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FINAL REPORT

SYNTHESIS REVIEW OF OCFT WORK IN COCOA AND FISHING/SEAFOOD

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This report presents the final results of a synthesis review of evaluations conducted of OCFT projects in the cocoa and fishing/seafood sectors. Research for this report was conducted between December 2020 and February 2022. Mathematica conducted this review independently and prepared the report according to the terms specified in its contract with the United States Department of Labor (DOL). The evaluation authors would like to express sincere thanks to all the parties involved for their support and valuable contributions, notably Marc Masson, Lauren Jowell, Maureen Jaffe, Kristen Pancio, Mike Donaldson, Alexander Billings, Tyler Rundel, Angela Peltzer, and Tanya Shugar at DOL. The authors would also like to acknowledge the valuable contributions of other staff at Mathematica, including Sarah Dolfin for her insightful review and comments, Gwyneth Olson for her contributions on the graphics, and Cindy George, Sharon Clark, Anuja Pandit, and Jessica Coldren for their support on editing and formatting.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

CBO	Community-based organization
CCP	Cocoa Communities Project
CLASSE	Child Labor Alternatives through Sustainable Systems in Education
CLEAR	Country Level Engagement and Assistance to Reduce Child Labor
CLMRS	Child labor monitoring and remediation system
CSO	Civil society organization
DOL	United States Department of Labor
ECLIC	Eliminating Child Labor in Cocoa Growing Communities (Côte d'Ivoire)
EXCEL	Eliminating eXploitative Child Labor Through Education and Livelihoods (Cambodia)
FLIP	Combating Forced Labor and Labor Trafficking of Adults and Children in Ghana
HCL	Hazardous child labor
IGA	Income-generation activities
IIP	Industry Intervention Package
ILAB	Bureau of International Labor Affairs
ILO	International Labor Organization
IO	Immediate outcome
IPEC	International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor
MOCA	Mobilizing Community Action and Promoting Opportunities for Youth in Ghana's Cocoa-Growing Communities
NGO	Non-governmental organization
OCFT	Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor, and Human Trafficking
OSH	Occupational safety and health
SAFE Seas	Safeguarding Against and Addressing Fishers' Exploitation at Sea (Indonesia/Philippines)
SY@W	Safe Youth at Work

TBP	Time-Bound Program
VSLA	Village savings and loan association
WFCL	Worst forms of child labor

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT OF THE SYNTHESIS REVIEW

The Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor, and Human Trafficking (OCFT) in the Bureau of International Labor Affairs (ILAB) within U.S. Department of Labor (USDOL) has invested in programs over the last 25 years to eliminate child labor and forced labor. To guide future investments in these areas, OCFT emphasizes monitoring and evaluating the performance of its current and past programs, identifying challenges and best practices, and communicating key findings and effective and sustainable strategies to stakeholders.

To learn more from its programming, OCFT commissioned a study to synthesize findings from performance evaluations and monitoring data from 19 ILAB-funded projects implemented from 1999 through 2021 to reduce child labor and/or forced labor in the cocoa and fishing/seafood sectors. The overarching goals of this study are to:

(1) highlight common trends in findings, lessons learned, and key considerations for future programming;

(2) gain insights on the theories of change (TOCs), types of interventions, and promising strategies for DOL and others aiming to reduce labor abuses around the world; and

(3) determine the high-level results of these projects.

To reach these goals, we extracted information from project documents and external performance evaluations to a detailed rubric and analyzed the data using categorical coding and a qualitative review.

To contextualize OCFT's programming, we also produced an annotated bibliography of evaluations of programs funded by donors other than USDOL to address child labor and forced labor in cocoa and seafood/fishing sectors. This annotated bibliography is summarized in our synthesis review and included in full as an annex.

KEY FINDINGS AND CONSIDERATIONS

PROJECT CHARACTERISTICS

The projects selected for the review were diverse in scope and size, but within each sector, projects were similar in geography and strategy. The 9 cocoa projects were concentrated in West Africa, and the 10 fishing/seafood projects were concentrated in Southeast Asia. All projects engaged government partners (typically in capacity building and policy guidance areas) and nearly all engaged children, youth, and families with education, training, or income generation programs. Most projects targeted unions and local organizations with capacity building efforts and employers and other private sector actors with education and compliance activities.

Projects differed most in their funding amount and scopes of work. Project value varied from $900,000 to $13.0 million (ECOWAS I, II). Some projects had small scopes and few goals, such as supporting the national government and other stakeholders in the adoption and use of International Labor Organization indicators in child labor monitoring systems, while other projects had wide-ranging interventions and ambitious goals, including multi-country efforts that included direct actions to immediately address labor abuses and technical assistance to build government capacity and advance labor policy.

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH EFFECTIVENESS

Our analysis shows that **certain factors are associated with the effectiveness of projects in reaching their indicator targets for outputs, sub-outcomes, and outcomes**. In Table ES.1, we present a sample of key factors associated with effectiveness in reaching those targets (at cocoa, fishing/seafood, and cross-cutting levels), separated into factors that OCFT can influence, factors that are largely under implementer control, and contextual factors. We also include several factors that we hypothesized would have an association with effectiveness but for which we did not observe a relationship in this sample of projects.

Table ES.1. Selected key factors and their associations with effectiveness

Factor and association	Association	Relevant sector	
Factors under OCFT influence and their associations with effectiveness		Cocoa	Fishing
Across both sectors, **larger projects** (in terms of budget and duration) appeared to be more effective than smaller projects in delivering inputs, producing outputs, and achieving outcomes.	✓	✓	✓
Across both sectors, projects that **heavily engaged families and community leaders** were more effective than projects that did not engage those groups to the same degree. Projects that **engaged unions** (especially those that engaged unions to a high degree) had higher effectiveness than projects that did not engage unions.	✓	✓	✓
Across both sectors, there was no apparent association between whether a project **engaged investors, consumer groups, or buyers** and the project's effectiveness.	–	✓	✓
Across both sectors, projects with a **strong tripartite approach**[1] were more effective than those with less explicit tripartite approaches. Projects that **subcontracted programming to local organizations**—and those that **set up long-term, outcome-based planning with partner governments**—were more effective than projects without those design characteristics.	✓	✓	✓
Cocoa projects designed with **various components**[2] **or close links** between components were **more effective** than projects designed with fewer **components or linkages**.	✓	✓	
In contrast, fishing/seafood projects designed with **fewer components or fewer links** between them were **more effective** than projects designed with **more components or close linkages**.	✓		✓
In the fishing/seafood sector, projects that **heavily engaged employers** were more effective than projects that did not engage employers or did so to a lesser degree.	✓		✓

[1] A tripartite approach is one that brings together unions or labor leaders, government partners, and the private sector to engage in dialogue on labor issues, labor-related program planning, and oversight of labor-related interventions. In this review, we consider the "private sector" to include formal and informal employers, industry or employer federations, and local or international buyers.

[2] "Component" refers to a group of activities supporting a project outcome.

Factor and association	Association	Relevant sector	
Fishing/seafood projects[3] with **more logical, coherent theories of change** were **more effective** than those with substantial gaps in the elements or logic of their theories of change.	✓		🐟
Factors associated with effectiveness under implementer control		Cocoa	Fishing
Across both sectors, **implementer capacity and management quality** were associated with **project efficiency**, higher levels of **partner and participant buy-in** to project activities, **fewer severe delays,** and **project effectiveness.**	✓	🌿	🐟
Across both sectors, projects where **implementer capacity grew** or where implementers used **thorough planning**, a **well-researched initial approach**, **strong service delivery** systems, or **deliberate alignment with similar projects** were more effective.	✓	🌿	🐟
Across both sectors, implementers with a **severe lack of monitoring and evaluation processes**, **poor participant targeting**, or **poor planning with partners to continue combatting labor abuses after the projects end** tended to be less effective.	✓	🌿	🐟
In fishing/seafood projects, implementers that **integrated their project activities with other government or donor-funded initiatives** were more likely to achieve their goals, including in reducing labor abuses and in areas of policy change, migrants' rights, women's and girls' empowerment, and education enrollment.	✓		🐟
Contextual factors associated with effectiveness		Cocoa	Fishing
Partner and participant enthusiasm for project goals and activities is associated with effectiveness.	✓	🌿	🐟
Projects targeting countries with **low gross domestic product (GDP) per capita** at project outset were more effective in meeting planned goals than projects targeting countries with high GDP.[4]	✓	🌿	🐟
Operating in a context characterized by **external pressure from non-project parties for improved labor practices**, such as campaigns by international producers' organizations, does not appear associated with project success.[5]	—	🌿	🐟

To support effectiveness, **OCFT and grantees may wish to review the following considerations related to factors under OCFT influence, grantee control, and the project context.**

[3] Cocoa projects likely have this same relationship, though it was not observed in such a small sample of projects

[4] This relationship has several possible explanations, including that lower GDP per capita countries may allow projects more purchasing power for goods and services, that projects were allocated more funding in anticipation of more project outlays in more difficult environments, or that government programs are scarcer and participants are more interested in outside programs to address labor abuses.

[5] As a contextual factor, one might expect that public pressure for change from chocolate manufacturers (a relevant but not-often-involved stakeholder) could contribute to a vigilant supply chain culture that reduces upstream child labor. We did not find such an association in our analysis of such contextual factors and project effectiveness.

Key considerations for DOL

- Providing larger budgets and contracting grantees for longer periods of time could help projects weather unforeseen delays, adapt programming to local contexts, and meet their goals. OCFT could consider either increasing most projects' durations (and budgets) toward DOL's five-year limit on single-project appropriations or could consider granting funding for projects in two phases: for example, (1) intervention research and diagnostics[6] and (2) project execution.
- Ensuring that projects engage families, community leaders, and unions could support effectiveness in both sectors. In fishing/seafood, engaging employers could do the same.
- Ensuring that projects apply tripartite approaches could support effectiveness. Using a subcontracting model with local organizations to maximize local relevance of programming, or building long-term, outcome-based program plans with governments, could support project effectiveness.
- Cocoa projects may benefit from a design with comprehensive components and linkages between them; fishing/seafood projects may not require such strong linkages.[7]
- Listing and interrogating assumptions behind theories of change internally before releasing funding opportunity announcements (FOAs) and again after projects are awarded (when grantees submit their draft project document) could support project effectiveness.

Key considerations for implementers

- Grantees focusing on building their capacity and management quality (and that of their local sub-grantees) may enjoy greater partner and participant buy-in, greater project efficiency, fewer delays, and greater overall effectiveness. Similarly, developing robust and resilient communication and coordination structures could streamline project management and boost partner engagement, thereby driving effective service delivery.
- Implementers dedicated to carefully researching and planning an initial approach, developing a strong service delivery system, and deliberately aligning their work with similar projects could be more successful in achieving their objectives. Implementers should be careful to avoid the implementation pitfalls we found were most associated with poor outcome achievement: including poor monitoring and evaluation processes, poor participant targeting, and poor continuity planning with partners.
- Fishing/seafood projects could be more effective in addressing labor abuses, as well as advancing policy change, migrants' rights, women's and girls' empowerment, and education enrollment, if they integrate their activities with ongoing, outside initiatives.

[6] By diagnostics and testing, we are referring to project processes which take place early in the period of performance and which may include collecting data from stakeholders and a sample of potential participants, identifying the factors driving labor abuses among the population of interest, and piloting activities with a subset of participants on a small scale to test assumptions before launching project-wide interventions.

[7] This may be because, among other differences, fishing and seafood projects can develop and deploy unconnected approaches to address separate challenges identified under the larger project objective, such as irregular migration of youth, poor provincial government capacity, or inadequate knowledge among employers about occupational health and safety practices.

Key considerations related to context

OCFT may have limited influence over contextual factors that are associated with project effectiveness, but **both OCFT and grantees may be able to prepare for these contextual factors, including by selecting certain sites or developing specific contingency plans.**[8]

- Projects may wish to choose sites after conducting brief assessments of local enthusiasm for project goals from partners and participants, as this factor may support project effectiveness. Similarly, general positive public opinion toward children's and workers' rights could support project effectiveness, with implications for country or region selection.
- Projects that take place in countries with low GDP per capita could be more effective than those in higher-income countries, though such projects may also require greater funding, stronger project management, and stronger partner and participant buy-in to be effective.

SUSTAINABILITY

Our analysis suggests that **projects generally had partially adequate sustainability strategies, with results varying by outcome type:**

- In most cases, impacts on withdrawal and prevention of target populations from engaging in child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking may not be fully sustainable without continued support from donors and implementers, as evaluations suggested the conditions that drive labor abuses may re-emerge after the project concludes.
- Awareness of labor issues raised across communities, relevant government agencies, and other project partners was sustainable, as were new practices resulting in income generation programs and increases in local ownership over labor issues.

We also found that **delays of key project activities, regardless of the projects' durations, threatened sustainability**. To overcome barriers to sustainability:

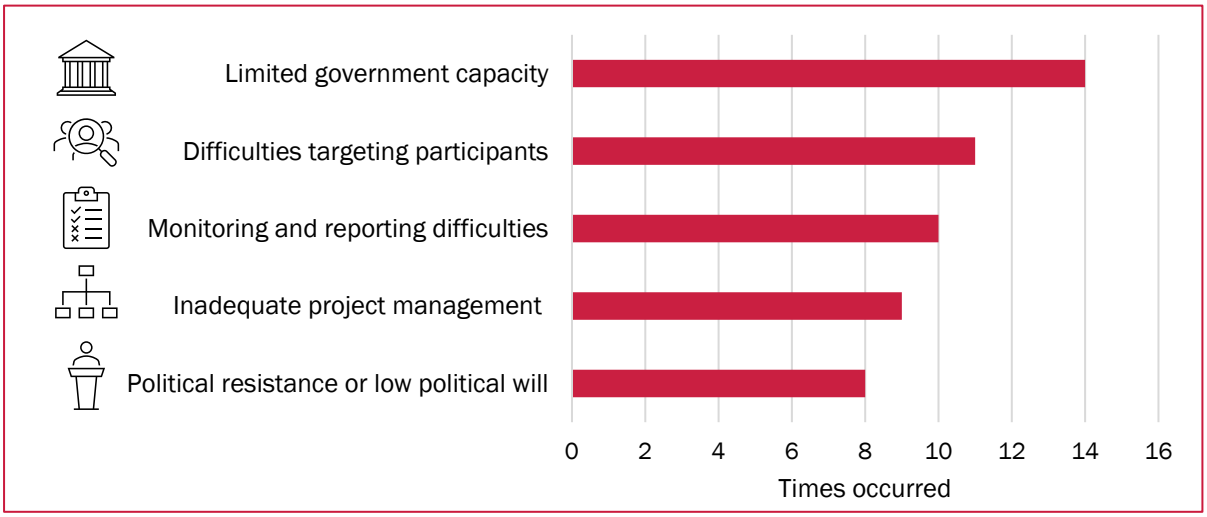
- DOL may wish to build in more time and funding (from the project award) or consider using a phased funding model for implementers to deal with unpredicted delays, consolidate results, and build local stakeholders' capacity. DOL may also choose to reduce the scope of some projects to better align with the available resources and time.
- Projects and DOL may wish to help partners, particularly national government ministries, integrate project programming (such as awareness campaigns or labor inspection workshops) into their existing initiatives and allocate greater resources to monitoring and enforcement components.

Our analysis also suggests that **carefully integrating complementary project activities with one another** may drive sustainability more than the number of activities or the funding allocated.

[8] OCFT and grantees conducting projects in contexts with high levels of migration and fluid labor markets may encounter lower effectiveness in direct and isolated project activities and could consider adapting programming to a more mobile or multi-site model. The COVID-19 pandemic may threaten the implementation of ongoing and future interventions in child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking; projects could consider delivering alternative low-contact programming, such as monitoring system development, for as long as is necessary to prevent transmission of the coronavirus.

CHALLENGES AND SOLUTIONS

Using information extracted from evaluations, we found that **the 19 projects encountered substantial challenges, which threatened overall effectiveness 90 times, and applied solutions 49 times.** The five most common challenge types were:



The most effective solutions in overcoming those challenges involved increasing flexibility, planning for contingencies, incentivizing stakeholder participation, and providing key administrative supports for subcontracted implementers. OCFT could consider preparing a toolkit for implementers to highlight solutions that have been effective in the past, such as:

- Conducting early assessments of target communities and refining targeting protocols to ensure participants are selected properly and provided with planned programs;
- Training subcontractors and implementing partners on best practices for data collection and monitoring; and
- Developing strategies, such as contingency plans, to prepare for possible target government bottlenecks, at project outset to overcome potential delays in programming as a result of external factors; anticipating challenges in political will and public support with a suite of awareness-raising and engagement materials.

1. INTRODUCTION

This report synthesizes findings from interim and final evaluation reports for 21 projects funded by the U.S. Department of Labor's (DOL's) Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor, and Human Trafficking (OCFT) in the cocoa and fishing sectors. This chapter provides background on the study and describes the structure of the rest of the report.

With 218 million children engaged in child labor and 25 million adults engaged in forced labor worldwide, generating credible evidence on effective strategies to combat and eliminate those abuses is critical (International Labor Organization (ILO) 2017). Evidence and data can support governments' efforts to strengthen laws, enforcement, and policies; inform companies' risk assessment and due diligence strategies; educate consumers about the risks of their purchases; support advocacy efforts; and bolster the U.S. Government's efforts to safeguard federal procurement and imports and support decent work globally. The Bureau of International Labor Affairs (ILAB) has invested in programs over the last 25 years to eliminate child labor and forced labor—including efforts to help global supply chains become free of exploitative labor and to generate evidence from these investments. To guide future investments, OCFT emphasizes monitoring and evaluating the performance of its current and past programs, identifying challenges and best practices, and communicating key findings and effective and sustainable strategies to stakeholders.

To learn more from its programming, OCFT commissioned a study to analyze and synthesize the findings from performance evaluations and performance reporting from ILAB-funded projects[9] implemented from 1999 through 2021 to reduce child labor and/or forced labor in the cocoa and fishing/seafood sectors. The overarching goals of this study are to (1) highlight common trends in findings, lessons learned, and key considerations for future programming; (2) gain and disseminate insights on the theories of change (TOCs), types of interventions, and promising strategies for DOL and other funders aiming to reduce these labor abuses around the world; and (3) determine the high-level results of these projects.

In Chapter 2, we describe the research questions that motivate the report and the analytic approach and data sources used to answer them. In Chapter 3, we present a summary of prior research on programs intended to combat child labor, forced labor, or human trafficking in the cocoa or fishing/seafood sectors. In Chapter 4, we describe the projects included in this synthesis review. In Chapter 5, we present the findings of the review, including factors influencing project effectiveness, the challenges projects faced, and the solutions they applied. In Chapter 6, we present conclusions and identify key considerations for ILAB moving forward.

[9] OCFT initially called for a review of 26 projects. However, the evaluations of four ongoing projects were not available in time for this synthesis. After closer review of these projects' evaluation reports, we determined that one project did not target cocoa or fishing sectors, and in consultation with OCFT decided that we would exclude it from the review. Reviewing the 21 remaining projects, we found that the NORC documents did not reflected a research project (which was not comparable with technical assistance and direct service projects) and two projects that were originally considered distinct (ECOWAS I and II) were actually phases of one project. Of the 19 projects, we also found that CIRCLE I and II were already listed as one project in the numbering of projects provided by OCFT. In our analysis, we considered each of these phased projects as one project.

2. RESEARCH APPROACH

This chapter describes the purpose and scope of the synthesis review, as defined in the performance work statement (PWS) for this contract and further refined in consultation with ILAB.

The ILAB Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor, and Human Trafficking (OCFT) within the U.S. Department of Labor (DOL) engages in work in the following three areas:

- conducting research on international child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking;
- funding and overseeing technical assistance projects with organizations engaged in efforts to eliminate exploitive child labor and forced labor around the world; and
- assisting in the development and implementation of U.S. government policy on international child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking issues.

The projects that OCFT funds and oversees are diverse in their strategies and implementing environments, but all aim to eliminate the incidence of child labor, forced labor, or human trafficking. OCFT-funded efforts include direct services such as education and livelihood support interventions; partnering with governments and organizations to strengthen relevant laws, enforcement, policies, and social programs; training law enforcement and labor inspectors; and developing research and tools for businesses and trade associations to support efforts to raise awareness of and reduce reliance on child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking.

