



Is the End of Child Labour in Sight? A Critical Review of a Vision and Journey

By Andante – tools for thinking

Synthesis Report
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Data analysis and interpretation: Material in this report is based on the authors' understanding of the data collected, and the authors alone are responsible for statements made herein.



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Children attend class at Kibos Primary School in Kisumu, Western Kenya. The school has received about 10 children withdrawn from child labour since 2013; members of the community child labour committee brought the children to the school.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Background

Omar's Dream is a programme that aims to end child labour. It has been inspired by the experiences of the Mamidipudi Venkatarangaiya Foundation (MVF) in India, which has worked on getting children out of work and into school for almost 25 years. It uses an area-based approach that aims to eradicate all forms of child labour and create child labour-free zones (CLFZs) where children do not work and receive regular, full-time, good-quality education. Omar's Dream is coordinated and partly implemented by Hivos as part of the Stop Child Labour (SCL) programme, and its present three-year programme (2012 to 2015) has been implemented in Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Morocco, Uganda and Zimbabwe. MVF in India has also been funded by Stichting Kinderpostzegels Nederland (SKN) during this time period, but not as part of Omar's Dream.

The purpose of the evaluation is to describe and document the CLFZ approach to find out whether it works, as well as how and why it works and whether the results are sustainable. There is no single 'it', no 'one-size-fits-all' version of the CLFZ approach; it is not a fixed recipe. In each context, it is applied with varying components depending on the local context and implementing organizations' understanding. It is the explicit aim of this evaluation to capture and critically assess this 'diversity in uniformity'. A particular focus has been placed on the effectiveness and sustainability of the CLFZ model.

Evaluation Methods

The evaluation was conducted between January and May 2015 and covered 37 localities in seven countries (out of the 77 distinct geographical areas targeted by Omar's Dream and MVF). The approaches taken to choose the selected localities are detailed in the methodology section of this report. The evaluation team consisted of six persons, who visited all seven countries to observe the intervention areas, meet and interview stakeholders, and assess outcomes and implementation. The evaluation team collected data through interviews, focus group discussions, surveys and observation in the intervention areas, as well as in some neighbouring communities. The evaluation team first described each of the projects in country case studies, then conducted a comparative analysis of the country experiences in the form of qualitative synthesis – supplemented by qualitative comparative analysis (QCA)¹.

Effectiveness

In the context of this evaluation, we have understood effectiveness to mean the extent to which the various projects in the seven countries have potential to create CLFZs according to the seven criteria, that have been established by Hivos and the Omar's Dream Programme, that define such zones. The criteria are quite diverse, and hence it is not surprising that the evaluation shows varying degrees of progress and achievement in each.

- *'The sustained norm within a community has become that 'no child should work'* is one criterion in which notable progress has been made. Generally, those involved in project activities in some capacity are able to articulate some of the negative effects of child labour; this could include, for example, the parents of children who have been withdrawn from labour or who are at risk of entering labour. Rhetorically, at least, the anti-child labour sentiment is expressed fairly consistently by targeted communities.
- *'The school is developed as an institution that takes care of all aspects of a child's development'* is undoubtedly a tall order, but even when the goal is limited to improved education facilities, the findings are not stellar. While there are often school facilities, the degree to which they are in good condition, have resources and are staffed by people with a good understanding of how to support child development is very limited.
- *'Community takes ownership of child rights'* is an essential element in ensuring sustainability, and findings varied in the areas visited. In some communities, the establishment of clubs or committees has started to address this criterion. The degree to which these structures become permanent working fixtures of community leadership remains to be seen, but their establishment is a first step in the right direction.
- *'Neighbouring communities change their norms'* is a criterion requiring that many of the other criteria have been met so that neighbouring communities have something to emulate. This also suggests that it could be reasonable to expect that 'spread effect' – the adoption of CLFZ practices by neighbouring communities – would take a long time to materialise. Therefore, it is unsurprising that there is very little evidence of spread effect amongst the visited countries that currently implement the Omar's Dream

¹ Annex 3 to this report includes summaries of the country case study reports.

programme. However, there is some indication that communities request support from the implementing partner after hearing that they are involved in neighbouring areas. This cannot be categorised as real ‘spread effect’ since requesting support could be the result of a desire to gain programme incentives rather than an understanding of the overall programme objective and a collective belief that their community should aim to become child labour-free. However, it is also possible that the requests for assistance are triggered by a genuine desire to address the child labour issue.

- *‘Institutions are sensitised to reduce the barriers to communities changing their norm to ‘no child should work’* is a type of engagement that can serve as a platform from which further normative change can emerge. Arguably, this is one of the elements that can be tackled early in a CLFZ project. This element can be keenly tied to advocacy efforts. Given that efforts in some countries included far more policy engagement than others (see chapter 3), it is unsurprising that the evidence here varied. Indeed, there was some evidence of work to actively engage employers in the discussion and have them support child labour-free initiatives, for example. However, for the most part, engagement has not appeared to be a central component of the majority of interventions, but rather a secondary element.
- *‘All children are in schools and enjoy their right to education in the project area.’* It is fair to say that the most substantial progress has been made in this criterion across all cases examined. While school facilities’ conditions have varied, and children engaged in labour while attending school in many areas, the focus on education as a key element in working toward the eradication of child labour is noticeable and progress visible.
- *‘The project area becomes a resource centre for all other areas in the country’.* Like spread effect, this criterion requires the time needed for CLFZs to become consolidated and known. However, it also requires other factors – for example, accessibility; it is far harder for an area to become a resource to others when it is very isolated. Given the individual projects’ limited implementation timeline, it is not surprising that we found no evidence of areas becoming resource centres. However, this could change as the interventions mature. We found evidence that implementing partners have become noted voices at the national level on child labour issues, although this is not quite the same.

With the exception of Morocco, where very few activities have been implemented, the projects are partially effective and do have the potential – at some point in the future – to make sufficient progress toward reaching their goal of creating CLFZs.

The analysis of outcomes shows that there are no zones completely free of child labour in any of the project areas. However, of the 37 areas visited, we concluded that the projects have made good progress toward becoming CLFZs in 22 areas (59 per cent of the areas visited). In these 22 areas, children have been taken out of labour and put into schools, organisational structures have been set up to make sure all children go to school and are not forced back to labour, norms around education have changed, and some communities have the potential to become role models on how to address child labour.

What are the differences and similarities among the projects and areas? In practice, each area is unique, and there are (and should be) many differences in implementation and goal achievement. The main similarities among the sites are:

- Project budgets' size varies, but within a relatively small range. This is surprising considering how different the countries are and what the projects have accomplished.
- The overarching CLFZ concept has been maintained; even though it has been developed and refined, in practice, it has remained the same at an overarching level.
- The two areas in which the great majority of projects have focused their efforts include:
 - Withdrawing children from labour and (re)integrating them in schools and/or keeping those at risk of dropping out in school.
 - Conducting advocacy within the geographic area to embrace the norm that no children should work and all children should be in school.
- All projects have adopted, and in many cases adapted, strategies from MVF to suit the local context.

There are many differences in design and implementation in the seven countries. Trade unions, for example, have a different constituency and national reach from community service organisations (CSOs²). In some countries, there are networks or coalitions of organisations implementing the projects; in other countries, just one organisation. Institutional arrangements, coordination and division of labour also vary.

Probably the most interesting question is whether it is possible to associate any of these differences with project success. The evaluation can point to different levels of success in the geographic areas, but we cannot aggregate these patterns to the country level, as there are too many external variables involved. What, then, are the major implications of the variety of contexts? They include:

- The projects have made progress in areas that could be considered both 'easy to work in' and areas that could be considered 'difficult'.
- The projects that have made less progress – and even failed – are also found in quite diverse areas.
- There does not seem to be any overarching pattern related to the connection between project achievements and the sum of contextual factors.
- In areas where the interventions have been successful, there has often been a history of previous child rights interventions by the same or by other organisations.
- There are lessons to be learned at a more specific level:
 - Progress in bringing children from labour into school seems to happen more often in areas where the local economy is growing and other improvements occur (for example, in relation to access to water, sanitation and transport).
 - Progress in changing norms around child labour seems to happen more often in communities with low income inequality, low migration, the presence of secondary education, higher literacy levels and in rural areas.
 - Progress in establishing community organisations to monitor child rights and ensure that children are in school cannot be associated with any contextual factors.

² It is common to use 'CSO' as an acronym for 'civil society organisation', but in this report we use it to denote 'community service organisation'.

- Progress in establishing the community as a role model and in disseminating experiences requires progress in relation to all of the other criteria. Still, it would seem that communities stand a better chance of becoming role models if they are stable, close to central areas (while not urban), not among the poorest and not affected by other adverse social indicators.

At a practical level, project managers cope with the different contextual factors even though the projects are not designed to address specific contexts. For example, an area with a high prevalence of HIV/AIDS – and thus with many orphans, single parents and child-headed households – would require a different mix of resources to end child labour than other areas. Omar's Dream has generated many examples of how project managers cope with different environments, and some are illustrated in this evaluation. Stop Child Labour campaign meetings and other meetings could be used to share experiences, and future projects might benefit from taking contextual factors into consideration at the design stage. The geographic focus has many advantages, one being that the choice of context can be pinpointed and used to design the projects. However, implementing partners need to be more clear about how and why they choose areas to work in and the specific local challenges they face, as well as develop responses to manage these challenges.

Sustainability

Our findings show that it is possible for gains made through the CLFZ projects to be sustainable. However, it requires commitment from the community, government and implementing partner. The community must be committed to keeping structures active and engaged to ensure that child labour continues to be reduced or eradication maintained. The government must be committed – and provide the practical resources necessary – to ensure that children can be taken out of labour and educated. In addition, the government must ensure that enabling laws and policies are in place and enforced. The implementing partner must have a clear exit plan from the start and refuse to engage in efforts that support dependency. The latter will be the hardest element for some of Omar's Dream implementers that are interested in remaining active partners in communities, as they have a vested interest in doing so; GAWU in Ghana is one example. However, this does not mean that organisations cannot remain in the community or be involved in project activities in an advisory or oversight capacity.

The importance of the role played by each stakeholder mentioned above serves to highlight the need and value of having a solid theory of change (ToC), which can better guide implementing partners on the ground. Of course, it is important to highlight that it would be unreasonable to expect that the gains made are sustainable after only three years. However, the findings do suggest that there have been limited efforts to create a solid foundation for sustainability.

To establish a realistic foundation that ensures sustainability, it is important to underscore that the tools used to implement a CLFZ vary from case to case. Still, the evaluation shows that changing norms around child labour and children in education must remain the focus of programmes and that implementing organisations must maintain an area-based approach. The other aspects of implementation that come across as particularly important are a participatory approach, timely implementation of activities and transparent implementation. In some areas, bridge schools have been an important feature of the projects; in others, it has not. The bridge schools come across as necessary for successful outcomes when the context

is characterised by the nexus of poverty, high migration, illiteracy and high HIV/AIDS prevalence.

The analysis indicates there is a need to analyse contextual factors carefully and to adapt activities to what can be achieved in a specific area. Establishing a community as a role model is difficult, and this goal should probably be given secondary status; most important should be to end child labour, provide education and change community norms on child labour. It is only after real and significant progress on these basics that a community could meaningfully become a role model, and it is only at that point that it would have experiences and lessons worth sharing.

Recommendations

During the three years that Omar's Dream has been operational, implementing organisations have taken the CLFZ concept to a large number of communities and several thousand children have been withdrawn from child labour and placed in formal education. But child labour still exists, and hence the project's purpose is still relevant. Accumulated experience makes it obvious that efforts conducted in pursuit of the CLFZ model need to be pursued further. The following recommendations focus on six aspects of Omar's Dream:

1. The concept of a child labour-free zone. When the CLFZ concept is used in future programme development, the evaluation suggests that there are four aspects to bear in mind:

- Recognise that a CLFZ is an ideal vision of a future state, to be strived for rather than practically attained.
- Review the seven criteria and consider taking out elements that do not actually relate to activities carried out in the target zone itself.
- Consider defining short-, medium- and long-term goals to monitor and mark progress.
- Specify process criteria on what it means to strive to become a CLFZ. Holding a ceremony to hand over ownership and responsibility to relevant communities and government entities.

2. Anchoring project implementation in ToC. The evaluation found the ToC to be abstract and of little practical applicability. Each ToC needs to explain how the interventions lead to the expected change, what assumptions are being made and whether any other activities need to be undertaken. The ToC in particular needs to explain:

- How contact with employers to remove children from labour ascertains that there will not be a renewed effort to find other children for work.
- How communities sustain monitoring practices to make sure children go to school.
- How efforts to support livelihoods through business development, economic counselling and agricultural outreach lead to sustained change.
- How neighbouring areas will be reached to motivate and generate change there.
- How a dissemination strategy could be realised, and what the consequences would be for the choice of implementation areas.

3. Establishing baselines and monitoring progress. The starting point for this evaluation is that there is an increasing need for accountability. The projects have qualitative and quantitative targets. The quantitative targets are particularly important and seem to be used frequently to demonstrate projects' merit. Still, at the first attempt to verify them, these quantitative figures crumble and there is little evidence of concrete achievements even within a very wide margin of failure. In the future:

- Implementing organisations need to establish accurate and verifiable baseline data on school enrolment, dropout levels, children at risk and children at work.
- Implementing organisations need to develop credible systems for data collection and verification.
- There is a need to monitor that data is accurate.

It is even more important to monitor qualitative data. This is an area where organisations need to pay more attention, as efforts so far have focused on quantitative data – which may have had negative side effects (e.g., focusing on data rather than progress and presenting inflated data that is not verifiable).

4. Developing approaches to make the project effective in a specific context. Omar's Dream has generated experience from at least a hundred project sites. In most of them, there has been some local adaptation to context, but this is seldom recorded and at times can be implicit rather than explicit (even though it is crucial for success). Organisations could facilitate such learning by:

- Organizing thematic exchanges on, for example, coping with specific contextual factors such as high migration, high levels of HIV/AIDS and perceived corruption.
- Developing communication tools to share experiences both within the network and among external agencies.
- Finding innovative ways to share experience and learning – for example, through 'fairs', narratives, photo and film, and remembering failures.

5. Promoting change outside of intervention areas. The projects – except in India – only scratch the surface of the child labour problem. It is necessary to take the efforts to scale, and new strategies need to be developed. Additionally, the evaluation cannot point to successful spread effects. If and when a successor project is developed, it will be important to identify spread effects, who is responsible as the successor and how the area will be monitored.

6. Developing gender-sensitive approaches to child labour. Gender analysis is, to a large extent, absent from Omar's Dream. Still, child labour is a social ill that affect girls and boys differently, and hence the solutions may also vary. As a starting point, projects need to:

- Incorporate gender analysis in baseline studies.
- Present gender-disaggregated monitoring data.
- Develop gender-sensitive approaches to withdrawing children from labour, incorporating them into education and preventing them from dropping out of school.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	iii
Background	iii
Evaluation Methods	iv
Effectiveness	iv
Sustainability	vii
Recommendations	viii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	x
ACRONYMS AND GLOSSARY	xiv
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Child Labour in the World: 2015	1
1.2. The Ultimate Goal – End Child Labour	2
1.3. Roads to Abolish Child Labour	3
1.4. Purpose of the Evaluation	5
1.5. Evaluation Methods	6
1.6. Limitations	7
1.7. A Guide to the Reader	9
CHAPTER 2. HAVE CLFZS BEEN CREATED?	11
2.1. What Is a CLFZ?	11
2.2. Creating a CLFZ	15
2.3. What Has the CLFZ Approach Achieved?	18
2.4. Concluding Remarks	20
CHAPTER 3. DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES AMONG CLFZ PROJECTS	22
3.1. Project Objectives	23
3.2. Project Partners and Stakeholders	24
3.3. Project Implementation	26
3.4. Project Effectiveness	31
3.5. Concluding Remarks	35
CHAPTER 4. THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTEXT	37
4.1. Introduction	37
4.2. The Political Environment and Policy Changes	38
4.3. The Economic Environment	41
4.4. Social Factors, Health and Education	43
4.5. Concluding Remarks	45
CHAPTER 5. PATTERNS OF CHANGE AND WHY CHANGE HAPPENS	47
5.1. A Note on Methods	47
5.2. Progress toward the CLFZ	48
5.3. From Work and into Schools	50
5.4. Changing the Prevalent Norms on Child Labour	52
5.5. Establishing the Community as a Role Model	53
5.6. Lessons from the Most Successful Areas	53
5.7. Concluding Remarks	54
CHAPTER 6. CHANGE OUTSIDE THE INTERVENTION AREAS	55
6.1. Evidence of Spread Effects	56
6.2. The Counterfactual Situation	60
6.3. Concluding Remarks	63

CHAPTER 7. SUSTAINABILITY	64
7.1. What Should Be Sustained?	64
7.2. What Fosters and What Threatens Sustainability?	67
7.3. The Indian Experience	69
7.4. Concluding Remarks	71
CHAPTER 8. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	72
8.1. Conclusions on Effectiveness	73
8.2. Conclusions on Sustainability	76
8.3. Recommendations	77
BIBLIOGRAPHY	80
ANNEX 1. TERMS OF REFERENCE.....	86
ANNEX 2. TOOLS FOR DATA COLLECTION	93
2.1. Semi-Structured Key Interview Protocols	93
2.2. Focus Group Guidelines	97
2.3. Mini Survey.....	100
2.4. Observation Checklist.....	105
ANNEX 3. COUNTRY CASE STUDY SUMMARIES.....	106
Ethiopia	106
Ghana	108
India.....	110
Kenya.....	112
Morocco	114
Uganda	116
Zimbabwe.....	118
ANNEX 4. 'TRUTH TABLE'	120
Outcome Conditions – Explanatory Table.....	120
Context Conditions – Explanatory Table	121
Mechanism Conditions – Explanatory Table	122
Outcome Conditions – Part A.....	123
Outcome Conditions – Part B.....	124
Context Conditions – Part A	125
Context Conditions – Part B	126
Mechanism Conditions– Part A.....	127
Mechanism Conditions– Part B.....	128
 TABLES AND FIGURES	
Table 1.1. Number of Intervention Areas and Sample of Areas Visited.....	8
Table 2.1. Defining the Geographical Target Area.....	13
Table 3.1. Overview of Main Project Objectives by Country as Stated in Project Proposals.....	23
Table 3.2. Summary of Project Sites, Number of Children Targeted and Budgets.....	24
Table 3.3. Overview of Implementing Organisations by Country.....	25
Table 3.4. Typology of Stakeholders by Country.....	25
Table 3.5. Summary of Project Implementation Dates and Phases.....	26
Table 3.6. Overview of Main Project Activities by Country.....	27
Table 3.7. Summary of Children Withdrawn from Child Labour or Prevented from Entering Labour by Country.....	30
Table 3.8. Summary of Features that Enhance Projects' Effectiveness by Country.....	32
Table 3.9. Overview of Challenges Experienced by Country.....	35

Table 4.1. Relevant Policy Developments for Omar's Dream.....	39
Table 4.2. Summary of Laws and Regulations Governing Child Labour	41
Table 4.3. Selected Context Conditions that Reflect the Economic Situation in the Area.....	43
Table 5.1. Summary of CLFZ-Related Outcomes.....	49
Table 6.1. Summary Evidence of Potential Spread Effect by Country.....	58
Figure 5.1. Conditions Associated with Taking Children Out of Work and Providing Education.....	51
Figure 5.2. Conditions Associated with Normative Change in the Area.....	52
Figure 6.1. Map of Intervention Areas in a Landscape (Showing 25 Areas)	60
Figure 7.1. The Role of Government and the Community in Achieving a CLFZ.....	65

ACRONYMS AND GLOSSARY

ADAA	African Development Aid Association
ANPPCAN	African Network for the Prevention and Protection Against Child Abuse and Neglect
AOb	Algemene Ouderwĳsbond - General Union of Educational Personnel
CACLAZ	Coalition against Child Labour in Zimbabwe
CLFZ	Child Labour-Free Zones
CSO	Community service organisation
FSCE	Forum on Sustainable Child Empowerment
GAWU	General Agricultural Workers Union of Ghana
ICCO	Interchurch Organisation for Development Cooperation
IGNSS	Indo-Global Social Service Society
ILO	International Labour Organisation
KAACR	Kenya Alliance for Advancement of Children
KIN	Kids in Need
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MVF	Mamidipudi Venkatarangaiya Foundation
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OECD-DAC	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's Development Assistance Committee
OVC	Orphans and Other Vulnerable Children
QCA	Qualitative comparative analysis
SCPC	School Protection Committee
SCREAM	Supporting Children's Rights through Education the Art
SKN	Stichting Kinderpostzegels Nederland
ToC	Theory of Change
UN	United Nations
UNATU	Uganda National Teachers' Union
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WCAT	Wabe Children's Aid & Training



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Girls in Ghana hold Child Labour-Free Zone (CLFZ) project posters. The General Agricultural Workers Union of Ghana (GAWU) uses the poster to highlight some of the Ghana project's key messages and challenges. These are embodied in a dialogue between the characters in the poster (a young schoolboy and a turtle). The boy says, 'I am happy to be in school', and the turtle reminds him, 'Don't accept child labour'.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Child Labour in the World: 2015

The most recent global estimates suggest that approximately 120 million children between the ages of five and 14 are involved in child labour, with boys and girls in this age group almost equally affected.³ This persistence of child labour is rooted in poverty, a lack of adequate work for adults, a lack of social protection and a failure to ensure that all children are attending school until the legal minimum age for employment.

Many child labourers do not attend school. Others combine school and work, but often to the detriment of their education, and a lack of adequate skills make them more likely to end up in poverty. In turn, there is a high probability that the next generation will end up in child labour. Breaking this cycle of disadvantage is a global challenge, and education plays a key role.

Free, compulsory, high-quality education until the minimum age for employment is a key tool

³ See the International Labour Organisation's (ILO's) website on the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour, <http://www.ilo.org/ipecc/lang--en/index.htm>.

in ending child labour. School attendance removes children, at least in part, from the labour market and lays the basis for acquiring the skills needed for future gainful employment. The global youth employment crisis and the problems experienced by young people seeking jobs highlight the need for quality, relevant education that develops the skills necessary to succeed both in the labour market and in life generally.

Through the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the United Nations (UN) set a target of ensuring that all boys and girls complete a full course of primary education by 2015. We know now that this target has not been met. Recent school enrolment data from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) indicates that 58 million children of primary school age and 63 million adolescents of junior secondary school age are still not enrolled in school.⁴ Many enrolled children are not attending on a regular basis. As the international community reviews the reasons for the failure to reach the targets, it is clear that the persistence of child labour remains a barrier to progress and development. If the problem of child labour is ignored or if laws against it are not adequately enforced, children who should be in school will remain working instead. To make progress, national and local action is required to identify and reach child labourers. Against this background, Hivos is coordinating the Omar's Dream project.

1.2. The Ultimate Goal – End Child Labour

The international organisations that lead global coordination against child labour – the International Labour Organisation (ILO), UNESCO and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) – carefully note that not all work done by children should be classified as child labour that must be eliminated. Children and adolescents' participation in work that does not affect their health and personal development or interfere with their schooling is generally regarded as positive. This includes activities such as helping their parents around the home, assisting in a family business and earning pocket money outside of school hours and during school holidays. Normative statements in the international community note that such activities contribute to children's development and their families' welfare; they provide these children with skills and experience, as well as help prepare them to be productive members of society during adulthood.

The term "child labour" refers to work that is mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful to children, and that interferes with their schooling by:

- Depriving them of the opportunity to attend school;
- Obliging them to leave school prematurely; or
- Requiring them to attempt to combine school attendance with excessively long and heavy work.

In its most extreme forms, child labour involves children being enslaved, separated from their families, exposed to serious hazards and illnesses, and/or left to fend for themselves on the streets of large cities – often at a very early age. Whether or not particular forms of 'work' can be called 'child labour' depends on the child's age, the type and hours of work performed, the conditions under which it is performed and the objectives pursued by individual countries. The answer varies from country to country, as well as among sectors within countries.

⁴ United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation [UNESCO]. *Education for All Global Monitoring Report*; <https://en.unesco.org/gem-report/statistics#sthash.i6Sl3fU.dpbs>

The foundation for the programme studied here is in India, where the Mamidipudi Venkatarangaiya Foundation (MVF) has worked on getting working children to school for almost 25 years. MVF has used an area-based approach, which involves eradicating all forms of child labour and creating CLFZs in which children do not work but instead receive regular full-time education. MVF makes no distinction among the different forms of child labour under the philosophy that every child has the right to education. They aim to involve the entire community in improving the education system and to set up so-called ‘bridge schools’ for children who have not attended school to help them catch up academically. MVF supervises new students, provides additional teachers and helps parents understand how they can make a living without their child working. In addition, MVF draws the government’s attention to its duty to provide good-quality education and ensure all children stay in school.

One of the distinguishing features of MVF’s approach is that it takes a firm stance against all forms of child labour – hence, the relative values found in international agreements are not present in the area-based approach. A CLFZ is defined as an area (e.g., a village or plantation) in which all children are being withdrawn from work and (re)integrated into formal full-time education. In a CLFZ, all stakeholders are convinced that children belong in school, not the workplace, and cooperate to eliminate child labour and ensure children receive education. This clear, sharp definition is also founded in a passionate belief in the rights of the child, making goals clear and attractive. The fact that this approach is at the frontier of the struggle against child labour also means there is a constant need for advocacy and engagement in policy development, as the following sections will show.

1.3. Roads to Abolish Child Labour

Omar’s Dream is a complex programme involving many actors. Hivos coordinates and partly implements⁵ Omar’s Dream as part of the Stop Child Labour programme, a coalition of European, African, Asian and Latin American non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and trade unions. For the Omar’s Dream project, Hivos works with four other Dutch organisations and several African ones to implement CLFZ-related activities in different African countries. The Dutch organisations include:

- Stichting Kinderpostzegels Nederland, which implements CLFZ programmes in Ethiopia and is preparing to implement CLFZs in three West African Francophone countries (Senegal, Mali and Burkina Faso) by linking with and learning from other African countries and MVF in India.
- Federatie Nederlandse Vakbeweging Mondiaal – the international arm of the Federation of Dutch Labour Movement – in collaboration with De Algemene Onderwijsbond (AOB) (the Dutch Teachers Union), which implement CLFZs in Morocco and Ghana. They also work with Education International through teachers unions in Mali, Senegal, Ghana, Morocco and Uganda on engagement in CLFZs in Africa by linking with and learning from other African initiatives.
- Interchurch Organisation for Development Cooperation (ICCO), which oversees the CLFZ project in Kenya.

⁵ Hivos implements CLFZ projects directly through its regional office in Nairobi and Harare, overseeing the Uganda and Zimbabwe projects respectively. Hivos’ website provides the most comprehensive, easy-to-access information on the organisation (www.hivos.org).

The variety of actors operating in different contexts means that the initial concept for Omar's Dream, inspired by MVF's experience with area-based programming, has been adapted to local contexts. The whole programme can thus be seen as a kind of 'natural experiment' utilising different approaches to combat child labour, providing interesting opportunities to learn about what works – or does not work – when, where and why.

MVF's theory of change (ToC) combines a strong focus on community awareness raising and organizing with support activities for parents, teachers and schools to integrate all children into the formal education system. The steps in the ToC have been described as:⁶

The area-based approach:

- Consensus-building around the norm that no child should work and every child must be in school.
- Social mobilisation and involvement of all stakeholders.
- Demand for quality education coming from the community.
- Coalition-building and cooperation with other initiatives,
- CLFZ becoming a source of inspiration for neighbouring communities.
- CLFZ becoming a source of inspiration for national policies and practices.

Specific strategies to best answer local challenges:

- Social inclusion, such as by tackling harmful traditional practices (e.g., early marriage and female genital mutilation), discrimination (e.g., against minorities, girls, and individuals with physical and mental impairments), and domestic violence.
- Economic empowerment, such as through saving schemes, income-generating activities, skills training and marketing opportunities.

Results:

- Healthier expenditure patterns, redistribution of the labour force, and more productivity and income as parents prioritise education.
- Better future opportunities for children because they go to school.
- Adequate work opportunities for adults because they not longer compete with cheaper child labour.
- Poverty eradication at the household, community and national levels.

For ToCs, this outline needs to be far more detailed to guide implementing organisations. The MVF ToC was not a key tool utilised during the development of the Omar's Dream project, and a full-fledged ToC might have provided insight into how and why certain elements were chosen but not others. However, such a roadmap was not developed; in fact, the project proposal⁷ for Omar's Dream points to a large number of options in project design.

⁶ This explanation comes from an April 2014 Hivos PowerPoint presentation, the only articulation of a ToC that the evaluation has come across.

⁷ Omar's Dream: The Beginning of the End of Child Labour. Hivos Project Proposal for the Extra Draw of the National Postcode Loterij.

The proposal recognises that while certain basic principles are common to all programmes, each area is unique and activities must be case-specific. The basic principles include:

- **Awareness:** Emphasising the importance of education and stimulating the demand for education among children, parents and other villagers.
- **Bridge schools:** Preparing children who have never been to school for the regular education system in age-appropriate classes.
- **Support for teachers and improving the education system:** Deploying additional teachers who have been specially trained and proposing measures to keep students in school.
- **Support for parents:** Assisting parents in seeking alternatives to the work their children used to do.
- **Aftercare:** Following up with children to ensure that they stay in school.
- **Policy advocacy and guidance:** Convincing governments and other organisations to adopt the area-based approach to eradicating child labour.

Chapter 3 provides a detailed overview of what the different implementing organisations have done, and it is evident that there has been considerable variation in programme implementation.

1.4. Purpose of the Evaluation

As Omar's Dream comes to an end, child labour is still a global problem and the overall vision of ending child labour is as relevant today as it was three years ago. New projects will occur, and they could build on lessons learned in implementing the CLFZ approach to end child labour. It is essential to continue the struggle to end child labour – either through the CLFZ approach or another method – and there is an increasing demand for evidence on the CLFZ approach's effectiveness and sustainability. Evaluation is particularly challenging because the CLFZ approach has a number of features distinguishing it from other approaches toward eradicating child labour (e.g., the area-based approach, focusing on all forms of child labour and targeting community norms as a central outcome).

This evaluation focuses on the CLFZ approach's effectiveness and sustainability, looking at its two major 'expressions' – its oldest and one of its most recent: MVF's work in India and the Omar's Dream programme in Africa. The terms of reference (included in Annex 1) detail this evaluation's purpose and scope.

The evaluation's objective is to describe, document and critically study the CLFZ approach to investigate whether the different ways that CLFZs have been implemented work and – if they do – how and why they work, as well as if their results are sustainable. As the evaluation's terms of reference state, it is important to stress that there is no 'one-size-fits-all' version of the CLFZ approach; MVF has clearly demarcated the approach, but it is not a fixed recipe. In each context, the CLFZ approach is applied in varying forms and with varying components that depend on the local context, possibilities and understanding of the implementing organisation. This evaluation explicitly aims to capture this 'diversity in uniformity'.

1.5. Evaluation Methods

The evaluation's starting point is in realist synthesis,⁸ meaning that we assume that aspects of context, mechanism and outcome need to be taken into account simultaneously, and that a variety of methods must be used in analysis and drawing conclusions. This approach's main characteristic is that it takes a holistic view of how interventions take place and what constitutes success. It seeks to identify underlying causal mechanisms and explore, 'What works for whom under what circumstances?' rather than only 'What works?'

The realist approach to evaluation does not in itself determine the choice of methods. Our approach has been to synthesise information from each country and project (in some countries, several projects and implementing partners; in others, only one). We have thus undertaken comparative series of case studies summing up experiences in each of the seven countries. It is a complex evaluation task, and we have also been guided by approaches and strategies for how to deal with this complexity.⁹

An important part of the evaluation includes comparing countries to determine what works when and where. To do this, we used QCA, which combines in-depth case studies with the identification and interpretation of causal patterns.¹⁰ The QCA approach enables systematic case comparison, with each case viewed holistically as a complex configuration. QCA thus views outcomes as the products of combinations of factors; it recognises that causality can be non-linear and complex, involving several contributing factors for an outcome to be achieved. This is in line with the realist approach, which assumes that successful outcomes are likely to be the result of a number of factors working together.

Data for the case studies and the QCA were gathered through:

- Literature and document analysis, including project documents, progress reports, policy documents and laws.
- Reviews of statistical data at the CLFZ and country levels.
- Structured and semi-structured key informant interviews guided by protocols.
- Mini surveys with parents, children and teachers.
- Focus group discussions with community members in age- and gender-disaggregated groups – including youth, parents and children – in areas where CLFZ programmes are operational. These were also guided by interview protocols.

The evaluation team developed a set of standardised tools to be used in each of the countries (see annex 2). Many of the evaluation resources were allocated to the case studies, and the overall approach was to gather as much reliable qualitative and quantitative data as possible to inform analysis, findings and recommendations. The team obtained data from a wide variety of stakeholders, including members of local communities and children themselves. Strict ethical guidelines governed data collection, including while interviewing children.¹¹

⁸ Pawson, R. (2013). *The Science of Evaluation: A Realist Manifesto*. London: Sage.

⁹ For an example, see: Forss, K., Marra, M., & Schwartz, R. (2012). *Evaluating the Complex: Attribution, Contribution and Beyond*. New Brunswick: Transaction.

¹⁰ Befani, B. (2015, forthcoming). *Evaluating Development Interventions with QCA: Potential and Pitfalls*. Stockholm: EBA.

¹¹ Guidance documents included: International Labour Organisation [ILO]. (2003). *Ethical Considerations When Conducting Research on Children in the Worst Forms of Child Labour*. Geneva: ILO.; Society for Research in Child Development. (2007). *Ethical Standards in Research, Updated March 2007*.

The team summarised each country in a full country case study shared with the implementing organisations and thoroughly discussed – along with the draft synthesis report – in a full-day meeting between the evaluation team and implementing organisations in Entebbe, Uganda, in May 2015. The country cases were thus validated and completed; in this report, we present two-page summaries with major conclusions and recommendations for each of the seven country studies in annex 3.

The evaluation has also had an independent external quality assurance process. Tom Ling, senior researcher at the Rand Corporation and previously evaluation coordinator at Save the Children UK, has undertaken this function. He reviewed the inception report, assessed some of the country studies and took part in team meetings to develop the final report, which he also reviewed. In the process, he provided valuable comments and pointed out – and helped address – questions concerning findings' reliability and validity.

1.6. Limitations

No matter what precautions are taken, every evaluation faces implementation challenges and any choice of methods has drawbacks. The QCA is qualitative but still requires that all conditions (context, mechanism and outcomes) be classified as present or absent.¹² It also required us to define whether an outcome (i.e., CLFZ) had been achieved or not. In practice, we have seen that a project might make progress and contribute to important changes related to child labour, but that it is seldom (or never) as easy as determining whether the outcome is achieved or not; the same applies to context and how a project has been implemented. We discuss assumptions and qualifications after QCA application in this report when we present the findings derived from statistical computation (see chapter 5).

