, 2002 (No. 193) Recommendation concerning Promotion of Cooperatives. Adoption: Geneva, 90th ILC session (20 June 2002).

24. The following is quoted from ILO: *Transitioning from the informal to the formal economy*, Report V (1) International Labour Conference, 103rd Session 2014 (ILC.103/V/1).

25. ILO: *Skills for improved productivity, employment growth and development*, Report V, International Labour Conference, 97th Session (Geneva, 2008), as cited in, ILO: *Transitioning from the informal to the formal economy*, Report V (1) International Labour Conference, 103rd Session 2014 (ILC.103/V/1).

26. ILO: *Transitioning from the informal to the formal economy*, Report V (1) International Labour Conference, 103rd Session 2014 (ILC.103/V/1).

27. ILO: *Transitioning from the informal to the formal economy*, Report V (1) International Labour Conference, 103rd Session 2014 (ILC.103/V/1).

28. Minimum wages have been a recurrent subject at the ILO since its creation in 1919. Based on the view that "universal and lasting peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice", the ILO Constitution called in its Preamble for an urgent improvement of conditions of labour, including "the provision of an adequate living wage". In 1944, the ILO Declaration of Philadelphia referred to the importance of wage policies "to ensure a just share of the fruits of progress to all, and a minimum living wage to all employed and in need of such protection". This was reiterated in the 2008 ILO Declaration on Social Justice for a Fair Globalization. The Minimum Wage Fixing Convention, 1970 (No. 131) calls for minimum wage levels that take into consideration both the needs of workers and their families as well as economic factors, and that are set after full consultation of social partners on an equal basis.

29. K. Basu, "The Intriguing Relation Between Adult Minimum Wage and Child Labour," *The Economic Journal,* 110 (462), 2000, C50-C61.

30. A. Kuddo, D. Robalino, and M. Weber, 2015. *Balancing Regulations to Promote Jobs: From employment contracts to unemployment benefits*, World Bank Group, Washington, DC, 2015.

31. J. Wahba, Do *Market Wages Influence Child Labour and Child Schooling?*, December 2000. Available at SSRN: https://ssrn.com/abstract=265209 or http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.265209.

32. ILO: *Youth: Pathways to decent work*, International Labour Conference, 93rd Session, Geneva, 2005, Report VI, *Promoting youth employment – Tackling the challenge*. Sixth item on the agenda. International Labour Office, Geneva, First edition, 2015.

33. For a more detailed discussion of each of these areas, see (a) J. Kluve J, Puerto S, Robalino D, Romero J M, Rother F, Stöterau J, Weidenkaff F, Witte M. (2016), I*nterventions to improve the labour market outcomes of youth: a systematic review of training, entrepreneurship promotion, employment services, and subsidized employment interventions*.; and (b) *Joining forces against child labour. Inter-agency report for The Hague Global Child Labour Conference of 2010 / Understanding Children's Work (UCW) Programme*, Geneva, ILO, 2010.

34. A recent learning package to support trade unions, employment services, education and training institutions, as well as youth organizations, in their initiatives aimed at raising young people's awareness of their rights at work, see ILO: *Rights@Work 4 Youth: Decent work for young people: Facilitators' guide and toolkit* (Geneva, 2014).

35. The full text of the 2012 resolution "The youth employment crisis: A call for action" can be found on the ILO website at: http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_norm/---relconf/documents/meetingdocument/wcms_185950.pdf.

36. L. Guarcello, S. Lyon, F.C. Rosati, and C. Valdivia, *Adolescents in hazardous work: Child labour among children aged 15-17 years*, UCW Working Paper, 2016.

37. It is important to reiterate that Convention No.s 138 and 182 state that the specific types of employment or work constituting hazardous work are determined by national laws or regulations or by the competent authority. When countries ratify Convention No. 182 and Convention No. 138, they commit themselves to determining work to be prohibited to persons under 18 years of age. Article 4 of Convention No. 182 in this context says: "The types of work referred to under Article 3(d) [work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety, or morals of children] shall be determined by national laws or regulations or by the competent authority, after consultation with the organizations of employers and workers concerned, taking into consideration relevant international standards, in particular Paragraphs 3 and 4 of the Worst Forms of Child Labour Recommendation, 1999."