The broad objective of this synthesis review is to learn from existing research on OCFT's work. This review will help inform and improve future efforts to eliminate child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking, specifically in the cocoa and fishing/seafood sectors. We have identified three specific objectives for this synthesis review:

- Determine high-level results of OCFT-funded projects in the cocoa and fishing/seafood sectors, including the degree to which projects met their expected outcomes.
- Provide insights on these projects' theories of change and the types of interventions and strategies that hold promise for future programming to prevent child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking.
- Identify common trends in evaluation results and lessons learned about project features and implementation strategies that appear to support successful outcomes, and, based on these findings, provide key considerations for OCFT as they develop strategies moving forward.

2.1. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

We have developed a set of research questions in support of these objectives. The following questions structure our analysis of the evaluation reports:

DESCRIBING PROJECT EXPERIENCES, OUTCOMES, AND EVALUATIONS

1. What are the characteristics of the programs that were evaluated? What were projects' objectives and strategies?
2. What methodologies and data did evaluators use to evaluate the projects?
3. To what extent did projects meet their goals for implementation, outputs, and outcomes?
4. What challenges did projects face? What solutions did projects use to address challenges?

ANALYTIC RESEARCH QUESTIONS: ASSESSMENT OF TRENDS AND PATTERNS

5. What project characteristics, contextual factors, and strategies were associated with better outcomes?
6. Did projects' theories of change capture key project elements and dynamics that appear to have led to outcomes of interest?
7. What were the most successful strategies used to address project challenges?
8. To what extent did projects incorporate lessons learned from previous projects?

LOOKING AHEAD: KEY CONSIDERATIONS FOR OCFT MOVING FORWARD

9. Based on the evaluation results, which OCFT investments are more likely to result in reduction in child labor, forced labor, or human trafficking in the cocoa or fishing sectors than others?
10. What can OCFT include in funding opportunity announcements to ensure projects have the best chance of achieving reductions in child labor, forced labor, or human trafficking?
11. Are there ways in which evaluation methods or data sources could be changed to make evaluation results more useful?

Given this review's focus on the cocoa and fishing/seafood sectors, our sector-specific findings apply to future work in those sectors. While not universal, we believe findings that cut across both cocoa and fishing/seafood sectors (detailed in Chapter 5) may also be relevant to other sectors in which OCFT is addressing child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking.

2.2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND ANALYTICAL APPROACH

In this subsection, we present the theoretical framework for our analysis and summarize the steps we took in analyzing the 19 projects included in this review.[10] We employed a mixed-methods realist synthesis approach to the review (Pawson et al. 2004; Rycroft-Malone et al. 2012). Realist synthesis provides explanations for why complex social interventions may or may not work, in what contexts, how, and in what circumstances. Realist synthesis makes explicit the underlying assumptions about a theory of change, then systematically gathers evidence to test and refine that theory. We selected this method because it is designed for situations in which multiple approaches or interventions are implemented in varied ways, and where the program logic can be complex, dynamic, and nonlinear. The conditions that contribute to child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking are complex.

Based on our experience in the sector, relevant research literature, and our review of project documents, we have identified a set of four broad root causes, which the projects selected for this review address in their activities. These causes should be interpreted as phenomena that may contribute to the likelihood of child labor, forced labor, or human trafficking. However, the relationships between these causes and labor practices are not linear or consistent, and although addressing one cause or combination of causes may be effective in reducing child labor, forced labor, or human trafficking in some cases, the same may not be true in other contexts.[11] Responses to these root causes from OCFT and other donors also vary. In our discussion of root causes below, we also provide examples of how project implementers may

[10] Annex A provides a detailed description of our analysis approach.
[11] As noted in Chapter 4. Project Characteristics, the bulk of projects in the OCFT portfolio for this review targeted child labor. A smaller proportion targeted forced labor, trafficking, or OSH in addition to or instead of child labor.

seek to address the factors that contribute to the likelihood of child labor, forced labor and human trafficking occurring.

The first root cause we have identified is **household poverty**. Households' lack of resources to meet their basic needs may motivate them to engage as many household members as possible, including children and youth, in income-generating activities. Further, households experiencing poverty may resort to child labor as a buffer to protect against negative income shocks such as parental unemployment or agricultural losses (Dammert et al. 2017). In response to household poverty, projects seeking to address child labor may engage in activities to promote income generation (such as skills training), and income smoothing (by facilitating access to credit or saving) to alleviate this pressure and improve quality of life for target households.

The second root cause we have identified is a **lack of access to high quality, relevant education**. A 2018 ILO report on ending child labor states that "there is broad consensus that the single most effective way to stem the flow of school-aged children into child labour is to improve access to and quality of schooling" (ILO 2018). Accessible, high quality, relevant education and training may develop the skills required to interrupt intergenerational cycles of poverty. Challenges related to access—including school locations far from families, school fees, or insecurity at or on the way to school—reduce enrollment. Even when families have access to school, if the education offered is low quality or not relevant to families' lives or occupational opportunities for youth, families may see little value in education, particularly when it comes at the opportunity cost of giving up paid work. In response to a lack of access to high quality, relevant education, projects seeking to address child labor may engage in activities to improve education access, such as covering school fees; to improve quality, such as providing teacher training; or to improve relevance, such as providing new vocational training opportunities aligned to local economic opportunities.

The third root cause we have identified is **unmet needs at the community level**. Unmet needs at the community level may promote child labor, forced labor, or human trafficking. For example, an entire village may lack access to potable water or medical care, increasing disease and decreasing income generation. A school may be in poor condition, decreasing the quality of education provided there. A community may see local economic opportunities diminish and opportunities elsewhere grow, incentivizing migration of children and youth and increasing their risk of trafficking, sexual exploitation, or other forms of child labor. Additionally, families may not be informed about labor laws or the importance of age-appropriate education and training for children and youth. In response to unmet community needs, projects seeking to address child labor, forced labor, or trafficking may promote the formation of community organizations to develop community action plans to identify community needs and put solutions into place.

Finally, the fourth root cause we have identified is **inadequate government action on labor abuses (child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking)**. Most countries have ratified key conventions on child labor and forced labor, including the ILO Minimum Age Convention Number 138 and the Forced Labor Convention Number 29 of 1930 (ILO 2021a and b); however, many of the countries that have ratified these conventions have not adequately prioritized the resources necessary to put into place policies and programs to eradicate child labor, forced labor, or human trafficking. In response to government inaction, projects seeking to address child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking may work directly with government institutions to identify ways government agencies can improve awareness of the importance of labor and human rights at the institutional, community, and societal levels, and to support

actions to implement changes needed to eradicate child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking.

We have grounded our analysis in a flexible logic model that describes how diverse projects could lead to reductions in child labor, forced labor, or human trafficking by addressing their root causes (Figure 2.1). The logic model lists these root causes, then describes the inputs and outputs of activities that implementers carry out to address each, as well as the desired outcomes to address the root causes of child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking in the cocoa and fishing sectors. This logic model represents an attempt to capture the key causes and actions taken to address them. However, the circumstances that lead to child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking are complex, and neither the causes, inputs, outputs, nor outcomes shown in the logic model are exhaustive—indeed, the behavior of employers and private sector actors may also contribute to or reduce the likelihood of labor abuses (see Box 2.1). Our analysis of project implementation and outcomes follows the structure of the logic model with consideration of project inputs, outputs, outcomes, and project objectives.[12] When seeking to understand factors that contributed to or limited a project's success in achieving intended outcomes, we have considered which of the root causes a project addressed, and whether unaddressed root causes might be constraining projects' potential impacts.

[12] OCFT currently organizes results frameworks by outputs, sub-outcomes, outcomes, objectives, and goals. Projects in this review span 20 years and their results frameworks vary in organization. For consistency across all projects, we report on the programming that grantees developed and delivered as inputs, participation of stakeholders and participants in programming as outputs, the change in stakeholder and participant knowledge or practices as outcomes (which include what evaluators described as sub-outcomes or immediate or intermediate outcomes), and the overall aim of the project in combatting labor abuses as the objective.

Box 2.1. The role of employers and the private sector

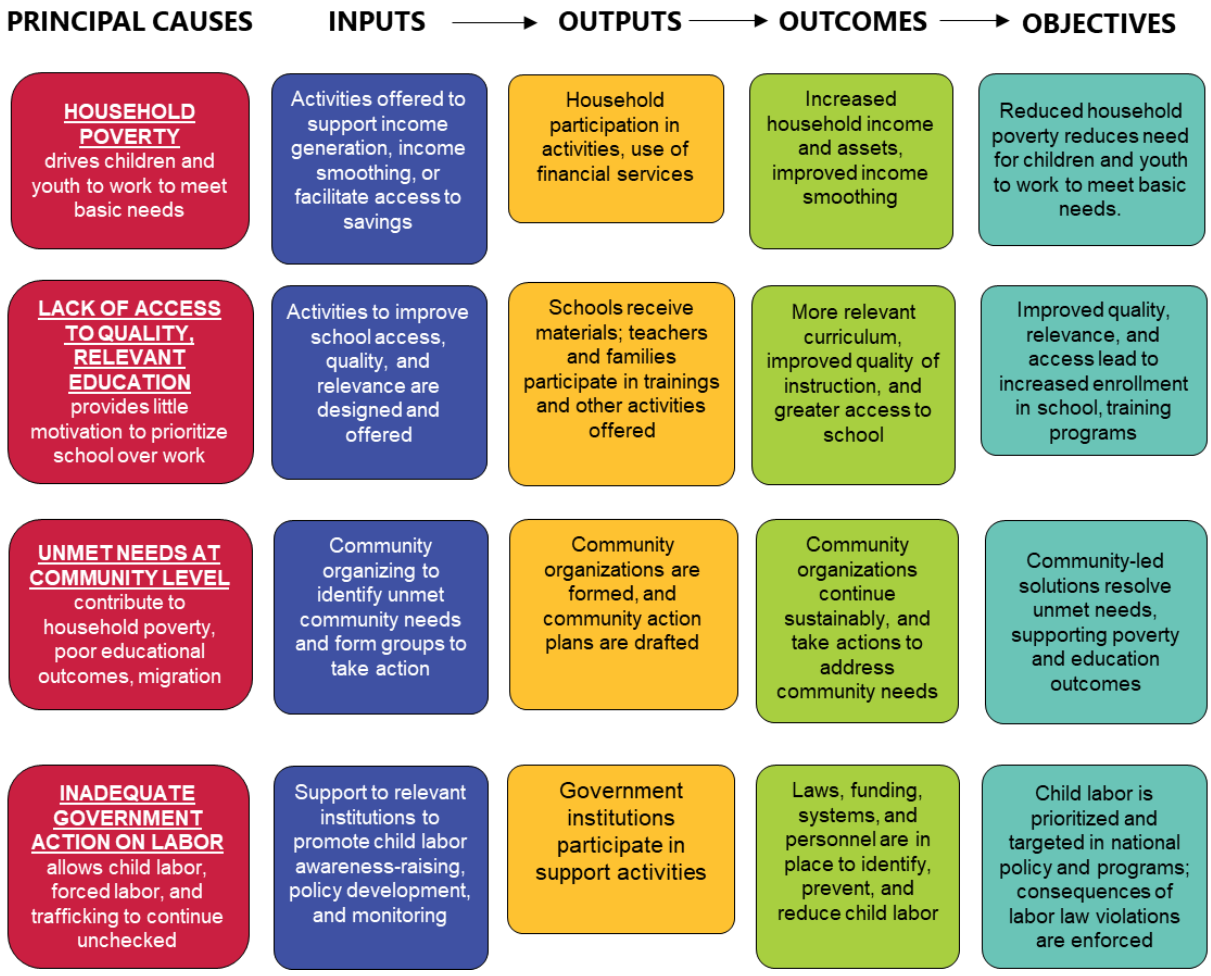
Structural differences between the cocoa and fishing/seafood sectors affect the nature of the labor challenges that arise in each sector, and the approaches that would be most appropriate in each.

Common factors: Employers and private sector actors in cocoa and fishing/seafood sectors may use child labor or forced labor to minimize costs and maximize profits in tight international markets. At the same time, private actors in both sectors may also be motivated to preserve their reputations, avoid business risks, and adhere to values aligned with labor laws, driving them to avoid using child labor or forced labor—particularly further along in the value chain.

Cocoa sector: A structural challenge to ensuring compliance with child labor laws in the cocoa sector is that international cocoa producers may not know who harvests their cocoa. This is because workers in the cocoa sector tend not to have employer-employee relationships. Cocoa farms are often managed by families, communities, or local landowners, and children come to work without passing through a "hiring" process with a formal employer. As families and children harvest and process cocoa, they work with cooperatives or local agents (known as *pisteurs* in Côte d'Ivoire) to sell their crop to intermediaries or exporting companies who work with international buyers. Thus, in the portfolio of projects reviewed for this synthesis, grantees rarely engaged employers, instead working with cooperatives and buyers.

Fishing/seafood: In the fishing/seafood sector, workers have direct employer-employee relationships more often than in the cocoa sector because they tend to work on-site with managers or owners overseeing harvesting and production (for example, on fishing or shrimping boats or platforms, or in processing facilities). This means that projects to address child labor, forced labor, and trafficking in the fishing and seafood sector can engage with local employers and business owners to educate them on workers' rights and OSH practices and support compliance with national labor laws. However, projects seeking to ensure compliance with labor laws in this sector may also encounter structural challenges related to mobility. First, youth in the sector are highly mobile—often crossing international borders for fishing work—which can make participant targeting difficult. Second, fishing platforms and boats move locations, making labor monitoring efforts challenging.

Figure 2.1. Logic model for projects in the synthesis review



Notes: The inputs represent a selection of activities and strategies that may be used to address the principal causes of child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking, but this is not an exhaustive list of causes or strategies used to address them. Actors seeking to address labor abuses may use different strategies in different sectors. Depending on the sector, employers and other private sector actors may also play a role in causing child labor, forced labor, and trafficking—and often play a role in building interventions to address those labor abuses (see Box 2.1).

With this logic model in mind, we extracted information from evaluations, coded it to categorical variables, scored projects by effectiveness, identified relationships between project factors and effectiveness, and examined project challenges and solutions discussed by evaluators. We present each step below.

- **Extracting information.** We pulled detailed information from each of the 20 project evaluations (plus NORC; see Annex B) into a 140-item rubric that covered project characteristics (including planned inputs, outputs, outcomes and project objectives), evaluation features, project implementation and actual outcomes, contextual factors, and project challenges and solutions. During this extraction process, we established that ECOWAS I & II were phases of the same project and could be considered jointly in subsequent analysis. Our rubric reflects this, with data listed for 19 unique projects. We then cleaned information on these project factors to prepare them for coding.

- **Coding information.** We broke down each rubric item into multiple binary or categorical variables and coded each of the details on each comparable project[13] to the variables. For example, for the rubric item *Factors or opportunities that will contribute to project success*, we produced four columns, each headed by a supporting factor group, such as alignment with other projects or efforts in the country and gave each project a "1" if it had that supporting factor and a "0" if it did not have it. This coding process, together with the addition of composite and summary variables, produced 336 variables and 5,376 values.
- **Scoring effectiveness.** To assess the effectiveness of each project in delivering inputs, producing outputs, and achieving outcomes[14] as planned, we comprehensively examined projects as described in the evaluations and used an A-B-C scoring system (please see Annex A for details on the scoring approach). We also assessed and scored each project using an A-B-C system for the likelihood that impacts would be sustained beyond the duration of the grant funding.
- **Identifying relationships.** To analyze the relationships between project factors and A-B-C scored items, we examined trends and associations that became visibly apparent in tables sorted to isolate projects with specific characteristics. For example, sorting by principal project components (education supports, income generation activities, or policy development assistance) allows for the identification of patterns among certain types of projects in terms of project management and efficiency, level of partner buy-in, and the effectiveness of projects in achieving inputs, outputs, and outcomes. After identifying associations, we returned to the original detail-rich rubric to extract examples of the relationships between variables and flesh out the relationships in our narrative of the findings. Table 2.1 shows a sample analytical table—using real data from the 16 comparable projects—and the associations between related variables. At this stage, we also conducted qualitative analysis of three cocoa-related projects—SY@W, CLEAR, and CIRCLE 1 & 2—which, given their multi-country, multi-sector approaches and the fact that their evaluations had limited detail on relevant sectors, we excluded from categorical analysis.
- **Examining challenges and solutions.** Using the rubric, we found projects faced 90 unique challenges. We grouped these into 17 broader challenges, such as *project management difficulties*. We then examined the strategies applied by projects to address each challenge and scored the success of the solution in mitigating the challenge from 0 (not successful) to 2 (completely successful).

[13] Projects which were not suitable for coding to categorical variables (SY@W, CLEAR, CIRCLE I and II, and NORC) were analyzed through a qualitative review of information extracted to the rubric.

[14] We excluded overall project objectives from this scoring and focus on inputs, outputs, and outcomes because we care most about whether inputs were delivered as planned, outputs were produced as expected, and outcomes were achieved as desired. The degree to which project objectives were reached as planned is captured through our examination of outcomes and our review of evaluators' overall assessments of project success. In some cases, TPRs did not include data on objectives, such as capacity built or awareness raised.

Table 2.1. Sample implementation predictor variables and results variables

Management quality (0-poor, 2-good)	Implementer had sufficient capacity (0-2)	Project delays (0-none, 3-severe)	Level of partner and participant buy-in	Degree to which inputs were successfully delivered	Degree to which outputs were successfully produced	Degree to which outcomes were successfully achieved	Overall score	Sustainability score
2	2	1	A	A	A	A	A	A
2	2	2	A	B	A	B	B	B
2	2	2	A	A	B	B	B	B
2	2	2	B	A	B	B	B	B
2	1	2	B	B	B	B	B	A
2	2	2	A	B	B	B	B	B
1	1	2	A	C	C	B	C	B
2	1	2	B	C	B	B	B	C
2	.m	1	B	B	X	X	X	B
2	2	1	A	B	B	B	B	B
1	1	2	B	C	C	X	X	B
2	2	1	B	B	A	A	A	B
2	1	2	C	C	C	C	C	C
2	1	2	A	C	B	X	X	B
1	1	2	B	C	B	B	B	B
1	1	2	B	C	B	C	C	B

Note: In each cell, an "A" indicates a project successfully delivered its planned inputs, produced its planned outputs, or achieved its desired outcomes. "B" indicates a project partially delivered its planned inputs, produced its planned outputs, or achieved its desired outcomes. "C" indicates a project generally did not deliver its planned inputs, produced its planned outputs, or achieved its desired outcomes. Letter scores in the Overall score column indicate sum scores of input, output, and outcome scores and the Sustainability score columns indicates the assessed level of impact sustainability. Cells with an "X" indicate that only interim information was provided and no final assessment of outputs, outcomes, or overall scores can be made. Cells with an ".m" indicate where data was unavailable in an evaluation or project documents to assess the variable value for that project.

This analytical approach allowed us to exploit the richness of the data, isolate relationships among characteristics and outcomes, and draw conclusions about what factors might support project success.

