WORK: NO CHILD'S BUSINESS

Addressing gender and social inequalities in child labour programming

Findings from five
'Work: No Child's Business' countries

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Abbreviations

CBO	Community-based organisation
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
GAP analysis	Gender and Power analysis
GE	Gender Equality
GESI	Gender Equality and Social Inclusion
GSE	Gender and Social Equity
IDI	In-depth interview
KAP	Knowledge, Attitudes, Practices
KII	Key informant interview
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease
WNCB	Work: No Child's Business

Executive summary

Addressing gender and social inequalities in child labour programming

The WNCB programme aims to empower children to access education and enhance their employability within a supportive family and community environment; improve access to decent youth employment; support governments to enforce child rights-based laws, and implement policies on child labour, education, youth empowerment, and social security; and to ensure that the private sector prevents and addresses child labour. The WNCB programme is implemented by an alliance composed of Save the Children, UNICEF and the Stop Child Labour Coalition in collaboration with local and national Civil Society Organisations (CSOs). Started in July 2019, the programme is supported by the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs and will run until June 2024.

The programme is implemented in 6 countries: **Ivory Coast, Mali** and **Uganda** in Africa, **Jordan** in the Middle East, and **India and Vietnam** in Asia. It focuses on economic sectors with a high incidence of child labour, and works with relevant national stakeholders in each country, including children/youth, parents/caregivers, schools, government officials and local authorities, civil society organisations, trade unions and private sector employers.

Addressing the different child labour risk- and protective-factors for boys and girls is one of the main cross-cutting thematic areas for the WNCB programme. Through its activities, the programme aims to diminish child labour by contributing to gender equality and social inclusion (GESI) in schools, workplaces (for those who have attained legal working age), households and communities. Achieving GESI is vital to WNCB's programming and our contribution to the international community's commitment to eliminating all forms of child labour by 2025 (SDG 8.7).

In order to strengthen WNCB's Gender Transformative approach within the programme, a gender assessment was commissioned for each of the 6 countries.

To ensure that the country studies identified the most ingrained gender gaps, the Gender and Equality Working Group developed an integrated framework combining traditional Gender Analysis methods, WNCB's Theory of Change and Save the Children's Gender and Power (GAP) methodology. By seeking to better understand how gender constructs impact childhood and child labour, this study contributes to the achievement of the WNCB programme's Theory of Change "Annex 3" outcomes.

OUTCOME 1:

Children are empowered and have improved access to (quality) education and youth employment within a supportive family and community environment.

OUTCOME 2:

Governments have enforced relevant child rights-based laws and policies on child labour, education, youth economic empowerment, and social security.
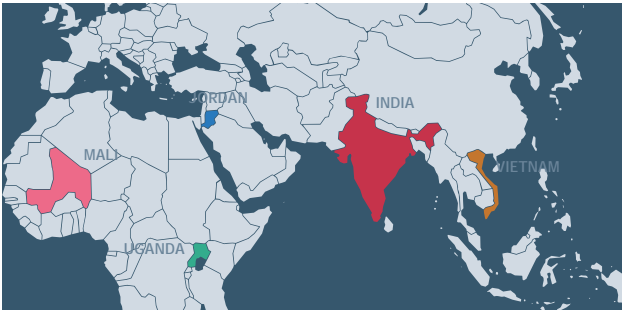
OUTCOME 3:

The private sector takes full responsibility for preventing and addressing child labour.

OUTCOME 4:

The EU, Dutch government and international organisations act in support of the elimination of child labour and fulfil their obligation by setting and reinforcing due diligence policies and laws.

The resulting 5 country-specific gender assessment reports (unfortunately time constraints prevented the Ivory Coast report from being completed on time) highlight different child labour risk- and protective-factors for boys, girls and their families within and across the different contexts. They provide valuable information that will enable the WNCB programme to adjust its strategies both at local and country level. **This Consolidated Report distils the results of the individual country reports and presents cross-contextual differences and similarities in addition to overarching programmatic recommendations which will ensure that child labour is effectively eliminated among both boys and girls.**

Key findings from the cross-country assessment

The **conclusions** for each country are based on an analysis of the findings of the literature review and primary data from key informant interviews and focus group discussions and give an overview of answers to the first research question:

> **What causes/drives child labour for boys and girls within the WNCB programme target groups (migrants, street children and refugee children)? And what is the relationship with the informal sector under the two components (education and employment)?**

While the contexts of the different countries vary considerably in terms of economic development, political systems and socio-cultural characteristics, the studies revealed similarities across countries, primarily in the **presence of persistent patriarchal beliefs and norms,** in particular those concerning what constitutes labour. However, beliefs and norms vary from country to country, as do the way in which they affect girls and boys. While poverty is frequently a key driver of child labour, the consequences for girls' and boys' engagement in

child labour vary depending not only on beliefs and norms surrounding the roles ascribed to males and females (children and adults), but also household structure and family dynamics; quality of, access to and value attached to education; and the broader socio-political context. While all 5 countries have ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, the ILO Convention on Worst Forms of Child Labour (182) and Minimum Age (138), effective enforcement of national legislation on child labour and implementation of policy are lacking. The same is true for education in all 5 countries. As such, the detailed information on the world of child labour that each country study yielded provides valuable evidence upon which WNCB can act to make its work to eliminate child labour even more effective. The **recommendations** are based on the conclusions and form the final part of this report. The recommendations are presented in response to the second research question:

> **What can the WNCB programme improve to address the risk factors of child labour and promote protective factors for boys and girls within the WNCB programme target groups and sectors (education and employment?**

The tables for each country present suggestions for actions that WNCB should start to do, do differently, or stop, and the risk- and protective-factors associated with these.

Final remarks

The Alliance implementing the WNCB now has a wealth of new and confirmatory evidence upon which it can base adjustments and improvements to its interventions to address gender and social inequalities in child labour programming, from the community level in conjunction with local CSOs, to the national and international level through its networking and advocacy/lobbying work.

This report provides heavily summarised information. The reader is encouraged to make use of the links to the Summary Reports "Annex 4" for each country and the Country Reports themselves for more detailed information.

1
INTRODUCTION

1 Introduction

Child labour – the context

Worldwide an estimated 160 million children are engaged in child labour, accounting for almost 1 in 10 of the world's children. Of these, an estimated 63 million are girls (nearly 40%), and 97 million are boys (just over 60 %) (UNICEF 2021).

Child labour is associated with different factors, including poverty, lack of access to or poor quality of education, acute crises, chronic emergencies, conflict and social and cultural factors. It is threatening the development of children worldwide, undermining their health, safety and well-being, and depriving children of access to and retention in education (ILO, 2020): over one-third of children performing child labour do not attend school.

97 MILLION BOYS

160 MILLION CHILDREN

63 MILLION GIRLS

> **Definition of child labour**
> The Work: No Child's Business programme defines child labour as:
> *Any form of work performed by children under the age of 15 that interferes with their right to formal quality education, and/or that is mentally, physically, socially and morally dangerous and harmful to their health and development; as well as any form of hazardous work performed by children between 15 and 18 years old.* (WNCB, 2017)
> This is definition is based on the United national Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) and ILO Convention 138 (Minimum age convention) and Convention 182 (Worst forms of child labour convention).

Three types of child labour

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 nature of child labour varies from country to country and among the various economic sectors, but worldwide the agricultural sector is where most children are found working. Accordingly, global estimates suggest that child labour is three times more prevalent in rural areas than urban areas. According to UNICEF, in the least developed countries, over one in four children **(5-17) are engaged in labour that is considered detrimental to their health and development.**

When people are asked to imagine child labour, they often picture boys doing hazardous work. Child labour is generally thought of as happening outside the household. This picture is reinforced by **the Sustainable Development Goals framework,** in which the effort to eliminate child labour is framed as part of the agenda to ensure decent work and **economic growth (SDG 8).** The situation is more complex however, and this framing ignores factors that prevent boys and girls from attending school, particularly work performed within the household and mostly by girls, which often also enables the formal work done by other household members.

Child labour can be divided into three major categories: paid or unpaid work outside the home, family work, and housework. Children's work outside the home has received the most empirical attention.

Work outside the home
Work outside the home takes place in three broad sectors: agriculture (69% of economically active children, including farming, fishing, and forestry), services (22% of economically active children, including street selling or begging, domestic, restaurant and transportation work), and industry (9% of economically active children, including manufacturing, mining, construction, and public utility work). These kinds of work outside the home can be paid or unpaid.
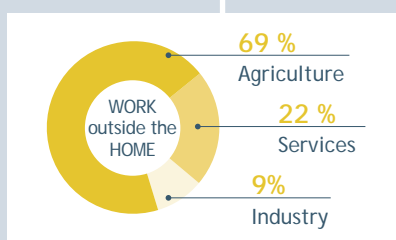
Family work
Family work consists of any (usually unpaid) work that children do for the family. Often, family work is agricultural, but it also includes work for any other type of family-owned business. The largest share of child labour takes place within families: 72% of all child labour and 83% of child labour among children aged 5 to 11 occurs within families, primarily on family farms or in family microenterprises.
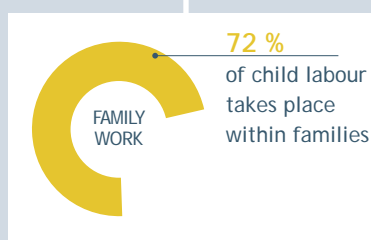
Housework, or household chores
Housework, or household chores, includes childcare, cleaning, cooking, laundry, shopping, fetching water and wood, and home maintenance. Housework is a hidden form of child labour because it is unpaid, and it often goes unreported.

WORK outside the HOME	**69 %** Agriculture
	22 % Services
	9% Industry

FAMILY WORK	**72 %** of child labour takes place within families

FAMILY WORK	**83 %** of child labour among children aged 5 to 11 occurs takes place within families
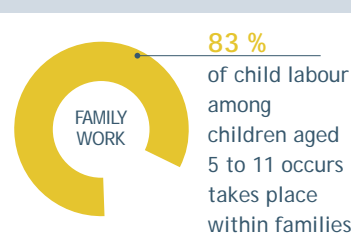
UNICEF's standard indicators for child labour are based on the following estimates for working hours per age group:

Age 5 to 11 years:	at least 1 hour of economic work or 21 hours of unpaid household services per week
Age 12 to 14 years:	at least 14 hours of economic work or 21 hours of unpaid household services per week
Age 15 to 17 years:	at least 43 hours of economic work per week

Conditions faced by children

The worst forms of child labour involve 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. Global estimates of children in the worst forms of child labour are unavailable due to the hidden and illicit nature of these extreme forms of child labour in most countries (ILO, 2020).

Hazardous child labour is work that, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm children's health, safety or morals. An estimated 79 million children - nearly half of all those in child labour - were in hazardous work that directly endangers their health, safety and moral development (ILO, 2020). In Jordan, for example, 60% of all children involved in child labour were found to be engaged in hazardous work, including working with dangerous machinery, tools or heavy loads, working long hours or during the night, as well as in unhealthy environments such as landfills and recycling plants (Jordan National Child Labour Survey, 2016).

Informal workplace cultures where child labourers tend to be found are often characterised by verbal abuse, sexual harassment, physical brutality and, in some cases, rape or murder. For example, in Mali, children are used for numerous productive and reproductive tasks that make them more vulnerable, and although economic work is still largely done by boys, the arrival of girls in the labour market is accelerating and taking on worrying dimensions. This rapid integration of girls into the labour market compromises their education and makes them more vulnerable to physical and sexual violence such as child marriages, early pregnancies, HIV-AIDS and STDs.

In most countries, many forms of workplace violence are not reflected in official records of employers and the police or other authorities. This lack of reporting is due to several factors, a major one being that many workers – particularly women – feel constrained to remain silent about their victimisation because of fear of reprisals, including the possibility of losing their livelihood. In addition, a lack of trust in bodies to which reporting is to be made, or a belief that little can or would be done to provide real redress, may also lead to under-reporting.

Domestic workers, who are predominantly female, face harsh conditions. They are especially vulnerable to violence as they work and often live in private homes and hence are isolated from their own families and support systems (UNICEF, 2000). Their work is mostly undervalued, and many are underpaid yet overworked with long hours, which limits contact with social and other support systems (Eurofound, 2003). Those working in informal arrangements are unprotected by regulations and not covered by social services; where such regulations exist for foreign domestic workers, these tend to be restrictive rather than protective of domestic workers. Child domestic workers are especially exposed to psychological and emotional violence as well as sexual harassment, sexual abuse and sometimes rape (Terre des Hommes, 2019). Domestic workers can also suffer violence from co-workers in households with more than one employee. Frequently reported verbal abuse includes inappropriate language, shouting and insults (UN Women, 2020).

Lastly, the COVID-19 pandemic has contributed additional risks associated with child labour, such as a sharp rise in poverty, school closures, food insecurity and a lack of appropriate alternatives for livelihoods and education. Consequently, according to UNICEF estimates (2021), an additional 9 million children will be at risk of being in child labour by the end of 2022.

Child labour and gender

There is broad consensus on the importance of the gender dimension in understanding child labour, as there are differences in how girls and boys are involved in child labour, and girls may face specific risks. Girls in child labour are much more likely to be in services, including domestic work, which is generally under-reported. Domestic work, including in third-party households, is a form of child labour usually hidden from public view and beyond the scope of labour inspectorates, leaving girls especially vulnerable to abuse (ILO, 2009).

Among all boys, 11.2% are in child labour compared to 7.8% of all girls. In absolute numbers, boys in child labour outnumber girls by 34 million. When the definition of child labour expands to include household chores for 21 hours or more each week, the gender gap in prevalence among boys and girls aged 5 to 14 is reduced by almost half. (UNICEF, 2021)

The report Harnessing the Power of Data for Girls: Taking stock and looking ahead to 2030, includes the first global estimates on the amount of time girls spend doing household chores such as cooking, cleaning, caring for family members and collecting water and firewood. It also notes that girls' work is less visible and often undervalued. Worldwide, 7.1 million children are engaged in domestic work that constitutes child labour. Of these, 4.4 million (62%) are girls, and 2.5 million (57%) are aged 5-11 years. In addition, those who are domestic workers are excluded from legal protection, which makes them even more vulnerable (Allias, 2009).

Gender determines, to a large extent, the participation and characteristics of the work performed by girls and boys and, consequently their development and employment opportunities. There are various economic, sociological and cultural explanations for why girls and boys engage in different working activities. This report, and the country reports it is based on, seeks to throw more light on the gender dimensions of child labour in the countries where WNCB is implemented, in order to use the findings and recommendations to strengthen WNCB's Gender Transformative approach.

Work: No Child's Business (WNCB) programme

The WNCB programme aims to empower children to access education and enhance their employability within a supportive family and community environment; improve access to decent youth employment; support governments to enforce child rights-based laws, and implement policies on child labour, education, youth empowerment, and social security; and to ensure that the private sector prevents and addresses child labour.

The WNCB programme is implemented by an alliance composed of Save the Children, UNICEF and the Stop Child Labour Coalition in collaboration with local and national Civil Society Organisations (CSOs). Started in July 2019, the programme is supported by the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs and will run until June 2024.

The programme is implemented in six countries: Ivory Coast, Mali and Uganda in Africa, Jordan in the Middle East, and India and Vietnam in Asia. The programme focuses on economic sectors with a high incidence of child labour, which vary per country: garment, textiles and footwear (India, Vietnam), gold and mining (Mali, Uganda), natural stone (India), cocoa (Ivory Coast) and the informal sector where domestic and agricultural work take place (all countries).

The programme works with relevant national stakeholders in each country, including, but not limited to, children/youth, parents/caregivers, schools, government officials and local authorities, civil society organisations, trade unions and private sector employers.

Gender equality and social inclusion in WNCB

Addressing the different child labour risks and protective factors for boys and girls is one of the main cross-cutting thematic areas for the WNCB programme. Through the programme's activities, the Alliance aims to diminish child labour by contributing to gender equality and social inclusion (GESI) in schools, workplaces (for those who have attained legal working age), households and communities. Achieving GESI is vital to WNCB's programming and our contribution to the international community's commitment to eliminating all forms of child labour by 2025 (SDG 8.7). A global Gender Equality Working Group (GEWG) provides technical guidance to the programme to develop and implement a gender-responsive approach. WNCB recognizes gender equality means that all people have equality of opportunity and are able to enjoy these equal opportunities so they can realize their full rights and potential. The overall vision of the WNCB Gender equality strategy is "A gender equal and gender just world where all people, in particular women and girls affected by child labor, are empowered to exercise their rights to make free and informed choices about their education, future livelihood and wellbeing."

To ensure that gender is mainstreamed within programme interventions, a context-specific gender analysis was initiated in 2022 across the six countries (Ivory Coast, Mali, Uganda, Jordan, India, Vietnam) to inform decision-making at the WNCB programme level on relevant country-based interventions and influence some of the more systemic changes regarding gender and child labour policy and practices. **The objective of this assessment was to identify the key gender equality gaps in relation to child labour and provide strategies and policy recommendations for addressing the identified barriers to the well-being of children.**

Unfortunately, the gender analysis was only completed in 5 of the 6 WNCB countries. The gender analysis in Ivory Coast was not completed in time due to unforeseen challenges. The GEWG has included some of the lessons learned from WNCB's studies for the purpose of referencing practical recommendations for all countries. The resulting five country-specific gender assessment reports highlight different child labour risk- and protective-factors for boys, girls and their families within and across the different contexts. **This**

Consolidated Report is based on the country reports and presents cross-contextual differences and similarities in addition to overarching programmatic recommendations which can ensure that child labour is effectively eliminated among both boys and girls.

While many of the findings of the country gender assessments are not expected to be generalisable, this consolidated report attempts to synthesise them and distil learnings that can provide in-depth insights on gender equality in the WNCB programme, its contribution towards gender equality so far, recommendations for strengthening the programme strategy, and adaptations for its upcoming phase.

Summarised extracts of the findings of the country reports are included in the annexes of this report. For more detailed information and understanding of the specific country contexts, readers are encouraged to consult the country reports themselves.

MALI	UGANDA	JORDAN	INDIA	VIETNAM
20.25 MILLION PEOPLE	45.74 MILLION PEOPLE	11.3 MILLION PEOPLE	1.6 BILLION PEOPLE	97.3 MILLION PEOPLE

MALI

Type of government
Military Traditional
(Coup in 2020)

Main religion
Islam

UGANDA

Type of government
Democratic Traditional
(Secular)

Main religion
Christian

JORDAN

Type of government
Kingdom
(Parliamentary Monarchy)

Main religion
Islam

INDIA

Type of government
Representative
Democracy (Secular)

Main religion
Hindu 79.8%
Islam 14.2%
Christianity 2.3%

VIETNAM

Type of government
Communist State
(One Party)

Main religion
Buddhism

BIRTHS/1000 FEMALES AGED 15-19

| 164.0 | 111.4 | 27.0 | 12.2 | 35.0 |

SDG Index (out of 163 countries)

Country	Rank
Mali	142
Uganda	136
Jordan	80
India	121
Vietnam	55

(scale 0–163)
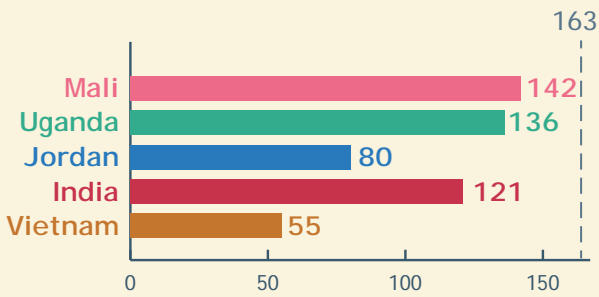
Gender Index* (out of 146 countries)

Country	Rank
Mali	141
Uganda	61
Jordan	122
India	135
Vietnam	83

(scale 0–150, out of 146)
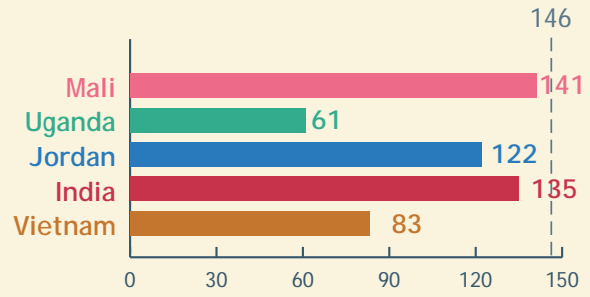
	Mali	Uganda	Jordan	India	Vietnam
Net enrolment rate in primary education (%)	59.0	95.6	79.9	94.6	98.5
Lower secondary school completion rate (%)	29.7	26.4	66.4	84.6	97.7
Literacy rate (% of population aged 15-24	46.2	89.4	99.3	91.7	98.6
Ratio of female-to-male mean years of education received (%)	56.7	64.5	96.3	62.1	93.0
Ratio of female-to-male labour force participation rate (%)	72.5	89.1	21.6	26.8	87.0
Children involved in child labour (% of population aged 5-14)	13.2	18.1	1.7	NA	13.1

	4 QUALITY EDUCATION		5 GENDER EQUALITY		8 DECENT WORK AND ECONOMIC GROWTH		16 PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS	
Mali	● Major challenges	↓ Decreasing	● Major challenges	↗ Moderately Increasing	● Major challenges	↗ Moderately Increasing	● Major challenges	→ Stagnating
Uganda	● Major challenges	● Data not available	● Major challenges	→ Stagnating	● Major challenges	↗ Moderately Increasing	● Major challenges	→ Stagnating
Jordan	● Major challenges	→ Stagnating	● Major challenges	→ Stagnating	● Major challenges	↗ Moderately Increasing	● Significant challenges	↗ Moderately Increasing
India	● Challenges remain	→ Stagnating	● Major challenges	→ Stagnating	● Major challenges	↗ Moderately Increasing	● Major challenges	→ Stagnating
Vietnam	● SDG achievement	↑ On track	● Significant challenges	↗ Moderately Increasing	● Significant challenges	↗ Moderately Increasing	● Major challenges	↗ Moderately Increasing

Legend:
- ● SDG achievement
- ● Challenges remain
- ● Significant challenges remain
- ● Major challenges remain
- ↑ On track
- ↗ Moderately Increasing
- → Stagnating
- ↓ Decreasing
- ● Data not available

2
SCOPE, METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS OF THE STUDY

>> Scope of the study

>> Approach and methodology

>> Overview of country assessments: methods, tools, sampling

>> Study limitations

>> The effect of the COVID-19 pandemic on gender equality

2 Scope, Methodology and Research Questions of the Study

Scope of the study

The WNCB programme aims to reach children in child labour and children at risk of child labour by considering structural inequalities within societies based on gender, ethnicity and social status. To ensure that the country studies identified the most ingrained gender gaps, the GEWG developed an integrated framework combining traditional Gender Analysis methods, WNCB's Theory of Change and Save the Children's Gender and Power (GAP) methodology. The GAP analysis is a type of action research that investigates how gender and power inequalities intersect and helps staff and partners understand the types and depth of discrimination in each context. It supports the design and adaptation of programming that positively transforms unequal power relations and ensures all stakeholders can equitably access, participate in, be decision makers for, and benefit from activities. Ultimately, this research enables evidence-based programming and advocacy that advance gender equality and social justice. By seeking to better understand how gender constructs impact childhood and child labour, this study contributes to the achievement of the WNCB programme's Theory of Change outcomes[1].

OUTCOME 1
Children are empowered and have improved access to (quality) education and youth employment within a supportive family and community environment.

OUTCOME 2
Governments have enforced relevant child rights-based laws and policies on child labour, education, youth economic empowerment, and social security.

OUTCOME 3
The private sector takes full responsibility for preventing and addressing child labour.

OUTCOME 4
The EU, Dutch government and international organisations act in support of the elimination of child labour and fulfil their obligation by setting and reinforcing due diligence policies and laws.

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1   See Annex 2 for the programme's Theory of Change.

The countries used slightly different objectives in their studies:

Mali
1. Analyse the conditions of children working in the agriculture and gold mining sectors in the Malian context.
2. Highlight the main risk factors that lead to child labour in Mali and the protective factors that would reduce the rate of child labour from a community and governmental perspective.

Uganda & Jordan
1. Assess how WNCB interventions have contributed to change across men, women, boys and girls, including expected and unexpected results towards a transition to decent work.
2. Build evidence-based content that facilitates documentation and contributes to broader advocacy and social movements favouring equal human rights for men, women, boys and girls in preventing and addressing child labour.
3. Provide gender-responsive operational recommendations for strengthening the programme's strategy for the project's new phase.

India
1. Evaluate gender gaps in the anti-child labour interventions taking place in the WNCB India programme's focus areas and sectors.
2. Devise recommendations on how to make these interventions against child labour more gender-responsive, in light of the gaps identified.

Vietnam
1. Identify key issues/drivers contributing to gender gaps and inequalities, their linkages to child labour and other vulnerabilities that facilitate child labour, such as school dropout, unsafe migration, poverty, unemployment, social norms, gender-based violence risks and vulnerabilities, and the adverse impact of COVID-19 (including public health measures and its secondary impacts such as loss of livelihoods).
2. Provide insights into equitable access to opportunities, including equal education opportunities and retention (such as school-based violence and discrimination related to sexual orientation, gender identity and expression) and gender barriers to transition to decent work.
3. Provide evidence and recommendations for promoting gender-transformative policies and interventions to inform the programme's new phase of planning and programming; and recommendations for gender-responsive legislation on child labour and interventions for child labour prevention and elimination.

Research questions
In light of the study objectives, two main questions were formulated:

1. **What causes/drives child labour for boys and girls within the WNCB programme target groups and sectors?**

2. **What can the WNCB programme do better to address the risk factors of child labour and promote protective factors for boys and girls within the WNCB programme's target groups and sectors?**

Approach and methodology

The studies sought to better understand how gender constructs impact childhood and how societal norms and practices influence the roles and identities of boys and girls at individual, family, community, and societal levels. They also looked at laws and policies related to gender, child rights and protection, and their implementation in the respective countries; and finally, they sought to explore gender inequalities and disparities through the broader lens of social exclusion and poverty.

Gender and Power (GAP) analysis

The gender analysis employed a Gender and Power (GAP) analytical model, which considers different socio-ecological levels of analysis: individual, interpersonal, community and societal levels. The socio-ecological model helps understand the dynamics and interactions among various factors that affect the lives of children and their families. It recognises that children do not live in a vacuum, and their choices are highly influenced by the social, economic, legal and political systems surrounding them. These systems affect the choices, opportunities, access to and control over resources. Activities conducted at each level are interconnected in complex ways. Progress at one level can accelerate development in another, and challenges at one level can create barriers to improvement in another. Thus, to examine gender inequity and differential power relations, it is necessary to scrutinise the activities at multiple levels.

The GAP analysis framework envisions an intersectional approach to understanding how gender structures social relationships. In order to capture barriers that limit gender equality and social justice, as well as map intersecting differentials of power based on other forms of social identity and privilege, the GAP analysis method employs the following six domains:

- **Patterns of decision-making**
  This domain is concerned with individuals' capacity to exercise autonomy over decisions related to their lives and bodies, as well as contribute to decision-making within the family, community, and society. It encompasses individual decisions linked to one's own body, health, and activities (such as participation in education or work), as well as family or community-level decisions that are economic, educational, or political in nature.

- **Social norms, beliefs, and practices**
  This domain focuses on informal social expectations and practices that structure how individuals interact with one another as well as with social structures around them. Unequal political, economic, legal, and social systems rely on social norms and beliefs being shaped and reinforced such that power-holders' privilege is maintained.

- **Access to and control over resources**
  This domain looks at individuals' access to, use of, and control over resources required to function and participate in society. It covers concerns around assets, education, income, social benefits, health, technology, and information. While examining if individuals can access resources, it is also important to consider that the usage of resources may vary among people in particular groups or contexts.

- **Roles, responsibilities, and time use**
  This domain is concerned with the roles and responsibilities that people adopt and are allocated in different spheres of their lives, as well as how they utilise their time. Gender and other power differentials shape how individuals are situated within paid and unpaid work, leisure time, and social spaces inside and outside the household.

- **Laws, policies, regulations, and institutional practices**
  This domain examines if there are any biases within how laws, policies, regulations, and institutional practices operate. These play a role in creating, reinforcing, or challenging gender and social inequalities. The framing and exercise of rights is central to stakeholders' access to institutions such as inheritance, employment, legal status, and protections against violence.

- **Safety, dignity, and wellbeing**
  Safety encompasses freedom from harm and violence, and includes both physical and psychological aspects. This domain focuses on how violations of rights, such as discrimination, inequality, exclusion, and violence affect individuals' ability to live with dignity within families, communities, and societies.

The consultants across the six countries adopted a participatory approach involving various stakeholders to answer the research questions. They adopted a mix of methods for the study. Data was collected from secondary sources (data and literature on child labour practices, gender gaps, inequalities in child labour concerning educational attainment, legislation, policy and regulations concerning child labour, child rights and protection, and gender equality) and primary sources (stakeholders at a national and local level) so that as far as possible data triangulation could be done to validate the research findings. The primary data collection approaches were either qualitative (India and Vietnam) or mixed qualitative and quantitative (Mali, Uganda and Jordan).

Qualitative primary data collection was done mainly through focus group discussions (FGDs) and semi-structured key informant interviews (KIIs) using open-ended questions, allowing respondents flexibility to converse openly about issues about gaps and opportunities related to gender inequalities and their linkages to child labour. The FGDs used a participative listing and ranking methodology[2] to facilitate the identification and understanding of the existing gender inequalities and drivers of child labour. One of the strengths of this methodology is that participants identify the key drivers while also playing a leading role in prioritising the drivers most important to them,

which can support practical action by Save the Children. The India country assessment included thematic analysis, grounded discourse, and discourse analysis. The Uganda country assessment also used an 'H' assessment to explore the strengths and successes of the WNCB programme among boys and girls and adult men and women in the communities. Also, in Uganda, the researcher supported younger children aged between 5 and 12 to express themselves through creative drawings to voice their issues and concerns about child labour. Quantitative data collection was generally done using Knowledge, Attitude, Practice (KAP) surveys. The data collected were subjected to SPSS statistical analysis. For more information on each country's assessment (target communities, collection methods and tools, sampling methods and sample sizes), see Table 1 below.

All country and consultant teams have taken into account different safe guarding measures including child safeguarding (CSG) procedures while conducting the analysis. This includes, ensure participation in research is voluntary, obtain fully informed consent from guardians and participants, make participants aware of their entitlement to refuse/withdraw at any stage, not exclude any group from consideration; and maintain participants' anonymity and confidentiality. The teams also focus on preventive actions to ensure children's safety.

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2   The participative listing and ranking methodology is an approach to data collection in which groups of knowledgeable participants are guided in generating responses to specific questions in a participatory manner. The methodology draws on both quantitative and qualitative methods to generate rich, contextualised data that can be counted, ranked, and compared across or within groups. It promotes a participatory process that rapidly highlights existing drivers while also providing an opportunity for deeper analysis.

Overview of country assessments: methods, tools, sampling

Table 1

Mali Feb-Aug 2022	
Targeted communities / locations	Sikasso region: - Finkolo Ganadougou - Faragouaran - Fourou - Misséni - Gouanan - Yalancoro Ségou region: - Diaramana - Kazangasso - Waki
Data collection method	- Secondary: desk/literature review - Primary: mixed method
Sampling method	- Purposive sampling

Data collection tools	Target group	Sample size
24 semi-structured interviews with key informants	Regional and national level KIIs: - 3 elected communal officials (1 woman) - 3 traditional or customary leaders - 5 representatives of CBOs (agricultural cooperatives, gold-miner groups; AME, CGS, AWCY) (2 women) - 5 informal-sector entrepreneurs (2 women) - 2 CSCom agents (1 woman) - 2 teachers (1 woman) - 1 representative of the local department for the promotion of children and women - 1 representative of the local social development service - 1 representative of the security/defence service - 1 representative of the territorial administration	24 key informants 180 children
Surveys in-person: 180 children (80 girls)	Children (5-17) and parents	

Uganda Feb-Aug 2022	
Targeted communities / locations	Tiira T/C - Buteba - Moruita - Tokora - Tapac - Rupa
Data collection method	- Secondary: desk/literature review - Primary: quantitative survey, qualitative methods
Sampling method	- Kish Grid formula for quantitative methods

Data collection tools	Target group	Sample size
Quantitative: - KAP Study Qualitative: - 23 KIIs - 28 FGDs	- Female and male adolescents (13 -17) - Female and male children < 12 - Adults: females and males	Total of 237 respondents from 120 households for the quantitative study (117 adolescents (13-17) and 120 caregivers)

Jordan April 2022

Targeted communities / locations	- **East Amman** (Sahab, Marka & Russaifeh) - **Mafraq** (Za'atari camp)
Data collection method	- Secondary: desk/literature review - Primary: mixed method (quantitative and qualitative)
Sampling method	- Snowballing

Data collection tools	Target group	Sample size
Surveys (in-person interviews)	Jordanian and Syrian children and youth (7-17) (Engaged in formal education, or at risk of dropping out or have dropped out from school)	193 (40 females 153 males, including 13 females and 29 males from Za'atari camp.
5 FGDs	Parents of children and youth	4 FGDs with female parents 1 FGD with male parents
5 in-person interviews	**Informal sector employers in:** - Agriculture (farming, poultry farm) - Industrial (plastic, detergent) - Trade (clothing) - Income-generating projects (cooking and treats, babysitting)	5
9 in-person/online interviews	Representatives from governmental organisations[3]	4
	Representatives from INGOs[4]	4
	Representatives from local NGOs[5]	1
2 in-person interviews	Imams	2

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[3] Representatives from Jordanian government organisations include the National Council of Family Affairs (semi-governmental), Ministry of Labour, Ministry of Education and Ministry of Social Development.

[4] Representatives from INGOs include UN Women, Save the Children, UNICEF and ILO.

[5] Representatives from NGOs include King Hussein Foundation.

India Feb-June 2022

Targeted communities / locations	- Delhi - Bihar - Rajasthan
Data collection method	- Secondary: desk/literature review - Primary: qualitative methods
Sampling method	- Purposive sampling - community mapping

Data collection tools	Target group	Sample size
Total: 12 FGDs - Bihar: 8 FGDs (in 4 districts) - Rajasthan: 2 FGDs (in 1 district) - Delhi: 2 FGDs (in 1 district)	Children (7-17) including marginalised children (non-binary gender identities, belonging to different socio-economic communities, and children with disabilities) Criteria: at-risk adolescents in any form of child labour and children who have dropped out of school for labour work or are at risk of dropping out of school post-pandemic	Approx. 120 total (50% M, 50% F) - Bihar: 80 children - Rajasthan: 20 children - Delhi: 20 children
Total: 12 FGDs - Bihar: 8 FGDs (4 districts) - Rajasthan: 2 FGDs (1 district) - Delhi: 2 FGDs (1 district)	Parents/caregivers Criteria: parents whose children are involved in any form of child labour or have dropped out of school for labour work	Total: 72 to 96 parents 50% M, 50% F
3 In-depth interviews, 1 in each district	Private-sector employers (Factories, agriculture or domestic labour work)	3
3 In-depth interviews, 1 in each district	Social activists working extensively on child labour	3
3 In-depth interviews, 1 in each district	Government officials	3

Vietnam Jan-June 2022

Targeted communities / locations	- Dong Thap district - HCMC district
Data collection method	- Secondary: desk/literature review (including available quantitative data) - Primary: participatory qualitative methods
Sampling method	- Purposive sampling

Data collection tools	Target group	Sample size
6 FGDs (4 in HCMC and 2 in Dong Thap)	Children aged 13-17 working in the informal sector	36-48 approx.
FGDs Total of 6 FGDs (4 in HCMC and 2 in Dong Thap)	Parents and Caregivers of working children and children at high risk of child labour	36-48 approx.
2 FGDs (1 in each district)	Child protection, gender, education, livelihoods workers and local authorities	**12-16 approx.**
KIIs	Government decision-makers from DOLISA, representatives from civil society organisations	8-11
KIIs	Child protection, gender, education, livelihoods actors (national level)	11
KIIs	Government decision-makers, e.g. from MOLISA (national level)	4

Study limitations

Mali

The analysis was done in 9 of the 20 communities where the WNCB programme is active. 6 communities are in Sikasso, where agriculture and gold panning activities occur. The 3 communities in Ségou have only agriculture activities. The aim was to reach communities with a high potential for child labour in both sectors. The strict focus on two sectors excluded analysis of other forms of child labour, although mining and agriculture are the focus sectors of the WNCB programme and the most prominent ones in Mali, where child labour occurs. The children surveyed were working children (girls and boys) who did not attend school. Children enrolled in school were excluded from the analysis because child labour in Mali is classified as being done by children outside the education system. Parents of working children were not targeted as respondents. However, direct observation and exchange efforts in the field enabled their views to be gathered.

Uganda

The Uganda assessment covered purposively selected communities in 2 of WNCB's 3 target areas: Busia and Karamoja. The study was conducted when insecurity related to cattle rustling was high, and therefore some areas had to be dropped from the sampled sites. These were replaced with sites where the implementation of WNCB had just started. This meant the study team did not have the opportunity to interact with some people in areas where the WNCB programme had been implemented for a long time.

The cultural diversity within the areas where the WNCB programme operates means, there are differences in the gender roles, norms and expectations. Therefore, some of the cultural beliefs and practices identified as driving the gender division of labour may not apply wholesale to all ethnic subgroupings in the study area. Nevertheless, several cultural commonalities make the findings presented in this report largely applicable to most of the sub-groups. Gender roles are also driven by the economic activities and sources of livelihood available, which are not the same in all areas covered by the WNCB. Therefore, the results of the analysis may not apply to all WNCB target areas in Uganda.

Although it is a common practice for girls not to inherit land from their parents, in homes where the parents are educated, girls are increasingly inheriting land. Again, this suggests that not all the findings can be generalised; some of them are context specific. This would imply, therefore, that tailor-made approaches for each area are required.

The study was conducted during a rainy season, so there was limited activity in the mines. It was, therefore, impossible to make observations on the gendered roles of girls and boys in mine work, apart from what was observed at the household level regarding gold washing.

Jordan

In Jordan, the two areas where WNCB is active were targeted: the governorate of East Amman (the urban areas of Marka, Sahab and Ruseifah) and the governorate of Mafraq, where the large Syrian refugee camp Za'atari is located.
The Jordan report does not clearly state the limitations of the assessment (sampling, methodology, analysis). The sampling approach used, snowballing, is neither well clarified nor statistically justified. Why non-probability sampling was chosen over probability sampling is not explicit, nor is there mention of whether the findings can be generalised to a broader level in the country.
Given that the study primarily involved children, it does not include clear statements on how child safeguarding considerations were mainstreamed throughout its different phases.
Challenges mentioned in the report included the following:

- Few fathers attended the FGDs intended for them, despite efforts to find dates and times that would fit their different working hours.
- Time constraints and lack of cooperation by some governmental and non-governmental organisations in granting an appointment or a suitable time for the interview meant other key persons within the same organisations were sought or other strong institutions working on child labour.
- Noticeably more boys than girls were interviewed in all targeted areas, especially in East Amman. This was because most children and parents targeted for UNICEF programmes in Rusifah and Sahab since 2021 are males. Additionally, in Marka and Za'atari, many girls' families did not allow them to come, and many of those who work in the agriculture sector with their families could not attend because of the long working hours.

India

The report states limitations regarding the representation of districts under study (only 4 out of the 6 districts were covered, although they were spread over the 3 regions where WNCB is active) and the limited set of stakeholders participating in the GA. This was primarily due to time constraints. The use of community mapping to identify certain groups and individuals proved challenging to carry out during the data collection process. As a result, children with non-binary identities, intellectual, multi-sensory, or psychosocial disabilities, and children belonging to underserved socioeconomic communities were hard to reach. Certain disadvantageous identity markers, such as minority caste status and economic deprivation, were more accessible to map than the previously mentioned ones. As a result, the data does not provide adequate insights into the lives of non-binary or disabled children and how these identities overlap with the risk of participating in child labour. It should be noted, however, that none of the other country assessments discussed non-binary gender identity or children with disabilities. This is one of the limitations of the analysis that needs further attention when implementing gender transformative activities in the years to come.

In districts where awareness campaigns, government programmes, and civil society interventions have been operational for several years, respondents were reluctant to speak about persisting inequalities linked to gender, caste, and other markers such as disability.

Vietnam

Time constraints limited the study to 2 districts (Dong Thap and Ho Chi Minh City) of 3 where WNCB is active. Additionally, qualitative approaches (KIIs and FGDs) cannot be generalised to the entire population, limiting the study to a snapshot of the situation for specific groups of children (such as those at risk working in the informal sector). Since children engaged in child labour were working at the time data collection took place, it was impossible to include them as participants. Instead, children at risk of child labour were surveyed. The limited timeframe for primary data collection (a total of six (6) days) impacted the fieldwork strategy. For example, the sample sizes would ideally have been larger, there would have been more time for local engagement and participation in each step of the planning and implementation, and participants would be more actively engaged in the data analysis and validation – improving data quality and insights. The limited timeframe also meant it was impossible to pilot the focus group discussion questionnaire. To address this limitation, the consulting team facilitated a meeting directly following the first FGD to address any issues with the questionnaire and several minor amendments were made to reduce the FGD length.

Ethical considerations

The Uganda and Mali reports make no mention of ethical considerations, despite these being included in the consultants' Terms of Reference. The reports from Jordan, India and Vietnam all state that the purpose of the study and its contribution to the WNCB programme was explained to participants and that their consent was sought before they agreed to take part, with caregivers/parents' consent sought for the children (under 18) involved. Confidentiality concerning the responses and reporting of findings was assured. The studies also mention ensuring that the children were interviewed in safe environments and using questions/activities appropriate to their age. Children were split into age and gender-appropriate groups. The Vietnam report also mentions that Prevention of Sexual Exploitation and Abuse (PSEA) and local safeguarding referral protocols were in place in case there was a disclosure of abuse.