38. See, for example, (a) Reilly, Paci and Holl, "Unions, Safety Committees and Workplace Injuries", *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 33.2, June 1995; (b) N. McDonald and V. Hrymak, *Safety Behaviour in the Construction Sector*, HAS/HSE Northern Ireland, 2002; (c) P. James and D. Walters, "Worker representation in health and safety: Options for regulatory reform", *Industrial Relations Journal*, vol.33, no.2, page 141-156, June 2002; (d) A. Robinson and C. Smallman, *The Healthy Workplace?*, The Judge Institute of Management Studies, 3 March 2000; and (e) D. Walters, T. Nichols, J. Connor, A. C. Tasiran, and S. Cam, *The role and effectiveness of safety representatives in influencing workplace health and safety*, HSE RR363, 2005.

39. The section is largely drawn from *World report on child labour*: *Economic vulnerability, social protection and the fight against child labour* / International Labour Office, Geneva, 2013; and A.C. Dammert, J. de Hoop, E. Mvukiyehe and F. C. Rosati, *The effects of public policy on child labor: current knowledge, gaps, and implications for program design*. Working Paper Understanding Children's Work (UCW) Programme, Rome, March 2017.

40. According to the ILO Social Protection Floors Recommendation, 2012 (No. 202), social protection floors constitute nationally-defined sets of basic social security guarantees, ensuring at least effective access to essential health care and basic income security throughout the life course, which

secure protection aimed at preventing or alleviating poverty, vulnerability, and social exclusion.

41. This is reflected in SDG target 1.3 on the commitment to "implement nationally appropriate social protection systems and measures for all, including floors, and by 2030 achieve substantial coverage of the poor and the vulnerable".

42. See, for example, UCW: 2009a. *Understanding children's work in Zambia*, Understanding Children's Work Programme Country Report Series (Rome); 2009b. *Understanding children's work in Vietnam*, Understanding Children's Work Programme Country Report Series (Rome).

43. E. Edmonds and N. Schady, 2012, Vol. 4, "Poverty alleviation and child labor", in *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*, Vol. 4, No. 4, pp. 100–24.

44. L. Guarcello, F. Mealli, and F.C. Rosati, F.C., *Household vulnerability and child labour: the effect of shocks, credit rationing, and insurance*, J Popul Econ, 2010, 23: 169, https://doi.org/10.1007/s00148-008-0233-4.

45. K. Beegle, R. H. Dehejia and R. Gatti, 2003. *Child labor, income shocks, and access to credit*, World Bank Policy Research Working Paper No. 3075 (Washington, DC).

46. S. Duryea, D. Lam, and D. Levison, 2007. "Effects of economic shocks on children's employment and schooling in Brazil", in *Journal of Development Economics*, Vol. 84, No. 1, pp. 188–214.

47. F. Blanco, C. Valdivia, 2006. Child labour in Venezuela: Children's economic vulnerability to macroeconomic shocks, Understanding Children's Work Programme Working Paper Series (Rome, 2016).

48. ILO: *World Social Protection Report 2014/15: Building economic recovery, inclusive development and social justice*, International Labour Office, Geneva, 2014. *World Social Protection Report 2017-19: Universal social protection to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals*, International Labour Office, Geneva, (forthcoming).

49. See, for example, ILO: *Effects of non-contributory social transfers in developing countries: A compendium*, Working Paper, (ILO, Geneva, 2010).

50. J. de Hoop, F. C. Rosati, 2014. Cash transfers and child labour. Understanding Children's Work Programme Working Paper Series, (Rome, 2014).