2.3. LIMITATIONS AND STRATEGIES TO OVERCOME LIMITATIONS

In this review, we have identified potential relationships between project characteristics and levels of effectiveness, as well as challenges that are commonly faced and strategies used to address those challenges. However, like all research, this synthesis review has limitations that affect what conclusions we can draw. We have summarized these limitations as well as strategies we have employed to mitigate the impacts of these limitations, when possible, in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2. Limitations to the synthesis review and strategies to overcome them

Limitation	Strategy
We can identify relationships, but not causal impacts. As we described in the previous subsection and in Annex A, much of our analysis is based on assessing variation in project effectiveness across groups of projects with different characteristics. This analysis allows us to identify potential correlations between project characteristics and outcomes, but not causal effects of	**In some cases, qualitative information from the reports sheds light on what might be driving project outcomes.** Although we are unable to identify causal relationships, some evaluation

Limitation	Strategy
those characteristics. For example, as we describe in the findings chapter, we found that government and community buy-in was positively associated with project effectiveness in the cocoa sector. We can identify this relationship; however, our correlation analysis will not tell us whether government and community buy-in contribute to making projects more effective or if governments and communities are more likely to support projects they can see are effective.	reports include detailed descriptions of how projects were implemented. The reports may shed light on why organizations do or do not buy into a project and may help us understand which factors are more or less likely to be important in determining project outcomes.
Our analysis is limited to the content of the evaluators' reports and implementers' technical progress reports (TPRs), which vary in quality and are subject to bias. As we describe in subsection 2.5, the evaluations and TPRs for the projects included in this synthesis review vary from low to high quality and we know less about the projects with evaluation reports and TPRs that are lower quality. Furthermore, even the high-quality reports and TPRs are subject to the biases of their authors. Individual authors' expectations and prior experiences may lead them to highlight different elements of the projects, or to interpret different project outcomes in different ways. Similarly, an important part of the TPRs is the targeting process that establishes targets for projects' specific inputs, outputs, and outcomes. Implementers take different approaches to both target setting and target revising. Finally, the evaluations report on numerous factors, but some important factors may not have been reported on, particularly because research questions may have evolved over the 22-year span of the portfolio in question.	**We focus our analysis on data believed to be more reliable.** We limited our analysis to the information available in the evaluation reports and TPRs, but in recognition of the varied quality of the information, we focus our analysis on the data we consider more reliable. For example, because the process for setting indicator targets was inconsistent, we do not rely heavily on the quantitative relationship between project targets and outcomes, though we extracted and coded this data to our results-to-goals ratios (RGRs).
Our own determinations of how to group projects with similar characteristics or outcomes is subjective; other reviewers may have reached different conclusions. Our extraction and analysis were conducted by a team of two and the review was done largely by one person, though the project director reviewed the processes at critical points and conducted spot checks of formulas in the analysis tables.	**Whenever possible, we created rules or cut points after discussing as a team for grouping similar projects in an effort to assess projects consistently.** As an additional check, we returned to the evaluations to double-extract certain information to the rubric and re-code it. To promote transparency, we will share our scoring and categories rubric with OCFT.
This review's findings are based exclusively on the experiences of the 19 projects, including some that finished 20 years ago. Findings based on the oldest projects may have limited relevance to future projects. Our analysis is limited to the 19 projects included in the review, but much of the analysis focuses more narrowly on subgroups of projects, such as the 9 projects from the cocoa sector and the 10 projects from the fishing/seafood sector.	**We keep the limited external validity of this review (i.e. applicability to other projects) in mind when interpreting our findings.** We encourage the reader to do the same.
Many evaluations and TPRs do not have vital information, such as detail on project's risk management plans or gender-related outcomes, limiting our ability to comment on key aspects of the projects. For example, only 3 evaluations explicitly assessed projects' risk management strategies, and while 16 projects recorded gender-disaggregated outputs in their TPRs, none offered goals against which those achievements could be measured.	**We have made observations based on the evaluations that do feature information we need** (for example, on gender or risk mitigation). We clarify in this report the limitations to our ability to draw conclusions for all 19 projects.

2.4. DATA SOURCES USED FOR THE SYNTHESIS REVIEW

For projects included in this report, we combined data from various sources to form a comprehensive picture of project activities, facilitators, barriers, and outcomes. We reviewed projects' final or interim evaluation reports, TPRs, and, for multi-country projects, their budgets. In some cases, we also reviewed projects' child labor prevalence survey reports.

Box 2.2. Evaluation characteristics

All evaluations in the portfolio (interim and final) were performance evaluations that used a document review and interviews to gather data. Most evaluators also conducted focus group discussions with participants or stakeholders, observations of program sites, and stakeholder consultations, and nearly all used implementer data. Final evaluations drew from interim evaluations and child labor prevalence surveys, where available.

Evaluation quality varied widely. The following limitations and quality issues are those we observed most frequently in the evaluations:

- Some evaluations failed to address all of their research questions (including in areas such as gender) that were laid out in their terms of reference.
- Only 7 of the 19 projects' evaluations laid out specific steps they had taken to address the sensitivity and challenges of data collection on child labor, forced labor, and trafficking topics.
- Given that evaluators did not use comparison groups that would allow the estimation of a counterfactual, they did not estimate projects' causal impacts on outcomes of interest, but instead presented a depiction of projects' implementation and stakeholder perspectives.
- Limited budget and time available for field visits constrained evaluators' ability to collect representative data from project sites (or countries) and verify the accuracy of project data.
- The timing of baseline and endline child labor prevalence surveys was often misaligned with project launch and conclusion, limiting the survey reports' relevance to assessments of project effectiveness.
- Some projects selected stakeholders and participants on behalf of evaluators to be interviewed or included in focus groups, possibly biasing the sample of respondents.
- The COVID-19 pandemic limited the availability of potential respondents for evaluations that took place in 2020 and 2021, as travel was more difficult, and some participants were unable to participate in remote interviewing or focus group discussions.

These limitations also reduced our confidence in the accuracy and completeness of the evaluations. Readers should note that the findings of this synthesis are based in large part on analysis of information from project evaluations and should be interpreted with caution. As we synthesized the information available on projects, we did our best to take into account the gaps that we noted in the materials. We outlined our strategies for addressing issues with completeness and accuracy in Table 2.2. Promisingly, we found that evaluations in the portfolio published after 2010 tended to be of higher overall quality and to have fewer or less severe limitations than evaluations published prior to 2010, suggesting that evaluators' approaches have improved and that changes in DOL's guidance and standards over time may have supported evaluation quality.

We reviewed projects' **final and interim evaluation reports** to understand project design and implementation, as well as projects' achievements and challenges. The reports are the culmination of independent evaluators' performance evaluations of the projects. ILO implemented a large proportion of the projects included in this review, and at the time the projects were implemented, most evaluations of ILO-implemented projects were conducted by independent consultants managed by the ILO. DOL managed a subset of evaluations for projects included in this review and hired research firms to conduct those studies.

We also reviewed projects' **TPRs** to gain a quantitative perspective on the extent to which projects delivered expected inputs and achieved expected outputs and outcomes. The TPRs present projects' monitoring indicators and for some indicators, also include targets against which to compare reported inputs, outputs, and outcomes. Our review takes into consideration the extent to which projects reached the targets set in the TPRs; however, we also consider the fact that targets may have been unrealistic (either too ambitious or not ambitious enough) and data in the TPRs may be inaccurate.[15]

For several projects (Ghana MOCA, Côte d'Ivoire ECLIC, Cambodia EXCEL) we also reviewed baseline and endline **child labor prevalence survey reports** to understand the extent of labor abuses at project outset and conclusion. While this process supported our understanding of the drivers and extent of child labor in target countries, we could not attribute changes in child labor prevalence to the projects in question and, given that we only had prevalence data on 3 countries, it was not feasible to incorporate prevalence into our categorical analysis across all 19 projects.

Multi-country projects presented unique challenges. In some cases, work in only one country or a subset of countries was relevant to this synthesis review and the evaluation reports did not always disaggregate findings by country. We used **project budgets** to parse out program allocations for specific countries of interest (where the cocoa or fishing/seafood sectors were targeted). Three multi-country, multi-sector projects (SY@W, CLEAR, and CIRCLE 1 & 2) were not comparable with other projects in this review because their evaluation documents and TPRs did not have adequate information on interventions in countries and sectors of interest. For those projects, we conducted a separate analysis (presented in subsection 5.4) which used a qualitative process to examine the broader characteristics and effectiveness of these projects, drawing out overarching considerations related to our sectors of interest where they were available.

3. RESEARCH ON COMBATTING CHILD LABOR, FORCED LABOR, AND HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN THE COCOA AND FISHING/SEAFOOD SECTORS

This synthesis review builds on an existing body of work on the role of interventions intended to reduce or eliminate child labor, forced labor, or human trafficking in the cocoa and fishing/seafood sectors. For this contract, Mathematica conducted a review of literature from

[15] As part of our initial data extraction process, we extracted performance information for each project to a standardized results-to-goals ratio (RGR) sheet. In the sheet, we listed the values for input, output, and outcome indicators recorded by projects, as well as the targets the projects had set for those indicators. By computing the ratio of each indicator's result to its goal, we were able to identify at a glance the proportion of indicators in which the project met its targets. However, we found that many projects had incomplete data (missing targets or missing results), and TPR authors (grantees) noted that many indicators also had unreliable data collection processes. For this reason, we did not use the RGR sheets to assess projects' achievement; we instead relied primarily on the projects' interim and final evaluations (and TPRs, when appropriate) to do so.

the last ten years on such efforts in the cocoa and fishing/seafood sectors and drafted an annotated bibliography based on the review. A key finding of this review was that very few rigorous evaluations of the impacts of efforts to address labor abuses in the cocoa or fishing/seafood sectors have been conducted (we identified two).[16] We summarize key findings from that review, then summarize key findings from two studies on efforts to reduce child labor in cocoa: one that assesses the effectiveness of intervention types, such as education or livelihood supports, and another that evaluates the effectiveness of the Industry Intervention Package in preventing child labor. We did not locate similar studies for the fishing/seafood sector.

3.1. PREVIOUS RESEARCH FROM THE FISHING/SEAFOOD SECTOR

Our literature search yielded far fewer documents related to the fishing/seafood sector (3 documents) or spanning both sectors (2 documents) compared to those related to the cocoa sector (17 documents). Documents we identified in the fishing/seafood sector described the formation of policies or campaigns to promote awareness about child labor and trafficking. We did not find evaluations of these interventions.

One promising intervention was to conduct analysis of sea vessel data to identify and audit vessels expected to have a higher likelihood of using child labor or trafficking in persons—those with histories of possible illegal, unreported, or unregulated fishing. The authors recommend, among other actions, developing intergovernmental lists of vessels engaged in forced labor and banning transshipment at sea (Oceana 2019).

3.2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH FROM THE COCOA SECTOR

Most of the existing initiatives to eliminate child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking in the cocoa sector described in documents we identified through our search typically followed one of two approaches. Some were Child Labor Monitoring and Remediation Systems (CLMRS), multi-pronged initiatives to identify children and families at risk of child labor and provide targeted supports to address the root causes of child labor and reduce risk. Others relied on certification of the cocoa production process upon inspection to verify that the cocoa was produced responsibly. Cocoa projects in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire were often framed and motivated by the Harkin-Engel Protocol, which commits national governments, bilateral partners, and industry groups to action on child labor in the sector (see Box 3.1).

Although evidence is limited, CLMRS models show promise as approaches to reduce child labor in cocoa. CLMRS models typically call for surveying households in a target area to identify households with children engaged in child labor or at risk of child labor. Then, a remediation approach is designed to address the root causes of child labor. These efforts may include awareness-raising activities, improvements in schools, financial education for families, organization of village savings and loan associations (VSLAs), or other community organization efforts, among others. Of 16 cocoa sector studies included in the annotated bibliography, 9 described CLMRS; 4 of these reported the results of a descriptive evaluation. Evaluations of the CLMRS programs did not provide causal evidence of their impacts on outcomes of interest but did show some promising results. Nestlé's CLMRS focused on strengthening education infrastructure, improving income generating activities, and addressing labor shortages that led to youth work. Nearly half of parents of children in school credited the program for facilitating

[16] We define a rigorous study as one that uses a counterfactual to estimate the causal impacts of an intervention.

their students' attendance and students' attendance was higher in families that participated in the income-generating supports (though the study did not establish that this was a causal relationship) (Fair Labor Association 2020). CLMRS sponsored by other chocolate companies also contributed to reducing child labor, but in all cases, child labor remained a persistent issue. The Annotated Bibliography in Annex D provides more detail on each of these reports.

An experimental study in Ghana found that neither financial education nor education on children's rights and the pitfalls of child labor led to reductions in child labor (Berry et al. 2015). The financial education component led to increases in savings at school, but not overall. In contrast with the promising results from the evaluations of the CLMRS programs, this suggests that multi-pronged approaches that address the root causes of child labor directly may be more effective than education-only programs in reducing child labor.

Another experimental evaluation found that conditional cash transfers (CCTs) reduced child labor in Indonesia (Cahyadi et al. 2020). The CCTs reduced participation in child labor by nearly half while also increasing school enrollment. This suggests that interventions that directly incentivize positive behavior among youth can be effective in reducing child labor.

Evidence from two recent investigations suggests that transnational chocolate producers' cocoa certification has not been an effective strategy to reduce child labor; we did not locate rigorous evaluations of the impact of fair trade certification. The investigations found that producers could easily violate the terms of the certification because they were rarely audited and, when they were audited, they received enough advance notice to avoid consequences for violating the terms of the certification. Furthermore, independent audits did not find lower rates of child labor at certified producers. Our literature review included documents that described other certification programs, such as fair trade certification. Fair trade certification requires a minimum price that is expected to fairly compensate producers and allow for investments in community assets like clean water and schools.

3.2.1. HIGHLIGHTS FROM TWO QUASI-EXPERIMENTAL STUDIES ON CHILD LABOR IN COCOA

Two studies, both performed by NORC with one funded by DOL and one funded by the World Cocoa Foundation, examined 1) the effectiveness of specific types or classes of interventions, such as education or livelihood supports, in reducing child labor; and 2) the effectiveness of the Industry Intervention Package in reducing child labor. **Evidence from quasi-experimental studies of interventions to fight child labor in the cocoa sector in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana suggests certain project components and characteristics drive effectiveness more than others.** The rest of this section summarizes the findings from these two studies.

<u>Effectiveness of the specific classes of interventions</u>

In *Assessing Progress in Reducing Child Labor in Cocoa Production in Cocoa Growing Areas of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana* (NORC 2020a), a DOL-funded study, evaluators examined projects aligned with the Harkin-Engel protocol that were funded by industry groups, host governments, civil society organizations, and DOL. These projects sought to address the root causes of child labor in cocoa production in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, including poverty and limited access to quality education. The longitudinal study used periodic prevalence surveys to conduct a mixed-methods evaluation of different classes of interventions, including education programs, livelihood supports, and occupational safety and health (OSH) trainings. Evaluators noted that while "the goals of the Harkin-Engel Protocol were not met, [there is] an impact on child labor in areas with high [cocoa] production and multiple interventions." In particular, "when multiple interventions were implemented in a community, it led to a statistically significant reduction in the rates of child labor and hazardous child labor in cocoa production." Examining the

Box 3.1 Harkin-Engel Protocol

In 2001, as global awareness of child labor in cocoa production rose, U.S. Senator Tom Harkin and U.S. Representative Eliot Engel convened representatives from the cocoa industry, the International Labor Organization, government of Côte d'Ivoire, and labor groups to agree to the elimination of the worst forms of child labor in the cocoa industry in accordance with ILO Convention 182. This agreement, thereafter known as the Harkin-Engel Protocol, was followed by the 2010 Declaration of Joint Action to Support the Harkin-Engel Protocol, in which the DOL and cocoa industry each pledged to contribute $10 million to the effort and work with the governments of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, which each agreed to provide financial and human resources, to help eliminate child labor in cocoa-producing areas.

Accompanying the Declaration, signatories to the protocol released the Framework of Action to Support Implementation of the Harkin-Engel Protocol, a document which specified the time-bound objectives of the agreement and the steps necessary to achieve them:

By 2020, the worst forms of child labor as defined by ILO Convention 182 in the cocoa sectors of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana will be reduced by 70 percent in aggregate through joint efforts by key stakeholders to provide and support remediation services for children removed from the worst forms of child labor, including education and vocational training, protective measures to address issues of occupational safety and health related to cocoa production, and livelihood services for the households of children in cocoa growing communities; the establishment and implementation of a credible and transparent sector-wide monitoring system across cocoa growing regions in the two countries; and the promotion of respect for core labor standards.

In FY 2010 alone, DOL committed $10 million to CL-reduction projects in the cocoa sector, and in the intervening decade, the department has continued its financial and coordination commitment to the area. Much of that funding has supported projects reviewed in this synthesis. The Harkin-Engel protocol also spurred the Child Labor Cocoa Coordinating Group, a public-private partnership (of which ILAB is a member) to stimulate dialogue and accelerate action on the elimination of child labor in cocoa in West Africa. For more information, visit https://www.dol.gov/agencies/ilab/our-work/child-forced-labor-trafficking/child-labor-cocoa.

contribution of specific components to that reduction, evaluators reported the following findings.

- Households that had received **education materials for their children did not have a significantly different likelihood of children's engagement in child labor** (including hazardous child labor) than non-participant households.
- Households that had received **livelihood supports had significantly lower rates of child labor than non-participant households.** However, this difference was not reflected in rates of hazardous child labor, and the likelihood of having at least one child in child labor was not significantly different between participant and non-participant households.
- Youth who received **formal OSH training were significantly more likely to wear appropriate protective gear** while working in agricultural settings. However, the likelihood of OSH-trained youth engaging in hazardous labor was not significantly different from that of untrained youth.

Evaluators also found that "interventions that promoted beneficiary participation in planning and implementation were most effective…" in reducing child labor, particularly in school-based interventions. Further, evaluators noted that "some of the most effective interventions were those that addressed the root causes of child labor but were not necessarily designed to support child labor prevention only", such as poverty-fighting interventions and infrastructure investments. Finally, evaluators noted that while awareness-raising efforts increased stakeholders' knowledge about child labor, those components alone were generally inadequate to change behaviors. Where awareness-raising efforts were paired with schooling and income generation activities, programs achieved greater success in reducing child labor.

Effectiveness of the Industry Intervention Package

In an associated sub-study funded by the World Cocoa Foundation, NORC evaluators compared the child labor outcomes of communities treated with the Industry Intervention Package (IIP), a collection of various private sector-funded efforts to fight child labor in cocoa production, against the outcomes of communities that did not receive IIP.[17] The IIP, part of the industry's response to the Harkin-Engel Protocol, included child labor monitoring and remediation services, school management committee and community child protection committee support, child protection awareness-raising, education infrastructure and material support, engagement with farmers and cooperatives, gender awareness programs, and women's livelihood support programs. Evaluators found that overall, "the Industry Intervention Package has led to a lower likelihood of hazardous child labor among households in communities that received significant exposure to various interventions" (NORC 2020b).[18] Specifically:

- Communities that received IIP programming had a **child labor prevalence rate 12 percentage points lower** than matched comparison communities that received no interventions, equivalent to a 25 percent reduction in prevalence.
- Similarly, communities that received IIP programming had **a hazardous child labor prevalence rate 15 percentage points lower** than matched comparison communities, equivalent to a 31 percent reduction in hazardous child labor prevalence.

These findings suggest that multi-component community-wide projects can generate substantial reductions in child labor, particularly hazardous child labor.

Conclusions

Findings from the Mathematica annotated bibliography and the NORC studies suggest that:

- Combining multiple components, particularly livelihoods programs and infrastructure investments, to address the root causes of child labor, such as poverty and poor education availability, may be effective at reducing child labor.
- Certification programs with weak enforcement have not proven to be effective in reducing child labor; certification programs with stronger levels of enforcement may be effective.
- Engaging participants in project planning and implementation processes may promote effectiveness.

[17] *Assessment of Effectiveness of Cocoa Industry Interventions in Reducing Child Labor in Cocoa Growing Areas of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana*. Evaluators performed a quasi-experimental evaluation using matching and multivariate regression.

[18] Evaluators indicated that the "the Industry Intervention Package was assessed as a whole and that the impact of individual interventions and/or categories of interventions was not assessed."

4. PROJECT CHARACTERISTICS

In this chapter, we present the project characteristics and general levels of success of the OCFT portfolio in cocoa and fishing sectors, providing a basis for the analysis detailed in Chapter 5.

Projects in OCFT's cocoa and fishing/seafood portfolio shared several characteristics. First, all projects **engaged governments** of target countries, nearly always at the national level and always at the provincial, district, or local level. Second, all projects focused on labor abuses in **sectors that are important** to the local and national economies of the target countries; cocoa is a vital agricultural export in West Africa, and fishing and seafood are essential to local food systems and national economies in Southeast Asia. Third, projects **shared similar durations**; all but two of the comparable projects were between 4 and 5 years long. Fourth, nearly all projects **targeted children and youth** ages 5 to 17, though some projects worked with children younger than 5 and others, particularly those focused on occupational health and safety, worked with young adults up to age 25.[19] Finally, most projects enjoyed **alignment with similar efforts** in the target country, including concurrent DOL projects, other donor-funded projects, industry-funded programs, and national government efforts. Annex A. Methodology Plan provides more detail on the geographic distribution of projects, as well as their budgets, activities, and durations.

Projects differed most in their funding amount and scopes of work. The average project value was $6.2 million, but the smallest project was $900,000 and the largest was $13.0 million (ECOWAS I, II). Some projects had small scopes, such as supporting the national government in the adoption of child labor monitoring indicators, while other projects had wide-ranging interventions and ambitious goals, including multi-country efforts that included direct actions to address labor abuses and technical assistance to build government capacity and advance labor policy.