The effect of the COVID-19 pandemic on gender equality, education and child labour

The WNCB programme got underway as the COVID-19 pandemic started. Although the effects of the pandemic were not specified as a subject of investigation in the Terms of Reference for the gender assessments, mention was made of them in all countries except Mali and Uganda. We, therefore include a brief description of the main points made by respondents in Jordan, India and Vietnam.

Jordan

An increase in the number of females involved in child labour was noted after the pandemic as many families in the targeted areas lost their jobs, prompting mothers to launch income-generating projects inside the home and encourage their daughters to work with them. Social distancing measures, school closures and overburdened health systems have increased demand on girls and female adolescents for unpaid domestic work to cater to the family's basic survival needs and care for the sick and elderly. Discriminatory social norms are likely to increase the unpaid COVID-19-related workload on girls and adolescent girls, especially those living in poverty or rural, isolated locations.

> *Male children in East Amman mentioned that finding work during the pandemic has been a lifesaver for their families. One of them said: In our society, it is easier for a child to find a job than it is for his father.*

90% of children of both sexes confirmed the negative impact of COVID-19 on their financial, social, and educational life. Males experienced increased pressure, as they are considered the main breadwinners after their fathers. Many parents lost their jobs during the pandemic, especially labourers who are paid on a daily basis in the industrial and agricultural fields. As a result, their children were forced to drop out of education and look for a job, even if it meant working for long hours and for low wages. Male children in East Amman mentioned that finding work during the pandemic has been a lifesaver for their families. One of them said: "In our society, it is easier for a child to find a job than it is for his father."

In East Amman, many mothers started productive work at home, such as making food. As a consequence, pressure on girls increased in terms of having to juggle between domestic work, caring for family members - such as the elderly or children - and helping their mothers in their new projects. Girls became more exploited and forced to work beyond their capacities for two years during the pandemic, which affected their academic achievement as they did not have the time to attend their online classes. Additionally, the internet outage negatively impacted both sexes, preventing them from attending online classes.

In the Za'atari Syrian refugee camp, the pandemic did not impact the relationship between child labour and school dropout as most children already worked in agriculture and had consequently dropped out of school.

India

Since the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic, all schools remained closed, making remote learning a crucial part of a child's education. However, a large section of the population has limited access to basic digital resources, given their low socio-economic status, creating a digital divide between different sections of the population regarding access to online learning. Girls and women face disadvantages in terms of access to technology based on (i) rural-urban digital divide, (ii) income-based digital divide, and (iii) intra-household discrimination (Observer Research Foundation, 2021). In all districts, girls and women reported less access to mobile phones and the internet than of male family members. The lack of access to technology also reduced leisure opportunities, specifically for adolescent girls. Beyond lack of access to technology, school closure also meant not getting access to midday meals, sanitary napkins, and toilets.

With no access to school education, more children were pushed into doing labour due to (i) lowered motivation levels, (ii) more children having to help poor families make ends meet, (iii) increased incidence of migration and reverse-migration due to loss of parents' jobs, (iv) increased bonded labour of children from marginalised castes, and (v) emotional disruption at family-level making children from single-parent, step-parent, and female-headed households more vulnerable to having to engage in child labour.

Vietnam

Most focus groups agreed that COVID-19 has exacerbated some of the risk factors, particularly levels of unemployment in adults, and mentioned that social distancing created additional stress on individuals. The children involved in vocational skills training explained that it was difficult to continue their training online because they needed to practise in person to learn. In general, consistent with findings from the literature review, participants agreed that girls have taken on additional domestic and care responsibilities due to COVID-19 and its impact. The groups of public officers also believed that trafficking and gender-based violence had increased due to COVID-19. Similarly, about half of the key informants mentioned that they have heard about children who may be involved in the worst forms of child labour, although they had not witnessed such cases first-hand, while the other half said they did not have any information about these worst forms of child labour.

Most participants mentioned that COVID-19 may have led to increased child labour because it has had a serious impact on employment and increased the poverty of households, impacting migrant and vulnerable families the most.

During COVID-19, central and local governments provided financial support and food for people living in lockdown zones. Many key informants highlighted some gaps in the provision of support services for migrant children and children with disabilities. For example, they explained that migrant children cannot access education due to a lack of birth certificates or household registration. In contrast, children with disabilities cannot access inclusive education, and those living in rural or mountainous areas cannot access online education.

3
KEY FINDINGS

>> **Child Labour Trends in Five Countries**

>> **Key Findings in Mali**

>> **Key Findings in Uganda**

>> **Key Findings in Jordan**

>> **Key Findings in India**
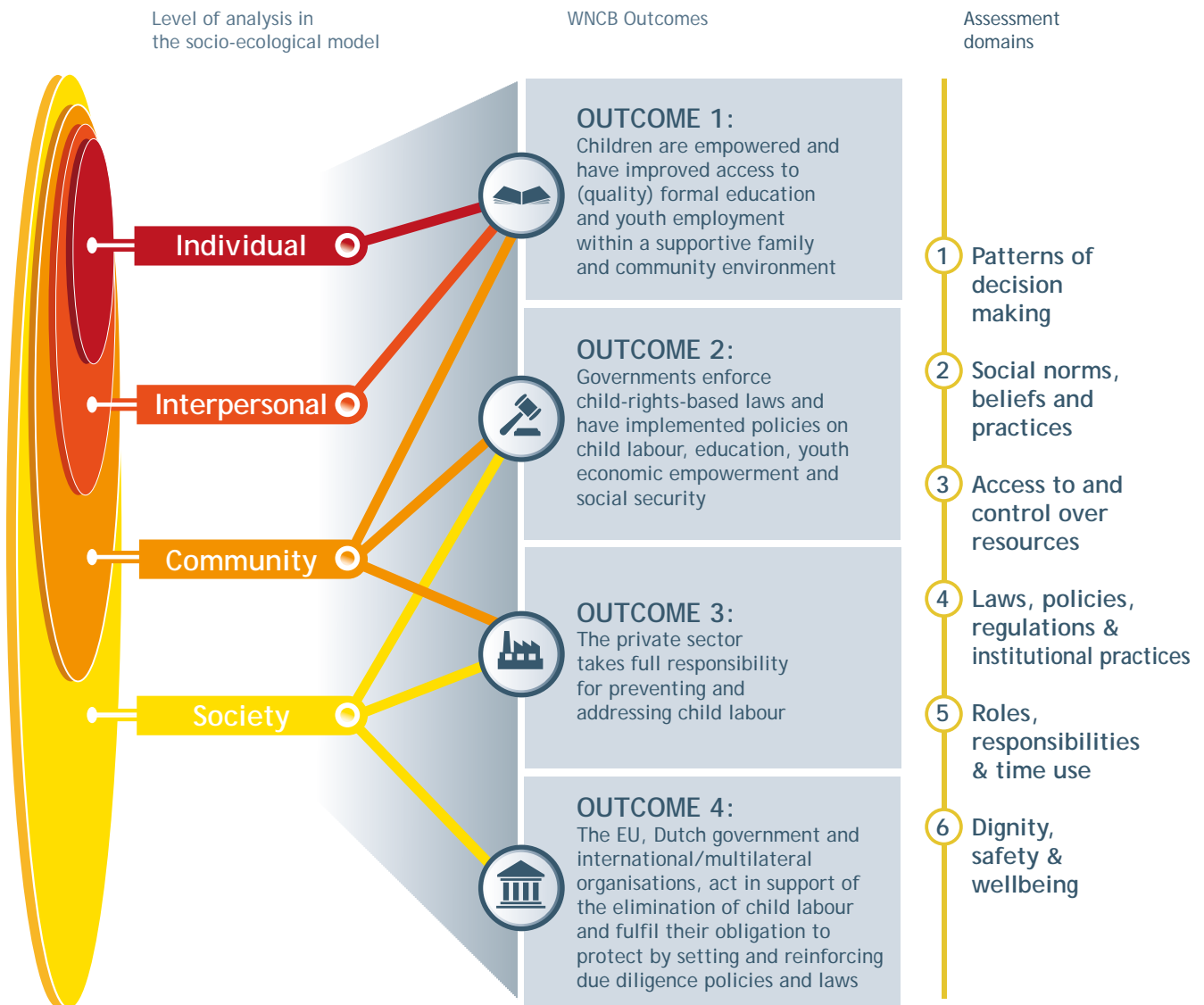
>> **Key Findings in Vietnam**

3 Key Findings

The consultants were asked to report all findings relevant to the research questions, including where data was not available or able to be collected. Summary Reports from each country can be found in Annex 4.

The data findings are presented per outcome and under the 6 domains of the gender assessment and the levels within the socio-ecological model. Please note that the domains are interrelated, and there is also overlap between how they intersect with the different outcomes. As a result, information appears under different outcomes depending on how the researchers processed their findings for each country. In addition, for more detailed information the reader is encouraged to consult the full country reports. Links to these can be found in the Summary Reports.

Level of analysis in the socio-ecological model

- Individual
- Interpersonal
- Community
- Society

WNCB Outcomes

OUTCOME 1:
Children are empowered and have improved access to (quality) formal education and youth employment within a supportive family and community environment

OUTCOME 2:
Governments enforce child-rights-based laws and have implemented policies on child labour, education, youth economic empowerment and social security

OUTCOME 3:
The private sector takes full responsibility for preventing and addressing child labour

OUTCOME 4:
The EU, Dutch government and international/multilateral organisations, act in support of the elimination of child labour and fulfil their obligation to protect by setting and reinforcing due diligence policies and laws

Assessment domains

1. Patterns of decision making
2. Social norms, beliefs and practices
3. Access to and control over resources
4. Laws, policies, regulations & institutional practices
5. Roles, responsibilities & time use
6. Dignity, safety & wellbeing

Child labour trends in the five countries

Issue / Vulnerability	Mali Baseline	Mali Bibliography/relevant studies	Uganda Baseline	Uganda Bibliography/relevant studies	Jordan Baseline	Jordan Bibliography/relevant studies	India Baseline	India Bibliography/relevant studies	Vietnam Baseline	Vietnam Bibliography/relevant studies
Vulnerable groups										
Oprhans	Low		Medium	Medium	No Info		Low	Low	Medium	
HIV children/hhs	Medium		Low	Medium	No Info		Low		Medium	Medium
Children with disabilities	Medium		Low	Medium	No Info		Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
Children/hhs living in rural areas	High		High		High		Medium	Medium	High	High
Street children	Low		Low	High [1] Mining	Medium	Medium	Medium		Medium	High
Ethnic Minority	Low		Low		Low		Medium		High	High
Migrants	Low	Medium	Low	Low	Low	Medium	Low	Medium	High [2] Internal	
Caste							High	High		
Children living in poverty	Medium		High		High		High		High	High
Trafficked children	High		High		High		High		High [3] For women	
Children without family ties	High		Low		Low		High		No Info	
Refugees	High		Low		High	High	Low		No Info	
Child Labour										
High school fees / no schools nearby as causes of school dropout/entering child labour	Low		High	Medium	Low	High	Medium	Medium	No Info	
Sacrifice and filial piety as root cause of child labour	No Info		No Info		No Info		Low		High	High
Household composition affects child labour	High	High	No Info		Medium		Low		No Info	
Peer influence for entering child labour	No Info		Medium	High	High		Medium		Medium	
High value of money for children	Medium		Medium	Medium	Low	Low	Low			Medium
Gender Imbalance: female/male participation	High		High	High	High		High	High	High	High
Payment gap for labour activities carried out by children	High	High	High		High		High	High	High	
Boys at higher risk of child labour	Medium		High	High	High		High		High	High
High incidence of domestic work for girls	High	High	High	High	High		High		High	High
Lack of awareness of the consequences of child labour	Medium		Medium		High		Medium		High	
Societal characteristics										
Patriarchal society as root cause of gender issues	High		High	High	High		High	High	High	
Child marriage	High		High	High	Medium		High	High	Medium	
GBV	High		High	High	High	High	High		High	High
Child trafficking	High	High	Medium	High	High		High	High	High	High
Bonded labour	Medium		No Info		No Info		High	High	No Info	
Religion as cause of gender issues	No Info		No Info		High		Medium		Low	Low
Local brews/alcohol	No Info		Medium	High			High		Medium	

Legend:
■ High incidence ■ Medium incidence ■ Low incidence ● No Info
■ [1] Mining
■ [2] Internal
■ [3] For women

An assessment of the major trends in the five countries revealed that:
- Children living in poverty and trafficked children are the groups that are most vulnerable to child labour and gender inequality
- Boys are at higher risk of child labour
- Girls are at higher risk of domestic work, child marriage and GBV
- Peer influence and the high value of money for children significantly raise the percentage of child labour for both boys and girls
- In Uganda and India, alcohol abuse among parents is one of the factors likely to increase the incidence of child labour within and outside the household

The conclusions for each country give an overview of answers that the analysis provided to the first research question:

What causes/drives child labour for boys and girls within the WNCB programme target groups (migrants, street children and refugee children)? And what is the relationship with the informal sector under the two components (education and employment)?

Key Findings in Mali

Risk factors

Although economic poverty is cited as the perceived cause of child labour, inadequacies in the roles and responsibilities of protection actors are the primary real cause of child labour. Social norms and beliefs permeate everyday practices and perpetuate child labour, and parents play a key role in this. Moreover, the consequences of the security and political crisis in Mali contribute to children (girls and boys) starting work at a very young age.

Children often work away from the family home and are 'tricked' into doing this. There is a high degree of mobility of children, and almost all children on the move are destined for work. Nearly 2 out of 5 mobile children are girls. Working and mobile children (girls and boys) are at risk of exploitation or disappearance. In addition, the porous nature of borders between states and the lack of rigour at checkpoints and security posts encourage child labour.

The amount of work done by children (girls and boys) is abusive. Many children (girls and boys) are unaware that they should be protected at work and have rights. They are unaware of protection structures. Most child labour takes place within the informal sector (agriculture, domestic work and gold panning), where girls and boys represent a profitable source of labour.

The lack of quality education in schools is a push factor for both boys and girls working at a young age. Problems in education include inadequate classroom space due to high enrolment, inadequate numbers of teachers in remote areas, and a lack of good-quality vocational training programmes in youth training centres. The situation is particularly bad in gold-mining sites, where there are no schools, and the distance to schools is too great for children to be able to attend.

The analysis revealed the following differences between boys and girls concerning child labour:
- The number of working boys is higher than that of girls
- Boys have more freedom to make decisions about child labour than girls do
- Working boys are more mobile than working girls
- Most working girls are handed over to employers by their parents
- Girls are more likely to be employed in domestic work than boys
- Girls are paid less than boys
- Agriculture employs more boys than girls
- Gold panning employs both boys and girls
- Working girls are at greater risk of sexual abuse than boys

While the Malian government has passed legislation and is signatory to international conventions concerning child labour and the employment of children in economic activities to the detriment of their normal development, there is little commitment to or capacity for implementing and enforcing these laws. However, ratifying treaties and passing laws is not enough to protect girls and boys from the worst forms of labour, and the shortcomings of protection lie primarily in the community, and the educational, security and judicial systems.

Protective factors

In the face of the general and gender-specific factors of child labour observed in the WNCB programme intervention areas during the field interviews, almost all the adults interviewed were willing to understand the conditions for children in the workplace. Several of the mothers interviewed were in favour of raising the age of marriage for girls. Many of the parents felt that all children should go to school to learn to read and write for their future well-being in society. Children, both boys and girls, interviewed think that school is a great opportunity for them and their parents. In addition, local organisations are ready to commit themselves to fight against early child labour in communities.

The protective factors for children at work include:
- The existence of a set of administrative and legal texts that are favourable to the protection of children, gender promotion and the fight against GBV
- Public and private services that can be mobilised for the protection of working children
- Local organisations that have child protection as a key development vision.

A coalition of Malian civil society organisations contributes to the promotion and defence of children's rights. There are also organisations working to combat GBV and promote gender equality that have branches in various localities, as well as endogenous child protection mechanisms in localities. Children's and youth organisations are committed to the protection of children.

The report concludes that communities themselves need to take ownership of solutions to the phenomenon of child labour to achieve effective change in practices, which will require technical, material and financial assistance.

Key Findings in Uganda

Risk factors

Several factors cause/drive child labour in the programme districts, and most of these factors are highly influenced by gender.
Main drivers of child labour:

- Poverty
- Limited access to education institutions
- Inadequate enforcement of laws and policies on child labour
- Chronic illness of parents

Underlying causes of child labour:

- Gender norms that accord women and girls low status in society
- Child neglect
- Early marriage

Economic deprivation at the household level exacerbated by poverty emerged as the major driver of child labour for both girls and boys. Thus, children from poor households are more vulnerable to child labour than their counterparts from more prosperous families, as they need to engage in work to supplement their parents' incomes to sustain family basic needs.

Although Uganda has taken great strides towards promoting gender equality, and some breakthroughs towards women's empowerment have already been realised following sustained gender equality sensitisation campaigns implemented by the state and non-state actors countrywide, there are still variations across the different regions of the

country. Findings from the study show that limited achievements have been registered towards the achievement of gender equality in the programme areas. Women and girl children are still accorded a lower status in the community compared to their male counterparts.

The patriarchal system is still strong in the project districts and is reinforced by a myriad of socio-cultural perceptions, traditional norms, beliefs and customs. The patriarchal system dictates that the man is head of the household and accords men and boys a higher status in the home and community than that of women and girls, thereby promoting the subordination of the female gender to the male gender in all aspects of life. As such, in all communities under the WNCB programme, male dominance is a big structural cause of child labour. Girls in the project districts are involved in all the reproductive roles performed by their mothers. This makes the girls' day much longer and their workload heavier than that of boys because besides doing domestic work they also have to do child labour to earn money to supplement the mother's income.

Protective factors

In recent years, the Ugandan government has made concerted efforts to create a conducive policy and legal framework for the protection of children against child labour. The country has the relevant laws and policies in place for the elimination of child labour. However, child labour is still prevalent because of inadequate enforcement of the policies and laws.

Additionally, in adolescence, nurturing and supportive parenting is one of the strongest protective factors and ingredients of normal development. Parental care is linked to lower social phobia and alcohol abuse; parents who communicate with their adolescent children and keep track of their activities also protect their mental health. The 2020 ACPF Report argues that disengaging from parents or caregivers early, or premature autonomy, is associated with high levels of health and behaviour risks linked to poor well-being. Therefore, providing caregivers support that addresses these risks in their own lives may also foster healthy mental health habits in adolescents. Positive parenting methods, especially for the Karamojong parents, need to be emphasised. According to the UNICEF 2021 Report, across diverse cultural contexts, warm relationships

between caregivers and children can lead to positive outcomes, including higher self-esteem, reduced stress, better mental health, and fewer psychological and behaviour problems. Programmes which provide information and support for parents and caregivers of adolescents can improve adolescent outcomes. Effective programmes increase parents' and caregivers' understanding of early and late adolescent development, and sexual development; improve attitudes about parenting; and provide opportunities to gain new parenting skills and strategies.

UNICEF advises that effective programmes for parents and caregivers have the following characteristics:
- Draw on adolescents' strengths
- Gender-responsive
- Include adolescent participation
- Take into account differences in abilities
- Evidence-based

The content of successful programmes should focus on warmth, love and affection, adolescent development, respectful communication, positive discipline, safe environments, provision of basic needs, and caregivers' and parents' mental health. This can be done through the 2018 Ministry of Gender Labour and Social Development (MoGLSD) Parenting Guidelines. The WNCB programme needs to work closely with the MoGLSD to understand the Guidelines in the context of the Programme districts. With cultural and contextual adjustments, the Guidelines can be translated into local languages and be disseminated in the programme districts. WNCB Partners can also support the Ministry in its effort to develop an accompanying policy.

The WNCB programme also needs to boost activities to tackle harmful traditional practices in the communities, in particular child marriage, FGM and inheritance beliefs and traditions. It is important that WNCB builds upon the positive cultural aspects of child-rearing in Africa and further engages cultural and religious leaders as critical entry points into the task of tackling harmful traditional practices. This is crucially important because the fight against harmful traditional practices requires changes in social norms, gender roles, and the power relations that perpetuate such practices.

Key Findings in Jordan

Risk factors

Poverty and increases in school dropout rates, combined with an influx of Syrian refugee children, resulted in child labour rates tripling between 2006 and 2016. Many Syrian refugee children receive no schooling because they are the sole breadwinners for their families and have to work in the formal or informal sector. Many households in both target areas send their children to work, taking them out of education, to bring in much-needed income. Households rely on boys to earn more income more than girls in industry, while girls do more unpaid domestic work and low-paid agricultural work, especially Syrian refugee children aged 9-13. Girls are most at risk within the agricultural sector. Child labour in agriculture among Syrian refugee families is widespread and involves mostly young girls.

Gender gaps are the result of deeply rooted power imbalances between males and females, which are also reflected in Jordan's laws, regulations and social norms. Despite some recent improvements, female access to and control over resources remain restricted by a combination of discriminatory laws and social norms, the latter often restricting rights provided in law. **Domestic work is still not a governmental or non-governmental priority, nor is it on their agenda, as it is considered a normal and traditional practice in Jordan and the Arab region.** Syrian refugees' lack of permits for working outside the camp prevents parents from finding better jobs, improving their financial situation and gaining more vocational skills.

Unequal workloads based on gendered roles mean that females carry much more of the household labour burden than males. Males' lack of contribution to the daily household labour exacerbates females' mental and physical load. Male dominance and unequal power relations within the household have a strong impact on either encouraging children to access education or putting them at risk of dropping out of school, driving them to child labour or early marriage. Most girls in East Amman are encouraged by their brothers to remain in school instead of working because they believe that this is the way to preserve their sisters' reputation and honour. They also consider that girls who work will be exposed to strangers, abuse and harassment, all of which compromise the family's reputation. Reproductive/domestic roles are compulsory for females in both areas, regardless of their paid work or access to education.

The theory of personal control predicts that women have a lower sense of control than men, but the evidence is equivocal. Mothers have a hidden role in protecting their children by finding alternative means to improve the level of family income and can thus prevent their children from losing their right to education. The percentage of males dropping out of school due to employment is higher than that of females, while the reasons for girls dropping out of school are mostly related to early marriage.

GBV, such as domestic violence, may have been exacerbated due to heightened tensions in the household in response to the length of the confinement period and the stress and anxiety of the COVID-19 outbreak. Girls are less exposed to physical or verbal violence within households in East Amman, but among girls who work in the agricultural sector in East Amman and Al-Mafraq areas the percentage is increasing.

Lack of access to education or school dropout is related to:
- Engagement in child labour
- Early marriage
- Poor educational attainment
- Poor quality of education
- GBV within male schools
- No follow-up on male students by their teachers
- No follow-up on dropout cases by school administrators
- Unsupportive fathers in East Amman
- High percentage of illiterate mothers in both areas

Jordanian farmers and companies exploit Syrian children: 46% of Syrian refugee boys and 14% of Syrian refugee girls, aged 14 and above, work more than 44 hours per week. There is a general lack of knowledge about workers' rights and child protection policies. Children work for long hours for very low wages and in unsafe environments, in addition to lacking access to transportation.

Protective factors

Islam protects girls from working at an early age and does not force boys to work. Rather, its teachings encourage education and work only where circumstances are urgent, while preventing them from doing jobs that could expose them to physical and psychological harm.
Education is compulsory in Jordan and free for Jordanians and Syrians. Female interviewees believe that it is unfair to have to drop out of school because they have to work. If boys choose to drop out of school because they must work or choose to do so, this should not be an obstacle to girls completing their education. 70% of girls in East Amman wish to graduate from university, choose the career they want, and move to a better place.

Boys performing non-traditional roles within the household and supporting mothers and females in domestic work does not affect their education and is not a reason for their dropping out of school; rather it can be considered a protective factor in terms of encouraging access to education of both sexes.

Organisations that prioritise the concepts of gender equality, human-based approaches and child rights can succeed in changing behaviours and practices of parents and children so that parents encourage their children of both sexes to access education, break stereotypes concerning traditional gender roles and increase their knowledge of laws and policies regarding child protection within household and workplace.

Eline Wijnen

Key Findings in India

Child labour takes place far beyond the scope of formal, organised employment. While anti-child labour interventions focus on workspaces such as factories, a significant amount of children's participation in income-generating and other forms of labour is centred around the household, where they assist their parents with small-time work, and in the case of girls, participate in domestic work for their own families from a young age. These spaces fall outside the scope of conditions around child labour that are convenient to map and have clear legislative provisions against them, making children engaged in such forms of work more vulnerable to risks and potential harm in the form of exposure to smoke in kitchens, and bodily exhaustion while managing schooling alongside this labour.

Norms around **gender** and **caste** are central to how labour outcomes are shaped in the districts across Delhi, Bihar, and Rajasthan. Children's participation in the workforce derives heavily from the labour roles ascribed to them by these norms:

- Boys tend to be involved in hazardous forms of work outside their homes more than girls are
- Girls participate significantly more in domestic labour work

> Children belonging to Scheduled Castes (Dalits) and Scheduled Tribes (Adivasis) are more at risk for participation in hazardous forms of work such as working in brick kilns, or agricultural labour surrounded by bonded labour-like conditions.

The role played by gender and caste in facilitating children's participation in hazardous work and the worst forms of child labour is easily discernible. However, teachers, social activists, and government stakeholders tend to report that gender and caste hierarchies have diminished significantly, and 'equality' has been achieved in terms of access to education and other resources. Anti-child labour initiatives do not take these sociological conditions into account through an intersectional lens, and the risk factors for children's participation in labour are often homogenised to economic necessity and deprivation.

Interventions against child labour heavily prioritise children's participation in schooling, but these do not consider the significant proportion of children who are participating in labour alongside being enrolled in or even regularly attending school. The prominent gender gap created here by girls' participation in household work further corroborates the argument that **examining children's participation in schooling is an inadequate measure of risks linked to child labour.**

Likewise, while the importance of educating girls is emphasised by most stakeholders across the three states, there is little emphasis on future employment prospects for girls. Instead, preparing for marriage and the 'duties' associated with being good wives and mothers plays a significant role in the socialisation that pushes them to undertake work within their own homes from a young age.

Children often engage with work by assisting their parents in their jobs, both within and outside the household. This is a potential breeding ground for the perpetuation of economic hierarchies linked to caste, wherein the primary forms of skill development that children are able to access are typically restricted to ones that their parents have. Children's disengagement from other forms of skill acquisition, coupled with economic necessity and familial contexts, pushes them into these forms of work in a manner that perpetuates a cycle of poverty and prevents them from accessing economic and social mobility.

The lives of at-risk children are subject to key risk factors that are region-specific in nature. In Rajasthan, alcoholism and substance addiction are prevalent among adolescent boys from a young age, and the creation of a cycle of poverty can be observed due to children's participation in small-time jobs, sometimes concealing their work from their parents, to spend on these substances. In West Champaran (Bihar), children and families from marginalised castes experience disenfranchisement from public services, industry, and governmental interventions, creating massive amounts of economic deprivation among them. **There is a complex interplay between caste, class, and other dynamics of structural power that perpetuates these risk factors.**

When it comes to schooling, anti-child labour interventions emphasise children's enrolment and attendance rates. Concerns about quality of education and infrastructure in government schools, risks associated with children working alongside attending school, and the identification and mapping of children who are completely disenfranchised from formal education systems do not receive the same amount of attention.

While some stakeholders see low parental literacy as a precipitating factor for children dropping out of school, parents in multiple districts express doubts about the quality of education and the accessibility of government schools and are therefore concerned that their children will not be able to access decent employment after finishing schooling. This is often a push factor for children attending private tuition classes despite coming from families experiencing economic deprivation, or parents seeking to equip children with alternate labour skill sets through participation in training programmes or familial forms of labour.

Children attending government schools have experienced large-scale learning loss during COVID-19 induced lockdowns. Some districts report the complete absence of online classes, while children and parents in others describe that online classes have been inefficient and difficult to keep up with in terms of access to technological resources. **A gender digital divide is evident in most families,** where an overwhelming majority of girls lack access to personal mobile phones that they can use to participate in online learning. This period of learning loss and other pandemic-induced economic crises pushed a significant number of children into labour participation during this period.

Implementation of laws against child labour and welfare delivery systems that target some of its root causes functions inadequately. Families across districts report that they are not receiving benefits for which they are eligible, and awareness around legislative provisions to safeguard children's well-being appears to be extremely low. Child protection and anti-child labour programmes that exist on paper are not being implemented at grassroots level in most districts.

There is a lack of coordination between panchayats and governments. While panchayat members lack awareness about legal provisions and schemes against child labour that are active in their wards, government officials accord responsibility for interventions linked to community norms solely to panchayat members. The lack of interface and collaboration between these governmental bodies creates barriers to the creation of well-integrated, efficient, and impactful systems for child protection at the district level.

Interventions against child labour focus on rescuing and rehabilitating children who are already in labour. **The post-hoc resolution of instances where children are found to be working creates an inadequate focus on the precipitating factors that drive children into labour participation in the first place.** In multiple districts, there are accounts of children who were rescued and rehabilitated but drifted back into labour participation. This demonstrates that it is crucial to address the root causes that drive these risks.

Key Findings in Vietnam

The protection of children involved in or at-risk of harmful child labour cannot be achieved through the efforts of one individual, organisation or sector, but requires the pooling of knowledge, skills, resources and joint problem-solving between the local community, service providers, and international and national actors. Cross-sectoral cooperation and coordination involving the health, education and social sectors, and law enforcement authorities, is required where possible and appropriate, so that actors can come together to design and implement holistic, multi-sectoral programming approaches. This is also critical for addressing gender inequalities, and particularly the social and gender norms that contribute to gender inequalities and their linkages to child labour. While the Government of Vietnam has made consorted and deliberate efforts to encourage change, for example by ratifying key conventions, amending laws (such as the Labour Code), and developing

new laws, policies and programmes, findings from this analysis show that harmful gender norms are still prevalent and lead to the segregation and socialisation of specific roles and responsibilities assigned to girls, boys, women and men - which are reflected in children's engagement in child labour, including its worst forms.

To address the multi-dimensional reality of both gender inequalities and child labour, the Alliance team, MOLISA and their partners must take a comprehensive and coherent approach, incorporating child protection with livelihood activities, quality education, and social protection measures, as well as broader efforts to change social and gender norms that lead to gender inequalities. The risk and protective factors that lead to child labour cannot be viewed as separate from the factors that drive gender inequalities. As such, the WNCB programme and any future

initiatives must combine approaches that seek to address and prevent child labour, such as awareness-raising activities, access to effective formal and non-formal education, and case management with approaches that aim to address the gender inequalities that lead girls and boys to take up specific types of work, as well as those that lead to and reinforce structural and systemic gender inequalities, such as gender norms, gendered social roles and expectations, and uneven access to social protection.

The opportunity of the forthcoming revisions of the Gender Equality Law, the Law on Domestic Violence Prevention and Control, Land Law, Marriage and Family Law and the Law on Social Insurance can be utilised by the Government of Vietnam and relevant stakeholders, such as UNICEF to address gender gaps and areas for reform. This includes increasing gender mainstreaming in laws, the introduction of measures and coordination mechanisms to combat all forms of gender-based violence and discrimination, including new online forums, the recognition and elimination of harmful gender practices, improvement in the collection of administrative data on violence against women, and the expansion of the definition of gender equality beyond binary forms and with attention to intersectionality.

It is essential that social protection is universal. **According to focus group participants, key informants, and the literature review findings, most children who work do so because their families depend on their wages, production or domestic work (including unpaid, often by girls) to make ends meet.** Household economic shocks and the loss of a parent or caregiver can increase the chance that a child will go to work. The COVID-19 pandemic has further exacerbated child poverty and has reinforced the imperative for labour market policies to accelerate transitions from the informal to the formal economy and ultimately to decent work. Universal child benefits could be positioned within and supported by broader social policies where cash and services improve children's well-being – in aspects related to education, health, nutrition, water and sanitation and protection from violence – all of which lead to sound human capital development. Also important are measures to address the dependency of household microenterprises, particularly small family farms and businesses, on child labour. An effective social protection scheme for children involves a combination of social insurance benefits. Elements of comprehensive systems that benefit

children include unemployment protection, old-age pensions, maternity/ parental leave benefits, sick leave and disability benefits. All stem the chances that families will resort to negative coping mechanisms, including child labour, in the face of shocks.

Despite growing evidence demonstrating positive links between women's participation and business performance, Vietnam has a long way to go to achieve true gender equality in the workplace, especially when it comes to top management positions. This bias is clearly linked to gender stereotyping where men and women are assigned roles and responsibilities.

This point highlights the role of businesses. Discrimination between men and women in Vietnam has deep social roots, which cannot be removed simply by laws, policies or any one specific measure. In this process, the role of business and workers' organisations is critical. In addition, preventing child labour and the segregation of labour between females and males requires integrating child labour and gender considerations into the design and implementation of social benefit schemes along with other dimensions of marginality. Since the need to tackle child labour cuts across the mandate of many ministries each Ministry should identify how their policies and programmes can be further developed in order to support efforts to eliminate child labour and its linkages to gender inequality. For instance, institutional, policy and legal frameworks could be strengthened to reduce poverty and vulnerability of girls and boys.

In conclusion, the report highlights that there is value in using simple yet effective measures that will improve structural, community-based, and individual-level interventions (both response-oriented and preventive) that can be monitored and evaluated over time. Identifying and understanding the protective factors alongside risk factors will result in interventions that are focused on building strengths at all levels of the socio-ecological framework in a multi-sectoral and multi-faceted manner. This work will support the Alliance, MOLISA, and their partners in their efforts to protect children by promoting their healthy development and well-being. It is through the strong commitment of all actors to develop relevant policies and effective strategies to address the factors that drive gender inequalities and their linkages to child labour that the reduction and prevention of child labour in Vietnam will be achieved.

4
Recommendations

4 Recommendations

The recommendations are based on the analysis of the findings of the literature review and the primary data from key informant interviews and focus group discussions, and form the final part of this report.

The recommendations are presented in table form, in response to the second research question:

> **What can the WNCB programme improve to address the risk factors of child labour and promote protective factors for boys and girls within the WNCB programme target groups and sectors (education and employment?**

Recommendations for Mali

OUTCOME 1
Children are empowered and have improved access to (quality) education and youth employment within a supportive family and community environment.

	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
S t a r t d o i n g	WNCB programme develops school support activities for children in the localities on awareness raising about child labour	- Children's vulnerability to negative influence of adults or parents	- Children's skills on working conditions will be built - Children will learn to organise and fight against abuse of child workers - Parents will learn about improving work conditions for their children - Parents will learn to organise and fight against abuse of child workers
	WNCB programme works jointly with community school stakeholders on improving access, quality and gender equity in schools WNCB programme works with local organisations to: - Strengthen local organisations' capacity within communities and villages on child labour issues - Prioritise local solutions for the abandonment of child labour	- Failure of community actors to fulfil their duties in school	- Gender issues will be integrated systematically into analysis of community policy situation - Communities will learn from each other on the issue of abandoning child labour
	WNCB supports vocational training centres	- Insufficient attention to vocational training needs of children	- Children will receive training for decent future employment

Do differently	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
	WNCB programme works together with national umbrella organisations & socio-professional organisations to: - Create an influential network of national organisations on the issue of removing children from work - Accompany this influential network in taking appropriate action to abandon child labour	- National umbrella organisations lack capacity to exert influence	- A stronger network lobbying for children's rights

OUTCOME 2
Governments have enforced relevant child rights-based laws and policies on child labour, education, youth economic empowerment, and social security.

Start doing	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
	WNCB programme invites state actors to assume their roles and responsibilities through successful advocacy sessions	- Lack of enforcement of government commitments to implement legislation for children	

OUTCOME 3
The private sector takes full responsibility for preventing and addressing child labour.

Start doing	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
	WNCB programme engages with private sector actors to come up with solutions to improve working conditions of child workers	- Growing informality of the private sector - Child labourers form the mainstay of the informal private sector	- Conditions of child workers will improve

OUTCOME 4
The EU, Dutch government and international organisations act in support of the elimination of child labour and fulfil their obligation by setting and reinforcing due diligence policies and laws.

Start doing	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
	WNCB programme reports evidence on the conditions under which children work	- Mismatch between actions taken and children's needs	- International awareness of the situation of child labour in Mali will increase

Recommendations for Uganda

OUTCOME 1
Children are empowered and have improved access to (quality) education and youth employment within a supportive family and community environment.

	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
Start doing	WCNB programme should put more efforts and resources towards the strategic empowerment of men to deconstruct masculine identity traits among men by: - Integrating male engagement strategies in the WNCB programme - Conducting community dialogues with men to sensitise them about the rights of women and girls and their role in the family	- Patriarchal system is still strong in the programme areas - Negative impact of male attitudes on family welfare	- Promoting positive attitudinal change about the low status of women and girls in the home and community will improve family welfare
	Involve men more in family provisioning by: - Conducting community dialogues on benefits of shared roles between men and women in family - Identifying alternative sources of income for men to diversify livelihoods.	- Poverty and economic deprivation at household level is a major driver of child labour for both boys and girls - Absence of men from home for long periods puts big burden on women to provide for family and run household affairs - Alternative income sources need to be compatible with people's way of life in programme	- Reducing poverty and economic deprivation at household level will help reduce the incidence of child labour for both boys and girls
		- Patriarchal system is still strong in the programme areas - Negative impact of male attitudes on family welfare	- Promoting positive attitudinal change about the low status of women and girls in the home and community will improve family welfare
	WNCB to integrate family planning into the programme by: - Conducting mass sensitisation about the importance of family planning - Advocating and lobbying for increased availability and accessibility of a range of family planning methods - Targeting men specifically for sensitisation on family planning to develop positive attitudes towards child spacing and having fewer children	- High birth rate is a driver of child labour because there are many mouths to feed	- Reduced birth rate will reduce the need for child labour
	WNCB programme should work with the **district and sub-county leaders and other** relevant stakeholders to develop appropriate technologies for some household chores like fetching water to reduce the workload of girls and women. - Identify stakeholders that WNCB partners can work with to develop appropriate technologies for fetching water	- Early, teen pregnancy and Early Child Marriage	- Reduced workload and time spent on fetching water by women and girls - Women have more time and energy available for other productive activities - Girls have more time to attend school and engage in more school activities

WNCB programme should conduct a robust community sensitisation campaign to change people's attitudes towards and behaviour regarding negative social norms. - More innovative modes of communication could be adopted, such as edutainment	- Early marriages and bride price keep women and girls in a position of subordination - These practices constitute major gender barriers to girls' education in the project districts	- Effective sensitisation campaign can lead to attitudinal and behavioural change

	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
Do differently	WNCB programme should direct more efforts towards creating more equitable gender relations at household level by: - Working with the sub-county chiefs to organise community sessions for discussing gender issues, child labour and their impact on development - Conducting couples' seminars for spouses - Identifying and training community change agents (both men and women) or working with existing mentors to give hands-on support for joint planning to household members. - Facilitating change agents to follow up implementation of household joint plans, document success stories and publicly recognise the households that have made progress - Working with faith and cultural institutions to sensitise community members on the advantages of violence-free families - Using the SASA! Methodology for community advocacy against family violence.		- Joint decision making of spouses will be facilitated - More equitable distribution of workload between husband and wife, boys and girls, within household - More access to economic resources, and benefits of these accruing to women and girls

OUTCOME 2

Governments have enforced relevant child rights-based laws and policies on child labour, education, youth economic empowerment, and social security.

	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
S t a r t d o i n g	WNCB should promote positive adolescent parenting by: - Working closely with the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development. The ministry developed Parenting Guidelines in 2018 – these can be studied and adjusted in the context of the programme districts. The Guidelines can be translated into local languages for easy adoption. - WNCB should also support the ministry in its efforts to develop a Parenting Policy for Uganda, which it has already started - The WNCB partners should organise gender training for their staff to enhance their skills in gender analysis and gender mainstreaming in programming. It is also imperative that WNCB partners conduct a gender audit of their organisations to establish the extent to which gender has been integrated into their organisational systems and programming processes	- Adolescents in an unsupportive parenting environment are more likely to be involved in child labour - Focusing on gender and women too much can backfire especially between males who are working in rural areas. - Persons working on the ground may find gender as a routine that is regularly done without believing in it.	- Improved social and emotional development of adolescents - Identification of gender gaps at organisational level. It will also be a stepping-stone to the development of gender policies by the WNCB partners that do not have a gender policy in place.

	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
D o d i f f e r e n t l y	WNCB should continue to support to the development of ordinances and bye-laws on child labour and other aspects that covertly drive child labour such as early marriages and GBV It should renew and make more effective its efforts to support CSO and district/sub-county authorities' work	- Gender-related practices driving child labour	- Effective and well enforced ordinances and bye-laws that outlaw gender-related practices such as early marriage and GBV
	WNCB should ensure further, deeper and prolonged engagement to reduce harmful cultural practices, especially in Karamoja, by: - Boosting activities that tackle traditional harmful practices - Engaging more with traditional leaders and elders - Promoting positive practices WNCB partners could work with SOMERO, a CSO that operates in Karamoja and has a similar programme. The following activities could be considered: using some of the local government staff for training alongside the partners; organising quarterly stakeholders' meetings; organising joint monitoring visits and reviews where possible; and submitting narrative quarterly reports to the local government to be integrated into the district report for enhanced visibility.	- Cultural practices, like child marriage and inheritance customs under which girls cannot inherit land or properties, perpetuate the subjugation of women and girls and their lower social status	

OUTCOME 3
The private sector takes full responsibility for preventing and addressing child labour.