51. E.g., Galiani, S.; McEwan, P.J. 2011. The heterogeneous impact of conditional cash transfers, unpublished paper. Available at: http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1931216; Glewwe, P.; Olinto, P. 2004. Evaluating the impact of conditional cash transfers on schooling: An experimental analysis of Honduras' PRAF program, unpublished paper, University of Minnesota and IFPRI-FCND.; Sparrow, R. 2004. Protecting education for the poor in times of crisis: An evaluation of a scholarship program in Indonesia, SMERU Working Paper (Jakarta).; and Dammert, A.C. 2009. "Heterogeneous impacts of conditional cash transfers: Evidence from Nicaragua", in Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. 58, No. 1, pp. 53–83.

52. S. Galiani, P. J. McEwan: The heterogeneous impact of conditional cash transfers, unpublished paper, 2011, available at http://papers.ssrn. com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1931216; and Y. T. Yap, G. Sedlacek, P. F. Orazem, Limiting child labor through behavior based income transfers: An experimental evaluation of the PETI program in rural Brazil, unpublished paper, 2002, available at: http://www. iadb.org/res/publications/pubfiles/pubs-223.pdf.

53. See, for example, X. V. del Carpio, N. V. Loayza: The impact of wealth on the amount and quality of child labour, World Bank Policy Research Working Paper No. 5959 (Washington, DC, 2012); X. Del Carpio, N. Loayza and W. Tomoko: (2016) "The Impact of Conditional Cash Transfers on the Amount and Type of Child Labor," World Development, 2016, 80(C): 33-47; and K. Covarrubias, B. Davis, and P. Winters, "From Protection to Production: Productive Impacts of the Malawi Social Cash Transfer Scheme," Journal of Development Effectiveness, 2012, 4 (1): 50–77.

54. See, for example, R. Akresh, D. de Walque, H. Kazianga: Cash transfers and child schooling: Evidence from a randomized evaluation of the role of conditionality, unpublished paper, 2013, available at: http://www.hkazianga.org/Ppapers/Akresh-deWalque-Kazianga_January-213.pdf; N. Benhassine, F. Devoto, E. Duflo, P. Dupas, V. Pouliquen: Unpacking the effects of conditional cash transfer programs: Experimental evidence from Morocco, unpublished manuscript, 2012; and L. Bursztyn, L. Coffman: "The schooling decision: Family preferences, intergenerational conflict, and moral hazard in the Brazilian favela," in Journal of Political Economy, 2012, Vol. 120, No. 3, pp. 359–97.

55. Edmonds, E. and M. Shrestha (2014) "You get what you pay for: Schooling incentives and child labor" Journal of Development Economics, 111: 196–211.

56. C. Blattman and L. Ralston: Generating employment in poor and fragile states: Evidence from labor market and entrepreneurship programs, Mimeo, 2015.

57. The programme provided a quota of up to 30 days of work in labour-intensive projects (such as road and school construction) to individuals from selected beneficiary households residing in chronically food insecure areas. The program was complemented by other activities such as access to credit, agricultural extension services, irrigation, and harvesting schemes, among others. J. Hoddinott, D. O. Gilligan, and A. S. Taffesse: The Impact of Ethiopia's Productive Safety Net Program on Schooling and Child Labour, Working Paper, 2009; and A. R. Quisumbing and Y. Yohannes: How fair is workfare? Gender, public works, and employment in rural Ethiopia, World Bank Policy Research Working Paper, 2005.

58. The programme providing a guarantee of up to 100 days of annual employment at the minimum wage rate in rural employment projects (e.g. road construction, water conservation, among others) suggested mixed effects for younger children (5-12 years) but significant ones for adolescents (13-16 years) who are old enough to substitute for adult labour but ineligible to participate in the program. Shah, M. and B. Steinberg (2015) "Workfare and Human Capital Investment: Evidence from India" Mimeo.