Projects included in this review targeted the cocoa sector, the fishing/seafood sector, or one of those two sectors along with other sectors, such as construction, mining, or domestic work. Of the 19 projects reviewed for this synthesis, 10 targeted labor abuses in fishing/seafood (among other sectors) and 9 targeted labor abuses (particularly child labor) in cocoa.[20] Of the 16 comparable cocoa and fishing/seafood projects,[21] 12 targeted sectors beyond cocoa and fishing/seafood, while 2 focused exclusively on cocoa and 2 exclusively on fishing/seafood.

Child labor is the most common form of labor abuse targeted in the 19 projects reviewed for this synthesis. However, projects may target multiple kinds of labor abuse. In addition to the 14 projects that target child labor (including hazardous child labor), this synthesis also reviewed 4 projects that explicitly targeted forced labor and another 8 that targeted trafficking.

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[19] Ghana FLIP and SAFE Seas projects did not specify age ranges of participants. Ghana FLIP targeted improvements to the use of child labor indicators by government actors, the private sector, unions, and civil society organizations, so the final participants were not directly engaged by the project. SAFE Seas worked with victims of forced labor and trafficking, including youth and adults.

[20] Of the 19 projects in the portfolio, 15 targeted one of the sectors of interest (cocoa or fishing/seafood) and other sectors as well.

[21] We excluded SY@W, CLEAR, and CIRCLE I and II projects from the quantitative coding and analysis exercise because they each cover such a variety of countries and sectors as to not provide comparable information on effectiveness in addressing labor abuses in the relevant sector of interest (cocoa) specifically. We also excluded NORC reports from the quantitative coding and analysis because those studies do not examine specific DOL projects; they rather assess the effectiveness of different classes of interventions and the Industry Intervention Package (a non-DOL intervention) in reducing child labor in cocoa production.

Two projects explicitly sought improvements to OSH as a core objective (10 sought OSH improvements through programming, but not as a major part of the project objective). Greater detail on all projects is available in tables in Annex A. Methodology Plan.

Cocoa project characteristics: The 9 cocoa projects focused on reducing child labor (particularly hazardous or worst forms of child labor) by doing one or more of the following: 1) increasing access of children and youth to education and educational resources, 2) offering family livelihoods development activities, 3) raising awareness of labor issues and building community buy-in, or 4) developing child labor monitoring systems and government capacity to reduce child labor. These projects were mostly located in the major cocoa-producing countries of Côte d'Ivoire and/or Ghana, with several projects conducting programs in Nigeria, Cameroon, Sierra Leone, and/or Guinea. It should be noted that the cocoa sector was only one of several intervention areas targeted by projects included in this review, particularly among the multi-country projects such as Safe Youth at Work (SY@W) and Country Level Engagement and Assistance to Reduce Child Labor (CLEAR). Other targeted sectors under these multi-country projects included forestry, mining, construction, manufacturing, child domestic work, lumber, and non-cocoa agriculture.

Seven of the nine cocoa projects explicitly deployed a gender-conscious approach (an approach where the local gender realities are taken into account in component design), particularly in their education work with children and youth and in their livelihoods work with families. Most projects also used a tripartite approach, which involves engagement and dialogue with workers, government, and the private sector.[22] Evaluators' assessments suggest that five cocoa projects explicitly built a tripartite[23] structure into their work, while seven projects used at least a de facto tripartite approach.

The projects focused on widely varied objectives and worked with diverse sets of stakeholders. In Table 4.1, we show how many of the nine[24] projects included in the review had each development focus and worked with each set of stakeholders.

Fishing/seafood project characteristics: The 10 fishing/seafood projects focused on reducing child labor, forced labor, and/or trafficking by doing one or more of the following: 1) increasing access of children and youth to education and educational resources, 2) offering family livelihoods development activities, 3) raising awareness and building employer and community buy-in, or 4) developing child labor monitoring systems and government capacity and policies to reduce child labor. These projects were located in Indonesia, Thailand, Cambodia, and/or the Philippines. As with the cocoa-related projects, fishing-related projects reviewed for this synthesis also targeted other sectors, including child domestic work, the footwear industry, agriculture, brickmaking, construction, informal mining, rock quarrying, street begging, and commercial sexual exploitation of children.

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[22] In this review, we consider the "private sector" to include formal and informal employers, industry or employer federations, and local or international buyers.

[23] When evaluators identified tripartism as a core project structure in the project documents they reviewed, we coded the project in question as having an explicit tripartite approach. These structures are typically steering committees or fora between government actors; workers, their communities, and/or unions; and employers, buyers, or their federations. De facto tripartite approaches were structures that included representatives from those three stakeholder groups but were not explicitly labeled as tripartite by project implementers or evaluators.

[24] While we extracted information on 12 cocoa-sector efforts, our project descriptions are based on nine. Given their similarities, we combined ECOWAS I with ECOWAS II and CIRCLE I with CIRCLE II, and we excluded the NORC reports because they do not examine specific interventions but rather pools of projects.

Table 4.1. Cocoa projects' objectives and stakeholder engagement

Objectives (number of projects)	Stakeholder groups (number of projects)
• Reducing or eliminating child labor (9) • Reductions or elimination of hazardous or worst forms of child labor (8) • Improved OSH (5) • Increased government capacity (4) • Improved education access (4) • Forced labor (2) • Trafficking (2)	• Government partners (9) • Community leaders (8) • Civil society organizations (8) • Potential or current child workers (7) • Schools (7) • Families (6) • Private sector representatives (5) • Organized labor unions (5) • Investors, consumer groups, or buyers (4)

Five of the 10 fishing/seafood projects deployed a gender conscious approach, particularly in their education work with children and youth and in their livelihoods work with families. Evaluators' assessments suggest that five fishing/seafood projects explicitly built a tripartite structure into their work, while eight projects used at least a de facto tripartite approach.

As with the cocoa projects, the fishing/seafood projects focused on varied objectives and worked with diverse groups of stakeholders. In Table 4.2, we list the objectives and stakeholders for the ten fishing and seafood-sector projects.

Table 4.2. Fishing/seafood projects' objectives and stakeholder engagement

Objectives (number of projects)	Stakeholder groups (number of projects)
• Reducing or eliminating child labor (9) • Reductions or elimination of hazardous or worst forms of child labor (7) • Strengthening government capacity (7) • Improve access to quality education (7) • Reducing trafficking (4) • Improving OSH (3) • Forced labor (2)	• Local government, civil society, and community leaders (10) • National government (9) • Potential or current child workers (9) • Families or adults (9) • Schools (9) • Employers (8) • Organized labor unions (6) • Trafficking victims (6) • Investors, consumer groups, or buyers (3)

As detailed in Chapter 2, Research approach, we assigned values to comparable projects based on the degree to which they met specific goals, as well as the degree to which they generally delivered inputs, produced outputs, and achieved outcomes as expected. Our scoring and tabulation process (summarized in Table 4.3) indicates that, while projects struggled to deliver inputs as planned, they were generally moderately effective in producing expected outputs and achieving desired outcomes. This suggests that delivering inputs precisely as prescribed was not always necessary to produce outputs and deliver outcomes—flexibility exercised by grantees in adjusting inputs and support offered by partners and stakeholders could help projects produce planned outputs and achieve planned outcomes. By sector, our review indicates that cocoa projects were moderately effective overall, while fishing

projects were more variable in their effectiveness (achieving a nearly even proportion of A, B, and C scores). Chapter 5 uses these scores and other outcome variables at the project level to detail the types of interventions and strategies that are associated with project effectiveness.

Table 4.3. Degree to which projects met their goals

Assigned score	Degree to which inputs were successfully delivered	Degree to which outputs were successfully produced	Degree to which outcomes were successfully achieved	Overall score
A – high	**3 projects** (1 cocoa, 2 fishing)	**3 projects** (1 cocoa, 2 fishing)	**2 projects** (0 cocoa, 2 fishing)	**2 projects** (0 cocoa, 2 fishing)
B - moderate	**7 projects** (4 cocoa, 3 fishing)	**9 projects** (4 cocoa, 5 fishing)	**9 projects** (5 cocoa, 4 fishing)	**8 projects** (5 cocoa, 3 fishing)
C - low	**6 projects** (1 cocoa, 5 fishing)	**3 projects** (0 cocoa, 4 fishing)	**2 projects** (0 cocoa, 2 fishing)	**3 projects** (0 cocoa, 3 fishing)

Note: For three projects, only interim evaluations were available. We could assess inputs for all three, outputs for two, and outcomes for none of those projects.

5. RESULTS

This chapter presents the results of our analysis, detailing which types of interventions and strategies hold promise for future programming to prevent child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking, among other desired results. Our analysis also identifies common trends in evaluation results and lessons learned about project features and implementation strategies that appear to support successful outcomes. Based on these findings, we also provide key considerations for OCFT as they develop strategies moving forward.

We first detail the drivers of project effectiveness in three subsections—factors OCFT can influence, factors under implementers' control, and contextual factors.[25] As appropriate, we separate cross-cutting findings from sector-specific findings on these effectiveness drivers. Table 5.1 presents the classes of factors that we tested individually against the success of projects in delivering inputs, producing outputs, and achieving outcomes to identify drivers of effectiveness.

Table 5.1. Classes of factors tested for associations with project effectiveness

Section and factor group	Classes of factors that could drive effectiveness
5.1. Factors OCFT can influence	Project budget, duration, procurement models, geographic region, country, number of countries targeted, trade agreement status, number of project extensions or phases, sectors targeted, types of stakeholders targeted (and to what degree); presence or absence of a tripartite structure, implied core project goals, main project labor abuse focus, presence or absence of a gender-conscious approach; stated outcomes (including sub-outcomes and intermediate outcomes), stated objectives, strength of theory of change, and project design strengths and weaknesses
5.2. Factors implementers can control	Project management characteristics, strengths, and weaknesses (including communication structures, reasonableness of goals, and other factors); implementer's expertise and capacity; degree of component integration with outside initiatives; presence or absence of individual components, risks, critical assumptions, and contingency plans; routes to results achievement
5.3. Contextual factors	GDP per capita in target countries, international pressure or support for action, local buy-in of participants or other stakeholders, alignment with other ongoing efforts, political climate, economic inequality, poverty ratio, public attitudes toward children's and workers' rights, impacts of COVID-19

The fourth subsection examines the experience of the 3 multi-country, multi-sector cocoa-related projects that were not comparable to the 16 projects in the portfolio that targeted fewer countries and sectors. In the fifth subsection, we present factors that supported the sustainability of projects' impacts. Finally, in the sixth subsection, we review the challenges projects faced, the solutions they applied, and the success of those solutions in mitigating challenges. Results of this synthesis should be interpreted with several notes in mind.

[25] For three projects, only interim evaluations were available. These evaluations vary in detail and in how much outcome data are available. We are including those projects to the degree possible, principally assessing the effectiveness of the projects in delivering inputs as planned.

Readers notes:

Throughout this chapter, unless otherwise indicated, **we define effectiveness as the success of a project in delivering planned inputs, producing planned outputs, and achieving desired outcomes**—most often including reductions in child labor, forced labor, or human trafficking.

As we present the results of our categorical analysis, we do not report on every combination of the 150+ predictor variables with the 30+ outcome variables. We instead focus on those combinations that (a) show an apparent association or (b) directly contradict our expectations by not showing any association.

As noted in Chapter 2, we found that 3 of the 9 cocoa-related projects (SY@W, CLEAR, and CIRCLE 1 & 2) were multi-country and multi-sector to such a degree that they did not have comparable data available for coding and categorical analysis (all 10 fishing/seafood projects were comparable). With this small 6-project sample of comparable cocoa projects, the relationships we identified between project characteristics and achievement variables are tenuous and are complemented with qualitative review of evaluators' assessments.[1]

In their assessments, evaluators often identified factors that appeared to drive or inhibit project achievement. In some cases, evaluators' assessments, such as the suggestion that the absence of income-generation activities (IGAs) limited the project's sustainability, do not align with associations found between the relevant variables we have coded using information from the entire portfolio of projects. That is to say, the absence of IGAs does not always mean a project will struggle with sustainability, and the presence of IGAs is not a powerful enough driver of sustainability to produce a pattern across a given sector or overall. This kind of difference between the assessment of evaluators and the findings of our portfolio-wide review could also arise because some of the interventions examined across the portfolio, such as IGAs, may often be of inadequate length, quality, or intensity to drive consistent sustainability results.

In our discussion of results (Chapter 5), we primarily report on trends and associations observed across multiple projects and supplement our analysis with evaluators' qualitative explanations for those trends.

5.1. FACTORS OCFT CAN INFLUENCE THAT SUPPORT EFFECTIVENESS

Results summary: OCFT-influenced factors that support effectiveness

Cross-cutting findings

- **Longer durations and larger budgets** appeared to support greater effectiveness.
- There does not appear to be a change in project effectiveness **over the 22-year portfolio period**.
- Projects that **heavily engaged family members, community leaders, and unions** were more effective than projects that did not engage those groups to the same degree. Engaging other stakeholder groups did not have a strong relationship with effectiveness across the portfolio.
- Projects with **gender-aware design** and **gender-specific programming** were more effective at achieving all of their goals than those without gender-conscious characteristics.
- Projects targeting certain **outcomes** (such as **establishing a functional monitoring system**) tended to be more effective than other projects, while those with certain **design strengths** reported by evaluators (such as the use of diagnostics and testing[26] to inform project activities) were more effective than projects without those reported strengths.
- Projects using a **subcontracting model** to **deliver programming, such as improvements to local education access or quality, through local NGOs or CBOs** were more effective on average than projects that did not use this subcontracting model and delivered services directly.
- Projects that supported target governments with **long-term, outcome-based multi-intervention planning** were more effective than other projects.
- **Tripartism** was associated with project effectiveness—in cocoa, having an **explicit tripartite structure** was strongly associated with project effectiveness, while in fishing and seafood, having either an **explicit or a de facto tripartite** approach was equally associated with effectiveness.

Cocoa-sector findings

- Cocoa projects designed with **few components or fewer links** between components were **less effective** than projects designed with more **various components or close linkages**.

Fishing and seafood-sector findings

- Fishing/seafood projects designed with **fewer components or fewer links** between them were **more effective** than projects designed with more various components or close linkages.
- Projects that **heavily engaged employers** were more effective than those that engaged those stakeholders to a lesser degree or not at all.
- Fishing/seafood projects with more **logical, coherent theories of change**[27] were more effective than those with substantial gaps in the elements or logic of their theories of change.[28]

[26] By diagnostics and testing, we are referring to project processes which take place early in the period of performance and which may include collecting data from stakeholders and a sample of potential participants, identifying the factors driving labor abuses among the population of interest, and piloting activities with a subset of participants on a small scale to test assumptions before launching project-wide interventions.

[27] Since 2015, OCFT projects have been required to develop and use comprehensive monitoring and evaluation plans (CMEPs), tools designed to "integrate and guide the process of monitoring, evaluating, and reporting on project progress toward achieving intended outcomes" (OCFT 2018). Grantees develop CMEPs in close collaboration with OCFT at project outset. Only seven projects in the portfolio could have developed CMEPs (starting after 2015) and only four of the seven relevant evaluations provided assessments of CMEP quality. In those evaluations that assessed CMEPs, evaluators suggested the plans were indeed useful for grantees to explore the assumptions and indicators that formed part of their interventions' logical frameworks. However, we do not have data that indicates developing or using a CMEP increases the likelihood projects are effective.

[28] Cocoa projects with more logical, coherent theories of change may also be more effective than those with substantial gaps in the elements or logic of their theories of change. However, in our small sample size of 6 comparable cocoa projects, that association was not readily apparent.

- Fishing/seafood projects **targeting improvements in partner capacity** (particularly in inspections and enforcement of labor laws) as an explicit outcome generally were more effective than projects that did not explicitly target that outcome.

OCFT has direct control over procurement aspects of the programming it funds and, through guidance and coordination with implementing grantees, also has influence over project theories of change and elements of project designs, including overall complexity, stakeholders to be targeted, and program components to be delivered (see Table 5.1). In the present subsection (5.1), we present associations we identified between factors influenced by OCFT and project effectiveness.

5.1.1. CROSS-CUTTING FINDINGS

Across both sectors, larger projects (in terms of budget and duration) appeared to be more effective than smaller projects in delivering inputs, producing outputs, and achieving outcomes.[29] Smaller projects also appeared to have poorer quality of project management and lower efficiency than projects with larger budgets and longer durations.[30] This relationship is borne out when controlling for the number of countries a given project serves, which adjusts for projects that served multiple countries, such as ECOWAS, CCP, or Southeast Asia Footwear & Fishing. Projects with budgets averaging more than $1 million per year per country were more likely to successfully deliver inputs, produce outputs, and achieve outcomes than projects with an average of less than $1 million in funding per year per country.[31] While some evaluators of multi-country projects indicated those projects had higher administrative costs and that money allocated to direct actions was "spread too thin", our analysis did not find that comparable multi-country projects were substantially less likely to achieve their planned outcomes than single-country projects, when controlling for the number of countries targeted. This suggests that whether a project was multi-country or not had less to do with its effectiveness than the size of the project budget allocated to each country.

Our analysis found that some countries appeared to have more successful projects than other countries, but the reason (or set of reasons) for this association is not clear. For example, in the current suite of fishing/seafood-sector projects, those in Cambodia appear to have enjoyed the highest rates of success, whereas projects in Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand appear to have had more limited effectiveness. Cocoa-related projects (with efforts principally in West Africa) do not show a pattern of success associated with specific countries. These findings should be interpreted with caution, as the sample size is small and numerous contextual factors could drive the apparent association (including the type of producers targeted or the level of gross domestic product per capita, as noted in subsection 5.3.). However, OCFT may be able to use prior information on the countries where projects most

[29] The three projects for which we only have interim evaluations also happen to have small budgets and limited success in delivering their planned inputs so far.

[30] In our review, we also noted that evaluators of projects that were phases of larger projects often suggested those projects could derive benefits from having longer periods of time to consolidate their impacts. However, our analysis did not identify an association between whether a project was a phase of a larger series and its effectiveness in meeting its targets.

[31] Several unrecorded factors may also be at play in this relationship. In addition to targeting different numbers of countries, projects also vary in the sizes of countries they target, the sizes of the target industries (and their sizes relative to target countries' national economies), and the proportion of each country's target industry that the projects aim to serve (in terms of the percentage of individuals or communities). These factors make conclusions about the relationship between project budget, duration, and success less clear.

struggled to achieve their aims to work with grantees to prepare for challenges that arose for earlier projects in those countries and to consider adjusting targets based on prior experience.

> ***Box 5.1. Larger projects support strong implementation and achievement:***
>
> *The $5.6 million Indonesia Time-Bound Program (TBP) project was active for 4.3 years and achieved most of its targeted outputs and outcomes. With an average of $1.3 million per year and only one country to target, the project was able to deliver robust community-based direct-action programs and coordinate those with district and provincial committees, while simultaneously working on closely with the national government on policy issues and regulatory and institutional development. With the time and funding available to the project, the grantee was able to manage complicated sub-programs and adhere to planned milestones and targets.*
>
> Other projects in the portfolio had durations as short as two years and budgets as small as $0.4 million per year for single-country efforts (or $0.2 million per year per country for multi-country projects). With less time and fewer resources, these smaller projects tended to struggle more than the larger projects to meet their planned milestones and overcome challenges such as external delays or project staff turnover.

One might expect that more recent projects would be more successful than those early in the project portfolio, but we detected no association between the starting year of the project and its reported effectiveness. However, changes over time related to project goal setting (in some cases, as a result of a change of presidential administration), as well as an evolution of evaluation methods and report requirements, may obscure changes in project effectiveness over time in these sectors. For example, if recent evaluations set higher standards or require more evidence than early evaluations to draw the conclusion that a project was generally successful, but more recent projects are also more efficient in their implementation than earlier projects, we may observe no trends in project effectiveness over time.

OCFT may require implementers to engage certain stakeholder groups, and our analysis suggests that targeting certain stakeholders is associated with project effectiveness. Projects that strongly engaged families and community leaders appear to have been more effective than projects that did not engage families and community leaders to the same degree. Projects that engaged unions (especially those that engaged unions to a high degree) appear to have had higher effectiveness than projects that did not engage unions. Notably, there was no apparent association between whether a project engaged investors, consumer groups, or buyers and the project's effectiveness. These findings align with individual evaluators' interpretations of success; for example, evaluators noted that projects working closely with families and community leadership in cocoa-producing areas were able to build commitment at the household level to avoid using child labor and foster creativity at the community level in awareness-raising and monitoring. Similarly, projects that targeted unions were more able to mobilize regional resources to rapidly educate thousands of workers and families around rights and protections due to them. Projects that engaged investors, consumer groups, or buyers tended to achieve only minor partnerships with those stakeholders, and their roles tended to be based more on endorsing project efforts than on directly partnering with the project through stakeholder meetings, supply chain improvement, or program funding.