	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
Start doing	WNCB programme should promote investment in alternative income generating activities for women and men miners using the proceeds from mining by: - Encouraging men and women to form VSLAs and training them on good management practices - Training men and women in identification of viable enterprises - Training in business skills	- When miners get money, many spend all of it on alcohol and extra-marital affairs. - They remain in the vicious cycle of poverty which also perpetuates child labour and GBV	
Do differently	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
	WNCB programme should continue to engage with private sector to support and encourage adherence to Children's Rights and Business Principles and the implementation of an appropriate code of conduct. **It should:** - Develop a monitoring tool to track and share progress being made in implementation of codes of conduct and adherence to Children's Rights and Business Principles - Integrate monitoring visits to companies in WNCB's workplan	- Although some companies have developed a code of conduct and displayed it at factory sites, adherence to and sustained awareness is lacking	- Code of conduct implementation improves conditions of child labour

OUTCOME 4
The EU, Dutch government and international organisations act in support of the elimination of child labour and fulfil their obligation by setting and reinforcing due diligence policies and laws.

	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
Start doing	Gender should be mainstreamed in the entire WNCB work-plan, and gender concerns should be addressed within the totality of the programme rather than simply inserting statements on how gender issues should be addressed for some activities All the activities should have a gender element because it might then be assumed that the activities that do not have such statements tagged to them do not have any gender implications and therefore can be implemented without gender considerations	- Focusing on gender and women too much can backfire especially between males who are working in rural areas. - Persons working on the ground may find gender as a routine that is regularly done without believing in it.	- Taking into consideration the different needs of women and the most vulnerable people in all the policies applied by the EU will help increasing the awareness and enforcing the gender equality on the ground.

	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
Do differently	The Alliance's work with government structures should be strengthened at all levels (sub-county, district and national level) to increase efficiency, and facilitate enforcement and sustainability of programme activities. Some political leaders and government officials at both local and national level were not very knowledgeable on gender-related subjects, and some were not aware of the WNCB activities. Collaboration with government structures helps people at all levels of government to know which areas are not reached, so that they can plan better rather than duplicating efforts.	- Distracting the activities of the projects and lose its focus. - Gender mainstreaming will enter the political game.	- Mainstream gender among different governmental levels. - Programme will achieve its goals and objectives faster and in a sustainable way. - Better planning for the future.

Recommendations for Jordan

OUTCOME 1
Children are empowered and have improved access to (quality) education and youth employment within a supportive family and community environment.

	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
S t a r t d o i n g	WNCB programme starts focusing on girls in domestic work and those who work long hours in agriculture especially in Za'atari camp. Conduct an advocacy campaign that aligns with the National Plan workplan and objectives. This campaign should involve cooperation between the WNCB programme and its partners in addition to The National Council of Family Affairs as part of the National action plan.	- Doing domestic work causes females to be left behind. - Long working hours put children at risk of dropping out of school, especially those who work in the agriculture sector.	- WNCB partners/CBO staff are well-trained on child rights and gender equality and have the capacity to conduct the recommended sessions. - Save the Children and UNICEF have female social workers who can learn new mechanisms under the Case management programme to reach the missing girls. - Supportive mothers can facilitate and help their daughters to return to school. - The remedial lessons will be a major incentive to raising the child's academic level and encourage them to complete their education beside work. In addition, these will help solve the learning loss incurred during COVID-19, especially for refugee students who didn't have access to online platforms. - Working on a community-based approach can also support donors and INGOs to focus on other challenges such as domestic work and improving the quality of education. The aim of this campaign is to change the traditional behaviours toward gender norms and increase knowledge on gender equality.

	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
Do differently	Continue child labour and child rights awareness sessions with children and parents but with more emphasis on gendered risks using role models. Monitor impact of these.	- Gender-related practices driving child labour	- Addresses social norms, including specific gendered risks of child labour - Builds on protective role of mothers by increasing children's awareness (especially males) of gender roles and non-traditional practices.
	Separate sessions with girls and boys to measure the needed changes and get accurate information from both sides. Parents' sessions should be held separately for mothers and fathers as well.	- Usually female children will not attend mixed sessions. In this case, only male children will speak so the information collected will not be accurate.	- Mothers are a supportive element who may have a positive influence on male family members' decisions and can thus achieve a good balance in power relations between siblings.
	WNCB programme should network with professional organisations specialising in gender issues, GBV and sexual harassment to target all key persons (teachers, counsellors and principals) within the camp schools, by conducting a 1-week workshop to address the impacts of bullying and GBV on access to education for both sexes.	- Lack of knowledge about the reporting mechanism - Fear of reporting - Abusive teachers within boys' school - Female students could be exposed to sexual harassment during their journey to and from school. - Social stigma	- Increased knowledge of child labour and child rights. - Decreased percentage of GBV cases within boys' schools.

	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
Stop	WNCB to stop working intensively on awareness sessions and life skills sessions, thus keeping some of its funding for other valuable issues that should help eliminate child labour, such as: - Working at the policy level by guiding NCFA to prioritise its activities within the Child Labour National Framework (focusing on the agriculture sector and domestic work) and supporting implementation of the urgently needed activities that require financial and technical resources. - Supporting families with working children to do their own income-generating projects, by providing them with financial support, technical guidance, coaching and long-term follow-up.	- Awareness sessions are good and can increase the knowledge and understanding of the risk factors of child labour, child protection policies and child rights, but these alone will not eliminate child labour in Jordan. - Intensive awareness sessions are a waste of time and money for the WNCB programme and for the community who need our support to find a radical solution to the child labour phenomenon	- Supporting NCFA technically and financially to implement their activities which align with WNCB objectives will have a strong impact on decreasing the percentage of child labour in Jordan and will be a tangible achievement for the programme. - Supporting families with income-generating projects is a successful and sustainable idea that can improve their standard of living, change their negative practices in terms of the traditional gender roles within the household and those related to child labour and protect children from employers' exploitation.
	The WNCB programme should build on what has been done by other organisations, and stop working on new studies, so that funds can be used to start practical implementation on the ground.		

OUTCOME 2
Governments have enforced relevant child rights-based laws and policies on child labour, education, youth economic empowerment, and social security.

OUTCOME 4
The EU, Dutch government and international organisations act in support of the elimination of child labour and fulfil their obligation by setting and reinforcing due diligence policies and laws.

	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
Start doing	MoE to intensify its efforts to activate non-traditional vocational courses in coordination with the vocational training centres and Luminus Technical University College to encourage students who have vocational talents to become professional and well-skilled.		- Decent work and a better future for both sexes. - This will reduce child labour and enhance the vocational training approach. - The percentage of early marriage will decrease, as females will be well-educated and financially empowered.
	Child protection mechanisms related to safety and security should be updated, activated and applied within private and public spheres, in addition to ensuring that they are integrated into the Child Labour National Framework. The mechanisms should include: - Restrictions on the type of work and the acceptable working hours - Safe and healthy environment - Access to transportation - Building code of conduct/accessibility - Sanitation facilities based on gender needs - Social security and health insurance	- Weak implementation of the child protection policy is a big risk factor for keeping children exploited by employers and exposing them to various kinds of danger. - Lack of government responsibility in updating and monitoring the effectiveness of child protection policies is a key barrier to organisations reducing the rate of child labour and protecting children in the workplace.	- Updating and implementing child protection mechanisms effectively will reduce child labour and organise it in terms of type of work, work mechanisms, age allowed, working hours, creating an appropriate environment for child labour according to physical abilities and gender
	1. NCFA to focus on domestic work and add it as a fundamental element within the national framework as one form of child labour, which affects females negatively in terms of their education, reproductive and mental health. 2. MoSD must set standards for domestic work based on a gender lens and non-traditional roles based on the principle of equal rights and social justice. Lobby work should be done to pass a law that protects girl children engaged in domestic work, focusing on permitted working hours inside the home, penalties imposed on the family for work that causes any physical or psychological harm to the girl, and penalties related to a child's inability to study because of domestic work.	- Domestic work is not taken into consideration in policies and laws and is not considered as a form of child labour, which keeps many females disadvantaged and without education.	- Start adding domestic work to the government's agendas and national frameworks. This will change the institutional culture mindset toward this issue. - Start changing the perception of domestic work from compulsory unpaid work that is part of the traditional female reproductive role to a participatory task for all family members.
	WNCB programme, in cooperation with NCFA, to put pressure on the government/MoL and ILO to create high-level legislative support in terms of advocating and lobbying for more stringent application of labour regulations to ensure that employers provide at least minimum wages and decent working conditions for both men and women engaging in paid work in agricultural and industrial sectors.		Providing women and men (parents) with fair wages and a safe environment can eliminate child labour and help keep their children in education.

	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
D o d i f f e r e n t l y	1. MoE to activate/update the follow-up system for students who drop out of school or are at risk of begging to push them back to school. Activate counselling within schools by: - Providing teachers and counsellors with GBV and parenting skills trainings. - Providing school counsellors with full training on a case management approach to deal professionally with students' cases, support them at the academic level, encourage them not to drop out of school, and refer them to specialised entities if needed. - Build on the existing materials related to these topics compiled by other organisations. 2. This system should be built in cooperation with MoL to count the number of Jordanian and Syrian refugee girls who are under 18 and work in farms and do not have access to education.	- Child labour/early marriage/domestic work	- Encourage all children (females and males) to have access to education. - Make families more aware that education is compulsory and their children should be educated.
	MoE to improve the vocation educational system, by selecting some working children who have special vocational talents and support them to present and sell their work in bazars, festivals or small shops. Students will be financed to encourage them to work professionally within the school and legally instead of doing child labour.		- This kind of initiative will eliminate child labour for children aged 16-18. - Enhance the pull factor by encouraging students to stay at school and encouraging them to enhance their vocational skills. - Vocational skills can be a strong element for building up a decent family business and providing the family with a good income. - Give females an opportunity to learn a good skill, so they can have their own business in the future and be financially empowered.
	1. The MoE should improve the school environment by implementing awareness campaigns to combat bullying and by imposing academic and disciplinary sanctions on students who subject their colleagues to physical, verbal, and psychological violence. 2. Staff working at school should also improve their skills in identifying the push and pull factors and work on these in cooperation with the local community to keep children in school.		- Advocacy campaigns, school activities and safe environment encourage students to stay at school and to focus on their educational attainment instead of work.

	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
Do differently	NCFA technical taskforce should hire a consultant to review and update all the child protection policies and share final documents with all youth and development centres in the targeted areas. CBOs should be trained on these policies and support employers to implement within workplaces. Efforts should be intensified through the NCFA task force regarding the unification of the definition of child labour in Jordan.		- Inclusive awareness within the targeted areas about child rights and child protection policies within workplaces. - Unifying the definition of child labour will facilitate the work of government, NGOs and INGOs and reduce any challenges or barriers that prevent them from working on a certain methodology to eliminate child labour. - Supervision of policy implementation and measurement of the achievements will provide an overview of its impact on children's academic attainment, the quality of education and the percentage of child labour.
	Strengthen the system of economic empowerment for women provided by national and international organisations, such as UN WOMEN, Micro-fund for women, and women programme centres in the targeted areas, which would open greater work opportunities for them and increase family income. This can be done by creating a one-week intensive training for women on methodologies for building financial workplans, doing marketing studies, understanding society and market needs and how to succeed in their income-generating projects.		This would contribute to changing societal attitudes and practices that push children to work and give girls a greater opportunity to complete their education away from the social and economic burdens inside and outside the home.
	MoSD and MoL to jointly build a professional and technical framework with accredited approach, specialised in referring street children to the rehabilitation centres in Madaba and al-Dulayl. Identify the academic and professional standards required of counsellors who will deal with children of both sexes during the rehabilitation period (preferably not less than 6 months). Implement joint recreational and non-recreational activities with children's families, include case management sessions and identify the challenges, strengths, weaknesses and opportunities that can support them to re-engage in the community with better behaviour and attitudes, and to gain a new perspective toward education. For females, MoSD should deal with females' needs and cases in different ways using the case management approach. Provide children with vocational skills and try to support their families financially by linking/ registering them with the National Aid Fund to cover their basic needs.		- A professional programme within the rehabilitation centres can support males and females with healthy community re-engagement. - Specialised and trained counsellors of both sexes can support children's mental health on a case-by-case basis. - Vocational skills will enhance children to find decent work or to do an income-generating project with their families. This can give them the opportunity to think of returning to education.

RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
Government, NGOs and INGOs to stop planning, revising and updating policies without taking into consideration the gender lens. Most laws and regulations related to human rights and child rights are gender blind, dealing with humans as individuals with a narrow view of the gender dynamics within the Jordan context.	Moving forward with the same laws and policies will leave many persons behind when it comes to child labour: girls under 18, women, children refugees and persons with disabilities.	

Stop

RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
Government, NGOs and INGOs to stop planning, revising and updating policies without taking into consideration the gender lens. Most laws and regulations related to human rights and child rights are gender blind, dealing with humans as individuals with a narrow view of the gender dynamics within the Jordan context.	Moving forward with the same laws and policies will leave many persons behind when it comes to child labour: girls under 18, women, children refugees and persons with disabilities.	

OUTCOME 3
The private sector takes full responsibility for preventing and addressing child labour.

Start doing

RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
Employers to start attending sessions and workshops on: - Legal status of Syrian child refugees and their conditions of work - International Convention on Child Rights - Gender equality and social norms - Laws and regulations related to child labour - Child protection and safety and security within workplaces - Gender roles and needs within workplaces These sessions should be held and coordinated by the child labour technical taskforce - NCFA, ILO and MoL.		- The joint effort between the government and related organisations will make the implementation of laws more effective and keep both sides on the same track. - Employers will become more aware of child rights and protection policies when hiring youth. - Employers will be more cautious and try to limit the number of children they employ.

Do differently

RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
The Ministry of Agriculture and MoL to make agreements with employers about the conditions and causes that allow employers to hire males or females, under specific restrictions and governmental supervision.		This could limit the number of children of different categories and ages who are working, which would reduce the rate of child labour or those at risk of working in unhealthy environments.

Do differently	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
	Employers to register children for social security and health insurance.		- Health insurance can encourage employers in both industry and agriculture to improve safety measures within the workplace and place more conditions on the recruitment process. - Social security will protect employers from penalties for employing people illegally, and will provide children and their families with government savings/ financial support in the long run.

Stop	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
	Employers must stop employing any children under the age of 16 and observe the legal standards and restrictions when hiring youth aged 16-18 for hazardous work.	Unsafe environment, unhealthy environment, sexual harassment and GBV, long working hours.	- Children under 16 have access to elementary and secondary school - Females can complete their education - No exposure to any kind of abuse or harassment by the employers
	Employers to stop hiring female children in all fields and encourage them to complete their education.		

Recommendations for India

	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
S t a r t d o i n g	Security needs to be strengthened to ensure that outsiders do not have access to schools, and that girls do not encounter street harassment perpetrated by men while commuting or right outside schools. This can be done by: - Appointing security guards to protect schools - **Setting up formal, accessible, and gender-responsive grievance redressal mechanisms**	- **Children face significant security risks while in school**	- **Safer environment for children at school**
	WNCB should conduct a thorough review to examine if **partner organisations working on children's welfare are gender and caste representative,** considering how many risk factors for child labour are linked to norms around these two social systems. Integrating officials more closely into School Management Committees (SMCs) is a key step **towards connecting school-level and policy-level interventions** SMCs could be utilised as a space to sensitively raise and discuss pressing issues, such as how caste and gender are impeding learning outcomes for children and creating barriers for them to access schooling	- Interventions against sensitive issues such as sexual harassment, familial violence, and violence by dominant castes, are not usually discussed beyond interpersonal spaces - School Management Committees (SMCs) are functional in most schools in the target districts, but **our findings do not reflect their ability to act as a forum that is contributing significantly to improving the quality of learning outcomes or children's well-being in school.** - Although *panchayat* members and government officials involved in child protection in the region are intended to be participants in SMCs according to the guidelines for their **formation, our findings suggest that the government officials attending meetings are often ones who do not work directly on children's welfare, while panchayat members are typically not present at all.**	- Organisations with heterogeneous representation are likely to be more comfortable spaces for children to address such grievances

	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
Do differently	WNCB programme should foster a greater focus on gender mainstreaming. The scope of this needs to be expanded beyond a focus on girls' participation in education, and map and intervene against the specific forms of labour for which girls are disproportionately at risk. It should do this by: - Developing more deep-rooted sensitisation strategies aimed at creating long-term cognisance around the different risk factors for children's participation in labour - Introducing strategic roadmaps for their mitigation	- Girls are expected to participate in household chores in their own homes from a young age.	- We strongly recommend the implementation of sensitisation programmes that highlight how participation in household work exposes them to risks of exhaustion, learning loss, loss of time to play and engage in recreation, and sometimes even exposure to hazardous conditions, in the same way that other forms of labour do.
	Interventions should be made more community-responsive by identifying regional variations and focusing on them through programming. To do this, organisations should conduct a thorough mapping of how norms and stereotypes around gender, caste, economic status, and other structural identities differ across regions and communities	- while the likelihood of children from SC, ST, and OBC communities being engaged in labour from an early age is significantly higher than those from dominant castes across districts, the specific forms of hazardous work that they are likelier to be exposed to depends on which forms of labour are considered 'lower' and more marginal in nature according to region-specific caste norms	
	Skills training programmes should be expanded to ensure that children are learning in a manner that improves their employability upon finishing school. WNCB should undertake advocacy measures and collaborations with government schools to include newly developed skills programmes within curricula	- At present skills training programmes reinforce gender stereotypes, training girls for jobs in sectors such as salons and cosmetics, while certain jobs are seen as appropriate only for boys	- Children, especially girls, expressed a desire to learn skills such as computer usage and programming

OUTCOME 2

Governments have enforced relevant child rights-based laws and policies on child labour, education, youth economic empowerment, and social security.

	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
S t a r t d o i n g	WNCB programme should contribute to a deeper understanding of the relationship between child labour and child trafficking by: - Mapping the scale of the phenomenon - Creating inter-state networks between organisations so that the forced movement of children and their subsequent engagement in labour can be tracked	- Child labour that involves child trafficking exposes children to higher levels of violence - The relationship between child labour and child trafficking is an important aspect of prevention measures that is not being prioritised in a manner that is proportionate to the threats to safety that it poses - While there is anecdotal evidence, the relationship is not highlighted clearly by government data at the state and central levels	
	WNCB programme should take steps to involve panchayats as active stakeholders in interventions around gender, caste, community, and other social dynamics in a region.		- *Panchayats* hold the potential to bridge the gaps between communities, schools, and state and central governments
	WNCB programme should make its interventions caste-responsive by: - Carrying out caste sensitisation training for key stakeholders in the child protection ecosystem, including teachers, social activists, and government officials	- Exclusion and violence towards marginalised castes is not only a pervasive problem, but also one that bears deep links to children's participation in labour, and overlaps significantly with extreme economic deprivation	
	WNCB should work towards strengthening conditional cash transfer programmes should be strengthened to create systems through which access to education can be expanded alongside poverty mitigation, by: - mapping and addressing the conditions of families and individuals that are excluded from cash transfer programmes because of a lack of documents, bank accounts, and other basic resources	- Children's engagement in labour is often a product of economic deprivation and necessity	- Cash transfer programmes can help reduce poverty and thus increase children's access to education - Cash transfer programmes are integral to making **programmes more caste-responsive**, considering the **significant overlap between** caste marginalisation and exclusion from welfare delivery systems
	WNCB programme should help to strengthen the monitoring, regulation, and enforcement of anti-child labour legislative provisions, by: - Fostering more participation from local and district-level government officials - Examining the barriers to their implementation in informal sectors - Improving coordination between different government departments and units, especially between panchayats (local governments) and state as well as central governments	- Implementation of anti-child labour legislation falls short at multiple levels	

	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
Do differently	The current focus is on identifying at-risk children who are already enrolled in schools. Interventions need to identify and work on the rights and well-being of children who are excluded from school (see risk factors)	- Children involved in the worst forms of child labour, including children who are being trafficked, engaged in bonded labour, or forced into early marriage, are difficult to identify under current frameworks - Needs of other groups who are disproportionately excluded from formal schooling, including disabled children and children from families facing extreme economic and social deprivation, are similarly important to consider	
	Many children were found to be engaging in labour alongside going to school, indicating that WNCB programme should engage in more direct conversations on the specific harms of children participating in labour at all This needs to be supplemented with opportunities for skill development and training, as well as an improvement in the quality of education in government schools	- Children engaged in child labour and attending school	- Parents understanding that preventing their children from taking up labour work is crucial to helping them develop holistically and secure access to better employment opportunities once they

OUTCOME 3

The private sector takes full responsibility for preventing and addressing child labour.

	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
S t a r t d o i n g	WNCB programmes should aim to sensitise children about their legal rights in the workplace (despite the main aim being to eliminate child labour)	- Absence of formal mechanisms to account for children's safety and well-being in formal and semi-formal workplaces	- Children who work out of economic necessity become empowered actors who can assert their rights and access bodies working on child protection directly to report workplace grievances
	WNCB programmes need to reach out to communities where generational continuity of economic deprivation occurs because of caste, by: - Identifying and addressing the risks and challenges faced by them	- A significant proportion of children participate in labour alongside their parents, whether in workplaces or from within their homes, especially with agricultural labour and other primary sector activities such as collecting resources from jungles. Generational 'passing down' of labour skills is often associated with the caste system in India and is practised more commonly by marginalised caste communities that have been systematically excluded from upward economic mobility - These conditions blur the lines between what constitutes the 'private sector', i.e. the domain within which employers of child labour operate, and entire social structures ranging from the family to the community	
	WNCB programmes should engage in employer sensitisation about child labour and child rights	- Employers in informal sectors in remote communities might be difficult to map and reach out to	- Will benefit children who have migrated or been trafficked to urban areas to take up work in sectors such as domestic labour, hospitality, and factory-based labour
	WNCB should initiate programmes to engage with informal actors who hire children for work, where the focus is: - Sensitising them on the need to protect children from the risks of hazardous and taxing labour - Making them aware of legislative measures for child protection that are still applicable to their actions. - Mapping the grievances of children working in such spaces, in order to create more responsive systems for their needs.	- While formal workplaces are subject to legislative provisions such as providing adolescent children with safe work environments and creating grievance redressal mechanisms for employees, informal sectors are exempt from these	

	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
Start doing	WNCB programme should make it clear to international frameworks that they need to recognise that participation in domestic work within one's own household constitutes child labour. This would build on the growing international cognisance around the gender gap created in accounts of child labour when this form of work is not taken into consideration. Steps to take: - Target and highlight the risks that are created due to girls' excessive and disproportionate participation in this labour - Ensure their inclusion in international conventions and codes	- Girls' disproportionate engagement in household work is strongly associated with other risk factors such as them dropping out of school, or being socialised into the role of ideal wives and mothers as opposed to being allowed to work when they are older	- Targeting and highlighting the risks that are created due to girls' excessive and disproportionate participation in this labour through international conventions and codes would act as a push factor for country-level legislation to be instituted against it
	Programmatic agendas for coalitions such as WNCB should aim to: - Include measures targeting large-scale poverty alleviation - Focus on risk factors that affect the family as a unit	- Vast resource disparities that cause the persistence of children's engagement in work	- Family is the primary decision-making unit that determines children's participation in labour in most cases
	In the Indian context, international advocacy should aim to be caste-responsive in addition to being gender-responsive	- While caste remains deeply embedded in how labour is practised in different parts of the country, it is vastly underrepresented in institutional frameworks and often disregarded even by government functionaries	- Increasing the international focus on caste as a systemic form of violence that persists in India could nudge institutions towards acknowledging and addressing how caste marginalisation operates in modern-day rural and urban contexts
Do differently	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
	Strategic collaborations need to be fostered between international bodies working on anti-child labour interventions in the country and governmental and civil society bodies.	- Monitoring and evaluation is a weak link in legislating and implementing interventions against child labour in India.	- This would help to create robust normative frameworks and guidelines to evaluate the scale of problems such as child labour in informal sectors, trafficking, and child marriage.

Recommendations for Vietnam

In line with the WNCB programme's theory of change outcomes, the tables are separated to highlight **programme-level** recommendations that will lead to the achievement of Outcome 1: *Children are empowered and have improved access to (quality) education and youth employment within a supportive family and community environment;* and **system-level** recommendations that will result in the achievement of Outcome 2: *Governments have enforced relevant child-rights based laws and have implemented policies on child labour, education, youth economic empowerment and social security.* These are further separated by the gender domain.

OUTCOME 1
Children are empowered and have improved access to (quality) education and youth employment within a supportive family and community environment.

	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
Start doing	• strengthen referral system, specifically to include services to support adults with substance abuse, alcoholism, or other addictions, and to provide mental health and psychosocial support services. • Train local partners on recognising signs of exploitation and abuse of children and women, and on safe referral procedures for survivors of child abuse and intimate partner violence.	- Substance abuse, alcoholism, and other addictions such as gambling - Domestic violence - Violence, abuse and exploitation of children in families and communities	- Strengthened family living environment; improved relationships with caregivers; prevention of violence against children and domestic violence - Strengthened family living environment; prevention of violence against children and domestic.
	• Raise awareness of support services to ensure that children and adults have access to information on services available in their communities and where they can seek support. • Facilitate mapping of community centres and local organisations that offer recreational or play activities for children of all ages, including activities that parents/primary caregivers and children and youth can engage in together to foster their relationships. Refer project beneficiaries to these activities. • Support vulnerable families to access nutritious foods in both urban and rural areas through referral to social protection and community programmes run by local partners, especially for households experiencing loss of employment and/or livelihoods.	- Unmet basic needs (lack of access to nutritious food) - Lack of access to safe recreational or play activities for children and youth Lack of opportunities to build relationships with children and caregivers outside the home	- Children and women are protected from harm and can access quality services as needed. Strengthened relationships between children and caregivers; opportunities for children to build life skills; opportunities to form relationships with peers and team building skills in safe environment through recreation; strengthened community support and protective community environment - Increased food security for vulnerable families

	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
Do **d**ifferently	• Advocate for gender equality in the social media and address men insecurities. • Vocational trainings that target girls and working on a social media campaign that encourage women to participate in STEM education. • Support women to have better access to good and quality education through online courses Work on addressing the difficulties men is facing because of the gender stereo types and social norms.	- Talking too much about women and gender equality will backfire and cause a Counter argument. - Government may not agree on a social media campaign and problems may appear. - Increased GBV if women gain more access to resources.	- Opening new educational horizons to women (STEM). - Increasing the ability of women to work in a high value job. - Freeing men from the social burden which will lead to more equality

	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
Start **d**oing	• Deliver awareness-raising messages that seek to promote children's agency and participation in decision-making processes within the household. • Establish systematic and innovative mechanisms and an enabling environment for child and youth participation in community, schools, and at home through children's networks, student-led social clubs and peer-to-peer support groups in all decision-making processes. • Provide resources and IT-based innovative platforms for youth empowerment (with focus on female youth) in inclusive and independent environment to foster creativity and diverse views.	- Harmful behaviours (smoking, drinking, gambling) - Segregation of gender roles where girls lack opportunities to build IT skills or other skills typically identified as 'male' - Breakdown of family relationships due to family separation; Low self-confidence/self-esteem	- Girls/boys gain sense of empowerment as contributors to household decisions; gain self-confidence/self-esteem - Strengthen peer relationships; opportunities to build life skills; opportunities to develop problem-solving capacity, learning and adaptation - Increased female youth participation in and access to types of decent work involving IT and innovation; foster life skills and creativity among youth
	• Train teachers and education staff in the project's partner schools on identifying children doing or at risk of child labour, including recognising signs of exploitation and abuse, and how to report numbers of school dropouts to child protection/WNCB staff.	- School dropout; child abuse and exploitation Lack of access to quality educational opportunities	Strengthened protective environment in schools leading to prevention of school dropout of at-risk children - Strengthened family environment for children leading to prevention of school dropout - Improved access to formal education

	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
Do **d**ifferently	Coordinate with education management staff in local schools to identify vulnerable families and provide comprehensive support packages to them that include direct support to children, in the form of materials, extra-curriculum tutoring, career counselling, and psychological support (if necessary).	Vulnerable families may feel not. Respected by the community members Also, they will be stigmatized	- Decrease the drop out of school rates - Provide better educational services to the children.

	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
Start doing	Promote, inform, and sensitise parents, community members, and community leaders through awareness campaigns on the importance of girls' engagement in and pursuit of higher education and/or vocational skills/ entrepreneurial training, and the benefits of female inclusion in these areas. Consult with girls and young women to develop key awareness messages. To support gender-norm change in relation to gender stereotypes and cultural barriers, awareness campaigns should be facilitated at the community level as well as through cooperation with mass media (such as newspapers, television, voice broadcasting, and the internet) to reach a higher number of people in the wider society.	- School dropout; social and gender norms related to roles and responsibilities of girls and boys - Social and gender norms that lead to the lack of pursuit of higher education amongst girls and segregation in educational fields of study in both formal and informal education, including prohibiting girls/women to take up positions of leadership	- Access to quality formal education for children at-risk; opportunities for girls to continue to post-secondary - Improved opportunities for girls to access higher education and vocational skills/entrepreneurial training traditionally dominated by boys

OUTCOME 2
Governments have enforced relevant child rights-based laws and policies on child labour, education, youth economic empowerment, and social security.

	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
Start doing	• Facilitate a mapping of businesses and companies that promote female employment opportunities and leadership roles, especially those in sectors typically identified as male in the project locations. Actively engage with businesses and companies to facilitate job placements or apprenticeships for female youth and adolescents. Coordinate with school management staff and the Ministry of Education to increase female youth and adolescents' leadership roles by promoting their higher education and careers in the sciences, technology, engineering, and mathematics through a range of methods, including classroom visits from women working in	The following risk factors pertain to all of the recommendations in this section: - Gender norms and stereotypes, influencing fields of study, vocational skills training, and streaming into a narrow range of occupations leading to segregation of types of labour - Informal, low skilled nature of women's work, which is unprotected and low paid - Bias against women in leadership Traditional beliefs and gender norms on appropriate responsibilities of girls, boys, women and men and roles in the household	The following protective factors pertain to all recommendations in this section: - Improved access and increased opportunities for girls/boys to pursue different fields of study - Improved opportunities for girls/women to access decent work - Inclusive work environments for female employees that promote female leadership - Work environments that are inclusive and safe

	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
Start doing	• Provide opportunities for male youth and adolescents to learn about careers typically identified as for females (such as teaching elementary school) through a range of methods including classroom visits from men working in these sectors, field trips to career sites, and on-the-job shadowing. • Make sure that female youth and adolescents are given equal opportunities to training and mentorship programmes offered by the WNCB project. • Provide apprenticeships and opportunities for entrepreneurial training for female youth and adolescents through local WNCB partners to support them in acquiring the skills necessary for employment in decent work or to manage their own small businesses by firstly conducting a mapping of apprenticeships/ entrepreneurial training opportunities in project locations and examine the social factors that act against girls in specific trades and identify key steps to overcome barriers to their participation. • Tackle gender stereotypes in vocational skills training with WNCB project partners. Stereotyping can be simply a matter of the language used in the description of training courses, but it may also stem from gender bias within the training institution/vocational skills center itself. Review: 1) the vocational skills trainings that are offered by the WNCB project's partners and identify the types of courses offered, and 2) male to female ratio of students to ensure that the project is not unintentionally contributing to the segregation of training opportunities for female and male youth and adolescents.		
Do differently	RECOMMENDATION Awareness sessions should take more active role and support the elimination of child labour and social norms that affect girls.	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed

	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
S t a r t d o i n g	• Identify and support vulnerable households and adult family members' access to decent work through referrals to local partners, such as the Women's Union, Youth Union, or Farmers' Associations or local vocational training centres and job placement centres to facilitate the placement of adult caregivers in decent employment. • Provide training for female caregivers on financial literary, resume writing, negotiation skills, and social securities and employment benefits to prepare them for applying to jobs or entering the workforce either directly or through referrals to local courses. • Collaborate with local business and worker's organisations in WNCB project locations to raise awareness on gender-based discrimination practices, such as advertising gender preference in job postings for specific types of work/roles, to reduce gender segregation in the workforce. • Coordinate with credit loan associations in project locations and other relevant stakeholders to improve loan management (disbursement and recovery, monitoring and reporting the use of the loans) for project beneficiaries, as well as business planning and managements with child and gender inclusion, problem-solving in the event that the borrowers cannot repay the loans. • Support sustainable livelihoods for adults in low-income families whose jobs were impacted by COVID-19 by providing or referrals to inclusive and affordable microcredit for production recovery and small business development and operation in short- and medium-terms with a focus on women and female-headed households.	- Monetary poverty; unemployment of adult caregivers; lack of access to decent employment; lack of employment benefits, social protection/insurance in the informal sector - Gender norms and stereotypes, influencing fields of study leading to segregation of types of labour and lack of decent work for women - Segregation of types of labour as a result of gender discrimination in the workforce - Monetary poverty; debt; lack of access to loan; lack of financial literacy in loan management leading to cycle of poverty COVID-19 pandemic which has led to increased unemployment and poverty	- Improved opportunities for adult caregivers to access decent work, including access to employment benefits and social securities; strengthened ability of adult caregivers to provide for the needs and protection of their children - Improved opportunities for girls/women to access decent work - Increased employment opportunities for adolescent girls/women due to decreased gender segregation in types of roles for women/men - Improved ability of adult caregivers to manage finances/increased financial literacy; access to accredited loan providers Employment of adult caregivers; access to microcredit to support in reducing the risk of shocks
D o d i f f e r e n t l y	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
	Mapping of vulnerable and person in need.	Stigmatization	Having an in-depth understanding of the different needs of the community needs

	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
Start doing	• Develop a national level youth employment strategy that is gender sensitive, led by MOLISA in coordination with the Ministry of Education. • Ensure enforcement of national legislation on gender equality and child labour by trained and sensitive labour inspectors. • Pursue strategies to better target and address the lower employment opportunities and discrimination faced by ethnic minority women, women with disabilities, young and elderly women, LGBTQI people, migrant women and women in informal work. • Eliminate the gender stereotypes in the education and training system that stream young people into gender segregated, 'suitable' fields of study and occupations, and greatly increase the coverage of labour market oriented technical training for all workers. • Coordinate with relevant stakeholders and government to regularly monitor children's well-being across the areas of education, health, nutrition, WASH, child and social protection to inform policy-making. Importantly, such monitoring and evaluation systems will help to understand where the vulnerable families live, key risk factors facing children and their families, and what are the new forms of vulnerabilities that lead to gender inequalities and their linkages to child labour. • Ensure national action plans and policies related to child labour include specific gender actions, indicators, and outcomes	- Lack of decent employment opportunities for youth; gender discrimination and segregation in employment practices at the national, provincial and district levels - Invisibility of child labour in the informal sectors leading to lack of enforcement of legislation and policies - Lack of data on specific risk factors leading to increased vulnerabilities, specifically amongst low-income families working in the informal sector including migrants, ethnic minorities, and families with working children - Lack of disaggregated data on gender inequalities - Lack of monitoring data on child labour and related gender inequalities	- Improved access to decent employment for young people; improved business practices that enable and promote equal employment opportunities for female and male youth - Awareness and enforcement of legislation related to child labour - Existence of laws, policies and programs to promote gender equality and eradicate child labour in Vietnam (e.g. Labour Code and revisions aiming to close gender gaps; ratification of core conventions on gender equality by the Government of Vietnam) - Workplace environments that are safe and inclusive for all genders - Improved access to decent employment for female and male youth and adolescents - Improved evidence to develop relevant national policies and programmes to support vulnerable families - Improved evidence base to promote and enforce policies and legislation on gender Improved evidence base and monitoring system in place to monitor improvements to both prevention/reduction of child labour and its related gender linkages

	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
Start doing	• WNCB project partners to collaborate with MOLISA to advocate within the Government of Vietnam for budget allocation for social protection services, such as safety nets for vulnerable families, specifically universal childcare benefits that support children's well-being. • WNCB team to coordinate with key government stakeholders and local authorities in project locations to improve institutions and capacities to ensure equitable and comprehensive social service delivery to vulnerable households and social protection to children and adolescents. • Advocate for and promote the expansion childcare programmes that are subsidised by the Government to enable caregivers to work with specific focus to single parent households and female-headed households. Identify childcare programmes that are community-run and held in a communal location in the community and refer vulnerable families to programmes. • Coordinate with MOLISA to support job sustainability and creation through business with government stimulus, grants or other government credit schemes through referral of WNCB project beneficiaries to supports. • develop polices that protect children with disabilities from any harmful acts.	- Lack of universal protection services, childcare for individuals working in the informal sector - Lack of access to social services for individuals working in the informal sector - Traditional roles lead to women leaving the workforce to care for children; gender stereotypes related to roles/responsibilities; lack of childcare and maternity/paternity benefits particularly in the informal sector - Lack of decent employment opportunities	The following protective factors will be established for all recommendations in this section: - Reduction of poverty - Access to employment and social benefits, such as childcare - Access to social insurance and social securities Improved access to decent employment opportunities
Do differently	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
	- Coordination activities should be more practical and result oriented. - Supporting the children who are not doing good in education through remedial classes and extra educational services	More allocated budgets for these activities may impact other sectors	Reduce the dropout of school rates

Lucia Zoro / Save the Children

OUTCOME 3
The private sector takes full responsibility for preventing and addressing child labour.

|	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
Start doing	**Legalise all the informal economy**	- Taxes will be imposed on small business which will be decrease the income And increase the poverty rate.	- Appropriate working conditions for both females and males. - Equal wages for men and women. - Including the people working in these newly legalised economies in the financial and banking services. - Women have better access to credit systems
Do differently	RECOMMENDATION	RISK FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed	PROTECTIVE FACTORS of child labour for boys and girls addressed
	Support and advocate for newly insurance system that can include the domestic work.	- Requires a huge amount of funding which might not be existing.	- Protection of women who only do domestic work

Final remarks

Child labour has unique implications for boys and girls. It is crucial to consider the gender dimensions of child labour at all stages of any programmatic intervention. Based on the WNCB gender analysis conducted in five countries, we can confirm that there are differences in how girls and boys are involved in child labour and that girls do face specific risks.

Girls in child labour are much more likely to work in services, including domestic work, which is moreover generally under-reported. Domestic work, including that done in third-party households, is a form of child labour that is usually hidden from public view and beyond the scope of public inspectorates, leaving girls especially vulnerable to abuse. The different analyses also revealed how gender norms and inequality exacerbate risk factors such as early child marriage and early pregnancy.

The different country assessments showed the importance of having tailored activities based on each country's needs and assessment. These will require specific funding, but projects based on a deep understanding of the context can work on more transformative activities in the targeted countries. Interventions on the national and international level through the WNCB network and advocacy/lobbying work can help in achieving the recommendations in this report, focusing on the following four points:

- Ways to make children and their parents aware of children's rights concerning education and working conditions
- Addressing deep-seated norms that disadvantage girl children in particular concerning their education and prospects for decent work as adults
- Making explicit the hidden nature of girls' domestic labour and acting to change household dynamics
- Tackling the hazardous conditions under which many children work

There is still a long way to go to before we achieve gender equality and eliminate child labour, but with our commitment and assertiveness, we are confident that we will meet our goals.
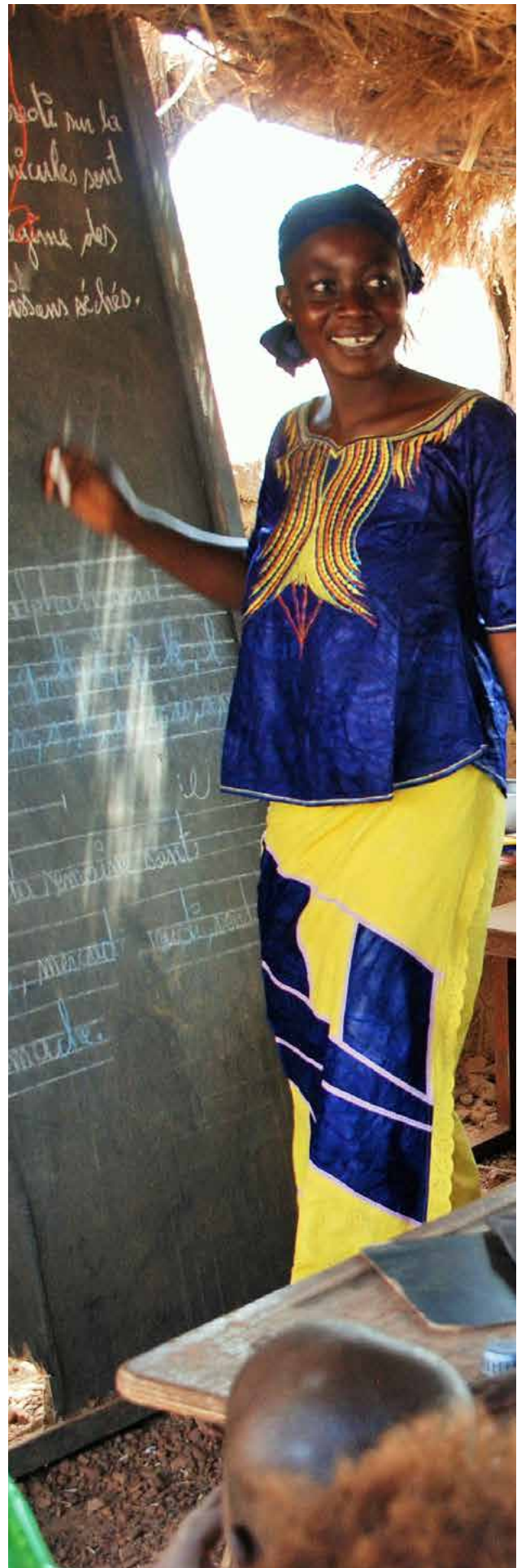
Trudy Kerperien

5
Annexes

Annex 1 - Definitions

Child

The concept of 'child' varies across contexts. According to the 1989 United Nations (UN) Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), the international legal instrument most referred to for children-related issues, the child is 'Every human being below the age of eighteen years, unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier'. The 1999 International Labour Organisation (ILO) Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour (WFCL) also defined a child as 'an individual under the age of 18'.

Child labour

The term 'child labour' is often defined as work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity, and that is harmful to physical and mental development. It refers to work that:
- **is mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful to children**; and/or
- **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.