The evaluation team comprised six persons, all with different backgrounds and experiences, which has helped bring all of the necessary competencies to the evaluation. The country case studies have been performed alone or in pairs using common tools, but there is always the danger that the assessments have not applied the same standards. An assessment necessarily involves an element of subjectivity even though we deployed the same methods and developed criteria. The team sought to mitigate the risk of applying different standards by often working in pairs and by peer reviewing one another's reports.

When we selected the samples to visit, we based our decisions on the need to see different project sites and environments; we also considered the information in progress reports and consulted with implementing organisations. Additionally, we considered travel logistics to ensure that we could spend as much time as possible in the communities rather than in transport.

We also had to sample interview respondents – including children, teachers, parents and key informants. Throughout, we made judgemental selections to economise on evaluation resources, reach the largest possible number of potential respondents and gather a variety of information for the evaluation. We cannot know for certain, but we estimate that larger numbers of site visits and interviews might have produced a larger variety of experiences and opinions, but the overall trends might not have differed much.

It is also noteworthy that the implementing organisations generally arranged the interviews

¹² There is a distinction between crisp and fuzzy sets of data; a crisp set is binary, and a fuzzy set can contain intermediate values. We have opted for crisp data sets, which are said to facilitate clear associations and allowed us to qualify the discussion when there was a need to consider the limitations of binary data.

and organised the focus group discussion participants. This made sense as they were able to take advantage of existing partnerships and relationships to gain access to key people, which the evaluators could not have done alone. It also made sense due to time constraints. However, in some cases interviewees had clearly been coached by the implementing organisations or appeared unwilling to critique the projects, presumably in the hope of some benefit accruing from a positive evaluation or of the project funding being extended. This may have led to inaccurate information being provided at times. We mitigated this by seeking to interview as many people as possible, including those not directly associated with the project and those who were not given much advance notice of the interviews.

Overall, while recognising the limitations associated with the evaluation methods used, we believe that the findings are accurate as they are based on the sum of the findings using multiple methods of inquiry.

Table 1.1. Number of Intervention Areas and Sample of Areas Visited

Country	Implementing Organisation	Project Sites/ CLFZs	Sampling Strategy Used
Kenya	One organisation, one project	8	Visits to seven project sites were plus two neighbouring areas to assess spread effects.
Ghana	One organisation, implementing the same programme in three regions with 10 implementation locations per region	30 (divided between 3 regions)	Visits to two, of the three, regions where the projects is implemented and a sample of five CLFZ were visited in total.
Ethiopia	Three implementing organisations with one project each	17	Eight intervention sites were visited in total. This included the two intervention sites for one project visited (Dessie); purposive sampling was used to identify the other six sites visited. One kebele visited in each project area to assess spread effect.
Uganda	Three implementing organisations, two area-focused projects	4	All project sites were visited. Two additional sites visited to assess spread effects.
Zimbabwe	One implementing organisation, one project	1 (included 188 villages of which 168 declared CLFZs)	Project site visited; a sample of four villages were selected within the single project site. One additional village, where the programme had not been implemented, was visited to assess spread effects.
Morocco	One implementing organisation, one project	1 (included 12 schools and 1 industrial zone)	The project site, the industrial zone and four schools were visited including 2 to assess spread effect
India	One organisation	16 panchayat in Bihar (on-going implementation), number of villages in total is not listed.	In Bihar 11 sites in 5 Panchayat were selected using purposive sampling methods, and three other site to examine spread effects. Additional sites were visited in Andhra Pradesh to assess sustainability. In the text 11 not 5 are the units we use for analysis.

To what extent can we generalise from our sample of 37¹³ areas to the broader 77+¹⁴ project intervention areas?¹⁵ Additionally, to what extent can we generalise to events and activities outside the project areas – that is, to the rest of villages, municipalities and kebelles in the countries described here?¹⁶ Unfortunately, there is only one serious and rigidly scientific answer: ‘Not at all’. The evaluation has no means of making conclusions on what has happened in the remaining project areas, including outcomes. We can generate plausible hypotheses as to what works, when, where and why, but we cannot know whether a close investigation would show the same associations among context, mechanism and outcome seen in the 37 areas visited.

The next chapter discusses the seven criteria for what constitutes a CLFZ. In the inception phase, we developed the tools to collect data in order to answer the questions in the terms of reference (see annex 1). However, the second criterion – that the school is developed as an institution that takes care of all aspects of a child’s development – was not adequately covered in data collection in the 37 areas; assessing whether the criterion has been met is far too complex. The other six criteria could be approximated and assessed by the indicators developed. Chapter 3 describes the interventions relating to these criteria; we assess activities at the project level, but not within each intervention area.

1.7. A Guide to the Reader

Omar’s Dream is a complex programme, and it would require a book to fully describe how it was developed, how it has been adapted and how it has been implemented in the six African countries analysed here. The report’s focus is on comparative analysis. Chapter 2 looks at what has been achieved, providing a detailed analysis of the outcomes of Omar’s Dream in terms of quantity and quality. Chapter 3 starts to explain how these outcomes have been achieved, including lessons learned and which factors seem to contribute to successful outcomes – as well as how to learn from failures. The chapter also discusses differences in implementation – for example, the choice of partners, the mix of interventions, the allocation of budget resources and the collaboration among partners.

Chapter 4 turns to context and tries to identify how differences in the policy environment, economic features, social factors and specific organisational and institutional histories affect the programmes and their likelihood for success. Chapter 5 combines the contextual analysis with mechanisms to try and identify causal patterns that explain success. Chapter 6 steps outside of the CLFZ and examines whether there have been any spread effects from the interventions. While the evaluation is not primarily based on counterfactual logic to determine causality, this chapter does contain a section that compares development in the CLFZs to progress – or lack thereof – in stopping child labour in other communities.

¹³ This number corresponds to the number of locations visited, but does not necessarily correspond to the number of locations identified in a project. For example in India project documents speak of Panchayat, but this unit of analysis includes many wards. A ward was our unit of analysis as a Panchayat is too large to regard as an intervention unit of analysis. This number is derived from the places we visited which were examined individually and analyzed as part of the QCA.

¹⁴ This number is in actual fact much larger because in India a Panchayat is the unit of analysis and this includes many more villages, as is the case in Zimbabwe where a single CLFZ includes 188 villages. This number is derived from adding the units of analysis found in project documentation.

¹⁵ This is called internal generalisation (from sample to population).

¹⁶ This refers to external generalization.

Chapter 7 turns to sustainability, although it is too early to say much about whether the outcomes of Omar's Dream are being sustained. Instead, this section summarises conclusions from the visit to MVF project sites in India. Chapter 8 presents conclusions and recommendations.



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A girl who was withdrawn from child labour and enrolled in a bridge school sits with her husband, young child and mother-in-law. Soon after finishing in the bridge school, the girl had to drop out to take care of her ailing mother, and was then married at age 16.

CHAPTER 2. HAVE CLFZS BEEN CREATED?

In this chapter, we discuss approaches and potential challenges to creating CLFZs. First, we explore how a CLFZ is generally defined, how this definition has been implemented in the different country studies and the implications of the definitions used. We then examine what success means in terms of CLFZs and the degree to which success has, and can be, attained. Finally, this chapter looks at the broad achievements that can be attributed to the CLFZ approach.

2.1. What Is a CLFZ?

Hivos and the Omar's Dream programme has defined a CLFZ as a geographical area meeting the following seven criteria:

1. The idea that no child should work has become the sustained norm within the community.
2. The school becomes an institution that takes care of all aspects of a child's development.
3. The community takes ownership of children's rights.
4. Neighbouring communities change their norms.
5. Institutions are sensitised to the need to reduce the barriers to communities changing norms around the idea that no child should work.
6. All children are in schools and enjoy their right to education in the project area.
7. The project area becomes a resource centre for all other areas in the country.

These core principles emerged from the criteria introduced by MVF, and they are founded in a strong stance that children should not be engaged in any form of labour when they should be in school (although this excludes children's participation in labour activities when they are not in school). It is important to underscore that stakeholders clearly understand that achieving the goals outlined in the seven criteria is part of a long process in which the achievement of individual criteria are interlinked – meaning the achievement of some is a necessary predecessor to achieving others. In this way, not all criteria can be expected to materialise simultaneously. In India, the target group has been primarily children between the ages of five and 14, whereas in countries implementing Omar's Dream, the target group has included older children. Hivos also understands that the focus should be on *all* forms of labour, not only the most hazardous.

As part of this evaluation, we have found that the way the different criteria are understood and defined varies by location, as does the understanding and demarcation of what constitutes a single geographical target area. Similarly, engaged organisations and activities have differed by location (see chapter 3). This flexibility was part of the original Omar's Dream project design – the project was not meant to be an exact copy of MVF's experiences in India.

2.1.1. Geographic Scope

To better understand the reality of what a CLFZ is in the different countries, we must look at the types of geographical areas defined as 'zones'. The original CLFZ concept focused on the village level as a manageable target unit. This enabled the implementing partner to engage directly with the affected population and adapt the intervention to the local conditions while also shifting emphasis as required. However, not all Omar's Dream partners have defined a zone the same way. As demonstrated in table 2.1, differences among countries have included both aspects related to physical area and the total population targeted by a single intervention unit (i.e., one CLFZ). The differences ranged from targeting a few thousand people living in relative proximity to areas with high socioeconomic homogeneity to tens or even hundreds of thousands of people living in a large geographical area with varying degrees of homogeneity among population subgroups. Some of the areas were rural, others urban, and others were what might be called peri-urban (i.e., rural but close to towns or cities).

The target area's size has several implications, which can be summed up in a single question: How possible will it be to change norms and structures given the size of the zone? To put it differently, what modifications must be made to the intervention approach based on the zone targeted? For example, the degree of population homogeneity will be more likely to vary if the target population is large and spread out; this is particularly the case in large urban areas such as cities. Lack of homogeneity in the target group can have notable implications. For example, the different conditions leading to child labour – and even the degree to which child labour is an issue of concern – might vary considerably within the identified zone. This, in turn, means that needed interventions may vary from one subgroup to another within a single zone and that the resources required to support a CLFZ's establishment might be many times what they would be if the zone were small and largely homogenous.

In short, the ability to engage with the target population in a meaningful, consistent way is limited if the area is large in size and/or a large population is targeted. Changing belief structures and norms, as well as establishing structures and systems, cannot occur overnight or be expected to happen on their own. Therefore, the CLFZ concept has routinely employed a wide array of activities and included consistent engagement between implementing agents

and the target population. This strong degree of active engagement and follow-up is easier when the target population is of a manageable size and lives in close proximity. Therefore, it is not surprising that the cases we reviewed appeared to show that smaller target areas were more successful in ensuring a direct, active relationship between implementing partner(s) and target populations.

However, defining a 'zone' as a larger unit should not be dismissed entirely. It may be a necessary step to demonstrate scalability of the CLFZ model to larger areas. What is clear from the cases studied is that the intervention resources must match the zones' demands. This means that the resources available should match the size of the zone insofar as they enable the consistent level of support required to facilitate normative and structural change.

Table 2.1. Defining the Geographical Target Area

Country	Type of Area	Approximate Number of Inhabitants
Ethiopia	Kebelle	15,000-25,000 inhabitants (urban area), 8,000-10,000 (rural area)
Ghana	Village	4,000-6,000
India	Panchayat (collection of villages)	7,000
Kenya	Village or collection of villages	3,000-5,000
Morocco	City (later schools – undefined)*	280 000 ⁺
Uganda	Administrative parish	3,000-5,000
Zimbabwe	Ward	36,000 (188 villages)

⁺ Indicates population is, in fact, larger.

* The team initially targeted the whole city, but later reduced this to multiple schools and one area within the city. Clearly demarcating the area and how the community has been targeted has been an elusive process.

2.1.2. The Definition of 'Labour'

Also requiring attention is the definition of 'labour' and what it means to establish a sustained norm within a community that no child should work. As noted earlier, establishing new norms – or the process of social change that leads to establishing a new norm – is a lengthy process; in section two of this chapter, we explore the implications of this in more depth. Here, however, it is important to highlight that a notable distinction between Hivos' and some partners' understanding of the criteria is in the line between 'child labour' and 'child work', or what constitutes being involved in labour.

In Ghana, Uganda and Zimbabwe, the implementing partners assumed that a child attending school full time translated into a child not being involved in labour detrimental to their development. None of the respective programmes had a system in place to report on children who worked while attending school. During the evaluation process, the team found that in some cases, children were involved in work during the hours they weren't in school (with frequency varying from place to place) and that in some cases the work was highly detrimental to their ability to learn. Follow-up revealed that organisations were, in some cases, aware of this fact but had not yet (nor had current plans to) implement structures and mechanisms to ensure that children in school did not also work. There was no evidence of a systematic approach to measuring the number of children who attended school and worked in parallel. Indeed, partners saw removing children from full-time labour as a fundamental

success that should not be overshadowed by pointing out the limitations of said success (i.e., that children continued to work part time).

In Morocco, the implementing agency did not consider children's regular participation in labour activities (for example, working part time at a mechanic's shop) as compliant with the establishment of a CLFZ. Rather, it was seen as a shortcoming that was unavoidable at the time, but should be targeted in future. The degree to which children worked while attending school in Ethiopia is unclear. The community had been tasked with ensuring this practice was minimised, although – as with other cases – no clear mechanism was instituted to monitor and collect related data.

2.1.3. The Role of the Community

In India, efforts to remove children from child labour were coupled with a series of activities to create a clear, locally driven demand for government provision of adequate education. In short, this has meant that communities came to expect – and subsequently demanded – schooling facilities. In other countries, however, the population appears more passive in terms of its demands of government. In Morocco, for example, parents send their children to work because, among other reasons, they see it as an opportunity for the child to learn a trade. This occurs precisely because there is a general consensus that vocational training facilities provide substandard training. Rather than demanding the government provide an adequate service, the parents find an alternative themselves.

In other countries, such as Ethiopia, project activities' resulting in increases in school enrolment have not been coupled with increases in the resources allocated to schools. Moreover, in Ethiopia, opportunities for the population to demand the government expand school facilities are limited. Some implementing partners have understood the importance of ensuring governments meet their obligations and work in an environment where these demands can be voiced; for example, GAWU in Ghana advocates directly to the government to ensure that the schools they work with have access to feeding programmes when needed. This is adapted from MVF's approach, in which locally driven advocacy is encouraged to ensure that state agencies deliver on rights and entitlements at the ground level.¹⁷ Ground-level experiences then inform broader national advocacy efforts to effect legal and policy reform to eradicate child labour and ensure the right to education.

However, in some countries, this has not materialised in the same way. Reasons can be multiple: an oppressive government that is not likely to be responsive, for example, or a general lack of expectation among the population that the government will ever respond to their needs. The latter is often seen in cases where civil society organisations have taken on many of the state's responsibilities with donor funding.

The population's expectations of government and government services are important because they have implications for how and by whom CLFZs should be driven or sustained in the long term. MVF perceives itself as a facilitator in creating CLFZs, as well as promoting, advocating and facilitating activities; however, there is ultimately a clear expectation that the individual communities are sufficiently interested in the effort to take the driver's seat fairly early in the process. Indeed, MVF does not engage with – or phases out engagement from – communities that do not show a clear motivation to independently move the CLFZ initiative forward. This approach has clear implications for how CLFZs are established in India and for

¹⁷ It is important to highlight that MVF is involved in advocacy only at the national level.

their sustainability (see chapter 7).

The experiences from Omar's Dream deviated in this regard, which is discussed in more detail in chapter 7 on sustainability. However, it is worth mentioning here as well since it also has clear implications for initial CLFZ establishment – mainly related to the degree to which communities are willing to engage in activities without receiving direct incentives. That is, are communities interested in ending child labour because they see the inherent benefit or because they benefit directly from an intervention? Alternatively, are implementing partners engaging local communities, or are they treating the CLFZ as a development aid programme rather than a social norms change programme?

Variations in what constitutes and characterises a CLFZ require reflection. While there may be good reasons to define 'CLFZs' in a different way than Hivos, these variations do mean that not all CLFZs are created equal. The absence of a clear ToC, as discussed in chapter 1, may be one reason for the various understandings of what a CLFZ is. In short, it could be that variations exist because the understanding of goals and what is at stake is not sufficiently clear to all involved.

2.2. Creating a CLFZ

As discussed in the previous section, there is not a homogeneous understanding among Omar's Dream implementing partners of CLFZs or how children within a zone should be identified, targeted and provided with follow-up. Although baseline assessments were conducted in the different countries where Omar's Dream is being implemented, the baseline objective and the way data was used varied. In some cases, such as Uganda and Ethiopia, baselines were conducted in the areas where CLFZs were to be implemented; however, the number of children selected for targeting did not appear clearly linked to baseline findings, CLFZ plans were not adapted as a result of the baseline assessment findings, and no clear follow-up is being completed for children removed from labour as part of monitoring. In Morocco, the baseline assessments targeted a number of areas around the city of Safi; in Kenya, it focused on targeted counties, and in Zimbabwe, the baseline was a nationwide effort. In all of these cases, the baseline explored general child labour dynamics. In Zimbabwe, specifically, the implementing partner claimed that the baseline assessment was instrumental in identifying the CLFZ target area, but data were not available for review and hence the claim cannot be confirmed.

In short, partners in each country took different approaches in determining a target area and a target number of children. This means that linear comparison can not be made across countries, although we can explore whether individual partners were successful within the context of their understanding and implementation of CLFZs in their respective areas of operation.

Before exploring the degree to which areas declared as CLFZs are free of child labour, it is important to step back and ask whether or not a CLFZ can be attained in the first place. The CLFZ model aims to create an environment in which child labour is understood as harmful and ceases to exist, children's rights are respected and resources are invested in child welfare and development. However, the reality is that most – if not all – societies fail to meet this high standard.¹⁸ The CLFZ model clearly presents an alternative approach that is

¹⁸ All countries that have ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child submit regular reports to UNICEF on the state of children's well being. Governments prepare the reports, but civil society organisations are also invited to submit reports. For

multifaceted and aims for a more holistic view of the problem. As discussed below and in chapters 3, 5 and 7, some elements of the CLFZ approach have been achieved. Indeed, the experience in India (see chapter 7) shows that aspects of this approach have the potential for sustainability. In short, the CLFZ approach has the clear potential to contribute to a world free from child labour, but child labour is a dynamic, complex issue and hence, unsurprisingly, the CLFZ model cannot be (or be expected to be) a panacea.

One could argue that it is irrelevant to ask whether ‘true’ CLFZs (i.e., areas where child labour has been totally eliminated) have been achieved. What is more relevant is that progress has been made, the seeds have been planted and communities are more likely than not to continue working toward achieving the seven criteria expected to be present in a CLFZ. Indeed, Hivos sees the CLFZ approach as a process involving building blocks in which each element serves as a foundation for or complement to another element (see section 2.1).

There appears to be a contradiction in understanding what is at stake in attaining a true CLFZ, realising it may not actually materialise and pushing to declare zones CLFZs. Based on our findings in the different countries, we have found that a focus on attaining CLFZs might be short-sighted and potentially damaging. Pre-emptively declaring a CLFZ can ‘relax’ related activities and efforts. For example, places where participation in after-school labour activities (such as in Ethiopia, Ghana, Uganda, Morocco and Zimbabwe)¹⁹ could be detrimentally affected by the erroneous declaration that child labour has been abolished; the declaration could, in essence, serve to redefine ‘child labour free’ from refusal to employ children to accepting part-time employment of children who attend school. This, in turn, could establish a new norm that contravenes the essence of the CLFZ concept – in short, it could serve to conceal child labour practices.

Another problematic aspect of declaring CLFZs is that the declaration itself suggests that communities are static rather than dynamic. Communities change – there are influxes of new residents, for example, emigration occurs, and economic conditions evolve and force people to adapt to new or changing needs. In this way, attaining a CLFZ – even when truly successful – is a momentary achievement that requires consistent nurturing to prevent relapse. Moreover, while creating new social norms is a true accomplishment, it does not guarantee that relapse will never occur as a response to changing conditions or needs, or that the population as a whole upholds the norm.

Finally, it may breed cynicism if areas are labelled as ‘CLFZs’ when it is obvious to the casual observer that they do not live up to the standards. In the longer run, people may shrug their shoulders and accept the ills of child labour. It is more important to keep the vision fresh and alive – making it more important to strive for (and less important to proclaim) success when the situation on the ground has not changed much.

It is also worth noting that the number of children targeted by each CLFZ may or may not coincide with the number of children involved in child labour. Indeed, it may be that the children targeted by the project are a mere fraction of those who should be targeted. While baseline assessments were conducted, many other factors have also contributed to determining target groups. In some cases, the baseline assessment was instrumental; in

example, in Sweden, the national chapter of Save the Children prepares this ‘alternative’ report; Save the Children’s report shows that child labour, child poverty, trafficking and abuse of child rights persist even in Sweden – a country that otherwise rates highly on the Human Development Index.

¹⁹ There was no confirmed evidence that children engaged in CLFZ project activities were simultaneously involved in labour activities in Kenya.

others, they were used as a tool to better understand broader aspects of child labour in the area or country of intervention.

Returning to the overarching question: Have any of the areas targeted by Omar's Dream truly attained CLFZ status, meaning they have achieved the seven criteria outlined in section 2.1? The short answer is 'no'. Is it realistic that any of the zones could become a CLFZ? Again, the answer is 'no'. Indeed, the presumption that any of the areas targeted could ever attain CLFZ status was unrealistic from the start, since the project's limited timeframe precluded society-level normative changes. In this sense, it seems that the programme's concept has glossed over these changes. They are clearly an important – arguably essential – element in CLFZ sustainability, but they require a shift in thinking about the roles played by different members of society and how society is constructed. This makes the expectation unrealistic that society-level norms changes could be achieved after several years, irrespective of the number of activities and efforts.

Having noted the challenges in attaining a CLFZ, one could argue that the declaration of any CLFZs developed during Omar's Dream is surprising. However, this too can be explained. The expectation that partners should achieve a CLFZ within the limited project timeline and meet targets for children withdrawn from labour can incentivise inaccurate reporting. In Kenya, for example, a focus on meeting such targets coupled with an inadequate monitoring and evaluation system led to inaccurate data being reported.²⁰ The situation in Kenya is an example of how the pressure to succeed and demonstrate results becomes more important than ensuring that results are meaningful and reporting is accurate. This pressure, whether real or perceived, can lead to implementing partners painting an overly rosy picture of their achievements.

More troublesome, the objectives are nearly impossible to systematically measure in relation to individual activities. This means that reporting on activities may be an inaccurate way of reporting progress. Indeed, social change occurs as part of a larger dynamic process influenced by a multitude of factors, not only the project interventions. To this end, one could argue that the CLFZ concept is interesting, but that as a project, the objectives need to be far clearer and the paths to attain them more straightforward. This once again suggests that a detailed ToC would be a clear asset.

Although we have been quite critical here of translating the ultimate goal of a CLFZ into a project – and, indeed, must conclude that no CLFZ exist within the Omar's Dream programme – these findings should not be regarded as an indictment of the project denoting failure. If we rephrase the project's objective to be more realistic and cognizant of the challenges and dynamics surrounding child labour, the conclusions would be quite different. The overleaf banner on the left has a crisp statement, but it might be more meaningful in the long term if it is more realistic – recognising the challenges faced, engaging implementing partners, and targeting communities and donors in a realistic enterprise. Consider the banners overleaf: The one on the right is just as simple, but more accurate and with fewer detrimental side effects.

²⁰ In Kenya, data-related concerns raised by the evaluator during this evaluation were not subsequently reflected in a donor report to ICCO/HIVOS. The concerns raised should have been explicitly acknowledged by KAACR to the donor and steps taken to clarify the data and mitigate concerns.

This Community Has Been Declared a Child Labour-Free Zone.

This Community Is Working Toward Becoming a Child Labour-Free Zone.

As an alternative to making blanket declarations on the creation of CLFZs, short-, medium- and long-term goals can be developed to monitor and record progress. This could lead to a transfer of responsibilities from the implementing partners to the local community and government whereby the progress made and the need for further follow-up and engagement are acknowledged. Such a handover or transfer could replace the CLFZ declarations currently used (see first set of recommendations).

2.3. What Has the CLFZ Approach Achieved?

Finally, we turn our attention to the broad set of achievements that can be attributed to the CLFZ approach as implemented in countries where Omar's Dream has been implemented. As we noted, it would be unrealistic to expect that any of the zones visited have attained a CLFZ, met all seven criteria, and hence it is inaccurate to report that any CLFZ has been achieved during the Omar's Dream project. However, this should not be understood as meaning that no progress has been made. Indeed, many findings attest to the value of the intervention model. Moreover progress towards the objectives should also be recognized. 22 of the 37 areas visited showed progress in four of the desired outcomes (see table 5.1)

First and foremost, the programme has been successfully able to withdraw children from labour and reintroduce them into formal schooling. While in some cases there are discrepancies in how many children have been withdrawn (see chapter 3), the fact that children have been withdrawn from labour due to project interventions is not disputed. Crucially, children removed from child labour through the project are withdrawn through a process of dialogue that includes the parents or guardians, employers and the children themselves. Children withdrawn from child labour are not 'rescued' as much as their role in the community is redefined from one in which their main contribution is as a labourer to one in which an important contribution is their participation in school. As noted earlier, in many cases, children removed from child labour continue to engage in work after school, on weekends and during holidays – a situation that is far from ideal and has a negative impact on the child's education and ability to play, study and relax. However, despite this shortcoming, the project does deserve credit in supporting dynamics that enable the child's disengagement from full-time employment at the very least.

Second, the programme has supported children who have been involved in full-time labour to enable their full-time participation in school. Efforts and degrees of success vary from one country to another depending on the education facilities and systems available. The project deserves credit for facilitating re-entry into school and successfully supporting retention. In some cases (such as Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda), the increased number of children attending schools has created new challenges for the education sector by further straining the available resources, such as teacher-pupil ratios, classroom space and textbooks.²¹

²¹ The early stages of programme implementation in Telengana, India, also witnessed unexpected increases in the number of students attending school as a result of effective community mobilisation. However, the number of children in schools stabilized after school attendance became routine in the community. The growing number of students also compelled the state to provide amenities and infrastructure to accommodate these sharp, unexpected increases.

This does not speak to programme failure, but rather to an unintended consequence emerging from a positive output.

In some cases, supporting children's engagement in school has meant providing material goods for the children, which is often necessary at onset but can lead to dependency issues that threaten sustainability (see chapter 7). It is important to highlight that, while not a focus of this intervention, parallel activities are often underway in the same communities that aim to improve the local population's economic standing. These efforts are often relevant to the question of child labour, as the family's economic standing can lead to the reduction of child labour and the increased participation of children in school and recreational activities.

Third, project interventions have raised varying degrees of awareness about the damaging impacts of child labour and, in some cases, brought the issue to the forefront of local and even national agendas. In some cases, particular outcomes have included the establishment of community-level mechanisms to engage on child labour and actively pursue eradication as a somewhat grassroots enterprise. The India model, for example, has relied heavily on village-based volunteers to deliver project interventions at the ground level. These volunteers have been able to consistently engage community members on discussions about child labour and continuously monitor and follow up with families who return to child labour practices. In Ethiopia, community volunteers, parent and teacher's associations are playing a crucial role in enrolling children in school and monitoring their regular attendance.

This model shows the importance of long-term, consistent and systematic vigilance to achieve success, which also speaks to the challenges encountered when attempting to conduct advocacy efforts. This was one aspect in which varied understandings of what advocacy could achieve and what successful advocacy requires were witnessed. Often, advocacy interventions were single initiatives rather than combined, consistent and wide-ranging efforts sustained over long periods of time. In Morocco, for example, advocacy was largely limited to a single, large annual event and a limited number of posters disseminated to schools and government offices. In India, advocacy existed as both a large-scale effort and through a community-based monitoring and support system run by volunteers. In Zimbabwe, advocacy focused only on the general issue of child labour and was mainly linked to national commemoration days, but was also generally used for awareness raising. In Kenya, sustained advocacy has led to a national child labour policy that includes language on, and that will promote, the CLFZ concept across the entire country.

Fourth, there has also been capacity development on rights issues and teaching methodologies. It is important that an understanding of rights is coupled with the ability to enjoy those rights; this means the country's government is at least open to the possibility of meeting people's rights, which in turn means the population can safely demand they are met. Often knowing that a right exists while recognising there is no opportunity to attain its fulfilment can lead to frustration rather than progress. Here, we refer specifically to cases in which the population has no legitimate power to make any demands of the government. Work on teaching methodologies is also an important element, as good-quality education is central for CLFZs to succeed.

2.4. Concluding Remarks

Returning to the seven CLFZ criteria, we can see that progress has varied. While some criteria have become cornerstones for most efforts, others have been largely overlooked. This is understandable since the criteria are meant to build on each other and thus some are expected to take longer than others. Still, we feel it is important to take stock of the progress made for each criterion:

- *The idea that no child should work has become the sustained norm within the community* is one criterion in which notable progress has been made. Generally, individuals involved in activities related to child labour in some capacity – such as the parents of children who have been withdrawn from or are at risk of entering child labour – are able to articulate some of child labour’s negative. Rhetorically, at least, the anti-child labour sentiment is expressed fairly consistently.
- *The school becoming an institution that takes care of all aspects of a child’s development* is undoubtedly a tall order, even when the goal is limited to improved education facilities. The team witnessed progress far less often in this criterion across programmes visited. While there are often school facilities, they are often limited in the degree to which they are in good condition, have resources and are staffed by people with a good understanding of how to support child development.
- *The community taking ownership of children’s rights* is an essential element to ensure sustainability (see chapter 7), although findings from the cases we visited vary. In some communities, the establishment of clubs or committees has started to address this criterion. The degree to which these structures become permanent working fixtures of community leadership remains to be seen, but their establishment is a first step in the right direction.
- *Neighbouring communities changing their norms* requires that many of the other criteria have been met so that neighbouring communities have something to emulate. This also suggests that it could be reasonable to expect that spread effect (the adoption of CLFZ practices by neighbouring communities) would take a long time. Therefore, it is unsurprising that the countries visited as part of Omar’s Dream demonstrated no evidence that communities adopted practices that they observed in neighbouring areas. There is some indication that neighbouring communities have requested support from the implementing partner after hearing about the partner’s work. This cannot be categorised as real ‘spread effect’ since requesting support could be a result of a desire to gain incentives rather than an understanding of the project’s overall objective and a collective belief that their community should aim to become child labour-free. But it is also possible that requests for assistance are triggered by a genuine desire to address child labour issues.
- *Institutions being sensitised to the need to reduce the barriers to communities changing norms around the idea that no child should work* can serve as a platform from which further normative change can emerge. Arguably, this is one of the elements that can be tackled early in a CLFZ project, and it can be closely tied to advocacy efforts. Given that programmes in some countries engaged in far more

advocacy than others (see chapter 3), it is unsurprising that the evidence varied. For example, there was some evidence of work to actively engage employers and have them support child labour-free initiatives. However, for the most part, this engagement has not appeared to be a central component in the majority of interventions, but rather a secondary element.

- *All children being in schools and enjoying their right to education in the project area* is the criterion in which the most substantial progress has been made across all cases examined. While school facilities' conditions have varied and children's participation in labour alongside attending school has been prominent in many areas, the focus on education as a key element in eradication efforts is noticeable and progress is visible.
- *The project area becoming a resource centre for all other areas in the country* is a criterion that, like 'spread effect', requires time for the CLFZ to become consolidated and known, as well as requires other factors such as accessibility; it is far harder to have an area become a resource to others when it is isolated, for example. Given individual projects' limited implementation timeline, it is not surprising that we found no evidence of areas becoming resource centres. However, this could change as the interventions mature. We did find evidence that implementing partners have become noted voices at the national level on child labour issues, although this is not quite the same thing.



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Children from Usuwashava Primary School in Zimbabwe pose for a photo with research assistant Rejoice Mashapa after requesting the picture, saying they wanted to study hard and be like her. The children, in grades 6 and 7, were withdrawn from child labour and integrated into the school by the Coalition against Child Labour in Zimbabwe (CACLAZ).

CHAPTER 3. DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES AMONG CLFZ PROJECTS

Chapter 3 provides a comparative description of the different projects implemented in each country. It begins with a review of the projects' objectives and includes basic details such as the numbers of children targeted and budgets, as well as the type of implementing organisations, stakeholders targeted, and project implementation periods and phases. It then discusses the type of activities in each country, in addition to successes and challenges. The chapter also includes a series of tables to facilitate comparative analysis and serve as a useful tool for implementing organisations and those seeking to introduce programmes to new areas or countries. This chapter does not detail the prevalence of child labour in any of the countries visited because reliable information is not available. Although baseline studies were conducted ahead of the implementation of the Omar's Dream Project the data varies in scope, objective of data collection and quality. While the information generally gave some indication of the problem, in no case was it possible to have a clear reliable picture of the overall (nationwide or regional) scope of the problem. Indeed gaining the information necessary for a reliable picture to emerge would require a considerable undertaking which was beyond the capacity of the baseline studies undertaken.

3.1. Project Objectives

Implementing partners in all countries have sought to create child labour-free areas in which children are attending school, some explicitly using CLFZ language to describe envisaged programme outcomes (e.g., Kenya, Uganda and Zimbabwe). Some implementing partners have emphasised the eradication of child labour, either implicitly through the CLFZ terminology or explicitly through language referring to the elimination of child labour (e.g., Uganda and Zimbabwe).

By contrast, GAWU in Ghana has the more modest aim of contributing ‘to the progressive realization of child labour free zones’. In Morocco, the Syndicat National de L’Enseignement (SNE; in English, National Teaching Syndicate) aims to reduce child labour. The focus in Ethiopia is on raising awareness – about the risks of child labour for children out of school for Wabe Children’s Aid & Training (WCAT) and the African Development Aid Association (ADAA); about protecting children from labour in a designated area for the Forum on Sustainable Child Empowerment (FSCE); and about creating access to education for children for WCAT, ADAA and FSCE. Table 3.1 provides a comparative overview of the projects’ main objectives.