Across both sectors, projects with gender-aware approaches and gender-specific programming tended to be more effective in delivering inputs, producing outputs, and achieving outcomes than projects that did not have those characteristics (even inputs, outputs, and outcomes

beyond gender indicators). This relationship could be driven by several other factors, most likely strong implementer capacity; implementers with the most capacity to deliver planned programs were more likely to deliver gender-conscious interventions.

OCFT has influence over the theory of change and the anticipated results of new projects, and our analysis suggests that selecting certain outcomes may be associated with different levels of project effectiveness. Across both sectors, projects that set the **establishment of a labor monitoring system** (most often run by local government agencies) as an explicit outcome generally had higher effectiveness (in that outcome and others) than projects that did not set that goal as an outcome. Assessments from evaluators would suggest that this association is due to the fact that with adequate technical assistance, monitoring systems can be instituted within the short time span of a project. In contrast, projects that **set improved social protection from government or other authorities** as an outcome generally had lower effectiveness than projects that did not set that goal as an outcome. This association is likely due to what evaluators often identified as a slower-than-expected growth in government capacity and could also be due to the fact that social protection programs require greater resources to develop and deliver than labor monitoring systems, among other possible outcomes. The implications of these relationships—that projects should select certain outcomes and avoid others—should be interpreted with caution. Rather than avoiding difficult outcomes, OCFT and grantees could use this finding at the design stage to select an acceptable balance of more feasible and more difficult outcomes and could refine the desired outcomes to be as specific as possible. In the process, OCFT and grantees can prepare for the challenges associated with the more difficult outcomes, such as working with lower-capacity governments. Such challenges (and relevant solutions) are described further in subsection 5.6, Challenges and Solutions).

Across both sectors, certain design strengths may drive effectiveness.

- A subset of projects across both sectors began their work with diagnostics and testing—processes that included collecting data from stakeholders and a sample of potential participants, identifying the factors driving labor abuses among the population of interest, and piloting activities with a subset of participants on a small scale to test assumptions before launching project-wide interventions. Projects that used those processes to inform later activities were more effective than those that did not have that design strength.
- Similarly, projects with strong management structures to support implementers and partners were more effective than those that did not have that design strength. These structures included open and frequent communication channels, clear definition of roles, and careful oversight of timelines and activities.

Across both sectors, certain design weaknesses may impede effectiveness.

- Projects that poorly calibrated the size, dosage, or scope of their interventions to the severity of the labor problems they targeted were less effective, as were projects with unreasonable goals or inflexible logic models. These design weaknesses limited the appropriateness of programming and reduced the ability of the projects to adapt programming to fit real conditions.
- Finally, projects that evaluators identified as not having spent adequate time and resources early in their periods of performance helping stakeholders understand project priorities had lower effectiveness scores than those that avoided this design weakness. This could indicate that OCFT and grantees should not take for granted that stakeholders will grasp the motivation, parameters, and strategies of the project without robust onboarding.

Some project delivery models were also more effective than others. We found that projects using a subcontracting model to deliver programming through local NGOs, CBOs, and civil society organizations (CSOs) tended to be more effective on average than projects without that model. Several evaluators indicated the model was useful because the local organizations that won sub-program funding were highly aware of local contexts, which improved project relevance and allowed fine-tuning of activities, and because the subcontracting model built local capacity and increased the likelihood that the organizations would be able to find funding to continue work after the OCFT project came to a close. Despite this general trend, however, projects using this subcontracting model also experienced variable effectiveness across their various sub-programs.

Similarly, projects that engaged target governments with long-term, outcome-based multi-intervention planning were more effective than other projects. Our analysis suggested that the most effective projects overall were those using a model that required robust target government commitment to the project and heavily involved those governments' agencies in developing and delivering long-term, outcome-based multi-intervention plans to reduce the prevalence of and eventually eliminate (hazardous) child labor. This insight aligns with other findings in this chapter, including the findings that strong theories of change, robust planning processes, longer project durations, and stakeholder buy-in are each associated with project effectiveness.

5.1.2. COCOA SECTOR FINDINGS

Our analysis identified few factors[32] over which OCFT has influence that drove or impeded effectiveness only among cocoa projects (and not among fishing/seafood projects). Among the six comparable projects that targeted the cocoa sector (excluding SY@W, CLEAR, and CIRCLE 1 & 2), the three projects with an explicit tripartite focus had the highest rates of effectiveness. Similarly, we found that having at least some degree of tripartism (explicit or de facto) appeared loosely associated with effectiveness, while the project without a tripartite approach received the lowest scores for effectiveness.

Cocoa projects that evaluators identified as being designed with few components or few linkages between components showed lower average effectiveness than projects that did not have this design characteristic. This finding suggests that multi-component projects in the cocoa sector may be more effective than those with fewer or less integrated interventions, or it may simply indicate that projects without linkages between components tend to have another unobserved variable, such as distance between project sites, which undermines success.

5.1.3. FISHING/SEAFOOD SECTOR FINDINGS

In contrast, in the fishing and seafood sector, projects designed with few components or few linkages between components appeared to have higher effectiveness than projects that did not have this design characteristic. In the fishing/seafood sector, a project with few components or designed linkages between them had higher average effectiveness scores than projects without this design characteristic. For example, some projects had components like income generation activities, investments in local schools, and programs specifically for

[32] Given the small pool of comparable cocoa-sector projects (those six which had extracted data coded to categorical variables), our analysis at the cocoa-sector level can only detect strong associations between variables. For that reason, the bulk of the findings relevant to cocoa can be found in the cross-cutting findings subsections of this chapter, which have the advantage of drawing from a larger pool of coded projects.

women and girls that were not well-integrated with one another or extended to similar sectors. Evaluators often considered this design characteristic to be an inadequacy or weakness; for example, evaluators of the Cambodia TBP project suggested the components should have extended to other sectors in order to better support the national labor abuse initiatives. However, we find that, in fishing/seafood projects, implementers with simpler project structures may have been more able to manage their components flexibly, take advantage of alignment with outside initiatives, and deliver planned outcomes than those with more complex or numerous components. The difference between this finding in cocoa and fishing/seafood sectors could be a result of the fact that in cocoa projects, most project components focus on the same sites and communities (and mutually reinforce one another by being numerous and firmly linked). However, in fishing/seafood projects, efforts tended to be less concentrated in one target area, instead spanning such sites and stakeholders as employers, provincial governments, teachers, unions, and children. Those projects may not require such close linkage of components and investing in numerous components could reduce the funding available for (and thus the intensity or dosage) of each activity.

Similar to cocoa projects, tripartism was associated with effectiveness among the 10 fishing/seafood projects. There was little differentiation between the effectiveness of the 8 de facto tripartite projects and the 5 projects that used an explicit tripartite approach; all received moderate-to-high scores on overall effectiveness. The 2 projects without even a de facto tripartite structure were less successful, earning low scores on overall effectiveness.

In line with these tripartism findings, our analysis suggests that targeting specific stakeholders supports effectiveness in fishing/seafood interventions. Specifically, the 8 projects that engaged employers in programming were more effective than the 2 projects that did not, and the least effective projects in the sector were those that had lower community leader engagement. These findings suggest that, in the fishing/seafood sector, directly engaging employers such as fishing boat or platform owners, or seafood packaging plant managers with programs such as awareness-raising or compliance trainings supports projects in reducing labor abuses. Similarly, developing buy-in and local ownership through engaging community leaders enabled fishing/seafood projects to advance monitoring and education initiatives more effectively. Among fishing/seafood projects, we identified no associations between whether the project engaged other stakeholder groups (such as local government or international buyers) and effectiveness.

Just as our cross-cutting analysis identified that projects in both sectors that targeted certain outcomes were more effective, we also found that fishing/seafood projects targeting a specific outcome were more effective. Projects that placed **improvements in partner capacity** (particularly in inspections and enforcement of labor laws) as an explicit outcome generally had higher effectiveness than projects that did not codify that goal as an outcome.

Particularly with fishing and seafood projects,[33] the degree to which projects had evidence-based, logical theories of change was associated with project effectiveness.[34] Projects with

[33] We suspect this finding is also relevant to cocoa projects, but the association noted here was not apparent in our small pool of comparable cocoa projects.

[34] After extracting evaluators' assessments of projects' theories of change, we assigned those projects that had substantial gaps or false assumptions in their project logic a low theory of change score. Those projects that had largely coherent theories of change but showed some limitations or gaps that threatened the relevance or completeness of programming received moderate theory of change scores. Projects using

low- or medium-quality theories of change also scored low, on average, in delivering inputs, producing outputs, and achieving outcomes. Projects with higher-quality theories of change (those that captured key project elements and dynamics that could drive success) also had moderate to high effectiveness scores. This aligns with qualitative descriptions from individual evaluators; they noted that projects with weaker theories of change and logic models struggled to (1) identify exactly how their proposed programming would be adequate to produce desired changes and (2) situate the project plans in the local context using reliable evidence. Projects with these limitations were therefore less able to integrate their work into local realities, set reasonable goals, and identify and deliver essential programming.

Key considerations from analysis of factors OCFT can influence that drive effectiveness

- Providing **larger budgets** and contracting grantees for **longer periods of time** could help projects meet their goals
- Requiring that projects engage **families, community leaders, and unions** could support effectiveness across both sectors, and in the fishing and seafood sector, heavily **engaging employers** could do the same
- **Gender-conscious project designs** could support projects in achieving their goals (even beyond gender-related outcomes)
- Pursuing certain **outcomes** (depending, in some cases, on the sector) was associated with projects achieving greater overall effectiveness, and those outcomes could be balanced with the selection of more difficult goals
- Ensuring projects use **diagnostics and testing** could support effective programming
- Using **a subcontracting model** with local organizations to maximize local relevance of programming, or building **long-term, outcome-based program plans** with governments, could support project effectiveness
- Requiring **tripartite approaches** (particularly explicit ones, in the cocoa sector) could support effectiveness
- Cocoa projects may benefit from a **design with various components and close linkages** between them, while fishing and seafood projects may be more effective with **fewer, less closely linked components**
- Particularly in the seafood/fishing sector, building **stronger, more logical theories of change** by conducting more early research (including global literature reviews and local data collection to understand drivers of labor abuses) could support project effectiveness

5.2. FACTORS UNDER IMPLEMENTERS' CONTROL THAT DRIVE EFFECTIVENESS

Results summary: Implementer-controlled factors that drive effectiveness

Cross-cutting findings

- **Implementer capacity and management quality** was:
  - Positively associated with levels of **partner and participant buy-in** to project activities
  - Positively associated with **project efficiency**
  - Inversely associated with the **severity of delays** projects experienced
- Projects with **greater delays** also tended to be less effective in achieving their goals.
- Projects where **grantee capacity (or that of their subcontractors) grew** during the period of performance tended to have higher effectiveness.
- Projects with **stronger communication and coordination structures** were also more effective in achieving their goals.

logical, coherent, evidence-based theories of change with few or minor gaps, if any, received high theory of change scores. The 11 comparable projects that used strong theories of change were Ghana MOCA, Ghana FLIP, Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire CCP, ECOWAS I & II, Cambodia EXCEL, Thailand CECL Shrimp, Indonesia Fish-Footwear Phase II, Indonesia TBP, Cambodia TBP, Cambodia TBP II, and SAFE SEAS.

- Implementers with **thorough planning**, a **well-researched initial approach, strong service delivery systems**, and **deliberate alignment with similar projects** were most effective.
- Implementers with a severe **lack of monitoring and evaluation processes, poor participant targeting,** and **poor planning with partners for continuity of efforts** to combat labor abuses after projects closed tended to be less effective.

Fishing and seafood-sector findings[35]

- Implementers that **integrated their activities with other government or donor-funded initiatives** were more likely to be achieve their goals, including in reducing labor abuses and in:
  - Advancing **policy changes,**
  - Supporting **migrants' rights,**
  - Advancing **women's and girls' empowerment**, and
  - Improving **education enrollment and attainment** among target groups.

Implementers[36] have control over numerous factors that could drive project effectiveness, including the management capacity and sector expertise they deploy to the project, the contingency planning they do, and the monitoring processes they use. In the present subsection (5.2), we report associations we identified between these and other factors listed in Table 5.1 and overall project effectiveness.

5.2.1. CROSS-CUTTING FINDINGS

Across both sectors, several factors under implementers' control were associated with project effectiveness. While all comparable projects experienced at least minor delays in their implementation, projects with lower implementer capacity and management quality (a composite variable incorporating implementers' expertise[37], staffing, and administrative and logistical processes) tended to experience more substantial delays and lower effectiveness than projects with minor delays. This finding suggests that unprepared implementers may have allowed small delays to expand, and that drastically postponed or compressed programs were generally unable to make up for lost time.

The level of implementer capacity is strongly associated with both partner and participant buy-in and the degree to which the project successfully delivered inputs, produced outputs, and achieved outcomes. In fact, only projects with high levels of implementer capacity achieved high scores across those results areas, and only projects with lower levels of implementer capacity received low effectiveness scores. Quality of project management is also positively associated with effectiveness. Projects where evaluators documented that grantee or sub-grantee capacity *grew* during the program period also saw higher effectiveness. Finally,

[35] As noted previously, the small pool of comparable cocoa-sector projects limits the number of sector-specific insights available through our categorical analysis. While those methods did not reveal any sector-specific trends in relationships between implementer-controlled factors and effectiveness, our review of three multi-country cocoa projects in section 5.4 provides insights on implementer practices that drive and inhibit project success.

[36] In this review, we use the term implementer to refer to entities paid to deliver project activities: grantees and sub-grantees, such as local NGOs that the grantee might subcontract to implement certain programs. Though target government agencies also sometimes implement project-related processes—such as policy reform discussions or monitoring system set-up—we refer to these actors as partners or stakeholders, because they are not typically engaged with the project only to implement its activities.

[37] We assessed implementers' expertise by reviewing evaluators' comments on the depth of knowledge and experience that grantees and their implementing partners had. We examined mentions of institutional expertise, such as a long organizational record of addressing labor abuses, and mentions of individual staff expertise, such as a project director with deep experience in labor in the sector and region. These two facets of expertise often aligned, though not always.

projects where evaluators documented strong communication structures, including coordination and reporting with DOL, implementers, partners, and participants, were also more likely to be effective.

Implementer capacity and management quality were also closely aligned with the degree to which projects spent their budgets efficiently.[38] More efficient projects were more likely to achieve their planned inputs, outputs, and outcomes. However, evaluators' assessments of the adequacy of project budgets to cover planned activities did not appear strongly related to project efficiency.[39] This suggests that projects with lean budgets for their planned work were just as able to efficiently deliver programming as those with more ample funding.

Our analysis suggests that, among more effective projects, evaluators often identified three drivers of success that tended to occur together: strong planning, a well-researched initial approach, and strong implementation systems. These systems might include streamlined subcontractor relationships or the co-delivery of programming alongside community leadership or schoolteachers. Other key factors that evaluators associated with effectiveness were implementers' efforts to cultivate government and community buy-in, a focus on infrastructure improvements, and project alignment with outside programs and services. Evaluators often noted that the alignment of projects was mutually beneficial in terms of raising awareness of labor abuse issues, but that implementers could have done more to explicitly partner with similar projects and share best practices and lessons learned.

Evaluators sought to identify implementer-related inhibitors of project success, and our analysis suggests that several of these evaluator-identified inhibitors are indeed associated with lower effectiveness. These inhibitors included:

- A severe lack of monitoring and evaluation processes, as well as corresponding accountability systems to check and improve project performance;
- Poor participant targeting, including among subgroups, such as migrants or women, which meant that people who needed specific services did not receive them or people who did not need services did receive them; and
- Poor continuity of activities by stakeholders during and after the project, which was characterized by governments and sub-grantees having inadequate resources, capacity, or instruction to continue offering key services to participants.

These and other inhibitors are discussed in greater detail in subsection 5.6. Challenges and Solutions.

Implementers also faced risks, some of which were recognized in projects' strategies with explicit assumptions, and some of which were unanticipated. Our analysis suggests several risks were more difficult to anticipate or mitigate than others. Nine of the 16 comparable projects anticipated the risk that inadequate government capacity might limit progress, and yet it was also the risk that was mitigated least often in project planning and delivery. The risk

[38] To score efficiency, we extracted information from project documents (including evaluations and TPRs) related to how economically and quickly projects were able to achieve their work goals. To assess economic efficiency, we determined whether projects were generally able to achieve goals with allocated funds (and if they had savings), or if they instead ran up against budget limits without having achieved their goals. To assess time efficiency, we examined whether projects were generally able to produce planned outputs in the allocated time periods, or if they instead overran planned deadlines across multiple components. We then coded this information from the qualitative rubric to the categorical variables.

[39] Note that evaluators' individual assessments of each project's budget adequacy are separate from our portfolio-wide view of project budgets, duration, and geographic coverage, as discussed in section 5.1.

that behaviors of participants and other stakeholders would not be easily adjustable also appeared across nearly half of the comparable projects and was mitigated only 3 of the 7 times it appeared. Projects rarely anticipated the risk that their timeline or dosage would be inadequate to achieve project goals, and this risk went unmitigated in 5 of the 16 comparable projects. Five of the 6 projects that encountered difficulties with participant targeting also failed to anticipate the risk, and most also were unsuccessful in mitigating the issue. Those risks that manifested as challenges that directly threatened project effectiveness are discussed in subsection 5.6 in greater detail.

5.2.2. COCOA SECTOR FINDINGS

As noted previously, the small pool of comparable cocoa-sector projects limits the number of sector-specific insights available through our categorical analysis. While those methods did not reveal any sector-specific trends in relationships between implementer-controlled factors and effectiveness, our review of three multi-country cocoa projects in subsection 5.4 provides insights on implementer practices that drive and inhibit project success.

5.2.3. FISHING/SEAFOOD SECTOR FINDINGS

In the fishing/seafood sector, those projects where implementers integrated their activities with aligned efforts (including local government or NGO initiatives) were the most successful in delivering inputs, producing outputs, and achieving outcomes.[40]Specifically, these projects advanced policy changes, supported migrants' rights, advanced women's and girls' empowerment, and improved education enrollment and attainment among target groups more than projects that did not integrate various components into a comprehensive approach.

Key considerations from analysis of factors under implementers' control that drive effectiveness

- Grantees focusing on **building the capacity and management quality of their organization and their sub-grantees** could foster partner and participant buy-in, support project efficiency, reduce delays, and drive overall effectiveness
- Supporting projects' **communication and coordination structures** could streamline management and boost partner engagement, thereby driving effective service delivery
- Implementers dedicated to thoroughly **researching and planning an initial approach**, developing a **strong service delivery system**, and deliberately **aligning their work with similar projects** could be more successful in achieving their objectives
- Implementers **avoiding poor monitoring and evaluation processes**, **poor participant targeting**, **and poor continuity planning with partners** could be more successful in achieving their objectives
- Fishing/seafood projects could be more effective in advancing policy change, migrants' rights, women's and girls' empowerment, and education enrollment and attainment among target groups if they **integrate their activities with ongoing, outside initiatives**

[40] This diverges from the finding in subsection 5.1.3 that fishing/seafood projects designed without linkages between components were more effective. Here, we are referring to how implementers delivered programming once it was designed and approved. This finding also likely applies to cocoa sector projects, but we did not observe a clear association between this factor and project effectiveness in our small pool of 6 comparable cocoa sector projects.

5.3. CONTEXTUAL FACTORS THAT ENABLE EFFECTIVENESS

Results summary: Contextual factors that enable effectiveness

- **Partner and participant enthusiasm** for project goals and activities is associated with effectiveness.
- Projects targeting **countries with low gross domestic product (GDP) per capita** at project outset were more effective in meeting planned goals than projects targeting countries with high GDP.
- Projects targeting **countries where evaluators mentioned a generally positive public opinion toward children's and workers' rights** were more effective in meeting planned goals than projects targeting countries where evaluators mentioned less supportive public opinion toward children's and workers' rights.[41]
- The degree of **national and international pressure and influence** from non-project stakeholders does not appear associated with project success.
- **Migration between communities and countries, as well as fluid labor markets,** may inhibit the effectiveness of direct service activities that cover only select sectors and sites.
- The **COVID-19 pandemic threatened the implementation** of ongoing projects; though they have taken actions to adapt to the pandemic, the results of their efforts are not yet documented.