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.

Three types of child labour:
Child labour is often divided into three major categories: paid or unpaid work outside the home, family work, and housework. Children's work outside the home has received the most empirical attention.
Work outside the home is itself divided into three broad sectors of agriculture (69% of economically active children, including farming, fishing, and forestry), services (22% of economically active children, including street selling or begging, domestic, restaurant and transportation work), and industry (9% of economically active children, including manufacturing, mining, construction, and public utility work. These kinds of work outside the home can be paid or unpaid.
Family work consists of any (usually unpaid) work that children do for the family. Often, family work is agricultural, but it also includes work for any other type of family-owned business.
Housework, or household chores, includes childcare, cleaning, cooking, laundry, shopping, fetching water and wood, and home maintenance. Housework is considered to be a hidden form of child labour because it is unpaid, and it often goes unreported. UNICEF (2006) considers housework to be child labour if the child engages in 4 or more hours per day (28 hours per week).

Worst forms of child labour (WFCL)

ILO Convention 182 provides the following definition of the worst forms of child labour:
- all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict
- child prostitution and pornography
- using children for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs
- work which is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children

5 Annexes

Hazardous child labour or hazardous work	Whilst hazardous work is defined by individual countries, the 1999 ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Recommendation No.190 lists the following as hazardous work: 'Work that exposes children to physical, emotional or sexual abuse; that is underground, under water, at dangerous heights or in confined spaces; that involves dangerous machinery, and equipment or the manual handling or transport of heavy loads; that is carried out in unhealthy environments which may expose children to hazardous substances, agents or processes, or to damaging temperatures, noise levels, or vibrations; that is carried out under difficult conditions, as long hours, during the night, no returning home each day'. Hazardous work is work which, **by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children.**
The world of work	Work is commonly defined as any physical or mental activity to produce or accomplish something. ILO uses the concept of 'the world of work' to encompass such activities that are both paid and unpaid. Paid labour is an activity or service performed for which cash and/or in-kind payment is made. Unpaid labour comprises both 'productive work' and 'reproductive work'. Unpaid productive work includes, family members toiling in subsistence agriculture or in a family business but receiving no payment. Unpaid reproductive work is mostly carried out within the household – such as preparing food, child and elderly care, and cleaning – but can also be performed within the community such as attending births or helping maintain community property. Unpaid reproductive work is overwhelmingly performed by women and girls in most countries, although time-use studies or polls in some show an increasing number of males are performing a more equitable share.
Gender	Refers to the learned social differences and relations between girls and boys and between women and men. These can vary widely within and between cultures. In some countries, for example, it is appropriate for women and girls to work on road construction, whereas in others only men and boys perform roadwork-related labour. The term gender is distinct from 'sex', which refers only to the biological/genetic differences between women and men that do not change. For example, only women give birth; only men get prostate cancer. Gender differences and relations between women and men can change over time and they differ from place to place.
Equality between women and men and between boys and girls	According to ILO/IPEC, equality refers to the equal rights, responsibilities, opportunities, treatment and valuation of women and men in employment and the link between work and life.
Social norms	Are typically defined as those rules of behaviour that do not require formal enforcement.
Child trafficking	The Human Trafficking Act, 2005, defines trafficking as the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring, trading or receipt of persons within and across national borders. Thus, a child is said to have been trafficked if s/he is recruited and transported elsewhere to engage in labour that is exploitative and likely to interfere with the child's education or expose him/her to abuse or danger.
Gender equality	Means that women and men enjoy the same status within a society. It does not mean that women and men are the same, but rather that their similarities and differences are recognised and equally valued.

Gender gap	The difference between women and men as reflected in social, political, intellectual, cultural or economic attainments or attitudes. Gender responsiveness entails consistent and systematic attention to the differences between men and women in society to address institutional constraints to gender equality.
Gender-based violence against children	Save the Children defines GBV against children as any crime against girls and boys that 'undermines the health, dignity, security and autonomy of its victims.' These acts are perpetuated physically, sexually, psychologically and/ or economically, and seek to deny access to resources or services that may help lift a victim out of the cycle of violence.
Gender-based violence against women	Violence against women was defined in 1993 by the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women as 'any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life'.
Gender analysis	Used to identify differences and describe relations between girls and boys/ men and women. We conduct a gender analysis to highlight and avoid invalid assumptions about who does what, why and when.
Case management	Save the Children defines case management as a way of organising and carrying out work to address an individual child and his/her caregiver's needs in an appropriate, systematic and timely manner, through direct support and/ or referrals, and in accordance with a project or programme's objectives.

Annex 2 - WNCB Theory of Change

Significant efforts will need to be made to reach the target of SDG 8.7, that is, to end all forms of child labour by 2025. Stepping up international cooperation and partnerships are crucial to ensure progress on this ambitious goal. The programme's Theory of Change describes how the 'Work: No Child's Business'-Alliance will work towards making a significant contribution to achieving this goal.

The impact we aim to contribute to is that children and youth are free from child labour and enjoy their rights to quality education and (future) decent work. This will be achieved by collaboratively addressing the root causes of child labour as well as removing key barriers to the elimination of child labour and to the protection and fulfilment of child rights. To contribute to this impact, the Alliance will promote positive change across social, economic, legal and political domains and in cooperation with different local, national and international stakeholders.

The Alliance will combine a supply chain approach and an area-based approach to address child labour and bring about synergy. The supply chain approach of most companies is top-down and set up in a vertical manner (through the supply chains). In the 'Work: No Child's Business'- programme, the efforts of companies will be complemented and strengthened by the horizontal (area) and bottom-up approach initiated by local communities, civil society organisations and trade unions.

Reaching our impact requires structural long-term engagement in area-based and governmental programmes, taking into account legislation and regulatory

environments. It involves local community mobilisation and organisation, as well as ensuring a strong role by local and national authorities to embed area-based interventions in broader labour, education, and social protection policies and programmes. Local interventions will be supported by actions aimed at influencing relevant governments, businesses and supply chain actors and multilateral organisations. This includes lobby and advocacy for an enabling environment, responsible public procurement, compliance with national and international child labour laws, and the promotion of responsible business conduct at local, national and international levels.

Combating child labour, and protecting the rights of children, requires more than removing children from the workplace, as it involves the responsibility of companies towards children, families and communities. We see a large role for the private sector in reaching sustainable solutions and will therefore work towards stimulating and supporting companies and supply chain actors to display responsible business conduct and respect for children's rights in their supply chains by improving their due diligence process. At the same time, the Alliance will work with governments to promote the timely and effective implementation of existing responsible business conduct policy and laws.
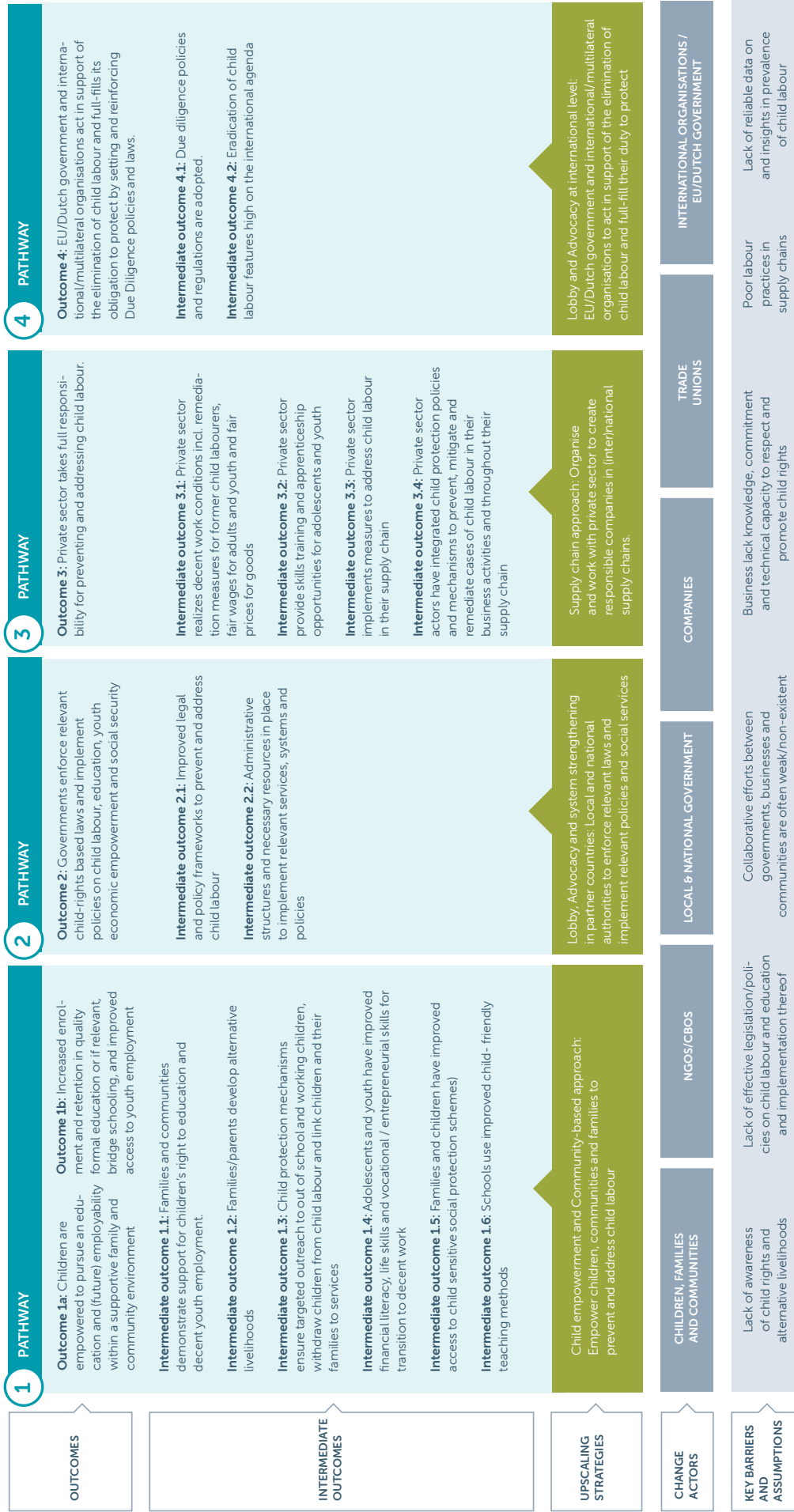
THEORY

OF CHANGE

IMPACT

Children and youth are free from child labour and enjoy their rights to quality education and (future) decent work, hereby contributing to SDG 8.7

OUTCOMES

① PATHWAY

Outcome 1a: Children are empowered to pursue an education and (future) employability within a supportive family and community environment

Outcome 1b: Increased enrolment and retention in quality formal education or if relevant, bridge schooling, and improved access to youth employment

INTERMEDIATE OUTCOMES

Intermediate outcome 1.1: Families and communities demonstrate support for children's right to education and decent youth employment.

Intermediate outcome 1.2: Families/parents develop alternative livelihoods

Intermediate outcome 1.3: Child protection mechanisms ensure targeted outreach to out of school and working children, withdraw children from child labour and link children and their families to services

Intermediate outcome 1.4: Adolescents and youth have improved financial literacy, life skills and vocational / entrepreneurial skills for transition to decent work

Intermediate outcome 1.5: Families and children have improved access to child sensitive social protection schemes)

Intermediate outcome 1.6: Schools use improved child-friendly teaching methods

UPSCALING STRATEGIES

Child empowerment and Community-based approach: Empower children, communities and families to prevent and address child labour

CHANGE ACTORS

CHILDREN, FAMILIES AND COMMUNITIES

KEY BARRIERS AND ASSUMPTIONS

Lack of awareness of child rights and alternative livelihoods

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② PATHWAY

Outcome 2: Governments enforce relevant child-rights based laws and implement policies on child labour, education, youth economic empowerment and social security

Intermediate outcome 2.1: Improved legal and policy frameworks to prevent and address child labour

Intermediate outcome 2.2: Administrative structures and necessary resources in place to implement relevant services, systems and policies

Lobby, Advocacy and system strengthening in partner countries: Local and national authorities to enforce relevant laws and implement relevant policies and social services

LOCAL & NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Lack of effective legislation/policies on child labour and education and implementation thereof

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③ PATHWAY

Outcome 3: Private sector takes full responsibility for preventing and addressing child labour.

Intermediate outcome 3.1: Private sector realizes decent work conditions incl. remediation measures for former child labourers, fair wages for adults and youth and fair prices for goods

Intermediate outcome 3.2: Private sector provide skills training and apprenticeship opportunities for adolescents and youth

Intermediate outcome 3.3: Private sector implements measures to address child labour in their supply chain

Intermediate outcome 3.4: Private sector actors have integrated child protection policies and mechanisms to prevent, mitigate and remediate cases of child labour in their business activities and throughout their supply chain

Supply chain approach: Organise and work with private sector to create responsible companies in (inter)national supply chains.

COMPANIES

Business lack knowledge, commitment and technical capacity to respect and promote child rights

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④ PATHWAY

Outcome 4: EU/Dutch government and international/multilateral organisations act in support of the elimination of child labour and full-fills its obligation to protect by setting and reinforcing Due Diligence policies and laws.

Intermediate outcome 4.1: Due diligence policies and regulations are adopted.

Intermediate outcome 4.2: Eradication of child labour features high on the international agenda

Lobby and Advocacy at international level: EU/Dutch government and international/multilateral organisations to act in support of the elimination of child labour and full-fill their duty to protect

INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS / EU/DUTCH GOVERNMENT

Lack of reliable data on and insights in prevalence of child labour

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TRADE UNIONS

Poor labour practices in supply chains

NGOS/CBOS

Collaborative efforts between governments, businesses and communities are often weak/non-existent

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PROBLEM ANALYSIS

According to most recent estimates 152 million children are victims of child labour, with almost half of them, 73 million, working in hazardous child labour. Although child labour has declined over the past 15 years, progress has dwindled during the last 4 years. Significant efforts will need to be made in order to reach the SDG Goal of eradication all forms of child labour by 2025. Stepping up international cooperation and partnerships are crucial to ensure progress on this ambitious goal (ILO 2017)

Annex 3 - Terms of Reference for Country Assessments

Within the WNCB programme, gender has a crucial role both as one of the main thematic areas and as a cross-cutting element in all the activities at the country level. Through the programme activities, the Alliance will contribute to gender equality in schools, workplaces (for those who have attained legal working age), households and communities. Achieving Gender Equality and Social Inclusion (GESI) is vital to our programming and our contribution to the international community's commitment to eliminate all forms of child labour by 2025.

By conducting a Gender Analysis (GA), WNCB can develop a gender-responsive system and formulate a methodological approach. The Alliance will conduct a two-level GA (a country-focused and Alliance level) to identify key issues contributing to gender inequalities and its linkage to child labour and overall wellbeing of children, girls, boys, women and men not only at the country level but across borders. The aim is also to stimulate knowledge sharing, global strategic influence, and advance gender-transformative response.

Gender inequalities contribute to poor development outcomes and can delay or impact the quality of our activities. The GA explores how gendered power relations give rise to discrimination, subordination and exclusion in society, particularly when overlaid across other areas of marginalization due to class, ethnicity, caste, age, disability status, sexuality etc. If we do not make those linkages explicit and address power dynamics, we risk reinforcing existing imbalances. The WNCB GA will also focus on integrating relevant assessments of gender and inclusion related findings from other relevant MEAL activities such as Sensemaker and Baseline.

Lastly, as COVID-19 continues to affect lives and livelihoods worldwide, we can already see that the pandemic and its economic fallout are having a regressive effect on gender equality. Evidence and the WNCB countries have reported alarming effects on gender issues, especially among adolescent girls due to drop out of school, increased numbers of early pregnancy, forced labour, gender-based violence (GBV) and Early Forced Child Marriage (EFCM). The GA is an effective tool to assess its impact and respond accordingly.

The GA will have an impact on the WNCB programme by:

- Increasing Awareness and Capacity for Gender-Responsive Development: The GA and Action Plans will generate content and structure by raising the profile of gender equality as an interdisciplinary development issue.
- Meeting Practical Needs and Strategic Interests: Strategic change promotes women and girls as capable, respected and informed actors in the development process (from their own families to their communities and countries), thus transforming social and cultural norms over the medium to long term.
- Holistic approach and multilevel impact: The GA will not only advance the WNCB gender strategy and implementation at the program level, but it informs and contributes to all strategies, WGs and efforts, including building new synergies.
- Innovation and Scalability: It is not that often to have a cross-country GA with a proper Action Plan and Strategy, especially in a situation like the actual pandemic linked to child labour. The Action Plans and recommendations are transferable and adaptable to different needs and future interventions. These practices can stimulate new ideas or suggest adaptations to prevent the worst forms of child labour while attending more effectively to gender equality issues.

1. Objective(s)

The GA has the following objectives:

- Identify gender gaps, particularly, though not exclusively, for female headed households and people with disabilities, sex minorities, in terms of livelihood needs, constraints, opportunities, access to education for the children including risk exposure to GBV, early child marriage etc.
- Provide operational recommendations for strengthening the project strategy and provide key elements of a gender policy and strategies for the project new phases
- Design, innovate and adapt the programme where necessary to transform gender dynamics and power to promote social justice, inclusiveness, and equality.
- Link GA to transformative interventions (Country Gender Action Plans) aimed at enhancing and strategically adapting activities as an alternative to address gender inequalities and barriers.
- Assess how WNCB interventions contributed to change across genders, including monitoring expected and unexpected results.
- Incorporation of gender considerations, including a 360° approach to capacity building and knowledge sharing.
- Remain accountable to those in whose lives we hope to see positive change and minimize unintended harm.
- Build evidence-based content that facilitates documentation and contributes to broader advocacy and social movements favouring equal human rights for all genders in child labour.

2. Scope

The scope of the Gender Analysis has to be country tailored. Therefore, all the countries will conduct a gender analysis to identify the key gaps concerning gender equality with a linkage with WNCB Outcome 1, 2, 3 and 4. Following this, countries can plan their gender equality interventions based on the outcomes of their gender analysis.

Overall, the GA will contribute towards the four Outcomes in the following way:

Outcome 1
The GA result will assist in improving our response towards equitable access to education. It will provide findings for an effective dialogue with stakeholders, community and families around gender relations and access to equal education and retention. The GA will provide information about existing gender barriers to transition to decent work, including information relevant to CRB/CRBP and advancing ethical practices among employers.

Outcome 2
Contributing with evidence-based and further recommendations to gender-responsive legislation. Outcome 3- The GA results will highlight different approaches to equality, diversity and inclusion in different private sectors, which will enable the WNCB programme to have a concrete response to discrimination and harmful practices in the workplace.

Outcome 4
It will provide the Alliance with gender evidence outcomes and awareness activities that can improve the realization of due diligence policies and laws with a strong gender component. The team appointed to conduct the GA at a country level, and the Gender Equality Working Group (GE WG) support will clearly define the purpose and scope of the Gender Analysis. Clear expectations should be discussed and set with the GE WG regarding the budget allocated, the resources, timeline, staff time, locations, and follow-up plans.

Methodology

The methodology is about how to undertake the Gender Analysis. The implementation of the GA itself does not ensure a gender transformative response. For this, the three-phase roadmap integrates a tailored action to respond to countries and Alliance needs, ensuring efficiency, effectiveness gender considerations, diversity, and inclusion. This includes:

- Develop, or deepen the understanding of the issue of gender and inclusion within the Alliance.
- To ensure that the policy programmes and activities include a gender perspective.
- Advancing gender issues across organizational culture legislation and policies that promote gender equality.
- Supporting the creation of an enabling environment within which girls, boys, women and men can all fulfil their equal rights

The design and implementation of the methodology must also ensure that principles of gender equality, inclusion and non-discrimination are considered and acted upon throughout. The meaningful participation of the most vulnerable groups and other key stakeholders is promoted.

In order to guarantee gender mainstreaming and promotion of gender equality (regardless of the specific country's scope), the following aspects have to be considered while undertaking the GA, tools implementation, and final evaluation:

- Ensure that girls and boys, women and men, participate and hold equitable and meaningful influence in all programme activities, including decision-making. We make sure they feel safe and empowered to share their views and inputs.
- Look at the root causes of gender inequalities by analyzing powers and roles within a specific context.
- Engage with men and boys as key stakeholders in promoting gender equality and addressing gender-specific discrimination and disadvantages.
- In our lobbying and advocacy, and any other programme interventions, we will use language and images that do not reinforce gender stereotypes but instead reflect the true diversity of roles and opportunities that girls and boys, women and men have.

a. Secondary data collection

The collection of secondary data is relevant to understand the types of gender dynamics existing at the country level and, when possible, at the intervention areas level.

There are different types of secondary data which are relevant to a gender analysis.

Sex age disaggregated data. Having gendered and aged data in place allows gender equality analysis to be sensitive towards these two factors, which might lead to inequalities. Indeed, Sex age disaggregated data provide us with a better understanding of the specific needs of different gender and age groups. In addition, they ensure that all relevant groups enjoy equitable access to the project's interventions while better protecting young and old male and female population groups from adverse effects created by the context.

The ultimate goal of sex age disaggregated data is to have available information on how gender and age impact access to services, educational attainment, literacy, income and livelihood, mobility, workload, health, violence and other relevant factors for the WNCB programme. Where available, data should also be disaggregated across other key groups like caste, class, ethnicity, and other essential characteristics of a given context.

Policies and laws related to how women's rights are implemented at the country, regional, sector level. The country should investigate to what extent national legislation effectively promotes gender equality across the WNCB thematic areas and whatever discriminatory practices are in place.

Cultural norms, values, and practices related to gender. Gender norms are not static, but they change by time and by context. In the same context, gender norms vary over the years, so it is important not to assume gender stereotypes before conducting gender analysis. On the contrary, a GA will tell us the current gender practices and norms at the country level. These data inform us about expectations on individuals around how they should behave or act, rites of passage into adolescence, adulthood, marriage, etc.

b.   Baseline and SenseMaker

The GE WG in the first phase will analyze the results from the baseline and SenseMaker through desk reviews and assessment frameworks, together with the MEAL staff. During the assessment, a key aspect is identifying issues that have not been identified yet but play a relevant role when child labour is at stake. Here below, a non-exhaustive list of examples is provided:

- GBV in our programming and interventions
- Roles, needs, capacities, differences, and inequalities of women, men, girls, and boys, regarding income generation and access to market, cash, and credit
- The way money is divided and used within the household to identify possible linkages with child labour
- Domestic work/unpaid work
- • Gender difference in accessing primary, secondary and upper secondary school.
- Sex age disaggregated data of % dropouts- to investigate what children do after dropping out, e.g. go to work? Domestic chores? Etc.
- Others

c.   Country tailored GA tools

In order to collect gender data, it is impellent to use participatory tools where they can be proactive, empowered and be able to share their experiences which go beyond the information gained from secondary data. The use of participatory tools is also in line with the WNCB approach and mandate. When using participatory tools, country teams and facilitators must ensure equitable participation of girls, boys, women and men while working in gender safe spaces. A gender-sensitive approach also requires choosing tools, location and timing for data collection exercises that allow equal accessibility for all the participants. In other words, country teams have to consider different time schedules of girls, boys, women and men, and locations that will not impact their physical safety. It is also important to include female and male facilitators.

Various participatory tools can be used for a GA, and their relevance depends on the types of evidence needed to be collected. Tools as surveys, focus group, interviews, and observations can be gender tailored. Focus participatory group tools include various data collection methods as Access and Control Tool, Gender Roles & Responsibilities Timelines, the Gender Inequality Tree and others.

The GE WG will decide the specific participatory tools to be adapted and used during the first phase in consultation with countries.

d.   Documentation

Ensuring that the Gender Equality Analysis is well documented is critical to the quality of the outcome. The person whose role is to record and document should have a clear view of the level of detail required and the type of information most critical to the analysis.

- Write down the exact words of participants when they give opinions or share their stories. Ask the person to repeat what she or he said (during a break) if you could not write it down.
- Keep a detailed record of the hours that girls and boys allocate to different activities in the day to know how different roles and responsibilities can affect their capacity to engage in activities as paid work and school attendance.
- If you intend to use the outcomes of the GA for advocacy work, the numerical evidence that you collect should be supplemented with quotes and detailed stories

The GA contributes to the programme's linking and learning component through cross-learning and capacity building plans.

- Capacity Building Plan: The GA will enable the GEWG and country teams to produce capacity-building country-tailored and cross-country outcomes. The development of the Capacity Building Plan will be led by the GEWG to ensure internal capacity on gender equality and mainstreaming, thus providing best practices for future programming.
- Cross learning: the cross-learning aspect is a key component of the GA. A cross-country learning is carried out at each step of the three phases. At the beginning of the first phase, a cross country induction will be organized to set the ground for exchange and sharing, followed by a linking and learning exercise after identifying needs per country. Capacity building of field teams is the focus of the second phase, which can be part of linking and learning exercises. A task force will be set up for country teams and external staff hired by the country teams involved in the GA rollout. In the third phase, two linking and learning exercises will be organized. The first one will enable countries to present their Action Plans, while the final evaluation will be shared with all Partners in the second one. The GA will serve as a tool for WGs cross-learning as well. Indeed, the GEWG will look at supporting needs and gaps with other WGs due to the data collection carried out in the first phase. Consultations with WGs and the GEWG will be carried out in the first phase also in the first phase to understand to what extent the GA can support their internal objectives.

3.   Accountability

Members of the GEWG and county teams must be accountable for the deliverables framed in the role and responsibilities ToR provided by the GEWG and this document. Working together with countries will be decided upon consultations in the first phase together with the GEWG, thus guaranteeing that expectations are clearly understood by all the staff involved in the GA.

4.   Efficiency, effectiveness, sustainability

The aspect of efficiency regarding gender equality helps us evaluate whether or not project results for girls, boys, women, men have been achieved at a reasonable cost and whether or not costs and benefits have been equitably allocated and received by countries.
Effectiveness in reaching gender equality objectives. This aspect of the evaluation includes assessing the contribution made by the results to the achievement of the WNCB program purpose and how assumptions have affected project/program achievements. This aspect of the evaluation also includes a specific assessment of the benefits accruing to children and households targeted, in each case disaggregated by sex. impact of the project/program on the broader social environment, and its contribution to broader policy or sectoral objectives concerning gender equality.
Sustainability of the project concerning the likelihood of achievements in gender equality being sustained after the end of the WNCB programme. This aspect of the evaluation addresses such issues as ownership of the programme by beneficiaries and partners, the extent to which the strategic needs of girls, boys, women and men have been addressed through the project, and the extent to which capacity for gender mainstreaming though the project has been built by country teams.

Annex 4 - Summaries of Country Reports

Mali - summary report

> **OUTCOME 1**
> **Children are empowered and have improved access to (quality) formal education, bridge or transitional schooling, and youth employment within a supportive family and community environment.**

Patterns of decision making

The decision-making pattern is mainly patriarchal, reflecting Malian society in general. Interviewees indicated that decisions are made first by the head of the family, i.e. the man. However, proposals from the wife or mother can interfere with the choice of the head of the family. In the absence of a male head of the family, the woman or wife who becomes the head of the household has the de facto final say in the decision, despite the presence of uncles, aunts or older siblings.

Men and boys benefit from inequalities that widen the gender gap, and socially constructed roles are learned from an early age in the communities where the research took place. Young girls are educated to become docile wives and good mothers. The socialisation of children, differentiated according to whether they are girls or boys, contributes to maintaining gender inequalities. It is agreed that boys are supposed to be superior and more intelligent: boys are assigned decision-making functions and are more proactive. The survey revealed that boys have more freedom of action than girls. The girls preferred to wait for an order from their boss before agreeing to interact with the survey team.
Of the 195 working children surveyed, only 34% lived with their fathers and mothers, meaning that 66% of the children interviewed worked away from their families. Moreover, 99% of the key informants said they had seen children on the move in the intervention areas, and 40% of these were girls.

Both children and adults repeatedly revealed that many parents of working children are in favour of child labour. Some say that school does not sufficiently meet their aspirations for the future: it no longer guarantees access to a secure job.
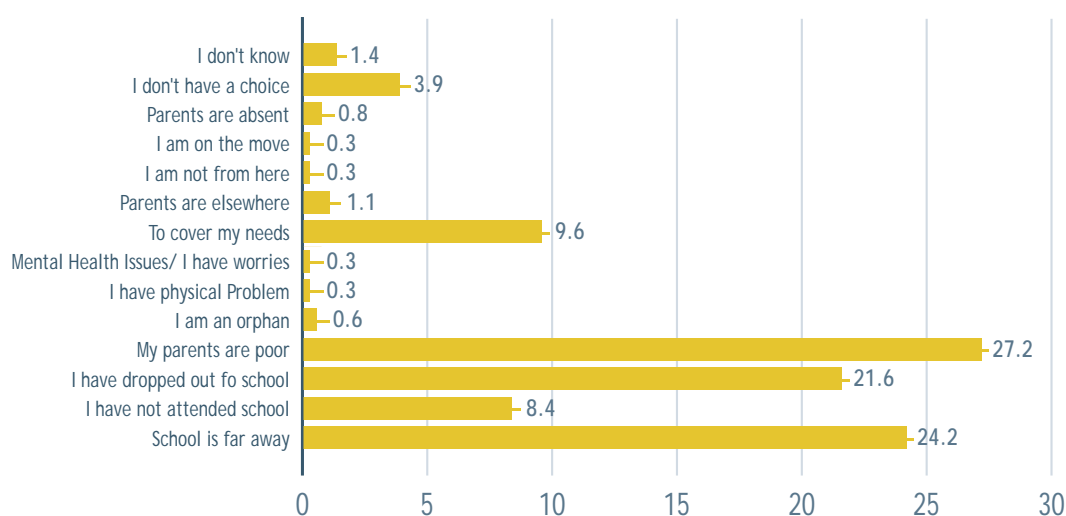
Others argue that children of low-income families fail in school because the costs of education are beyond their reach. Young boys think that only through work will they be free and economically independent of their parents or other adults. Many girls work to help their mothers prepare their wedding trousseau; they are prepared at an early age to become wives as adults. Some girls said they wait until they have collected enough money for their wedding trousseau to return to their families. Nevertheless, the decision to employ children is almost always supported by the parents and the children themselves.

Trudy Kerperien

Figure 1: Factors influencing engagement in child labour, given by the children surveyed

Factor	Value
I don't know	1.4
I don't have a choice	3.9
Parents are absent	0.8
I am on the move	0.3
I am not from here	0.3
Parents are elsewhere	1.1
To cover my needs	9.6
Mental Health Issues/ I have worries	0.3
I have physical Problem	0.3
I am an orphan	0.6
My parents are poor	27.2
I have dropped out fo school	21.6
I have not attended school	8.4
School is far away	24.2

There are several reasons for the factors that favour child labour. According to children and young people, parental poverty and distance from school underlie non-enrolment and drop-out, which are the main factors that encourage child labour. Many parents commonly tell their children that they are now grown up and can go and fend for themselves. Allowing the child to work to contribute to household expenses is necessary in the target communities. However, key informants blame the shortcomings of the education system; although going to school is compulsory by law, attendance is not adequately enforced.

Social norms, beliefs and practices

A frequently aired belief in communities is that 'the child of the poor must start working at an early age to help support the family's expenses'. The survey revealed that this is a primary factor at the root of the lack of protection for working children. The authorities do not sufficiently ensure that child protection legislation is respected and applied. Laws concerning children's rights, labour rights and human trafficking are violated.

Two girls under the age of 17, one from Mali and the other from Guinea, reported that the 25,000 CFA francs they earn per month are sent to their mothers at the

end of each month. A 16-year-old boy from Burkina Faso earns 40,000 CFA francs per month. Girls are generally placed under family constraints; they have greater difficulties in developing their potential and in escaping their economic precarity.

Of the girls interviewed during the survey, 38% work as household help and 19.5% work in agriculture and gold panning. A notable finding was that 26% of the girls are employed in informal trade. Girls and women generally perform intermediate activities in the artisanal gold production cycle, such as leaching and drying sand (the raw material containing the gold nuggets in gold panning). Alongside these activities, the small-scale economic activities associated with the gold production sites, such as petty trading, selling water, washing clothes, washing dishes, cooking, childcare, and sex work, are carried out mainly by girls and women. In agriculture, girls are mainly engaged in market gardening activities, especially in the dry and rainy seasons; they work in sowing, weeding and harvesting cereal and cotton fields.

In contrast to the girls, boys work in the cotton and rice fields as well as in market gardening. 48.5% of the boys who participated in the survey are employed in agriculture. 12.6% of the boys work in gold panning; they are employed in underground

mining and dredging, where they carry out digging, filling machines and transporting sand. Boys are also present in the welding and carpentry trades.

Sometimes parents involve their children in their economic work. Boys carry out support work for adults in markets or fairs, in butchering, loading parcels and supervising stands. Some male children are apprenticed for transporting people and goods and as bricklayers.

Access to and control over resources
Access to and control over earnings
Parents are the primary beneficiaries of the fruits of child labour. Parents who live with their working children have direct access to their earnings. In the case of children in the care of guardians, their earnings are usually kept by their guardians or employers, except for a large proportion of the boys who receive their income directly after performing tasks. Girls are considered less able to keep their earnings in this respect. Generally, their earnings are sent periodically to their mothers or are kept with their female employers, bearing in mind that they usually work in a different place from where their family residence is.

I was able to build my house thanks to gold panning, and today I employ these girls and pay them each 25,000 CFA francs. At the end of each month, I send the money to their families by mobile money. The girls sleep in the same room with me. They eat their fill. We start work at 8am and stop at 4pm. They have been working here for more than 2 years. They come here to fend for themselves until they get married.

The economic activities performed by children are repetitive, strenuous and heavy. Children use rudimentary tools meaning they have to depend on their physical abilities to do the work. Apart from learning a trade, many jobs are not a source of learning and know-how. As working prevents children from going to school, child labour does little to provide them with knowledge and experience that they could use to pursue a profession and improve their living conditions.

Almost all the survey results indicate that children do not like the activities they perform in agriculture or gold panning. Many have social and professional ambitions and would like to have a more fulfilling job: 93% of the children said they want to be trained to work in better conditions. The adults interviewed at the sites take a slightly different view. Most are against child labour in agriculture and gold panning, while others are in favour because there is no choice.

The de-schooling of children through work is linked to gender discrimination and significantly impacts girls more than boys. Child labour is caused by family servitude, which is most often imposed on girls for economic reasons. In contrast, as boys have more freedom of action, some therefore have a better chance of getting out of work to learn a trade for the future and gradually build a better future for themselves. 46% of young women and men aged between 18 and 24 who have been child workers are now self-employed.

The results of the study show that families in precarious situations use child labour as a means of increasing their income. This decision also involves parents considering whether or not to keep their children in school. They evaluate the direct and indirect costs of schooling, including the work the child would have done if they had not been in school. Faced with a chronic shortage of financial resources needed for expenses, the choice is usually work.

Laws, policies, regulations and institutional practices.
Since 2020 the Malian government has undertaken minimal action to eliminate the recruitment of children under 15 by the Malian Armed Forces. Action has been taken to prohibit child labour in gold mines, and government has published a lot of data on its labour law enforcement efforts. In addition to having ratified all the international conventions on Child Labour, the government has also passed legislation concerning child labour. Twelve laws relating to child work have been passed, all based on international agreements. They include laws and regulations on the minimum age for hazardous work, forced labour, child trafficking, children's sex work, the minimum age for entering the military, prohibition of military recruitment for children, and compulsory education age. Although there is legislation to outlaw human trafficking for the purpose of slavery, the act of slavery itself and hereditary slavery are not criminal offences.

Five main agencies and ministries are responsible for the implementation of the child labour laws: the Ministry of Labour, the National Unit to Combat Child Labour, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Internal affairs, and the Ministry of Family, Promotion of Women and Children. However, Mali's progress on eliminating child labour is very minimal and has had little impact on children because indirect actions taken by the government have caused an increase in child labour. These include supporting informal armed groups that recruit and used children as soldiers. Children also engaged in hazardous and onerous agriculture activities in cotton and rice production. Lack of resources and power limit the Malian authorities' ability to implement the National Plan to combat child labour.

The Constitution guarantees the same rights to citizens of both sexes without discrimination. It stipulates that each spouse retains the right to administration, enjoyment and free disposal of their property, in the absence of an express stipulation to the contrary. The Code of Persons and the Family has very mixed content. For example, repudiation is prohibited, but polygamy is authorised, provided the husband can fulfil his obligation of equity between the wives. The age of marriage is set at 18 for boys and 16 for girls. The Code also stipulates the obedience of the wife to her husband and places the husband as the head of the family and holder of parental authority. In the case of succession (inheritance), the Code grants the primacy of religious or customary law over itself, despite Mali being a secular state.

In terms of representation and participation in decision-making in the country's decentralised and national governance, despite the content of the legislative framework, appointments to positions of responsibility are not sufficiently achieved following elections. Studies have observed substantial disparities in people's understanding of their rights and obligations between rural and urban areas, genders, and depending on wealth (material goods) of households.

Education

Where the school system is failing, this may be a driver of child labour. Lack of firmness from political and school authorities, poor quality of education, expenses for student support, and distance to school lead families, especially those that are economically deprived, to put children to work. There is a clear association between non-attendance at school and child labour. 24% of the children surveyed did not attend school, and 21% had dropped out. The link between the age of the children who had dropped out of school and their level of education reveals the inadequacy of the quality of education. Non-enrolment and dropping out of school affect both girls and boys. Many girls and boys interviewed said they did not attend school because of household poverty. The disparity between boys and girls in school attendance in the first cycle of primary education is gradually diminishing.

Children not attending school is not only the responsibility of parents but also actors involved in promoting children's rights. The policy of decentralising education management allows the community structures that have been set up to work towards realising the government's vision of a national education policy. These community structures should promote the effective enrolment of children in school to respect the fundamental right to education for all.

Roles, responsibilities and time use

The participation rate of boys in economic activities outside the household is higher than that of girls. This difference disappears, however, if domestic work is recognised as an economic activity. Then more girls work than boys. **When domestic tasks - whether paid or unpaid - are included in the analysis of children's work, it becomes clear that girls work more than boys, and the same is true for adults (women and men). Domestic activities account for an increasing share of girls' work. As they grow older, the total amount of work girls do is underestimated because they are usually engaged in 'small' domestic and income-generating activities rather than 'big' or formal economic activities.** This attitude is a reflection of the patriarchal structure of society which is reinforced by social norms that regard household chores (and therefore light and less dangerous) as being reserved for girls and women.

Fig 2: Hours per day worked by children
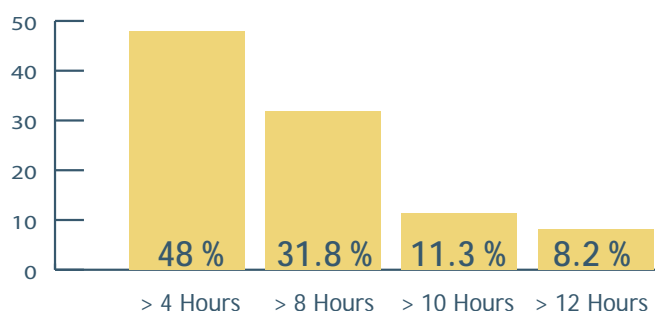
Fig 3: Days per week worked by children
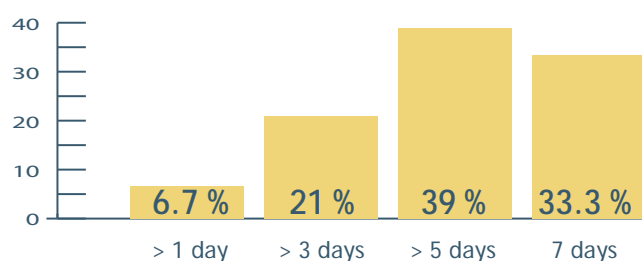
The combination of productive and reproductive activities considerably lengthens the working time of girls and women. In addition, both girls and boys work long hours every day. On average, children work more than 8 hours a day for six days a week, meaning their work week exceeds 48 hours, which is enormous for children aged between 8 and 17 (the ages surveyed).

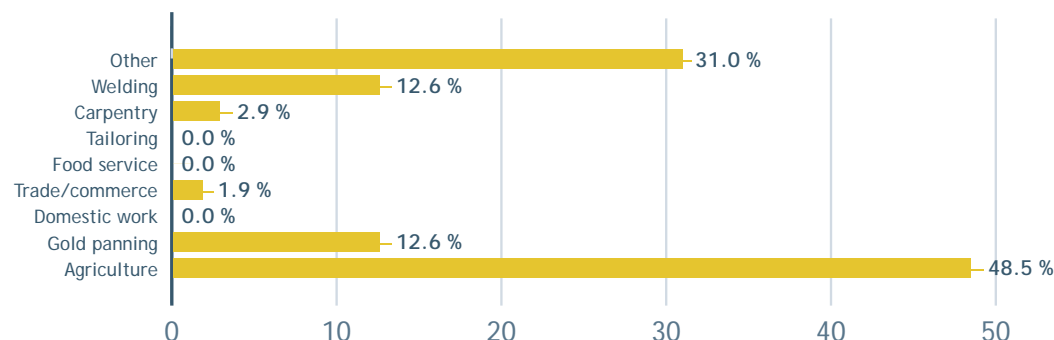*Figure 4: Distribution of working girls by sector of activity*
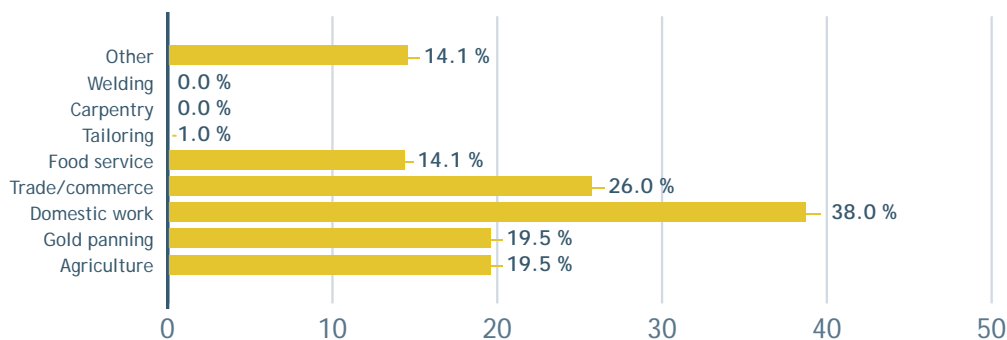
Figure 5: Distribution of working boys by sector of activity

Dignity, safety and well-being

None of the activities carried out by children take place within an adequate framework of good health, hygiene or safety. Working girls and boys are exposed to numerous health risks. The most common illnesses in the communities visited were malaria, diarrhoea, stomach-ache, fatigue and recurrent dizziness. The survey revealed that 72% of the children have physical abnormalities due to work. Three out of five children work more than 48 hours a week. At this rate, it is likely that the illnesses or disabilities that children develop later will be related to the demands of their work, similar to 'forced labour'. All the main towns in the communities studied have at least one functional community health centre and private clinics, but facilities are lacking at the gold-mining sites.