59. Part of the broader Youth Employment Support Project, the objective of the Cash for Work programme was to provide additional income and temporary employment opportunities to vulnerable youth. Beneficiaries were entitled to a minimum of 50 days and a maximum of 75 days of work at a daily wage rate of Le 7,500 (or US$1.80 in 2012). Rosas, N. and S. Sabarwal (2016) "Public Works as a Productive Safety Net in a Post-Conflict Setting

Evidence from a Randomized Evaluation in Sierra Leone" Policy Research Working Paper No 7580. World Bank.

60. Entitled "*Programa Jefes y Jefas de Hogar Desocupados*", the program was introduced in 2002 as a response to the severe economic crisis. The program required eligible unemployed household heads with dependents to work a minimum of 20 hours per week in training activities, basic community work, school attendance, or employment in a private company with a wage subsidy for six months. Juras, R (2014) "The effect of public employment on children's work and school attendance: evidence from a social protection program in Argentina" IZA Journal of Labor and Development, 3(1):1-20

61. The program provides short-term work on labour intensive projects. The projects primarily consist of the construction and "upgrading" of roads, afforestation, and irrigation. Within districts, the program is targeted to the poorest and most vulnerable villages. In 2012, beneficiaries were paid a lump-sum of 3600 Malawi Kwacha (approximately US$11) for 12 days of fulltime work. De Hoop J. and and F.C. Rosati (2016). Labor intensive public works and children's activities: the case of Malawi. UCW Working Paper, Rome.

62. UCW. 2009. Understanding children's work in Zambia, Understanding Children's Work Programme Country Report Series (Rome).

63. UCW: Understanding children's work and youth employment outcomes in Togo, Understanding Children's Work Programme, Country Report Series, (Rome, 2012).

64. L. Guarcello, F. Mealli, F. Rosati: "Household vulnerability and child labor: The effect of shocks, credit rationing, and insurance", in Journal of Population Economics, 2010, Vol. 23, No. 1, pp. 169–98.

65. M. Frölich, A. Landmann, H. Midkiff, V. Breda: Micro-insurance and child labour: An impact evaluation of the National Rural Support Programme's micro-insurance innovation, Social Finance Programme and Mannheim, University, (ILO, Geneva, 2012).

66. H. Thirumurthy, J. Graff Zivin, M. Goldstein: "The economic impact of AIDS treatment: Labour supply in western Kenya", in Journal of Human Resources, 2008, Vol. 43, No. 3, pp. 511–52.

67. A. Nepal, M. Nepal: "Is child labour a substitute for adult labour? The relationship between child labour and adult illness in Nepal", in International Labour Review, 2012, Vol. 151, Nos. 1–2, pp. 109–21.

68. S. Bazen, C. Salmon: The impact of parental health on child labor: Evidence from Bangladesh, Groupement de Recherche en Economie Quantitative d'Aix–Marseille Working Paper No. 2008-65 (Aix–Marseille, 2008).

69. E. Hannum, T. Sargent, Y. Shengchao: "Poverty, parental ill health and children's access to schooling in rural Gansu, China", in Provincial China, 2009, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 24–60.

70. E. Edmonds: "Child labor and schooling responses to anticipated income in South Africa", in Journal of Development Economics, 2006, Vol. 81, No. 2, pp. 386–414.

71. I. E. de Carvalho Filho: "Household income as a determinant of child labor and school enrollment in Brazil: Evidence from a social security reform", in Economic Development and Cultural Change, 2012, Vol. 60, No. 2, pp. 399–435.

72. K. Beegle, R. H. Dehejia, R. Gatti: Child labor, income shocks, and access to credit, World Bank Policy Research Working Paper No. 3075 (Washington, DC, 2003).

73. Rucci, G. 2003. Macro shocks and schooling decisions: The case of Argentina (Los Angeles, University of California at Los Angeles).

74. M. C. Neri, E. Gustafsson-Wright, G. Sedlacek, P. F. Orazem: The responses of child labour, school enrollment, and grade repetition to the loss of parental earnings in Brazil, 1982–1999, World Bank Social Protection Discussion Paper Series, No. 512 (Washington, DC, 2005).