OCFT can influence the selection of implementers, project design, countries, and sectors. By doing so, the office can determine the contextual factors to which its projects are exposed. However, many contextual factors may not form part of OCFT's grant-making decisions. In this subsection, we examine the influence of these contextual factors—some of which are likely outside of OCFT's project-selection criteria—on project effectiveness. Our analysis suggests that influential contextual factors are cross-cutting and do not depend on sector.

The level of partner and participant buy-in to project activities has a slight positive association with project effectiveness. While this buy-in is associated with implementer capacity and management quality, and while those implementer-controlled factors may drive that buy-in, it may also be a result of a pre-existing partner and participant readiness and enthusiasm for addressing labor abuses. Partner and participant buy-in in target countries may also be affected by U.S. negotiation of international trade agreements incorporating labor provisions.

The strength of target countries' economies may be inversely related to project effectiveness. However, low-income countries' stronger political will and support for the projects may be driving this relationship. Our analysis found that the gross domestic product (GDP) per capita of target countries at the start of the project generally appears to be inversely related to (1) project funding per year, (2) the quality of project management and level of efficiency, (3) level of partner and participant buy-in, and (4) project effectiveness.[42] Several possible theories link these variables. First, we suspect that projects in lower-income countries may have been allocated greater funds in anticipation of lower target government and other stakeholder capacity and higher prevalence of labor abuses and were thus able to make greater strides in building awareness, institutional capacity, and education programming from a lower level. Second, funding allocated to projects in lower-income countries may go farther (as the costs of goods and services that the projects must procure may be lower in those countries),

[41] Evaluators varied in their treatment of this subject; some discussed public attitudes toward children's and workers' rights as the project first encountered them, while other evaluators discussed public attitudes as they were at the time of the evaluations. This obscures whether effective projects had strong national impacts on public opinions, or whether supportive public opinions enabled project effectiveness.

[42] Economic inequality at the start of projects, as measured by the Gini index, does not appear related to project effectiveness. The poverty headcount ratio at $1.90 a day (2011 PPP) also does not appear strongly related to project effectiveness. Data sourced from World Bank Open Data, 2021.

enabling projects to deliver more programming per dollar. Third, in lower-income countries, partners and participants may also show more buy-in with OCFT projects because such outside programming may be more attractive in contexts where local or national government funding for similar work is scarce. For example, evaluators of the WACAP program in Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, and Nigeria (which had a low average GDP per capita of $2,066 at project outset) noted that, while child labor was pervasive in target areas, some communities and many policymakers were already trying to reduce it when the project launched. The WACAP project may have met those stakeholder groups with programs and assistance just as they built momentum and expended locally available resources. This association also raises the possibility that projects in lower-GDP countries were more effective simply because communities also happened to be more interested in addressing the labor issues, which may or may not be related to larger economic factors. Similarly, the evaluators of the Thailand CECL Shrimp project (where the GDP per capita was higher than all other projects; $13,195 at project outset) noted that the project struggled with inadequate political will, particularly as a result of inadequate data to convince government stakeholders to take child labor seriously and distraction among powerful industry stakeholders related to shrimp diseases affecting production.

In line with these examples, our analysis found that public positive attitudes in target countries and communities toward children's and workers' rights appear moderately associated with project effectiveness. Evaluators varied in their treatment of this subject; some discussed public attitudes toward children's and workers' rights as the project first encountered them, while other evaluators discussed public attitudes as they were at the time of the evaluations. This obscures whether effective projects had strong national impacts on public opinions, or whether supportive public opinions enabled project effectiveness (or both, to some degree). Qualitative evidence from the evaluations supports both possibilities. Nearly all projects mobilized local communities, and most also raised some degree of awareness among the greater public, which could drive changes in national opinion on children's or workers' rights. But evaluators also noted that, in areas where child labor is normalized and expected, fostering behavior change in target households was more difficult than in areas where communities and parents were already aware of the risks of child labor and the rights of children to education.

While we expected that the degree of national and international pressure for action on labor abuses might drive effectiveness, our findings defied our expectations. Evaluators shared our hypothesis, suggesting that national and international pressure for action on labor abuses might stimulate project momentum. However, our review does not identify a strong association across the portfolio between the degree of stakeholders' positive pressure and influence and the effectiveness of the projects. This relationship may not appear because the pressure for action, on its own, is insufficient to drive effectiveness, whereas factors discussed previously, such as those under OCFT or grantee control, could have a stronger direct connection to project success and may be necessary for national and international pressure to gain traction.

Box 5.2. Public attitudes about child labor and their association with project effectiveness

As noted in Chapter 2, household poverty is a root cause of child labor. Poverty can also lead families and communities to overlook the hazards of child labor and normalize it, which can impede project efforts to address labor abuses.

For example, evaluators for the South East Asia Footwear & Fishing project noted that, "often enough, the hardship and dangers children and adolescents are exposed to have not been realized or have been suppressed within the families and by the community…Very often parents were the driving force for the employment of their children" (Weidmann et al. 2002). Employers and the public may also endorse the use of child labor, as suggested by evaluators of the WFCL – Thailand project: "there are many employers who are not opposed to hiring children and some parents and many of the children interviewed consider economic activity starting from a young age as a normal part of their family and community customs….Schooling is important in Thai society but so is helping out one's family….A general impression of the evaluation team is that labour demand, specifically demand for cheap labour, coupled with cultural attitudes about work and work appropriate for children are big factors driving child labour in Thailand" (Wark and Ieumwananonthachai 2010). These attitudes can inhibit the work of projects, both in terms of resistance at the family and community level and disengagement among government leaders at the policy level.

However, as awareness of labor abuses grows (either outside of project efforts or as a result of them), grantees may find that public attitudes reject the use of child labor and support project activities. For example, evaluators of the ECOWAS I & II project indicated that new policies to fight child labor were sustainable because of "overwhelming public support to eliminate the WFCL" (Gilboy et al. 2014). This suggests that projects should carefully identify public attitudes about labor abuses before project activities begin, both to adapt programming and to adjust targets, if necessary.

Finally, our review suggests that contextual factors such as migration and labor market flows may limit the effectiveness of isolated direct actions in addressing labor abuses. For example, when projects in West Africa withdrew local children from labor on cocoa farms and placed them in school, owners of the cocoa farms recruited other children from adjacent areas to work on the farm. Similarly, in both West Africa and Southeast Asia, migration of children and youth between home and destination communities (and countries) and between different work sites hindered projects from offering wrap-around programming to both the young workers and their families and home communities.

Box 5.3. The COVID-19 pandemic

Two ongoing projects in this portfolio (Ghana FLIP and Indonesia/Philippines SAFE Seas) were confronted with the COVID-19 pandemic.[1] The Indonesia/Philippines SAFE Seas project suffered delays throughout project activities and is working to address challenges by transitioning programming to online systems. Strong contingency planning in that project enabled the management team to respond quickly with alternative delivery methods. While programming may be adaptable, the consequences of the pandemic on labor abuses may be harder to mitigate. The interim evaluator of the Indonesia/Philippines SAFE Seas project suggests that there is a risk in the Philippines that "the desperation of poor communities for income, exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic, may continue to make them willing to accept abusive labor conditions" (IMPAQ 2021).

Key considerations from analysis of contextual factors related to effectiveness

- Enthusiasm for project goals from **local partners and participants** could support project effectiveness, with implications for site selection
- Similarly, general **positive public opinion toward children's and workers' rights** could support project effectiveness, with implications for country or region selection
- Projects that take place in **countries with low GDP per capita** at project outset could be more effective than those in higher-income countries, though such projects may also require greater funding, strong project management and efficiency, and strong partner and participant buy-in to be effective
- Projects should note that the degree of **national and international pressure and influence** from non-project stakeholders alone does not appear to drive project success
- Projects working in contexts with **migration and fluid labor markets** may encounter lower effectiveness in direct service activities that cover only select sectors and sites, and could consider adapting programming to a more mobile or multi-site model
- The **COVID-19 pandemic may threaten the implementation** of ongoing and future interventions in child labor, forced labor, and trafficking; projects could consider delivering alternative low-contact programming, such as monitoring system development, for as long as is necessary to prevent transmission of the coronavirus

5.4. MULTI-COUNTRY EVALUATIONS: LESSONS LEARNED FROM SY@W, CLEAR, CIRCLE I, II

Three multi-country projects—Safe Youth at Work (SY@W), Country Level Engagement and Assistance to Reduce Child Labor (CLEAR), and Community-Based Innovations to Reduce Child Labor Through Education (CIRCLE I, II)—were not comparable through the categorical coding and analysis process with the rest of the OCFT portfolio. These were multi-country and multi-sector efforts with diverse sub-projects, some of which worked in the cocoa sector but most of which did not take place in sectors or countries of interest. Evaluations of these projects tended to report on overall project characteristics, challenges, solutions, and effectiveness, precluding this review from parsing the cocoa-specific findings. This subsection examines the characteristics and effectiveness of these projects using a qualitative review and draws out overarching considerations related to our sectors of interest where they are available.

Subsection summary: Multi-country projects

Typical structure:

- Central project administration with subcontracts awarded to smaller organizations, including NGOs or community-based organizations (CBOs) in target countries
- Diverse sectors and activities across countries
- Core theme across entire project, such as OSH or government capacity-building

Common challenges:

- Inadequate funding and duration of country-level programs
- Difficulties with global project administration and supporting country-level staff
- Difficulties with host governments or other local partners

Common achievements or contributions:

- Increased awareness of labor issues
- National government mobilization
- Dissemination and cross-pollination of effective strategies

Safe Youth at Work

Multi-country project summary: *SY@W*

Countries: Piloted in the Philippines, Myanmar, Vietnam; expanded to Argentina, Colombia, Côte d'Ivoire, Indonesia, Uruguay.

Objective: "Occupational safety and health (OSH) of young workers above the minimum age of work up to 24 years is improved and a culture of prevention is established or strengthened."

Sectors: Agriculture (including cocoa in Côte d'Ivoire), construction, manufacturing, forestry, gastronomy, craft villages. Côte d'Ivoire was the only project country where cocoa was a focus.

Duration: December 2014–December 2019 (5 years); in Côte d'Ivoire, July 2018–September 2019 (14 months).

Total budget: $11.4 million. Côte d'Ivoire estimate (country-specific costs and one-eighth of administrative costs): $970,000.

Principal components or activities applied in cocoa sector: Community development and awareness-raising, self-help groups and OSH trainings with cooperatives, policy and program development with national government.

Design and implementation: The SY@W project enjoyed several design strengths. First, it aligned its main components well with the needs of national governments in target countries. This supported partner buy-in and sustainability of activities. The project also enjoyed relevance of activities across countries, which increased its replicability and ability to scale. In terms of implementation strengths, evaluators identified that the project had efficient staffing structures for both management and program teams, which supported effective service delivery.

Evaluators also identified several weaknesses in design and implementation. First, the project did not allocate adequate funding for the OSH data collection and use activities. In several countries, this contributed to the challenges the project encountered in collecting reliable, disaggregated OSH data on young workers. The project also focused on the SY@W World Congress event, which the evaluator notes pulled resources away from direct service activities and diverted attention from the main components in the project's theory of change. Finally, the evaluator suggests that centralized decision-making impeded country-level teams from taking action without slow approval processes. In terms of implementation deficiencies, interim evaluators noted that, while the project document discussed OSH-related gender and inclusion issues, the project did not develop strategies to promote gender inclusion in training

or related activities, including in the cocoa sector in Côte d'Ivoire. The final evaluation also does not report the presence of a successful gender-conscious approach, suggesting the gap persisted throughout the project. Final evaluators also noted that the project could have hired a national project coordinator for Côte d'Ivoire earlier, which would have allowed collaboration with the country's labor monitoring agencies to begin earlier and last longer.

Effectiveness: The SY@W project had achieved approximately 60 percent of its targets by the time the final evaluation was conducted. In Côte d'Ivoire, these achievements included co-developing a national government OSH program covering agriculture and informal work (including cocoa), strengthening community organizations in their OSH knowledge and practices (including several cocoa cooperatives), and elevating awareness of OSH practices, particularly for youth, among key partners. Unfortunately, the project "did not specifically address weak OSH data collection in Argentina, Colombia, Côte d'Ivoire, and Uruguay." While achievements related to awareness and policy planning appear to be sustainable in Côte d'Ivoire, evaluators suggest that the "enforcement of laws and funds to implement plans could prove to be challenging in Côte d'Ivoire."

CLEAR

Multi-country project summary: *CLEAR*

Countries: Originally Bangladesh, Paraguay, Philippines, Suriname, and Uganda. The project later introduced programs in Sri Lanka, Serbia, Côte d'Ivoire, Lebanon, Afghanistan, and Armenia.

Objective: Across all countries, the goal was to "strengthen national and local government capacity to address child labor"; regarding cocoa-related programming specifically, "the main objective of the CLEAR project in Côte d'Ivoire was to enhance the capacity of the Government of Côte d'Ivoire to implement the National Child Labor Monitoring System (SOSTECI), and ensure its sustainability."

Sectors: Among numerous other sectors across the 11 project countries, the project targets cocoa in Côte d'Ivoire.

Duration: November 2013–January 2019 (5.2 years); in Côte d'Ivoire, July 2015–unspecified month in 2019.

Total budget: $8 million. Côte d'Ivoire estimate (country-specific costs and 1/11th of administrative costs): $500,000.

Principal components or activities applied in cocoa sector: Supports to schools, technical assistance to local and national government partners around monitoring, private sector engagement around monitoring, community awareness-raising.

Design and implementation: CLEAR enjoyed several design and implementation strengths that supported effectiveness. First, the project had a coherent, logical results framework at the global level and strong country-level theories of change as well. The project was also well aligned with national efforts to combat child labor in Côte d'Ivoire specifically and included a strong multi-stakeholder tripartite structure. The project's principal implementation strength was its host of resourceful and dedicated national project coordinators, who deployed programs without a substantial budget or in-country supporting staff.

The project also suffered from several design and implementation weaknesses. First, the project's 11-country design (with distinct intervention types in each country) limited the access of program staff to ILO technical resources (such as expert assistance) and spread resources thinly across programs, inhibiting achievement. Second, CLEAR's work in Côte d'Ivoire relied on the assumption that an intervention shorter than two years would be adequate to enhance government monitoring capacity and guarantee its sustainability. Finally, implementation was

weakened by reliance on outside actors (including government partners). For example, the project easily achieved desired monitoring-related outputs in Côte d'Ivoire, but progress toward the project's national government monitoring-related outcomes was slowed by bureaucracy and limited agency resources.

Effectiveness: Overall, the CLEAR project "supported considerable advances in enforcement capacity" but "the extent of coverage of the informal sector still remains a challenge in most countries." In Côte d'Ivoire specifically, the project piloted the child labor monitoring system and in doing so refined the multi-sector capacities of the SOSTECI monitoring system. The project also galvanized interest among government, private sector actors, and communities in addressing child labor monitoring and enforcement, which will support sustainability of the project's advances. For example, the project brought stakeholders together to agree to a public-private partnership to maintain monitoring programs in Côte d'Ivoire after the life of the project.

CIRCLE I & II

Multi-country project summary: *CIRCLE I & II*

Countries: Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire (in CIRCLE I only), Mali, Sierra Leone

Objective: "Prevent or reduce child labor through education by identifying and promoting innovative, locally developed, and community-based pilot projects and documenting their Best Practices (BPs) and replicable aspects."

Sectors: Agriculture (including cocoa) and mining, among others.

Duration: July 2002–December 2007 for CIRCLE I, April 2004–June 2008 for CIRCLE II.

Total budget: CIRCLE I had a budget of $5.5 million, but $750,000 was set aside for the two-year CLASSE subproject in Mali and Côte d'Ivoire.[43] CIRCLE II had a budget of $3 million.

Principal components or activities applied in cocoa sector: Community and family awareness-raising, education and vocational training programs, supports to schools, awareness-raising with local government, policy support with national government partners, private sector engagement. Components varied among subprojects.

Design and implementation: Evaluators noted that the CIRCLE project had two main strengths, which translated into effective implementation drivers. First, the project avoided a one-size-fits-all approach and prioritized the delivery of contextually relevant programming to communities. Second, the project achieved this locally relevant programming by subcontracting projects to in-country NGOs and CBOs. This decentralized and participatory approach built organizations' capacity and fostered durable relationships between communities and local service providers. Evaluators suggested this model was "the most exciting aspect" of the project and had the potential to be applied in other projects as well.

However, CIRCLE also struggled with several design weaknesses and implementation challenges. First, the evaluator indicates the projects' logical framework was missing key

[43] The two-phase CIRCLE project included the Child Labor Alternatives through Sustainable Systems in Education (CLASSE) program in cocoa communities in Mali and Côte d'Ivoire. The principal goal of CLASSE was "to stem the use of child labor on cocoa plantations and the trafficking of children for cheap labor, the CLASSE pilot intends to improve local educational systems at target sites in both Côte d'Ivoire and Mali. It also aims to raise awareness among parents and community members concerning the hazards of child labor and child trafficking and the benefits of choosing education over labor and address educational and child labor policy issues by relevant stakeholders."

indicators and activities, making their contribution to the objective harder to track. Second, delays in monthly disbursements to subcontractors slowed the implementation of activities, threatening the effectiveness of implementers and overall project timeline. Third, the project administration did not provide adequate opportunities for subcontractors to share their experiences with one another and cross-pollinate best practices. Fourth, the evaluators noted that subcontractors often failed to adequately mainstream gender considerations into their programming. Finally, most subcontractors had such small sub-project budgets as to have to "decide whether it was best to work intensively with a few children or to try to meet more of the enormous demand for educational support and infrastructure with the limited funds available," serving more children with fewer services. This suggests that sub-projects could have benefitted from additional funding or guidance on how to maximize impact with a small budget, or both.

Effectiveness: With no final evaluation of CIRCLE II available, this review draws findings on the effectiveness of the CIRCLE projects from the combined final (CIRCLE I) and interim (CIRCLE II) evaluation, along with sub-project and regional interim evaluations covering Mali, Ghana, and Côte d'Ivoire.

The sub-projects' effectiveness in meeting their goals varied. For example, evaluators noted that most education infrastructure projects were highly successful. Overall, the evaluator stated that the project is successfully fulfilling its first two outcomes (raise awareness of the importance of education for all children and mobilize a wide array of actors to improve and expand education infrastructures and strengthen formal and transitional education systems that encourage working children and those at risk of working to attend school). The evaluator suggests that Outcome 3, strengthen national institutions and policies on education and child labor, will require more networking and advocacy, and that Outcome 4, ensure the long-term sustainability of these efforts, was not met, given the "short duration of subcontracts and the lack of income-generating or microfinance strategies to help families replace income lost when child laborers are enrolled in school."[44]

In a separate examination of the Child Labor Alternatives through Sustainable Systems in Education (CLASSE) sub-project in Mali and Côte d'Ivoire, evaluators suggested the effort "achieved most of its objectives to provide access to education for children engaged or at risk of engaging in labor and raise awareness in the greater target communities of the problem of child labor." Evaluators stated that, as a result of CLASSE, community-school engagement appeared to increase, while greater access to improved education infrastructure and quality appeared to reduce child labor and outmigration.

[44] These are labeled as objectives in the 2007 final report but would be more accurately labeled as outcomes using the current results framework template.

Key considerations related to multi-country, multi-sector projects

While these three multi-country and multi-sector projects include cocoa-specific interventions, we found that evaluations and TPRs had limited information available on the characteristics and success of cocoa-sector programming. Given that limitation, we offer the following key considerations for multi-sector projects overall:

- Country-level program **durations and budgets should be right-sized** for maximum impact
- Central project administrations should provide **opportunities for country-level staff to share experiences and best practices**
- Projects should **identify bottlenecks to progress**, including slow approval processes or target-government bureaucracy, and **quickly adapt programming** to maintain forward momentum
- Projects should **prioritize contracting local NGOS and CBOs** to deliver sub-projects, with a goal to build local capacity and community relationships that can support sustainability

5.5. FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH SUSTAINABILITY OF PROJECT CONTRIBUTIONS

Beyond the immediate contributions of its projects, OCFT also wishes to understand the sustainability of project impacts and the areas in which sustainability could be improved. This subsection synthesizes the outcomes where sustainability of project efforts was most challenging, in what circumstances was most readily achieved, and the strategies and practices that projects have used improve sustainability.