One day, when I was handling the shovel and throwing gravel into the machine placed at some height from my head, I felt a shock in my lower back. Since that day I feel pain when I am tired. I told my boss, who buys me red tablets from a medicine seller on the floor. As soon as I take a tablet, the pain goes away. Sometimes when I am in pain I cry inside and then I can console myself.

The amount of time children spend working in agriculture depends on the season. Much of the work they do is heavy and dangerous. Child workers are exposed to chemicals that are harmful to health and to agricultural equipment or machinery that can cause accidents. Health centres are more accessible in predominantly agricultural areas than gold mining sites.

The situation in the gold mining areas is grave. Gold panning exposes children to chemicals such as mercury, which causes neurological diseases. The work process involves dangerous and harmful chemicals, but few safety rules, such as the use of protective clothing, are respected or implemented. According to the parents of child workers we met, children who fall ill or are injured are taken to the nearby health centres. In the communities visited; however, there is no referral health centre (the second level of the health pyramid in Mali) close to the gold panning sites, and the roads are practically impassable by vehicles. Selling illegally trafficked medicines and opening private medical care kiosks (with doubts of illegality) is widespread. Jerry cans are used as containers to store water, the potability of which seems to be questionable.

Observing young children being carried by their mothers, it is clear that many suffer from nutritional problems. Mothers have suggested that their children under the age of 5 are not developing as they should be compared to other children elsewhere. This would imply that the children have growth deficiencies. Moreover, vaccination days are not sufficiently conducted at the gold panning sites. Although hand-washing kits had been distributed when we visited Massiogo and Alhmadoulilaye, barrier measures against COVID-19 were not yet on the agenda.

Although the work environment has an almost identical impact on the health of girls and boys, the distribution of work means it will have different consequences on their health, depending on the activities carried out. Disparities between girls and boys in access to medical care were not determinable. In addition to the physical risks, psychological illnesses develop due to the harsh working conditions, verbal or physical violence, recurrent lack of sleep and the use of drugs.

The work at the gold mining sites strongly impacts children's sexual and reproductive health. Children are sexually active at an early age because of the promiscuity between children and adults, without having received education on their sexuality and protection against STDs and HIV-AIDS. Girls are particularly vulnerable to sexual violence, early pregnancy, HIV and AIDS and other STDs and are at greater risk than boys. A 16-year-old girl living on a gold panning site is the mother of a 3-year-old girl. The male dominance prevalent in Malian society and girls' lack of knowledge of the risks can reduce their ability to protect themselves.

Despite the high risk of accidents or illnesses to which working children are exposed, it is essential to recognise that not all children have access to medical treatment in case of emergency. Children say that some employers pay for their care in the event of illness or accidents at work, but they do not always go to health centres. Sometimes children are treated by healers. Many children use their savings to treat themselves without the assistance of their parents, employers or guardians. The use of drugs to increase the pace of work is also a reality.

Governments have enforced relevant child rights-based laws and have implemented policies on child labour, education, youth economic empowerment and social security.

Policy is made based on laws passed by the Mali National Assembly with the support of the Government. Despite legislation that attempts to balance the relationship between the two sexes, traditional practices still override the laws, and legal loopholes in some areas (e.g. domestic violence) legitimise customary practices. A National Gender Policy was introduced in 2011, and more and more voices are being raised to demand an equal position for women and girls in society, but in everyday life, there is still a long way to go for gender equality in Mali. There is no specific law on gender-based violence (GBV), although cases of violence against girls and women can be tried under criminal law.

Although the Agricultural Orientation Law (AOL) provides for equitable access to agricultural land resources and the possibility of positive discriminatory measures for vulnerable groups, customs and practices effectively exclude women. In 2015 a law was passed that stipulates quotas of at least 30% of either sex in institutions and on electoral lists. Finally, various strategic documents integrate gender into their actions and objectives, such as the annual laws on the adoption of public finances, which provide for budgeting that appears to be gender sensitive. At the international level, Mali has ratified CEDAW and the Maputo Protocol without reservation, but the country has not yet made its national system consistent.

The implementation of national gender policies in Mali is hampered by beliefs embedded in traditional and Muslim practices and social structures override legislation despite the secular nature of government. Texts and laws are drafted, but their general application remains far below the set objectives. Customary issues that are not integrated or only marginally consistent with international conventions and domestic laws.

Three-quarters of the population live in rural areas and Malian society is made up of different ethnic groups spread throughout the country. They are either nomadic or sedentary and are associated with three dominant production systems, agriculture, fishing and livestock breeding, as well as crafts and trade. These ethnic groups are traditionally characterised by a strong social hierarchy and pronounced differentiation of male and female roles. Customary and religious practices remain the references for managing relations between women and men in the family. Unfortunately, these justify harmful behaviours and practices such as levirate/sororate[6], FGM, caning, and early and forced marriages.

Interviews and FGDs with the actors (child workers and employers of children) revealed that the public services are taking advantage of the situation of child labour. Even though the mobility of children is governed by regulations, it is very common to find that at the security checkpoints along the access roads to child labour sites, law enforcement officers allow children to pass through without formally checking their identity papers. This behaviour condones the employment of children as easily exploitable labour and exposes them to the risk of abuse.

Children, particularly boys, are able to move with great ease between the regions of the country and between the states that are close to Mali. In addition to Malian children, children from Burkina Faso are the second largest group in the WNCB areas. Young Nigerian and Ivory Coast nationals are found on the gold panning sites in the distribution of alcoholic beverages, the management of bars and sex work.

The report suggests that the government should design vocational training policies to guide young people towards a better socio-economic future. Although 87% of the child workers interviewed during the survey wanted to follow a training course leading to a qualification, the findings show a lack of hope for adequate training everywhere in the WNCB programme. Nevertheless, among young people (18-24), 46% are self-employed, and young entrepreneurs who have been child labourers say

6 Levirate marriage is the forced marriage of a widow to the brother of her deceased husband; sororate marriage is the forced marriage of the sister of a deceased or infertile wife to marry or have sex with her brother-in-law, the widower/husband.

that child labour is a training ground, despite the severe consequences it had on their development. However, this rate is much higher for young men than young women and working girls are less likely to obtain decent jobs in the future.

In 1998 the National Programme to Combat Child Labour (PNLTE) was launched by the Ministry of Labour in collaboration with the International Labour Office (ILO), the main objective of which was to increase the capacity of government agencies, employers' and workers' organisations and non-governmental organisations to design and implement policies, programmes and projects to prevent children from being put to work at an early age and to abolish child labour in the most hazardous activities and the most difficult exploitative situations and to offer children and their families viable alternatives. On 8 June 2011, the government approved the National Plan for the Elimination of Child Labour (PANETEM) 2011-2020, which aims to eliminate the worst forms of child labour such as slavery, forced recruitment in armed conflict, or for prostitution and illicit trafficking.

Although many of the laws appear to be solutions for the protection of children, more and more children and young people are being forced into less decent work. In the survey, more than half of the children and young people were unaware of the child protection actors. WNCB outcomes find that child protection actors are less present for them. This suggests that children are not sufficiently reached by the actions of state services, civil society organisations and trade unions. These answers given by children and young people indicate the inadequacy of the effective presence of actors.

Of the 195 child workers interviewed, 92 of whom were girls, 47% of the girls and 51% of the boys had not attended school because of their parents' poverty. Moreover, 95% of the girls and 93% of the boys believe they are at risk of consequences due to early work. Feelings of shame about their well-being affect 30% of working children. Concerning child abuse, 22% of girls and 28% of boys said they had been abused, yet 50% of children believe promoting children's rights is possible in Mali.

OUTCOME 3
The private sector takes full responsibility for preventing and addressing child labour.

The private sector in Mali is dominated by informal sector activities, primarily agriculture, handicrafts and gold panning, all of which can be carried out without legal formalities. Child labour is also complex, not least because most of the operations employing children are in the informal sector, which is challenging to monitor. Moreover, child labour affects vulnerable families and is linked to poverty.

The country study revealed that 100% of the working children surveyed (92 girls and 103 boys) work in the informal sector in the activities shown in the figure below.
- 19% of girls and 48% of boys work in agriculture
- 19% of girls and 12% of boys work in gold panning
- 100% of household helpers are girls
- 100% of apprentices in carpentry and welding are boys

	GIRLS	BOYS	informal SECTOR
	19 %	48 %	work in agriculture
	19 %	12 %	work in gold panning
	100 %		household helpers
		100 %	apprentices in carpentry and welding

In the informal sector, no initiative taken by an individual is backed up or represented company law. It is easy to employ children, even though this contravenes much Malian legislation (see Outcome 2). Because so many children work in the informal sector, much of the Malian economy is characterised by violation of children's human rights. The employment of child labourers under adverse working conditions that do not respect their rights is a function of the needs of the labour market, and the fruits of children's labour accrue primarily to the employers. The inhumane conditions of employment in this sector can partly be explained by the young age of those involved, as the figure below shows.

Participation in child labour by age and gende

GIRLS

6 %
under 10

51 %
under 15

42 %
over 15

BOYS

7 %
under 10

65 %
under 15

27 %
over 15
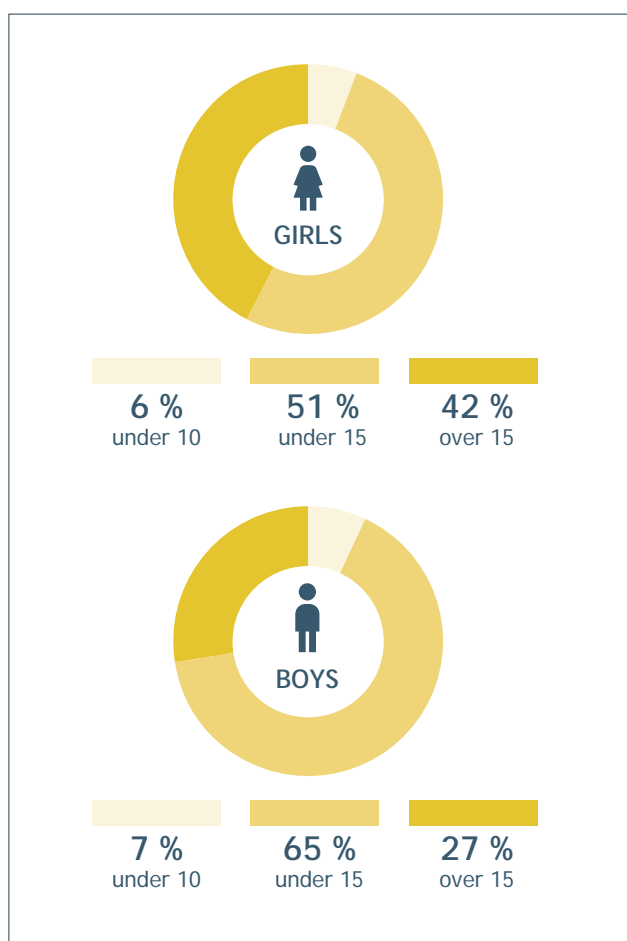
Although poverty is cited as the main reason for child labour, social norms and practices also contribute to the human rights violation of children working in the informal private sector. The massive presence of children at the gold mining sites makes this seem normal. In agriculture, some employers recommend that their employees should be under 15 so that they are easily exploitable. They regard older children (15 years and over) as not so easily manipulated. Girls and boys are also vulnerable to abuse when employed in domestic work, catering and other related activities, such as street selling.

In principle, formal private-sector enterprises have legal instruments at their disposal that are designed to comply with national legislation, and which contribute to the protection of children. These instruments include codes of conduct, codes on procurement of goods and services, partnership agreements, employment contracts and often safeguarding children's rights (especially in enterprises working with NGO partners).

Agricultural and mining companies are the main economic drivers in the regions and should have an essential role in the fight against child labour. Indeed, these companies have many interests at stake. They are concerned with child labour in their production chain and seek to curb this practice, which threatens their image. In addition, they are subject to social responsibility obligations that require them to implement sustainable development projects for the communities affected by their activities.

By developing a corporate social responsibility programme, WNCB can act as an advisor to companies and a facilitator for their community projects. It is the duty of the actors (WNCB and agricultural and mining companies) to respond to child labour by supporting social initiatives that are an effective way to reintroduce child rights issues. These initiatives, if agreed upon and owned by the communities, can be a real lever for community development and can be integrated into the socio-economic development plans of the regions.

In Mali the age of adulthood is 18. The legal working age is 15, yet a person under 18 cannot legally enter into an employment contract. Therefore, the protection and defence of the child's interests are entrusted by law to his or her parents, family, or, if they fail to do so, to the social services and the judicial system. Children have specific needs if they are to develop well physically and mentally, their vulnerability underlining the importance of care by the family or society.

Children and young people are seen as vulnerable members of society. While Mali does have protective legislation, there is no implementation. The children and young people questioned during the survey therefore perceive these policies as not being in their favour. Most child, youth and adult respondents believe that policies and programmes are not effectively protecting children. However, the survey reveals a paradox in terms of the confidence children have in the actors of protection agencies. 79% of the children surveyed believe that the actors will be able to end the worst forms of child labour if they retain sufficient presence and produce more positive effects on the ground.

Figure 6: The relative presence of child protection actors (public services, international institutions and NGOs)

4.1 % far from children   **57.9 %** less present   **4.1 %** present   **4.6 %** close to children
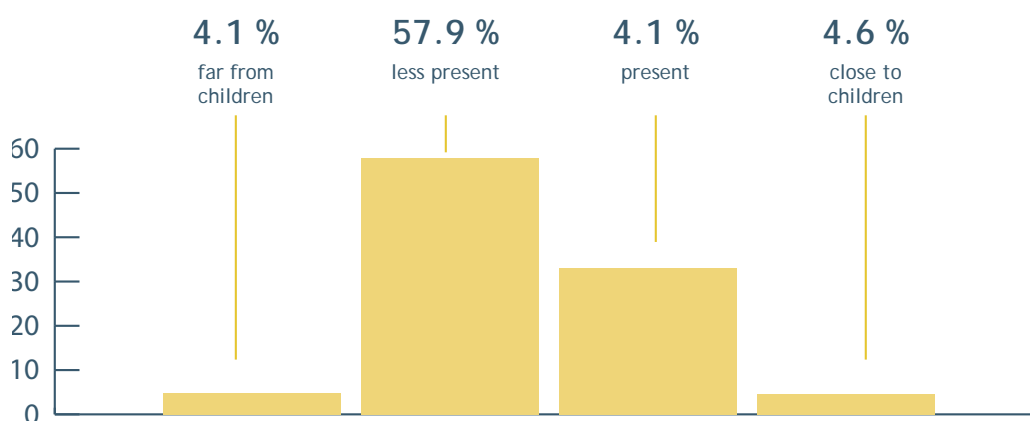
The interviews revealed that the real needs of children and their communities are not taken into account in planning human rights policy interventions. Most people interviewed reported that the interventions carried out by international and national organisations were less appropriate to the challenges faced. For example, the WNCB programme has become known but does not yet provide solutions for the effective schooling of children born and growing up on the gold-mining sites. On the gold-panning site, madrasas (Muslim schools) have been created through the efforts of the Islamic association Ançar Dine. It is up to the programme interventions to address local options that can be adapted to improve the education and health of children in the intervention areas where children are suffering from violations of their fundamental rights.

Uganda - summary report

> **OUTCOME 1**
> Children are empowered and have improved access to (quality) formal education, bridge or transitional schooling, and youth employment within a supportive family and community environment.

Patterns of decision making

Inequitable power relations and discriminatory cultural norms, values, attitudes and beliefs are the foundations of gender inequality among the people of Karamoja and Busia. In both target areas, decision-making power within households lies primarily with the male head of household, followed by the female head of household, together with other older males. Girls have almost no decision-making power.

Participation in leadership by women and girls at the **household level** is mainly limited to welfare-related decisions about basic needs in the reproductive sphere. The mothers make these decisions with their daughters and to a lesser extent, by mothers with sons. A woman is fully in charge of ensuring that there is food in her household, which may mean doing casual labour to buy food and feed her children and husband. Decisions related to the marital relationship between husband and wife are mostly made by the husband, while the mother mainly makes decisions between the mother and children in consultation with the respective child. While girl children tend to abide by their mother's findings, the boys sometimes defy their mothers' decisions.

Women take leadership when it comes to decisions regarding their children's **education.** Uganda's Universal Primary Education Policy states that all children can access free tuition or applicable fees at primary and secondary levels. However, there are other school requirements, and women chiefly decide how these are met. For example, there is a programme in Busia which supports children from low-income families by getting sponsors from abroad who pay part of school fees and provide them with money for educational materials. The fathers were not involved in the arrangement, and money went directly to the mothers. On several occasions, however, women have gone to the DCDO and probation office to report their husbands for grabbing the money and using it to marry other wives or buy alcohol, showing that even when a woman has managed to secure support for her children, she is not in total control.

Regarding **child labour,** mothers play a significant role in deciding whether their children engage in work outside the household, especially for children under 12.

In Karamoja, the mothers tell their children, boys and girls: If you do not go to work today, you will not eat. Or: You will not go to school unless you go to carry stones at the stone mining sites. The children (8-12) expressed their dissatisfaction with this situation, and most of their drawings show a child carrying heavy loads to earn money but crying due to the unbearable weight. When the day's work has ended, your mother is given the money you have worked for, and she uses it to buy alcohol.

The study established that mothers (whether married or divorced/single/widowed) take their children's earnings to support the family happens to girls aged 13-15 years and the younger boys and girls (8-12). However, this is different for the boys aged 13-15 years, who, if they earn money, do not give it to their mothers or even their fathers. Even when girls try to save some little money for personal use, the fathers come around with friends and ask the girls if they can lend them a little money, but they never pay it back. Boys over 13 use the money they earn to buy food outside the household and save the rest to buy clothes. This shows a level of independence of the older boys compared to their female counterparts.

A story was shared during a key informant interview with the Education Officer in Nakapiripirit of a boy who wanted cows for bride price and decided to arrange his sister's marriage who was at school. On the fateful day, the boy went to his sister's school and tried to forcefully pull her out to go and get married such that the boy could use her dowry for his bride price. It was the intervention of the local authorities that the boy was arrested and the whole plan frustrated.

Karamoja - female children's self-determination concerning marriage

A girl child is seen as a visitor in her natal home and a source of wealth to her parents through the bride price paid to the male family members on her marriage. Even when the girl feels that she is not yet ready for marriage, the parents will make every effort to see that she gets married. Mothers rarely intervene to stop a wedding because they fear the daughter may get pregnant outside marriage, which will put an extra burden on them to care for the grandchild, and the family will suffer social stigma and ridicule because of their daughter being an unmarried mother. Mothers feel that when their daughters get married, they will be respected by community members. The girl is not involved in the bride price negotiation at all. The negotiation process is exclusively done by men.

A wife for whom bride price has been paid is an asset of the husband. Her labour and even her womb belong to the husband because they were bought with the bride price that was paid. (Member of an FGD)

This is the scenario in about 70% of the families in Karamoja. The other 30% of the girls decide when and whom to marry by themselves. While these decisions may seem like their own, they are influenced by factors including failure to go to school or dropping out of school because the parents cannot pay for school fees and scholastic materials, poverty and hunger, and lack of life skills and guidance in life.

Decisions concerning childbearing

The payment of bride price is a practice that enslaves women, especially in Busia and Karamoja, because a married woman for whom bride price has been paid does not have control over when and how many children she gives birth to. Women who decide themselves when to have children and how many are usually those who are empowered and less vulnerable. Most women and girls in Karamoja and Busia do not fall into the category of empowered women. Even though the Karamojong are no longer nomadic pastoralists (which meant women had fewer children because their husbands were away for long periods with the cattle), their more recent sedentary lifestyle has not been matched by modern methods of birth control. Neither women nor men have been well sensitised about modern contraceptives, and the few men aware of modern family planning methods do not find their use acceptable. If a male partner disagrees with the use of contraceptives, the female partner has only two alternatives: either to accept the husband's decision or to use contraceptives secretly and face the repercussions when the husband finds out. It is therefore not surprising that the Karamoja sub-region has the highest total fertility rate (TFR) in the country, with women of reproductive age (15-49) giving birth to an average of 8 children, higher than Uganda's national average of 5 children, and almost 3 times above the average of 3 children per woman in Kampala (UDHS, 2016). This has adverse health outcomes of high maternal and infant mortality rates, almost double the national average.

Social norms, beliefs and practices

The social norms, beliefs and practices in the areas of operation are generally skewed to favour men more than women. Gender disparities have not yet been bridged, and women and girls are accorded low status in the community and therefore are still very vulnerable compared to their male counterparts. A review of enrolment data for the Moroto district revealed that although more girls than boys are enrolled at lower levels of school, their dropout rate becomes higher as they move up the education system. This confirms the cultural-based marginalisation of girl children, which curtails their opportunities for advancement through education.

The country report describes several traditional practices that result in girls' lack of school attendance and contravene basic human rights. These include forced/early marriage from the age of 10. This type of violence is a key cause of low completion rates for girls in school and non-attendance of school for girls and boys in the region. More girls (36.6%) compared to boys (15.2%) were out of school at the time of the study. Pooled bride price, by which male friends and relatives of the prospective groom club together to provide enough bride price (mainly in the form of cows) to enable the man to marry a girl of his choice, implies that marriage is a communal affair and as such 'a woman belongs to the entire clan'. The bride gets no cows, and if she does not live up to the husband's and his relatives' expectations, she is sent back home (divorced), and her parents have to return the husband an equivalent of the bride price that was paid. Polygamy, or marrying more than one wife, is a cultural practice in Karamoja. The husband goes to one wife, makes her pregnant, and when she is about to give birth, he will abandon her and go to the second or third wife. The husband will not return to the wife until one year after delivery when he is ready to make her pregnant again. The wife has to look after herself even after delivery because the husband is not around. This is yet another strategy used by male spouses to avoid taking responsibility.

Female genital mutilation

FGM is a social issue, a rights abuse and is about power and politics. It is about control of both women and their sexuality and what it means to be a female human being and to be a whole part of society. FGM is about the relationships between women and men and how cultural expectations for being a woman or a man are passed on from generation to generation. All FGM causes physical, psychological, emotional, sexual, spiritual and social damage. Health consequences include pain and trauma, as well as risks of haemorrhage, infection and sometimes death. It is also associated with an increased risk of complications at childbirth, putting mothers and newborns at risk. FGM also has economic consequences for the affected families and communities and can prevent girls from accessing formal education and development. While the government of Uganda and NGOs have made efforts to reduce the practice, girls still move across the border to Kenya to be cut.

It seems like the men enjoy trying to penetrate a cut woman. On the wedding night, a man might have told his brother that he 'could not pass' and that they have 'wasted their cows'. So the women told the husband's mother and she got the horn, and made it smooth with a knife. They put butter on the horn and used it to stretch the girl open. She cried a lot, but she got used to it - just like I did. Woman who used to carry out FGM, Amudaat.

Gender-based Violence (GBV)

GBV is endemic in the region. It is exacerbated by (a) the dislocation of society, (b) loss of cultural identity and purpose and (c) alcohol abuse. GBV used to be a 'traditional' part of society in Karamoja, with some older women claiming that the proof of a husband's love was that he hit ('disciplined') his wife. With the efforts of the government, including enacting laws against GBV and raising awareness about the ills of GBV together with NGOs, most women no longer regard wife beating as an indication of love. The women are, instead, very unhappy with GBV.

Practices include assisted wife beating, where an aggrieved husband will call on kinsmen to assist in beating his wife and humiliate her as they look on. This level of torture and humiliation results in a loss of dignity and makes the women in this category resort to drinking alcohol (local gin), as they feel they have nothing to lose. Another practice involves seating arrangements, where men carry small portable seats everywhere they go. When there is a meeting, the men use their seats while the women sit on the bare ground, however dusty it may be. This demonstrates a power imbalance between men and women because the one on a higher level has more negotiation power than the one seated on the ground.

There is also a belief (among the Samia of Busia) that if a woman gets married and leaves the husband's place to go back to her natal home, she will be a bad omen in her parents' home, and all the other remaining girls will never get married and will therefore suffer the rest of their lives. This makes the women stick to their husbands even when they are in abusive marriages with the resolve that they would rather suffer alone than be the cause of all misery in their parents' home. This belief is so engrained in the minds of the Samia that even when a divorced woman or one who has not produced a child dies at her natal home, her relatives make every effort to plead with her former in-laws to allow her to be buried there. If they do not succeed, the woman cannot be buried where other family members are / or will be buried. She is instead buried at the end of the family land or near the road to signify that she is still a sojourner. This is discrimination intended to lock women in abusive marriages because they do not wish to be a 'burden' to the members of their natal homes in future.

Access to and control over resources

Access to education and schooling

There are significant differences between Busia and Karamoja with respect to education. In Busia, communities are more accepting of girls' education, and there is high motivation and inspiration for girls to attain education., which is reflected in higher school attendance compared to Karamoja. In Karamoja, school enrolment of boys and girls is low, and rates of retention rates of girls in school are very low due to the sub-region's unique social, economic and political structure and challenges, as well as the generally low value placed culturally on formal education. After two decades of Universal Primary Education policy implementation, the sub-region still has the highest percentage of Uganda's population with either no schooling or incomplete primary education despite numerous efforts to close the gaps in access to education in Karamoja, such as receiving the highest average allocations per pupil in the country. The social, cultural and economic barriers that contribute to the poor uptake of education services among the greater Karamojong population include lack of money for educational materials and dues imposed by the School Management Committees (SMC), safety concerns, challenges around menstrual hygiene, community attitudes to the value of education. In addition, there is a belief in Karamoja that educated girls are prostitutes and fathers, and men cite this to justify their failure to support their daughters' education.

Caregivers in all the districts expressed a preference for supporting the education of boys rather than girls. During an FGD for boys (13-17), all participants revealed that a girl is considered too high risk to spend large amounts of money on, arguing that girls drop out of school easily due to marriage or pregnancy. It is, therefore, apparent that the education of children in Busia and Karamoja is highly influenced by gender. For any education-related intervention to succeed, the integration of gender-sensitive programming is critical.

Access to land

While women, girls and boys have access to household resources, men largely have both access and control. The Uganda report provides detailed information on the state of women's access to and (lack of) control over land, a key resource in this rural area that most people depend on for their livelihood. Men generally control land and pass on from fathers to their sons. Similarly, livestock is also controlled by men. Even where men do not participate in production, they (want to and do) control the proceeds. Even though a woman tills the land, plants and harvests, she often does not have control over the produce.
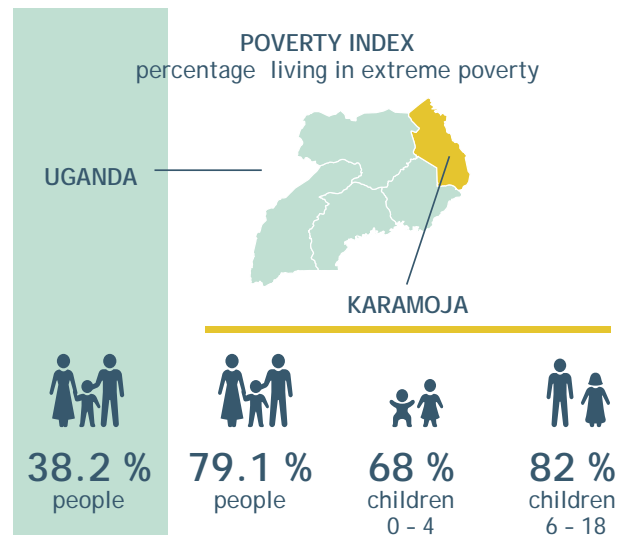
Inheritance and acquisition of land

Most people acquire land through inheritance from their parents, and a few who have succeeded in business or have well-paying jobs are able to purchase land. Most women in Busia and Karamoja do not have control over land as a resource because they are not entitled to inherit land from their natal homes, and, upon marriage, they do not jointly own their husbands' land. Furthermore, the acquisition of land through individual purchase is not common among women as very few women who are able to run lucrative enough businesses. Most are involved in petty trade in the informal sector where earnings are limited, so women are usually only able to cater to basic household needs. Moreover, because of their low levels of education, their entry into formal employment is also limited.

The preference for passing land on to sons was evident. Women who attended the FGD in Ututi indicated that they will give their land to their sons because their daughters will leave on marriage and not attend to their parents. If the boy is given land, he will get a wife, bring her home, and their children and grandchildren will keep the land in perpetuity. The common practice, therefore, is to give land to the first boy irrespective of whether he has elder sisters. Notwithstanding, the women were quick to add that if their daughters get married to bad men who mistreat them, they are free to come back to their natal homes and get a small piece of land for building a house and cultivation.

By contrast, in Moroto, a progressive change of attitudes towards the status of girl children was observed. Some men and women who attended FGDs reported that some parents have started giving big pieces of land to their daughters. Several instances were narrated where parents give their daughters land when they get married. The daughters take full ownership, and if the marriage does not work out well, the daughter will come back home and continue using the land. Even when the marriage is going well, the brothers of the girl are not supposed to use her land without her permission. While this is encouraging, the daughters are only given land after marriage , and the girls' families have studied the husbands' character. It can be argued that ownership of land by a female is always tagged to a male since the parents cannot give her land before she gets married. Tagging inheritance of land for daughters to marriage is a form of discrimination based on marital status, as an unmarried girl will continue to use her parents' land, denying her economic rights and independence.

Participation in income-generating activities

To date, Karamoja still displays the highest multi-dimensional poverty index in the country. Severe poverty affects 79.1% of the people, compared to the 38.2% national average (Datzberger, 2016). Poverty rates for children aged 0-4 are highest in Karamoja, where 68% live in poverty. The percentage of children aged 6-18 living in extreme poverty is even higher at 82% (UNICEF, 2015).

POVERTY INDEX
percentage living in extreme poverty

UGANDA

KARAMOJA

| 38.2 % | 79.1 % | 68 % | 82 % |
| people | people | children 0 – 4 | children 6 – 18 |

There is poor job availability outside the livestock sector in Karamoja. In addition, the education levels of the boys and girls are low, so they are not very competitive in the labour market. To earn a daily income for buying food, women, girls and other male youths engage in activities ranging from hunting and gathering vegetables to selling firewood, charcoal, chickens and crafts, as well as block laying, stone extraction, loading vehicles with stone, gold mining, sand mining, fetching water from a distance of over 2kms to sell to people brewing alcohol.

Important revelations on gender issues in household economics can be seen in the marketing of goods and services. The husbands in Busia market goods produced by their spouses, and they do not surrender all the proceeds to their wives. In contrast, wives in Karamoja sell the goods of their husbands and surrender all proceeds without retaining any money. Even the proceeds from their labour are given to the husbands. It is, therefore, not surprising that key informants in both Busia and Karamoja districts pointed out that married men are kings.

The women of Ututi seemed to be a little more empowered than the women in Kosiroi, Moroto. These women said that they do almost the same work as men, and the money earned is put together, and joint decisions on how to spend it are made. When there is some spare money, some of it is used to buy food, cooking oil and school requirements for children, and any remaining is saved in the VLSA saving boxes, a concept introduced by Save the Children. It was noted, however, that this does not happen everywhere in the targeted areas.

The socio-economic structure of the communities in Busia and Karamoja includes both risk and protective factors for children's engagement in child labour. Successful attempts to address child labour in these areas need to be built on a thorough understanding of the socio-economic and cultural facts that moderate relationships between women and men and boys and girls.

Access to education and schooling

There are significant differences between Busia and Karamoja with respect to education. In Busia, communities are more accepting of girls' education, and there is high motivation and inspiration for girls to attain education, which is reflected in higher school attendance compared to Karamoja. In Karamoja, school enrolment of boys and girls is low, and rates of retention of girls in school are very low due to the sub-region's unique social, economic and political structure and challenges, as well as the generally low value placed culturally on formal education. After two decades of Universal Primary Education policy implementation, the sub-region still has the highest percentage of Uganda's population with either no schooling or incomplete primary education despite numerous efforts to close the gaps in access to education in Karamoja, such as receiving the highest average allocations per pupil in the country. The multiple social, cultural and economic barriers that contribute to the poor uptake of education services among the greater Karamojong population include lack of money for educational materials and dues imposed by the School Management Committees (SMC), safety concerns, challenges around menstrual hygiene, community attitudes to the value of education. In addition, there is a belief in Karamoja that educated girls are prostitutes and fathers, and men cite this to justify their failure to support their daughters' education.

I go to school, but my father has already told me that, he will not give me school fees because I refused to dig on Sundays, but I pleaded with him that I dig, from Monday to Saturday and I requested that he allows me to rest on Sundays, but he refused. I dig from Monday to Sunday, I get very tired, I don't have time to rest or to even socialize with my friends.

Caregivers in all the districts expressed a preference for supporting the education of boys over that of girls. During an FGD for boys (13-17), all participants also revealed that a girl is considered too high risk to spend large amounts of money on, arguing that girls drop out of school easily due to marriage or pregnancy. Therefore, it is apparent that the education of children in Busia and Karamoja is highly influenced by gender. For any educational related intervention to succeed, the integration of gender-sensitive programming is critical.

Laws, policies, regulations and institutional practices

According to the 2016/17 Uganda National Household Survey, more than 2 million children are engaged in child labour. Of these, more than 1 million children (14-17) are involved in the worst forms of child labour, working in hazardous conditions, including in extractive industries such as mining, with chemicals and pesticides in agriculture, or with dangerous machinery. Some are toiling as domestic servants in homes. Child labour negatively impacts child health and education, impairing their opportunities for average growth and development.

Nevertheless, Uganda has a progressive policy, and legal framework for protecting children's rights, including gender equality, education and child labour. This shows commitment on the part of the government to protect children's rights and promoting gender equality among male and female children. The report includes a detailed list of the relevant laws, policies and regulations, highlights several contradictions in the legislation, and notes challenges faced in enforcing laws and implementing policies.

Human-rights related policy and legislation

The National Child Policy (2020) seeks to coordinate the protection of child rights focusing on abuse, neglect, exploitation and violence. It prioritises the elimination of child labour and the violation of children's rights, which remain severe issues in Uganda. The dissemination of the policy was affected by the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic in the country, and few stakeholders actively participated in the exercise. Also, the policy does not address the issue of the age of children in employment.

The Prevention of Trafficking in Persons Act (2009) defines exploitation as forced labour, harmful child labour and use of a child in armed conflict. The Ministry of Internal Affairs has set up an office to monitor, coordinate and oversee the implementation of counter-human trafficking activities. There are cases of child trafficking within and outside the Ugandan borders. For instance, especially girls are trafficked from the Karamoja region to various places in the country for domestic work, animal herding and so on. Some of these children are on the Kampala streets where they engage in begging, domestic work, commercial sexual exploitation and illicit activities.

Education legislation and policy

The Education Act 2008, 10(3) (a) clearly states that education is compulsory for children ages 6 and above and lasts 7 years, as mentioned above. Thus, the law does not make any provision for children over the age of 13; this leaves teenagers vulnerable to the worst forms of child labour, as they are not required to be in school, nor are they legally permitted to work in an area other than light work.

The Universal Primary Education Policy (UPE, 1997) provides primary education for all school-age children and includes important preventive strategies to eliminate child labour in the country. The policy provides for all children (boys and girls) to enrol in schools. However, gaps exist in the implementation and enforcement of laws and policies for addressing child labour and ensuring education is attained, including the difference between the age for compulsory education and the minimum age for employment.

Child labour legislation and policy

The Uganda Constitution provides for the protection of children under the age of 16 from socio-economic exploitation. It prohibits children from performing work that is likely to be hazardous to their lives, or that may be harmful to their health or physical, mental, moral or psychological aspects. The constitution addresses child labour through the enactment of relevant laws and policies such as the Children's Amendment Act 2016, which covers harmful or hazardous employment and the National Action Plan for the Elimination of Child Labour 2020/2021-2024-2025. However, the Children's Amendment Act is not clear as far as the employment of children is concerned, and it does not protect children from harmful and dangerous employment as it stipulates that somebody at the age of 16 is supposed to be employed. This contradicts the Employment Act 2006, which prohibits harmful and dangerous employment practices and sets 14 years as a minimum for entry of employment, but for somebody to be employed at age 14 must be supervised by an adult, and the type of work must be light work, which the Children's Act is silent about. There is a need to revise the Children's Act to align it with the Employment Act. Under the Employment Act, children under the age of 12 years must not be involved in any type of work, whereas children aged between 12-14 can only carry out light work under the supervision of adults. It further states that a child under 18 years cannot work in harmful or dangerous employment.

The Employment Act does not directly address the issue of gender, especially those engaged in domestic work which females usually carry out. The report noted that a number of girls under 18 are employed as housemaids with little intervention from the District Labour Officer or Secretary for Children Affairs at lower levels of governance.

Despite legislation that, in principle, ensures good and safe work conditions, this does not exclude the possibility that the prevalence of child labour owes less to its efficiency and more to the family's need for the child's contribution to the household. There appears to be a broad consensus that credit constraints force families to make child labour decisions without fully considering future returns to education and child well-being, and the most affected are girl children employed in households, hotels and plantations. Moreover, few people, including adults, are aware of the National Employment Policy 2011, whose mandate was to issue computerised employment permits similar to driving permits to keep track of persons eligible for employment in the country, maintain an Employment Register, and introduce renewal of the permits every three to five years.

The National Action Plan for the Elimination of Child Labour 2020/2021-2024-2025 (NAP II) provides a framework for the prevention, withdrawal, rehabilitation and integration of children from child labour. It builds on NAP I and is the first National Action Plan to Eliminate Child Labour which recognises the potential impact of the COVID-19 lockdown on vulnerable families and notes that initiatives to eliminate child labour need to factor in the health, economic and social consequences of the pandemic. The plan aims to reduce child labour in households, communities, and all sectors by 4% by 2022.

The policy also states that work is considered child labour under the following conditions:
- Children 5-11 at work
- Children 12-13 doing work other than light work or light work over 14 hours a week
- Children 14-17 involved in hazardous forms of labour or working more than 43 hours/week

In bringing national standards to local communities, gaps are noted in coordination, reporting and documentation of cases of child labour by different stakeholders across the country. The challenge is that the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development has not fully disseminated the National Action Plan in all districts. Also, now that the decentralisation policy is in place, some districts have developed their labour action plans that do not always reflect the priorities of the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development.

Roles, responsibilities and time use

Roles and responsibilities allocated to a person in the family and community are determined by gender identities in a specific community. The roles and responsibilities of men and women in each community are defined by that social norms and cultural practices. However, they sometimes differ according to the socio-economic status of the household, sources of livelihood, presence of parents, their level of education, and whether children are in school or not. Below is a description of what happens in most homes, but there are variations.

Division of paid and unpaid labour

The primary responsibility of men and boys in Karamoja is to ensure the well-being of livestock and the security of the cattle (the Karamojong are pastoralists), while women and girls are responsible for managing the welfare of household members. The issue of concern, however, is that because livestock can be sold for cash, economic activity is the responsibility of men and boys, whereas women and girls have predominantly reproductive responsibilities (domestic chores and caregiving, which fall under the 'care economy'. This is not only in Karamoja but also in Busia.

The study found that the majority of fathers in Karamoja and Busia have relegated their responsibility of providing food for their families exclusively to the mothers. Whatever little money the mothers get, they buy food to feed the family, including the husbands. As such, the mothers are left without any money to cater to the other needs of the household members, which is one of the leading causes of children entering child labour. The study concludes that women play a significant role in their children becoming involved in child labour, especially girls working as housemaids, but this is prompted by the frustration of having no support from the husbands towards household basic needs.

Data from the mini-survey revealed that although more boys (37%) than girls (26.8%) had engaged in paid work six months prior to the study, it is the girls' money that is often used to buy food at home for all family members to eat, while boys get to keep their earnings to spend themselves. The study notes that as parents are usually the beneficiaries of their children's earnings, the initiative of pulling children out of child labour is likely to meet with resistance if it is not implemented together with alternative means of livelihood for their families.

Household responsibilities

Of the 117 children surveyed, only 3.4% considered domestic work a boys' responsibility. The study revealed that boys aged 13 and above only wash their clothes, not those of their siblings or other family members. The boys from Busia go to the water points; they wash their clothes from there and bring home a 10 litre jerrycan for the water they will use to bathe, but do not bring any water for the family to use for cooking. This practice reflects the societal perception that fetching water for household use especially cooking, is a feminine role. When it comes to washing clothes for the family members, the girls have to wash for themselves, their mothers and the children. In addition, it was mentioned in both women's and men's FGDs that men and boys are not expected

to enter the kitchen, and it would be taboo for them to cook food. Some key informants suggested that elders would punish boys for even touching a saucepan.[7] The study also notes that when boys/men are involved in domestic work, they use some form of technology, however rudimentary, such as a makeshift wheelbarrow to transport water. This reduces the energy used to perform the activity compared to women and girls who mainly rely on their strength.