Table 3.1. Overview of Main Project Objectives by Country as Stated in Proposals

Objectives	Ethiopia	Kenya	Uganda	Zimbabwe	Morocco	Ghana	India ⁺
Raise awareness on risks of child labour, legal framework and children’s entitlements	✓						
Address cross-cutting issues (e.g., HIV/AIDS and children’s participation)	✓						
Protect children from labour	✓				✓		
Create access to education	✓						
Establish CLFZs		✓	✓	✓			
Contribute to total elimination of child labour			✓	✓			
Reduce child labour through prevention					✓		
Contribute to progressive realization of CLFZs						✓	
Remove children from labour and provide them with full-time formal education	✓			✓	✓		
Create awareness on education as a human right		✓					
Lobby the government and others to adopt the area-based approach/ CLFZ concept		✓			✓		
Achieve universal retention of children in schools through quality education							✓
Improve learning levels of children							✓
Provide supplementary academic support for children							✓
Improve quality of basic education*					✓		

+ See: MVF. (2013, September). *Proposal to SKN on Quality Education to Achieve Universal Retention in Government Schools*. Andhra Pradesh, India: MVF. The new programme implemented by MVF is not focusing on the establishment of CLFZ as the key objective, according to the project documents. Rather adapting their engagement to focus on quality education. Still the principles of a CLFZ are imbedded in the MVF activities and objectives.

* This is not an objective in Morocco, but it is an area of focus.

Projects' sub-objectives or specific objectives varied and included the following additional elements:

- Withdrawal of children from child labour, rehabilitation and (re)integration into schools; this implicitly includes preventive activities.
- Creation and strengthening of vigilant child protection structures at the community level to work on eradicating and reducing child labour, as well as monitoring children's attendance in schools.
- Provision of training and support to stakeholder toward CLFZ realisation.
- Economic empowerment of targeted families to support children attending schools.
- Promotion of adult literacy.
- Promotion of early childhood education.
- Professional development of teachers in targeted schools and areas.
- Establishment and strengthening of trade union structures.

Table 3.2 outlines the numbers of children targeted in each country in relation to the projects' respective budgets. The table might appear to propose a specific cost for getting children out of labour – implying, for example, that it is far 'cheaper' to do so in India than in Zimbabwe, Uganda or Ghana. However, such a conclusion does not take into account the size of an area, the mix of activities involved in the project, or the difficulty of actually targeting children in a specific area. While the table poses some interesting questions about the resources available to the different projects, it does not immediately lead to any conclusions.

Table 3.2. Summary of Project Sites, Number of Children Targeted and Budgets

Country	Children targeted	Boys/girls explicitly targeted as part of project design	Budget (euros) ⁺	Unit cost per child (euros)
Ethiopia	8,600	No	568,372	66.09
Kenya	4,000	No	234,000	58.50
Uganda	3,200	No	375,000	117.19
Zimbabwe	1,000	No	364,000	364.00
Morocco	Unclear	No, although there was a tacit understanding that targeting boys would be easier because the focus has been an industrial area where the labour force is almost exclusively male.	200,000	Unclear
Ghana	2,400	No	316,000	126.40
India (Bihar)	5,500	Yes (no data available, but special measures were taken to monitor girls and early marriage as part of broader interventions)	211,416	38.43*

+ These figures are total budgets and may include hardware, as in India.

* Bihar programme funds are from Kinderpostzegels and are not part of Omar's Dream.

3.2. Project Partners and Stakeholders

A wide variety of entities have implemented the projects, including NGOs, unions, a coalition, a national alliance, a trust/NGO and a pan-African network that operates at national level as an NGO (the African Network for the Prevention and Protection against Child Abuse and Neglect, or ANPPCAN). Table 3.3 provides an overview.

Table 3.3. Overview of Implementing Organisations by Country

Country	Implementing Organisation(s)	Name of Implementing Organisation
Ethiopia	Three NGOs	WCAT, FSCE, ADAA
Kenya	National alliance/ umbrella organisation	Kenya Alliance for Advancement of Children's Rights (KAACR)
Uganda*	Two NGOs, one teachers union	Kids in Need (KIN), ANPPCAN, Uganda National Teachers' Union (UNATU)
Zimbabwe	Coalition (two unions and one NGO)	CACLAZ, Progressive Teachers Union Zimbabwe, General Agriculture and Plantation Workers Union in Zimbabwe, ANPPCAN
Morocco	One teachers union	SNE
Ghana	One agricultural union	GAWU
India	One trust/NGO	MVF

* In Uganda, there are two agencies implementing the CLFZ projects. The third focuses on education and policy advocacy efforts.

The implementing agencies, in turn, work with a wide range of stakeholders in each country, from the highest levels of government to the grassroots levels. The typology in Table 3.4 is not intended to be exhaustive, but rather to provide an overview of the main kinds of stakeholders involved in the projects. It clearly illustrates that all implementing organisations work with governments, schools and local communities, including children, as part of their approach. A majority work with child rights structures, unions or union members, bridge schools, school clubs, and local-level NGOs, CSOs and associations.

Table 3.4. Typology of Stakeholders by Country

	Ethiopia	Kenya	Uganda	Zimbabwe	Morocco	Ghana	India
Ministries/ Departments/Bureaus	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Devolved government structures	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
National-level child labour/rights structures		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Local-level child labour/rights structures⁺	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Unions/Union members*			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
NGOs/CSOs/ Idirs**/Self-help groups	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓
Political leaders		✓		✓			✓
Bridge school teachers			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
School management committees/Head teachers/Teachers	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Parent-teacher associations	✓						

⁺ This comprises pre-existing structures and those created and/or strengthened by the projects.

* The broad role of unions is to promote improved labour, teaching and educational standards or conditions. Notably, in Zimbabwe and Ghana in particular, a strong belief exists in a connection between promoting adequate work for adults and reducing or eliminating child labour.

** Idirs are community-based associations that mainly support their members in relation to funeral-related ceremonies.

In some cases, engaging with particular actors does not happen even though the projects would benefit. In Morocco, this includes the active engagement of parents' associations, teachers who are not involved in the intervention, parents of children at the targeted schools and city leadership. In Kenya, the head teachers of some schools receiving children withdrawn from child labour are not engaged. Generally, engagement with formal and informal employers is also weak.

Implementing organisations' choice of stakeholders is influenced by a variety of factors, including countries' history of anti-child labour programming, implementing organisations' mandates and capacity, and the project design's breadth and vision.

3.3. Project Implementation

Table 3.5 summarises the project implementation period in each country. As indicated, projects in Morocco and India are being implemented in different phases.

Table 3.5. Summary of Project Implementation Dates and Phases

Country	Project Implementation Period	Phases (Where Relevant)
Ethiopia	June 2012-May 2015	
Kenya	October 2012-May 2015	
Uganda	From March 2013: 30 months (ANPPCAN) 26 months (KIN) 28 months (UNATU)	
Zimbabwe	November 2012-March 2015	
Morocco	2013-2015	Phase I (2013): Focus on prevention of child labour. Phase II (2013): Removal of children from child labour. Phase III (2014-2015): Removal of children from the workforce and assimilate them into bridge schools.
Ghana	February 2013-July 2015	
India (Bihar)	2007-2016	Phase I (2007-2010): Following the invitation of the state government of Bihar, MVF began work as a resource in Vaishali district in 2007. Phase II (2010-2012): With funding from Stichting Kinderpostzegels Nederland, MVF began focused work in 10 gram panchayats of the Lalganj block in Vaishali district. Phase III (2012-2016): MVF expanded its work to 16 gram panchayats with a focus on strengthening implementation of the Right to Education Act and on improving education quality to achieve universal retention. Fifteen 'model schools' were established.

Broadly speaking, as noted in chapter 2, aspects of the CLFZ approach have been found in all of the countries and are embedded in a variety of project activities. As indicated in the project reports, the activities have been successfully implemented in Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Zimbabwe and India. However, the total number of children targeted for withdrawal from child labour may not have been reached in all cases in targeted schools, and in

Morocco, the degree to which activities were implemented remains unclear.²² Table 3.6 provides an overview of the projects' main activities.

Table 3.6. Overview of Main Project Activities by Country

Activity	Ethiopia	Kenya	Uganda	Zimbabwe	Morocco	Ghana	India (Bihar)
Baseline survey	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Establishing community-based child protection for a	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Establishing school clubs	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Establishing bridge schools	✓		✓	✓	✓ *	✓	✓
Establishing/strengthening parent-teacher associations	✓						✓
Mass sensitization/ awareness raising	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Capacity building of key stakeholders	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Identification of children in child labour and withdrawal	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Identification of children at risk of child labour and prevention	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Provision of material support for children to attend school (e.g., uniforms, books and shoes)	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Production of education materials		✓				✓	✓
Construction of classrooms	✓						
Provision of livelihood support	✓		✓			✓	
Literacy training	✓						
Provision of remedial education/tutoring			✓	✓	✓		✓
Celebration of events		✓	✓	✓	✓		
Training/lobbying on the CLFZ concept		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Documentation of good practice		✓	✓	✓			✓
Provision of extra-curricular activities	✓				✓		✓
Provision of after-school tutoring	✓				✓		✓
Adoption of model schools ⁺							✓
Developing child-friendly pedagogical approaches	✓		✓				✓

+ Model schools appear to have gained recognition under the Right to Education Act as they have been able to provide quality education and monitor academic progress.

* In Morocco the bridge schools are established by the Ministry of Education, and managed by independent agencies. Some bridge schools were managed as part of the CLFZ project.

²² The project proposal and budget for Morocco were not provided to the evaluation team despite multiple requests. Budgetary detailed information is not available in reports provided to Hivos, either.

Not all implementing partners prioritised monitoring and evaluation, even in cases where budget lines were in place. Monitoring and evaluation should extend to ensuring that activities have taken place and that activities' outcomes meet the projects' specific and overall objectives.

In Ghana, despite a budget line for monitoring and evaluation, project staff have neither the means nor the authority to adequately monitor the project. In Kenya, monitoring and evaluation is weak despite budget lines for it. In Morocco the activities are carefully documented and union staff routinely attend programme events, although attendance does not extend to testing the quality of the service or activity; the union has no evaluation capacity and as a matter of course does not critically review activities' value, which is an area that will require significant attention in future incarnations of the projects.

In India, by contrast, cluster organizers and the MVF resource staff member on the ground undertake regular monitoring. Data is gathered to monitor children's academic performance, school enrolment and attendance, and it is used to monitor progress against CLFZ outcomes. Review meetings are held regularly at the gram panchayat level, particularly in project sites with model schools.

Project performance was mixed in relation to gender (i.e., ensuring that both girls' and boys' needs are met). In Kenya, gender was not a focus because the rights-based approach to education is founded on a belief in boys' and girls' equal right to education. In Ghana, the project's strategy included a focus on improving gender equity and social well-being for vulnerable boys and girls,²³ and the proposal recognised that child- and girl-friendly schools helps improve the gender-related enrolment ratio and that basic services such as water and sanitation are important for encouraging girls' enrolment, retention and learning.²⁴

During field research, the gender aspect did not emerge and the team did not observe gender-specific activities. In Morocco, implementing partners were aware that reaching girls was far harder because their work is 'invisible', most often as housemaids; however, none of the project's activities aims to address this systematically.

In Ethiopia, all three implementing organisations have focused on gender, abolishing early marriage and increasing girls' participation in school. In Uganda (specifically in Rakai), implementing organisations have worked with senior female and male teachers to address children's gender-related needs, as well as undertook lobbying and advocacy to ensure that the government provides sanitary pads for girls in upper grades to help prevent dropouts. The government has agreed to these activities, although implementation remains a challenge.

In India, keeping with methods applied in Telengana, Bihar project proposals²⁵ included specific activities to address issues faced by girls generally and early marriages in particular. These activities are specifically mentioned under broader interventions; for example, girls' issues must be among those discussed at panchayat-level review meetings, and girls must be more closely monitored during community-level activities.

Over the years, MVF has taken special measures to counter gender discrimination, including creating women's and girls' groups to advocate against early marriages and on other issues to promote girls' education and development. However, overall, MVF has included limited

²³ Trades Union Congress. 2012. Conference result document.p 13

²⁴ *ibid.* p. 15.

²⁵ MVF. (2013). *Quality Education to Achieve Universal Retention in Government Schools (Proposal to SKN)*. Hyderabad: MVF.

targeted interventions to reduce gender disparity. During the evaluation, MVF responded to this issue by emphasizing the importance of a uniformly child-centric message to ensure intervention effectiveness and community cohesion, adding that targeting gender norms in MVF interventions would have complicated the message and prevented, or put at risk, the achievement of universal goals.

Table 3.7. Summary of Children Withdrawn from Child Labour or Prevented from Entering Labour by Country

Country	Target Number	Number Reported as Withdrawn	Number Reported as Prevented	Boys/Girls Reported as Assisted	Comments
Ethiopia	8,600	885 (ADAA), 968 (WCAT), 483 (FSCE)	350 (ADAA), 1,925, (WCAT), 483 (FSCE)	Withdrawn: 602 boys, 283 girls (ADAA); 484 boys, 484 girls (WCAT); 240 boys, 242 girls (FSCE) Prevented: 150 boys, 200 girls (ADAA); 901 boys, 1024 girls (WCAT); 240 boys, 243 girls (FSCE)	<i>Total number of children who have benefited from the project:+</i> 4,273 (ADAA), 3,256 (WCAT), 3,384 (FSCE)
Kenya	4,000	756	4,783	2,795 boys,* 2,744 girls	Reported data unreliable
Uganda	3,200	419 (ANPPCAN), 600 (KIN)	1,261 (ANPPCAN), 1,000 (KIN)	1,474 boys,** 1,806 girls	ANPPCAN and KIN keep registers of withdrawn/supported children in schools. The total number of girls and boys assisted includes those at risk of dropout supported with scholastic materials.
Zimbabwe	1,000	548	452	550 boys,** 450 girls	Unverified (CACLAZ does not keep a database of children withdrawn and enrolled in schools)
Ghana	2,400	1,481	1,284	Data requested from GAWU	Unverified (data not provided before travel to the regions)
Morocco	Unclear	45	3915 (tutoring); 1716 (glasses)	Data provided was not disaggregated	This reflects the total number of children who received direct support.
India (Bihar)	5,500		216,379	Data unavailable	This reflects the number of children directly enrolled in school and those enrolled in schools after attending bridge courses from 2007 to 2014.+++

+ These children may have received school materials or tutorial services, or been indirect beneficiaries of income-generating activities.

* Data received from KAACR staff members in April 2015.

** Breaking down Ugandan data into 'prevented' and 'withdrawn' has been a challenge, as the terms have been used interchangeably. The table includes data from project reports, baseline surveys and a mapping exercise.

++ Verifying data from Zimbabwe has been impossible. Data is recorded and kept at relevant schools but not in a centralised database. Figures provided are from project reports.

+++ In its first phase (2007 to 2010), MVF organised across the state in collaboration with the government, thus enabling the coverage of such large numbers.

In Zimbabwe and Ethiopia (in the case of ADAA), there is a disparity in outcomes between girls and boys (see table 3.7), with more boys benefiting from the projects than girls. In contrast in Uganda, more girls than boys have benefited.

Overall, there have been varied approaches to gender across and within projects, including lip service being paid to gender as a ‘cross-cutting issue’, explicit encouragement or implicit discouragement of a gender focus, and a focus on gender existing but not at the level needed to ensure that equal numbers of boys and girls benefit from projects. The different approaches deserve some consideration in discussions of effectiveness as the projects move forward.

Table 3.7 provides an overview of the number of boys and girls targeted and reported as withdrawn from, or prevented from entering, child labour. Notably, the team found the concept of ‘prevention’ was generally fluid, ill-defined and not backed up by proper assessments; it is also clearly being used to boost the numbers of children reported as assisted in instances where targets (e.g., number of children withdrawn) would not otherwise be met.

3.4. Project Effectiveness

Effectiveness is understood as the relationship between interventions’ results and objectives.²⁶ As discussed above and in chapter 2, while the implementing agencies have generally completed their activities per the project proposals, conducting or completing these activities does not necessarily mean projects are effective and achieve their objectives. The most useful way to approach the effectiveness question is to consider the degree to which projects have the potential to create or move toward creating CLFZs at some point in the future. This approach is adopted particularly in light of the short lifespan of the projects being implemented in Africa.

Morocco appears to have been quite effective in reducing school dropout rates, but has been largely ineffective in moving toward a CLFZ. While the carried-out activities may have reduced child labour to some extent, including the amount of labour in which individual children engage, the project in its current form does not have the potential to seriously reduce existing child labour or create a CLFZ.²⁷ This is largely due to the limited scope of the activities undertaken. Projects in all other countries, by contrast, are considered partially effective in that they have the potential to create CLFZs if they continue while accounting for changing needs, the findings of this (and future) evaluations, and lessons learned. Kenya is a case in point; one important set of recommendations for the KAACR project highlight the enormous potential of the current CLFZ model if developed into a more holistic one, particularly in light of the government’s adopting CLFZ language into its national child labour strategy. As currently designed, however, the project’s effectiveness is limited.

²⁶ Millard, A., Basu, A., Forss, K., Kandyomunda, B., McEvoy, C., & Woldeyohannes, A. (2015, February). *Inception Note: Evaluation of Child Labour Free Zones (CLFZ) Programmes*. Geneva: Unpublished. P.26. Also see the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development Development Assistance Committee’s criteria for evaluating development assistance at <http://www.oecd.org/dac/evaluation/daccriteriaforevaluatingdevelopmentassistance.htm>.

²⁷ The Syndicat National de L’Enseignement (SNE) acknowledges that its programme does not target children who are most at risk (i.e., children not attending school at all) and that it does not tackle the causal factors leading to child labour.

Table 3.8. Summary of Features that Enhance Projects' Effectiveness by Country

Feature	Ethiopia	Kenya	Uganda	Zimbabwe	Ghana	Morocco	India (Bihar)
Sustained awareness raising toward informed, mobilised target communities	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
Awareness raising among service providers	✓		✓				✓
Engagement of school management/ teachers (including training)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Facilitation of access to education for former child labourers through material support	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Improved access to education for former child labourers	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Engagement of multi-stakeholder child protection structures at community level	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
Grassroots identification of children in labour or at risk of labour	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
Provision of material support for schoolchildren/schools	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Engagement of school clubs	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓
Enhancement of school infrastructure (e.g., classrooms)	✓	✓					
Creation of enabling school environment for children	✓		✓			✓	✓
Community and youth volunteers	✓		✓	✓			✓
Engagement of national government		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Emphasis on partnerships	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Engagement of union members			✓		✓	✓	
Favourable laws and policies	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓

The following elaborates on each of the features:

- Sustained awareness raising toward informed and mobilised target communities.** Projects have included sustained awareness raising in a variety of fora, such as community, Idir, parent-teacher and chiefs' meetings. Tools used include public address systems, radio, community rallies, plays, sporting events, songs, classroom materials, t-shirts, placards, and information, education, and communication materials (e.g., leaflets),
- Awareness raising among service providers.** In India, this includes regular child labour status review meetings at the panchayat level with department officials and service providers to discuss problems, strategize on solutions and foster interagency cooperation. In Ethiopia, projects have also targeted service providers; for example, the implementing partners work closely with the Ministry of Women, Children and Youth Affairs and the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, as well as serve as members of an NGO network on child protection.
- Engagement of school management and teachers.** Projects have targeted school management committees, head teachers and teachers for training and education on

child labour and children's rights, including as patrons of children's clubs. This helps them to facilitate the integration of former child labourers into schools. Parent-teacher associations have also been successfully engaged. In Morocco, teacher training is ad hoc as part of the long-term partnership between the teacher's unions in the Netherlands and Morocco. The trainings can last between half a day to a few days. In Kenya, trainings for teachers on children's rights last one to two days and are undertaken by KAACR. In Ethiopia, training lasts two to three days, and topics include ensuring the quality of education with a focus on active and inclusive learning. The woreda education office and, occasionally, the College of Teacher Education conduct training; partners such as Development Expert Centres provide training as well.

- **Facilitation of access to education for former child labourers.** Projects seeks to proactively facilitate access to schools for former child labourers by providing material benefits to children and/or their families e.g. the provision of uniforms, and/or school fee support.
- **Improved access to education for former child labourers.** Children who are taken out of labour are able to access schools and bridge schools where their regular attendance is monitored. Improved access is facilitated by material support (as noted above), education of children and their families on the importance of education, and the engagement of school management and teachers to ensure that children are accepted and integrated into schools (also noted above).
- **Engagement of multi-stakeholder child labour and protection structures at the community level.** Structures created by the projects facilitate sustained community conversations on child labour in addition to withdrawing children from child labour and identifying children at risk of labour. Because these structures' members are part of the communities they are monitoring, people report cases of child labour to members and they proactively respond. The role of chiefs and sub-chiefs is particularly important in these structures. Implementing organisations often work with a mix of existing child protection structures and new ones created by the project to achieve maximum impact.
- **Grassroots identification of children in labour or at risk of labour.** Child protection structures, community members, children, head teachers, teachers and other partners and stakeholders work together to identify children in labour, withdraw them and assist them in returning to school. The approach targets children in labour, their families and other community members at an individual level using a combination of counselling, education on children's rights, societal pressure and fear (i.e., threats related to the illegality of child labour, reports to police and threats from chiefs and sub-chiefs).
- **Provision of material support for children and schools.** Scholastic materials, as well as sports materials and clothing, are supplied to children to facilitate school attendance.
- **Engagement of school clubs.** The clubs create awareness on child rights and labour among child members, as well as within schools and communities.
- **Enhancement of school infrastructure.** Classrooms have been built, schools extended and play areas enhanced.
- **Creation of enabling school environment for children.** In India, in particular, a focus has been placed on enhancing the quality of education, methods of teaching and learning tools, as well as creating an enabling environment in model schools (e.g., through improved and regular parent-teacher interaction, supply of books and sports materials, and remedial classes).

- **Community and youth volunteers.** Volunteers may serve as role models within their communities as they promote CLFZ principle or assist in other ways. In India, for example, this has occurred while bringing children to schools, monitoring attendance, liaising between schools and communities, and collecting data.
- **Engagement of national government.** Government officials are engaged at different levels toward the institutionalization of the CLFZ concept.
- **Emphasis on partnerships.** Implementing organisations place an emphasis on establishing and maintaining partnerships with multiple stakeholders²⁸.
- **Engagement of union members.** Unions use their broad appeal and membership as an avenue to promote CLFZ messages.
- **Favourable laws and policies.** Projects in Uganda, Kenya and Ghana are strong examples of project-related advocacy, leading to an improved policy and legal framework.

These features help to realise the seven core CLFZ criteria discussed in chapter 2.²⁹ They offer a practical guide to the approaches and activities that help implementing organisations make their projects effective. Annex 4 shows the outcome conditions, as well as all the other context and mechanism conditions that influence CLFZ creation.

Three areas deserve special attention in discussing effectiveness:

- **Income-generating activities and savings schemes:** Income-generating activities and credit, savings and loan schemes support needy families to help children attend school in Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda and Ghana. Income-generating schemes may be effective in the short term, but some efforts' sustainability is questionable in the longer term. The causal connection between the provision of such support and children's full-time attendance in schools (while being out of labour) also requires further research.³⁰
- **Rights-based approach:** In Kenya, KAAACR's rights-based approach has presented positive and negative consequences related to effectiveness. KAAACR's approach emphasises *all* children's right to education and withdrawing children from *all* forms of labour. This was found to be a powerful message that resonated with stakeholders in targeted areas, where rights language was often new. However, the project design failed to adequately tackle the causal factors leading to child labour due to tension between KAAACR's role as an alliance focused on promoting children's rights and child protection and the fact that the complex, multi-dimensional challenge of child labour requires a holistic response. The required response needs to incorporate legal and policy changes, awareness raising, and the work of the child labour committees and school clubs according to KAAACR's rights-based design. But a focus on the *quality* of the schools receiving withdrawn children and the poverty that directly leads to child labour is also needed in programme design to ensure effectiveness.
- **Bridge schools:** Bridge schools, as developed in India, can be an effective tool to facilitate children's return to full-time schooling depending on the needs of the children in

²⁸ In India, however, the current intervention in Bihar is executed by MVF alone and a focus on partnerships is not a key focus as has been the case elsewhere.

²⁹ Chapter 1.5 on limitations and chapter 5.1 on methods explain why we based the QCA analysis on targeted areas, requiring a score of four out of six (versus out of seven) for CLFZ designation.

³⁰ In Uganda, the savings scheme is considered sustainable. The majority of the participants were found to be saving – and saving a lot – for the first time in their lives, which has led to their increased ability to meet their households' day-to-day needs and their children's school-related needs. ANPPCAN and KIN were only involved in the formative stages of the savings groups, which run independently.

question and, in particular, the length of time spent outside the classroom. But implementing partners have identified a number of related challenges in Africa. In Ghana, GAWU acknowledges that they provide about 70 per cent counselling and 30 per cent academic instruction; the same is true in Uganda. The schools have no curriculum and they are not monitored, leading to haphazard implementation. In Uganda, ANPPCAN and KIN run their bridge schools differently, but they largely function more as motivational centres than focusing on academic subjects to bridge knowledge gaps and enabling beneficiaries to catch up. In Morocco, the bridge schools have fewer resources than conventional schools and are less able to provide quality education, thereby placing students at a disadvantage.

It is also important to also consider the challenges to effectiveness at country level, summarised in table 3.9.

Table 3.9. Overview of Challenges Experienced by Country

Challenge	Ethiopia	Kenya	Uganda	Zimbabwe	Ghana	Morocco	India (Bihar)
Poor data management/ Questionable data reporting		✓	✓	✓			
Questionable quality of education (bridge schools and/or general education system) for withdrawn children that does not promote all aspects of child development	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Withdrawn children dropping out of school		✓		✓			
Irregular school attendance							✓
Children attending schools and continuing to engage in child labour		✓	✓		✓	✓	
Targeted areas not acting as resource centres for the rest of the country	✓			✓		✓	
Unclear plans for phasing out the 'model school' strategy/ Risk of premature withdrawal	✓		✓	✓			✓
Bridge schools with no common curriculum or assessment system, and a lack of focus on academic support			✓		✓		

3.5. Concluding Remarks

This chapter has analysed differences and similarities among the projects. The evaluation team has visited 37 of the areas, each of which is unique, and differences in implementation and effectiveness are apparent within and between countries. However, at the national level, there is an organising framework that lends some kind of uniformity to the interventions. The main similarities include:

- The size of project budgets varies, but within a relatively small range. This is surprising considering how different the countries are and what the projects have accomplished.
- The overarching CLFZ concept has been maintained despite being refined and

developed on the ground.

- There are two areas in which the great majority of projects have focused their efforts:
 - Retrieving children from labour and organising school attendance.
 - Advocating within the geographic area around the norm that no children should work and all children should be in school.
- All projects have adopted – and in many cases adapted – MVF strategies to suit the local context.

Being part of a programmatic approach also means sharing information and interacting with partners in the Netherlands. International advocacy efforts have not been part of this evaluation, although it is an area worth noting.

It is unsurprising that there are many differences among the seven countries in terms of design and implementation. Trade unions, for example, obviously have a different constituency and reach than CSOs. In some countries, networks or coalitions of organisations were implementing the projects versus just one organisation in others. Institutional arrangements, coordination and the division of labour also varied considerably.

Probably the most interesting question is whether it is possible to associate any of these characteristics with projects' levels of success. The evaluation can point to different levels of success in geographic areas, but we cannot aggregate these patterns to the country level and see little point in doing so; there are simply too many uncertainties. Achievements in a town in Morocco, for example, cannot be compared to those in a remote rural area in Zimbabwe.



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St. Mary's Mitukula Primary School students enjoy themselves during recess in swings made using locally available materials. Resources such as swings are not particularly costly, but they help create a welcoming, fun school environment.

CHAPTER 4. THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTEXT

This chapter deals with the environment in which the projects have taken place, as context plays a major role in explaining projects' relative success and knowledge of local context influences the way Omar's Dream has been implemented in the different countries; some of those adaptive processes were described in chapters 2 and 3. To paraphrase Pawson (2013), what works on a sunny Saturday in Safi might be different from what works on a misty Monday in Mumbai. Hence, this chapter turns to a more systematic assessment of context to help understand what works.

4.1. Introduction

We have visited 37 areas where a CLFZ could be, or has been, established. They are widely different, and these differences affect outcomes considerably. Some of the project areas are urban, others rural and some in between. Some are remote rural districts with few roads, limited access to health services and hardly any law enforcement (which is important as child labour is criminal); others are agricultural with small-scale subsistence farming or are dominated by cash crops or the presence of paid agricultural labour on plantations. Income and growth rates are above the national averages in some areas, but have fallen behind in others. Income inequality is high and rising in some areas; in others, incomes might be low but relatively equal with greater social cohesion. Literacy and education levels vary. HIV/AIDS affects approximately 15 to 20 per cent of the population in some areas, leading to many child-headed households; in other areas, the disease is virtually absent.

However, child labour is a practice that transcends boundaries. It is not only poverty-related – although poverty is an important factor to consider – and child labour can be prevalent in wealthy communities as well. There are also poorer areas where child labour does not exist. Additionally, it is not necessarily true that the most disadvantaged areas are the places where it is most difficult to implement projects or where the chances for success are lowest.

The analysis of outcomes shows that there are no zones completely free of child labour in any of the project areas (see chapter 2 and 3). So far, the projects have not succeeded in establishing an area that can be proclaimed ‘child labour-free’ according to the seven criteria. Nevertheless, in many areas, there has been considerable progress; children have been taken out of labour and put into schools, organisational structures have been set up to make sure all children go to school and are not forced back into labour, and there are indications of changes around education norms.

Of the 37 localities covered by the evaluation, we concluded that the projects have made good progress toward becoming CLFZs in 22 cases. What are the reasons behind the differences in outcome between places that have been most successful and the rest? It is not an easy or straightforward question. We found that 17 of the 37 locations possessed at least five of what could be termed ‘adverse conditions’, such as high incidence of poverty and inequality, low growth rates, high levels of migration, illiteracy, lower health status and higher incidences of HIV/AIDS. One would expect that in such adverse situations, it would be less likely to make good progress to establish CLFZ. To our surprise, the correlation between difficult conditions and positive outcome was no more than 0.15 – that is, almost non-existent. The way we measured adverse conditions and outcomes shows that context might have been a factor, but it is more complex than a simple predictor of outcomes.

The project logic behind Omar’s Dream and the ToC do not explicitly account for environmental differences, showing one way to implement the CLFZ concept (see chapter 1). That said, local organisations are free to adapt parts as they see fit and to choose the mode of operating that they think will be most effective. Flexibility is there, but there is no articulated theory of how and when such changes should be made. Additionally, neither MVF nor any of the other stakeholders can provide advice or guidance on operating in different contexts.

4.2. The Political Environment and Policy Changes

There is one aspect of the political environment that is likely to be more important than any other, and that is the extent to which there are national policies that support efforts to end child labour. If the overall national-level policy creates an enabling environment for this type of project, it could be expected that progress might be quicker and the practical work to remove children from labour and increase school enrolment more effective.

In spite of the widespread occurrence of child labour in all the countries where Omar’s Dream has been implemented, the overarching policy environment has changed for the better. However, to what extent the policy environment has improved and whether that has much practical significance remains an open question. Recognition of children’s rights, regulation of what constitutes child labour and provision of basic education are all policy changes that, in theory, should end child labour.

There are two policy areas in particular that affect Omar’s Dream: education-sector policies and labour-market policies. A number of laws and policy changes in the last 10 to 15 years have gradually altered attitudes toward child labour and access to education. A total of 161 countries have ratified the ILO Convention 138 (on the minimum age for employment), and

174 have ratified ILO Convention 182 (on the worst forms of child labour). Table 4.1 lists relevant international commitments and the extent to which the countries where Omar's Dream has been implemented have signed and/or ratified them. As the table shows, progress differs, but the direction of change is clear. Likewise, most of the governments express a commitment to end child labour and have also developed institutions and legislation to realise policy ambitions on the ground.

Table 4.1. Relevant Policy Developments for Omar's Dream

	India	Ethiopia	Ghana	Kenya	Morocco	Uganda	Zimbabwe
ILO Convention 138	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
ILO Convention 182	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
UN Convention on the Rights of the Child	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Palermo Protocol	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

The country case studies describe the differences among countries in some detail, as the following excerpts demonstrate:

In Kenya ...multiple interviewees credited the above (laws regulating child labour) with a gradually changing environment. Whereas some years back child labour was considered "normal" in the CLFZs, and even as a way of helping children from poor families, now it is known to be illegal and people are scared of fines and punishments. Furthermore, people are beginning to understand that in order to get ahead in life, or to get a white-collar job, education is essential.

The Government of Uganda has a robust legal and policy framework for fighting child labour. The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda³¹ under Article 34 (4) provides for the protection of children from socio-economic exploitation and restricts them to perform work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with their education or to be harmful to their health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development. Since 1999, the Ministry of Gender Labour and Social Development in partnership with; the ILO-IPEC, Ministry of Education and Sports, Local Government, the Federation of Uganda Employers, the Labour Unions, Uganda Bureau of Statistic (UBOS), World Vision, IRC, AED, AVSI, the media, academia, CSOs and communities, has implemented interventions aimed at the elimination of child labour

Zimbabwe's Labour Act prohibits employers from hiring a person under 18 to perform hazardous work and the Children's Act makes it an offence to exploit children through employment. The government of Zimbabwe has put in place of laws that are intended to protect children from child labour. Zimbabwean law does not establish a compulsory age for education for children. Section 19 (2)(d) of the new Constitution ratified in 2013 includes a right to a basic Government-funded education. Section 19 (3)(a-b) of the Constitution provides for legislation to protect children from exploitative labour practices and protection of children from work that is inappropriate for their age or could harm their well-being, education, physical or mental health or spiritual, moral, or social development.

Ghana also counts with a series of legislations that are relevant to the employment of children. These include Article 25 of the Ghanaian Constitution, which was amended in 1996 and establishes that the first 9 years of education are compulsory. Other relevant documents include the 1998 Children's Act; the Labour Decree of 1967, the Labour Act of 2003. According

³¹ Republic of Uganda. (1995). *The Constitution of Republic of Uganda*.

to the Children's Act children as young as 13 can be engaged in light work activities and can be admitted into employment at 15. However, under the current legislation persons under the age of 18 cannot carry out hazardous labour.

The constitution of the Ethiopia in article 36, sub article D states that every child has the right to be protected against exploitative practices, and not to be permitted to engage in any employment which would prejudice his/her health, education or wellbeing. The labour proclamation 377/2003 also stipulates that the minimum age for employment is 14 years equally protecting youth from the age from 14 up to 18 from engaging in hazardous work. While this is a commendable legal framework, law enforcement and citizen's awareness levels have not changed a lot to enable children enjoy the rights enshrined in these laws and legislations.