Subsection summary and key considerations

- Projects generally had partially adequate sustainability strategies, with results varying by outcome type:
  - In most cases, impacts on the withdrawal and prevention of target populations from engaging in child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking may not be fully sustainable without continued support from donors and implementers, as evaluations suggested the conditions that drive labor abuses may re-emerge after the project concludes.
  - Awareness of labor issues raised across communities, relevant government agencies, and other project partners was sustainable, as were new practices resulting in income generation programs and increases in local ownership over labor issues
- Delays of key project activities, regardless of the projects' durations, threatened sustainability
- To overcome barriers to sustainability, evaluators suggested:
  - DOL provide more time and funding for implementers to deal with unpredicted delays, consolidate results, and build local stakeholders' capacity
  - Projects target country government actors, particularly national ministries, to embed programming, and allocate greater long-term resources to child labor monitoring systems and enforcement work
- Our analysis suggests that careful integration of project activities may drive sustainability more than the number of activities or the funding allocated to each of them

All but one of the comparable projects (Indonesia TBP) had an explicit sustainability strategy, and evaluators generally indicated the sustainability approaches that projects used were partially adequate. Evaluators' assessments indicated that 12 projects had partially adequate approaches to ensuring sustainability, 2 projects had inadequate approaches, and 2 had fully adequate sustainability strategies. The most promising sustainability strategies identified by evaluators involved embedding key program activities into existing institutions, such as

community groups or government agencies, to increase the likelihood that services would continue beyond the life of the project.

Evaluators generally indicated that project impacts in terms of withdrawal and prevention of target populations from child labor, forced labor, and trafficking would not be fully sustainable without continued support from donors and implementers. For example, several evaluators noted that persistent poverty in target communities limited the degree to which families could commit to keeping their children out of cocoa work. In other cases, evaluators argued that inadequate post-project government allocations to labor monitoring systems limited their usefulness as tools to track and resolve cases of child labor. Similarly, evaluators were dubious of the sustainability of impacts that projects achieved in labor law enforcement, education enrollment and retention, establishment of vocational training programs, and supports to migrant communities, if those areas were not supported with additional ongoing resources.

However, evaluators generally concluded that changes in awareness, livelihoods practices, and local ownership of the fight against labor abuses were sustainable. Across communities, agencies, and partners, evaluators cited increased awareness of child labor, forced labor, or trafficking as a sustainable impact. Similarly, knowledge, interest, and practices gained through income generation activities and village savings and loan associations (particularly with targeted women) were likely to be sustained. Further, local "ownership" of the labor problems and relevant solutions increased over the life of most projects, and stakeholders such as local government actors and community leaders expressed commitments to continue to act against labor abuses through local committees. These sustainable impacts—in awareness, livelihood practices, and local ownership-- may support the sustainability of other forms of impact, such as employers' compliance with labor laws. However, ongoing resource constraints in both households and government agencies may limit the degree to which awareness, practices, and ownership can maintain progress on the withdrawal and prevention of target populations from engaging in child labor, forced labor, and trafficking.

Evaluators often argued that short project timelines prevented the consolidation of some impacts into longer-term community- or government-run programs and processes, but our analysis could not confirm that association. Evaluators of the ECLIC project in Côte d'Ivoire noted, for example, that while school enrollment increased under the project, community monitoring systems were not yet consolidated at the project's end and that income generation activities would take longer than the time allotted to produce long-term economic shifts in targeted households. However, our analysis of the projects in our sample did not reveal an association between overall project duration and assessed sustainability scores.[45]

Projects in which key project elements were delayed achieved lower sustainability scores on average than projects that did not face similar delays. We found that delays of key project elements limited the sustainability of those activities' impacts. Indeed, while all projects endured some delays, those with the most severe delays achieved lower sustainability scores. This finding aligns with evaluators' descriptions of slow project launches, long waits for approvals from key stakeholders, and unexpected difficulties in component rollout. Evaluators tended to recommend that DOL provide more time and funding for implementers to deal with

[45] It is possible that an association between project duration and likelihood of impact sustainability exists but did not appear in our analysis because it was too minor to be observed in the small sample of projects or could be countervailed by other factors. It is also possible that because likelihood of sustainability was typically assessed by evaluations at or before the projects' ends, evaluators could not incorporate longer-term observations that might show how duration affected sustainability.

unanticipated delays, consolidate results, and ensure local stakeholders have capacity to maintain programs and desired levels of impact.

Evaluators often indicated that project contributions were more lasting when implementers had anchored project initiatives in government institutions and their ongoing programs. To support sustainability, evaluators suggested that from the outset, projects should target country government actors, particularly national ministries, to embed programming and allocate greater resources to monitoring and enforcement work in particular.

Sustainability may also be supported by careful integration of project activities. Across both sectors, evaluators noted that projects with integrated components and a comprehensive approach achieved greater sustainability of impacts than projects with more siloed components or approaches that did not seek to tackle all root causes of child labor, forced labor, or trafficking. Our review finds that it is not the number of component types (such as supports to employers or IGA for families), nor is it the average project funding per component type, that is positively associated with sustainability.[46] This suggests that sustainability may be supported by the integrated quality of a project's programs, more than the strict quantity of components; careful design of project activities with complementarity in mind may produce more lasting impacts than introducing a broad tranche of standard activities.

Box 5.4. Effectiveness in sustainability-supporting dimensions: gender, migration, and others

While implementers principally targeted reductions in labor abuses, many projects also made strides in gender, workers' empowerment, and other dimensions, which may support sustainability of impacts in labor areas.

- Among the 16 comparable projects, 10 produced some degree of women's and girls' empowerment, such as the formation of a durable women's savings and loan group.
- Eight projects also supported the rights of migrants and minorities (3 to a high degree).
- Thirteen projects successfully increased education enrollment and attainment (5 to a high degree).
- Evaluators of 11 projects indicated they advanced legal frameworks in their target countries, but only 8 projects produced positive impacts in labor law enforcement.
- No projects sought environmental improvements, but 2 projects allied with environmentalist groups and 1 educated youth on environmental health.
- Finally, 13 projects advanced workers' voice and empowerment by building skills, participation, and confidence of children, youth, adult workers, and their union representatives.

[46] This contrasts with the findings specific to the fishing/seafood sector that projects with less-linked activities could be more effective than projects with tightly integrated components. This suggests that immediate project outcomes can be met with separate components, but that the likelihood of longer-term impacts could be supported by connections and coordination between the programs, participant groups, and stakeholders that were involved in separate components.

5.6. PROJECT CHALLENGES AND SOLUTIONS

During project delivery, many of the risks faced by implementers materialized into concrete challenges that threatened effectiveness, including political and government-related challenges; project structure and implementation challenges; and community, NGO, and private sector challenges. This subsection provides an overview of these success-threatening challenges and examines the success of solutions that projects applied.

Subsection summary: Challenges and solutions

Evaluations reported that the 19 projects encountered substantial challenges 90 times, and applied solutions 49 times. In order of frequency, the five most common challenge areas projects faced in achieving their goals were:

- limited government capacity
- difficulties targeting participants
- monitoring and reporting difficulties
- inadequate project management
- political resistance or low political will

The most effective solutions in overcoming those challenges involved increasing flexibility, planning for contingencies, incentivizing stakeholder participation, and providing key administrative supports for subcontracted implementers.

5.6.1. DESCRIPTION OF COMMON CHALLENGES

Projects faced challenges that threatened overall effectiveness and can generally be grouped into political and government-related challenges; project structure and implementation challenges; and community, NGO, and private sector challenges. Subsection 5.6.2 presents examples of the five most common challenges and the solutions applied to solve them. Other common challenges included poor engagement of targeted private sector actors, inadequate project funding or duration to achieve and consolidate long-term impacts, inadequate project components or linkages between project components, and delays due to turnover, overdue activity development, or external factors. The most successful solutions to those challenges involved robust contingency planning, upgrades to programming and participation incentives, and general project flexibility. The complete list of challenges is presented in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Summary of challenges and solutions applied

	Challenges Factors that directly threatened the success of the project in achieving key outcomes	**Times occurred**	**Solutions** Steps taken by the project to address challenges and advance toward key outcomes	**Times used**	**Success** Low to high (0-2)
Political and government challenges	Limited government capacity in schooling, social services, labor monitoring and enforcement, project engagement, or in continuing piloted programs	14	Right-size expectations and obligations of government engagement	4	1
			Support policymakers and officials to promote government resource allocations	2	1
			Promote decentralization and transparency of child labor work	1	1
			Work with government to streamline approvals	1	1
	Poor political will, political resistance to project, and low levels of government ownership of project-related activities	8	Build government capacity and advocate for legislation to address child labor	1	1
			Establish labor practices guides and raise awareness through sensitization	2	1
			Engage expert consultants to aid in policy development	1	2
			Help cover stakeholder participation costs to improve engagement and ownership	1	2
	Political uncertainty, unrest, and turmoil; rapidly changing conditions in regional health, economy	2	Move offices and adjust approval and funding processes	1	1
			Offer flexibility and continuity of services into the future	1	.m[1]
Project structure and implementation challenges	Difficulties targeting participants, including identifying and engaging priority children, youth, migrants, key businesses, and communities	11	Expand participant pool, revise targets, and deliver services at community level	1	2
			Improve education access through teacher training and more non-formal education	1	1
			Family outreach and improved vocational training	1	1
			Clarify targeting process to participant communities	1	.m
			Change definitions of participants to enroll previously ineligible participants	1	0
			Adjust programming to fit included participants	1	1
	Challenges related to indicators, monitoring, measurement and data collection, reporting, or databases	10	Pivot from digital reporting to paper data collection and management	1	0
			Train implementing partners on data collection and monitoring; review files	2	1.5
	Project management challenges, including inadequate communication, staffing or staff capacity; poor support for country-level implementers; confusion around reporting and decision-making	9	Recruit, carefully select, and support qualified staff with on-the job training	4	1
			Streamline administrative processes, including by accelerating funds disbursement	2	1
			Increase support to local project efforts from regional headquarters	1	1
	Inadequate project funding or duration to achieve and consolidate long-term impacts	5	Adjust services to improve participation of stakeholders, including through stipends	2	1
			Secure extension or second phase of programming	1	1
	Inadequate project components or linkages between project components	5	Group projects into subregional pools and share experiences	1	1
			Adapt implementation model to achieve goals in the local context	1	1
			Provide additional training to participants	1	.m
	Delays due to turnover, overdue activity development, or external factors	4	Deploy pre-developed and new strategies to overcome delays and continue programs	2	2
	Difficulties accessing and engaging remote or temporary communities	3	Right-size[2] programs and work with local authorities to improve access to communities	2	1
			Target the same communities over successive subcontracts	1	2
	Inadequate partnerships or project anchoring within institutions	3	*No solutions mentioned*	N/a	N/a
	Poor gender balance in project team or participant groups	2	*No solutions mentioned*	N/a	N/a

	Challenges Factors that directly threatened the success of the project in achieving key outcomes	Times occurred	Solutions Steps taken by the project to address challenges and advance toward key outcomes	Times used	Success Low to high (0-2)
Community, NGO, and private sector challenges	Limited interest or participation of targeted private sector actors	6	Strengthen private sector approaches, including through awareness-raising	1	1
			Train only those businesses that are interested or most available	1	0
	Low community or NGO will or ownership of project activities	3	Work with NGOs to mainstream child labor into programming	1	1
			Improve incentives for community participation, including IGA start-up kits	1	2
	Poverty and general acceptance of child labor impede awareness-raising efforts, child labor withdrawal and prevention[47]	2	Work with variety of stakeholders to increase awareness	1	1
			Provide wrap-around services for families to increase welfare and avoid using child labor	1	2
Other	Depreciation of national currency	2	*No solutions mentioned*	N/a	N/a
	COVID-19	1	Strong contingency plans, including through online communications	1	1
	Total challenges	**90**	**Total times solutions applied**	**49**	

Notes: We scored the success of solutions applied to challenges as 0 if the solutions applied did not address the challenge; 1 if the solutions applied partially addressed the challenge and 2 if the solutions applied fully addressed the challenge.

[1] .m indicates the evaluation did not report the level of success of the solution.

[2] In this case, right-sizing programs refers to how projects may re-calibrate their work to what is most appropriate given conditions in hard-to-reach communities. This may include starting advocacy work to address low levels of labor abuse awareness or providing alternatives regular project visits given transportation difficulties.

[3] Providing wrap-around services refers to a holistic model of direct action where the root causes of child labor are each addressed with complementary activities.

5.6.2. THE MOST COMMON CHALLENGES AND SOLUTIONS APPLIED

In this subsection, we examine the five most common challenges that projects faced and explore illustrative examples of the most and least successful strategies projects deployed to mitigate them. We coded each solution as not successful, moderately successful, or completely successful based on the degree to which the solution mitigated the challenge.

Challenge 1: Limited government capacity

Instances of limited government capacity that threatened project effectiveness appeared 14 times across the 19 projects and included governments' inability to efficiently deliver schooling and social services, collaborate on labor monitoring systems, or take over successful programs after projects concluded. Projects responded with three kinds of solutions, implemented seven times, all with moderate levels of success in mitigating the challenges. Table 5.3 presents an example of a challenge and solution related to limited government capacity.

[47] While evaluators did not always cite this challenge as one which threatened project effectiveness, it appeared to some degree across most projects. The implication of this challenge, when it was noted, was that OCFT and grantees should keep in mind that certain root causes of labor abuses, including poverty, poor education access and quality, demand for cheap labor, and cultural attitudes, may be more intractable than others. For example, evaluators of the Thailand WFCL project noted "there are many employers who are not opposed to hiring children and some parents and many of the children interviewed consider economic activity starting from a young age as a normal part of their family and community customs….Schooling is important in Thai society but so is helping out one's family…. demand for cheap labour…coupled with cultural attitudes about work and work appropriate for children are big factors driving child labour in Thailand." (Wark and Ieumwananonthachai, 2010).

Table 5.3. Example challenge and solution: Limited government capacity

Challenge	Solution	Outcome
During implementation, the EXCEL Cambodia project discovered that the national government was unable to extend its National Social Protection Strategy (NSPS) to remote areas targeted by the project. The project's third outcome, *improved access to child protection and social protections programs,* relied on the assumption that government services would be there to fill poverty gaps identified by the project and thereby ensure that families could keep children out of child labor.	In response to this challenge, the project developed a local Social Fund model as a substitute for the unmet program obligations of the NSPS. While this savings-based community-level safety net did not have the same coverage or uniformity that the national program would, it did allow villages and communes to pool more than $10,000 and provide much-needed financial support to 39 participants and their families. Given its limited coverage, this solution was **moderately successful** in overcoming limited government capacity.	Moderately successful 

Challenge 2: Difficulties targeting participants

Instances of difficulties in targeting participants that threatened project effectiveness appeared 11 times across the 19 projects. These challenges included difficulties in identifying target children, engaging youth and families, and identifying and serving migrant child and youth workers. In seven cases, projects responded to this type of challenge with solutions that ranged from ineffectual to highly effective. Table 5.4 presents examples of challenges and solutions related to targeting participants.

Table 5.4 Example challenges and solutions: Difficulties targeting participants

Challenge	Solution	Outcome
The Ghana MOCA project encountered targeting difficulties after starting because of higher-than-anticipated rates of outmigration among youth in project communities. This threatened the ability of the project to achieve its youth training targets.	The project responded with a flexible approach. First, it expanded the pool of households from which target youth could be drawn. Second, it revised targets to be more realistic given the widespread youth outmigration. Third, the project selected a community-based training model to both offer youth services and counter outmigration These approaches were **fully successful** in mitigating this targeting challenge.	Successful 
The Thailand WFCL project encountered barriers in targeting migrating children and youth with education enrollment supports: participants who lacked immigration documentation could not easily access state social supports such as healthcare and education.	To address this challenge, the project trained teachers at state schools to better accommodate migrant children and expanded non-formal education opportunities for children without documentation required by state schools. These approaches were **moderately successful** in mitigating this targeting challenge.	Moderately successful 

Challenge	Solution	Outcome
In the Indonesia ENABLE project, implementers had difficulty identifying eligible participants across all project sites. The evaluator also found that the project selected participants that did not meet the project's eligibility rules, meaning that many project participants were actually people who should have been considered ineligible to receive services.	In response to this challenge, the project adjusted its participant definition to allow for youth who were enrolled in the program but technically ineligible to be considered eligible. However, the project did not address the central issue of poor targeting, and also ran the risk of inflating its participant numbers with participants who should not have been receiving programming. This approach was **not successful** in addressing the targeting challenge.	Not successful 

Challenge 3: Inadequate monitoring systems

Evaluators reported that projects encountered monitoring-related challenges that threatened project effectiveness 10 times. These difficulties included collecting data for poorly defined indicators, securing reporting from low-capacity subcontractors, and maintaining databases without necessary systems and partners. Projects deployed solutions to these challenges three times, and these solutions varied in their effectiveness. These cases are presented in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5. Example challenges and solutions: inadequate monitoring systems

Challenge	Solution	Outcome
Thailand WFCL project staff found that the direct participant monitoring reporting (DBMR) system they were required to use was "overly complex" and not easily adapted to certain programs and communities. This limited the system's utility both for the implementers and DOL.	In response, the central project staff held trainings on the DBMR system for implementing partners across its various action programs. The project also began reviewing DBMR inputs and files to ensure that the reporting reflected the realities noted by implementing partners and adhered to the parameters of the database. This solution was **fully successful** in addressing the monitoring challenge.	Successful 
The Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire CCP project encountered difficulties in maintaining accurate records of youth participants, many of whom moved from community to community and whose participation in certain activities was not properly recorded.	The project sought to address the challenge by training local implementers, teachers, and other adults who regularly interacted with participants on keeping records. Their close knowledge of the youths' movements helped this solution be **moderately successful** in resolving this challenge.	Moderately successful 
The Cambodia EXCEL project found that its database for service delivery monitoring had missing data and miscalculations. On-the-ground implementers were unable to use the system in a way that ensured the data were complete and accurate.	In an effort to ensure more complete records, the project team altered procedures to allow for paper data collection and file management. However, the paper system was less efficient and more burdensome than the all-digital system and undermined the usefulness of project monitoring. This solution was **not successful** in addressing the monitoring challenge.	Not successful 

Challenge 4: Project management deficiencies

Evaluators cited 9 management challenges that threatened project effectiveness among the 19 projects. These challenges included inadequate communication, project staffing or staff capacity; poor support for country- or local-level implementers; and confusion around reporting and decision-making. Projects sought to overcome these challenges seven times using three types of solutions, all of which were moderately successful. Two of these cases are presented in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6. Example challenges and solutions: Project management deficiencies

Challenge	Solution	Outcome
The SEA Fishing project in Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand discovered that low staff capacity—many project personnel were new to the implementing organization, not experienced in project management, and not prepared to work with government agencies—was limiting the delivery and quality of programming, threatening the achievement of core outcomes.	In response, the project offered opportunities for professional development through on-the-job learning and exposure to existing programming. This measure was **moderately successful** in addressing the staffing challenge.	Moderately successful 
In the CIRCLE I & II projects, the main implementer identified that communication and coordination requirements across difficult geographies and areas with limited digital connectivity imposed substantial burdens on subcontractors, drawing their attention away from direct service programming.	To address the challenge, the central project staff streamlined some administrative processes to reduce the communications burden on internet-limited implementing NGOs. This measure was **moderately successful** in resolving this project management challenge.	Moderately successful 

Challenge 5: Political resistance or poor political will

Projects encountered challenges with low political will or resistance to project work that threatened project effectiveness 8 times. These challenges appeared as low levels of government interest or ownership in project work, as well as resistance to specific project activities given the sensitivity of labor abuse issues. Projects responded six times across five types of solutions, with moderate to high levels of success in mitigating the challenges. Two of these cases are presented in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7. Example challenges and solutions: Political resistance or poor political will

Challenge	Solution	Outcome
In the SAFE Seas project, implementers found several challenges related to political will. Sub-national debates in Indonesia on trawling control overshadowed opportunities to advance fisher protection policies, and in the Philippines, government partners' aversion to leading the Safe Fishing	To address this multi-country challenge, the project hired several international consultants with experience in the sector to liaise with government partners, build political will, and thereby help advance policies and regulations to protect fishers. While this project is ongoing and findings are interim, evaluators suggested that this step was **fully successful** in addressing the challenge.	Successful 

Challenge	Solution	Outcome
Alliance slowed key regulatory advances.		
The Thailand CECL project encountered a lack of political will in government connected to general public denial of child labor as a problem. The evaluator notes that communities demonstrated little interest in the project as a result, and even trade unions did not show much interest in supporting migrant workers.	The project sought to address this substantial challenge by producing public-facing guides and awareness-raising tools to educate all stakeholder groups. Efforts included the promotion of the Good Labor Practices (GLP) industry initiative, the "Blue Book" document to guide agencies and partners in serving migrant children, and general public awareness-raising campaigns. These steps were **moderately successful** in addressing the challenge.	Moderately successful 

Key considerations for approaching common challenges

Donors and implementers should design projects to be able to face one or more of the challenges listed in Table 5.2, particularly those which appeared most often in this portfolio:

- limited government capacity
- difficulties targeting participants
- monitoring and reporting difficulties
- inadequate project management
- political resistance or low political will

Donors could prepare a toolkit or provide other resources for implementers to draw from to mitigate the challenges, focusing on strategies that evaluators found were most successful in the present portfolio, such as:

- Engaging expert consultants to aid in policy development and regulatory advances
- Providing incentives for stakeholders to participate in programming (including supports to offset costs of participation) that are in line with the USDOL prohibition on direct cash transfers to participants
- Training subcontractors and implementing partners on best practices for data collection and monitoring
- Developing strategies, such as contingency plans to prepare for possible target government bottlenecks, at project outset to overcome potential delays in programming as a result of external factors
- Conducting early assessments of target communities and refining targeting protocols to ensure participants are selected properly and provided with planned programs
- Anticipating challenges in political will and public support by developing a suite of awareness-raising and engagement materials
- Consolidating achievements and building sustainability by lengthening programming in target communities
- Identifying and supporting low-capacity government agencies with capacity building
- Where appropriate to project design, offering basic social services to help address root causes of child labor in targeted communities where government services do not reach

6. CONCLUSIONS AND KEY CONSIDERATIONS

This report synthesized the findings of evaluations of 19 projects that aimed to reduce or eliminate child labor, forced labor, or trafficking in the cocoa or fishing and seafood sectors. Although the nature of this review precludes us from identifying causal relationships between project characteristics and outcomes, our review revealed relationships between some project features and project effectiveness, recurring challenges that OCFT and implementers should prepare for, and opportunities for improving project success moving forward.