> *While it is understood that mothers do not want their sons to see their underwear, the unfairness comes in when the respondent continues: These girls have to be taught how to wash clothes well because when they get married they will have to wash for their husbands because that is their work.*

The study also revealed that when at school, girls are asked by their teachers to fetch water for them, sweep or mop the classrooms and staffrooms that are cemented and sweep the school compound. The boys are not required to do this kind of work. This is a clear translation of the gender role division in the household to other institutions in the community, including schools. As a result, in-school girls face a double burden of care work at home and in school, yet, attending school is expected to give some form of relief to the girls.

> *....you see, boys and men shave their hair, leaving a bald head. When you try to carry a Jerrycan, it will make your head sore, but women and girls, they know how to make cushions using their wrappers and scarfs which they put on their heads to prevent the pain.*

> *Asked why the men would not learn how to make the cushions and carry the water, his response was: That is going too far, because fetching water is the work of a woman.*

Community/political participation
Women's participation in community affairs is still skewed toward voluntary work around the care economy. When a member of the community dies, or when there is a social gathering, the women go and cook and serve food to the mourners. Women also participate in religious activities but are rarely privileged to serve in higher positions. Women's effective leadership is found in the women's community-based groups, some of which are VSLAs. Even here, however, there is usually a male 'advisor', one of whose main roles is to cushion the women from the harsh treatment of their husbands if the men/husbands decide to interfere in the women's group business.

Concerning political participation, the Local Government Act 1997 stipulates that at least 1/3 of council seats must be occupied by women. However, numerous obstacles block girls' and women's effective participation in leadership. During council sessions, if a woman is making her submission and sees a man stand up, she will sit down and leave the man to talk. Women's confidence levels are low, partly due to their limited knowledge of how political spaces work and the rules and procedures of councils. It takes them time to adjust to being leaders and take part in decision-making because they have not been used to making decisions at the household level. This makes their contribution to the debates very minimal.

A prevalent belief is that women and poor persons have no ideas worthy of discussion, which becomes double jeopardy for women in leadership. They are both women and poor because they do not control the resources at the household level. Therefore, in the council meetings, women are seen as 'time wasters', in addition the duties and expectations of their role as a mother, wife or daughter remain in full force. How a woman balances these with the constituents' expectations of her as a political leader sometimes results in the interpretation that this is evidence of the 'woman's failure to cope'.

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7   Claudius Dicken et al (2019): Girls as Drivers of Change –Uganda Gender Analysis.

The report notes that all the above are underlain by patriarchal Ideologies in which women are ascribed pre-determined roles and status in society, combined with prejudices and stereotypes that reaffirm negative attitudes and behaviours towards women's active engagements in community / public affairs and political leadership. Although patriarchal tendencies are mainly perpetrated by men, women also continue to be carriers of patriarchy. An oppressed group in society often internalises its oppression and reacts to this by oppressing others. It, therefore, becomes a cycle among women to look down upon each other and believe that another woman is not capable of leading and representing at the wider societal level. This is evidenced in the very low proportion of women elected on the non-affirmative action seats, despite women making up the majority of voters. If women had confidence in their fellow women's ability to lead, most women would win the elections based on the critical mass of women voters.

Time use

Girls do a disproportionate amount of household chores, taking up more time in their day before and after school (for those in school), which also means that some girls do not attend school because they are assisting their mothers and caretakers with domestic chores. The report includes a table of time use related to roles and responsibilities of girls/women and boys/men in Busia and Karamoja and notes that girls wake up earlier than their brothers by about one hour.

With respect to leisure time, boys have more leisure time than girls. In Busia, the out-of-school boys are free from 2:00 pm. They use the remaining hours of the day playing football or playing cards or Omweso until the day ends, whereas the out-of-school girls work till night. For in-school children, school ends around 4:30 pm. As soon as the bell rings, the girls run home to fetch water, cook supper and perform other household chores, while the boys stay at the school playgrounds for about 45 minutes playing football or just relaxing, knowing that their sisters will take care of the household chores.

In Moroto, the boys who graze livestock for pay or family have some time for leisure. Given that there are not many gardens in Karamoja, there is no fear that the animals will stray in people's gardens. Therefore, the boys spend much time playing football or other games as they take care of the cows.

Data collected from the study revealed that most boys (52.2%) and girls (63.4%) believe that the allocation of tasks between boys and girls at the household level is not balanced and is to the detriment of girls who bear the brunt of heavy workloads at home.

52.2 %
of the boys

36.4 %
of the girls

believe that
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and is to the detriment of girls who bear
the brunt of heavy workloads at home

The work done mainly by girls at home offers them no leisure time. In fact, they spend most of their time multi-tasking. As the food is on the fire, a girl is bathing the younger siblings, and before she is through with this, the grandmother calls her for help, so the day ends without the girl having had any rest. There was consensus in all FGDs in Busia and Karamoja that the girls are given all this work to prepare them for the future because when they get married and are lazy, they will get problems with their husbands.

Discussion of leisure time for men and women, boys and girls differ for Karamoja and Busia due to the different forms of livelihoods. Communities that derive their livelihoods from crop farming, as in Busia, have more tasks related to gardening compared to the communities involved in livestock farming. This is particularly so where agriculture is non-mechanised but uses rudimentary implements. Therefore, women in Busia have even less leisure time than their counterparts in Karamoja.

Women in Karamoja have more leisure time compared to their daughters or their fellow women in Busia mainly because there is little incentive for women and men to engage in crop farming due to the harsh climatic conditions that have consistently

affected reliable crop production. Traditionally the population has depended overwhelmingly on pastoralism for its survival, and the absence of men from the homes for quite a long period when they go to distant areas in search of grass for animals gives women 'some breathing space', so time for some leisure. Even though most people have lost their cattle due to rustling, the mindset is still geared towards animal rearing. Therefore, the gardening work that would take a lot of women's time is very limited. Even when they go for gold mining activities, they return home by 1:00 pm, which gives the women some free time. Unfortunately, many of the women spend this time drinking alcohol. Alcohol consumption is an issue of concern in Karamoja, where women have come to believe that alcohol consumption helps people to forget their misery. The women have seen their husbands drink and not get bothered with their children's issues, and they think drinking will help them live a stress-free life.

Dignity, safety and well-being

Dignity is the quality or state of being worthy of honour or esteem. Dignity is also the right of the person to be valued and respected. The majority of the boys and girls that participated in the FGDs indicated that they are without honour, value, and esteem.

As described in detail in the section on social norms, beliefs and practices, the low status of girls and women in society is reinforced by several other factors, including harmful traditional customs – which deem girls and women of a lower status and second-class citizens than men. Customs that bar women from inheriting land and other properties, and prevent their access to education and gainful employment, consistently keep the status of girls and women low. It is assumed that a girl will grow up and get married into other families and be able to access the land of her husband's family. The findings also cite other harmful traditional practices, including FGM, sexual assault and bride price, which objectify women and expose them to vulnerable situations.

In this section, we draw attention to child marriage and early pregnancy as key factor affecting girls' dignity. Studies show a strong association between child marriage and early childbirth, partly because

girls are pressured to prove their fertility soon after marrying (UNICEF, 2021). The world's highest adolescent pregnancy rates are in sub-Saharan Africa, where one in every four girls has given birth by age 18 (ibid, 2021). In Uganda, 25% of Ugandan teenagers become pregnant at the age of 19 and close to half are married before their 18th birthday (Ministry of Health Report, 2020).

Corroborating the above evidence from the literature, during FGDs, it was observed that most of the girls present were nursing mothers. One, only 15 years old, came to the FGD with her baby less than two weeks old. Another, 16 years old and visibly pregnant, had dropped out of school in 2019 when schools closed due to the COVID-19 pandemic and had been forced to marry last year (2021). The highest level of education of the girls was P.6. The rest of the girls had never been to school. Many were second wives to their husbands, some of whom had four wives. Only one girl was the first wife, but a co-wife was expected to join her anytime soon. Although, according to Ugandan law, all were children, in Karamoja, they were mothers with full responsibilities of caring for 'Manyattas' over their shoulders. All the girls were married to men three times their age, except two married to agemates.

According to the study findings, the introduction of Universal Primary Education and Universal Secondary Education, one goal of which was to keep children in school and substantially reduce child marriages and teenage pregnancies, has not helped much in terms of improving the status of girls and women, especially in rural areas where their status is very low.

Safety

The family is the arena where traditions and customs find expression and are put into practice. Just as positive norms and values germinate and are sustained by the family, so do harmful traditional practices. At the family level, violence and harmful traditional practices are legitimised and played out before being passed on to the following generations (ACPF 2020).

Security, or the lack of it, is a risk factor that affects children's well-being and leads to negative development outcomes. Insecurity exposes children to abuse and exploitation, including rape, death or conscription into army groups for survival.

Insecurity in the programme districts, especially in Karamoja, is robbing children of educational opportunities, social-emotional development and other developmental milestones.

> *Our sisters are suffering the same way in this village. Some girls cannot handle the kind of work that we do in this village, so many girls have resorted to selling their bodies to the UPDF and other men in this village. Other serious girls, collect firewood which they sell, and get money to buy food at home.*

Many children were concerned about their safety, especially in their communities. The majority mentioned that they felt secure at school, where teachers and other adults could protect them. When asked where the boys feel most insecure, the children aged 13-17 in Acherer reported that they felt most insecure at home because there are many 'bad' people in this community. The children thought that soldiers needed to be nearer to the people to improve the safety of both girls and boys in the community.

> *I want all the children to start school so that they can feel safe, otherwise, in the community, there are so many insecurities*

While school is deemed one of the safest places for children (as demonstrated during the 2019/20 lockdown and school closures), it can also be a breeding ground for abuse, violence, bullying and stress from teachers and fellow learners. For instance, although corporal punishment was outlawed in Uganda in the early 2000s, it is still practised widely in schools. Apart from corporal punishment, children also experience sexual and emotional violence from teachers and fellow students in school environment.

Well-being

The girls participating in the FGDs in Karamoja confessed that marrying at a very young age stresses them. Many normally think about running away from their homes but have nowhere to go and nothing to do to stop the marriages. Harmful traditional practices like FGM and child marriage, combined with food insecurity and the absence of opportunities for both girls and boys, especially in study districts, are some of the factors that affect the well-being of children.

Apart from engaging in child labour to meet their basic needs, boys in the Moruita sub-county expressed the need to deal with non-supportive and alcoholic parents who demand daily money from their children to sustain their alcoholic urges.

There seemed to be a conspicuous distance between the girls and boys and their parents. Most of the children participating in the FGDs seemed to have disconnected from their parents and run their own lives. The 2020 ACPF Report argues that disengaging from parents or caregivers early, or premature autonomy, comes with high health and behaviour risks linked to poor well-being. Therefore, providing caregivers support that addresses these risks in their lives may also foster healthy mental health habits in adolescents.

OUTCOME 2
Governments have enforced relevant child rights-based laws and have implemented policies on child labour, education, youth economic empowerment and social **security.**

OUTCOME 4
The EU, Dutch government and international organisations act in support **of the elimination of child labour and fulfil their obligation by setting and reinforcing due diligence policies and laws.**

Relevant laws, and policies and institutional mechanisms instituted to eliminate child labour in the country are described under Outcome 1 (domain 4). This section presents the programme strategies and results under Outcome 2, and assesses the activities implemented by the WNCB Alliance towards creating a conducive policy and legal environment for the elimination of child labour and enforcement of existing laws.

Programme strategies

The programme strategy for this outcome focuses on reform and amendments to child labour and education legislation, especially on child protection systems, and translating these into actions at the local level to contribute towards elimination of child labour in the project districts. The strategy recognises that the changes in legislation still need to be brought down to the local level. The alliance is already lobbying and working with district and local councils to further simplify and popularise the laws and policies with and for the communities to facilitate local enforcement of ordinances and bye-laws related to child labour. In addition, the alliance will strengthen reporting, referral, tracking and response mechanisms in the schools and community structures.

Programme results so far

Among the programme activities the WNCB partners planned to undertake 2020-2021, some were geared towards advocacy with the aim of contributing to a conducive policy and legal framework for child labour in Uganda and the project districts.

The WNCB partners commissioned a baseline survey to understand the current situation of child involvement in labour activities in Karamoja region covering two districts: Moroto and Nakapiripirit. The baseline report was used by the alliance as an advocacy tool for lobbying to contribute towards government efforts towards elimination of child labour in the country. The dissemination of the baseline survey report in March 2021 in Kampala was attended by high level government officials at national level and from project districts. Following this, WNCB Alliance worked with the Ministry of Gender, Labour & Social Development (MGLSD) to finalise the National Action Plan (NAP) on the Elimination of Child Labour. Two representatives from the WNCB Alliance were nominated to lead the review and do the final editing of the NAP. Further to this, the WNCB alliance led the development of the popular (summarised) version of the NAP. The popular version was adapted with minor input from ILO, CSOs and officials from the MGLSD and other line ministries. In another high-level engagement between MGLSD and Civil society organisations to address child labour in mining and the informal sector, the MGLSD Permanent Secretary included 2 members of the WNCB programme on the National Steering Committee on Child Labour. This engagement of the WNCB partners indicates that the partners have made

a tremendous contribution towards advocacy on national laws and policies on elimination of child labour in the country and have so far registered much success towards the achievement of the expected results under Outcome 2.

The WNCB partners also actively participated in activities to commemorate the World Day Against Child Labour both at National and District levels. In recognition of the high involvement of the partners in these activities, the WNCB Coordinator was nominated to represent all CSOs and NGOs in Uganda at the high-level panel discussion in June 2021. The advocacy issues put forward in this process by the partners, such as the long distances that children in mining areas must walk and hence the need for the government to establish schools in mining areas to ensure that all children have equal access to education, were accepted.

In addition, the project team worked with the inter-ministerial committee to harmonise child-rights-related policies and engaged in high-level dialogues with government actors on key advocacy issues, including issues identified in the baseline survey. One such dialogue was the high-level meeting with Members of Parliament, the National Organisation of Trade Unions (NOTU), ILO and other CSOs. The MGLSD and District Local Governments also committed to eliminating child labour by strengthening the monitoring of mining activities, establishing community schools, and ensuring that the schools have qualified teachers who are on the government salary payroll.

One of the strategies adopted by the partners to contribute towards creating a conducive legal and policy framework for elimination of child labour is to support processes that help develop ordinances and bye-laws at district and sub-county levels. The WNCB partners, with Save the Children in the lead, have supported the drafting of a bye-law on child protection for Moruita Sub-county, Nakapiripirit District. The draft bye-law was submitted to the Clerk to Parliament and later submitted to the Ministry of Local Government for perusal and then forwarded to the Solicitor General for approval. The partners have engaged with a focal point person from the Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs to expedite the processing of the ordinances and approval of bye-laws.

This draft bye-law has several explicit provisions for the protection of children against child labour. Among the duties and responsibilities of a child, it spells out that a child shall ensure that he or she is not taking part in child labour activities referred to in this bye-law; report any cases of child labour or abuse inflicted on them or their peers to relevant authorities; and not involve or influence other children/ their peers in child labour and child abuse. The bye-law outlaws the employment of children by companies, in mining activities and other businesses such as bars, lodgings, restaurants and hotels. It further highlights the different activities in mining that children should not be perform in a gold mine, sand mine or stone quarry during or outside school hours. These provisions exhibit the determination of the people of that the people of Moruita Sub-county to eliminate child labour of any form in their area. This attitudinal change by the community towards child labour is an outcome of the local and national level advocacy on enforcement of child rights and child labour related laws by the WNCB partners.

The WNCB partners have also been instrumental in the dissemination of child-related national policies and guidelines. Together with the MGLSD, Save the Children and other WNCB partners disseminated the National Child Policy. This resulted in the stakeholders in the project districts proposing the establishment of functional child welfare committees at the Sub-county and District levels to strengthen the child protection mechanisms. The partners also disseminated the National Guidelines for the Prevention and Management of Teenage Pregnancies in Schools in the project districts and supported the development of a popular version of the Guidelines and this was also disseminated in the project districts.

Gender analysis of strategies and results
A review of the partners' reports reveals that much high-level advocacy, both at national and local levels, has been undertaken by the WNCB partners regarding national laws and the policy framework on ending child labour. However, there is little evidence of efforts by the partners to integrate gender in these activities. For example, the lack of schools in the mining areas has a gendered impact in terms of access to education but the report is not explicit on this.

Some gender gaps have been identified in the draft child protection bye-law for Moruita Sub-county in Nakapiripirit district, which outlines household chores that children can be involved in at home in line with child's age and capacity. This is a positive development, but it does not mention that girl children, even if they are of an appropriate age, should not be overworked, since according to the gender role division in Karamoja most of these activities are performed by girls. The bye-law also prohibits use of children in cattle grazing during school hours, after 7 pm and during weekend and school holidays. While it is widely known and documented that cattle herding is a masculine role and therefore predominantly done by male children, the language used in the bye-laws is gender neutral. In some instances, it should be explicitly stated that it is male or female children who are prohibited to do a particular activity and some explanation given of the gender difference in impact that rights violations may have on male and female children.

The WNCB partners have made cautious efforts to integrate gender into the activities listed in the 2021 Uganda Country Work Plan. For community mobilisation meetings, a statement was added in the work plan: 'Gender sensitive approach - To ensure both female and male have a good representation and also use of gender sensitive language/communication, timing when females are free, facilities to keep their babies as they meet'. Moreover, for media programmes on child labour and related laws, a statement was added: 'Gender sensitive communication that does not reinforce stereotypes and promote discrimination'.

Gender sensitivity has also been exhibited in training activities. The work plan states that the partners should exhibit good representation of males and females in their training and use gender sensitive training approaches, but in the action plan there is no mention of application of a gender-sensitive approach during implementation of the activities. It is imperative that a gender analysis is made of the transition process of withdrawal of children from child labour, resettlement in their homes and return to school to enable the WNCB partners design actions that meet the gender specific needs of both the male and female survivors of child labour.

Uganda has embraced a private sector-led growth strategy, in which the government with the support of NGOs plays a significant role in creating a conducive environment for the private sector to thrive. As such, the private sector has been at the forefront of championing the socio-economic development of the country. However, given its focus on profit making, ensuring that the private sector adopts and adheres to good business principles and practices that ensure protection of vulnerable members of the population is critical and a shared responsibility across a range of actors.

In tandem with the increasing role of the private sector in the national development of Uganda, the WNCB programme has prioritised deliberate interventions to strengthen and accelerate the sector's commitment and contribution towards elimination of child labour. The extent to which the prioritised interventions and implementation strategies have addressed gender concerns forms the basis of the gender analysis below.

Programme strategies and results

The WNCB programme focuses on organising and working with the private sector to create responsible companies in the national and international supply chains. Interventions and implementation strategies were designed in response to the diagnosed problem: businesses lack knowledge, commitment and technical capacity to respect and promote children's rights. Capacity strengthening of the private-sector players has taken the centre stage of the WNCB programme's pathway to realising the envisaged results under Outcome 3.

Following targeted trainings on Children's Rights and Business Principles, which have been offered to the private-sector actors, the practice of developing and adopting codes of conduct has gained momentum across the private-sector actors in the mining industry. According to Save the Children's 2021 narrative annual report, several mining companies including small-scale artisanal miners have now developed and displayed codes of conduct in their places of work.

A review of the design of the interventions and results realised so far shows adequate gender consideration, and this is reflected in both the indicator statements and reported results. The programme has made concerted efforts to target an equal number of both female and male beneficiaries under this outcome area. Thus, with the increasing awareness of children's rights promotion coupled with the strengthened capacity of the private-sector players towards elimination and mitigation of child labour, the withdrawal of children both boys and girls from child labour is being made possible. Nevertheless, the gender analysis revealed gaps in both the design and implementation of the interventions as well as the reporting of results. These are described below.

Gender analysis

Whereas several well-intended and potentially impactful programme activities have been prioritised in the past and present work plans, the gender disaggregation of the output targets is less explicit. Much as there is mention of the use of gender-sensitive training approaches in some of the planned training activities for 2022, the omission of gender disaggregated targets may leave the proportional targeting and equitable distribution of benefit to women and men to chance. It is therefore necessary to guide the activity implementers on how to deliberately achieve gender balance when targeting various beneficiaries (men, women, boys and girls) under planned activities.

Review of the programme proposal/document reveals that key outcome indicators were clearly defined with emphasis on capturing gender disaggregated data. However, despite the programme baseline study having been conducted, performance targets under each of the set indicators are missing, which deprives the programme of the opportunity to achieve equitable distribution of the benefits between men and women and boys and girls.

Nevertheless, there is explicit commitment to improving the gender responsiveness of the programme, which requires the programme implementation and management teams to take advantage of the available gender mainstreaming opportunities while addressing key gender equality barriers presented in the country report.

Jordan - summary report

> **OUTCOME 1**
> **Children are empowered and have improved access to (quality) formal education, bridge or transitional schooling, and youth employment within a supportive family and community environment.**

Patterns of decision making

When children were asked about who decides whether they attend school or drop out of education, 50% of them answered that their mothers support both male and female attendance at school while also encouraging boys to find a job after school hours and girls to help with household chores and do their school homework. Consequently, boys feel jealous of their sisters who have better academic performance because they find time to study. The remaining 50%, who were 13 or older, stated that they had decided to drop out of school and help their parents financially. They also noted that this prevented their sisters from working and enabled them to have a better future and not be exploited or harassed in the workplace. Those (mainly boys) whose fathers own private businesses preferred to leave school at a young age to work with them.

The analysis also revealed different opinions between the mothers and fathers who participated in separate FGDs. Social norms and stereotypes tend to silence mothers in making or influencing decisions inside their homes because they live in a patriarchal society. Mothers said that they could not be open outside the household about their ability to make decisions about their children's right to education and work. However, they do have the ability to control men's findings within the family in different ways, such as negotiation, persuasion, and highlighting the nature of common interests and benefits based on the results of the decisions taken by each of them. During the sessions with the fathers, however, about 90% of them denied what the mothers had mentioned about their influence on men's decisions. Nevertheless, most of the boys and girls interviewed praised their mothers' role in influencing decisions related to attending or dropping out of school and joining the labour market.

A mother mentioned: My son delivers sweets to restaurants and homes, and my daughter bakes sweets with me. My daughter and son help me improve our economic life, but it is impossible for me to allow them to drop out of school for the sake of work. They must become better than their father and me.

The fathers stated that they make all decisions at home, including those related to the future of their sons and daughters. Only a few praised the role of their wives as a necessary and influential factor in decisions regarding the care and education of children and their participation in finding solutions related to financial challenges by encouraging their children to work to help them. Many parents, mainly fathers, stated that they consider children a source of income, which means that they should be able to take advantage of them and enable them to support their families.

Few fathers push their children to complete their education, most encouraging them to work, but most mothers have a decisive role in protecting their children by finding alternative means to improve the family income and not letting their children lose their right to education. 70% of the mothers interviewed decide to encourage their male children to work and complete their education and raise their daughters' awareness of the importance of education to avoid poverty and exploitation by employers in the future.

However, social norms constitute a psychological and societal burden on mothers. Some of them consider that their early marriage and lack of adequate education were the leading causes of losing their opportunity for financial empowerment, which would have enabled them to contribute to improving their families' financial situation. They believe education is a fundamental element for transforming power relations because it can raise awareness of the need to face up to male dominance within the household. Also, mothers feel guilty towards their daughters, who are at risk of dropping out of education or being married off early. This prompts them to seek protective alternatives such as using a negotiation approach to talk with the husband and sons or putting pressure on them to protect the fundamental right of their daughters to education. While fathers denied the mothers' influential role within households, children confirmed their mothers' supportive role in pushing them to complete their education besides their work.

My academic and professional future depends on my father's decisions, my mother's pressure on me, and my brother's mood. I want to continue my education and live a better life.

Social norms, beliefs and practices

Social norms and traditional practices reinforce gender inequality and a mentality that favours girls staying at home and dropping out of school, both risk factors for child labour, particularly domestic work.[8]

A UNICEF Child Protection Officer confirmed that a second risk factor for child labour is the social norm which considers a male child to be the breadwinner after his father. A female child is considered a breadwinner if she is the older sister and has younger brothers. These beliefs influence the children's mindset and convince them of their obligation to work. Moreover, patriarchal authority - which can often be abusive without any sense of guilt - affects the lives and decisions of girls in terms of work, education, and marriage.

Some of females in East Amman said that they feel sad for their brothers. They forbid their sisters from working for different reasons and encourage them to complete their education and aim for a better life. Those females said that it is unfair for their brothers to work for their family and earn money to keep them alive, while they have no education, no skills, are full of negative energy and emotionally insecure.

The analysis showed that 90% of the children interviewed in East Amman and Za'atari camp share similar thoughts and behaviours regarding customs and traditions. Both groups emphasised the importance of education for both sexes but had different perceptions of their future educational and professional prospects.

East Amman

Male children in East Amman believe that poverty and the urgent need to provide basic needs are major reasons for children to work and help their families. Nonetheless, this does not mean that girls should work outside the house, except out of necessity or where no male is at home. Therefore, the work of girls is mainly concentrated inside the house as it is perceived as their primary role before getting married and after, thus a stereotypical reproductive role. Male children had diverging views regarding a girl's ability to complete her education or/and choose her career in the future. 40% wish their sisters would complete their high school and work in a profession that would make their families proud - such as becoming a doctor, an engineer, or a nurse. The other 60% believe that their sisters are only capable of becoming schoolteachers or nannies, or they should learn a profession such as sewing or hairdressing, or work in a beauty salon, occupations that prevent them from mixing with men. Of the female children, 60% emphasised that their brothers prevented them from working at a young age for fear of harassment and encouraged them to complete their education with the aim of finding a decent job with a good wage in the future. 50% of fathers in East Amman are against the idea of waiting for children to graduate from universities to have a good job. They believe that work is the only source of income in the current circumstances, and children need to work from an early age. Regarding their daughters, 80% of fathers in East Amman believe that it is important for a female to know how to read and write and to get married before 18. They can do income-generating projects and work from home if they want to be financially empowered.

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8   https://www.tdh.ch/sites/default/files/situational_analysis_of_child_labour_in_jordan.pdf

One of the mothers said: I feel sad for my sons because of the loss of their right to education and their having to work. And I feel insecure when sending my daughters to school or work, but I am obliged to encourage them to work and face the life challenges and to save some money that can support them to live a better life.

Za'atari camp

The girls in the Za'atari camp indicated they wished to finish their education, graduate from university, and find a suitable job. Their goal is to leave the camp and live in nice homes, get married and have children, and live a better life. Males supported what the girls said because they feared for their sisters' future and wanted them to have a better life. In this context, 30% of male children said they want to work, regardless of education, to secure a better life for their sisters. They believe that working in agriculture is already difficult for boys, and girls would not be able to tolerate it and could negatively impact their reproductive health in the long term, despite the fact that many girls work in agriculture.

Role of religious views

The 2 imams from East Amman and Mafraq praised the importance of work in general, stating that work is important for individuals and should be performed from childhood as it teaches children how to rely on themselves and enables them to face life crises. However, they highlighted that the working conditions should not weaken their bodies, make them sick, or overburden them. Islam encourages working as well as learning and considers it a virtuous deed. However, it is wrong to prevent children from obtaining education for work, as this would build a society on ignorance, illiteracy, and lack of knowledge. According to the imams, among the jobs that children of both sexes can do are those in agriculture. In addition, they should be taught simple and non-hazardous handicrafts in parallel with the school curriculum. Children should also perform household chores, as religion enjoins benevolence, mercy, and help for parents.

Concerning females, the Islamic religion does not prevent them from working. However, certain conditions should be met. A woman's work is essential if she does not have a breadwinner to support her, but she must find an occupation that does not harm her body or chastity or expose her to humiliation or exploitation of any kind. If a woman is married, she must be supported by her husband, father, or brother. However, if the husband, father, or brother are unable to support her, there is no objection to her working.

Awareness of rights

The report states that interviewees in two targeted areas, Russaifeh and Sahab (East Amman), were more aware of children's rights and had a good knowledge of equal access to education opportunities for boys and girls been targeted in the 2021 UNICEF awareness programme. They explained that girls should complete their education as it will help them find a decent profession in the future, potentially earning a good income and preventing exploitation. In addition, education will strengthen girls' personalities and abilities to overcome difficult circumstances.

The females interviewed pointed out that education is compulsory in Jordan and free for Jordanians and Syrians as every child must learn. They believe it is unfair to have to drop out of school to work. Nonetheless, if boys choose to drop out of school for work, this should not be an obstacle to girls completing their education. 70% of girls in East Amman wish to graduate from university, choose the career they want, and move out of the cities where they live.

Access to and control over resources

Child labour affects vulnerable children and young people in the 5-17 age group, both Jordanian and Syrian, particularly in rural communities, refugee camps and those from less economically secure backgrounds, who have limited access to education and healthcare, experience social stigmatism and discrimination and other issues surrounding unaccompanied or stateless children.

When children were asked about who makes the decision whether to attend school or drop out of education, 50% of them answered that their mothers support both male and female attendance at school, while also encouraging boys to find a job after school

hours and girls to help with household chores and do their school homework. Consequently, boys feel jealous of their sisters who have a better academic performance because they find time to study, unlike them.

My academic and professional future depends on my father's decisions, my mother's pressure on me, and my brother's mood. I want to continue my education and live a better life.

Female students in Jordan have similar enrolment rates to those of males in pre-primary and basic education, but at the secondary level, males fall behind, with only 68% enrolled compared to 82% of girls. The National Child Labour Survey showed that 75,982 children aged 5-17 engaged in economic activities, 88% of whom are male.

Laws, policies, regulations and institutional practices

Children in Jordan have specific rights under the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, to which Jordan is a signatory) and under the country's 2016 Constitution. These include the rights to survival, education and development, protection and participation. A Childhood Law is currently being developed to ensure that these rights are upheld comprehensively[9]

From the key informants' interviews, we noticed that the main laws and regulations are not as effective as they should be for different reasons, including lack of budget, lack of resources and capacities, and COVID-19. Moreover, most legislation does not consider gender gaps and gender needs. Domestic work is still not covered within the national framework and policies and is still considered one of the gender norms and a traditional stereotype.

UNICEF and Save the Children are trying as much as possible to reduce child labour by encouraging compliance with labour protection laws. They strive to ensure that children's rights are respected and that children are not involved in dangerous work. They also cooperated with the National Council for Family Affairs (NCFA) to update the national framework to reduce child labour, which was submitted in 2021, in addition to developing SOPs to identify specific roles for the relevant ministries.

Roles, responsibilities and time use

According to the US Department of Labor's 2019 report Findings on the Worst Forms of Child Labor in Jordan, although child labour and particularly the worst forms of child labour seem to be mainly affecting boys, girls are also affected by the domestic labour they perform. Most household chores are considered female responsibilities, although they may be inappropriate for a child's age or strength. These chores engage female children in many hours of household labour, leading to fatigue.

According to the 2016 Jordanian National Child Labour Survey, of all children engaged in economic activities, 88% (67,114) were boys, and only 12% (8,868) were girls. The Ministry of Social Development (MoSD) mentioned that within the category of begging children and of children working in enterprises, boys also represent a higher percentage of the total compared to girls. Girls are found more in agriculture or domestic work14.

Child labour and education
East Amman

A report on child labour in Jordan[10] mentioned that 97.8% of the children who worked and studied were male, with a mean age of 13.9 years. These children worked, on average, 33.9 hours per week, and their mean income was 123 USD per month. They worked in service (40%), street workers (15%), and agriculture (3.8%). They worked to support their family (46.6%) and to learn a trade (27.3%). 88.3 % preferred to continue their education. 54.3% of non-working school children were male, with a mean age of 12.1 years.

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9 (UNICEF, 2019:18) (UNICEF, 2019:18)

10 A REPORT ON CHILD LABOR IN JORDAN Prepared for UNICEF, Save the Children, ARISA- "Work: No Child's Business" WALTER J. BURKARD L.L.M. Advanced International Children's Rights Leiden Law School Doctor of Law The Cornell Law School

The country report states that in East Amman, 30% of boys (31 boys, aged 12-15) are at risk of dropping out of school, as they are requested to perform several tasks, both inside and outside their homes, which makes it almost impossible for them to go to school on a regular basis, in addition to their low educational attainment as a result of lack of following up on their school duties and no follow up on their attendance by teachers. They spend most of their time working outside their homes to support their families financially, where they are exploited by working very long hours (more than 7 hours a day) and receiving very low wages (less than 2 JOD per day/2.8 USD). Note that under the Jordanian Labour law, the minimum wage for fresh graduates is 7 JOD per day.

Household chores that boys perform are limited to grocery shopping and helping in some heavier tasks such as cleaning the windows and carpets. Regarding income-generating projects at home, most males who do not have sisters, or those who only have one sister working with their mother at home, support them in these activities as well as in housework, but without any impact on their education. These young men are aware of the importance of their role within their homes. In other words, supporting their mothers and performing roles traditionally seen as female in a society that believes in the traditional gender division of roles regarding domestic work does not affect the education of males and is not a reason for their dropping out of school.

In contrast, most children who work outside the home reported being unable to attend school on a regular basis due to physical exhaustion and sleep deprivation. Additionally, they suffer from poor academic performance due to their inability to find enough time to study and follow up on school duties, discouraging them from completing their studies and encouraging them to remain in the labour market to support their families financially.

Interviews with 15 girls aged 12-14 who work in agriculture revealed that 13 had never had access to school. Their parents are illiterate and have been working on farms for many years; thus, they have raised their daughters in the same way. Other females were considered within the category of at risk of school dropout. They stated the defiance of their circumstances, and despite their spatial distance from school and the household burdens of cleaning and caregiving (which are considered one of their primary roles), they try as much as possible

to find time to do their school homework and go to school three days a week at least.

Although domestic work in East Amman is shared between males and females, girls carry the greatest burden because they are required to care for their younger siblings, cook, perform household chores, and support their mothers in their productive projects where these exist. Girls stated that they carry a heavy burden and feel unbearable physical fatigue, mainly because they must perform housework after returning from work, unlike their brothers who play or sleep after returning home. These girls blame their mothers who raised them to perform such tasks and thus deprive them of their rights to education and play like other children.

Za'atari camp
Families in the Za'atari camp suffer from great poverty, lack of skills and illiteracy. These challenges have negatively impacted both sexes and increased the risk of school dropouts in the search for work. 14 of the 15 females aged 12-17 stated that they work after school, mainly in agriculture and other trading fields such as clothing and make-up shops and beauty salons. 70% of females who work in agriculture have dropped out of school because of the long working hours, their financial situation, and their requirement to perform domestic work.

90% of interviewees had lost one of their family members during the war in Syria. The loss of a male was a significant cause of poverty after asylum. The lives of female-headed families are affected by their illiteracy and lack of mastery of vocational skills that would enable them to find work. In addition, restrictions imposed by the Jordanian government do not allow most of them to leave the camp and work in other governorates. 90% of boys are at risk of school dropout because of their work after school and the physical and psychological abuse they are exposed to at school.

Last year, Save the Children case managers implemented a positive nurturing course in the camp to enhance the role of females in influencing decisions inside the home and changing practices around stereotypes and traditional gender roles, which in turn would alleviate the domestic burden placed on girls' shoulders. Nevertheless, girls still carry the greatest burden in terms of household chores in addition to working long hours (more than 6 hours) in agriculture, which negatively impacts their mental health and deprives them of the most basic rights to study and play.

In conclusion

Most of the risk factors intersect each other and thus deprive both males and females of access to education, but females are exposed to additional factors that increase their risk of being deprived of education in both areas. In the East Amman area, the risk factors include patriarchy, domestic work and social norms, such as early marriage. However, supportive mothers in East Amman believe that the traditional gender roles, such as domestic work – whether that involves household chores or an income-generating project or caregiving – should not affect the education of children and should not be a reason for their dropping out of school. Girls working in agriculture in both targeted areas are among the most vulnerable groups, exploited by their parents and employers. Their work in agriculture and their isolation from other communities, in addition to their presence within a male-dominated, patriarchal system, especially in the Za'atari camp, stand in the way of girls achieving their right to education.

Dignity, safety and well-being
Domestic violence and abuse

In the targeted areas, 90% of boys said they are not exposed to risks or abuse inside their homes; 5 % refused to answer, and the remaining 5% mentioned that they are exposed to physical and verbal abuse from their fathers or older brothers. Mothers were mentioned here as providing an element of protection of their children from violence by males inside the house. All the girls stated that they are not exposed to risks or abuse inside their homes unless they support their mothers in their income-generating projects and are consequently exposed to dangerous tools or hot materials.

Mothers' responses were not always consistent with their children's responses (from both sexes) regarding the risks they face at home. For instance, most mothers said that their male children are subjected to physical and verbal abuse almost daily at home by their fathers and older brothers or their male peers outside the home. A small percentage of girls are victims of physical abuse, but they are also exposed to verbal abuse if they do not respond to the orders of their fathers or male brothers. Sometimes, girls are subjected to violence by their brothers because the latter are jealous of their sisters' ability to study and fear that they will become more financially empowered when they grow up and take control of the household's resources. Sometimes the mother is also exposed to violence when defending her children. In this

regard, fathers claimed that beating is a part of their parenting approach, justified by the fact that they live in difficult conditions and an insecure environment, which forces them to deal with their children in a tough way so that they become stronger.

One mother said: This is our fate to be here but will do my best to protect my son from any kind of exploitation and my daughter from getting harassed or raped.

According to parents, girls are more conservative and polite. In addition, they leave the house less often than boys, which means they are less exposed to toxic environments outside their homes. Also, after girls return from school, they assist their mothers with domestic work and do their homework. Thus, they have no time for quarrels or arguments. Despite the risk factors mentioned, mothers play a strong yet hidden role in protecting their daughters by supporting their aim to complete their education and forbidding child marriage, and encouraging their sons to work and study at the same time.

I study and work with my father and brother in the plastic industry but forbid my sisters from working for fear of harassment.

Violence against male children

Although male children were subjected to various types of sexual harassment, very few mothers admitted it. Furthermore, they did not take any action to protect their boys so they could avoid any kind of social stigma and bullying. However, male children admitted that they are subjected to physical and psychological violence daily by their fathers or older brothers, or at school by their teachers or peers. Some of them are also victims of bullying. These types of violence, along with the lack of academic follow-up at school that particularly affects male children, encourage boys to drop out of school and start seeking a job.

The quality of education is poor, our academic achievement is poor, and we are exposed to constant violence by teachers and some students. I'd rather drop out of school and work long hours for a low wage than waste my time with something that won't do me any good.

Za'atari camp

80% of boys and girls who work in agriculture in Za'atari camp and Sahab said that they face risks daily when going to work and returning home in the evening. They mentioned a fear of being bitten by snakes and scorpions while working on the farms or being attacked by street dogs on their way home at night. In addition, they underlined their physical and mental exploitation, as they are required to work for long hours under the sun or in the cold during winter without the slightest mercy from the employer. Furthermore, they are exposed daily to verbal or physical abuse – such as kicking, slapping, and pinching. 60% of the girls – most of whom work in agriculture – confirmed that they are often subjected to sexual abuse or harassment by their employers or male workers, in addition to being harassed by male students or random young men on the street when returning from school.

The girls say they are afraid of reporting the incidents they have faced and informing their parents and brothers about what they are exposed to, as they are usually considered to be to blame and are accused of exhibiting behaviour that would attract males and employers to assault or harass them, such as wearing an attractive outfit, their appearance, or the way they walk. If they do make accusations, they may be subject to beatings by their relatives or prevented from leaving the house and thus from accessing school. Some mothers in the Za'atari camp added that their daughters who work in agriculture confessed to them that they had been subjected to sexual harassment by their employers or workers on the farm and did not know what to do and which entity was responsible for such incidents. In addition, they are afraid they will lose their jobs if they report this behaviour to an official entity.

Syrian refugees at Za'atari camp expressed their regret at the lack of knowledge about child rights and child protection laws and regulations, which are not even applied on the ground. Females are physically, sexually, and verbally abused. Furthermore, girls are married off at a young age and boys are deprived of education because of poverty. Concerning access to education, children of both sexes often choose to drop out of school for fear of harassment within and outside the school. This particularly affects girls who end up staying at home or looking for a job. In males' cases, some drop out of school for work or to run away from the violence they are exposed to daily by teachers or other abusive students.

Violence at school

Many mothers mentioned that their girls are exposed to verbal harassment on their way to school and back home, which causes them psychological harm and triggers fear of being subjected to sexual violence one day. The girls said they are not concerned about any abuse or violence inside the school by female teachers or other female colleagues. This encourages them to commit to education. In addition, most of them said that school is the only safe space to play and laugh, away from the burden of household chores.

During the interview with Save the Children, it was mentioned that, after poverty, the leading cause of school dropout for both sexes is violence perpetrated by teachers and students inside the school and harassment toward female students. Committees were formed within the case management programme to implement awareness-raising activities about the dangers to girls of harassment and the importance of improving the school environment to become more encouraging so that students return to school.

Early marriage

Fathers sometimes threaten to marry off their daughters at an early age if they do not work, which is considered one of the worst forms of violence. Some mothers expressed anger at what their daughters are exposed to, particularly because they perceive them as a reflection of their previous life cycle. Consequently, they try to influence their husbands' decisions to marry them off at an early age while encouraging their daughters to work and study at the same time, both inside and outside the home.

The analysis revealed that child marriage is one of the child labour risk factors and a consequence of poverty and social norms. However, a few mothers and some fathers highlighted it during the FGDs as a protective factor. 30% of fathers said that the presence of many girls at home without work is considered a burden on the family and working brothers. Marrying girls to men who are able to work or have a job is an opportunity to give them a better life than their current one. Their ability to complete education after marriage depends on their husbands' approval. Forced marriage is certainly a risk factor for girls, as marrying them without their consent is one of the worst forms of abuse, and their fear of living with stranger older men is another type of harassment and abuse.