75. UCW: Understanding children's work and youth employment outcomes in Togo, Understanding Children's Work Programme, Country Report Series, (Rome, 2012).

76. ILO: *World Social Security Report 2010/11: Providing coverage in times of crisis. and beyond*, (Geneva, 2010).

77. Eswaran, M and A. Kotwal (1986) "Access to Capital and Agrarian Production Organisation." Economic Journal, 96 (382), 482-498.

78. B. Crepon, F. Devoto, E. Duflo, and W. Pariente: "Estimating the Impact of Microcredit on Those Who Take It Up: Evidence from a Randomized Experiment in Morocco," 2015, American Economic Journal: Applied Economics, 7:123–50.

79. A. Tarozzi, J. Desai, and K. Johnson: "The Impacts of Microcredit: Evidence from Ethiopia," American Economic Journal: Applied Economics, 2015, 7: 54–89.

80. The programme targeted women residing in neighbourhoods where there was no pre-existing microfinance presence. A. Banerjee, E. Duflo, R. Glennerster, and C. Kinnan: "The Miracle of Microfinance? Evidence from a Randomized Evaluation," American Economic Journal: Applied Economics, 2015, 7(1): 22-53.

81. M. Angelucci, D. Karlan, and J. Zinman: "Microcredit Impacts: Evidence from a Randomized Microcredit Program Placement Experiment by Compartamos Banco", American Economic Journal: Applied Economics, 2015, 7(1): 151–82.

82. A. Landmann and M. Frolich: "Can Health- Insurance Help Prevent Child Labor? An Impact Evaluation from Pakistan", Journal of Health Economics, 39(C): 51-59.

83. The section draws in part on *Joining forces against child labour. Inter-agency report for The Hague Global Child Labour Conference of 2010* / Understanding Children's Work (UCW) Programme, ILO, Geneva, 2010.

84. For country statistics on child labour and schooling, see: http://www.ucw-project.org/statistics-child-labour.aspx.

85. See, inter alia, P.M. Emerson, V. Ponczek, A. Portela Souza, "Child Labor and Learning," in *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, University of Chicago Press, (2017, vol. 65(2), January), pp. 265–296, and the literature cited therein.

86. UCW: Children's work in Cambodia: A challenge for growth and poverty reduction, Understanding Children's Work Programme Country Report Series (Rome, 2006).

87. The program consisted of a range of interventions to introduce preschool options in the selected villages. Communities received technical assistance and materials for the construction of up to three classrooms with capacity for 35 children each. In addition, each community received technical assistance and materials to build playgrounds, child-sized latrines, and a washing station. Each class was staffed with two volunteer teachers selected by the school management committee. Finally, parents and caregivers of preschoolers in the community had the opportunity to participate in monthly parenting meetings focusing on thematic topics including health, nutrition, and literacy. Martinez, Naudeau, and Pereira (2012).

88. S. Berlinski, S. Galiani, M. Manacorda: "Giving children a better start: Preschool attendance and school-age profiles", in Journal of Public Economics, 2008, Vol. 92, No. 5–6, pp. 1416–1440.

89. H. Alderman, et al.: Longitudinal evaluation of Uganda nutrition and early child development program, World Bank Technical Report, (Washington, DC, 2003).

90. G. Armecin, et al.: Early childhood development through an integrated program: Evidence from the Philippines, World Bank Policy Research Working Paper Series, No. 3922, (Washington, DC, 2006).

91. M. Oketch, M. Mutisya, M. Ngware, and A. C. Ezeh, "Why are there proportionately more poor pupils enrolled in non-state schools in urban Kenya in spite of FPE policy?", International Journal of Educational Development, 2010, 30(1). 23-32, as cited in Child Labour & Educational Disadvantage – Breaking the Link, Building Opportunity A Review by Gordon Brown, UN Special Envoy for Global Education, London, 2013 (http://educationenvoy.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/child_labour_and_education_UK.pdf).