Many problems remain. In particular, it seems that the implementation of policy commitments and laws is uneven and that the resources and capacity to ensure that practice on the ground follows the spirit of legislation are not in place. There is also a discrepancy between legislative elements in the fields of labour law and education, as the experience in India shows:

India's right to education is not consistent with its law and policy on child labour. Article 24 of the Constitution prohibits child under the age of 14 from being employed in hazardous industries. The Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986, (Child Labour Act) with its principles firmly derived from the "poverty argument", gives effect to the Constitutional mandates in a restrictive manner by enlisting occupations, which are prohibited and regulated. This means that all forms of child labour are not prohibited. This law is also not effectively implemented, conviction rates are low and minimal penalties that are imposed do not have any significant deterrent effect. Despite advocacy efforts, this dichotomy has not been bridged. Maintaining CLFZs and implementing the right to compulsory education, in the context of a policy regime, that is largely permissive of child labour, is challenging. In relation to broader child protection rights, the lack of coordination between state departments and state governments inter se (in cases of migrant child labour), poses challenges in monitoring, prevention, rescue and rehabilitation of child labourers. Further, implementation of the Right to Education Act has been slow and none of the states is close to achieving the 2015 targets set in the law. Hence, although the Right to Education Act institutionalises norms, there is much to be done in terms of ensuring its implementation at the ground level.

KAACR, the Omar's Dream implementing partner in Kenya, is working to harmonise the various laws, notes that legal harmonization is an important element to success.

Table 4.2 summarises countries' relevant legislative developments. As the quotations above show, several of the laws and regulations were established in the 1990s, but many have their origins in the past 10 to 15 years. Many times, the various contradictions and inconsistencies are the subject of on-going work. The implication for the CLFZ projects and Omar's Dream is that the projects are implemented against a background of increasing awareness of child rights, the importance of education, an increasing commitment to end child labour and a better understanding of issues. But as the quotations reveal, many challenges remain; even in a country like India, with its long history of child labour activism, much remains to be done.

Table 4.2. Summary of Laws and Regulations Governing Child Labour

Standard	India	Ethiopia	Ghana	Kenya	Morocco	Uganda	Zimbabwe
Minimum age for work	Yes (14)	Yes (14)	Yes (15)	Yes (16)	Yes (15)	Yes (14)	Yes (15)
Minimum age for hazardous work	Yes (14)	Yes (14-18)	Yes (18)	Yes (18)	Yes (18)	Yes (18)	Yes (18)
Prohibition of forced labour	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Prohibition of child trafficking	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Prohibition of commercial sexual exploitation of children	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes*
Prohibition of using children in illicit activities	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

* Zimbabwe does not prohibit all forms of trafficking in persons, though existing statutes outlaw forced labour and numerous forms of sexual exploitation.

As noted in the country studies, there is a substantial gap between legislation and standards and the reality on the ground. Additionally, there are differences among countries in terms of international commitments and national legislation; the question is whether this has created, or should have created, any consequences for how Omar's Dream has been designed and implemented.

India is a special case, and MVF has played a role in advocacy, development and implementation of child labour legislation and on education sector policy. Otherwise, it is mainly in Kenya, Uganda and Zimbabwe (and to some extent in Ghana) that the projects have involved components to engage in national-level policy dialogue and advocacy. In Morocco and Ethiopia, the project design included no such components. This does not seem to be explained by actual needs, but more by opportunities or the type of organisation the partner is. In the case of Ethiopia, lobbying activities are restricted by current legislation governing the type of activities in which civil society can engage.

The lesson to be learned here is that the Omar's Dream projects are, by and large, implemented in a policy context that is conducive to efforts to stop labour. Hence, it may not be necessary to engage as much in macro-level policy advocacy as MVF did in India when the activities started there. On the other hand, there is a wide gap between policy intent and practice, and the roles and responsibilities of government agencies – as well as agency coordination – remain a problem. To the extent that the projects need to engage in advocacy, it is on the practical, organisational and administrative levels.

4.3. The Economic Environment

The concept of an 'economic environment' captures many contextual features, most importantly the level of poverty. Even though poverty is clearly a component of child labour, the link is not obvious, as many poor families still make sure their children go to school. It is equally obvious that poverty is a strong contributing factor; when aspects of poverty are combined with prevalence of child-headed households and other indicators of vulnerability, these factors must be taken into account.

The first question was whether the areas chosen to become CLFZs were poor. It might seem

a strange question to pose of a project implemented in some of the poorest countries in the world, but there are different levels of poverty. However, we were interested in whether the designated areas were poorer than average within their countries and whether economic conditions differed from other parts of the country, so we looked for information about the relative poverty of the area in its specific national context. Seventeen of the 37 areas visited had relatively high levels of poverty – that is, they were below national averages. That said, the difference is wide between the areas visited in Morocco and Zimbabwe, both of which were classified as poor by these relative standards. However, the fact that both were relatively poor in the national context may make them more similar than a mere comparison of poverty levels would indicate.

Another indicator of poverty is food insecurity. While 17 areas had high poverty levels, only seven had high levels of food insecurity. Food insecurity was not high in other areas due to the presence of government food programmes and/or the presence of donor agencies. In Ghana, communities were poor but food security was good because people grow their own food and are farmers, and the soil and growing conditions are good. Two areas that were not classified as high poverty still had high food insecurity, which reflects a highly relative sense of poverty and the need to consider other factors, primarily income distribution.

Six of the 37 areas were considered to have higher-than-average inequality in income distribution compared to the country as a whole. It was difficult to assess income inequality, as no statistics are available, and so a qualitative estimate was required. The most common reason given for a lack of data is that these are mostly remote, rural areas with high incidence of poverty. While there is social variation, the opportunities to amass wealth on a larger scale are limited. It is not a coincidence that the six areas with higher levels of income inequality appear to be those where the growth levels are higher – and some of them are urban rather than rural.

Twenty-three of the 37 areas, had growth rates that compared well with national averages. In the past decade, several African countries have experienced high economic growth rates, although they started at low levels. Among this group, Ethiopia and Uganda have had the best economic performance, although Ghana, Kenya and Morocco are not far behind. It might be significant that the areas with low growth rates are found in Ethiopia (which has experienced high growth rates generally), Ghana, Zimbabwe and some of the Kenyan areas.

Table 4.3 sums up these economic contextual factors. It shows that the majority of the area-based interventions occurred in places that were not outstanding in terms of relative economic deprivation. Generally speaking, they were not poorer or more unequal, they did not have higher levels of food insecurity, and they were not more economically stagnant. The exception is Ethiopia, where six of the eight areas had lower growth rates, and five out of eight had higher incidence of poverty.

Table 4.3. Selected Context Conditions that Reflect the Economic Situation in the Area

Context	Number of Areas Where Condition Is Present to Large Extent	Number of Areas Where Condition Is Not Present
Whether poverty levels are higher than national averages	21	16
Whether inequality is perceived to be higher than average	5	32
Whether food security is relatively low	6	31
Whether growth rates appear lower than national averages	15	22

In the course of the evaluation, we also gathered information on other contextual aspects related to income, poverty, employment and other economic issues. The presence of infrastructure such as roads (and with that, opportunities to travel) may play a role in spreading information, monitoring child labour and conducting prevention. Not all aspects lend themselves to a dichotomous description; there are, for example, differences in agricultural practice. For areas with subsistence farming and self-employment, opportunities for microfinance and other income-related sub-projects may be more relevant. However, the presence of large-scale plantations or other salaried jobs may call for other interventions.

Our data do not show any correlation between adverse conditions and successful outcomes, but there is a rather strong correlation between growth rates and successful outcomes. In areas where the local economy was developing alongside higher incomes, more employment opportunities and increasing services, the projects were markedly more successful. Partner organisations recognise that opportunities to make a living play a role in eliminating child labour, and as a consequence, several have components to assist households with economic activities (described in chapter 3). Even though these economic assistance activities might produce some immediate benefits for participants, they are not implemented on a scale such that they can be expected to make a difference at the community level. Given that the economic prospects appear so important for success, the question is if projects should focus more consistently on areas where the local economies are developing more quickly.

4.4. Social Factors, Health and Education

One of the most striking differences among the areas is the prevalence of HIV/AIDS. In Morocco and India, it does not feature at all; in Ghana and Ethiopia, the pandemic is present but prevalence is low. In Kenya, infection rates are extremely high in some areas – at 19 per cent – and low – approximately 5 per cent – in others. In Uganda and Zimbabwe, infection rates are high in all areas where the project has been implemented. The pandemic has a number of consequences. Where the infection rates are high, there will also be many orphans and child-headed households. Out of the 37 areas, 17 had a high prevalence of HIV/AIDS; in those areas, rates were higher in single-parent families and child-headed households. This is well known at the project level. Teachers, neighbours and others in the community would know about the prevalence of HIV and its consequences and presumably lend some form of support to single-parent and child-headed households. This evaluation has not been able to probe into the extent of the community support. We have not heard or seen any specific components to address the issue – for example, what happens when the children living without parents or older relatives go to school, what their everyday lives then look like and what support they receive for their livelihoods.

The country case studies point to other differences in health. In Kenya, five out of seven areas had a health clinic; in Ethiopia, half of the areas had access to a health centre. The presence of medically trained personnel (such as nurses and doctors) also varied. Apart from HIV/AIDS, the evaluation also gathered information on nutrition and growth, in Ethiopia a high of 33 per cent of children could be considered at risk of malnourishment. Data on sanitation, access to water and other environmental risk factors follow similar patterns. Several of the rural African communities face severe problems in these fields, and some of the Indian areas experience poverty that pervades most spheres of life.

Early marriage is yet another element connected with poverty that must be part of the complex discussion on child labour and child rights abuses. While illegal in all countries visited, it is still said to exist in all of the areas visited in Kenya and Uganda, as well as in some of the areas visited in India (seven out of 10) and Ethiopia (three out of eight); it is considered less prevalent in the areas visited in Zimbabwe, Ghana and Morocco – even though it might happen there as well. It can be expected that in the areas where early marriage is common and condoned by the community, it is much more difficult to propagate that every child belongs in school; this means the norms changes sought by Omar's Dream will take longer to happen.

Finally, education levels in the community could play a role in either facilitating or obstructing the attainment of project goals. Factors that could impact the project include education and literacy levels of men and women, perceived value of education, the quality and presence of schools, the state of school buildings, and the number and qualifications of teachers.

Low school costs and meals provided in school – as well as the presence of both primary and secondary schools in the area – makes it more likely that children will stay in school rather than return to labour. Higher literacy levels and a better-educated population also pave the way for more successful outcomes. On the other hand, implementing organisations do find ways to overcome such adverse conditions – for example, by finding ways to support the poorest families. There are several examples of local adaptations of the projects to overcome such obstacles, and that flexibility explains why there is not more of a difference between the disadvantaged areas and others when we compare all areas.

Other social factors – such as levels of perceived corruption, police presence in the community, and levels of alcoholism and drug abuse – were also analysed. There are no clear associations between these factors and the extent of a project's success. However, there is a clear correlation among these factors; that is, levels of alcoholism and drug abuse, perceived corruption, HIV/AIDS prevalence and high levels of migration are all associated. Such 'social ills' also appear more common in urban areas and areas closer to urban centres. The exception is Zimbabwe, where the project area is remote and rural but on the South African border; this means high levels of smuggling, trafficking and migration, as well as related criminality and corruption.

What are the consequences of these social factors for project design and implementation? At a general level, there is no clear association between any one of these factors and whether the projects have been making progress or not. At a more detailed level, such factors need to be managed within projects, but that happens at the implementation rather than design level. The review of different areas suggests that there could be a rich ground for exchanging experiences among project managers in different areas and countries on how they overcome adverse conditions.

When we look at the specific outcomes, interesting differences emerge. In particular, one outcome is that an area should also be a 'role model', disseminating its experiences and inspiring other communities at the neighbourhood and national levels. Here, conducive conditions are strongly associated with successful outcomes. To take an extreme example, it is unlikely that the area in Zimbabwe will become a national inspiration to eradicate child labour because it is too peripheral; few can travel there, and the area does not conduct outreach. On the other hand, Entebbe, Uganda – a relatively wealthy part of the country close to the capital and able to receive visitors from across the country and abroad – is well placed to serve as a role model and to disseminate how a community could work toward becoming a CLFZ. Thus, various social factors will have an impact on success generally and affect the likelihood that particular objectives can ever be achieved.

4.5. Concluding Remarks

This chapter has looked at contextual factors in each of the 37 areas visited. A majority of the areas had made good progress to limit or end child labour. How does that relate to context? We have concluded that:

- The projects have made progress in both areas that could be considered easy to work in and difficult.
- The projects that have made less progress – and even failed – are also found in diverse areas.
- There does not seem to be any overarching pattern related to the connection between contextual factors and project achievements.
- We can derive specific lessons related to context-related effects:
 - Progress to bring children from labour to school seems to happen more often in areas where the local economy is growing and other improvements are occurring (for example, in access to water, sanitation and transport).
 - Progress in changing norms on child labour seems to happen more often in communities with low levels of income inequity, low levels of migration, the presence of secondary education, higher literacy levels and in rural areas.
 - Progress to establish community organisational structures to monitor child rights and ensure that children are in school cannot be associated with any contextual factors.
 - Progress to establish the community as a role model and disseminate experiences first requires a high degree of progress toward all the other criteria; it is too soon to assess progress, and there are too few cases. However, it seems that communities are better positioned to become role models when they are stable, close to central areas (but not urban), not among the poorest and not affected by the low levels on other social indicators.

Omar's Dream projects are not designed to address specific contexts. However, at a practical level, project managers cope with contextual factors. For example, an area with a high prevalence of HIV/AIDS – and thus with many orphans and single-parent and child-headed households – requires a different mix of resources to end child labour than a different type of community. Omar's Dream has generated many examples of how project managers cope

with context. The network of partners could be used to share experiences, and future projects might benefit from taking contextual factors into consideration at the design stage.

The strategic question is: In which type of areas should the partner organisations choose to work? If the chances of success are higher in a relatively wealthy area with fewer social problems, is that the best setting? It would be easier to reach the objectives, less difficult to change norms and more likely to function as a role model. Contrastingly, is it better to work somewhere in which needs are greater? Under this logic, partner organisations should focus on the 'hotspots' where the most hazardous child labour is to be found. The question would then be whether the organisations have the experience and capacity to take on these toughest challenges, and, most importantly, sustain projects over the long period of time required to achieve results in such areas. This would also require solid knowledge on the scope and severity of the problem. While generally places with serious child labour problems are known or believed to be known, not having solid data could mean that less visible forms of child labour are overlooked.

The main conclusion here is that the geographic focus has many advantages, one of them being that such choices can be pinpointed and used to design projects. However, the projects need to be clear about how and why areas were chosen, the specific local challenges and responses to manage these challenges.



© Claire McEvoy – Ghana

Members of the child rights club gather in Foase Roman Catholic Basic School in Atwima Kwawoma, in Ghana's Kumasi region. The club has approximately 100 members, about 35 of whom met with the evaluator. The club meets three times per week, educates its members on child labour and labour laws in Ghana, and undertakes demonstrations against child labour and activities such as school clean-ups. The children also learn about the work of GAWU, the union implementing the project.

CHAPTER 5. PATTERNS OF CHANGE AND WHY CHANGE HAPPENS

One of the key questions in any evaluation is whether the evidence demonstrates that the project that has caused the changes observed. In the 37 areas targeted to become CLFZs, we could conclude that there had been several changes for the better – according to the evaluation criteria, 66 per cent of the areas were moving toward the CLFZ ideal. In this chapter, we analyse the factors that have contributed to change in areas with successful – and less successful – outcomes. Can we attribute the change to any particular set of activities, and if so, which ones? We have been careful to discuss contribution rather than attribution, which implies a more nuanced approach to understanding social change. We looked for differences in how the projects were implemented and for combinations of how the projects have been implemented in different contexts to see if we can identify any patterns.

5.1. A Note on Methods

The evaluation has both an accountability and learning focus. Accountability requires that evaluations inquire into whether an intervention reached the expected targets, which we analysed in chapter 3. 'Learning' covers a broader range of issues, such as why an intervention did or didn't work, whether it is likely to work under different circumstances and in

the future, and under what circumstances it works best, for whom and why. Under the learning perspective, it is not enough to know that an intervention reached a set of specific targets; people want to understand how and why it did so to improve it and to replicate it.

The evaluation toolbox contains a broad range of rigorous methodologies beyond experimental methods, or randomised controlled trials, which were once considered the gold standard.³² Among these is QCA, which is said to be a promising method. But as every other approach, QCA has strengths and weaknesses.³³ Its main strength is that it provides the opportunity to systematically and rigorously compare (and eventually synthesise) information on a number of cases, generalising case-specific findings to the entire set while preserving the richness of information in case studies. QCA is a qualitative method and, as such, is sensitive to problems with construct validity; at the same time, it draws on branches of mathematics such as set theory and Boolean algebra to maximise the internal validity of the cross-case comparison and synthesis. In other words, it represents ‘the best of both worlds’ in terms of qualitative and quantitative methods, and it could satisfy – at least to some extent – both accountability and learning purposes.

In terms of opportunities to link causes and effects, QCA is well suited to identify and analyse patterns of causality (or, in other words, to analyse necessity and sufficiency separately). In particular, QCA analyses the sufficiency of ‘causal packages’, or combinations of causal actors for outcome and/or impact; this is badly needed to analyse development interventions. By choosing to work with QCA, we have assumed that the observed positive effects have been caused by several factors in project design and context. We have assumed that several factors contribute to successful outcomes rather than have the effect attributed to any single factor. Moreover, QCA can help identify multiple pathways to results and impacts. We assume that there is not a single best way to reach a particular goal, but rather a number of solutions that can be equally successful, sometimes even in the same context – something that is also recognised in the Omar’s Dream project proposal.

5.2. Progress toward the CLFZ

As presented in this section, there were 22 areas that progressed the most in creating CLFZs. We assessed progress in six of the seven CLFZ criteria³⁴ and produced ratings on a simple scale. None of the areas had made good progress on all the criteria, but we suggest that an area could be considered successful if it has made good progress on at least four criteria because the CLFZ represents an ideal that we argue could not be achieved during such a short period of time. The first step in the QCA is to construct a ‘Truth Table,’ which lists contextual factors and the factors that define how the project was implemented. This is enclosed in annex 4. The annex section that describes outcomes is summarised in the table overleaf.

³² Stern, E., Stame, N., Mayne, J., Forss, K., Davies, R., & Befani, B. (2012, April). *Broadening the Range of Designs and Methods for Impact Evaluation: Report of a Study Commissioned by the Department for International Development*.

³³ For a concise and user-friendly introduction to QCA, see Befani, B. (2015, forthcoming). *Evaluating Development Interventions with QCA: Potential and Pitfalls*. Stockholm: EBA.

³⁴ The area visits did not cover the second criterion (*The school becoming an institution that takes care of all aspects of a child’s development*) for a CLFZ. See chapter 1 for limitations.

Table 5.1. Summary of CLFZ-Related Outcomes

Progress in:	Number of Areas with a Track Record of Positive Change	Number of Areas where Progress Has Been Slower
Retrieving children from labour and entering school	23	14
Creating child labour committees to take ownership of and lead work against child labour	35	2
Setting up child rights clubs in schools	32	5
Engaging employers against child labour	9	28
Changing norms on child labour (no child should work, and all should be in school)	24	13
Establishing the community as a role model	17	20
Summary: Areas that have made significant progress on at least four of the above.	22	15

The initial question is whether any simple associations can be made between the successful projects and any other factors – for example, whether projects implemented in a rural context were always successful and those in an urban area were not (we did not find this association). In the previous chapter, we pointed out that there was no simple correlation between environments’ ‘difficulty’ and success. As the projects in ‘difficult’ areas were not designed and implemented differently, there must be some other factors that explain such a non-intuitive outcome.

A closer look reveals that if we look at the areas with the highest incidence of poverty, we find that successful projects have:

- (1) taken a participatory approach,
- (2) had a transparent process of implementation, and
- (3) had relatively complex funding structures.

Participation might seem obvious. To mobilise people in ending child labour, organisations must work closely with the community, communicating openly about objectives, implementation plans, budgets and results. Implementing organisations in only six project areas had not chosen a participatory approach, and this inevitably led to failure in the poorest areas. The connection with complex funding arises as a result of how budgets are put together and the higher resource needs in the poorest areas; additional needs require additional funds and result in a more complex budget structure. As long as this is combined with transparent processes, it does not appear to be a problem.

While these factors describe how the projects were working in impoverished areas, there is also some information on contexts that are detrimental to successful outcomes. Many combinations of factors can define a ‘difficult’ context, and some combinations of contextual factors affect outcomes systematically. For example, the combination of low economic growth rates, high levels of migration, the absence of law enforcement and perceived corruption is associated with low outcomes. Implementing organisations appear to have identified and

addressed poverty- and income-related challenges more successfully than those that reflect social cohesion.

That said, a closer look at poverty, income inequality and low growth show that while none are necessary to explain why some project areas are less successful, a combination of these three is associated with less successful outcomes. When the project areas are chosen and the particular means of intervention designed, it is thus necessary to look at a number of economic and social indicators prior to implementing projects to increase their chances of reaching their objectives.

5.3. From Work and into Schools

One project outcome was the extent to which the projects had been effective in removing children from labour and enrolling them in education. The projects performed relatively well in 22 areas, but 15 areas lagged behind targets (which happens to be the same as the overall outcome ratio). Which factors explained success, and which seemed to be obstacles in the areas that lagged behind?

The data suggest that there are two environmental factors that are particularly negatively associated with this outcome: migration and literacy levels. However, we must add that data merely show the current picture; these patterns may exist because the projects have not sufficiently compensated for the negative effects of high migration and low literacy levels. Absolute poverty levels, income inequality and low growth are significant negative factors that generally came across as less significant, perhaps because the projects found way to handle these issues.

Migration and literacy are strongly associated with the outcome alone and in combination with other factors. The presence of bridge schools was also one of the most significant factors (alone and in combination with other factors). Few areas appeared to have successfully worked toward the outcome without some form of bridge schools in project design. Similarly, when projects failed in this outcome, they did not operate with bridge schools. This might be a relatively obvious conclusion, and it is surprising that the need for bridge schools is not more commonly accepted. The analysis shows that bridge schools are particularly essential in areas where the prevalence of HIV/AIDS is high and where the average health status is low (which are closely correlated factors). This association is not surprising; when the prevalence of HIV/AIDS is high, there are likely to be many single-parent and child-headed households and hence a need for more intensive efforts to integrate former child labourers in school.³⁵

The QCA does not only work ‘backward,’ so to speak, by looking at which factors (alone and in combinations) are associated with outcomes. It is also possible to formulate hypotheses about how different factors affect outcomes and test whether this is confirmed by the data. Such an analysis shows that the combination of low levels of literacy, high levels of HIV/AIDS, low growth rates, high poverty and low average health status, plus absence of bridge schools, is a combination associated with lower outcomes. The finding is not surprising, but it shows that projects must tackle difficult conditions when they are encountered in implementation.

A QCA is often summed up with a Venn diagram. The diagram presented in figure 5.1 plots

³⁵ As the country studies show – and as we have also pointed to in other parts of the report – the bridge schools take many forms, but the point here is that they are an important component of the CLFZ concept.

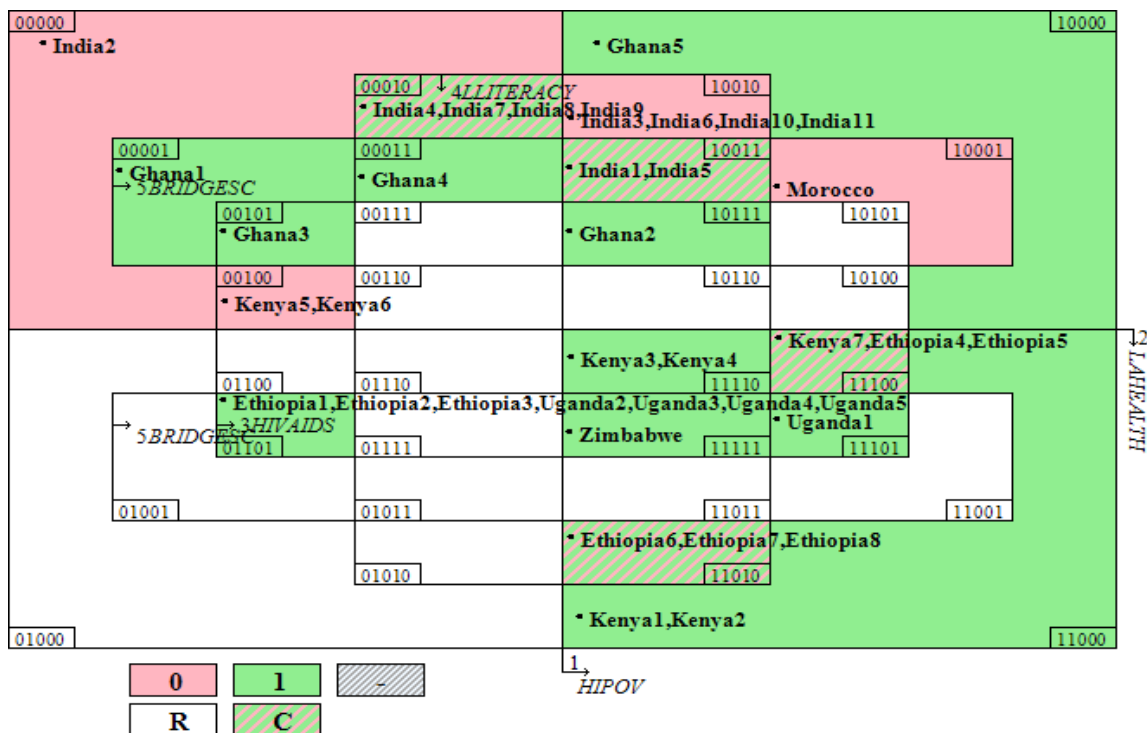
the individual cases (in this case, CLFZ single interventions) according to how they perform relative to a particular outcome based on specific criteria. It presents the findings in relation to health status, poverty level, literacy and bridge schools; it also responds to the question, 'Which of these factors are important to successfully reaching the outcome of taking children out of work and providing them with an education?'

In this diagram, the green area is equal to '1', which means the outcome has been achieved; pink areas means the outcome was not achieved. Pink-and-green striped areas mean that the outcome was achieved in some areas but not others. White areas mean that outcomes are possible, but that none of the areas visited exhibited this combination of factors.

The rectangle has a horizontal line in the middle splitting it in two. Areas with low average health are above the horizontal line, and areas with high average health are below the line. The rectangle also has a vertical line in the middle. Areas to the left of the line were considered to have high poverty levels, and those to the right have low poverty levels. The small rectangles with a binary sequence summarise the presence or absence of all conditions in that area.³⁶

Looking at the diagram, we see that the 11 areas with high poverty and low health (bottom quadrant) have achieved notable success. Indeed, even cases with low health, low literacy and high HIV/AIDS prevalence can yield success, as is the case with Kenya 3 and 4. The likelihood of success increases when bridge schools are introduced, as is visible in the three Ethiopian locations and four locations in Uganda and Zimbabwe. At the other extreme, we find that efforts to remove children from work and place them in school can be unsuccessful in places lacking the discussed risk factors – for example, Morocco (upper-right quadrant).

Figure 5.2. Conditions Associated with Taking Children Out of Work and Providing Education



³⁶ For a reader-friendly introduction to the QCA method and the interpretation of Venn diagrams, see: Befani, B. (2015, forthcoming). *Evaluating Development Interventions with QCA: Potential and Pitfalls*. Stockholm: EBA.

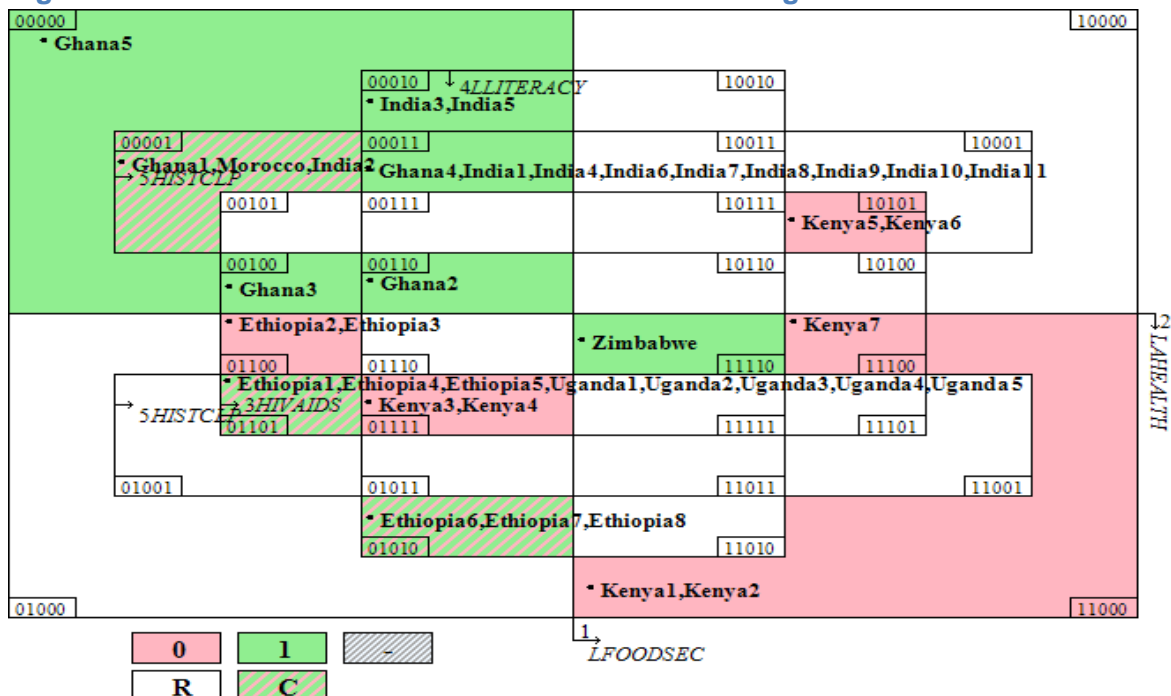
5.4. Changing the Prevalent Norms on Child Labour

The evaluation concluded that there was progress on the norm that no child should work and all children should attend school in 24 of the 37 areas visited. Again, poverty, low literacy, poor health status and high HIV/AIDS prevalence were significant factors in explaining outcomes, but some new factors also enter the picture. Food insecurity is closely related to poverty and unequal income distribution, and it is also associated with poorer outcomes. It could be that when food security is low, barriers are lower to employ children in farm work and daily chores such as fetching water and firewood. It may not be surprising that food-insecure people are less prone to changing norms about having children work for subsistence.

Actors often recognise that it takes time to change values and norms. One of the factors that we considered was whether other projects to end child labour had taken place in the community. In 23 of the areas, there had been other projects in the recent past, although it is unclear whether those projects had been successful. However, the QCA indicates that previous projects are clearly associated with positive outcomes during the current Omar's Dream project lifecycle.

Two other features related to project management are associated with positive outcomes: a participatory approach and timely implementation. It is not surprising that participation is a strong factor in success, particularly because this outcome clearly builds on motivation and a sense of ownership. The issue of timely implementation may reflect both the need for such activities to allow for an appropriate amount of time for change to occur, and also the need for effective management to instil confidence and commitment in the area.

Figure 5.2. Conditions Associated with Normative Change in the Area



The Venn diagram in figure 5.2 looks at combinations of health status, food security, literacy, HIV/AIDS prevalence and history of child labour projects. Several other factors could be included, but the QCA analysis indicates that these factors are the most significant in relation to this outcome. The diagram allows for comparison and shows the connections between

successful change and conducive environments in areas such as Ghana 5 (characterised by good health status, high food security, high literacy levels, low HIV prevalence and no history of child labour projects) and Zimbabwe, which differs in all respects but one (it has a history of child labour interventions).

5.5. Establishing the Community as a Role Model

In the areas visited, 17 communities had made good progress related to the outcome of establishing the community as a role model, while 20 lagged behind. What are the differences in causal factors? Again poverty, migration and related factors played a role. However, in causal analysis, it is common to distinguish between necessary and sufficient conditions, and the evaluation did not identify necessary conditions in either of the two outcomes analysed above (moving children from labour into schools and changing community norms). The associations we identified were sufficient – that is, they could trigger change – but they were not necessary.

Interestingly, for the outcome on establishing the community as a role model, there were two necessary conditions (meaning the QCA did not identify any positive outcome that did not have these conditions present): a participatory approach and a focus on the CLFZ concept in the project design. The projects that incorporated other elements of institutional development or that devoted significant resources to other forms of advocacy – but did not include these two elements – did not achieve this outcome. This demonstrates that to be successful, significant resources must be focused on the model itself and there must be a clear focus to disseminate the model to others.

This outcome is also associated with areas where there is a history of child labour projects. It implies that it may not be realistic to expect a community to become a role model for others within the brief three-year implementation period of Omar's Dream. Instead, it takes longer, sustained efforts, as seen by looking at the historical background of some projects (the country case studies discuss these histories in detail). Migration is another aspect of continuity that is associated with positive outcomes; communities with low levels of migration achieved significantly more in relation to this outcome.

5.6. Lessons from the Most Successful Areas

Whether a community is making more or less progress toward the CLFZ ideal is a matter of judgment, and one can apply more or less strict criteria. We started above with a general analysis of successful outcomes and found that 22 out of the 37 areas could be classified as 'successful' based on the simple criteria that a community be making 'good progress' in at least four of the criteria we used to assess a CLFZ.

What happens if we raise the stakes – for example, looking at the areas that have made good progress in all the criteria, or at least five? No areas made progress in all criteria, so we now turn to the 14 that made good progress in at least five. It is important to note that we are not changing the criteria for success for the purposes of evaluation and accountability, but only to look at conditions in these areas for learning purposes.

First, we can return to the question of necessary and sufficient conditions. We did not find any necessary conditions when we analysed the 22 areas, but we found one necessary condition looking at the 14: a clear focus on the CLFZ approach. It is interesting that the local adaptation and flexibility of Omar's Dream is seen as positive. Additionally, analysing factors associated with outcomes shows that the focus on geographic area – the core of the MVF

project concept – is a necessary condition for generally successful CLFZ outcomes, supplemented with the participatory approach to design and management; however, while good to have, participation is not a necessary condition.

Second, the QCA also shows that high HIV/AIDS prevalence requires a strong bridge school component and that this component should be implemented efficiently and effectively. The evaluation indicates that the presence of bridge schools in areas with high levels of HIV/AIDS is associated with successful outcomes. About half of the 37 areas have high prevalence, but only 15 have bridge schools – and the areas with bridge schools were not necessarily those with high HIV/AIDS prevalence. Projects can be supported by a fully developed ToC that accounts for child-headed households, poverty, child labour and what it takes to integrate children from such families into a functional education.

5.7. Concluding Remarks

This chapter wraps up our analysis of context and implementation mechanisms,³⁷ presenting lessons learned about what works, when, where and why. It raises many questions, and the aggregate analysis can only provide some answers. However, the case studies may provide readers with in-depth knowledge.

Most factors related to implementation have different weight in relation to the different outcomes, but uniformly important is the focus on the CLFZ concept itself. In other chapters, we have discussed the meaning of a CLFZ, and the following chapters turn to the sustainability of efforts. Our analysis shows that these are problematic issues. But the lesson to be learned here is that a clear and consistent focus on identifying and ending child labour and on the geographic area is important. It has been tempting for the implementing organisation to extend project activities to other fields, but limited resources mean it has been more effective to focus on the CLFZ concept itself.