Jordan does not have accurate statistics on the nature and extent of child labour because households are reluctant to acknowledge that they employ children illegally, and employment surveys do not typically account for children working in the informal sector, such as in the domestic sphere, in family enterprises and in agricultural activities. Historically, the lack of accessible, affordable, and good quality schooling has always been a key factor in encouraging children to enter the workforce. However, the reverse is also true, as enrolment in school can contribute to children entering the workforce so that they can pay the direct and indirect costs of schooling for themselves or members of the family. Some children enter the workforce because of poor schooling, finding the curriculum dull, irrelevant, or unable to equip them with the direct skills required to sustain a living.

Child labour policy
According to the Ministry of Labor, which reports very few cases of children illegally working, NGOs recognise the prevalence of child labour, and attribute it to poverty, lack of parental awareness about children's rights and needs, and dissatisfaction with school. Sources in refugee camps reported rampant child labour, particularly during the summer months. Social workers reported that 20-30% of children working as mechanics were exposed to sexual assaults and substance abuse, while others toiled in agriculture for twelve hours daily for little pay. Mothers were very pessimistic about the challenges and dangers their daughters face daily, which makes them feel insecure. They described the international agreements as ineffective in crisis situations.

During the FGDs, parents were asked their opinion about the role of laws and policies regarding protecting children in the workplace and preserving their dignity, and about their awareness of child rights and child protection policies within households, school and workplaces. Most of those in East Amman answered that although certain laws and policies exist, they are not aware if they are effective.

Traditional gender roles, in addition to traditional practices concerning children – such as child labour, early marriage, and deprivation of education – play an influential and negative role towards societal change and societal behaviours. Moreover, social norms are considered stronger than laws in some conservative areas.

During the FGDs, especially mothers indicated that some roles of females, such as domestic work, are still hidden. This also applies to decision making inside households, as at the societal level women do not have access to decision making or to influencing others outside their homes. Nonetheless, mothers in East Amman confirmed that some behavioural changes have resulted from attending the UNICEF programme activities in the Russaifeh and Sahab areas, which included awareness-raising sessions and activities on children's rights, child protection, and gender equality. These activities had a good impact at the personal level, in addition to bringing changes in their children's perceptions and behaviour in terms of practices inside the home, such as male children helping with domestic work and encouraging their sisters to study.
While 98% of fathers are aware of the existence of agreements on the rights of child, they are unaware of their content but hope that their children will become knowledgeable of their rights through the awareness sessions they attend. At the same time, however, fathers reject any policy that prevents their children from going to work, as they consider the children a source of income and a financial support for the household. In their opinion, policies should protect children in the workplace, not prevent them from working.

These social norms, especially in the Al-Mafraq area, generate a lack of parenting skills within the family and a lack of communication between its members, which in turn reinforces the role of the authoritarian father and brother and increases the rates of violence against girls and younger children. It was also mentioned that this is due to the closedness of many families from each other and their lack of social contact with other areas or gatherings, in addition to the remoteness of the farms where they work from urban centres, which makes them more isolated from the outside world. For females, these factors affect their awareness and the lack of communication with other communities outside their area. In addition, there is an absence of any development and youth centres through which they can learn and participate in

community activities that would enhance their personal well-being, orientation, and awareness of their right to education and decision-making.

Concerning domestic work and policies, unfortunately, none of the governmental institutions we interviewed consider domestic work a priority, instead confirming that it is one of the country's gender norms and traditional practices. As a result, it is not perceived as a challenge or as an issue for institutions to work on. When the NCFA was asked about their role in this field, their answer was that domestic work as an issue is not on their agenda now, but that upcoming national plans should highlight the most important problems girls face within this kind of work.

Education policy
All factors that drive child labour have an impact on working children's access to education, especially for Syrian refugee children. According to UNHCR figures, only 65% Syrians are enrolled in primary schooling, against 100% of Jordanian children[11]. Moreover, UNICEF reported that school dropouts are very high and one of the main concerns for children in Jordan. In 2014, 46.3% of children aged 5-15 years old were dropouts[12], and 28% of registered Syrian refugee children were out of school[13]. Moreover, the gaps in the education system contribute to learning difficulties for children, leading to school dropouts which in turn lead many children to enter labour.

An interview with the MoL revealed two protective-factor approaches to push students back to schools and eliminate GBV: the preventive track aims to prevent school dropouts and the curative track to reduce child labour. These two approaches study specific indicators related to the risk of girls dropping out of school (exposure to violence or bullying at school or within the family) which have a direct impact on academic achievement, child labour, or early marriage among girls. The MoL, under the supervision of the Department of Gender, began working with school counsellors in 2021 on awareness-raising workshops on GBV inside and outside schools, considering it one of the main causes of school drop-out. However, there is still an institutional misunderstanding of how gender-related risk factors that drive child labour within the framework of education – such as school dropout, early marriage, and bullying – are related to GBV.

A protective factor in terms of GBV should be highlighted: during the past two years, the NCFA has cooperated with the MoSD on the issue of begging, especially after the Ministry received many reports of children being subjected to violence in the street, children under the age of five at risk of being kidnapped or harassed at work, and girls trying to escape from begging by seeking help. Many cases were referred to court and described as human trafficking, but there was insufficient evidence in this regard due to the presence of other aspects and factors that hinder the work of the law and the implementation of the legislation necessary to protect these children.

Social security policy
Protecting children from harm is an important cornerstone of the Jordanian government's policies in a variety of sectors. While there are legal frameworks in place, such as a minimum age for employment or marriage, the enforcement of these regulations is complicated by social/cultural norms and economic realities. Bullying and violence in schools is a key issue underlying child protection as it affects children's ability to feel safe and limits their right to education. Children with disabilities, unaccompanied or separated children, children without parental care, children from marginalised minority communities and children living and/or working on the streets face inequities. Refugee children and children from the poorest families also face significant child protection concerns.20

In addition, studies by NGOs note that when girls do work, they are most likely to be found doing domestic work for other families or assisting their family in agricultural work.21 The nature of this work raises certain associated protection concerns, especially with live-in domestic work. Girls may be working in private homes and could face emotional, physical and sexual exploitation, problems that have been well documented among migrant workers in similar situations.22

Interviews revealed that the MoL together with the MoSD are trying to improve their mechanism of work regarding child labour and how it can be linked more with protection. They are introducing programmes to combat the worst forms of child labour, by increasing the number of inspectors and improving the mechanism of inspections. In addition, the MoSD is starting to examine the

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11   KIIs with UNHCR. 2018

12   UNICEF 2014, p.1

13   UNICEF. 2018, p.1

situation of families with working children and determining appropriate interventions by sending them to rehabilitation centres or referring them to specialised organisations. Also, they are developing an accurate and up-to-date database on child labour in Jordan to monitor the situation and assess the impact of the various interventions on the children and their families.

However, the MoL still does not have adequate protection policies regarding child labour for either sex that cover social norms, gender gaps and both sexes' needs and challenges within the private and public spheres. In addition, it does not have sufficient budget or sufficient staff to cover and implement periodic plans to mitigate the factors that increase the risk of child labour. The MoSD is the only ministry with judicial powers to stop children from working, especially street children, but is not yet aware of mechanisms to improve child rehabilitation such as extending the rehabilitation period, vocational courses, re-engagement in society, or family case management approach. It also lacks psychosocial specialists and financial capacity.

The NCFA has drafted policies to protect children's rights and seeks to implement laws related to the family and childhood. With a focus on child labour, a national framework was introduced in 2020 to reduce child labour through partnerships with government agencies, CSOs and international organisations. Main gaps in the laws were pinpointed with the aim of addressing them. However, the separation of numerical data and gender-based needs were not considered, and traditional gender roles such as domestic work, and power relations within the family were not studied. The lack of human resources and financial resources to implement the national plan activities and the change in national priorities after the pandemic have all had a negative impact on working to reduce the percentage of child labour at the national level. The NCFA also stressed the need to adapt the framework to the recent changes in national legislation concerning child labour, pointing to the amendments made to the Juvenile Law in 2014 and to the 2018 draft strategy for the situation of street children.

The NCFA is trying its best to strengthen partnerships with other relevant organisations and government institutions to activate the case management methodology (transferring cases to competent authorities and activating mechanisms to protect working children) and to improve the

national framework so that it becomes more sensitive in terms of language, inclusiveness, and the tools needed for implementation. However, the NCFA does not have an accurate plan for expanding knowledge on gender equality within the national framework nor does it have guidelines.

OUTCOME 3
The private sector takes full responsibility for preventing and addressing child labour.

In the Jordan context and within Syrian refugee camps, children working in the private sector are more likely to be male, whereas females work in agriculture with their families. Employers in the informal sector prefer children aged 13-17 for their physical ability to withstand some types of work for long hours and low wages, rather than bringing in an older worker with a higher wage and who is aware of their labour rights.

Our observations based on our interviews with the targeted employers, children and parents, show that girls tend to work more often in clothing shops, agriculture (such as farming and poultry farms) and domestic work, as well as income-generating projects such as sewing, productive kitchens, and babysitting. In the agriculture sector, employers admitted that females are better at managing detailed tasks that need specific technical skills and care, and this is very important when they are picking fruits and vegetables or planting seedings. Males mostly cover loading, offloading, pesticide management, etc.

The assessment targeted 5 employers in 5 different fields of the informal sector, including industrial, agricultural, and domestic work. 3 of the 5 employers have female workers aged 14 -17 years old, while all of them have male workers in the same age group. The wages they pay are 1-2 JODs per day (2.8 USD/5 hours). The remaining 2 employers are one male and one female who have income-generating projects/family businesses.

Employers' behaviour
Some employers in the industrial field said that they are trying to give children a chance to attend school by reducing their working hours, while females often quit working to complete their education. This is in contrast to farmers who said that boys and girls who come to them have chosen to drop out of school for various reasons and place an emphasis on the financial aspect as a solution to improve the financial situation of their families.

Concerning child protection laws and workplace protection policies, the study revealed that interviewees lack knowledge about children's rights, policies and conventions. This is a risk factor that makes employers more likely to accept hiring children under the legal age. Interviewees did stress, however, that they take care of children of both sexes in the workplace, treat them equally, and do not expose them to any kind of danger. In addition, they confirmed that children are not exposed to sharp or polluting tools or dangerous chemicals at work.

Employers encourage child labour equally for both sexes, with some restrictions for girls regarding working in factories, restaurants, or any kind of occupation that requires working for long hours or at night; but they do discourage them from dropping out of school. Restrictions for girls are to forbid them from talking or working with males at the same place to avoid any sensitive problems, such as sexual harassment. Girls tend to work fewer hours than males, and employers prefer that one of the girls' family or relatives comes to pick them in the evening from the workplace to avoid them being subjected to any kind of harassment or assault while going home.

In addition, employers said that child labour is not wrong and that it is accepted more for males than females in East Amman. Child labour provides children with good vocational and communication skills and teaches them how to be financially responsible and support their families. This enables them to become mature from an early age. Accordingly, some employers encourage their own children to work with them after school. However, 4 to 5 of them confirmed the importance of education, especially those who live within the cycle of poverty, as education is the only solution to finding better opportunities and improving their lives.

Za'atari camp

The situation in Za'atari camp is worse. 30% of the female interviewees there said that all children who work in agriculture, regardless gender, are exposed to various kinds of violence and abuse, such as working for long hours, sometimes being attacked by dogs when returning home, in addition to the low wages and exposure to verbal and physical abuse on a daily basis.

Mothers said that their husbands have a lack of vocational skills to rely on financially; they don't send their sons and daughters to any vocational training centres to get a skill and invest in them to support their family but prefer to encourage them to seek any kind of work, especially males. Mothers said that children and youth in the camp need community and organisation support to provide them with skills and a small fund to start with. The mothers themselves would benefit from organisational funding to teach their daughters a basic skill (sewing, planting, hair dressing, cooking) to improve an income-generating project and be financially empowered, educated and protected from any kind of abuse within workplaces.

Mothers in Za'atari camp:

> *I feel sad for my sons because of the loss of their right to education and their having to work and feel insecure when sending my daughters to school or work., but I am obliged to encourage them to work and face the life challenges and to save some money that can support them to live a better life.*

> *This is our fate to be here but will do my best to protect my son from any kind of exploitation and my daughter from getting harassed or raped.*

Noor Al-Hussein Foundation confirmed that male child labour is considered by society as a source of income that supports families financially, while the role of girls focuses on domestic work. Due to these traditional roles, the Foundation plays an important role in changing some of these stereotypes by conducting awareness sessions in Za'atari camp to discuss the misunderstanding of gender roles and how modifying them will positively affect the local community. The Foundation also shared success stories of women who were able to change their gender roles within their homes and influence decisions related to financial and social matters, such as enabling their children to resume their education.

Youth economic empowerment

The analysis shows that 60% of males in East Amman face one main challenge that prevents them from feeling more independent and resilient, and that is their poor social and vocational skills. They asked for more support from the CBOs and youth centres by conducting fundamental courses instead of basic activities for kids, such as communications skills training, problem-solving skills and vocational training courses. These courses would have an impact on their personal skills, behaviours and self-reliance, which would make them more empowered. Thus, they would be able to integrate better into society and deal with the circumstances they face with confidence and in a more powerful way.

Male youth economic empowerment would help them feel more nurtured and empowered to choose their own lifestyle and how to earn money professionally, away from exploitation and subordination. They added that they see their parents as guilty: their fathers forced them to work on different jobs regardless of the kind of work, safety environment, place of work, tools that are used, other employees' attitudes and behaviours, etc. They just care about money!

Mohannad Al-Hammi, Child Protection Officer at UNICEF agreed with the above. He stresses that the main reason for child labour is economic. This leads parents to practise one of the negative coping mechanisms, such as encouraging their children to work in different jobs, even if they are not appropriate for them, for the sake of providing for their families. For example, during the period of home quarantine, adults required special permits to commute to work, while children could leave the house more easily. This encouraged many parents to prompt their children to work and support their family financially.

Save the Children is also working on a new programme to enrol youth and parents in a course entitled Business Development Training, which explains the principles and ethics of work. In addition, they will be offered integrated vocational trainings that assist them in starting their own projects. This programme will be a key to rehabilitate and assist families in building their projects and improving their economic level as well as enhancing the chances of enabling children to return to school. Unfortunately, this training has still not been implemented due to the pandemic.

> **Outcome 4**
> The EU, Dutch government and international organisations act in support of the elimination of child labour and fulfil their obligation by setting and reinforcing due diligence policies and laws.

During the FGDs, parents were asked their opinion about the role of laws and policies intended to protect children in the workplace and preserve their dignity, as well as the extent of their awareness of child rights and child protection policies within households, school and workplaces. Most of those in East Amman answered that although they were aware of the existence of certain international agreements, they were not sure whether they were effective internationally, or just not effective in Jordan. If these agreements had really been adopted in Jordanian legislation that was effectively implemented, the situation of children would be different.

For the interviewees in Za'atari camp, the situation was worse in terms of knowledge and implementation concerning human rights in general and child rights in particular. Mothers were very pessimistic about the challenges and dangers their daughters face daily, which makes them feel insecure. They described the international agreements as ineffective in crisis situations.

A mother said during an FGD:

> *We have seen the organisations' employees and their cars in the camp for years, but the basic needs are still missing. I no longer trust anything but fate.*

India - summary report

> **OUTCOME 1**
> **Children are empowered and have improved access to (quality) formal education, bridge or transitional schooling, and youth employment within a supportive family and community environment.**

Patterns of decision making

Several factors impede girls' agency over their daily lives and prospects. Irrespective of the amount of labour work girls engaged in, they were expected to conform to gender-based roles and responsibilities within the household. This resulted in a triple work burden of school, labour, and domestic work. The decision to leave school is mostly taken by parents rather than the children themselves. A study by Dasra (2016) indicated that 53.6% of adolescent girls in Bihar and 56% in Rajasthan did not participate in any decision-making pertaining to their education, mobility, health and well-being. Several studies affirmed that educated women and girls exercise larger decision-making roles within the household and community.

Due to extreme poverty and low socio-economic status, many households relied on **child labour as a coping mechanism.** In most cases, children's motivation to engage in employment opportunities was driven by economic need. For some children, seeing peers working influenced them to engage in work. This was more prominent amongst boys who could purchase personal items like mobile phones. Boys were given more autonomy, mobility and opportunities in comparison to the girls. Lack of agency amongst girls affected them in three ways: (i) their decision-making was found to be limited in terms of their time-use, access to and utilisation of resources, and bound to gender norms; (ii) lack of self-confidence to conceptualise and achieve goals including educational opportunities, age of marriage, and employment prospects, and (iii) lack of power to influence caregivers with their own decisions.

The decision-making process was highly influenced by the interpersonal relationships of adolescent boys and girls, reinforcing cultural beliefs that normalise child labour. At the household level, fathers were stated to be the primary decision-makers in allocating roles and work responsibilities to other family members. Occupations like farming, fishing, and domestic work were socially acceptable and believed to teach children essential life skills that needed to be passed on to newer generations. The primary objective stated by parents was to secure a better future for their children.

If we see that our child is not studying anything, won't we get bothered about their future? Won't we think it's better they drop out and learn some job skills to help them? No education will lead them to work as a labourer when they grow up. Better they learn some technical stuff.

The mothers in focus groups reported that their husbands undertake the primary role of budgeting in the household and making decisions about children's engagement in labour. Girls held the least power amongst parents, male siblings and other adult family members like grandparents and uncles/aunts. They stated they did not have room to express disagreement with their parents' decisions, especially those of their fathers.

I went to this place, and while returning there is a small market on the way. I saw a young kid with an overbearing kind of person. He hit the kid over some issue and the kid got hurt. We thought now that guy should be reprimanded. That area too is Naxalite prone [Maoist insurgents]. We took the kid for first aid. We asked that kid why he was working. He said because his parents left him there to work.

Regarding **schooling,** the decisions regarding work and school were found to be interdependent. The decision to educate children was primarily taken at the household level and depended mainly on the perceived returns on educating children vis-a-vis their engagement in labour work. The perception of quality of education or access to school and infrastructure also affected households' decisions regarding weighing up future returns on education and employment. In households with limited financial resources, the decision to send children to school was also affected; for example, in some cases, the boys were enrolled in private schools whereas girls were enrolled in government-run schools.

Social values like obedience, respect, hard work and sustenance influenced households' decisions about child labour. Most parents affirmed that their decision to engage their female children in household chores was to train them for their future role of being good wives. In terms of time use, most children were not satisfied with their daily routine. When asked what change they would make in their daily routine if given a choice, adolescent girls said they would skip cleaning and instead study. When a similar question was put to the boys of the same community, they stated that they prioritise education over their leisure time. While in their personal capacity, boys had more space to exercise their own decisions, as a family unit, in all cases reported, children abided by the decisions made by their parents, specifically in terms of expectations of contributing to labour work, age of marriage, migrating to other cities for economic opportunities or finding a 'balance' between school and work, irrespective of their gender, age, caste, or ethnicity. In terms of risk factors, gender discrepancy in decision-making at the interpersonal level is perpetuated due to stringent patriarchal norms. Lack of agency among adolescent girls also affected their decisions around attending school, managing household chores, and engaging in labour work.

In the discourse underlain by socio-cultural norms, the decision to work came from a place of duty rather than will. At the community level, teachers, peers and community members were identified as influencers in the decision-making process. Norms perpetuate the culture of child labour, which is deep-rooted at the community level, and defying the norms seems more complicated than defying the law. Gender norms played an important yet dynamic role in decisions around children working alongside school. In a few cases, mothers, fathers and teachers shared flexible expectations regarding children (both girls and boys) and giving full attention to education. Contradictions regarding girls' engagement in domestic work were also apparent.

The India analysis also examined how government policies and programmes influence the decision-making processes related to children engaging in labour work. Decision-making bodies like panchayat (village council), government departments, and other influencing institutions play a role. For example, according to a panchayat head, direct cash transfers were made into community members' accounts to counteract the adverse effects of the COVID-19 pandemic, due to which most community members lost their jobs. It was suggested that the increased risk of child labour could be avoided if the decision-making processes of different stakeholders were aligned. While government officials reported engaging with parents in various motivation programmes that aimed to influence their decision-making process, irrespective of policies, provisions and programmes, parents were noted to be the primary decision-makers for children engaged in labour work. A few districts reported the absence of any awareness programmes for key stakeholders to learn about labour rights, physical safety, or psychological safety. Regulation at the societal level was helpful in navigating families who felt helpless in their poor socioeconomic conditions. For instance, in Bihar, linking parents to regular productive jobs influenced the decision-making processes concerning their children.

Social norms, beliefs and practices
India is a highly heterogeneous country, with complex social systems that translate into significant degrees of regional variation. Gender, caste, and class location constitute crucial markers that structure how labour operates in the country. Hierarchies and inequalities created around these factors are deeply entrenched in social norms and attitudes and are reflected in the socioeconomic status of groups that are marginalised based on these markers. Other relevant forms of socioeconomic inequality include disability, religion and ethnicity, often marked by the dominance of non-disabled people, particular religious ideologies, and geographical location, where urban-rural dynamics often demarcate vast inequalities in access to resources.
Caste is a key social indicator that structures Indian society. The historical foundations of caste

lie in Hinduism's demarcation of certain social groups: 'higher' castes are seen as ethnically 'pure' compared to the 'lower castes' (Ghurye, 1957). This was traditionally associated with hierarchies within the forms of labour that individuals from different castes were allowed to access or forced to practice. For instance, 'upper caste' Brahmins situated at the top of caste hierarchies were encouraged to take up priestly roles and teaching, while 'upper caste' Kshatriyas took up fighting and political power. 'Lower caste' individuals were marginalised into taking up forms of labour that were considered 'unskilled' and 'impure' under this system, such as cleaning. It is pertinent to note that while the justifications provided for the existence of the caste system have been rooted in delineating communities based on their economic roles in society, caste is considered a function of heredity. Even in post-colonial India, being born into a marginalised caste group has typically meant large-scale exclusion from social and economic mobility. The perpetuation of caste through endogamy (the custom of marrying only within one's community) and heredity is associated with particular forms of exclusion such as 'untouchability', which asserts that 'lower' castes, and those excluded from the caste system altogether, should forcibly be spatially and physically separated from 'upper' castes, and excluded from the attainment of literacy and education. The modern face of caste in India is multifaceted, despite strong legal provisions against untouchability and other overt manifestations of caste-based marginalisation.

A social activist from the district: Generally, people have targeted lower caste people to work in their fields. They force them and their kids to work. They don't want them to be educated. They are similar to bonded labourers.

In India, gender-based social norms are the most predominant non-economic determinant of children engaging in labour activities. Gendered social norms were found to influence how children perceived their roles and responsibilities, and the everyday decisions parents made for their children. Decisions are embedded within the social context, and parents base them on their perception of society's acceptance or rejection of a certain activity or behaviour.

During data collection, fathers in Rajasthan were asked about their expectations of their daughters and sons. For daughters, fathers stated the following:

She should take care of her family's reputation, wear proper clothes, and learn all the household chores.

Women should be disciplined.

She should know how to hold a family together.

She should not go out at night and follow what her parents say.

For boys, they stated the following expectations:

They should support their parents when they become old.

They should be able to support their wife and kids.

They should study and secure their future.

While girls wanted to feel liberated, which meant freedom to go where they wanted and spend time learning, they were constrained in terms of norms that dictated how they should dress, where they could go, and what they could do. While parents denied any inequality or differentiation between girls and boys, they accepted that norms dictated that girls should be more involved in household work from a young age, make fewer material demands (e.g. new clothes), and be more obedient and polite. In Rajasthan, girls shared that they were not allowed to wear jeans and were forced to cover up with a dupatta (a scarf to cover their neckline and breasts). Girls feared being scrutinised by community members when they stepped out of their houses. The safety of girls was cited as a concern by the adults in the community of Bihar, but the response to the fear of harassment translated into moral policing of girls rather than addressing the structural issues that perpetuated gender-based violence. This has led to restricted mobility of girls affecting their access to quality education. As a result of fear of harassment, girls were not allowed to move out of the house to pursue better educational opportunities. On the other hand, boys were allowed to pursue such opportunities by parents.

Girls skip school more frequently because of their dependency on household work

This fear also dictated the way girls spent their free time. The gender discrepancy in spatial freedom burdened girls more with household work, including participation in cooking, cleaning, and other household chores. As a result, girls did not get to play or engage in learning and entertainment activities. Boys, on the other hand, were involved in outdoor chores, including agricultural labour, from the age of 10. Among all three states, there was consensus that girls work more than boys, do not get opportunities to rest during the day, and sometimes spend spare time learning skills such as stitching and embroidery. These vocational skill-learning activities, in turn, reinforced the gender stereotypes of girls.

An even worse effect was noted in a community where mothers stated that girls were not considered safe even with their fathers and brothers, which resulted in daughters being regarded as a 'burden' as they were stated to be primarily responsible for the family's reputation. It was also reported that parents do not respond to girls' and boys' grievances similarly; they are likelier to listen to boys.

The code of morality was observed to affect girls in several ways:

restricting their mobility

limiting their educational opportunities

forcing them to get married early

limiting their access to resources like mobile phones and internet

confining their time and labour within the household.

The restrictive gender norms subject children to different forms of fears and harassment with no strong system of enforcing child rights and regulating child protection mechanisms. The findings at the community level highlighted different ways in which gender social norms influenced child labour practices. These social norms were found to be deeply rooted to the extent that even social activists and teachers were affected by these norms. For instance, the vocational training centres initiated by grassroots organisations or conducted in the schools reinforced stereotypes by offering girls tailoring, stitching and embroidery training and mobile phone repair and tourism courses to boys.

Access to and control over resources

Adolescent girls are observed to be vulnerable at multiple levels due to stringent social norms that affect their access to and control over resources. Although both boys and girls are engaged in child labour, girls are reported to earn less than boys. Moreover, boys have more control over spending their own wages, while parents keep girls' earnings. This gives girls no power to access money as a resource in expenditure and savings. Regarding physical assets, both boys and girls have access to infrastructure and land available at the household level. At the community level, these assets are confined to common spaces like playgrounds, but these are only accessible to boys due to the restricted mobility of girls. The lack of freedom of movement also affects girls' access to social assets such as maintaining social ties and relationships with peers.

Participation in child labour makes it difficult for a significant proportion of children under 14 to attend school. As a result, it is directly responsible for denying them access to education. School enrolment rates in 2015-16 showed that the number of children enrolled was the highest at the primary level (classes 1 to 5) at 129.1 million and dropped to approximately half at the upper primary level (classes 6 to 8) at 67.6 million (Ministry of Human Resource Development, 2016). At the secondary level (classes 9 and 10), this number halved further to 39.1 million. The significant decrease in the number of children enrolled at each level indicates that school dropout rates increase as students' progress to higher classes, presumably due to participation in labour and other social factors such as early marriage. Mitra et al. (2022) used multivariate regression models to demonstrate that the likelihood of girls being out of school in India is

at least 16% higher than boys. They also highlighted that this likelihood is 35% higher for girls residing in rural areas and significantly higher among SC, ST, OBC, and Muslim girls than dominant caste Hindu girls. The social matrix of gender, caste, economic deprivation, and other social factors that are crucial determinants of labour relationships in the country is seen to have significant links with the status of children's education and the gender gaps within educational outcomes.

Laws, policies and regulations

In 2017, India ratified the Minimum Age Convention, 1973 and the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999, the ILO's two key conventions against child labour (ILO 2017). Several constitutional provisions in India directly or indirectly provide safeguards against child labour. Article 24 of the Constitution of India specifies that children under 14 shall not be employed in hazardous factories, occupations, or industries. Article 39 states that employers should not abuse the health and strength of workers across genders, including children. It further specifies that no citizens should be forced into any employment unsuited to their age, health, or strength due to economic necessity. Article 21of the Constitution is concerned with providing free and compulsory education to every child between 6 and 14 and specifies that it must be provided in a manner determined by the law. The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act (2009, RTE) enshrined the state's provision of free and compulsory education to children under 14 as a Fundamental Right.

The Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act (1986) banned the participation of children under 14 in more than 20 occupations and labour processes. It regulates children's work hours in other forms of labour and outlines conditions to ensure their safety and well-being at work. The 2016 amendment to the above added to these provisions, making child labour an offence with a higher punitive threshold. It also prevented adolescents between 14 and 18 from being employed in hazardous occupations. However, it provided exemptions from these provisions to home-based forms of production in which children are engaged alongside their families. Several other legislative provisions overlap significantly with the risk factors for children's participation in labour and are key to understanding the country's legislative ecosystem around child protection. The Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act (1986) stated that anyone involved in activities such as recruiting, transporting, transferring, harbouring, or receiving individuals for sex work is liable to be punished. It outlined that the punishment by law for involving children in these activities is higher and entails imprisonment for seven or more years. The Prohibition of Child Marriage Act (2006) cites forcing a child to marry as a punishable offence, wherein girls up to 18 and boys up to 21 are considered children. It specified punishment by law for adults involved in conducting or participating in such marriages, and for adult men who marry girls below the specified age. The Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act (2012) addressed sexual exploitation and sexual abuse of children under 18, focusing on child-friendly processes around reporting, evidence recording, and investigations, as well as mechanisms for speedy trials and protecting the anonymity of children. The Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act (2015) aimed to protect children in conflict with the law and children in need of care and protection. It sought to ensure care, protection, maintenance, welfare, education, development, and social reintegration for these children. Despite this robust ecosystem of legislation around children's welfare, conditions around their implementation require scrutiny in light of the persistence of child labour and other threats to children. The persistence of economic deprivation and the pervasive nature of norms around gender, caste, and other social indicators impedes individuals' access to legal recourse against grievances in many parts of the country.

Child labour and education

Historically, education has been at the heart of efforts to eradicate child labour. Children's induction into the workforce is often seen as a barrier to their participation in schooling. In India, the Right To Education (RTE) Act seeks to provide access to free and compulsory elementary education for all children under 14. Lack of formal education restricts children's access to decent work opportunities and avenues for economic mobility later in life.

Roles, responsibilities and time use

Time is a finite resource divided between school, labour, domestic work, leisure, and other productive activities for children. Societal expectations of set gender roles of girls and boys influenced the child labour practices and the nature of work that children were engaged in. Men and boys are often considered the primary breadwinners, while women and girls are regarded as caretakers. As a result, boys were commonly found to be involved

in income-generating activities like working in the hospitality industry, brick kilns, and garment factories, while girls were predominantly engaged in household labour and hidden labour. Most of the parents confirmed that girls engaged in household chores from a young age envisaging their role as housewives later in life. These cultural expectations defined the time-use patterns of girls and boys. The children assumed their roles as breadwinners and homemakers, respectively. Since girls were assigned the responsibility of household chores in all the states, it misled their involvement in labour. The parents emphasised the role of young boys in contributing toward family income and other familial responsibilities.

Gender norms dictated early marriage as the primary role for girls, taking away the importance of education and other learning opportunities. Parents stated girls to be responsible for getting married eventually, doing household tasks in in-laws' houses, and providing families with 'grandsons'. On the other hand, boys understood their primary role to contribute to family income. This made many boys engage in low-paid sectors to fulfil their family's demands affecting their education and future career prospects. During interaction with all relevant stakeholders, household work was established as women's and girls' responsibility even if they were participating in income-generating activities.

Regarding economic activities, poverty engaged children in labour work alongside families from a young age. Children were mainly engaged in unpaid and low-skilled labour, which majorly involved assisting parents in their informal labour. Children in Delhi worked alongside their mothers employed in garment industries, assisting them in tasks like stitching buttons and cutting threads. Boys' engagement was distributed across agriculture, manufacturing, and hospitality.

Though girls and boys were primarily engaged in agricultural labour in Bihar and Rajasthan, they undertook different roles based on existing gender dynamics. Girls played the role of putting seeds and carrying water, while boys were responsible for ploughing the fields, grazing cattle, and fishing in some areas. Both boys and girls reported irregular attendance during harvesting season. Many parents considered agriculture labour a potential income-generating skill, thus persuading children to engage and learn the same from an early age. Boys in Rajasthan were involved in various agricultural labour alongside their families, including harvesting,

grazing cattle, and fishing. Some of this work was seasonal. In all areas, particular forms of 'outdoor' agricultural labour, such as fishing, were largely restricted to boys in participation. They were also more at risk of migrating to different regions to seek economic opportunities and participate in labour.

Time use is an important indicator of how children's outputs are shaped by their daily roles and responsibilities. Through focus groups conducted with adolescent girls, boys, and their fathers and mothers, it stood out that girls do more work than boys. This was a consequence of different gender roles that put a 'triple burden' on girls. While boys struggled to strike a balance between their schoolwork and labour work, girls juggled between school, labour work, and inevitable household chores.

In India, the caste system is one of the primary influencing factors in defining the roles and responsibilities undertaken by children (Boyden & Marrow, 2015). Due to their lower socio-cultural status, child labour pre-dominantly affected Dalit, tribal, and Muslim children. They ended up working due to extreme poverty and marginalised status. Low socio-economic status was exacerbated during the Covid-19 pandemic due to amplified vulnerability. The dual factors of economic shock and school closures pushed more children into labour work.
Due to extreme discrimination and poverty, more children from SC and Musahar (Mahadalit) communities in Bihar were reported to work in brick kilns. Though the time of engagement during the day was not specified, some children did report skipping school for work. Girls from the OBC community also engaged in brick and chimney factories in Bihar. The overlap between marginalised caste identities and resource poverty forced children from Dalit families to face joblessness and migrate to other cities for economic opportunities. The lower socio-economic status also affected ownership of agricultural land, which in turn acted as a risk factor for child labour.

In terms of education, access to education was tricky for some specified communities. Though India's education policy targets universalisation of education by providing free and compulsory education to children till the elementary level, it was not accessible to all communities. Children from Dalit and OBC communities could not access and benefit from targeted government schemes due to a lack of documents such as passbooks and

Aadhaar cards. Girls from Muslim communities reported higher enrolment rates, but only 10% of girls from Scheduled Tribes were enrolled in Bihar (Jamui).

Cases of caste discrimination were reported within school premises, which affected attendance and retention of children from marginalised communities. For instance, a school in Bihar was reported to make separate queues for lower caste children during mid-day meal distribution. Data from Rajasthan also revealed the vulnerability of tribal communities- Jadao and Bheel in terms of discrimination within schools.

Dignity, safety and well-being

At an individual level, adolescent girls revealed that they feel uncomfortable due to boys in the community staring and passing unnecessary comments when they stepped out of their houses. This took away their freedom of movement and affected their attendance in school. This fear of violence, and a feeling of lack of agency, also affected their ability to negotiate their decisions about accessing resources. During FGDs, girls mentioned that they only feel comfortable seeking the agency with their teachers and peers. The lack of agency and fear of harassment also perpetuated the idea of early marriage, which is accepted as a norm by adolescent girls at the individual level.

The focus group discussions revealed that the majority of adolescents value education. They consider education their pathway to a bright future and a better life. Adolescents reported that they prefer going to school over labour work. Interestingly, girls prioritised boys' education more than their own. At an individual level, boys exhibited more self-confidence in terms of self-development, learning, and opportunities. Although boys were not expected to be responsible for the household chores, they carried immense pressure of making financial contributions to the family. Boys in Rajasthan reported feeling compelled to spend their free time working and generating income in parallel to attending school.

In 2017, India ratified the Minimum Age Convention and the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999, the ILO's two key conventions against child labour (ILO 2017). There are several constitutional provisions in India that directly or indirectly provide safeguards against child labour. Article 24 of the Constitution specifies that children under 14 shall not be employed in any hazardous factories, occupations, or industries. Article 39 states that employers should not abuse the health and strength of workers across genders, including children. It further specifies that no citizens should be forced into any employment that is unsuited to their age, health, or strength due to economic necessity. Article 21 is concerned with the provision of free and compulsory education to every child between 6 and 14 and specifies that it must be provided in a manner determined by the law. The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act (2009, RTE) enshrined the provision of free and compulsory education by the state to children under 14 as a fundamental right.

The Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act (1986) banned the participation of children under 14 in more than 20 occupations and labour processes. It regulates children's work hours in other forms of labour, and outlines conditions to ensure their safety and well-being at work. The Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Amendment Act (2016) added to these provisions, making child labour an offence with a higher punitive threshold. It also prevents adolescents between 14 and 18 from being employed in hazardous occupations. However, it also includes exemptions from these provisions to home-based forms of production in which children are engaged alongside their families. Several other legislative provisions overlap significantly with the risk factors for children's participation in labour and are key to understanding the legislative ecosystem around child protection in the country. The Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act (1986) states that anyone involved in activities such as recruiting, transporting, transferring, harbouring, or receiving individuals for the purposes of sex work is liable to be punished, and that the punishment by law for involving children in these activities is more severe

and entails imprisonment for seven or more years. Under the Prohibition of Child Marriage Act (2006), making a child go through marriage is a punishable offence and applies to girls up to 18 and boys up to 21. It specifies punishment by law for adults involved in conducting or participating in such marriages, as well as for adult men who marry girls below the specified age. The Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act (2012, POCSO) addresses sexual exploitation and sexual abuse of children under 18, focusing on child-friendly processes around reporting, evidence recording, and investigations, as well as mechanisms for speedy trials and protecting the anonymity of children. The Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act (2015) sets out the aim of protecting children found to be in conflict with the law, and children in need of care and protection. It seeks to ensure care, protection, maintenance, welfare, education, development, and social reintegration for these children.

Despite this robust ecosystem of legislation around children's welfare, conditions around their implementation require scrutiny considering the persistence of child labour and other threats to children. The persistence of economic deprivation and the pervasive nature of norms around gender, caste, and other social indicators impedes individuals' access to legal recourse against grievances in many parts of the country. Although Indian laws against child labour offer the flexibility to engage children in 'light work', prevailing social norms surrounding gender and caste potentially blur the lines between child labour and child work. Parents push children to work on family agricultural lands to indoctrinate them in their 'caste culture', coupled with the intention of securing a better future for them.

Since 1978, the legal age of marriage has been 18 for girls and 21 for boys. In February 2022, the government introduced a bill to raise the legal age of marriage for girls from 18 to 21. Although the bill has not yet been passed by parliament, the latest National Family Health Survey (NFHS-5, 2019-2021) reported that two-fifths of Indian women married before reaching the legal age of 18 (Indian Express, 2022). The prevalence of child marriage varies across states. In Bihar, over 40% of young women were married before 18 (UN Women, 2019). The data collected in Jamui (Bihar) also reported girls to be at a higher risk of early marriage, girls reportedly being married off at 15-16 to 'protect the family's reputation'. Similarly, girls in Champaran (Bihar) reported getting married as

young as 12-13. Although curbing and controlling the practice of child marriage was a stated priority of the panchayat (village council), practices around marrying girls off early and arranging dowry were highly reported. Child marriage was found to be less common among boys compared to girls

Education policy

Child marriage and education were found to be correlated. The practice of child and early marriage contributes to girls dropping out of school. Parents in FGDs in Rajasthan revealed that they only educate their daughters to secondary level with the objective of getting them married, as there is increasing demand for secondary-level educated brides. FGDs in Delhi revealed that parents believe that girls should be married soon after completing their school education. They also dismissed the need for girls to be financially independent.

Data from our study showed that most at-risk children across the six districts in Delhi, Bihar, and Rajasthan attend government schools, due to lack of financial resources. However, doubts about the quality of education, accessibility of these schools, and the availability of facilities within them, were voiced recurrently. Attendance is therefore not regular, reasons being irregular or infrequent classes, lack of teachers for every subject, and teachers' disinterest in conducting classes and teaching. Parents cited a lack of basic infrastructure, such as clean and hygienic bathrooms, and no functional dispensers for drinking water, as the reason they do not want to send their children to government schools in Rajasthan. Girls shared that government schools they can attend are located in remote areas in Jamui, Bihar, some having to travel for up to 90 minutes on foot or by bicycle in order to reach them. Poor infrastructure, such as low-quality roads, make them even more inaccessible. Many parents in all districts said that if their financial circumstances allowed it, they would prefer to send their children to private schools. Security was another key area of concern. In Delhi, parents reported that they worry about their children's safety while they attend the government school in their locality, as there are no security guards or security protocols in place. Gendered risk factors linked to security are exacerbated in areas where girls are required to travel a significant distance to attend school. Girls reported security risks such as being subject to inappropriate comments and street harassment by men while travelling back and forth. Given these concerns, it is important to consider whether government schooling in the country

ensures that children have adequate access to a safe and accessible learning environment. Parents' **perceptions of government schooling also reflected** worries about the quality of learning that is taking place. Across districts, parents expressed worries that their children's participation in government education seems futile and is not translating to **actual learning. Despite belonging to families** facing economic deprivation, many parents and children shared that children attend private tuition and coaching classes alongside school, creating **additional costs that are a financial burden for** them.

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Government interventions intended to improve quality and increase student retention in these schools appear to be yielding mixed results. The **RTE Act (2009) detailed the School Management Committee (SMC) model. It laid down that SMCs** comprising parents, teachers, head teachers, students and local educationists, and elected local government members were to be instituted in every school that receives government aid. These committees are meant to be responsible for measuring and planning for the functioning of **the school. However, the effectiveness of SMCs showed significant variation across districts.** While most districts reported that SMC meetings are held regularly, the involvement of local government functionaries seemed to be limited, with one Sarpanch (village head) sharing that they do not attend these meetings because they have 'never **been invited'. In Bundi, Rajasthan, stakeholders** reported that SMC meetings are not being held at all.

Some of these barriers to government schooling have been widely recognised in the country, leading to policies and schemes that are aimed at incentivising enrolment and attendance for children from extremely marginalised families. The Midday Meal Scheme, intended to improve nutritional outcomes among government school students, is aimed at providing students with nutritious meals free of cost in the middle of the school day. Our data indicates that this is viewed as a strong incentive for families facing severe economic deprivation to send their children to school. However, the implementation of this **scheme was found not to be effective in several** districts. Stakeholders reported that meals are not being provided by schools every day, and sometimes lack key nutritional components such as protein in the form of eggs. The Mukhyamantri Balika Bicycle Scheme (Chief Minister's bicycle scheme for girls) **has been operational since 2006 in Bihar, with the** aim of increasing girls' enrolment in schooling. However, in at least one district out of four in Bihar, parents and children reported that they have still not received the bicycles that the scheme promises. Measures aimed at improving the state of government schools were seen to be riddled with implementational and infrastructural failures on, similar to government schools themselves.