92. Understanding Children's Work Project, *Child labour and the youth decent work deficit in Tanzania*, Rome, 2009.

93. Understanding Children's Work Project, *Child labour and the youth decent work deficit in Ghana*, Inter-agency country report, November 2015.

94. J. Engel: Ethiopia's progress in education: A rapid and equitable expansion of access, Development Progress Stories, Overseas Development Institute, (London, 2011), as cited in Child Labour & Educational Disadvantage – Breaking the Link, Building Opportunity, A Review by Gordon Brown, UN Special Envoy for Global Education, London, 2013 (http://educationenvoy.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/child_labour_and_education_UK.pdf).

95. P. Glewwe, M. Kremer, S. Moulin: Textbooks and test scores: Evidence from a prospective evaluation in Kenya, Mimeo, (Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, 2002); P. Glewwe, N. Ilias, M. Kremer: Teacher incentives, NBER Working Paper Series, No. 9671 (Cambridge, MA, 2003).; P. Glewwe, P. Olinto: Evaluating the impact of conditional cash transfers on schooling: An experimental analysis of Honduras's PRAF Program, Final Report for USAID, 2004; E. Miguel, M. Kremer: "Worms: Identifying impacts on education and health in the presence of treatment externalities", in Econometrica, 2004, Vol. 72, No. 1, pp. 159–217.

96. To receive the ration, children must attend at least 85 per cent of all classes in a month. M. Ravallion and Q. Wodon: "Does Child Labour Displace Schooling? Evidence on Behavioural Responses to an Enrollment Subsidy", Economic Journal, 110 (March, 2000): C158-C175.

    Case studies of three other school feeding programmes – in Uganda, Burkina Faso, and Laos – were limited to their impact on enrolment. The programmes Uganda and Burkina Faso contributed to substantial enrolment gains; the impact on attendance of in-school meals (as opposed to take home rations) was especially large. The impact of the Laos programme was more limited, although this result was attributed in important part to difficulties food distribution. Source: *Do School Feeding Programs Help Children? From evidence to policy*, A note series on learning what works, from the Human Development Network, World Bank, January 2012. http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTHDOFFICE/Resources/SchoolFeedE2P.pdf.

97. The Programa de Ampliación de Cobertura de la Educación Secundaria (PACES) programme provided vouchers to children from families in the lowest income strata. The vouchers covered slightly more than half of the cost of private secondary school fees and were renewable conditional on satisfactory academic performance. Cities and towns used lotteries to allocate vouchers when demand exceeded supply. J. Angrist, E. Bettinger, E. Bloom, E. King, and M. Kremer: "Vouchers for Private Schooling in Colombia: Evidence from a Randomized Natural Experiment", American Economic Review, 2002, 92 (5): 1535-1558.

98. Respectively, Understanding Children's Work (UCW) Programme: Understanding children's work in Bangladesh. UCW Country Report Series, (Rome, 2011); C. Grootaert: "Child labor in Côte d'Ivoire", in C. Grootaert; H.A. Patrinos (eds): The policy analysis of child labor, a comparative study, (New York, St. Martin's Press, 1999); D. Vuri: The effect of availability and distance to school on children's time allocation in Ghana and Guatemala, Understanding Children's Work Programme Working Paper Series, (Rome, 2008); UCW: Understanding children's work in Yemen, Understanding Children's Work Programme Country Report Series, (Rome, 2003); UCW: Understanding children's work in Morocco, Understanding Children's Work Programme Country Report Series (Rome, 2003); and UCW: Children's work in Cambodia: A challenge for growth and poverty reduction, Understanding Children's Work Programme Country Report Series, (Rome, 2006).

99. D. Vuri: The effect of availability and distance to school on children's time allocation in Ghana and Guatemala, Understanding Children's Work Programme Working Paper Series (Rome, 2008).