The other aspects of implementation that come across as particularly important are a participatory approach, the timely implementation of activities, and transparent implementation. In some areas, bridge schools have been an important feature of the projects; they appear necessary for successful outcomes when the context is characterised by the nexus of social ills related to poverty, migration, illiteracy and high HIV/AIDS prevalence.

The analysis indicates that there is a need to identify contextual factors and adapt activities based on what can be achieved in a specific area. At times, concrete interventions to remove children from labour and provide education could precede normative change, even though these changes must follow. Additionally, establishing a community as a role model is difficult and should probably be given secondary status; the most important outcomes should be ending child labour, providing education and changing community norms. It is only after real and significant progress on these basic elements that the community can meaningfully become a role model, and it is only at that point the community will have experiences and lessons worth sharing.

³⁷ Chapter 3 addressed the mechanisms, and chapter 4 addressed the context. The descriptions of the conditions are found in the 'Truth Table' in annex 4, and the guide to the abbreviations in columns is included in that annex.



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Children in Morocco enjoy a period of play. In Morocco, the CLFZ project has included extracurricular and holiday activities. Implementing partners argue that while ending child labour and promoting school attendance is important, a childhood without play would be incomplete.

CHAPTER 6. CHANGE OUTSIDE THE INTERVENTION AREAS

Chapter 6 aims to examine the extent to which there are any spread effects from the areas where the project interventions took place to neighbouring communities. While the evaluation team was unable to spend much time looking for such evidence, the evaluators in each of the countries did examine this question in brief.³⁸ Areas visited were close to the project intervention areas, with the understanding that they could not be randomly chosen nor could they be samples (as there was no defined population from which to sample).³⁹ Hence, the approach was purposive.

The chapter also conducts a counterfactual analysis – a comparison between what actually happened and what would have happened in the absence of a project or intervention. This analysis focused on – to the limited extent possible – what might have happened in targeted

³⁸ The inception report stated that the focus on spread effects would be in Kenya and Uganda; in fact, each of the evaluators sought to examine this aspect.

³⁹ Millard, A., Basu, A., Forss, K., Kandyomunda, B., McEvoy, C., & Woldeyohannes, A. (2015, February). *Inception Note: Evaluation of Child Labour Free Zones (CLFZ) Programmes*. Geneva: Unpublished. P. 12.

areas in the absence of any project or intervention.

6.1. Evidence of Spread Effects

With the exception of Morocco, the potential for spread effect is discernible in all of the countries studied – generally to areas relatively close to the CLFZs. The areas in India display the largest evidence for national and international spread effect, which is related to the long history of programming there. MVF's approach in this regard has been developed in stages: first by developing the capacity of community members to implement programme activities (with limited guidance from MVF staff), second by transforming some of these community members into resource persons, and third by sending them to other areas to provide *in situ* training with an emphasis on non-negotiable principles and their application. Table 6.1 provides a summary of the evidence.

The potential for spread effect is influenced by a number of factors:

- **Influence and reach of the implementing organisation.** Organisations with a wide reach are more easily able to spread CLFZ principles through their networks. Unions have the capacity for far-reaching influence through 'normal' union activities. For example, GAWU in Ghana utilises its trade union activities with farmers and fishermen as an entry point for anti-child labour programming; in Uganda, UNATU – in addition to leveraging KIN and ANPPCAN in awareness raising and policy advocacy – is also mandated to (and has been) raising awareness about the CLFZ concept in different fora throughout Uganda. Other implementing entities may also have considerable reach depending on their mandates, the length of time programming in an area, the history of programming in an area, and real and perceived capacities and achievements.
- **Geographical location of the project.** Far-flung or inaccessible locations (as in Zimbabwe) are less likely to yield a spread effect in areas that are farther away; similarly, they are less likely to become role models. Similarly, proximity to neighbouring populations is also important, as this may facilitate people seeing tangible progress. The choice of a CLFZ's location is, therefore, key during the project design phase.
- **Core approach of the implementing organisation.** GAWU in Ghana has focused first on addressing poverty in targeted communities, using this (in tandem with its union activities) as an entry point for anti-child labour programming. Because this approach is attractive and the programme has material benefits, people are open to CLFZ messages. In Kenya, KAAACR has been instrumental in promoting a rights-based access to education message that has been popular and facilitated broader CLFZ messaging.
- **Track record of the implementing organisation.** Elements that affect the scope of spread effect include a track record of successful (or at least partially successful) implementation, whether a project has met resistance or been welcomed in an area and local perceptions of a project or organisation (e.g., in relation to organisational shortcomings, planning, communication with stakeholders and relevant activities). In addition, organisations' capacity and focus are relevant, making it important for donors to choose carefully when selecting their partners on the ground.

- **Location of key stakeholders.** In countries where not all project activities are confined to targeted zones or where key people live outside targeted zones (e.g., teachers or chiefs), it is safe to assume that at least some core CLFZ messaging is seeping into the wider community. Further, chiefs and sub-chiefs who are part of child protection and anti-child labour structures tend to be responsible for a much wider area than the targeted zones and may seek to reduce child labour within their broad areas of influence. In Ethiopia in areas where the FSCE works, Idirs with an area of reach outside of the CLFZs have played a crucial role in encouraging other communities to support out-of-school children through establishing a mechanism for monthly contributions.
- **Length of the project.** As stated above, MVF in India has had more time to develop a methodology around spread effect and develop targeted areas as role models. By contrast, the role model aspect has not been well developed in the African countries, which is expected given the short project lifespan. Implementing organisations' spending more time in an area has a positive effect not only on the CLFZ project areas, but also on neighbouring areas that may hear about and start applying some of the anti-child labour practices. The Ugandan partners and ANPPCAN, which have been working in the same CLFZ communities for more than 10 years, serve as good examples.
- **Transfer or movement of key stakeholders.** Transfers of targeted teachers or the movement of members of community-level child protection structures may conceivably lead to some spread effect. (The alternative is that they lead to a depletion of knowledge in the CLFZ and no spread effect.) While the above indicates neighbouring areas' interest in the projects within the African countries, there is little concrete evidence of practical action — such as setting up anti-child labour structures — to eradicate or reduce child labour in neighbouring areas. In Kenya, in particular, there are claims of action being taken in neighbouring areas — by chiefs in particular — but verifying these actions was beyond this evaluation's scope. In Rakai, Uganda, the CLFZ project's advocacy message and the influence and participation of the district structures reportedly had a large influence on the passage of the district ordinance on child protection with a strong message on child labour and education.

The evidence of spread effects within Africa gives the impression that it is ad hoc, although it is also important to acknowledge the short timespan in which spread effects could have occurred and hence what we witness is a potential for rather than the consolidation of spread effect (see table 6.1). As the projects develop in each country, this area requires further research. In India, by contrast, MVF's practices have been adopted in laws and policies over the years through MVF's continuous engagement with state processes. These laws and policies are being implemented across the country (although implementation levels are uneven), which has created a normative framework that allows citizens to articulate their demands (e.g., for education infrastructure) – a significant change. Significant documentation and dissemination work is also underway, which has reportedly led to change; however, verifying this was beyond this evaluation's remit.

Table 6.1. Summary Evidence of Potential Spread Effect by Country

Country	Evidence of Spread Effect
Ethiopia	Neighbouring local administration and community members have expressed an interest in the project. Idirs with an area of reach beyond the CLFZ boundaries have played a crucial role in encouraging other communities to support out-of-school children. Trained community facilitators and mobile school coordinators have also spread core CLFZ elements. However, there is no visibility on the CLFZ concept at the national level.
Kenya	Evidence of the potential for spread effect in all four counties visited included requests for information or expansion, endorsement by national government representatives at the county level, (reported) unilateral expansion of community child labour committees' activities beyond designated areas using the influence of chiefs, and a committee member moving from one county to another, where they set up a child labour committee. The CLFZ concept is visible at the national level and has been endorsed at the highest levels of government.
Uganda	Reasonable awareness of child labour issues exists, as do efforts to improve conditions in two neighbouring primary schools and to improve the quality of education. Awareness among shopkeepers on the illegality of employing children was combined with a view that it was difficult to employ children because they were in school. The five CLFZ sites in Uganda have also been receiving many visitors interested in learning about the CLFZ concept, indicating that message and practices within the CLFZ are spreading.
Zimbabwe	Child labour featured on the district administration's agenda and was dominant on the district child protection committee's agenda. Some evidence of change related to child labour was reported in areas neighbouring the targeted areas, but could not be verified.
Morocco	No evidence exists of spread effects. No effort was made to promote activities among people who were not directly involved in project activities. Even non-engaged teachers at the involved schools were found to be unaware of the project.
Ghana	Project areas received frequent requests for information on the project and for expansion to other regions. One chief is seeking to expand the project's influence across his area, covering more than 200 villages. We also found solid understanding of child labour issues, reduction in child trafficking for labour purposes, efforts to support children returning home and integrating them into schools, and proactive visits by community child protection committee members to neighbouring villages. The CLFZ concept was visible at the national level, and endorsement occurred at the highest levels of union management and within Ghana's Trades Union Congress.
India	MVF has been called upon to disseminate its models nationally and internationally, with exposure visits organised to demonstrate the model and trainings developed on child-friendly pedagogical approaches, the Right to Education Act and the education system. MVF also provided support to educational institutions at the state level and documented its experiences in a vast array of books, reports, guidelines and modules. The MVF model was successfully adapted in conflict, urban and rural areas. Little spread effect was observed in Bihar; significant spread effect was observed in Telangana.

A word of caution is necessary in any discussion about spread effects and CLFZs. It is clear that a spread effect can be both positive and negative. For example, positive messages about ending child labour can, and are, spreading from project areas. However, if the CLFZ concept is misunderstood or the CLFZ label misapplied, there can be a negative impact on communities and project outcomes. If an area is mislabelled as a CLFZ when children are in fact working, neighbouring areas that adopt the same CLFZ concept or 'model' may also permit children to engage in labour. Similarly, if children are attending school full time but also working outside of school hours, neighbouring communities may adopt this flawed understanding and approach⁴⁰.

In addition, premature declarations of a CLFZ or erecting signs on CLFZ status while child labour continues in that area may demotivate community members, breed cynicism about the project and lead to a lack of accountability and transparency – including within neighbouring communities adopting the model. Implementing partners and donors may be keen to adopt such declarations to demonstrate tangible success and generate enthusiasm for the project, but this can also be a damaging strategy unless the highest standards are followed. Further, when declarations are made, they need to be reviewed annually to monitor changes in the areas.

In some cases, it is clear that knowledge about child labour issues is present in communities neighbouring targeted areas. However, it may be difficult or impossible to determine the source of this knowledge; it may emanate from the projects themselves and/or other sources such as legislation or policy changes, media, ministry officials, police, the local administration, local community activities and events, donors, and non-governmental and governmental entities working on child labour. These entities, in turn, may be influenced by international legal principles and practice, in addition to global economic and social trends. An example is Ghana's Cocoa Board, which has become actively involved in trying to stem child labour in the cocoa sector; this push has come from international players such as the World Cocoa Foundation and donors, and it is a pragmatic response based on both survival and economics. The Cocoa Board has taken on child labour as a central issue and mainstreamed education on child labour into its educational activities through the Cocoa Health and Extension Division. For this type of change, it is clear that organisations require political will in addition to concrete work plans and budgets.

Additionally, the ultimate goal of spread effects is that the principles underlying the area-based approach to CLFZs become the norm in each country. This should be achievable if the CLFZ concept is introduced into national legislation and policies to ensure sustainability and ownership, as is the case in Kenya and Ghana. However, again, it is important that spread effects are positive and do not just lead to 'lip service' being paid to the concept.

Finally, we must note that there is extensive literature in the social sciences on disseminating ideas and how that relates to space. Figure 6.1 shows two maps of an area with 25 communities. Imagine that you selected five communities in which to implement the CLFZ project: Should you cluster them, as in map 1, or disperse them, as in map 2? If you cluster them, positive change in one community would be reinforced by change in the others; you could also reach people more easily and have a more efficient implementation process. But the spread effects would probably be smaller, not least because there are not as many neighbouring communities. If you choose a dispersed implementation model, the chances of

⁴⁰ Since it is too early to confirm spread effect and attribute it directly to interventions. The statements made here are based on an extrapolation from the data available, rather than a documented finding.

significant spread effects would be significantly larger. The problem here is that the implementing organisations have no strategies for either scenario, do not make explicit choices and lack a ToC to guide their thinking on the subject.

Figure 6.2. Map of Intervention Areas in a Landscape (Showing 25 Areas)

Map 1

	XXX*	XXX	XXX	
	XXX	XXX		

Map 2

				XXX
	XXX			
			XXX	
XXX				
		XXX		

*Cells with XXX denote the selected intervention areas

6.2. The Counterfactual Situation

As noted in chapter 4, the overarching policy environment on child labour and access to education has generally improved in the past 10 to 15 years. This is part of a gradual social change driven at both the grassroots level and by governments.

Various countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (including Uganda, Kenya and Ethiopia) have experienced explosions of growth in primary school enrolment and attendance. UNESCO estimates that between 2000 and 2007, overall primary school enrolment in Sub-Saharan Africa rose by 42 per cent — the greatest rate of increase in the world.⁴¹ In Kenya, the abolition of primary school fees in 2003 led to enrolment increasing from 5.9 million children in 2002 to 9.86 million in 2011.⁴² The transition rate from primary to secondary schools has increased from 59.6 per cent in 2007 to 73.3 per cent in 2011.⁴³ In Ethiopia, approximately 3 million pupils were in primary school in 1994-1995, when fees were abolished; by 2008-2009, enrolment was 15.5 million — an increase of over 500 per cent.⁴⁴ Secondary school enrolment also grew fivefold during this period.

Uganda, Ghana and Morocco have experienced mixed results. In Uganda, the introduction of universal primary education led to gross enrolment rates increasing from 3.1 million in 1996 to 7.6 million in 2003.⁴⁵ Since then, enrolment rates have declined, and Uganda has one of the highest dropout rates in the world.⁴⁶ In Ghana, the abolition of primary school fees in 2005 led to a substantial increase in enrolment from 2003 to 2008; more than 85 per cent of

⁴¹ Tafirenyika, M. (2010, January). *Abolishing Fees Boosts African Schooling*. In AfricaRenewal Online.

⁴² Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis [KIPPRA]. (2013). *Kenya Economic Report 2013: Creating and Enabling Environment for Stimulating Investment for Competitive and Sustainable Counties*. Nairobi: KIPRRA. P. 60.

⁴³ Ibid. P. 62.

⁴⁴ Ethiopia has invested heavily in education, including by increasing expenditure on school construction, hiring and training thousands of new teachers, administrators and officials, shifting to mother-tongue instruction and gradually decentralising the education system. See ' Engel, Jakob and Rose, Pauline. n.d.Ethiopia's Story: Ethiopia's Progress in Education: A rapid and Equitable Expansion of Access. London: ODI'.p. 2.

⁴⁵ ODI (2006), p.1.

⁴⁶ Mbabazi Mpyangu et al (2014), p. 1.

children aged 10 to 14 were in school in 2008.⁴⁷ However, there were also significant increases in dropout rates at both primary and lower secondary in the same time period. In Morocco, reforms introduced since 1999 led to national enrolment rates increasing from 52.4 per cent to 98.2 per cent in primary education, from 17.5 per cent to 56.7 per cent in lower secondary education and from 6.1 per cent to 32.4 per cent in upper secondary education.⁴⁸ But significant challenges remain in relation to the disparity between rural and urban enrolment, and the gender gap is indicative of social norms that place rural girls at a particular disadvantage.⁴⁹

In India, the constitution was amended in 2002 to recognise children's right to free primary education, and the Right to Education Act – drafted by MVF – was introduced in 2009. Notably, however, India's right to education is not consistent with its law and policies on child labour. Maintaining CLFZs and implementing the right to compulsory education in the context of a policy regime that is largely permissive of child labour is challenging. Further, since 2006-2007, primary-level enrolment in Bihar has been increasing and is now higher than the median of the 20 large states.⁵⁰ But the enrolment rate at the upper primary level is at the bottom of the 20 major states in India, with fewer than half of eligible children attending school.⁵¹ Bihar also has a higher out-of-school rate than the median in India, though the percentage is declining and, overall, education in Bihar has been improving faster than in other areas.⁵²

Even in African countries making significant progress on these issues, a host of challenges remain – not least of which are the hidden costs of education (e.g. uniforms, books and levies) and pressure on educational quality in the absence of the necessary investment. Chronic poverty, patchy implementation, high pupil-to-teacher ratios, poor infrastructure and teaching practice, and dropouts and absenteeism may challenge progress. Nevertheless, overall, a gradual move toward universal primary education is taking place in most targeted countries in tandem with the middle classes accessing much higher levels of education.⁵³

This social change is accompanied by a growing and pragmatic realisation that the world is changing and education is important to get ahead in life and find decent employment. Every educated child is an asset to their community and becomes capable of taking care of other family members. For many families, an investment in education is also an investment in old age for parents and in the wellbeing of whole communities.

It is, therefore, safe to assume that in the absence of the projects, at least some progress may have been made on children accessing education in targeted areas in most of the countries. Similarly, countries' changing legal and policy frameworks on child labour would have also played a positive role. In some areas, this could have led to individual children being withdrawn from child labour, returning to school and having their rights protected by

⁴⁷ Government of Ghana, United Nations Children's Fund [UNICEF] and United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation [UNESCO]. (2012, April). *All Children in School by 2015: Global Initiative on Out-of-School Children. Ghana Country Study*. P. 12.

⁴⁸ World Bank. (2013, September 11). *Maintaining Momentum on Education Reform in Morocco*. Retrieved from <http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2013/09/11/maintaining-momentum-on-education-reform-in-morocco>

⁴⁹ Ibid

⁵⁰ Prakash, N. (2012., September). *Education in Bihar: Still a Long Road Ahead*. In Live Mint.

⁵¹ Ibid

⁵² Ibid

⁵³ Zimbabwe is the exception. The law does not establish a compulsory age for education for children. Section 19 (2)(d) of the constitution ratified in 2013 includes a right to a basic government-funded education. However, the state has failed to provide for this right due to a lack of resources, exorbitant school fees and other expenses limiting access to education.

any one of several actors (e.g., NGOs, CSOs, police and national government child protection actors). But it is also safe to assume that the systematic approach to reducing child labour that is part of the area-based approach would not have been utilised. In its absence, progress toward the elimination of child labour would likely have been patchy and ad hoc. Without the focused, door-to-door, grassroots approach of the project-created child protection and anti-child labour structures, significant change would not have occurred.

While it is possible to come to these broad conclusions, it is also worth noting that a counterfactual analysis is not particularly useful for projects aiming at social change. There is a widespread belief that it is essential to include a counterfactual analysis as part of any impact evaluation of a project or programme; however, this is the correct approach 'if (and only if) participants and non-participants have similar characteristics, i.e., if they are comparable *a priori*, had the treatment not been implemented'.⁵⁴ In general, however – and certainly for this evaluation – participants and non-participants in the project may differ in crucial ways.

In fact, it is impossible to develop an accurate estimate of what might have happened in the projects' absence because it is both difficult to predict and potentially involves so many other influences on people's attitudes and behaviour. It would be impossible to find a neighbouring (or other) population with exactly the same characteristics as a project area; the situation is too complex and dynamic, and there are numerous influences on social change that are fluid, on-going and impossible to separate out and measure. Recognising this, the evaluation's conclusions in relation to a counterfactual analysis are limited.

Counterfactual analysis has an inherently conservative bias. It presumes that the alternative to an intervention is to do nothing. The intervention's value is then attributed to the difference between the effects of the intervention and non-intervention, which can then be related to the intervention's cost. However, in a practical context, the choice is not between a particular approach and doing nothing, but rather how to address the problem.

⁵⁴ Loi, M., & Rodrigues, M. (2012). *A Note on the Impact Evaluation of Public Policies: The Counterfactual Analysis*. Ispra, Italy: Joint Research Centre. P. 11.

6.3. Concluding Remarks

Conclusions on changes outside of the intervention areas include:

- Some positive trends towards generating spread effects are discernible, and there is the potential for more if the projects are continued, developed and refined. It is crucial that the implementing organisations review their understanding of the CLFZ concept to ensure that negative spread effects do not occur.
- Spread effects go hand in hand with the establishment of targeted zones as role models. This is an area that needs more attention from implementing organisations in projects' future phases as they develop and refine their projects. Current indications of potential spread effects in Africa are random and ad hoc rather than resulting from planned and resourced efforts for change.
- It is essential for implementing partners to proactively work hand in hand with local and national governments so that the CLFZ concept is adopted as part of a sustainable programme approach. Currently, some governments are taking a backseat and effectively letting the implementing organisations perform their child labour-related work for them. Both implementing organisations and donors should actively discourage this, as ultimately the moral and legal onus should be on governments to eradicate child labour; it must be part of all implementing agencies' long-term approach, as it is for MVF in India.



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The football club of Segno Gebeya Primary School in Dessie Town, Ethiopia, poses for a photo. Before the start of Omar's Dream, some of these children had limited access to schooling or were high risk for dropping out. Access to school has given them the opportunity to learn, as well as engage in leisure activities, explore their leadership abilities and gain experience in sport and sportsmanship. Extracurricular activities such as sport are considered a powerful way to ensure retention in school and reduce dropout rates.

CHAPTER 7. SUSTAINABILITY

This chapter explores what should be sustained in relation to the CLFZ concept, as well as challenges to achieving sustainability. The chapter also explores how sustainability has been understood by Omar's Dream implementing partners and the implications of these different understandings. Lastly, the chapter reviews how (and the degree to which) sustainability has materialised in India and the lessons that can be learned from MVF's experience in India when pursuing the sustainability of interventions in the African context.

7.1. What Should Be Sustained?

When discussing sustainability, one must first ask, 'What should be sustained?' According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's Development Assistance Committee (OECD-DAC), sustainability 'is concerned with measuring whether the benefits of an activity are likely to continue after donor funding has been withdrawn. Projects need to be environmentally as well as financially sustainable. [To this end, key questions are]...To what extent did the benefits of a programme or project continue after donor funding ceased? What were the major factors which influenced the achievement or non-achievement of sustainability of the programme or project?'⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD]. (n.d.). *DAC Criteria for Evaluating Development Assistance*. Retrieved from <http://www.oecd.org/dac/evaluation/daccriteriaforevaluatingdevelopmentassistance.htm>

MVF maintains that a CLFZ project is sustainable when a community is able to independently meet the following criteria:

- Ensure that school retention is at least 95 per cent at all times.
- Ensure that any violation to children's rights receive adequate reaction.
- Ensure there is continuous community-level dialogue and mobilisation (e.g., meetings) that focuses on children and respect for their rights.
- Ensure that the local school is developed to ensure that it is able to care for children's developmental needs.⁵⁶

When these criteria are met, MVF would consider it appropriate to exit the area, although it recognises that a CLFZ should always strive for 100 per cent success (i.e., 100 per cent school retention and no children involved in labour). MVF also recognises that when the 95 per cent threshold has been reached, the community and government should be able to continue striving towards 100 per cent success unassisted.

For Omar's Dream, sustainability should refer to maintaining the progress achieved through the intervention after it ends. Hence, in the strictest sense, a CLFZ's sustainability should mean that child labour never returns. However, as highlighted in chapter 2, there are serious challenges to realistically achieving a CLFZ. Therefore, the question of CLFZ sustainability in the context of Omar's Dream should be understood as meaning:

- Activities and efforts are conducted at the community level that ensure progress in the reduction/eradication of child labour is not lost; and
- For cases in which child labour continues to exist, efforts continue to realise the objectives embedded in the Omar's Dream project and the CLFZ concept.

Although the aforementioned definitions for Omar's Dream are relatively straightforward, in the process of working on the projects and thinking about the future, a quite different understanding of sustainability appears to have emerged. Sustainability has come to mean finding new sources of external project support, something that contradicts both the project goals and the general understanding of the concept of sustainability. While understanding sustainability as successfully finding new funding sources demonstrates a limited understanding of sustainability, it is still important that we acknowledge it and explore the implications of these differences.

In Ethiopia and Ghana, programme achievements related to child participation in school depend on the sustainability of other elements – in Ethiopia, it means that income-generating activities and capacity would need to continue to be successful, while in Ghana (particularly in the Volta region), it means the economic and material incentives provided to facilitate children's participation in school (e.g., uniforms and school materials) must continue to ensure that children do not drop out. In Zimbabwe, sustainability has been understood as the need to secure other forms of support to continue promoting key elements of the project such as those related to school attendance.

The above examples illustrate that project activities are not compelling government structures at different levels to assume primary responsibility to enrol and retain children in school or that activities have been designed in a way that they cannot achieve – or do not intend to achieve – normative change in this regard. This is not surprising. Indeed, as we argue in

⁵⁶ Marsden. 2009. *MVF in India- a case study*. Hyderabad: MVF

chapter 2, it is questionable that a CLFZ can truly be attained in the first place. Achieving normative change in the space of a couple of years is also unrealistic. Based on its experience in India, MVF speculates that it takes at least a decade to ensure that families more consistently prioritise their children's education (see chapter 7.3).

In addition to attaining sustainability at the community level, MVF and some of the Omar's Dream implementing partners have actively engaged in national-level advocacy. In this instance, attaining sustainability means successfully gaining government support for initiatives in a way that ensures the government is able to move the issue forward. This could include new legislation coupled with systems and mechanisms to ensure that legislation is adequately enforced. Garnering national-level support for the CLFZ concept has been an objective in Uganda, Ghana and Kenya, experiencing high levels of success:

- In Ghana, the CLFZ concept has so permeated the policy vocabulary that it is now found in strategies and documents by the central government, national institutions such as the Trades Union Congress and international organisations such as the ILO.
- In Kenya, KAACR has made sustained efforts to gain national-level recognition for the CLFZ concept.
- In Uganda, UNATU has been using the CLFZ concept in both fighting child labour and promoting universal primary education. For instance, CLFZ language is used in all of its regional sensitization workshops. At the national level, Uganda's parliament has already passed a motion to adopt the CLFZ approach to inform an amendment to the Education Act.

In all of these instances, advocacy is a clear objective of the implementing partners. Indeed, KAACR's mandate is to promote children's rights; it has extensive experience lobbying the national government, and one of the project's objectives was to 'lobby and advocate for government and other organisations to adopt the area-based approach to eradicating child labour'. Unfortunately, in Ethiopia, legislation on charities and societies (Proclamation No. 621/2009) promulgated in February 2009 prohibits national NGOs from engaging in lobbying and advocacy activities and dealing with rights issues; consequently, the three implementing partners in Ethiopia were unable to perform lobbying and advocacy activities promoting the CLFZ concept at the regional and national levels.

The questions are then, 'When have these objective been reached, and what needs to occur to make efforts sustainable?' An important first step occurs when policies, strategies or legislation are drafted and accepted, but a long road still remains for effective policy implementation, and advocacy must shift in terms of operations and targets. The question of sustainability cannot simply be reduced to whether appropriate legislation is (and remains) in place; it requires mechanisms that can adequately ensure that policies, strategies and laws are not simply words on paper and that effective implementation is maintained in the long run.

Returning to the model proposed by MVF, intervention sustainability should focus primarily on ensuring that systems and mechanisms created or strengthened during the project remain active. These include:

1. **Mechanisms to stigmatise child labour:** These mechanisms may comprise many activities that are formal (driven by the government) and informal (driven by civil society). Examples might include community committees on children's rights, child labour monitoring systems that impose fines on employers and mechanisms to

support adequate wages for adults, among others. In each context, there will be different reasons that children are in labour. Actors must recognise the importance of addressing the causes of child labour and how gender plays into child labour dynamics, as well as ensure that programming adequately addresses gender concerns.

2. **Systems that promote and ensure the provision of adequate education:** These systems involve both government commitment and civil society efforts. The government must provide adequate education facilities; if they do not, communities and parents must be in a position to demand they are provided. Moreover, attendance must be regulated, and follow-up mechanisms must be put in place. Schools or communities – including parent associations – can drive these mechanisms.
3. **Systems to prevent early marriage and pregnancy, as well as support young mothers:** The government can play a key role by ensuring that marriage legislation prevents girls from marrying and that young mothers are able to attend school. The latter requires that young mothers are legally allowed to attend and that this legal right is uniformly implemented; it also includes ensuring that young mothers receive the support they need to attend school (for example, that schools have a nursery). The school itself can play a key role in educating against early marriage and early pregnancy, but this must be coupled with appropriate legislation that has the child's education and future at heart. Moreover, any government efforts must be echoed locally to ensure that they are enforced and that communities do not erode national-level efforts.

The manner in which any of these mechanisms are implemented may vary from one community to another, but ultimately the most important step is to recognise that elements that will help strengthen normative change must be sustained. If we start from the premise that normative change is what the CLFZ concept promotes – as well as understand that achieving normative change is a long-term process – then creating sustainable structures and mechanisms becomes key to success. How this is accomplished will depend on a series of contextual and practical factors (see chapters 3, 4 and 5).

So, perhaps the more relevant questions are: What needs to happen for the Omar's Dream projects to understand sustainability as perpetuating what has been achieved rather than perpetuating activities? What should have occurred early on (or did occur, in some cases) to establish systems and structures that could work independently once project activities ended? These questions are essential as we explore the opportunities for sustainability for any future iteration of Omar's Dream or future CLFZ initiatives.

7.2. What Fosters and What Threatens Sustainability?

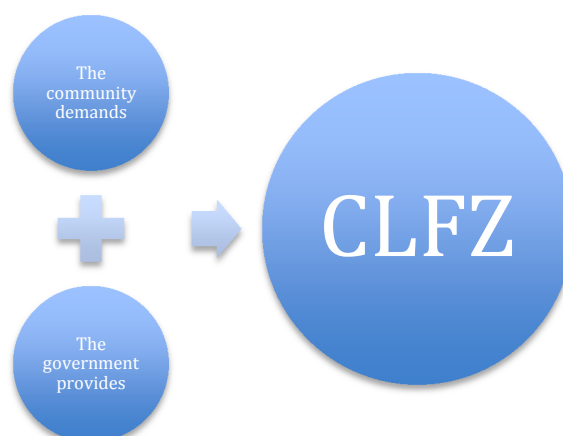
If we start with the understanding that sustainability means the ability to maintain and build on the intervention's achievements related to child labour and education, then the most insidious threat to establishing CLFZs is beneficiary communities' belief that the intervention is meant to provide them with material gain in exchange for their not using children in labour. To the contrary, an intervention's success relies on communities being amenable to the CLFZ model's underlying concept; this may mean that communities feel unable to meet the demands of a CLFZ, but are ready to engage in efforts and even make certain sacrifices to achieve these objectives. They must, therefore, understand any financial incentive as a stepping stone to buy time while they find new ways to adequately support their children's schooling without external material support. In short, from the start, there must be a clear

understanding that the community is the project's principal driver and ultimately determines the intervention's success or failure. This means that communities must feel responsible for the child labour they experience rather than seeing themselves as passive bystanders.

The second-most important threat to sustainability is the government itself. If the government is unable – or for whatever reason fails to – provide for children's basic educational and developmental needs, the projects will fail because there are insufficient or inadequate educational facilities. Essentially, the community must understand that education is important and demand adequate facilities; the government must be able to meet this demand. Similarly, the government must be committed and able to follow up on absenteeism and businesses that employ children, as well as provide the necessary educational infrastructure, develop curricula, and hire and pay teachers, among other elements.

In the long term, a CLFZ's sustainable success depends on two central components that are stackable (see figure 7.1). The failure of either of these elements will increase the difficulty in attaining – or coming close to attaining – a CLFZ multi-fold.

Figure 7.1. The Role of Government and the Community in Achieving a CLFZ



In countries such as Zimbabwe, for example, where the government does not adequately fund education, it is far harder for communities to ensure that children attend school. Indeed, Zimbabwe's harsh economic situation has led to an exodus of teachers from the country. However, even in less dramatic cases such as Kenya, Ethiopia, Uganda, Morocco and Ghana, governments' inability or unwillingness to make clear efforts to provide educational facilities that are able to ensure good-quality education are a principal threat to programme sustainability.

In India, some communities have circumvented the government's shortcomings by focusing their attention on the use of private schools. While these options are more costly, the community has come to prioritise education sufficiently to regard paying for their children's schooling as an acceptable burden. However, while positive in some ways, this phenomenon has also highlighted gender disparities. On the one hand, it shows that communities can, and do, shift priorities and become willing to invest in education. On the other, in some communities, the shift in valuing education is gender-specific. The education of boys is regarded as more important than the education of girls, and there is a much greater willingness to invest in boys' education. This means that while boys may be sent to private school, girls may be sent to (lower-standard) state schools or receive no education.

In countries such as Ghana and Ethiopia, where the government does invest in education,

schools are not always housed in facilities able to promote high-quality learning. Similarly, in Ethiopia, the increase in school enrolment has not been coupled with the expansion of educational resources; this means the overall quality of education has decreased, which threatens increased enrolment. In Kenya, some of the schools visited were very inadequate. There are many problems with low-quality education; in directly relation to the programme, it means that children are unlikely to advance economically from the situation to which their parents are so accustomed. This, in turn, may turn children away from education if it is seen as worthless and of marginal benefit with no long-term economic implications.

The third threat, which is clearly tied to beneficiaries' perceptions about programme benefits, is communities' perceptions of the implementing partner as the entity responsible for dealing with population ills – thereby absolving parents, and even governments, of their responsibilities. Tied to this may be the organisations' wish to remain an active contributor to the process indefinitely. In contrast, in India, MVF has a clear, known exit plan from the start and rigidly ensures that communities understand that MVF will not engage in areas where the community and the government are not able and willing to tackle the child labour challenge. MVF is a relatively small organisation that sees its role as supporting communities, and it is in a position to turn down communities that it does not believe have the necessary commitment to assume ownership of the CLFZ vision and to exit communities when it believes there is a sufficient foundation for progress or a lack of commitment.

In some cases in Africa, the implementing organisation is expected to continue to play a role at the community level. For example, a labour union (as in Ghana) or a teachers union (as in Morocco) has a role in the community regardless of the CLFZ initiative. In these cases, clearly delineating the rules of engagement and determining exit plans are far harder than has been the case for MVF, which can make a clean exit. This difficulty should not obscure the need for clear community ownership, however; rather, it means that implementing partners must think far more carefully about how to implement the project and delineate roles and responsibilities from the outset.

While a series of other threats to sustainability might be listed by Omar's Dream implementing partners, such as partners' inability to continue providing incentives and the loss of funding for current activities, these are not regarded as threats to sustainability, but rather as threats to the continuation of the project (as has been highlighted earlier in this chapter).