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Caste, economic deprivation and access to education

Analysis of the findings revealed significant exclusion from government benefits because of gender, caste, and economic status. Marginalised groups in all three states were reported as being unable to access public services and welfare schemes, for which they are eligible and have a pressing need. It is crucial to note the role of caste in creating pockets of extreme underdevelopment. A panchayat (village committee) member in West Champaran, Bihar, highlighted that the key reason behind underdevelopment in his ward is that it is a Dalit area, i.e. marginalised castes who fall under the constitutional status of Scheduled Castes (SCs) in India live here. While there are strong legal provisions against caste-based discrimination operational in the country, the report findings show that implicit and even explicit forms of discrimination based on caste are still pervasive in different regions. Research on caste-based spatial segregation in rural Bihar highlighted that neoliberal infrastructure-building, such as the setting up of public schools and community centres in areas that were already historically accessible to Dalit communities, has done little to alter the norms of segregation that have been pervasive for centuries (Prasad 2021). These communities continue to live in areas that are visibly distant from non-Dalit settlements and are systematically disallowed from accessing public services as well as critical state resources allocated to Dalit people, ranging from hand pumps to pension schemes. Caste overlaps significantly with economic deprivation, and many caste-based markers of psychosocial discrimination are also prevalent. Dalit and other caste minority children living in areas where underdevelopment is underpinned by spatial segregation and systemic exclusion are exposed to forms of structural and material violence that their non-Dalit counterparts do not have to face.

The role of structural factors in preventing relevant welfare schemes and policies from reaching intended beneficiaries is evident in data from other regions as well. A member of the All-India Primary Teachers' Federation shared that access to schooling is heavily stratified according to economic status. In Delhi, where he is a teacher, children from economically underserved families, who cannot enrol because they lack official identity documents, study in schools that fall under the jurisdiction of the Municipal Corporation of Delhi, i.e. local government-run schools. Children who have documents but whose families lack the resources to send them to private schools attend state-level Delhi government schools. Similarly, parents in Rajasthan shared that they cannot access cash transfers under the central government's Direct Benefit Transfer schemes, intended to help economically deprived families cover the costs of school uniforms and textbooks, due to a lack of identity documents. Families that face extreme economic deprivation also reported that not having bank accounts means that these benefits cannot reach them at all. The exclusion of individuals who cannot furnish identity-related documents further disenfranchises groups that have already historically been excluded from public delivery systems in the country.

OUTCOME 3
The private sector takes full responsibility for preventing and addressing child labour.

There is a vast amount of hidden labour, mainly encompassing domestic workers and migrant child workers. Reporting cases of child labour which would incur severe penalties is a major challenge due to the absence of regulation or grievance redress. Extreme poverty has caused thousands of children to migrate from Bihar to the tourist magnet Rajasthan to do forced labour in the handicraft industry including making bangles, embroidering fabrics, and printing textiles (Thomson Reuters Foundation, 2019). Delhi reported cases of around 50,000 children who were engaged in thread-cutting work in the garment industry (Malhotra, 2015). These children did not work in a factory or elsewhere, but worked at home. Without knowing the source, children (supervised by their mothers) did this work through a woman in the colony who worked as a middle-person. This intricate supply chain network specialises in garment manufacturing and the labour contribution of children remains unrecognised.

Access to and control over resources

The WNCB SenseMaker Assessment (2021) highlighted the role of household work within their own families in making girls in Bihar, Delhi, and Rajasthan more vulnerable to the harmful effects of child labour. Girls reported that they work significantly more than boys in the unpaid care economy, whereas boys worked significantly more in paid economic work. Rigid patriarchal norms around division of labour in the household create gendered spaces, and accordingly the

tasks performed by girls and boys were found to be gender-differentiated. Boys were reported to spend much less time on household chores. Only boys in Rajasthan reported spending a few minutes cleaning the household, primarily because they were obliged to contribute as most of them were the only child in the household. The participation of girls in household chores increased manifold during the COVID-19 pandemic. Multiple stakeholders who were interviewed did not recognise household labour undertaken by girls as productive work or as obstructing their education. It was considered a duty that most girls had to perform simply because they were born a girl.

Since girls were fully engaged in household chores, they were not presented with economic opportunities outside the house. They do however form the overwhelming majority of child labourers in domestic work. The lack of access to formal and informal work for girls reinforced social norms around roles and responsibilities of girls and boys.

Children were recognised as important workers in household-based manufacturing and production. Household-based manufacturing activities in the informal sector are prominent in India, where production of manufactured goods is subcontracted to home-based workers. This form of child labour fails to attract penal provisions in the country (Mehrotra & Biggeri, 2001). Both girls and boys were reported to engage in the manufacture of different products including garments, carpets, and hand-rolled cigarettes. Girls were reported to be particularly engaged in small-scale manufacturing of beedi (thin cigarettes with tobacco flakes) to assist their mothers at home in Delhi as well as Bihar. These manufacturing units were set up within the household where the female members in particular took part in the production line. Beedi unions provided workers with benefits such as medical insurance. However, girls' participation in beedi-making was primarily home-based and informal, and undertaken as a task to 'help' their mothers out, resulting in exemption from benefits and their contribution remaining largely unrecognised. Informal work within households restricted formal grievance redressal mechanisms. This form of engagement encouraged girls to skip school and assist their mothers, either by contributing to manufacturing work or taking over the household chores so that their mothers could engage in production work.

The girls who engaged in tobacco farming in Bihar reportedly skipped school during certain seasons. In the same community, boys were involved in hazardous labour work in forest areas, which made them prone to snake bites and other injurious insect bites. In another district of Bihar, boys were reported to migrate to work in factories in urban areas where they faced issues of low wages and scolding by employers. The boys also worked in agriculture alongside their families, as well as having jobs in chimney factories, brick kilns, hotel industry, or mat weaving factories. Boys from Scheduled Caste communities were most vulnerable due to extreme economic deprivation. In 'Musahar' community within the Scheduled Caste it was reported that the boys work in poor conditions in brick kilns and this affects their school attendance.

In Rajasthan, girls were found to be exposed to hazardous work conditions like hot stoves. The boys were also working in hazardous conditions in stone factories where they are exposed to dust, a health hazard. The boys also assisted their parents in the mining industry. Boys reported that they feel compelled to spend their free time working and generating income alongside attending school. Rajasthan accounts for nearly 10% of total child labour in India (Godha, 2021).

In such work settings, child labour is difficult to detect, and the hidden nature enhanced the difficulty of understanding its effects. Thus, if the problem of hidden hazardous labour is to be resolved, we need to move beyond a top-down approach and adopt a people-centric approach which would provide better insights.

Vietnam - summary report

> **OUTCOME 1**
> **Children are empowered and have improved access to (quality) formal education, bridge or transitional schooling, and youth employment within a supportive family and community environment.**

Patterns of decision making

A literature review revealed the following information on Vietnam. Decision-making power and personal agency are fundamental to meaningful participation in decent work and to gaining control over assets and financial resources. While husbands and wives both participate in household decision-making[14], husbands often have the final say in making 'important' decisions, such as large family expenditures and investments.[15] The head of the household usually manages the household income.[16] Men's role as the family decision maker is supported by 92% of Vietnamese men and women.[17] Women's decision-making role is limited to managing daily household spending[18], a role supported by 72.2% of men and women.[19] However, the younger and urban populations are increasingly sharing their decision-making between husbands and wives compared to their older and rural counterparts. For example, 53.7% of men aged 18-29 in urban areas make decisions about large household spending jointly with their wives, and only 37% of rural youth do so.[20]

While 72% of children, regardless of gender, age or location, report expressing their opinions at home, expressing contrary views to those of their parents is seen as a sign of disrespect and thus shunned. Subsequently, children often accept the decisions

92.0 % of Vietnamese men and women support men's role as the family decision maker

53.7 % of men aged 18-29 in urban areas make decisions about large household spending jointly with their wives

37.0 % of men aged 18-29 in rural areas make decisions about large household spending jointly with their wives
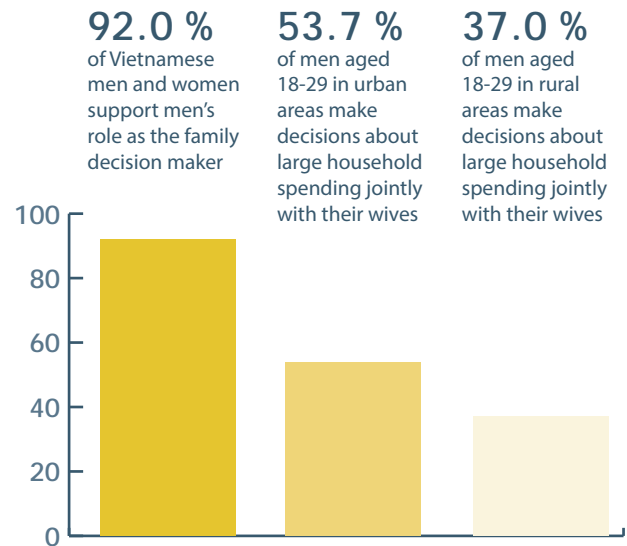
made by their parents even if it is not in their best interest. For example, the family makes decisions concerning adolescent migration , and adolescents, particularly adolescent girls, endure these decisions as a 'sacrifice' for the family. This suggests that children have limited decision-making power regarding their roles when entering the workforce. Further, individuals such as women and girls with disabilities, from minority ethnic groups, or who live in poverty often experience heightened agency constraints when it comes to decisions around marriage. This can perpetuate early child marriage, a factor that enhances the risk of child labour when girls take on domestic work and leave the education system. Evidence also suggests that parents' limited awareness regarding the adverse effects of child labour and related laws largely influence their decisions to allow their children to engage in labour. According to the National Survey on Child Labour, parents' awareness of its harmful impacts is the most important factor in preventing child labour.[20]

During the COVID-19 pandemic, unemployment and decreased income challenged men's role as the family pillar and weakened their decision-making power, and both men and women were forced to make joint decisions to survive the crisis[26], impacting household decision-making.

14 ISDS, 2020; UN Women, 2021

15 ISDS, 2020

16 ILO and MOLISA, 2020

17 ISDS, 2015

18 UNICEF, 2020a; ISDS, 2020; UN Women, 2021

19 ISDS, 2015

20 ISDS 2020

21 MSD and Save the Children, 2020

22 Nicola et al, 2015

23 UNICEF, 2019

24 ILO, 2018

25 ILO and MOLISA, 2020

26 ISDS, 2020

Key informants were asked whether women contribute to the household income, whether this impacts their decision-making power in the household, and if they were aware of instances when an increase in women's earnings has resulted in intimate partner violence because of the power dynamics within the family have shifted. Most informants agreed that when women contribute to the household income, they have greater decision-making authority in the household, predominantly in selecting the school for the children and purchasing household assets. They also agreed, however, that when women are more independent, it can lead to domestic violence because husbands feel that they have lost their power in the family. While focus group participants were not asked these questions directly, almost all groups highlighted the issue of domestic violence, which seems to take place within many Vietnamese households.

A few key informants did not agree that an increase in women's earnings necessarily leads to domestic violence, as they believe that when women can contribute to the family income, it is because they have skills and knowledge, and can participate equally in decision making in their family. In some cases, however, it was suggested that husbands may become victims of domestic violence in these situations.

Female respondent,
Vietnam Women Union, Hanoi:

> *Economic power is the important factor of equality. When women make a significant economic contribution, their voices are not limited.*

Female respondent,
Plan International, Vietnam:

> *When women have stable jobs and play an active and independent role in families, their work supports generating a family's income.*

> *Hence, they can make decisions not only for their own issues but also for their family. Consequently, it also contributes to reducing cases of violence. However contradictory, it is also a reason to lead to violence; if the husband feels that he has lost his power in the family, then he will use violence as the instrument to maintain his power.*

Social norms, beliefs and practices

The division of gender roles in Vietnam has been strongly influenced by Confucianism, in which men are considered the 'stronger sex'. Gender norms of the 'male breadwinner' and the 'female caregiver' limit the ability of women and girls to engage in income-earning activities effectively, and to make decisions about their professions. Women generally carry out low-skilled and low-paid work often related to tourism, the garment industry or handicrafts. This reflects the cultural expectation that 'a woman's place is in the home' and that women are particularly well suited to tasks that are extensions of domestic work. COVID-19 has led to a greater emphasis on traditional roles as more women have taken on an increased burden of childcare, schooling children and domestic chores, thereby augmenting existing inequalities.

Gender bias is also challenging, with parents often showing favouritism towards sons over daughters. A common belief is that girls are the other's daughters **(con gái là con người ta)** because they will grow up and marry into a different family where they will serve their husband and parents-in-law. As a result, girls are often required to learn to cook and perform household chores, and boys are not. In addition, many Vietnamese hold strong beliefs regarding the appropriate behaviours of girls and women. Girls and women are often required to put their families first, even at the expense of their health or aspirations, and to defer to male authority. The Law on Gender Equality (2006), Article 18 stipulates that that wife and husband

are equal in the civil relationship and other relationships related to marriage and family; have equal rights and duties in possessing common assets and are equal in using their common income and in allocating their family resources; and that boys and girls are to be given equal care, education and provided with equal opportunities by the family to study, work, enjoy, entertain and develop.However, these values are not reflected in widespread cultural, social and gender norms. Gender stereotypes are pervasive in the media, and women are under-represented as subject matter experts.

Gender norms also significantly influence young people's choice of study. There is a widespread assumption that men are better at jobs requiring technical skills, which is part of the reason fewer female adolescents and women complete a higher education in the sciences, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM).These findings reflect those of the National Survey on Child Labour. Stereotypes regarding the capabilities, aspirations and preferences of girls, boys, women and men remain prevalent and affect employers' perceptions of skills, thereby contributing to gender segregation across certain sectors. For example, "among the gender-preferred postings, males are often targeted for more technical and highly skilled jobs or jobs that require outdoor activities, such as architects, drivers, engineers and IT professionals. Meanwhile, females are preferred for office and support work, such as receptionists, secretaries and assistants, accountants, human resources, and general affairs."There is also a gap in vocational training enrolment, which reflects these gender patterns. The ratio of female students to male students remains low.

Gender roles frequently determine the type, conditions and hours of work performed by boys and girls. Importantly, gender inequalities reflected in the labour force mean that girls and boys often have unequal opportunities. Within families, girls typically perform more household chores, a burden that increased during school closures. They are also more likely to be domestic workers outside the home. This form of child labour is usually hidden from public view and beyond the scope of labour inspectorates, leaving girl children especially vulnerable to abuse. In addition, gender and cultural norms lead to early child marriage, especially in mountainous rural areas, which is also a risk factor for child labour.

The prevailing norms mean female-headed households often experience poverty; long working hours and pay gaps; limited access to resources such as land, property, formal credit and job training; and poor representation in decision-making positions, particularly at the local level. It is therefore likely that children in female-headed households are more susceptible to engagement in child labour.

Access to and control over resources
Factors affecting children's access to education
In line with the literature review findings, all groups (migrant families, children with disabilities, girls, and boys in rural and urban areas) mentioned monetary poverty as a key risk factor for child labour, as well as the unemployment or employment loss of adult caregivers. Children mentioned wanting to help support their families who were struggling financially by working.

Education and income
In general, family finances largely determine children's access to education.[27] Inequality between men and women in the labour market results in a gender pay gap; for example, the average monthly salary of female workers in 2004 was only 80% of that of male workers, although this rate increased gradually, reaching 88.3% in 2016.[28] This suggests that children of female-headed households might have less opportunity to access quality education. For women and girls, time poverty is one of the most significant barriers to continuing education or spending adequate time in education.

Rights to property and assets
Economic empowerment, notably through more developed financial systems, is recognised as a critical factor in promoting the agency of women and girls, reducing poverty, and tackling gender inequalities. Given that titled lands and house ownership are often preferred forms of collateral for loans offered by financial institutions, limited property ownership by women, youth, and low-income individuals can impede their access to credit. Cumbersome loan requirements can also hinder women's ability to obtain credit, as they may not be able to provide a guarantor. Women entrepreneurs may lack access to business statements and records, and lower financial literacy rates among women represent an additional barrier when providing financial institutions with the requested documentation.

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27   Work No Child's Business baseline survey, 2020
28   Gabriel O. Nguyen H. O., and Nguyen H.H., 2020

Female and male surviving spouses have equal legal rights to inherit assets.[29] Despite gender equality under the law, traditional customs and son preference deny women and girls ownership of family assets. Husbands are seven times more likely to be the sole owners of real estate than wives,[30] so many divorced women lose their residence.[31] The pattern is similar for other family assets, including vehicles and production and business facilities.[32] Over 21% of men believe that parents should give only residential land and houses to sons, while less than 1% of men believe they should give them only or mainly to daughters.[33]

Social protection and social insurance

Benefit entitlements in the social insurance system depend on past working trajectories, contributions and earnings. Since women have different paid and unpaid working lives from men, social security systems also often have different outcomes for women.[34] Several aspects of women's life courses influence their experience with social insurance: lower labour force participation, lower earnings, higher life expectancy, maternity and unpaid care work.[35] The large informal economy is the main limitation for protecting both women and men in the social insurance system in Vietnam.[36]

Female respondent, representative of Thao Dan Child Support Center, HCMC: For example, in both HCMC and Dong Thap, many programmes have been carried out in accordance with the central government's policies concerning exemption from tuition fees, vocational training programmes, and free healthcare insurance for children under 6 years old. Significantly, HCMC also has many programmes to support children in difficult circumstances, which are carried out by individuals or CSOs such as Thao Dan Children Support Center which provides education and professional training for children.

Laws, policies, regulations and institutional practices

The Government of Vietnam has made significant achievements in the fight against both child labour and gender inequality, establishing strong legal frameworks that are aligned with international standards, and implementing a number of programmes and projects to counter child labour nationally and locally and gender inequality in various aspects of life.

The Law on Gender Equality stipulates that men and women should be treated equally in workplaces in terms of recruitment, wages, pay and bonuses, social insurance, working conditions, training and promotion. In addition, clear goals to ensure non-discrimination in the workplace, including an equal share of new jobs for men and women, and the reduction of the burden of family responsibilities on women, are included in the National Strategy on Gender Equality for the 2011-20 period. Vietnam also ratified relevant ILO core conventions on equality, namely Equal Remuneration Convention (Convention No 100) and Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention (Convention No 111) in 1997.

While the laws and policies provide a sound legal framework to protect women and men from gender-based discrimination, much remains to be done in practice. How policies are designed and enforced is critical to determining their effectiveness. Gender-based discrimination leads to occupational and vertical segregation. While job advertisements should avoid any mention of gender as this represents a direct form of gender-based discrimination, the relevant data has indicated that such a practice is still common in Vietnam. By doing so, the qualifications and competencies requested for the post tend to be subordinate to gender-based prejudices.

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29 Equilo, 2022a and 2022b

30 ISDS, 2020

31 UN Women, 2021

32 ISDS, 2020

33 ISDS, 2020

34 ILO, 2021a

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.

The 19 key informants interviewed at district, provincial and national levels were asked several questions related to laws, policies, regulations and institutional practices on child labour and gender equality. The majority noted that while there is no lack of legislation, the challenge is in enforcing the laws prohibiting child labour. They explained that many employers (particularly in the informal sector) and child workers are not aware of or have not understood the regulations related to child labour under the Labour Code (see also next section on Roles, responsibilities and time use). It was explained that if the employers in the informal sector understood the laws clearly, the rights and interests of children would be better respected and protected. Importantly, they highlighted that child labour remains predominantly in the informal sector and local authorities have, therefore not yet monitored it effectively or efficiently.

The prevention of child labour requires working across different sectors and ministries. At the central level, a third of key informants mentioned that while the elimination of child labour is under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Labour, Invalids and Social Affairs (MOLISA), preventing it requires collaboration amongst multiple ministries, including not only MOLISA but also the Ministry of Education and Training (MOET), the Ministry of Public Security (MPS), and the Ministry of Information and Communication (MIC). Specifically, a key informant from MOLISA explained that education plays a critical role in preventing child labour, whereas MPS promotes social security, and MIC helps to change social and gender norms.

Male respondent, Officer of Education Department, Go Vap District, HCMC: At the local level, schools and teachers play an important role in supporting children at risk of child labour. Local authorities and communities also need to support the reduction of poverty within households to prevent child labour.

When asked if there are existing programmes to prevent or respond to child labour and the extent to which programmes or policies address the gender needs related to child labour, one key informant mentioned that Dong Thap had

introduced a 'case management model' to support children at risk of child labour, which provides a package of support for both parents and children. Specifically, children are supported to access education and vocational training, and parents are supported to find employment or run their businesses to generate income for the family. This corresponds with findings from the focus groups, highlighting monetary poverty and parents' (lack of) employment as leading factors driving child labour irrespective of gender.

There are some gaps between the current legal regulations and practice, for example, children living with parents who have a serious illness but are not defined as a 'seriously injured individual', as prescribed under Decree No.20/2021, or divorced parents, who are not eligible for receiving social allowance as prescribed by the law. In addition, the social allowance level is quite low and depends on the policies of each province. Consequently, children may have to work to earn a living.

One of the key informants (Head of Child Protection Division, Department of Children, MOLISA) suggested following the experience of An Giang Province in carrying out a vocational training programme. This involves collaboration between vocational training institutions and the private sector (companies, restaurants, hotels, etc.) to provide on-the-job training to children of legal working age. It also supports children in finding jobs after graduation. Support that includes an integrated package of financial support, vocational training and job placement is a good way to prevent child labour.

Discrimination between men and women in Vietnam has deep social roots, which cannot be removed simply by laws, policies or any specific measure. In this process, the role of business and workers' organisations is critical. In addition, preventing child labour and the segregation of labour between females and males requires integrating child labour, gender considerations and other dimensions of

marginality into the design and implementation of social benefit schemes. Since the need to tackle child labour cuts across the mandate of many ministries, each Ministry should identify how its policies and programmes can be further developed to support efforts to eliminate child labour and its linkages to gender inequality. For instance, institutional, policy and legal frameworks could be strengthened to reduce the poverty and vulnerability of girls and boys.

Further, the opportunity of the forthcoming revisions of the Gender Equality Law, the Law on Domestic Violence Prevention and Control, Land Law, Marriage and Family Law and the Law on Social Insurance can be utilised by the Government of Vietnam and relevant stakeholders, such as UNICEF, to address gender gaps and areas for reform. This includes increasing gender mainstreaming in laws, the introduction of measures and coordination mechanisms to combat all forms of gender-based violence and discrimination, including new online forums, the recognition and elimination of harmful gender practices, improvement in the collection of administrative data on violence against women, and the expansion of the definition of gender equality beyond binary forms and with attention to intersectionality.

Lastly, social protection must be universal. According to focus group participants, key informants, and the literature review findings, most children who work do so because their families depend on their wages, production or domestic work (including unpaid, often by girls) to make ends meet. Household economic shocks and the loss of a parent or caregiver increase the chance that a child will go to work. The COVID-19 pandemic has further exacerbated child poverty and has reinforced the imperative for labour market policies to accelerate transitions from the informal to the formal economy and ultimately to decent work. Universal child benefits could be positioned within and supported by broader social policies where cash and services improve children's well-being – in aspects related to education, health, nutrition, water and sanitation and protection from violence – all of which would lead to sound human capital development. Also necessary are measures to address the dependency of household microenterprises, particularly small family farms and businesses, on child labour. An effective social protection scheme for children involves a combination of social insurance benefits.

Elements of comprehensive systems for adults that benefit children include unemployment protection, old-age pensions, maternity/ parental leave benefits, sick leave and disability benefits. All stem the chances that families will resort to negative coping mechanisms, including child labour, in the face of shocks.

Roles, responsibilities and time use

Women and girls in Vietnam have a double burden, which is well known and traditionally encouraged. A Vietnamese saying reminds women to be 'good at national tasks (i.e. work outside the household) and good at housework'.[37] The average Vietnamese adult (aged 20+) in 2015 spent 22.3 hours per week in market work and 32.6 hours per week in unpaid care and housework, traditionally referred to as 'women's work'. For women, these figures are 19.7 hours and 38.7 hours, and for men, 25.1 hours and 26.2 hours. Unpaid care and housework represent 61% of all work time, and women are responsible for 60%. Women also do 45% of all market work.

Children's gender roles and responsibilities mirror those of adults. Boys and girls aged 10-16 spend an average of 29.0 hours per week in education; for boys, the figure is 31.0 hours, while for girls, it is 27.1 hours, a disadvantage for girls of 3.8 hours per week. Thus, parity in enrolment rates can be undermined if boys and girls have different patterns of absences or time before or after school for study.[38] Over 40% of girls aged 5-17 spend 5 hours or more per week on domestic chores compared to 27.9% of boys.[39] The gender gap widens among out-of-school children and children who carry a heavy burden on these activities. More than 67% of out-of-school girls spend 5 or more hours on domestic chores, compared to 36.2% of boys.[40] Three times more school-going girls and four times more out-of-school girls spend 20 or more hours weekly on domestic chores than their male counterparts.[41] Such norms are further enforced by the Law on Children (2016), which ascribes children's duty to help parents with households that are 'suitable with his/her gender'. Outside the domestic sphere, boys are expected to earn money for the family, fulfilling the role of 'providers'. Gender stereotypes that boys are less interested in education than girls, and are tougher and more suited to manual labour, agricultural or construction work, increase the risks of boys' exposure to hazardous work.[42]

37   ILO, 2003
38   Count Women's Work, 2017
39   ILO and MOLISA, 2020

40   Ibid.
41   Ibid.
42   UNICEF, 2019

*Female respondent, Child Fund Organisation: Both boys and girls in urban areas have equal access to education, **however, it is different in rural areas,** especially the mountainous areas where boys often have played a more important role in the family as they have to earn money for their families. If a boy drops out of school, **then he will go to find a job in another province whereas** girls often tend to get married at an early age.*

At the policy level, the Labour Code that came into effect at the beginning of 2021 opens opportunities to close gender gaps in employment. For example, the Code introduces a reduction in the retirement age gap, which will gradually be implemented. In addition, under the new Code, female workers will no longer be excluded by law from certain occupations considered harmful for childbearing and parenting functions. Instead, women will have the right to choose whether to engage in such occupations after being fully informed of the risks involved. These signs of progress show a willingness to improve equal opportunity at work. However, the Labour Code still frames provisions towards gender equality as pertaining to 'female workers'. Traditional gender roles are still entrenched in the mindsets of individuals and influence their economic behaviour.[43] Vietnam's Socio-Economic Development Strategy for 2021-30 is expected to call for gender gaps to be reduced across several areas of citizens' political, economic, and social lives. If this goal is to be achieved, a genuine process of challenging and eradicating traditional gender inequalities needs to begin.

Female Respondent, Representative of Child Support Center, Thao Dan, HCMC: Gaps remain in the public sector, for example vocational training services are still not based on the market needs. Vocational training schools still offer the tailoring courses for female students or vehicle repair, electronic, or engineering courses for male students. Consequently, it is difficult for students to find jobs after graduation. On the contrary, unofficial support services have been carried out fragmentally due to the lack of coordination among individuals, consequently, some children can get a lot of support whereas others cannot get any support.

In line with the findings from the literature review, focus group participants, and key informants confirmed that both boys and girls have to support their families to do housework; however, girls often do the lighter work and spend more time on housework than boys, such as cooking and taking care of family members. Boys often help their fathers in farming work in Dong Thap and in shipping, delivering or selling goods, repairing vehicles and washing cars and bikes in HCMC. Boys are also more likely to obtain jobs in technology.

The majority of key informants largely agreed with focus group participants but explained that nowadays, gender discrimination had changed significantly because families only have one or two children, and therefore they do not discriminate against girls. Despite this, key informants mentioned that girls and boys still have different roles in their families, with girls often supporting their mothers to do housework and boys focusing on their studies to develop their careers.

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43 Ibid.

Most parents who participated in HCMC focus groups said that if children do not go to school, they work. Girls often work in the service sector, such as in restaurants and coffee shops, karaoke shops, nail shops, or selling lottery tickets, whereas boys engage in heavier work, such as construction or repairing vehicles. Female adult focus group respondents in HCMC underlined the risk of sexual harassment of girls working in these jobs in the city and raised concerns around safety.

Concerning the factors and characteristics of a child who is at risk of working or who is already engaged in child labour, the majority of focus group participants believed that girls are at higher risk of child labour; however, it was not clear why this may be the case, but it could be because girls are also more likely to be involved in domestic work in addition to working in the service sector. The group of public officers in HCMC mentioned that, more recently, boys are becoming increasingly involved in child labour, perhaps due to the COVID-19 situation. They mentioned that employers in the informal sector are also increasingly exploiting children. According to participants, there are more children working in HCMC because the economy is stronger, so families migrate there in search of employment opportunities. There are also children who migrate independently to HCMC. Almost all key informants agreed that migration is one of the factors that lead to child labour, but they also said that there is not much difference between girls and boys in migrant families because they are both at risk of working because of the need to generate income for their families.

Almost all focus group participants agreed that girls and boys often work more during the dry season because there are more jobs available, such as increased demand for restaurant work since more people go out for entertainment than in the rainy season (in HCMC), and for harvesting agricultural produce (in Dong Thap).

While some progress has perhaps been achieved, it is apparent that gender roles and responsibilities between girls and boys remain segregated. There is access to education for girls and boys, and based on responses and the literature review findings, most families understand and support education for all their children, irrespective of gender. However, since girls are less likely to pursue higher education and are overrepresented in the informal sector, it is clear that girls receive a variety of conflicting messages on their gender roles at the family, community and society levels, including

from the media and these can often be decisive in channelling girls into working at home or taking up some form of employment outside the home, such as domestic work or in the service or tourism sectors. Such decisions may well affect their future capacity to support themselves and other household members.

Vocational training and skills development for young men and women can play an essential role in the transition to work. A few of the key informants mentioned that the training available to young women and men in the project locations is still restricted to traditional "female" or "male" skills, which reinforce their traditional roles and responsibilities.

Young women who may have the opportunity to move beyond traditional skills and into newer or non-traditional occupations can become more 'employable' and possibly earn a better living too. Social factors often pressure women to engage in training that gives them access to low-productivity and low-paid jobs only. Sometimes young women require encouragement and incentives to sign up for courses they may have been told are inappropriate. Moreover, because some young women may already be mothers or have caring responsibilities outside work, logistical arrangements must be carefully planned. Lastly, training in entrepreneurship can further support young women in running small businesses.

Dignity, safety and well-being

In the focus group discussions, the key characteristics and factors of a child who is described as doing well included having consistent, responsive caregiving from parents or primary caregivers, the opportunity to go to school, having an education and access to learning opportunities such as vocational skills training, and living in a happy and protective environment. All participants in all groups mentioned these factors. Some groups of children also emphasised the importance of friendships and having access to recreational activities.

The majority of female caregivers in HCMC also mentioned receiving sexual education, having life skills and access to psychological counselling as key protective factors. In contrast, almost all male caregivers in HCMC indicated that exercise and playing sports are essential for children. These factors were not mentioned by adult respondents in Dong Thap, who instead emphasised the importance of education, supportive teachers, and

access to healthcare services. The group of public officers in HCMC indicated that discrimination in society and the community (stigma and economic discrimination) and lack of control over information and content from the Internet (i.e. harmful content) are also risk factors that militate against children doing well and make them more likely to become involved in child labour.

Male respondent, Vietnam Association for Protection of Child's Rights, HCMC: One cannot deny the fact that HCMC is the biggest city with advanced economic development, therefore many boys and girls are exploited for doing illegal business.

All groups of public officers in both Dong Thap and HCMC highlighted that children are protected and well when they have access to physical, mental and psychological support services to support them when they are feeling stressed or depressed, which can lead to leaving home or dropping out of school and becoming involved in child labour. In HCMC, the participants also mentioned the importance of having access to career orientation and preparation and having support from agencies and organisations concerning job training and placements for children of legal working age as well as parents.

In response to the question about what things in the community, at school, and at home make boys and girls feel sad, scared or unhappy, the majority of participants in all groups highlighted factors that indicate an unhappy family living environment. Such as: having divorced parents, domestic violence in the household, caregivers' substance misuse or alcoholism, and conflict between family members, as well as a challenging environment at school including the presence of school violence and bullying by other students, not having friends and teachers who put pressure on students. Most of the children in both locations also mentioned the issue of discrimination in the household where sons are preferred, which leads to girls feeling unhappy. They also mentioned discrimination by teachers in school who favour some children over others. When children do not feel happy in

the household, both child and adult respondents explained that the children want to leave to live independently; however, it was unclear whether this is predominantly boys or girls or both. At school, when boys are not happy, it increases the risk of dropping out.

Related to GBV, the majority of key informants said that GBV has negative impacts on both girls and boys. However, it should be noted that they differentiated between the impact of witnessing violence, such as domestic violence (which they claimed leads to emotional or psychosocial impacts) and being the recipient of violence. They explained that witnessing violence does not necessarily lead to child labour, but being the recipient of violence does because children will leave their homes to move to other places and need to earn an income to support themselves. This finding differs from the risk factors mentioned by focus group participants, highlighting domestic violence as a key driver of child labour.

Female Respondent, Program Officer, Child Fund Organisation, Hanoi: Almost women are victims of violence. Therefore, mothers will often make decisions to leave their home with their children (going to other places/provinces as a migrant single parent), and consequently their children must work to support their mothers to earn a living.

In line with the findings of the literature review, most key informants agreed that there is a strong correlation between migration and child labour. The key reason for migration is economic. A migrant family often moves to cities to find jobs but faces many difficulties such as housing, permanent registration, and stable income/employment. Consequently, they have to move around, and their children cannot access education and have to work to support their families.

Key informant, male, Representative of the CSWC Centre, HCMC: Migrant children also face many barriers due to the lack of professional skills, education, and access to information. Similarly, children living in special circumstances also face many difficulties in accessing higher education and professional training. Consequently, they often work as unskilled labour with lower income. In addition to that, the quality of voluntary education centres is not capable to teach migrant children/children living with special circumstances to pass the entrance examination to go higher education.

The baseline for the WNCB programme found that in nearly 15% of households surveyed, one adult caregiver was involved in substance use, including alcoholism, indicating that this is a factor pushing children to work. This was also a key factor identified by focus group participants. Approximately half of the key informants agreed that there is a stigma against parents and children living in households with family members who misuse substances or alcohol, as it creates isolation from the community. However, none of them linked this stigma as a factor leading to child labour.

Similar to responses from focus group participants, most key informants indicated that financial difficulty or monetary poverty in households is the key factor driving child labour. Some informants suggested that to prevent children from starting work early (i.e. between 5 and 12), it is essential to develop a full package to support parents in gaining decent employment. In addition, local authorities should raise public awareness about child labour to employers to ensure that they protect children's rights and promote effective enforcement of regulations on child labour through monitoring and supervising mechanisms at local levels.

> **OUTCOME 2**
> **Governments have enforced relevant child rights-based laws and have implemented policies on child labour, education, youth** economic empowerment and social security.

The 19 key informants who were interviewed at the district, provincial and national levels for the purpose of this gender analysis were asked several questions related to laws, policies, regulations and institutional practices on child labour and gender equality. Most key informants highlighted that Vietnam has developed comprehensive legislation to prevent child labour. However, they noted that the challenge is in the enforcement of these laws. They explained that many employers, particularly in the informal sector, and child workers are not aware of or have not understood the relevant Labour Code regulations. If the employers in the informal sector understand the laws clearly, the rights and interests of children can be better respected and protected. Importantly, informants highlighted that child labour remains predominantly in the informal sector and local authorities have not yet monitored this effectively and efficiently.

The prevention of child labour requires coordinated efforts across different sectors and ministries. At the central level, a third of key informants mentioned that while the elimination of child labour is under the jurisdiction of Ministry of Labour, Invalids and Social Affairs (MOLISA), preventing it requires collaboration between other ministries: the Ministry of Education and Training (MOET, because education plays a critical role in preventing child labour), Ministry of Public Security (MPS, promotes social security), and the Ministry of Information and Communication (MIC) which helps to change social and gender norms.

Education and vocational training
When asked if there are programmes to prevent or respond to child labour and the extent to which programmes or policies address the gender needs related to child labour, one key informant mentioned that Dong Thap has introduced a 'case management model' to support children at risk of child labour by providing a package of support for both parents and children. Specifically, children have support to access education and

vocational training, and parents are supported to find employment or to run their own business to generate income of the families. This corresponds with findings from the focus groups, which highlighted monetary poverty and the employment of parents as leading factors driving child labour irrespective of gender.

Other important measures include a better distribution of female and male teachers from pre-primary through secondary education, gender-responsive policies advancing the careers of both male and female teachers, and investing in professional development that equips teachers with skills to create safe learning environments and transform harmful gender norms in the classroom and beyond. Lastly, explicit laws, enforcement mechanisms and child protection interventions are needed to counter the risks faced by girls and boys engaged in domestic work. Social or public works programmes can include information and behaviour change components to prevent gender-based violence and other abuses.

Despite growing evidence of positive links between women's participation and business performance, Vietnam still has a long way to go to achieve true gender equality in the workplace, especially when it comes to top management positions. This bias is clearly linked to gender stereotyping where men and women are assigned roles and responsibilities. Discrimination between men and women in Vietnam has deep social roots, which cannot be removed simply by laws, policies or any one specific measure. In this process, the role of business and workers' organisations is critical. In addition, preventing child labour and the gendered division of labour requires integrating child labour and gender considerations (along with other dimensions of marginality) into the design and implementation of social benefit schemes.

One of the key informants suggested following the experience of An Giang Province in carrying out a vocational training programme. This programme is implemented jointly by vocational training institutions and the private sector (companies, restaurants, hotels, etc.) to provide on-the-job training to children of legal working age. It also supports children to find jobs after graduation, with a package that includes financial support, vocational training, and job placement, which is

a great example to prevent child labour (Female respondent, Head of Child Protection Division, Department of Children, MOLISA).

Economic empowerment, notably through deeper and more developed financial systems, is recognised as a critical factor in promoting the agency of women and girls, reducing poverty, and tackling gender inequalities. Given that titled lands and house ownership are often a preferred form of collateral for loans offered by financial institutions, women, youth, and low-income individuals' limited property ownership can impede their access to credit. Cumbersome loan requirements can also hinder women's ability to obtain credit, as they may not be able to provide a guarantor, or for women entrepreneurs, they may lack access to business statements and records. Lower financial literacy rates among women represent an additional barrier when providing financial institutions with the requested documentation.

Social support

Many key informants highlighted that there are gaps in the provision of support services for migrant children and children with disabilities. For example, they explained that migrant children cannot access education due to a lack of birth certificates or household registration, while children with disabilities cannot access inclusive education, especially those children living in rural or mountainous areas.

The lack of access to social protection represents a major driver of child labour. Most families, whose children work, rely on their wages, production or domestic work (including unpaid work) to make ends meet. Exposure to shocks, resulting in reduced family income, can have a dramatic effect on household decisions. For instance, economic shocks (such as an adult member of the family losing his/her employment and health-related shocks like a serious illness or an occupational injury) and agriculture-related shocks (such as drought, flood and crop failure) can significantly reduce household incomes and cause parents to send children to work to contribute to the family income. Inadequate or absent social protection coverage can lead to gender-differentiated impacts on children, e.g. by disproportionately increasing girls' domestic and caring roles (Browne, 2016).[44]

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44 Browne, 2016

The baseline for the WNCB programme found that of the households surveyed, nearly half were receiving some support from local government agencies or local organisations (for instance, food, health insurance, school fee reduction, etc.). Key informants at both the central level and local levels also emphasised that authorities have developed many policies and have carried out many programmes to support children and their families.

For example, in both HCMC and Dong Thap many programmes have been carried out in accordance with the central government's policies related to exemption of tuition fees; vocational training programmes; and free healthcare insurance for children under 6. HCMC also has many programmes to support children in difficult circumstances, which are carried out by individuals or CSOs such as Thao Dan Children Support Center that has provided education and professional training for children (Female respondent, Representative of Thao Dan Child Support Center, HCMC). In Dong Thap, the Women's Union has carried out the economic empowerment models (micro-loans and capacity building) for women who are living in border areas or in poor households (Female respondent, Women Union in Dong Thap); and provided support to working children, such as at the Thien Duc school, which has offered free education and meals (lunchtime).

Gender equality

The Vietnam Government is committed to promoting gender equality through laws and policies. The ILO and Vietnamese constituents have long cooperated on promoting gender equality among male and female workers. Current joint efforts are geared towards increasing women's opportunities to enterprise development; preventing labour exploitation of (migrant) children and women; and strengthening the equality dimension in labour legislation, such as prohibiting direct and indirect discrimination, and promoting equal pay for work of equal value, action against sexual harassment and equalising the retirement ages for women and men.

The relationship between law, regulations and their impact on gender equality is a key policy issue. Three types of legal and institutional frameworks are of importance: labour legislation, business regulations, and legal frameworks, which secure rights to property, title, assets and financial capital. All these three areas have a gender dimension

and impact labour in the informal sector. There must therefore be a national-level analysis of how existing labour legislation can be extended to cover different groups of informal workers and where new legislation may be required, as well as an analysis of the gendered implications of which labour standards are more likely to be monitored and enforced than others.

Related to the regulation of child labour in the informal sector, including domestic work, while laws exist, regulation is a challenge as most children work in small-scale production and business establishments. While the laws, policies, and programmes currently in place act to protect girls and boys from engaging in child labour, and promote gender equality, there is a gap in its enforcement in the informal sector.

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