100. UCW: Understanding children's work in Morocco, Understanding Children's Work Programme Country Report Series (Rome, 2003); UCW: Understanding children's work in Yemen, Understanding Children's Work Programme Country Report Series (Rome, 2003); and UCW: Understanding children's work in Guatemala, Understanding Children's Work

Programme Country Report Series (Rome, 2003).

101. Respectively, K. Beegle, K. Burke: “Why children aren’t attending school: The case of Northwestern Tanzania”, in Journal of African Economies, 2004, Vol. 13, No. 2, pp. 333–355; D. Vuri: The effect of availability and distance to school on children’s time allocation in Ghana and Guatemala, Understanding Children’s Work Programme Working Paper Series (Rome, 2008); and F. C. Rosati, Z. Tzannatos: “Child labour in Vietnam”, in Pacific Economic Review, 2006, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 1–31.

102. G. Dachille, L. Guarcello, S. Lyon, and F.C. Rosati, *Understanding trends in child labour. Understanding Children’s Work project*, (Rome, 2017).

103. F. Kondylis, M. Manacorda: School proximity and child labour: Evidence from rural Tanzania, CEP Working Paper, No. 1537, Centre for Economic Performance, London School of Economics, London, 2006.

104. Understanding Children’s Work (UCW) Programme. 2003d. Understanding children’s work in Yemen, Understanding Children’s Work Programme Country Report Series (Rome).

105. Understanding Children’s Work (UCW) Programme. 2003b. Understanding children’s work in Morocco, Understanding Children’s Work Programme Country Report Series (Rome).

106. Understanding Children’s Work (UCW) Programme. 2006. Children’s work in Cambodia: A challenge for growth and poverty reduction, Understanding Children’s Work Programme Country Report Series (Rome, 2003).

107. J. de Hoop and F. Rosati: “Does Promoting School Attendance Reduce Child Labour? Evidence from Burkina Faso’s BRIGHT Project”, Economics of Education Review, 2014, 39: 78-96.

108. Yap et al.: *Programa de Erradicação do Trabalho Infantil*, Child Labour Elimination Programme (PETI), 2002.

109. A. R. Ferro, A. L. Kassouf, and D. Levison: The impact of conditional cash transfer programs on household work decisions in Brazil, in R. K.Q. Akee, E. V. Edmonds, K. Tatsiramos (eds.) Child Labour and the Transition between School and Work, Research in Labour Economics, 2010, Volume 31, Emerald Group Publishing Limited, pp.193-218.

110. *Understanding Children’s Work project, country reports on child labour*, (http://www.ucw-project.org/country-reports.aspx).

111. L. Guarcello, F. C. Rosati: Does school quality matter for working children?, Understanding Children’s Work Programme Working Paper Series (Rome, 2007).

112. Mexico started to address the challenge of providing access to quality education in the 1970s with the establishment of a National Council of Education Promotion (CONAFE). In the early 1990s, CONAFE initiated the Compensatory Education programme (referred to hereafter as the CONAFE program) with the aims of improving the quality of education in disadvantaged communities and reducing schooling inequalities. The CONAFE programme targets those schools with the lowest educational performance in highly disadvantaged communities. It now serves about 4 million students in preschool and primary education, and about 300,000 students in secondary education, in 44,165 marginalized rural and urban areas in all 31 States in Mexico.

113. F. C. Rosati, M. Rossi: Impact of school quality on child labor and school attendance: The case of CONAFE compensatory education program in Mexico, Understanding Children’s Work Programme Working Paper Series (Rome, 2007).

114. UNESCO: *Teaching and Learning: achieving quality for all*, EFA Global Monitoring Report 2013/14, pp. 231-75.

115. ILO: *Reports of the Committee on Decent Work in Global Supply Chains: Resolution and conclusions submitted for adoption by the Conference, International Labour Conference*, 2016.

116. The ILO-UN Global Compact Child Labour Platform (CLP), chaired by the International Organization of Employers and the International Trade Union Confederation, is comprised of companies from a wide range of sectors including telecommunications, garments, cocoa, cotton, and mining.