Additionally, it is extremely important to underscore that even under the best of circumstances – when a community is willing to take on CLFZ implementation and the government is willing and able to try to meet its obligations – creating the structures and mechanisms to ensure that a solid foundation for a CLFZ exists cannot happen overnight. As discussed in chapters 1 and 2, establishing a programme that is able to pursue social change is not a simple undertaking; from this perspective, the Omar's Dream objectives have been quite far-reaching. Hence, it could be argued that a fourth threat to sustainability has been the short lifespan of the projects in Africa to date.

7.3. The Indian Experience

We discussed MVF's experience in India earlier in this chapter; here, we look directly at whether MVF has attained sustainability and, if so, where and how. It is important to first note that MVF, as well as Hivos, regards areas as having attained a CLFZ status when they feel that mechanisms are in place to ensure that CLFZ objectives are attainable. This is reflected

by the exit criteria discussed in chapter 7.1.

In terms of whether MVF has attained sustainability, the short answer is ‘sometimes’. MVF has been able to put mechanisms in place aiming to eradicate child labour at the community level; it has coupled these efforts with consistent regional- and national-level advocacy, as well as made clear headway in many efforts that aim to reduce, and ultimately eradicate, child labour. However, a sustainable outcome has not been automatically achieved nor has it been the result of every intervention in which MVF has been involved. So, what contextual factors and mechanisms have contributed to sustainability, and what threats to sustainability have existed?

Clearly, many contextual factors may contribute to sustainability, and these may change from place to place. However, some contextual factors deserve special mention. This includes the increase in adults’ wages coupled with the massive reduction in employed children; in general, it was found that when adult wages were increased, the use of children as labourers had fewer advantages. An additional factor was popular demand for education facilities; areas in which education facilities existed or in which communities were successful in demanding adequate educational facilities, children were less likely to return to work.

MVF has learned over the years that a number of mechanisms enable sustainability – chiefly, the impermanent nature of MVF’s work. When MVF begins activities in a community, there is a clear understanding from the start that they will exit in the near future. This is a central component to sustainability because it forces the community to take ownership of activities from the beginning. Still, it is important to note that communities where MVF has worked and exited feel they could benefit from some (even minor) MVF support. Other elements that have been central to sustainability include the regularization of activities introduced by MVF. For example, in India, monitoring school enrolment has been formalized and regulated by the government. State law has also regularized other agencies introduced and/or supported by the MVF initiative. In short, activities initiated in connection with CLFZ engagement have a stronger potential for sustainability when they are adopted and regularized by the state.

There are a number of threats to sustainability deserving mention as well. In India, the following nine factors were consistently observed as eroding sustainability efforts.

- Irregular attendance in school.⁵⁷
- Absence of a consistent legal and policy environment.
- Tracking of migratory children.
- Unaffordable costs of private education and concerns about quality in government schools.
- Concerns with higher education.
- Premature withdrawal of the program.

⁵⁷ Community members’ (teachers’ and communities’) estimates of irregularity vary from under 10 per cent in villages with stronger MVF program presence to 30 per cent in places where it is weaker. According to attendance figures provided by the MVF Bihar team, model school attendance in Bihar in December 2014 varied between 73 and 98 per cent. Increases in attendance percentages were observed from May to December 2014. In Bihar, 75 per cent attendance is essential to achieve support programme benefits; 80 to 85 per cent attendance is considered equal to nearly universal education. See: Sinha, A. (2014, June 11). Education for All: Fixing Classroom Processes. *Ideas for India*. Retrieved from http://www.ideasforindia.in/article.aspx?article_id=298

- Lack of institutional preparedness and willingness to deal with the increasing demand for education.
- Frequent transfers of state officials interrupting continuity.
- Delays and systemic failures in ensuring the delivery of welfare benefits.⁵⁸

In addition, gender discrimination also consistently threatened sustainability, with girls more susceptible to labour because they are more likely to remain uneducated and/or be the victims of early marriage. This means gender disparity requires special attention.

How do the lessons learned in India translate to the Omar's Dream context? A clear exit plan, or at least exit idea, should be in place from the start. Additionally, the community and authorities must adequately share programme ownership and responsibility; this includes passing and enforcing appropriate legislation. Lastly, it is important to pay attention to the gendered aspect of child labour, including through activities that clearly explore and respond to this issue.

7.4. Concluding Remarks

Our findings show that the sustainability of the gains made through the CLFZ projects is possible, as MVF's experience in India has demonstrated (see chapter 7.3). However, it requires a commitment from the community, government and implementing partner. The community must be committed to keeping structures active and engaged to ensure that child labour continues to be reduced or its eradication maintained. The government must be committed – and provide the practical resources necessary – to ensure that children can be taken out of labour and educated. The implementing partner must have a clear exit plan from the start and refuse to engage in efforts that support dependency; the latter will be the hardest element for some Omar's Dream implementers that are interested in remaining active partners to communities due to their vested interests (for example, GAWU in Ghana).

However, this does not mean that the implementing organisation cannot remain in the community or involved in project activities. It does mean that such a relationship requires careful consideration from the start. A solid ToC can better guide implementing partners on the ground. Additionally, it is important to highlight that after a three-year project (as with Omar's Dream), it would be unreasonable to expect that gains made are sustainable. However, the findings do suggest that there have been limited efforts to create a solid foundation for sustainability.

⁵⁸ This is of particular concern for very poor children, whose parents cannot even afford to supply them with learning materials. (Midday meals, textbooks and maintenance are provided free of cost in government schools.)



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Members of a women's group in Chimvella, India, pose for a photo. One of the cornerstones of CLFZ projects is community mobilization. In India, this has included the involvement of a variety of male and female community groups of all ages. The Chimvella women's group's commitment to the CLFZ concept has been instrumental in ensuring project success and sustainability, particularly through its efforts to ensure girls in the village are educated and withdrawn from domestic work.

CHAPTER 8. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This evaluation's terms of reference require the team to 'describe and document the CLFZ-approach and critically study it, or rather its applications (i.e. the projects and portfolios...), to find out whether they work (or not) and how and why they work, and whether their results are sustainable'.

Why undertake this study now? Because with the recent spread of the CLFZ approach, there is an increasing need to demonstrate it works. But as the terms of reference also state, 'there is no single "it", no "one-size-fits-all" version of the CLFZ approach'. In each context, it comes to life and is applied in varying forms and with varying components that depend on the local characteristics, possibilities and understandings of the implementing organisations. This study aims explicitly to capture this 'diversity in uniformity'.

The evaluation confirms this diversity in approaches and calls for more explicit recognition of context, as well as more tailored application of the CLFZ approach in response to local challenges. At the same time, the evaluation also identifies opportunities to learn from experience, as well as from the universal features of the model in which the evidence suggest that the same recipe actually does apply everywhere.

This report began with a description of outcomes and moved to a review of the projects and their effectiveness. It then discussed context, causality, spread effects and sustainability. The

report aims to respond to the questions posed in the terms of reference⁵⁹; to ensure this, we address each question ‘in a concluding manner’ and refer to areas of the report in which more information is available.

8.1. Conclusions on Effectiveness

Question 1. How were the various intervention areas characterised at the start of the interventions (in terms of children in child labour/children in and out of school) in quantitative and qualitative terms?

Each project has its own history and criteria that it used to decide which geographic area(s) to work in and thus many approaches were used. Many times, the implementing organisations had a history of working in a geographic area; at other times, they identified areas based on needs and opportunities or took an experimental approach and worked in different areas. As the projects started, the organisations conducted baseline surveys and visits to estimate the extent of child labour and set targets on how many children to remove from child labour. They met with school administrations to plan how the children would enter the school system, as well as establish organisational structures. There were quantitative targets on removing children from work, but in other areas, targets and achievements were described qualitatively.

In the report. Chapter 3.1 contains a comparative study of project objectives, and the country case studies have detailed information in their chapters 3, sections 1 and 2.

Question 2. How did these areas compare to neighbouring areas and to the national situation in their country?

There is no clear answer to this question. Some of the intervention areas are impoverished and caught in a nexus of low growth, illiteracy, poverty, and lack of water and sanitation; others are more similar to the average in their country or are even somewhat better off. Out of the 37 areas visited, 13 were estimated to be below the national average in most dimensions of development. There were no baseline studies in adjacent areas and hence no verified knowledge of their child labour or school enrolment. However, the evaluation team’s visits to neighbouring areas indicate that child labour does exist and has not been reduced as much as in project areas, although school dropout rates have decreased in some neighbouring areas.

In the report. Chapter 6 discusses national development patterns in school enrolment, education quality and child labour, and it also presents some findings from visits to neighbouring communities. Chapter 4.1 discusses the policy environment and the links among policy, legislative reform and progress on the ground.

Question 3. What have been the interventions of the implementing organisations?

In all countries, implementing partners have sought to create areas that are child labour-free and where children are attending school. Some explicitly use CLFZ language to describe the envisaged programme outcome. Additional elements captured by the main objectives include, for example improving the quality of basic education; addressing cross-cutting issues such as HIV/AIDS, children’s participation and harmful traditional practices; creating awareness on education as a human right; lobbying for the government and other organisations to adopt the area-based approach; removing children from labour and placing

⁵⁹ The questions below are from page six of the terms of reference, also found in annex 1.

them in full-time, formal, quality education; social mobilization and awareness raising on the legal framework governing education and entitlements of children; institution-building to facilitate the monitoring of children's rights; strengthening school management committees on their role and responsibilities; and the provision of training and resource support to stakeholders to facilitate legal framework implementation. Many projects had specific sub-objectives to support the main objectives, such as economically empowering targeted families, promoting adult literacy, and establishing and strengthening trade unions structures.

In the report. Chapter 3 presents the similarities and differences among countries and project areas. Each of the seven summary case study sheets in annex 3 has basic information on the projects in each country.

Question 4. What has changed in the situation described above since the start of the interventions?

The extent of change varied considerably among the 37 areas visited; this leads to the conclusion that significant variation occurs in the areas not visited. We assume that our selection criteria mean we visited a typical sample of 48 per cent (37 of 77) of the areas covered by the project. In the areas that have made good progress toward the objectives of a CLFZ, significant numbers of children have been removed from child labour and enrolled in schools, and many have received counselling and support to facilitate their education. Where children continue to work, they do so part time. There has been normative change in the communities, and our interviews indicate that such changes have been extensive. Organisational structures have been established to monitor child labour and continue efforts when the projects end.

In the report. The country reports contain the most detailed descriptions of how communities have changed. The last section of chapter 3 has a summary description with country-level data, and table 3.8 provides a summary of the extent of changes in each country.

Question 5. To what degree can the intervention areas now be called 'child labour-free zones'?

One of this report's main conclusions is that no area can actually be called a CLFZ. The criteria set by MVF, used by the Omar's Dream project and replicated at the country level are very strict. We doubt they can be fully realised anywhere. Even in areas where child rights are relatively well respected, as in Sweden, it would be impossible to find a municipality that would qualify 100 per cent. The CLFZ's criteria and concept constitute a formidable and ambitious vision, and 22 of the areas visited have made considerable progress toward this (unattainable) vision (see table 5.1).

In the report. Chapter 2 addresses the concept in detail and discusses achievements against the target. The topic surfaces again in the last section of chapter 3 and in chapter 5, as well as in chapter 7 since this is also a question of sustainability.

Question 6. How do the changes in the intervention areas compare to changes in neighbouring areas and to the national situation in the country?

The good news is that widespread changes are occurring related to ending child labour and increasing school enrolment. International agreements in recent decades demonstrate normative change at the global level. Corporate social responsibility initiatives and fair trade have put pressure on subcontractors, and globalisation has had positive effects. Data on increasing school enrolment show general progress and that the target areas do not differ

much from other communities. However, the consolidated efforts to reduce child labour make areas where the CLZF model is implemented different, and the actual numbers of children withdrawn from labour do not seem to be replicated elsewhere.

In the report. Chapter 6 discusses national development patterns in terms of school enrolment, education quality and child labour, and also presents findings from visits to neighbouring communities.

Question 7. Which internal factors – i.e., pertaining to the intervention – may explain the findings?

On one hand, each project's custom approach has meant that some of the reasons why children work could be targeted in each area; the flexibility of the Omar's Dream approach has been a contributing factor to its success. On the other hand, there is also a standardised set of criteria for what constitutes a CLFZ and hence the target. Focusing on the CLFZ concept without 'diluting' it too much is closely associated with achievement. In the successful project areas, there has been a balance between adapting to context and replicating the MVF model.

In the report. Chapter 5 applies QCA to a set of internal factors that characterise the interventions. The chapter points to interacting factors, as well as to factors that can be seen as either necessary or sufficient for successful outcomes.

Question 8. Which external factors – i.e., pertaining to the context – may explain the findings?

The evaluation has identified a number of external factors that are significant in explaining the findings. Generally, there is no evidence that the CLFZ approach cannot work in some contexts. Even areas that would be considered difficult (such as those with high poverty, migration, income inequality, low literacy and poor health status) can and do show progress toward fulfilling the CLFZ criteria. It requires adaptation, and when we look at the subcomponents, it is clear that implementing organisations could purposively adapt to further address challenges and difficult conditions on the ground. It is obvious at times that the conditions needed for some criteria to be reached are simply not in place and the project goals ought to be changed.

In the report. Chapter 4 addresses context and identifies how certain factors can impact the project. Chapter 5 analyses the associations between contextual factors and outcomes, including in combination with implementation.

Question 9. Was the intervention necessary – could the result have been achieved without it?

There is an overall pattern of change in which anti-child labour norms are being disseminated and adapted widely; positive change is occurring in many of the targeted areas. One of the strongest predictors of successful outcomes is that there have been prior projects to end child labour in the area, and so the present intervention is continuation of organised efforts to end child labour. While that makes it more difficult to attribute change to the Omar's Dream projects, it is in itself a positive development. If many actors are pushing for the same change, the chances of success increase.

In the report. Chapters 5 and 6 discuss the counterfactual situation and analyse causality with the help of the QCA method. Chapter 1 has a section on limits to the method.

8.2. Conclusions on Sustainability

Question 10. Describe the historical portfolio of MVF's CLFZ interventions.

This report has a chapter dedicated exclusively to sustainability, which discusses the experiences in India in the context of the emerging changes in the African project areas.

In the report. Chapter 7 covers sustainability, and the India country case study provides more information.

Question 11. To what degree have the CLFZs created in the past by MVF persisted (flourished/withered), i.e., to what degree do they still have the characteristics that made them a CLFZ?

The project sites from which MVF withdrew many years ago have not demonstrated significant attrition in terms of dropouts or irregular attendance. On the contrary, they have maintained the achievement of removing children from labour. An overall significant reduction in child labour is reported, and school enrolment is regularised, indicating that normative change in communities continues.

The only difficult-to-assess area of achievement is spread effects. Some areas generate interest, receive visits and appear to be in the process of becoming national role models. In addition, it would probably be ineffective – and even destructive – if all areas played that role. However, while we certainly recognise that these communities have made good progress toward the CLFZ ideal per the seven criteria, we maintain that it is impossible to fully meet these criteria.

In the report. The India country case study contains detailed information on progress, opportunities and challenges.

Question 12. Are there indications of other changes in these zones beyond the objectives of the CLFZ interventions, which may be related to/triggered by the past interventions of MVF?

Several years have passed since some of the MVF interventions ended, and the evaluation team only visited a small sample of MVF project areas. During the years since the end of MVF engagement, some areas have benefitted from overall development patterns and seen growth and reduced poverty. Others have lagged behind for a variety of reasons. In some areas, other NGOs were working toward strengthening women's self-help groups, although overall, there was no significant NGO presence in the majority of sites visited in Telengana.

In the report. The India country case study discusses previous MVF interventions.

Question 13. To what degree have the CLFZs influenced neighbouring areas?

We found the CLFZs have not influenced neighbouring areas as much as expected, mainly because not as much effort and thought has gone toward influencing neighbours. The projects were implemented over a short time period and had a long list of activities to complete in the targeted areas. To reach out and influence others requires much more planning and targeted action than has been available thus far. Hence, while there is potential for spread effect it has happened in an ad hoc manner more by chance than as a planned result of an intervention.

In the report. Chapter 3 presents results related to influencing other areas, and chapter 6 discusses spread effects.

Question 14. What could explain the findings under these previous questions?

The CLFZ project is brought to areas by external agents and (in many cases) is successfully implemented over three years. It is unrealistic to expect that communities subjected to an external intervention would reach out to other communities while they are still initiating change themselves. The target areas do not yet have a track record of results and experiences that would help them convince others. The project has generated interest in other areas, and some project areas have received visits to gain more information. But if spread effects are to be realised, there is a need for careful planning and campaigning, setting targets, identifying areas likely to yield successes and mobilising support. A participatory approach was key to success in the areas we visited and will be equally critical when the model travels to other areas.

In the report. The question has not been addressed in other parts of the report, and this response is somewhat speculative.

8.3. Recommendations

During the three years of Omar's Dream implementation, the project organisations have taken the concept of CLFZ to a large number of communities and several thousand children have moved from child labour to the formal education system. But child labour still exists. The project's purpose is, therefore, still relevant and its track record (with the accumulated experience) demonstrates this cause needs further support.

Our observations focus on six aspects of Omar's Dream:

1. The CLFZ concept.

The evaluation suggests that there are four aspects to bear in mind when a CLFZ concept is developed:

- Recognise that a CLFZ is an ideal vision of a future state – something to be strived for rather than practically attained; this could allow for even more ambitious goal formulation (100 per cent of children in school, for example).
- Review the seven criteria and consider removing those that do not actually relate to the CLFZ itself but to neighbouring communities. It is illogical to have a criterion for one area that depends on what happens in other areas.
- Consider defining short-, medium- and long-term goals to monitor and mark progress.
- Specify process criteria on what it means to strive to become a CLFZ. Additionally, when projects end, hold a ceremony to hand over ownership and responsibility to relevant communities and government entities. This should replace the current focus on declaring areas to be CLFZs.

2. Project implementation, including how it is anchored in a planning process.

The evaluation has found the ToC quite abstract and of little practical applicability. A ToC needs to explain how the interventions lead to the expected change, what assumptions are being made and if any other activities need to be undertaken. There are many subject areas in which more specific planning and budgeting are needed. The notion of a ToC might sound abstract, but in practice, it is about specifying what happens at a concrete level and whether activities are anchored in a ToC, log-frame or other format. This type of detailed planning must explain:

- How contact with employers to remove children from labour ascertains that there will not be a renewed effort to find other children for work.
- How communities sustain monitoring practices to make sure children go to school.
- How efforts to support livelihoods through business development, economic counselling and agricultural outreach lead to sustained change.
- How neighbouring areas will be reached to motivate and generate change there.
- How a dissemination strategy could be realised, and what the consequences would be for the choice of implementation areas.

3. Establishing baselines and monitoring progress.

This evaluation's starting point is that there is an increasing need for accountability. The projects have qualitative and quantitative targets, and the quantitative targets are particularly important and seem to be used frequently to demonstrate the projects' merits. Still, on the first attempt to verify them, there is little evidence of achievements even within a very wide margin of failure. In the future:

- Implementing organisations need to establish accurate baseline data on school enrolment, dropout levels, children at risk and children at work that is disaggregated by sex.
- Implementing organisations need to develop systems for qualitative and quantitative data collection and verification.
- There is a need to monitor that data is accurate.

4. Developing approaches to make the project effective in a specific context.

Omar's Dream has generated experience from at least a hundred different project sites. In most, there has been some local adaptation to context, but this is seldom recorded; at times, it can be implicit while also being crucial for success. The evaluation documents some of these responses, but there are many more experiences to be harvested. Implementing organisations could facilitate such learning by identifying contextual factors and how to address them as part of the project design phase, as well as anchoring these approaches in their planning processes or ToCs. The following can facilitate learning:

- Organizing thematic exchanges on, for example, coping with specific context factors such high migration, high levels of HIV/AIDS, and perceived corruption.
- Developing the communication tools to share experiences within the network and with external agencies.
- Finding innovative ways to share experience and learn (for example, through 'fairs', narratives, photo and film), while remembering failures.

5. Taking the projects to scale.

Every child counts, and the projects – except in India – only scratch the surface of the child labour problem. It is necessary to scale up the efforts, which requires developing new strategies and approaches. In India efforts to bring the effort to scale are being made possible through the enactment of the Right to Education Act. While in other countries similar efforts have not yet materialised, in Kenya there are plans to introduce a national child labour policy in 2016. Still, this evaluation cannot point to successful efforts because they haven't happened yet. It is important to identify key areas in each country to become examples or 'models' and replicate these in other areas. A focus on maintaining a small number of models should be encouraged; it is neither feasible nor desirable to have multiple models. Further, model areas should be geographically accessible to maintain visibility and high standards on maintaining CLFZ principles and promoting positive spread effects. If and when projects are scaled up, it will be important to document and learn from the process.

6. Developing gender-sensitive approaches to child labour.

Gender analysis is not adequately addressed in the projects. Child labour is a social ill that affects girls and boys differently, and hence solutions may also vary. We have found that not only do boys and girls perform different labour, but popular beliefs on the utility of schooling children is also gender-sensitive. It would therefore be unsurprising if the activities to remove children from labour, ensure children receive an adequate education and ensure children can profit from their education vary by gender. As a starting point, projects need to:

- Incorporate gender analysis into baseline studies.
- Present gender-disaggregated monitoring data.
- Develop gender-sensitive approaches to retrieving children from labour, incorporating them in education and preventing drop-out from schools.

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ANNEX 1. TERMS OF REFERENCE

Terms of Reference

For an External Evaluation of

Child Labour Free Zones (CLFZ) programmes,

as implemented in India, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Zimbabwe, Ghana and Morocco.

1. Background – creating Child Labour Free Zones (CLFZ)

Since 1991 the the Mamidipudi Venkatarangaiya Foundation (MVFoundation or MVF) in India has been working to eradicate Child Labour. MVF addresses all forms of child labour, and not only attacks the so-called “worst forms” of child labour⁶⁰.

According to MVF’s analysis the relationship between poverty and child labour is indirect at best. Child labour is found in non-poor families and, inversely, there are poor families who send their children to school and do not involve them in child labour.

Not only MVF’s analysis of child labour stands out. So does its approach to eliminating it. The approach developed and applied by MVF is an *area based approach*, which aims to create so called *Child Labour Free Zones (CLFZ)*, areas where all children go to school and are out of work. For MVF eradicating child labour and the right to education are two sides of the same coin.

MVF’s “Theory of Change” is laid down in the “*Handbook for organizations for the ‘area-based approach’ to eliminate child labour and universalise education (2008)*”⁶¹. This approach combines a strong focus on community awareness raising and organizing (about the importance for children to be in school and out of work) with support activities for parents and teachers/schools to integrate all children in the formal education system.

The central outcome of this area based approach is a *Child Labour Free Zone*, in which

- The sustained norm within a community has become that ‘no child should work’,
- The school is developed as an institution that takes care of all aspects of a child’s development,
- Community takes ownership of child rights,
- Neighboring communities change their norms,
- Institutions are sensitized to reduce the barriers to communities changing their norm to ‘no child should work’,
- All children are in schools and enjoy their right to education in the project area,
- The project area becomes a resource centre for all other areas in the country.

MVF has developed its practice in the Indian states of Andhra Pradesh/Telangana, from where it has spread and also inspired other actors. Along with the spread and multiplication of its approach MVF has assumed different roles, from direct implementer to capacity builder and trainer of others.

Since 1995 MVF’s work has been supported –financially and otherwise- by Hivos, the

⁶⁰ www.mvfindia.in

⁶¹ the Handbook can be downloaded here:

http://www.google.nl/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&frm=1&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CCEQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.hivos.nl%2Fdut%2Fcontent%2Fdownload%2F82617%2F745489%2Ffile%2FMVF%2520Handbook%2520Area%2520Based%2520Approach%2520may%25202008.pdf&ei=QnM_VKzdHMXQ7AbeoIQBA&usg=AFQjCNE7MUbmhASYbOGJN_GCz7uxUS85gQ&sig2=xoBOc8ueUfluuyriC2Spbw

Humanistic Institute for Development Cooperation from the Netherlands⁶². Through Hivos, other Dutch and European NGOs joined this support initiative for MVF's work⁶³. The Dutch organisations established an ongoing joint campaign under the name *Stop Child Labour – School is the best place to work*⁶⁴, organizing public awareness raising and lobby & advocacy work on Child Labour, in the Netherlands and in Europe⁶⁵.

The members of the Stop Child Labour Campaign (SCL) have also promoted the further expansion of the CLFZ-concept outside India, both to Africa and Latin America. As a result of this a growing number of organisations outside India has adopted the CLFZ concept and is applying it in practice. These expansion initiatives are a collaborative effort of the above mentioned Dutch organisations, African partner organisations and MVF in its capacity of advisor and capacity builder, now at an international level. As a result of these efforts, a community of practice and learning has been emerging and growing around the concept of CLFZ.

The SCL campaign has been quite successful in influencing Northern and Southern policy-makers' viewpoints on Child Labour and how to eradicate it, and in attracting funding for the spreading of the application of the CLFZ approach. In 2012 the Dutch Postcode Lottery approved funding for *Omars Dream*, a programme for the creation of CLFZs in Ethiopia, Uganda, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Ghana and Morocco, coordinated by Hivos⁶⁶ ⁶⁷. In 2014 the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs approved funding for the programme *Out of Work and into School: joint efforts toward Child Labour Free Zones*.

2. This evaluation

With this increasing appeal, and in the result oriented climate of international cooperation, comes an increasing demand for evidence that shows the effectiveness and sustainability of the CLFZ approach. This is all the more challenging as the CLFZ approach has a number of unique features distinguishing it from other approaches toward Child Labour (area based; focusing on all forms of child labour; targeting community norms as central outcome).

Hivos decided to invest in a major external evaluation exercise of the CLFZ- approach, its effectiveness and sustainability. This exercise will focus on two major 'expressions' of the CLFZ approach: its oldest and one of its most recent i.e. MVF's work in India and the *Omars Dream* programme in Africa. The Dutch and African participants in Omars Dream agreed with Hivos' proposal for evaluating the programme. Regarding MVF it turned out that Stichting Kinderpostzegels Nederland (SKN) and Hivos had similar thoughts regarding the usefulness of an evaluation of the work of MVF, for which they decided to join forces. MVF welcomed the initiative.

The present Terms of Reference guide this evaluation, which focuses on different and complementary aspects of the CLFZ approach.

⁶² Historically and in terms of financial commitments, MVF is one of Hivos' top partner organisations. Over time Hivos has disbursed more than € 9 million to MVF's work.

⁶³ <http://www.stopchildlabour.org/Stop-Childlabour/Who-we-are/The-Stop-Child-Labour-Coalition2>

⁶⁴ www.stopchildlabour.org

⁶⁵ In the context of the European network Alliance 2015

⁶⁶ Omars Dream programme proposal for Dutch Postcode Lottery:

http://www.google.nl/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&frm=1&source=web&cd=4&ved=0CDcQFjAD&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.globalcampaignforeducation.nl%2F%2Flibrary%2Fdownload%2FDsiRWeRNGCU8F7TxjzooPtVxUaats2Oo2%2Fomar's%2Bdre am%255B1%255D.pdf%3Fformat%3Dsave_to_disk%26ext%3D.pdf%3Freturn_uri%3D%252Fk%252Fnews%252Fview%252F873360%252F583957%252F12-juni-internationale-dag-tegen-kinderarbeid.html&ei=3yBCVK2IOYGY7gbqi4GYCA&usg=AFQjCNHws-iqrv64SPiV1VKhgE_Ym-zOfg

⁶⁷ Omars Dream progress report: <http://www.stopchildlabour.org/Stop-Childlabour/News-Items/Second-Annual-report-Omars-Dream>

2.1. Purpose: Intended use/intended users

The organisations promoting the CLFZ concept are the intended users of the findings of this evaluation. They will use them in at least two ways:

- they will use them for improving their future programmes & interventions. In other words this evaluation initiative explicitly aims to serve the learning community on CLFZ,
- they will use the findings to account for the results of their programmes to their backdonors.

Intended users are the members of the above mentioned CLFZ community of practice and learning, both the implementing and the supporting organisations. They are:

Country		Implementing organisations ⁶⁸	Supporting organisations
Omar s Drea m	Ethiopia	-ADAA –African Development Aid Assistance -WCAT-WABE Children’s Aid and Training -FSCE-Forum on Sustainable Child Empowerment	SKN
	Kenya	-KAACR – Kenya Alliance for the Advancement of Children’s Rights	Icco
	Uganda	-ANPPCAN – African Network for the Protection and Prevention against Child Abuse and Neglect -KIN-Kids in Need	Hivos
	Zimbabwe	-CACLAZ-Coalition Against Child Labour in Zimbabwe	Hivos
	Ghana	-GAWU- General Agricultural Workers’Union	FNV
	Morocco	-SNE- Syndicat National de l’Enseignement	FNV
India		-MV Foundation	Hivos SKN

2.2. Object & Scope of the evaluation.

The central object of the evaluation is the **CLFZ- approach**. The evaluation will consist of two studies. One study will focus on *current* efforts to implement Child Labour Free Zones, in Africa and in India. The other study will focus on the *historical* portfolio of MV Foundation in India, since MVFoundation started its work of creating CLFZs.

Africa + India	1. The current portfolio of projects being implemented since 2012- under the umbrella of the <i>Omar’s Dream programme</i> in various African countries.
	2. The project “Quality Education to Achieve Universal Retention in Government Schools” currently implemented – since 2010- by MVF in Bihar, and supported by SKN ⁶⁹ ,
India	3. The historical portfolio of child labour projects implemented by MVF in India, since 1991 .

2.3. Objective of the evaluation

The objective of the evaluation is to describe and document the CLFZ-approach and critically study it, or rather its applications (i.e. the projects and portfolios mentioned above), to find out whether they work (or not) and how and why they work, and whether their results are sustainable.

⁶⁸ <http://www.stopchildlabour.org/Stop-Childlabour/Who-we-are/Our-partners-worldwide>

⁶⁹ <http://mvfindia.in/portfolio/quality-education-to-achieve-universal-retention-in-government-schools/>

As was indicated before, with the spread of the CLFZ approach has come the increasing need to demonstrate that “it” works. It is very important to stress, however, that there is no single “it”, no “one-size-fits-all” version of the CLFZ approach. The CLFZ approach has been clearly demarcated by MVF, but it is not a fixed recipe. In each different context it comes to life and is applied in varying form and with varying components, depending on the local context and possibilities and on the understanding of the implementing organization. It is the explicit aim of this evaluation that this “diversity in uniformity” be captured in the study.

Of the two studies in this evaluation, one will focus on the **effectiveness** criterium; the other study will focus on the criterium of **sustainability**. In each study the **units of analysis** are (prospective) *Child Labour Free Zones*.

Evaluation Criterium	Country	Implementing organisations	No. of CLFZs=units of analysis
Effectiveness	Ethiopia	-ADAA –African Development Aid Assistance	8
		-WCAT-WABE Children’s Aid and Training	7
		-FSCE-Forum on Sustainable Child Empowerment	2
	Kenya	-KAACR – Kenya Alliance for the Advancement of Children’s Rights	8
	Uganda	-ANPPCAN – African Network for the Protection and Prevention against Child Abuse and Neglect	2
		-KIN-Kids in Need	2
	Zimbabwe	-CACLAZ-Coalition Against Child Labour in Zimbabwe	1
Ghana	-GAWU- General Agricultural Workers’Union	7	
Morocco	-SNE- Syndicat National de l’Enseignement	1	
India	-MV Foundation-project “ <i>Quality Education to Achieve Universal Retention in Government Schools</i> ”	16 Panchayats	
Sustainability	India	-MV Foundation – historical portfolio	All, as far as documented by MVF

Definitions

In this evaluation “Effectiveness” and “Sustainability” are understood in the following way, in line with the OECD –DAC definitions:

- Effectiveness is about the relationship between Results and Objectives of an intervention.
- Sustainability is about the permanence of the results of an intervention, after the intervention has ended.

2.4. Evaluation Questions

The evaluation will answer the following evaluation questions

-Effectiveness study

- How were the various intervention areas characterized at the start of the interventions, in terms of children in child labour/children in & out of school, in quantitative and qualitative terms?
- How did these areas compare to neighboring areas, and to the national situation in their country?
- What have been the interventions of the implementing organizations?
- What has changed in the situation described above since the start of the interventions?
- To what degree can the intervention areas now be called Child Labour Free Zones?
- How do the changes in in the intervention areas compare to changes in neighboring areas, and to the national situation in the country?
- Which internal factors –i.e. pertaining to the intervention- may explain the findings?
- Which external factors – i.e. pertaining to the context- may explain the findings?
- Was the intervention necessary, could the result have been achieved without it?

-Sustainability study

- Describe the historical portfolio of MVF's CLFZ interventions.
- To what degree have the CLFZs created in the past by MVF persisted (flourished / withered), i.e. to what degree do they still have the characteristics that made them a CLFZ?
- Are there indications of other changes in these zones, beyond the objectives of the CLFZ interventions, which may be related to/triggered by the past interventions of MVF?
- To what degree have the CLFZs influenced neighboring areas?
- What could explain the findings under these previous questions?

3. Answering the evaluation questions – the organization of the evaluation

3.1. How –methods and phasing

-Effectiveness study

Evaluation object and evaluation questions call for a *comparative yet context-specific* approach. The evaluation will consist of a series of *CLFZ case studies* based on a general evaluation framework.

Each case will be studied in its own right and context-specifically, but the findings from all cases will also be compared –with each other and with the approach as developed by MVF- in a synthesis. The evaluation will answer the questions for all of the units of analysis (i.e. each intervention area).

The evaluation questions have clearly *quantitative* and *qualitative* aspects: talking about school enrollment and children out of work makes little sense without talking numbers. Calling an area a *Child Labour Free Zone* is foremost depending on the prevalent norm in the community about the unacceptability of Child Labour, but obviously that is not only a qualitative statement and has to be expressed in numbers as well.

All cases will be studied. All countries will be visited. A number of cases will be studied more in-depth. In-depth study will focus on a sample of cases that will cover as much as possible the variety of contexts and approaches represented in the work of the implementing organizations. The Bihar project will be one of the in-depth case studies. The final proposal for African in-depth case studies will be developed in the inception phase and argued in the inception report.

-Sustainability study

The first step of this study will be to describe –as completely as possible- the study's object: the full historical portfolio of MVF CLFZ interventions.

The study will try to answer the evaluation questions on the basis of data held by MVF. This information will be complemented/triangulated with additional data-collection by the evaluation team. This additional data collection is expected to include a number of case studies.

The evaluation will start with an **inception phase** in which the selected evaluation team elaborates its original proposal, on the basis of documentation to be provided and interviews with stakeholders.