117. For a review of the literature in this area, see ILO: World Report on Child Labour: Economic vulnerability, social protection and the fight against child labour (Geneva, ILO, 2013).

118. The Fund for Peace, Fragile States Index 2016. Data available at http://fsi.fundforpeace.org.

119. A similar exercise plotting child labour rates against some of the specific indicators making up the composite FSI index shows that each is positively correlated with child labour. These specific indicators include: external intervention, demographic pressure, refugees and internally displaced persons, group grievance, human flight, uneven development, poverty and economic decline, state legitimacy, public services, human rights, security apparatus, and factionalised elites.

120. F. Blanco, L. Guarcello, F.C. Rosati F.C., *Child labour among Syrian refugees in Jordan* (mimeo), 2017.

121. See, for example, UNICEF and Save the Children Foundation, *Small hands heavy burden: How the Syria conflict is driving more children into the workforce*, 2 July 2015.

122. ILO: *Assessment of effect of annual drought and floods on child labour (hazardous and non-hazardous) and child welfare in Sri Lanka*, mimeo, unpublished, 2017.

123. L. Guarcello, F. Mealli, F.C. Rosati, “Household vulnerability and child labour: the effect of shocks, credit rationing, and insurance”, *Journal of Population Economics*, 2010, vol. 23, issue 1, pages 169-198.

124. *Inter-agency Guidance: Supporting the Protection Needs of Child Labourers in Emergencies*, ILO and Plan International, Child Labour Task Force of the Alliance for Child Protection in Humanitarian Action, 2016.

125. ILO: R205 - Employment and Decent Work for Peace and Resilience Recommendation, 2017 (No. 205), International Labour Organization, 106th ILC session, Geneva, 16 June 2017.

126. https://alliancecpha.org/child-labour-task-force

127. In 2012, a survey among country child protection coordinators showed that child labour had the highest average rating of gravity chosen from all

fields of child protection in emergencies. Yet, only 18 per cent of practitioners felt that child labour issues were adequately addressed in early response activities.

128. http://cpwg.net/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2017/01/Responding-to-child-labour-in-emergencies-Interactive-IA-Toolkit-Fin....pdf

129. ILO: R205 - Employment and Decent Work for Peace and Resilience Recommendation, 2017 (No. 205), 106th ILC session, Geneva, 16 June 2017.

130. R205, paragraph 9(b).

131. R205, paragraph 33(b).

132. R205, paragraph 32.

133. The ILO has taken the lead in this area through the development of National Action Plans and, through its Understanding Children's Work project, of Policy Appraisal reports.

134. As of 7 August 2017.

135. For further information on impact evaluations relating to child labour, see J. de Hoop, F. C. Rosati, *The Complex Effects of Public Policy on Child Labour*, Understanding Children's Work Programme, Working Paper Series, (Rome, 2013).

136. The worst forms of child labour other than hazardous refer to Article 3(a)–(c) of ILO Convention No. 182: "(a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict; (b) the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances; and (c) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties".

137. See, for example, ILO: *Hard to see, harder to count: Survey guidelines to estimate forced labour of adults and children*, the ILO Special Action Programme to combat forced labour (SAP-FL) and the ILO International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), Geneva, 2012; and ILO: *Sampling elusive populations: Applications to studies of child labour*, Geneva, 2013 (http://www.ilo.org/ipecinfo/product/download.do?type=document&id=25535).

138. Article 8 calls on Members to "take appropriate steps to assist one another in giving effect to the provisions of this Convention through enhanced international cooperation and/or assistance including support for social and economic development, poverty eradication programmes and universal education".

139. See Resolution II concerning statistics of child labour in ILO: *Report of the Conference, 18th International Conference of Labour Statisticians, Geneva, 24 November–5 December 2008. ICLS/18/2008/IV/FINAL* (ILO, Geneva, 2009). ISBN: 978-92-2-121730-5 (print).

International Labour Organization

www.ilo.org/childlabour