Their *inception report* will specify

- the precise objects of the evaluation,
- the theory of change of the studied interventions,
- the indicators to be used,
- data sources to be used,
- data collection methods,
- methods of analysis, both of the individual projects and comparatively.
- the sampling procedure to be applied and the sample proposed for in-depth case studies.

The inception report must be approved by Hivos before the actual research phase will start.

The **research phase** will lead to three reports:

1. On effectiveness, presenting the findings of each & all the cases studied, and a comparative synthesis,
2. On sustainability, based on the findings on the MVF portfolio,
3. A brief reflection on the CLFZ-approach, providing an executive summary of the two studies and interpreting their findings.

Draft case study findings will be presented to and discussed with the responsible implementing organisations before they are integrated in the main reports.

3.2. Who – Evaluation Team

Hivos is inviting proposals covering the entire Terms of Reference. This means we are looking for an evaluation team that integrates research capacity for Africa as well as for India. Proposals should consist of a technical and financial proposal responding to these Terms of Reference.

Proposals must convincingly demonstrate the team's:

- a) Evaluation expertise,
- b) Subject matter expertise, in terms of child labour, and understanding of the social dynamics involved the CLFZ approach,
- c) Track record of evaluations in Africa and India,
- d) Correct understanding of the Terms of Reference,
- e) Creative approach toward answering the Evaluation Questions, particularly showing:
 - how Qualitative and Quantitative study will be combined,
 - data can be collected at community level,
 - cases will be compared,
 - how the 'attribution' question will be addressed,
- f) Capacity & flexibility to implement in-depth case studies in the countries involved, and must provide CVs of proposed team leader and members as annexes.

The technical proposal will not exceed 10 pages (excluding annexes).

3.3. Timing of the evaluation

November 20th 2014: Deadline for receiving proposals,

December 15th: selection and appointment Evaluation team, start inception phase,

January 31st, 2015: Deadline inception report,
February 15th: Start research phase,
May 15th: draft Evaluation report,
May 18th-22nd: Presentation Evaluation report at meeting in Ghana,
May 31st: Final evaluation report.

3.4. Management of the Evaluation

3.4.1. The evaluation is formally commissioned by the Head of Hivos TEC –Audit and Evaluation- department,

3.4.1. The evaluation is managed by the Hivos Evaluation Manager, assisted by Hivos' Stop Child Labour team and the SKN programme staff for the Bihar project.

3.5. Internal Reference Group

All stakeholders (see under paragraph 2.1) will constitute a virtual Internal Reference Group. They have commented on these ToR and will be in a position to comment on:

- The draft Inception Report,
- The draft Evaluation Report,

and will assist the evaluation team in the proper implementation of the evaluation.

Proposals must be sent by email to:

Hivos Evaluation Manager

Karel Chambille

kchambille@hivos.org

ANNEX 2. TOOLS FOR DATA COLLECTION

The tools below were used for data collection at the country level. In some cases, the tools were adapted to the local conditions. The exact tools used in each country case are found in the individual country reports. However, we provide the 'generic' tools here to present a clear idea of the type of tools that we used.

2.1. Semi-Structured Key Interview Protocols

The two semi-structured interview guidelines included below will be adapted to each country and respondent type. The guides are relatively broad and deliberately use open-ended questions. We feel that this approach has allowed us to adapt to each case and respondent type while keeping the data-gathering process' main objectives in mind. These guidelines will also be adapted to the local conditions of zones where no intervention has happened to assess spread effect.

2.1.a, Key Informant Interview Guide for Staff and Management of Local Government Departments, Institutions, and CSOs – District and Ward Level

Preamble / Consent

Hello: My name is _____, Thank you for accepting to talk to us about your experience with the Child Labour Project implemented by [insert name of Local Implementing Partner organizations] in collaboration with Hivos/ The reason we are having these interviews is to understand the ways in which the Child Labour Project has been implemented and draw lessons for the future. We want you to share your honest and open thoughts with us. *Are you comfortable with getting started? In saying yes, we anticipate that you give your consent to take part in this interview.*

Shall We Proceed with the Discussion:

Yes

No

1. Broad understanding of the situation of Child Labour in the area
 - a. How would you describe the situation of child in your area?
 - Are the children affected?
 - Who is affected most?
 - What are the causes / drivers?
 - How are the boys and girls affected?
 - b. What is the mandate of your organisation / department / Institution with regard to child labour in the country / area?
 - c. How have you as an individual and your organisation / department been involved in the child labour related work in the country? (probe for target group and areas, interventions, organisational philosophy, approaches etc.)
2. Mechanisms for the project's implementation:
 - a. How have you as an individual and your organisation / department been involved in the CLFZ project?

What has worked well in the implementation of this CLFZ project?

Probe for:

- Project objectives,
 - targeting and selection of CLFZ sites
 - targeting the mechanisms for the affected children,
 - comprehensiveness and relevance of the interventions in addressing the problem of child labour in the area
 - implementation modalities
 - Timing of project activities
 - Involvement of partners
 - Documentation and reporting
- b.** What has not worked well in the implementation of this CLFZ project and needs improvement?

Probe as in b above

- 3.** Feedback on the project's achievements of the project
- a.** What would you say were the most significant outcomes resulting from this project?
- Probe:*
- Children withdrawn from labour and placed in schools
 - Any changes in the households / families of children withdrawn from labour
 - Functionality Community and other structures established to fight child labour
 - Attitudes and practices toward child labour at community, school level, and policy makers level,
 - Policy and practice change
 - Availability of data on child labour to inform advocacy and decision making
 - Social integration of withdrawn children
- b.** What factors are responsible for these achievements
- c.** Who benefitted and who did not?
- d.** How has the project benefitted both girls and boys?
- e.** To what extent can we say the project interventions have made the targeted area a child labour free zone
- 4.** Lessons Learnt and knowledge shared
- a.** How is the knowledge generated by this CLFZ project being used in CLFZ networks including other partners and beneficiaries?
- 5.** Recommendations and Way forward
- b.** What other key recommendations would you make to ensure that the CLFZ services continue beyond the project life?

Thank you very much for your time

2.1.b. Key Informant Interview Guide for National-Level Ministries/Bureaus, Agencies and CSOs

Preamble / Consent

Hello: My name is _____, Thank you for accepting to talk to us about your experience with the Child Labour Project implemented by [insert name of Local Implementing Partner organizations] in collaboration with Hivos / The reason we are having these interviews is to understand the ways in which the Child Labour Project has been implemented and draw lessons for the future. We want you to share your honest and open thoughts with us. *Are you comfortable with getting started? In saying yes, we anticipate that you give your consent to take part in this interview.*

Shall We Proceed with the Discussion:

Yes

No

1. Broad understanding of the situation of Child Labour in the country
 - a. How would you describe the situation of child labour in your area?
 - How are the children affected?
 - Who is affected most?
 - What are the causes / drivers?
 - How are the boys and girls affected?
 - b. What is the mandate of your Ministry, Agency / organisation / department with regard to child labour in the country?
 - c. In your opinion what are the drivers of child labour in the country?
 - d. How have you been involved you as an individual and your organisation / department been involved in the child labour related work in the country? (probe for target group and areas, interventions, organisational philosophy, approaches etc.)
2. Critique of the CLFZ Model:
 - a. In your opinion how relevant and effective is the CLFZ model in fighting and eliminating child labour in the country?
3. Feedback on the project's achievements of the project (if the respondent has been participating in the CLFZ activities at national level)
 - a. What would you say are the most significant outcomes resulting from the CLFZ project?

Probe:

 - Children withdrawn from labour and placed in schools
 - Any changes in the households / families of children withdrawn from labour
 - Functionality Community and other structures established to fight child labour
 - Attitudes and practices toward child labour at community, school level, and policy makers level,
 - Policy and practice change
 - Availability of data on child labour to inform advocacy and decision making
 - Social integration of withdrawn children
 - b. Who benefitted and who did not?
 - c. How has the project benefitted both girls and boys?

4. Lessons Learnt and knowledge shared
 - a. How is the knowledge generated by this CLFZ project being used by your Ministry / Bureau / Agency / Organisation / department?
 - b. What learning from this CLFZ project can be incorporated into other child labour focused projects?
5. Recommendations and Way forward
 - a. What other key recommendations would you make to ensure that the CLFZ services continue beyond the project life?

Thank you very much for your time

2.2. Focus Group Guidelines

Three sets of focus group guidelines are included below: a general one, one for the focus groups with parents and one for focus groups with children. As with the key informant interviews, we will be modifying them to be contextually appropriate; the guidelines here provide an outline of the areas that we intend to pursue in each case. It is important to note that these guidelines will also be adapted to the local conditions of zones where no intervention has happened to assess spread effect.

2.2.a. General Focus Group Discussion Guide

Preamble / Consent

Hello: My name is _____, Thank you for accepting to talk to us about your experience with the CLFZ Project implemented by [insert name of Local Implementing Partner organizations] in collaboration with The reason we are having these interviews is to understand the ways in which the Project has been implemented and draw lessons for the future. We want you to share your honest and open thoughts with us. We will not be revealing your name in our report.

Are you comfortable with getting started? In saying yes, we anticipate that you give your consent to take part in this interview.

Questions

1. How would describe the situation of children in your area?
 - a. Who is affected most?
 - b. What are the causes / drivers?
 - c. How are the boys and girls affected?
2. How are you involved in the project?
3. What has worked well for the project? What are the factors responsible?

Probe for

- a. Project objectives,
- b. targeting and selection of CLFZ sites
- c. targeting the mechanisms for the affected children,
- d. comprehensiveness and relevance of the interventions in addressing the problem of child labour in the area
- e. implementation modalities
- f. Timing of project activities
- g. Involvement of partners
- h. Documentation and reporting

4. What has not worked well with the project? What are the factors responsible?

Probe as above

5. What are the most significant outcomes resulting from this project?
 - a. Children withdrawn from labour and placed in schools
 - b. Any changes in the households / families of children withdrawn from labour
 - c. Functionality Community and other structures established to fight child labour
 - d. Attitudes and practices toward child labour at community, school level, and policy makers level,
 - e. Social integration of withdrawn children

6. Who has benefitted most from the project? And who has not?
7. Are areas around this zone aware of this project and/or lessons learnt in project implementation?
8. Do you have any recommendations to ensure that the CFLZ will continue beyond the project life?

Thank you very much for your time

2.2.b. Focus Group Discussion Guide for Male and Female Parents

Preamble / Consent

Hello: My name is _____, Thank you for accepting to talk to us about your experience with the CLFZ Project implemented by [insert name of Local Implementing Partner organizations] in collaboration with The reason we are having these interviews is to understand the ways in which the Project has been implemented and draw lessons for the future. We want you to share your honest and open thoughts with us. We will not be revealing your name in our report.

Are you comfortable with getting started? In saying yes, we anticipate that you give your consent to take part in this interview.

Questions

1. Tell us about your situation as parents raising children in this area
2. What are the challenges of getting children to school in this area
3. Tell us how you are involved in this project
4. How has the project helped in keeping children in school
5. What do children do when they are not in school?
6. How has the project changed the lives of parents and children in the community?
7. What else did you want the project to do/accomplish that it has not?
8. Is there anything else you would like to share with me?

Thank you very much for your time

2.2.c. Focus Group Discussion Guide for Assisted Children

Preamble / Consent

Hello: My name is _____, Thank you for accepting to talk to us about your experience with the CLFZ Project implemented by [insert name of Local Implementing Partner organizations] in collaboration with The reason we are having these interviews is to understand the ways in which the Project has been implemented and draw lessons for the future. We want you to share your honest and open thoughts with us. We will not be revealing your name in our report.

Are you comfortable with getting started? In saying yes, we anticipate that you give your consent to take part in this interview.

Questions

1. What were you doing before you joined school?
2. Tell me about your home/family? What does your family do for a living? What is your contribution (financial or otherwise) to the family's livelihood?
3. Why did you not go to school before?
4. Who facilitated you to join school and how?
5. What do you want to become? How is being in school likely to help you achieve your dreams? How is this *project* helping to achieve your dreams?
6. How has your life changed as a result of this project?
7. How else would you have wanted the project to help you?

Thank you!

2.3. Mini Survey

Three guidelines for mini surveys are included below. These may be adapted to the local conditions, but the surveys included below demonstrate the line of inquiry that we intend to follow.

2.3.a. Mini Survey for Teachers

Reference number:

Male/Female:

Location:

Q. 1 Do children who have been withdrawn from child labour attend this school?

Yes/No

If yes, approximately how

many? _____

Q. 2 Generally speaking, how do children withdrawn from child labour perform in school? (tick as appropriate)

As well as other children in the class

Better than other children in the class

Worse than other children in the class

Other _____

Q. 3 Generally speaking, do children who have been withdrawn from child labour attend school regularly?

Yes/No

Q. 4 Are some of these children dropping out of school?

Yes/No

If yes, what could be done to retain

them? _____

Q. 5 Is there a good system in place in this school to monitor children's attendance?

Yes/No

Q.6 Do you know what a Child Labour Free Zone is?

Yes/No

If yes, which of the following should be part of a Child Labour Free Zone? (tick as many as appropriate)

Sustained norm that no child should work

Sustained norm that some children should work

Sustained norm that children should attend school full time

Sustained norm that children should attend school as often as possible

Development of schools to take care of all aspects of a child's development

Community takes ownership of children's rights

Neighbouring communities changing their norms

Schools sensitized to reduce barriers to education for children withdrawn from child labour

Project area becomes a resource centre for other areas

Q. 7 Are children withdrawn from child labour welcomed into this school?

Yes/No

If not, why not? (tick as appropriate)

Cause trouble

Unable to keep up with class

Irregular attendance

Dropping out

Lack of interest in school

Other _____

Q. 8 What has been the impact of receiving these children? (tick as appropriate)

Very positive

Positive

Negative

Very negative

Q. 9 In your opinion, does this school adequately meet the needs of children withdrawn from child labour?

Yes/No

Q. 10 What is the average number of children in each class in this school? (tick as

appropriate)

0-30 30-50 50-70 70+

Q. 11 Tick the statement that you agree with most:

- The school in which I work is an institution that takes care of *all* aspects of a child's development
- The school in which I work is an institution that takes care of *some* aspects of a child's development
- The school in which I work is an institution that takes care of *few* aspects of a child's development
- The school in which I work is an institution that takes care of *no* aspects of a child's development

Q. 12 How would you rate the quality of education that children receive in this school? (tick as appropriate)

Excellent Very good Good Fair Poor

Q. 13 Generally speaking, do people value education in this area?

Yes/No

Q 14 In your opinion, is the Child Labour Free Zone approach sustainable beyond the life of the project?

No Yes/

Thank you very much and have a lovely day!

2.3.b. Mini Survey for Parents

Reference number:

Male/Female:

Location:

Q. 1 Are all your children currently attending full time school?

Yes/No

Q. 2 Did any of your children drop out of school before because of the need to work?

Yes/No

If not, why did he/she/they drop out of school? (tick as appropriate)

No money for school fees/expenses No interest in school School

unsafe

Poor teaching Disliked teacher

Other _____

Q. 3 When did your all or some (mark as appropriate) children return to school full time? _____

Q.4 Do you have children who are still working?

Yes/No

Q. 5 (Of the children who have returned to school) Why did your child return to school (tick all that are appropriate)?

Assistance with school fees/expenses Other assistance Change of family circumstances

No work to be found Pressure from community Change of attitude in

family

Other _____

Q. 6 Have you heard of the Omar's Dream project?

Yes/No

Q. 7 Do you know what a Child Labour Free Zone is?

Yes/No

If yes, please

describe _____

- Q. 8 Has there been a reduction in child labour in your village in the past couple of years?
Yes/No
- Q. 9 How much child labour was there in your village before? (tick as appropriate)
None at all A little Some A lot
- Q.10 How did your village compare with neighbouring villages in relation to child labour before? (tick as appropriate)
Same Better Worse Much worse
- Q. 11 What has changed in your village in the past couple of years? (tick as appropriate)
Nothing
Pressure from community to stop children working
Refusal of community to employ children
Change of attitude among community to child labour
Change of attitude among community to children's right to attend school
Other _____
- Q.12 If something has changed, how did this change come about? (tick as appropriate)
Intervention by CBO Intervention by county government Intervention by other actor Less work in the area for children
Other _____
- Q.13 If you think that some change has happened what activities have led to the change, please list.
(i)
(ii)
(iii)
- Q.14 What else may have led to the change?
Media reports Change of policy Change of legal framework
Less work in the area for children
Other _____
- Q.15 Could the change have happened without any additional activity?
Yes/No
- Q.16 Has there been a similar change in neighbouring villages?
Yes/No
- Q.17 Do you know children in your village who are not attending school now because they are working?
Yes/No
If yes, what kind of labour do they do? _____
- Q. 17 Is there a good system in place in your child's school to monitor attendance?
Yes/No
- Q.18 How would you rate the quality of education that your child receives in school? (tick as appropriate)
Excellent Very good Good Fair Poor

Thank you very much and have a lovely day!

2.3.c. Mini Survey for Children

These surveys require parental and or teacher consent before they are administered. In addition survey responses will not be shared with anyone that may be able to identify the child responses. Teachers and any other adult will be asked to excuse themselves from the room while attending and all effort to ensure that each child is able to respond to the question anonymously will be made.

Reference number:

Age:

Sex:

School:

Location:
Class:

Q. 1 Are you attending full time school now?

Yes/No

Q. 2 Have you ever dropped out of school before because you were working?

Yes/No

If not, why did you drop out of school before? (tick as appropriate)

No money for school fees/expenses Parents/caregiver forced me to

No interest in school

Scared in school

Poor teaching

Disliked teacher

Other _____

Q. 3 When did you return to school? _____

Q. 4 Why did you return to school? (tick as appropriate)

Assistance with school fees/expenses Other assistance Change of family circumstances

No work to be found

Pressure from community

Pressure from school

Other _____

Q. 5 Are you still working as well as attending school?

Yes/No

- If yes, what kind of work do you do? (tick as appropriate)

Farming

Domestic work

Begging

Washing/parking cars

Hawking

Quarry/mining

Sand harvesting

Fishing

Herding

Tourism

Hotel work

Transporting goods

Other _____

- If yes, how often do you work? (tick as appropriate)

Daily – 1-2 hours

3-4 hours

5+ hours

Seasonal

Weekends only

Holidays only

2-3 days week

Other _____

- Do you have enough time to finish your homework every day? Yes/No

- Do you have enough time to rest every day? Yes/No

- Do you have enough free time every day? Yes/No

- Why do you still work? (tick as appropriate)

Living on the streets

Child-headed household

Parents/caregiver force me

Living with relatives (no parents) Alcohol/drug problems at home

No value in school To supplement family income

Single-parent family

Other (give

details) _____

Q. 6 Have you heard of the Omar's Dream project? Yes/No

Q. 7 Do you know what a Child Labour Free Zone is? Yes/No

If yes, please

describe _____

Q. 8 Do you know other children in your village who are not attending school regularly because they are working?

Yes/No

If yes, what kind of work? _____

Q. 9 When children skip or drop out of school, is it reported?

Yes/No

If yes, who reports it? _____

To whom is it reported? _____

What happens after it is reported? _____

Q. 10 How would you rate the quality of education in this school? (tick as appropriate)

Excellent Very good Good Fair

Poor

Q. 11 Do you like attending this school?

Yes/No

Q. 12 Are you able to keep up with the rest of the class?

Yes/No

Q. 13 Do your teachers treat you well?

Yes/No

If not, what do they do? (tick as appropriate)

Sexual harassment Beating Shouting Treat me differently to others

Make me feel scared Absent teachers

Other _____

Q. 14 Do you think you may drop out of school again?

Yes/No

If yes, why? (tick as appropriate)

No money for school fees/expenses Parents/caregiver will force me to

Need to work No interest in school Scared in school

Poor teaching Dislike teacher

Other _____

Thank you very much for your time!

2.4. Observation Checklist

We developed three sets of observation checklists to ensure that we collected comparable data and covered all basic areas during observation sessions. Some additional issues may be observed in some cases.

Children's situation in the intervention area:

- The presence of out of school children in the project intervention area;
- The presence of children engaged in child labour;
- Areas where children possible engage;
- The location where livelihood opportunities are created for socio economic empowerment of poor families;

School area:

- Location of the school
- Presence of teachers
- Teacher to student ratio
- Whether or not attendance registers are maintained
- Ringing of the bell to signify whether or not the school is adhering to a time table
- Infrastructure available –including
 - Class rooms
 - Desks and chairs
 - Blackboard
 - Educational charts/posters/wall paintings
 - Separate toilets for girls and boys
 - Condition of toilets
 - Safe and adequate drinking water
 - Playground
 - Boundary and fencing to secure the building
 - Library
- Learning materials used
- Availability of meals for students and quality of such meals
- Presence of any graffiti or evidence of sexual harassment
- The types and qualities of school facilities constructed (new or maintained classes, purchased furniture, benches, black boards and the likes);
- The type and quality of non formal education centres constructed ;
- The existence of parent teachers association offices (if it exists);

Meetings and/or community conversation

- Dynamics of meetings e.g. who facilitates, who speaks, who participates, general atmosphere.
- Level of community ownership and participation;.
- Regularity of meetings, content of meetings e.g. discussions, decisions made, follow up, outcomes.
- Costs associated with meetings in relation to budget/reported spending.

ANNEX 3. COUNTRY CASE STUDY SUMMARIES

Ethiopia

Ethiopia's CLFZ project is part of the Omar's Dream programme coordinated by Hivos and financially supported by Kinderpostzegels. The project has been implemented by three NGOs (FSCE, WCAT and ADAA) since 2012, with a three-year project lifespan. The CLFZ projects are implemented in two rural areas of the Amhara regional state: six kebeles in the Estai woreda in the south Gonder zone⁷⁰ and seven kebeles in the Siraro woreda in the west Arsi zone of the Oromoya regional state. As part of urban intervention, one of these projects is implemented in two kebeles in Dessie town, 400 kilometres north of Addis Ababa.

The projects' overall objectives are to create a solid understanding among the community about the negative effects of child labour and to ensure that children engaged in child labour and out-of-school children are identified and enrolled in regular full-time school. Each of the projects has a socioeconomic empowerment component, realized by creating access to income-generating activities targeting poor and vulnerable parents and children. Other objectives include addressing harmful traditional practices and building schools' capacities.

All of the projects envisaged facilitating the establishment of community-based child protection structures. These structures had different names in each project area, but a common goal: ensure that the community owns the problem of child labour and guarantees that out-of-school children have the opportunity to attend regular full-time school. Using these structures, each of the projects conducted a range of awareness-raising activities and ultimately targeted the prevention and withdrawal of about 8,600 out-of-school children from child labour. Socioeconomic empowerment components included starting self-help groups for highly impoverished parents, many of whom were women, as well as providing them with seed money to help them engage in income-generating activities to increase self-reliance.

Project implementation involved a range of stakeholders, including CBOs such as Idirs, self-help groups, parent-teachers associations and kebele administration. Regional- and woreda-level Bureau of finance and economic development, women, children youth affairs, labour and social affairs and education office representatives actively participated in implementation.

The project's main achievements include:

- According to the key informant interviews and focus group discussions conducted with a wide range of stakeholders, the projects have noticeably contributed to community norms changing as individuals started to regard 'no child should work' and 'children have the right to go to school' as phenomena that could be achieved.
- The projects have also contributed to the strengthening of existing parent-teacher associations to monitor the enrolment of out-of-school children into the school system.
- The projects have facilitated the establishment of eight community-based child protection structures, found to be functional in each of the kebeles targeted.
- About 1,853 children who were engaged in child labour were identified, withdrawn and enrolled in formal schooling as part of the projects. About 2,758 schoolgoing children were also identified and retained in school who would otherwise drop out due to various social, economic and cultural reasons. The retention mechanism includes the provision of school uniforms, scholastic materials, tuition and counselling services. In

⁷⁰ The lowest administrative unit of governance in Ethiopia.

total, the project has benefited about 12,386 children.

- Out of the eight schools visited, enrolment increased in five to varying degrees; school dropout and repeating the grade rate sharply dropped in all of the schools visited. The increased participation of girls is noted in all project areas has led to an almost-balanced gender ratio in many of the schools visited.
- Teacher training and the construction of additional classrooms resulted in improvements to educational quality and teacher-student ratios in many of the schools; however, in some schools, high enrolment and increased demand led to a high teacher-student ratios (i.e., one teacher per 51 to 70 or more students), which has a bearing on the quality of education.

In all, the activities carried out by implementing partners are in part protective, as they focus on providing the necessary school materials for the children of poor families. The awareness-raising campaign and support provided for the community to form child protection structures has facilitated the emergence of a community-based child labour monitoring structure at grassroots level. The interventions are also promotive, providing targeted poor families and child-headed families with the opportunity to access revolving funds, seed money and training to engage in income-generating activities and gain additional income.

Overall, it is possible to conclude that the CLFZ approaches in the project areas have ensured that a great majority of out-of-school children have been enrolled in school. However, declaring these areas as CLFZs is still premature given the limited time period for implementation. One of the challenges observed in CLFZ implementation is that efforts have not adequately benefited children with disabilities who require special education, although some attempts to support this target group have been made by WCAT and ADAA).

Recommendations for the project include:

- Extend and scale up CLFZ implementation, as the foundation for success is already in place.
- Create synergy with grassroots structures such as the community care coalitions, which have both legal and policy backing. The social protection policy of Ethiopia approved in 2015 emphasizes the expansion of productive and social safety net programmes across the country, acknowledging that community care coalitions play crucial role in mobilising the community to make meaningful socioeconomic changes.
- Focus projects' economic empowerment component on the creation of more diversified livelihoods opportunities for the beneficiaries to engage in activities that guarantee decent and regular income. This could be associated with the introduction of business development services that include training, market assessment and the use of primary and basic small-scale technologies.

Ghana

GAWU implements the Ghana project in three geographical areas: a fishing area (Volta region), a cocoa-producing area (Ashanti region) and a palm oil-producing area (Eastern region). GAWU's approach has been to address child labour in the three regions by first addressing poverty, combining this with normal trade union activities as an entry point for anti-child labour programming. Omar's Dream has, therefore, served as an engine to facilitate communities' education on both child labour and trade union activities.

GAWU has developed a holistic CLFZ model, focusing on providing a range of services and material benefits to targeted communities and individuals while also educating them in diverse formats such as trainings, meetings, film, music, radio and drama. Its definition of a CLFZ is a geographical area 'where all children engaged in child labour are systematically, progressively and gradually withdrawn from work and (re)integrated into formal, full-time schools and those at risk [are] prevented from engaging in such activities'.

GAWU reports it has withdrawn 1,481 children from child labour and prevented 1,284 from entering child labour, meaning a total of 2,765 direct and indirect beneficiaries. The evaluation team was unable to verify the data during the field visit, as GAWU did not make the database available. Eight CLFZs have reportedly been created in the three regions, comprising 30 communities: three CLFZs in Ashanti, three in Eastern and two in Volta. The areas declared as CLFZs are characterized by:

- **Community child protection committees:** The committees undertake awareness-raising activities on child labour, and they seek to withdraw children from labour by visiting homes and counselling both parents and children. Each zone has its own committee with seven GAWU executives, a women's representative, a chief (or representative), a political representative (unit committee member) and a teacher. Each committee has at least 10 members.
- **Anti-child labour clubs in schools:** The clubs comprise approximately 30 children each, and each community has one or two clubs. They are responsible for monitoring child labour and absenteeism in their schools, as well as talking about child labour issues, visiting children's homes to encourage them in attending school, counselling children and conducting other awareness-raising activities such as sporting competitions. Children withdrawn from labour generally attend schools with clubs to help monitor their presence.
- **Bridge schools:** Four bridge schools have been established to prepare children who have been in labour for their return to full-time schooling. (Former) teachers run these schools, which have a focus that is 70 per cent counselling and 30 per cent academic.

The Ghanaian CLFZ model partially fulfils the CLFZ criteria developed by MVF in India. It deserves particular praise for its holistic approach. The evaluation found that significant progress had been made in relation to awareness raising on child labour and improving school enrolment and attendance in targeted communities. Challenges were identified in data verification and monitoring, the quality of the educational experience in targeted schools and children continuing to engage in labour while also attending school.

The project's main achievements include:

- Anti-child labour systems are in place. The community child protection committees proactively seek to halt child labour, remove children from labour, prevent children

from entering labour and assist them and their families.

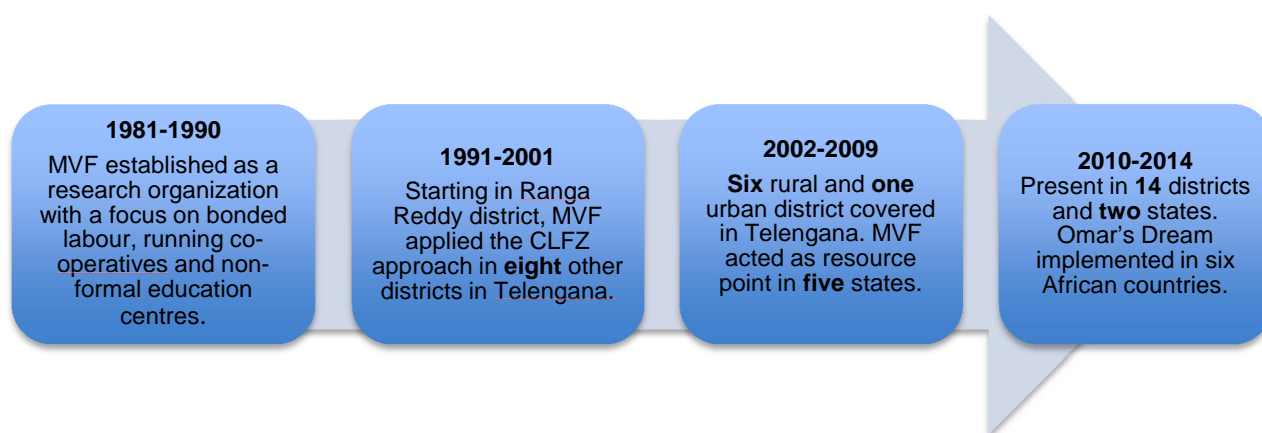
- Child labour has been reduced, to the extent that more children are attending schools in targeted areas.
- There is a better understanding of the harmful nature of child labour and its consequences in targeted communities.
- Raised incomes for small numbers of beneficiaries within targeted communities have resulted in the beneficiaries having the means to hire adult labourers on their farms.
- Improved farming techniques and practices have been introduced in cocoa-producing areas.
- Higher enrolment in schools and better retention in cocoa-producing areas have occurred. The same can be said of Volta, where according to teachers and members of the community, the majority of children now attend school.
- Improved performance has been noted among children who have been withdrawn from labour and are attending school full time in cocoa-producing areas (including because they have time to do their homework and are less tired).

Recommendations for the project include:

- Seek to better understand the numbers of ‘withdrawn’ children who are, in fact, continuing to engage in labour during out-of-school hours; also reduce these numbers.
- Introduce a more structured and informed approach to the bridge schools that includes a standard curriculum for all bridge school teachers to ensure quality and accountability.
- Lobby the government to ensure that school feeding programmes are introduced in targeted areas.
- Focus more on the quality of the educational experience in targeted schools, and in particular on the school environment, facilities and quality of education.
- Verify all data – which is gathered through GAWU members and the community child protection committees – before reporting to the donor. Given the project’s focus on disbursing material benefits, this is particularly important.
- Ensure that project staff have the means and authority to meaningfully and regularly monitor project activities.
- Ensure that the project addresses the different needs of girls and boys, per the project proposal.

India⁷¹

MVF was established in 1981 in Andhra Pradesh⁷² and initially focused on issues of land, housing, minimum wage, the running of cooperatives and non-formal education centres. Over time, MVF realised the link between low wages and bonded labour (which included child labour); this led it to start working against child labour in three villages in Andhra Pradesh's Ranga Reddy district in 1991. In that year, it released and rehabilitated 15 child labourers. MVF began to apply the area-based CLFZ approach to eradicate child labour by bringing children into the formal education system. This approach rejects non-formal education as implicitly allowing child labour to continue. Instead, MVF takes an uncompromising stand that all children should be in school and not at work, and it is the state's duty to eradicate child labour and provide adequate education services. A central element of the CLFZ approach is its adaptability. Over the years, the approach has been implemented in a variety of areas — in other states in India and internationally (in Africa) — as represented in the figure below:



From 1991 to 2001, MVF undertook intensive mobilisation activities targeting children in the five-to-14 age group. At the ground level, locally recruited volunteers delivered the program, which included undertaking surveys, organising village meetings and collectivising community members. This led to the formation and training of a child rights protection forum by community members and a teachers forum on child rights to take action on child labour and the right to education, including by tracking individual children, facilitating enrolment in formal schools, addressing child labour issues and mobilising for the improvement of school facilities. Short-term residential bridge courses were organized to cover the 'learning gap' and put child labourers back in appropriate grades in local government schools. Local campaigns were also undertaken to meet the requirements of the unexpected increases in numbers of children attending school as a result of community mobilization. Further, special measures were taken to monitor the girls' issues and prevent early marriage (particularly for girls). These steps are typically how the CLFZ approach has been introduced into states by MVF.

From 2002 to 2009, MVF initiated mobilisation activities in new states. Programming in Bihar started in 2007 and will be delivered until 2016. In this phase, MVF added new activities to mobilisation efforts and phased out support from 'saturation points' – areas where intensive

⁷¹ Since the goal of examining the MVF India experience was different from the goals tied to examining the Omar's Dream projects this country summary has a different format than the other country summaries.

⁷² In 2014, Andhra Pradesh was reorganised into two states: Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. MVF's project areas now mostly fall in Telangana. Consequently, this document refers to MVF's work in Telangana, but documents prepared before 2014 will refer to its work in Andhra Pradesh.

mobilization efforts were no longer required. It also widened the scope of activities to address issues concerning children through 18 years old, strengthened child rights protection forums to assume a watchdog role and federated them at higher levels, and undertook broader advocacy to effect legal and policy reform – particularly spearheading the campaign to enact the Right to Education Act. By the end of 2009, MVF had withdrawn village-level support from Telengana.

Currently, MVF continues its work to strengthen child rights protection forums and teachers forums on child rights at higher levels. These groups continue to monitor erstwhile program villages and communities and respond to cases of child labour, violations of the right to education and early marriages. In the post-2009 phase, with the Right to Education Act in place, MVF also undertook focused interventions to improve the quality of education. For example, it advocated for – and provided trainings to different stakeholders on – better implementation of the Right to Education Act, as well as promoted the improvement of pedagogical methods. In 2010, MVF initiated a pilot intervention in Bihar to create 15 model government schools to provide quality education.

Overall, MVF has declared 907 villages in Telegana and 25 tolas (wards within villages) in Bihar as CLFZs. MVF declares a CLFZ by assessing progress against a set of predefined outcomes. These include: changes in social norms, the establishment of supportive environments in schools, the existence of community ownership, the enrolment of all children in school and the removal of all children from work. These outcomes have been strictly defined in an effort to deliver simple messages. However, there is a contradiction between the absolute nature of the messages and CLFZ declaration, as areas do not always meet the criteria in the strictest sense. Rather, it would be more accurate to say that MVF has been able to create environments in which the community and government are jointly working toward attaining the CLFZ objectives. Indeed, achieving the full range of CLFZ outcomes may remain a permanent work in progress. Still, there has been considerable progress; this can be attributed to some key factors and strategies, including mobilising communities, using non-negotiable principles, recruiting volunteers locally, the length of the program, engagement with administrative officials, creating a range of community collectives, involving existing collectives (such as youth and women's groups) to deliver program interventions at the ground level, maintaining data collection systems, facilitating children's access to schools and planning activities' phase-out.

In terms of the CLFZ projects' effectiveness, MVF's Bihar project has been effective in improving school enrolment, although irregularities in attendance were reported as a concern in sites where MVF has phased out its support. Its pilot interventions to improve the quality of education in schools have demonstrated successful models for replication. The examination of the Telengana experience shows that efforts to establish CLFZs (or, more precisely, to enable the achievement of a CLFZ) can be sustainable. Areas visited for the study continued to demonstrate solid success even years after MVF has left. It is clear that MVF has a wealth of experience that it continues to benefit from. Over the years, it has learned how and when to adapt projects to yield the best possible results. This is not to say that they always succeed, but rather that MVF has been able to identify the key elements required for good outputs and does not step back when those elements cannot be secured.

Kenya

KAACR implemented the Kenya programme from October 2012 to May 2015 as a partner of the Interchurch Organisation for Development Cooperation. It focused on eight ‘villages’ or zones in four very different counties: Kwale on Kenya’s coast, Machakos close to Kenya’s capital, and Busia and Kisumu in western Kenya. The zones are located in a mix of rural, urban and peri-urban areas.

CLFZs in Kenya are areas that have declared ‘total war’ on child labour through advocacy, community sensitization (e.g., chief’s monthly barazas, school functions, and funds drives) and promoting the right to education, as well as withdrawing children from all forms of child labour and (re)admitting them to schools, preventing children from entering child labour and developing child-friendly policies at the county and national levels. The Kenya CLFZ model’s overall emphasis is on preventing and withdrawing children from child labour using a rights-based approach. Targeted children include those not attending school at all and those attending school in addition to working.

Community child labour committees include representatives from the provincial administration in addition to teachers, parents, village elders and youth representatives. Community-based organisations play a central role in implementation (alongside project partners in some locations). Chiefs and sub-chiefs oversee the committees’ work except in Kisumu, where a partner community service organisation performs this role. The community child labour committees’ role has grown and changed during the project’s lifetime in accordance with local needs. Some of the committee members see their role as being much larger than eliminating or reducing child labour and have transformed committees into self-help groups.

Child rights clubs have also been established in five schools in (or close to) each of the zones to create awareness on child rights, with teachers trained as patrons and facilitators of club activities. The teachers work to empower and educate children on child labour-related issues; the children in turn assist and peer-educate children withdrawn from child labour. The project targets school-age children through the age of 18 and does not provide bridge schools or classes. It aims to place children in primary and secondary schools or appropriate-level vocational training irrespective of their age.

The project’s main achievements include:

- The formation of eight zones in which child labour has been reduced using the area-based approach.
- The establishment of community-level committees in each of the zones in which members actively seek to withdraw children from child labour, facilitate their entry into school, assist them and their families, and prevent them and other children from dropping out.
- An increased capacity among targeted communities to assist themselves by applying for government and other funds for school fees and income-generating activities, in addition to raising their own funds and engaging in savings schemes.
- The establishment of clubs in targeted schools, heightened awareness of children’s rights in those schools and improved confidence levels among child participants.
- Evidence-based policymaking founded on strong linkages between the village-level CLFZ model and county- and national-level policymaking.

- An improved national- and county-level legal and policy framework on child labour.
- Heightened awareness of the dangers and illegality of child labour, as well as children's right to education within the zones.
- Collaborative relationships and cooperation on reducing child labour among civil society, schools and provincial administration in the zones.

The Kenyan CLFZ model partially fulfils the CLFZ criteria developed by MVF in India. A number of challenges have been identified, including a lack of focus on the quality of the school experience for children withdrawn from child labour, as well as the financial shortfalls that lead directly to child labour (which includes the lack of uniforms, books, funds for fees and levies, and food). The project was flexible enough to address some of these needs through the community-level committees, but in an ad hoc manner that was not central to its design. Additional challenges relate to documentation, monitoring and reporting on the project's achievements, particularly in relation to quantitative data.

As a result of KAAACR's efforts, child labour has been significantly reduced in all zones during the programme's lifetime. The fledgling model has potential to be improved and expanded, particularly in relation to the Kenyan government's national child labour policy (which will institutionalise CLFZs across the country starting in 2016). Drawing on lessons learned from this evaluation, KAAACR has a role to play in assisting and advising the Kenyan government with a focus on developing a holistic CLFZ model.

We recommend the project:

- Reduce the focus on quantitative targets for children prevented and withdrawn from child labour, focusing instead on the quality of the school experience in order to retain children and on the sustainability of progress made.
- Ensure the community child labour committees continue to perform their role in relation to child labour by developing terms of reference and regularly updated work plans.
- Target all relevant actors, including employers, police and prosecutors.
- Emphasise systematic follow-up and monitoring of children withdrawn from child labour.
- Improve and standardise documentation of children assisted.
- Improve monitoring by introducing a robust internal monitoring and evaluation system for the project.
- Improve reporting on and analysis of the project's achievements.
- Keep developing the CLFZ model in accordance with needs.

Morocco

SNE implements the Morocco project in the city of Safi, in 12 schools in different quarters of the city and in one quarter where mechanic shops are common. SNE's approach has been to address child labour in Safi first by addressing school retention and second by primarily targeting children working in the mechanic shops. The Omar's Dream project has expanded work to improve school retention, which had been piloted and executed in other regions of Morocco; mainly, this has included support to children with visually impairments through the provision of eye examinations and eyeglasses, as well as tutoring during the final months of the school year to children in grades 4 to 6 who are underperforming in key subjects. In addition, the programme has provided extracurricular activities for underperforming children during weekends and the summer months. SNE has also taken responsibility for bridge schools overseen by the Ministry of Education. It is important to underscore that the bridge school concept in Morocco differs substantially from bridge schools in India and other countries implementing Omar's Dream. In Morocco, they are a way to ensure access to some education for children at risk of receiving no education.

SNE has also worked with the Department of Labour and Ministry of Education. With the Department of Labour, SNE's efforts have been more informal in terms of information exchange and dialogue; with the Ministry of Education, SNE has been involved in joint campaigning and with the bridge schools.

The project's main achievements include:

- SNE's CLFZ model has focused considerably on retaining children in school. School principals' claims suggest the efforts have led to a dramatic reduction in dropout rates, attributed to children with vision impairment gaining the ability to gainfully participate in school and children who have difficulty with key subjects receiving support. These efforts are effective specifically because the inability to see well and bad marks are key reasons why children stop going to school in Morocco. Participating in school full time and engaging in extracurricular activities dramatically reduces the likelihood that children will engage in work. However, children who attend school and are engaged in the SNE programme also participate in some labour, helping family members in local shops and/or with housework. The degree to which these activities are detrimental to child development is unknown, as determining how much they work is difficult.
- SNE started work on removing children from full-time employment, focusing on the mechanic shop area, in the fall of 2014. They have succeeded in removing 15 children from full-time work, but SNE notes that most of the children removed from work who have been enrolled in bridge schools continue to work part time.
- In addition, efforts in the mechanic shop district have included employer education. One of the challenges has been that low-income families see working in the shops as a way of gaining skills that can be used later in life. In many ways, parents view working as an alternative to technical schools, which are regarded to be of bad quality. Thus far, the efforts undertaken are not able to provide youth with the skills they will need when entering the job market.
- SNE has also provided teachers with seminars and short trainings aimed at improving teaching skills and/or knowledge of children's rights and other relevant legislation. Participants have regarded these initiatives as highly positive.

Programming in Morocco has differed substantially from CLFZ initiatives in other countries in that the activities have been more isolated. While a target group may benefit from multiple types of intervention (for example, glasses, extracurricular activities and additional classes), efforts have not been coupled with a solid mechanism to raise community awareness on the detrimental aspects of child labour. Not taking a more holistic approach has made efforts more difficult. However, as noted earlier, retention has improved drastically, and SNE deserves credit for this.

Efforts in Morocco clearly address some of the issues that may lead to child labour, primarily school dropouts, but they are not capable of addressing the reasons that children engage in full-time work. To this end, they can support working children so they can get some education, which is regarded as preferable to none. These elements make the Moroccan experience an interesting one – one with some clear successes, but also not fully aligned with the CLFZ concept. Below are recommendations that would enable efforts to become better aligned with the CLFZ model.

We recommend the project:

- Seek to expand its partnership to engage the community more widely. This could include parent associations, local government, worker associations and informal employers.
- Seek to join forces with other organizations that are better able to provide services or engage other actors. The SNE is a teachers union, which gives it a great advantage in relating to teachers, but not necessarily in engaging other actors.
- Explore additional mechanisms to turn programme implementation into an area-based program. At the moment, there are no links between the target schools and the mechanic shop area.
- Explore mechanisms to target other children who work in other industries (for example, in local shops or at home as maids). These efforts could include more engagement with informal employers, campaigning and more extensive involvement in the causal factors for child labour.

Uganda

In Uganda, Omar's Dream has been implemented by a coalition of three organisations (ANPPCAN, KIN and UNATU) in five CLFZ sites in Rakai and Wakiso districts. Hivos provided €374,937 in funding for the project, which aims to withdraw 3,200 children from child labour and reintegrate them into full-time education. It has been implemented in Uganda since March 2013.

The project's main objective is 'to contribute to the total elimination of child labour in Uganda by creating CLFZ[s]' in Wakiso and Rakai districts, with specific objectives including: promoting awareness in the target communities – and at the district and national levels – on issues related to child labour, particularly CLFZs; withdrawing children from child labour, rehabilitating them and reintegrating them into schools; identifying and building coalitions and child protection structures, as well as training them and rallying their support in protecting children from child labour; and advocating for the establishment of mechanisms to increase key actors' participation in legislation and policy on eliminating child labour and promoting education for all school-age children. Implementing partners developed their own specific project objectives to contribute to its achievement.

The project's main achievements include:

- There has been enhanced community awareness, particularly in the five project sites, on the problem of child labour; to a large extent, the majority of the families in the five CLFZ sites already subscribe to the norm that no child should work and every child should be in school.
- The project has helped withdraw or prevent 3,264 children from child labour, as well as reintegrated them into full-time schooling in 20 primary schools and informal skills-training institutions within the target areas and/or neighbourhoods. Although some children return to child labour or continue working while attending school, the project has still experienced notable achievements. In the absence of verifiable data it is not possible to say with any measure of exactitude the percentage of children from the area who currently attend school, but the implementing partner believes it is 90% or more.
- The project has established and/or strengthened community child protection institutions in every site. School-level child protection committees, child rights clubs, youth volunteer groups, local councils, and sub-county and district orphans and other vulnerable children (OVC) coordination committees look at protecting children against child labour as part of their agendas.
- The quasi-informal community structures, especially community conversation meetings and village savings groups that meet regularly to discuss issues affecting their communities, have child labour and child protection issues on the top of their agendas. They take resolutions and commitments to fight child labour in their communities. It is plausible to say that these structures have become institutionalised in the five CLFZ sites and, to a large extent, have taken ownership of child-rights implementation in their communities.
- To develop schools as institutions that care for children's well being and inclusion, the Uganda project has mainly worked with school management and children to discuss issues that affect education quality using the Supporting Children's Rights through

Education the Art (SCREAM) Methodology, which has led to change in participating schools' behaviour and practices. The schools are more attractive to children, and teachers are using more child-friendly methodologies in teaching and extracurricular activities, contributing to higher attendance.

Through awareness, lobbying and advocacy at various levels, Omar's Project is beginning to influence policy and practice. Several villages have started implementing bylaws aimed at eliminating child labour in their villages or parishes. Some sub-counties have or are developing ordinances aimed at fighting child labour. Rakai's district council has passed an ordinance outlawing child labour, while at the national level, a resounding majority in parliament supported a motion on eliminating child labour through adopting the CLFZ. The Ministry of Education and Sports has started amending the Education Act to address gaps. It is plausible, therefore, to say that the project in Uganda is having the desired spread effect.

The CLFZ project in Uganda has included a strong livelihoods component through supporting the establishment of self-help saving and loans groups, which are promising as a means of sustaining households' financial needs (especially related to educating their children). In Kigungu, for instance, when any child is reportedly not attending school for a money-related reason, the parent (a member of the savings and loan association) is forced to take out a loan to ensure that the child returns to school. Above all, a majority of the household heads in these CLFZ sites are members of the savings and loan associations, which have taught the members the culture and art of saving, making families more financially stable. Community structures remain vigilant in monitoring child labour and child rights violations, schools are more friendly and attractive to children, and SCREAM and community conversations help keep child labour and child rights on the agendas of the communities and schools. All of these practices make the CLFZ largely sustainable.

Overall, the CLFZ project in Uganda has had a promising start, withdrawing children from labour and returning them to school. Over the last two years, dropout rates in these schools have decreased tremendously compared with the parts of the country outside the CLFZ sites. The communities and their institutions, to a large extent, believe in the norm that children should not work and must be in school. However, although the evaluation found that – achievements notwithstanding – it is almost impossible to achieve a CLFZ, the CLFZ remains a promising approach for increasing children's school enrolment and attendance and reducing child labour.

Recommendations for the project include:

- Undertake future baseline surveys prior to – or as part of – project design to ensure survey findings inform project design.
- Advocate on the quality of education, including increasing the availability of school facilities, qualified teachers, textbooks and other needs.
- Document information on village savings and loans associations, community conversation groups and the SCREAM Methodology, which are promising strategies that leverage the success of CLFZs.
- Implement a robust monitoring and evaluation system to track every withdrawn child and other project outcomes.
- Ensure partners exit CLFZs gradually to ensure that all the mechanism to facilitate CLFZs' establishment as learning sites and resource points for other areas, as well as to ensure CLFZs continue to be successful after partners' exit.

Zimbabwe

In Zimbabwe, Omar's Dream is a three-year project for which Hivos provided €364,535 in funding. CACLAZ (comprising ANPPCAN, the Progressive Teachers Union of Zimbabwe and the General Agriculture and Plantation Workers Union in Zimbabwe) served as implementer. The project aimed to 'eliminat[e] child labour in the "child labour free zone" through the provision of full-time, formal, quality education to former child labourers'⁷³ and had four specific objectives:

- a) Raising awareness and changing attitudes about the benefits of education and the adverse effects of child labour in targeted communities in the CLFZ.
- b) Providing effective education to former child labourers, eliminating barriers to formal school attendance and making it attractive to former child labourers.
- c) Getting policymakers to adopt policies abolishing child labour and increasing children's access to full-time, formal, quality education in Zimbabwe.
- d) Increasing the institutional capacity of all the people working in the CLFZ to enable them to deal with child labour and access to education.

The project targets 1,000 children and has been implemented since late 2012 in Ward 16 of Chiredzi district, which is located in the southern part of Zimbabwe bordering Mozambique and South Africa. Ward 16 is a newly resettled area composed of 179 villages⁷⁴ and about 25,000 residents, whose main livelihood activity is small-scale cattle farming.

The project's main achievements include:

- Increased community awareness, particularly in Ward 16 within Chiredzi district, about the problem of child labour; a large majority of the families in Ward 16 already subscribe to the norm that no child should work and every child must be in school.
- One of the CLFZ's cardinal principles is that every child should be supported in withdrawing from work and being (re)integrated into formal full-time education. The project has withdrawn and/or prevented 1,250 children from child labour and reintegrated them into full-time schooling in 14 primary schools in Ward 16. Although there are still children that return to child labour or are highly mobile, the project has made substantial achievements.
- The project has established and/or strengthened community child protection committees at the school, community, ward and district levels; the committees are responsible for monitoring child labour practices and taking appropriate action. In addition, there are child rights clubs and youth volunteer groups involved in promoting and monitoring child rights violations, as well as supporting the norm that no child should work.
- Another principle of a CLFZ is that the school must be an institution that promotes children's well being and inclusion. CACLAZ worked with and supported the development of two schools as incubation centres (bridge schools) to prepare withdrawn children for reintegration into full-time schools. In addition, CACLAZ has helped sensitise the 14 schools in Ward 16 on accepting and reintegrating children withdrawn from work. The parents, school development committees and communities

⁷³ Project Logframe. Internal document

⁷⁴ At the start of the project, Ward 16 had 188 villages, but since 2014, nine villages were ceded to a neighbouring district.

are trying to build permanent classroom blocks to make the schools attractive and safe for the children. However, evaluation findings revealed that the school infrastructure in Ward 16 remains largely temporary, of poor quality and insufficient to guarantee children's safety, well being and inclusion.

- The assessment revealed that, to some extent, the community in Ward 16 is taking ownership of implementing child rights in their community. There are community structures such as volunteers and paralegals to ensure that children's rights are upheld. In fact, the councillor for Ward 16 has advocated for using 8 per cent of the local tax to develop community infrastructure (including schools), which the local government has approved. This is in line with the expectations of a CLFZ and demonstrates that the community is taking ownership of implementing child rights, another key principle of the area-based approach.
- The CLFZ criteria include serving as a resource centre to the rest of the country. However, Ward 16's remote location makes this difficult, even in terms of spread effect to the villages immediately outside of Ward 16. In addition, the evaluation found little to no systematic, issue-focused advocacy and policy influence.

Overall, Zimbabwe has experienced political and economic difficulties over the past decade, which makes it difficult for local communities to sustain some of the needed school infrastructure. Additionally, the government is not helping even in terms of enforcing child protection laws.

The fundamental question we need to answer, therefore, is whether Ward 16 can be declared a CLFZ. Assessment has shown there is still work to be done to achieve this goal. That does not mean that the project has failed to achieve its purpose; rather, it is still work in progress, and project interventions must be complemented by the efforts of other stakeholders, particularly the government and communities. For instance, the government must invest in building better schools and equipping them adequately so they are attractive for children. Communities and households must commit themselves to the principles of a CLFZ.

Recommendations for the project include:

- The outcomes thus far of the work conducted by CALCAZ shows promise, but institutional presence is still needed to consolidate the progress made and facilitate the attainment of a "no child should work" norm. So whilst the Omar's Dream project has ended. CACLAZ should not exit Ward 16, rather it should mobilize more resources in order to maintain a minimum presence in ward 16.
 - A robust M&E system to track every withdrawn children and other project outcomes should be established. A database with details of each child withdrawn and of the support or interventions that have lead to the child's withdrawal and support to remain outside labour should be kept.
 - The quality of education in the schools in Ward 16 requires attention. CACLAZ should try to mobilize other relevant stakeholders and especially government to improve the school infrastructure as well as the resources available to students (i.e., didactical material)
 - Since CACLAZ is a coalition, inviting other NGOs working on relevant efforts should be considered. This could facilitate both wider advocacy efforts as well as the roll out of the CLFZ model to other parts of the country.
 - An effort to support the development of the economic livelihood of families whose children have been involved in child labour should be explored. This could be a key component to the sustainability of the project.

ANNEX 4. 'TRUTH TABLE'

The 'Truth Table' has been a key tool in the QCA analysis that has enabled us to transform qualitative data into quantitative data. The 'Truth Table' is included in the following pages, preceded by descriptions of the abbreviations and explanations of the conditions.

Outcome Conditions – Explanatory Table

Outcome Conditions		
Abbreviation	Meaning	Comments
CHRRTR	Numbers of children retrieved from child labour	'1' indicates that significant numbers have been retrieved (more than 50)
EMPLADV	Whether the project has successfully reached employers with advocacy about child labour	'1' indicates that more than 10 employers have been reached
COMEST	Whether a child labour committee with stakeholders has been established and is functional	Must be both established and functional
CRCEST	Whether a child rights club has been established and is functional	Must be both established and functional
NORMCHG	Whether prevalent values are that no children should work and all children should be in school	Positive change is not sufficient; there must be considerable ground to believe values have changed significantly
COMRM	Whether the community can be considered to be a role model and thus receives visits from other communities	To be a role model, it has to be 'advertised' and known 'abroad'
SUM	An attempt to provide a summary of whether the community could be considered a CLFZ or whether there has been sufficient progress toward that objective	The previous conditions should add up to at least 4 – if so, '1'; otherwise '0'

Context Conditions – Explanatory Table

Context Conditions		
Abbreviation	Meaning	Comments
RURAL	Whether it is a rural or urban area	Peri-urban is classified as urban
HIPOV	Whether poverty levels are higher than the national average	When classified as average, the condition is absent
HINEQ	Whether inequality is perceived to be higher than common	
LGROWTH	Whether growth rates appear lower than the national average	
FOODSEC	Whether food security is relatively low	National programme or national average considered '1'
NOLAWENF	Whether law enforcement agency is absent in the area	If close by and small area, considered present and hence '0'
LAHEALTH	Whether the different health indicators show a relatively low health status in the community	Combined value of health-related indicators
HIVAIDS	When the prevalence of HIV/AIDS is high	
MIGR	Whether it is a community with a high level of migration (as opposed to stable population)	
LLITERACY	Whether literacy rates are relatively low	
HISTCLP	Whether other child labour projects have been implemented	
DONPRES	Whether there are external donor/aid agencies present in the community	

Mechanism Conditions – Explanatory Table

Mechanism Conditions		
Abbreviation	Meaning	Comments
ZONFOC	Whether the intervention is focused on the CLFZ concept	Also if it has a number of other activities, such as income generation
PARTAPP	Whether the intervention has a participatory approach to planning and involved community stakeholders in design	
MUSTAKE	Whether the intervention works with multiple stakeholders	Several administrative levels and different groups such as businesses and NGOs
TRANSIMP	Whether there is a transparent implementation process (e.g., objectives, budgets and accounting)	
TIMIMP	Whether the intervention has been implemented on time and according to budget	
PRESCORR	Whether there is talk of corruption and corrupt practices	This is both a contextual and mechanism condition
BRIDGESC	Whether there are bridge schools in the project design	Includes schools being built
TOCEXPL	Whether there is an explicit ToC for the project	
COMPLFUND	Whether the project funding is very complex	
RMSTRUCT	Whether there are structures in place to act as role model	Such as named schools, instructions, presentations and other ways to disseminate experiences

Outcome Conditions – Part A

	CHRRTR	EMPLADV	COMEST
Ghana1	1	0	1
Ghana 2 - Ashanti 1	1	0	1
Ghana 2 - Ashanti 2	1	0	1
Ghana 3 - Volta 1	1	0	1
Ghana 3 - Volta 2	1	0	0
Morocco - Safi	0	0	0
Zimbabwe - Ward 16	1	1	1
Kenya 1 - Khatiani	1	0	1
Kenya 2 - Kaseve	1	0	1
Kenya 3 - Mundembu	1	0	1
Kenya 4 - Ganga	1	0	1
Kenya 5 - Obwolo	0	0	1
Kenya 6 - Obunga	0	0	1
Kenya 7 - Mkwakwani	1	0	1
Ethiopia 1 - Shemagele Giorgis	1	1	1
Ethiopia 2 - Jibasra	1	1	1
Ethiopia 3 - Belta Jalye	1	1	1
Ethiopia 4 - Segno Gebeya	0	1	1
Ethiopia 5 - Menbere Tsehay	1	1	1
Ethiopia 6 - Bitana Kubi	1	1	1
Ethiopia 7 - Jarti Bequele	0	1	1
Ethiopia 8 - Bereda Asheoka	1	1	1
India 1	1	0	1
India 2	0	0	1
India 3	0	0	1
India 4	0	0	1
India 5	0	0	1
India 6	0	0	1
India 7	1	0	1
India 8	0	0	1
India 9	0	0	1
India 10	0	0	1
India 11	0	0	1
Uganda 1 - Mitukula	1	0	1
Uganda 2 - Nyaktatoogo	1	0	1
Uganda 3 - Nakiwogo	1	0	1
Uganda 4 - Kigungu	1	0	1

Outcome Conditions – Part B

	CRCEST	NORMCHG	COMRM	SUM
Ghana1	1	0	0	0
Ghana 2 - Ashanti 1	1	1	1	1
Ghana 2 - Ashanti 2	1	1	1	1
Ghana 3 - Volta 1	1	1	1	1
Ghana 3 - Volta 2	0	1	0	0
Morocco - Safi	0	0	0	0
Zimbabwe - Ward 16	1	1	0	1
Kenya 1 - Khatiani	1	0	1	1
Kenya 2 - Kaseve	1	0	1	1
Kenya 3 - Mundembu	1	0	0	0
Kenya 4 - Ganga	1	0	1	1
Kenya 5 - Obwolo	1	0	0	0
Kenya 6 - Obunga	1	0	0	0
Kenya 7 - Mkwakwani	1	0	0	0
Ethiopia 1 - Shemagele Giorgis	1	0	1	1
Ethiopia 2 - Jibasra	1	0	1	1
Ethiopia 3 - Belta Jalye	1	0	1	1
Ethiopia 4 - Segno Gebeya	1	1	0	1
Ethiopia 5 - Menbere Tsehay	1	1	0	1
Ethiopia 6 - Bitana Kubi	0	1	1	1
Ethiopia 7 - Jarti Bequele	0	1	1	1
Ethiopia 8 - Bereda Asheoka	1	0	1	1
India 1	1	1	0	1
India 2	1	1	1	1
India 3	1	1	0	0
India 4	1	1	0	0
India 5	1	1	0	0
India 6	0	1	0	0
India 7	1	1	0	1
India 8	1	1	0	0
India 9	1	1	0	0
India 10	1	1	0	0
India 11	1	1	0	0
Uganda 1 - Mitukula	1	1	1	1
Uganda 2 - Nyaktatoogo	1	1	1	1
Uganda 3 - Nakiwogo	1	1	1	1
Uganda 4 - Kigungu	1	1	1	1

Context Conditions – Part A

	RURAL	HIPOV	HINEQ	LGROWTH	LFOODSEC	NOLAWENF
Ghana1	1	0	0	0	0	1
Ghana 2 - Ashanti 1	1	1	0	1	0	1
Ghana 2 - Ashanti 2	1	0	0	1	0	0
Ghana 3 - Volta 1	1	0	0	1	0	1
Ghana 3 - Volta 2	1	1	0	1	0	1
Morocco - Safi	0	1	0	0	0	0
Zimbabwe - Ward 16	1	1	0	1	1	1
Kenya 1 - Khatiani	1	1	0	1	1	1
Kenya 2 - Kaseve	1	1	0	1	1	0
Kenya 3 - Mundembu	1	1	0	0	0	1
Kenya 4 - Ganga	1	1	0	0	0	1
Kenya 5 - Obwolo	0	0	0	0	1	0
Kenya 6 - Obunga	0	0	0	0	1	0
Kenya 7 - Mkwakwani	1	1	0	1	1	1
Ethiopia 1 - Shemagele Giorgis	1	0	0	1	0	0
Ethiopia 2 - Jibasra	1	0	0	1	0	0
Ethiopia 3 - Belta Jalye	1	0	0	1	0	0
Ethiopia 4 - Segno Gebeya	1	1	0	0	0	0
Ethiopia 5 - Menbere Tsehay	0	1	0	0	0	0
Ethiopia 6 - Bitana Kubi	1	1	0	1	0	0
Ethiopia 7 - Jarti Bequele	1	1	0	1	0	0
Ethiopia 8 - Bereda Asheoka	1	1	0	1	0	0
India 1	1	1	0	0	0	0
India 2	1	0	1	0	0	0
India 3	1	1	1	1	0	0
India 4	1	0	0	0	0	0
India 5	1	1	0	0	0	0
India 6	1	1	0	0	0	0
India 7	1	0	0	0	0	0
India 8	1	0	0	0	0	0
India 9	1	0	0	0	0	0
India 10	1	1	0	0	0	1
India 11	1	1	1	0	0	1
Uganda 1 - Mitukula	0	1	1	0	0	0
Uganda 2 - Nyaktatoogo	1	0	1	0	0	1
Uganda 3 - Nakiwogo	0	0	0	0	0	0
Uganda 4 - Kigungu	1	0	0	0	0	0

Context Conditions – Part B

	LAHEALTH	HIVAIDS	MIGR	LLITERACY	HISTCLP	DONPRES
Ghana1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Ghana 2 - Ashanti 1	0	1	1	1	0	0
Ghana 2 - Ashanti 2	0	1	1	0	0	0
Ghana 3 - Volta 1	0	0	1	1	1	0
Ghana 3 - Volta 2	0	0	1	0	0	0
Morocco - Safi	0	0	1	0	1	0
Zimbabwe - Ward 16	1	1	1	1	0	0
Kenya 1 - Khatiani	1	0	0	0	0	1
Kenya 2 - Kaseve	1	0	0	0	0	0
Kenya 3 - Mundembu	1	1	1	1	1	1
Kenya 4 - Ganga	1	1	1	1	1	0
Kenya 5 - Obwolo	0	1	1	0	1	1
Kenya 6 - Obunga	0	1	1	0	1	0
Kenya 7 - Mkwakwani	1	1	1	0	0	0
Ethiopia 1 - Shemagele Giorgis	1	1	0	0	1	0
Ethiopia 2 - Jibasra	1	1	0	0	0	0
Ethiopia 3 - Belta Jalye	1	1	0	0	0	0
Ethiopia 4 - Segno Gebeya	1	1	1	0	1	1
Ethiopia 5 - Menbere Tsehay	1	1	1	0	1	1
Ethiopia 6 - Bitana Kubi	1	0	0	1	0	0
Ethiopia 7 - Jarti Bequele	1	0	0	1	0	0
Ethiopia 8 - Bereda Asheoka	1	0	0	1	0	0
India 1	0	0	1	1	1	1
India 2	0	0	1	0	1	1
India 3	0	0	1	1	0	1
India 4	0	0	1	1	1	1
India 5	0	0	1	1	0	1
India 6	0	0	1	1	1	1
India 7	0	0	1	1	1	1
India 8	0	0	1	1	1	1
India 9	0	0	0	1	1	1
India 10	0	0	1	1	1	1
India 11	0	0	1	1	1	1
Uganda 1 - Mitukula	1	1	0	0	1	1
Uganda 2 - Nyaktatoogo	1	1	0	0	1	1
Uganda 3 - Nakiwogo	1	1	1	0	1	1
Uganda 4 - Kigungu	1	1	1	0	1	1

Mechanism Conditions– Part A

	ZONFOC	PARTAP P	MUSTAK E	TRANSIM P	TIMIM P
Ghana1	1	0	0	1	0
Ghana 2 - Ashanti 1	0	1	1	1	0
Ghana 2 - Ashanti 2	0	1	1	1	0
Ghana 3 - Volta 1	0	1	1	1	0
Ghana 3 - Volta 2	0	1	1	1	0
Morocco - Safi	0	1	0	1	0
Zimbabwe - Ward 16	0	1	0	1	0
Kenya 1 - Khatiani	1	1	1	1	0
Kenya 2 - Kaseve	0	1	1	1	0
Kenya 3 - Mundembu	1	1	1	1	0
Kenya 4 - Ganga	0	1	1	1	0
Kenya 5 - Obwolo	1	1	1	1	0
Kenya 6 - Obunga	0	1	1	1	0
Kenya 7 - Mkwakwani	0	1	1	1	0
Ethiopia 1 - Shemagele Giorgis	0	1	1	0	1
Ethiopia 2 - Jibasra	0	1	1	0	1
Ethiopia 3 - Belta Jalye	0	1	1	0	1
Ethiopia 4 - Segno Gebeya	1	1	1	1	1
Ethiopia 5 - Menbere Tsehay	1	1	1	1	1
Ethiopia 6 - Bitana Kubi	0	1	1	1	1
Ethiopia 7 - Jarti Bequele	0	1	1	1	1
Ethiopia 8 - Bereda Asheoka	0	1	1	1	1
India 1	1	0	0	0	1
India 2	1	1	1	0	1
India 3	1	1	1	0	1
India 4	1	1	0	0	1
India 5	1	1	1	0	1
India 6	1	1	1	0	1
India 7	1	0	1	0	1
India 8	1	1	1	0	1
India 9	1	1	0	0	1
India 10	1	1	1	1	1
India 11	1	1	1	1	1
Uganda 1 - Mitukula	1	1	1	1	1
Uganda 2 - Nyaktatoogo	1	1	1	1	1
Uganda 3 - Nakiwogo	1	1	1	1	1
Uganda 4 - Kigungu	1	1	1	1	1

Mechanism Conditions– Part B

	PRESCOR R	BRIDGE SC	TOCEXP L	COMPLFUN D	RMSTRUC T
Ghana1	0	1	0	1	0
Ghana 2 - Ashanti 1	1	1	0	0	1
Ghana 2 - Ashanti 2	1	1	0	0	1
Ghana 3 - Volta 1	1	1	0	0	1
Ghana 3 - Volta 2	1	0	0	0	0
Morocco - Safi	0	1	0	0	0
Zimbabwe - Ward 16	0	1	0	1	0
Kenya 1 - Khatiani	0	0	0	1	0
Kenya 2 - Kaseve	0	0	0	1	0
Kenya 3 - Mundembu	0	0	0	1	0
Kenya 4 - Ganga	0	0	0	1	0
Kenya 5 - Obwolo	0	0	0	1	0
Kenya 6 - Obunga	0	0	0	1	0
Kenya 7 - Mkwakwani	0	0	0	1	0
Ethiopia 1 - Shemagele Giorgis	0	1	1	0	1
Ethiopia 2 - Jibasra	0	1	1	0	1
Ethiopia 3 - Belta Jalye	0	1	1	0	1
Ethiopia 4 - Segno Gebeya	0	0	1	0	1
Ethiopia 5 - Menbere Tsehay	0	0	1	0	1
Ethiopia 6 - Bitana Kubi	0	0	1	0	1
Ethiopia 7 - Jarti Bequele	0	0	1	0	1
Ethiopia 8 - Bereda Asheoka	0	0	1	0	1
India 1	1	1	0	0	0
India 2	1	0	1	0	1
India 3	1	0	0	0	0
India 4	1	0	1	0	1
India 5	1	1	0	0	1
India 6	1	0	1	0	0
India 7	1	0	1	0	0
India 8	1	0	0	0	0
India 9	1	0	0	0	0
India 10	1	0	0	0	0
India 11	1	0	0	0	0
Uganda 1 - Mitukula	1	1	1	0	1
Uganda 2 - Nyaktatoogo	1	1	1	0	1
Uganda 3 - Nakiwogo	1	1	1	0	1
Uganda 4 - Kigungu	1	1	1	0	1