In this chapter, we begin in subsection 6.1 by summarizing lessons learned and good practices identified by evaluators, as well as the recommendations evaluators made in individual project evaluations. In subsection 6.2, we review this report's key findings, discuss their implications, and provide key considerations for OCFT on setting priorities for future projects, strengthening support for project implementers based on the synthesis's findings, and structuring the requirements for evaluators moving forward.

6.1. LESSONS LEARNED, PROMISING PRACTICES, AND RECOMMENDATIONS IDENTIFIED BY EVALUATORS

While not all evaluators presented key takeaways in the same structure, we extracted lessons learned, promising practices, and recommendations where they were available. We then grouped these lessons, practices, and recommendations into categories to facilitate tabulation. Tables 6.1, 6.2, and 6.3 show the most common high-level takeaways offered by project evaluators across the portfolio of comparable projects.

The most common category of lesson learned, according to evaluators, was that **local contexts and participant targeting must be researched and incorporated early into project design (before and/or after award)**, and **relevant expertise (on relevant labor issues and the sites or stakeholders to be targeted) must be sought early as well**. Taking these steps, evaluators noted, supported effective implementation. Evaluators also often noted that **project scope, budget, and time must be calibrated to the problem at hand** and **identifying stakeholder capacity and building their connections and buy-in is essential**. All three most common categories of lessons imply that preparation and research support project success. The main categories of lessons learned are presented in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1. Lessons identified by evaluators

Main categories of lessons learned[48]	Times identified
Local contexts and participant targeting must be researched and incorporated early into project design, and relevant expertise must be sought early as well	12
Project scope, budget, and time must be calibrated to the problem at hand	10
Identifying stakeholder capacity and building their connections and buy-in is essential	10

[48] Less common categories of lessons learned included the following: Direct labor monitoring, awareness, and referrals are essential to reducing labor abuses; Partnership work and media attention are key to raising awareness; Programming must be gender sensitive to achieve equitable impacts; Trainings and education offerings must be relevant, varied, and adequate in duration and incentives to participate; Burdensome reporting requirements impede project implementation; Project dependence on completion of early tasks can produce bottlenecks and delays in subsequent activities.

Main categories of lessons learned[48]	Times identified
Project efforts should be anchored in existing government community knowledge and initiatives to support sustainability	9
Flexibility and adaptation of programming is key	8
Projects must be realistic about the feasibility of behavior change, particularly if child labor incomes are not substituted	7
Complementary or integrated interventions work best, especially over the long term	7
Sustainable impact is challenging without continued actions or service delivery by high-capacity actors	7

Similarly, evaluators identified promising practices in the projects they evaluated—strategies or processes that supported implementation and effectiveness. The two most common categories of promising practices across the portfolio of comparable projects were **close government, private sector, and NGO partner engagement, which can build local ownership even in difficult project components** and **close relationships and networking with community leaders, and participants, which can drive local participation in project activities.** These practices both imply that robust project efforts to build trust and common ground between partners and implementers can support implementation and effectiveness. The main categories of promising practices are presented in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2. Promising practices identified by evaluators

Main categories of promising practices[49]	Times identified
Close engagement with government, the private sector, and NGO partners, which can build local ownership, even in difficult project components	12
Close relationships and networking with community leaders, and participants, which can drive local participation in project activities	11
Community committees and teachers conducting monitoring and remediation programs supports reductions in child labor	8
Persistence and innovation in awareness-raising is key	8
Delivering multiple integrated interventions aligned with existing efforts produces the greatest impact	7
Consultations and regular communication among stakeholders can support effectiveness	6

[49] Less common categories of promising practices included the following: General project flexibility supports effectiveness; Varied education offerings (including multi-generational, vocational, OSH-based, and formal/non-formal) may support effectiveness; Village savings and loan associations, as well as extension work in agriculture, can stabilize household incomes; Selecting only most successful subcontractors (and building subcontractor capacity) supports reliable program delivery; Establishing integrated, accessible child labor monitoring (and remediation) systems (CLRMS) can reduce child labor; Establishing youth and labor advocacy centers, and using mobile tech for communications and documentation, can facilitate engagement.

Finally, evaluators offered recommendations to projects and implementers, OCFT and other grantors, and target country governments. These recommendations spanned from suggestions to grantees on how to immediately improve aspects of their project to high-level guidance for OCFT to adjust their project designs. Most commonly, evaluators recommended that *projects or aligned initiatives should offer ongoing supports to participants (or to the current project implementers to continue offering services to participants)* and that *projects should build more community and government capacity, particularly around enforcement*. Both of these top recommendations reflect a common theme expressed by evaluators: projects (including both grantees and OCFT) may need to take additional steps to increase the likelihood that their impacts will be sustained beyond the period of performance. The main categories of recommendations made by evaluators are presented in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3. Recommendations offered by evaluators

Main categories of recommendations[50]	Times recommended
Projects or aligned initiatives should offer ongoing supports to participants (or to the current project implementers to continue offering services to participants)	13
Projects should build more community and government capacity, particularly around enforcement	13
Projects should expand, adjust, or extend principal project components	12
Projects and OCFT should use interim evaluations (for current projects) and final evaluations (for future projects) to calibrate projects' budget, scope, and staffing	10
Projects should upgrade management procedures, particularly in terms of monitoring, reporting, approval systems	10
Target countries and communities should upgrade national or local-level monitoring and remediation systems	10
Projects and OCFT should pilot, disseminate, and replicate promising practices	9
Projects should improve communication and engagement with key actors, particularly NGOs and the private sector	9
Projects should improve their gender-conscious approaches	7
Projects should clarify their objectives, structure, and definitions with collaborating organizations and staff	7

6.2. CONCLUSIONS AND KEY CONSIDERATIONS DERIVED FROM THE SYNTHESIS REVIEW

Our conclusions and key considerations are derived from the analysis of (1) the project design factors associated with project effectiveness (including DOL-influenced, implementer-controlled, and contextual factors), (2) the experiences of multi-country, multi-sector projects,

[50] Less common recommendation categories included the following: Projects should provide more flexibility and autonomy to implementers, particularly local offices; Country governments should improve their research, labor modeling, and support to provincial governments; OCFT should conduct follow-up or impact evaluation, pursue only high-impact work; Projects should focus more on conducting early diagnostics, team training, subcontractor selection; Projects should focus more on supporting workers' voices and raising awareness; Projects should improve sustainability by strengthening exit planning; Projects should adjust beneficiary eligibility.

(3) factors associated with project sustainability, (4) project challenges and solutions, and (5) evaluation reports and data quality. The conclusions and recommendations offered in this subsection are synthesized from the findings presented throughout the report. These conclusions and recommendations represent our assessment of patterns and trends in projects' level of effectiveness in achieving inputs, outputs, and outcomes and factors that may influence their effectiveness as well as our qualitative analysis of evaluators' comments on project implementation. The trends we have identified may be based on real relationships; however, given that our analysis is based on a finite sample of evaluations of 19 projects, there is a possibility that the relationships we have described in this report and highlighted in this subsection may instead be due to chance. Nonetheless, we consider these findings worth taking into consideration as DOL moves forward making decisions about how to prioritize scarce resources and support those implementing important projects intended reduce or eliminate child labor, forced labor, and trafficking in the cocoa or fishing and seafood sectors.

6.2.1. CONCLUSIONS FOR PROJECT PRIORITIES AND DESIGN FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH PROJECT EFFECTIVENESS

Projects with longer durations and larger budgets appeared to be more effective. Several other factors—such as the GDP per capita of target countries at project outset,[51] the level of partner and participant buy-in in target countries,[52] and the political will of government agencies to pursue change—tend to align with project budgets and durations. While this alignment of factors may represent some unobserved variable more closely associated with effectiveness, it may also suggest that several contextual and OCFT-influenced factors can combine to create an enabling environment for project success.

Projects using a **subcontracting model to deliver programming through local NGOs or CBOs** were more effective on average than projects without that model. Projects that **supported target governments with long-term, outcome-based multi-intervention planning** were more effective than other projects.

Projects targeting certain **outcomes** (such as **establishing a functional monitoring system**) tended to be more effective than other projects, while those with certain **design strengths** (such as the use of diagnostics and testing to inform project activities) were more effective than projects without those strengths. Fishing/seafood projects targeting **improvements in partner capacity** (particularly in inspections and enforcement of labor laws) as an explicit outcome generally were more effective than projects that did not explicitly target that outcome.

In both sectors, projects that **heavily engaged family members, community leaders, and unions** were more effective than projects that did not engage those groups to the same degree. Among fishing and seafood projects, those that **heavily engaged employers** were more effective than those that engaged those stakeholders to a lesser degree or not at all. This aligns with our expectation that employer-employee relations are more direct in the fishing and seafood sector

[51] This variable appears to have an inverse relationship with project effectiveness; projects in lower-GDP per capita countries tended to be more active than those in higher-GDP per capita countries.

[52] Similarly, projects targeting countries with positive public opinion toward children's and workers' rights were more effective in meeting planned goals than projects targeting countries with less supportive public opinion toward children's and workers' rights. (Evaluators' assessments generally suggested that projects benefitted from prior positive public opinion more than they produced it, but we cannot rule out the possibility that projects generated positive national attention for labor issues and thereby supported their own effectiveness.) Notably, the degree of national and international pressure and influence from non-project stakeholders does not appear associated with project success.

than in the cocoa sector (see Box 2.1) and that working with employers could stimulate labor law compliance in fishing and seafood companies.

Across both sectors, we found that projects with **gender-aware design** and **gender-specific programming** were more effective at achieving all their goals than those without gender-conscious characteristics.

Tripartism (engaging representatives from government, labor, and industry) was associated with project effectiveness—in cocoa, having an explicit tripartite structure was strongly associated with project effectiveness, while in fishing and seafood, having either an explicit or a de facto tripartite approach was equally associated with effectiveness.

Cocoa projects designed with few components or fewer linkages between components were **less** effective than projects designed with more **numerous components or closer linkages**. In contrast, fishing projects designed with **fewer components or fewer linkages** between them were **more** effective than projects designed with more complex components or robust linkages. The difference between this finding in cocoa and fishing/seafood sectors could be a result of the fact that in cocoa projects, most project components focus on the same sites and communities (and mutually reinforce one another by being numerous and firmly linked). However, in fishing and seafood projects, efforts tended to be less concentrated in one target area, instead spanning such sites and stakeholders as employers, provincial governments, teachers, unions, and children. Those projects may not require such close linkage of components and investing in numerous components could reduce the funding available for (and thus the intensity or dosage) of each activity.

As one might expect, fishing and seafood projects with more **logical, coherent theories of change** were more effective than those with substantial gaps in the elements or logic of their theories of change. We suspect that a similar association is present among cocoa projects, but in the small sample size of comparable cocoa projects, we did not observe an obvious association between those variables.

Implementer capacity and management quality appears vital for project success. Our analysis suggested these elements were positively associated with project efficiency and partner and participant buy-in to project activities, while these elements were inversely associated with the severity of delays projects experienced. Not surprisingly, projects with minor delays appeared to be more effective than those with greater delays in their activities. Projects with stronger communication and coordination structures were also more effective in achieving their goals as were implementers that brought thorough planning, a well-researched initial approach, strong service delivery systems, and deliberate alignment with similar projects. Our analysis also identified that where implementers had a severe lack of monitoring and evaluation processes, poor participant targeting, and poor continuity of planning with partners, projects tended to be less effective. Fortunately, implementer capacity is not static; projects where grantee capacity (or that of their subcontractors) grew during the period of performance tended to have higher effectiveness.

Among comparable fishing/seafood sector projects, implementers that **integrated their activities with other initiatives**, such as provincial government programs, were more likely to be effective in achieving their goals, including reducing labor abuses, advancing policy changes, supporting migrants' rights, advancing women's and girls' empowerment, and improving education enrollment and attainment among target groups.

Several factors beyond OCFT influence or implementers' control may also affect project effectiveness. Some projects targeted migrant participants, while others were affected by

unanticipated migration in their target groups. Across both kinds of projects, we found that **migration and fluid labor markets** may mitigate the impact of direct and isolated project activities. For example, improvements to labor practices on one cocoa plantation or in one fishing area may not produce durable impacts if children, youth, and other workers who were originally targeted by the project then migrate in search of incomes.[53] Our review also concluded that the **COVID-19 pandemic threatened the implementation** of at least two ongoing projects; though they have taken actions to adapt to the pandemic, the results of their efforts are not yet documented.

6.2.2. CONCLUSIONS AND KEY CONSIDERATIONS FOR MULTI-COUNTRY, MULTI-SECTOR PROJECTS

In this review, we separated SY@W, CLEAR, and CIRCLE I and II from other projects in the portfolio because project and evaluation documents did not contain adequate information on the projects' interventions in the cocoa sector. In our separate review of these multi-country, multi-sector projects, we found that they each sought to address a core theme across their entire portfolio of sub-projects, such as OSH or government capacity building. In these projects, a central grantee awarded subcontracts to smaller organizations, including NGOs or community-based organizations (CBOs) in target countries, to develop and deliver programming related to the selected labor issue across diverse sectors and activities across countries.

Multi-country, multi-sector projects most often achieved their outcomes in terms of increasing awareness of labor issues, boosting national government mobilization around those labor issues, and disseminating and cross-pollinating effective strategies. The projects often encountered challenges related to inadequate funding and duration of country-level programs, difficulties with global project administration and supporting country-level staff, and difficulties with host governments or other local partners.

While these projects included cocoa-specific interventions, we found that evaluations and TPRs had limited information available on the characteristics and success of cocoa-sector programming, specifically. Given that limitation, we instead offer the following key considerations, which may be applicable to multi-sector projects, regardless of the sectors targeted:

- **Country-level program durations and budgets** should be carefully right-sized to the scale of the labor challenge to achieve maximum impact.
- Central project administrations should provide **opportunities for country-level staff to share experiences and best practices.**
- Projects should **identify bottlenecks to progress**, including slow approval processes or target government bureaucracy, and quickly adapt programming to maintain forward momentum.
- Projects should **prioritize contracting local NGOS and CBOs to deliver sub-projects**, with a goal to build local capacity and community relationships that can support sustainability.

[53] It may also be possible that targeted individuals that move after receiving programming carry benefits of their participation with them, but that those benefits are not easily measured.

6.2.3. KEY CONSIDERATIONS FOR PROJECT PRIORITIES AND DESIGN FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH PROJECT EFFECTIVENESS

Key considerations for DOL

- Providing **larger budgets** and contracting grantees for **longer periods of time** could help projects weather unforeseen delays, adapt programming to local contexts, and meet their goals. OCFT could consider either increasing most projects' durations (and budgets) toward DOL's five-year limit on project appropriations or could **consider granting funding for projects in two phases**: a research and diagnostic phase and a separate project execution phase.
- Ensuring that projects engage **families, community leaders, and unions** could support effectiveness across both sectors, and in the fishing and seafood sector, heavily **engaging employers** could do the same.
- Ensuring that all projects adopt **gender-conscious project designs** could support projects in achieving their goals (even beyond gender-related outcomes).[54]
- In selecting **outcomes**, OCFT may choose to carefully balance more feasible outcomes (such as building awareness) with more difficult goals (such as building government capacity).
- Ensuring projects use **diagnostics and testing** to determine their pool of participants and locally relevant programming could support effectiveness.
- Drawing lessons from the **ILO Action Program model** to maximize local relevance of programming or using the **Time-Bound Program model** to develop long-term strategies could support project effectiveness.
- Ensuring **tripartite approaches** (particularly explicit ones) could support effectiveness.
- Cocoa projects may benefit from a **design with comprehensive components and linkages** between them, while fishing/seafood projects may not require such strong linkages to meet their goals.
- **Stress-testing theories of change** internally (among OCFT teams) before the funding opportunity announcements (FOAs) are released and again after projects are awarded (when grantees submit their draft project document) by listing and interrogating assumptions—as well as explicitly identifying causal linkages between project results—could support project effectiveness.
- As noted in Chapter 2, no projects in this portfolio set targets for gender-disaggregated outputs, which impeded our assessment of whether projects were meeting goals for inclusion and empowerment. OCFT may wish to **require that projects set targets for gender-disaggregated indicators**, particularly in terms of participation (including graduation from vocational programs or income-generation trainings).

[54] It may be that projects that develop gender-conscious approaches are also run by grantees and implementers with high capacity, suggesting that a key lever under OCFT's influence could simply be placing a higher weight on grantee capacity in the competitive selection process.

Key considerations for implementers

- Grantees focusing on **building their capacity and management quality** (and that of their local sub-grantees) may enjoy greater partner and participant buy-in, greater project efficiency, fewer delays, and greater overall effectiveness.
- Similarly, developing robust and resilient **communication and coordination structures** could streamline project management and boost partner engagement, thereby driving effective service delivery.
- Implementers dedicated to carefully **researching and planning an initial approach**, developing a strong service delivery system, and deliberately aligning their work with similar projects could be more successful in achieving their objectives.
- Implementers should be careful to avoid **consequential implementation pitfalls**, including poor monitoring and evaluation processes, poor participant targeting, and poor continuity planning with partners.
- Fishing and seafood projects could be more effective in addressing labor abuses, as well as advancing policy change, migrants' rights, women's and girls' empowerment, and education enrollment and attainment among target groups, if they **integrate their activities with ongoing, outside initiatives.**

Key considerations related to context

OCFT may have limited influence over several contextual factors that are associated with project effectiveness, but both OCFT and grantees may be able to prepare for these factors, even selecting certain sites or developing specific contingency plans to prepare for them.

- Projects may wish to choose sites after conducting brief assessments of **local enthusiasm for project goals from partners and participants**, as this factor may support project effectiveness. Similarly, general **positive public opinion toward children's and workers' rights** could support project effectiveness, with implications for country or region selection.
- Projects that take place in **countries with low GDP per capita** at project outset could be more effective than those in higher-income countries, though such projects may also require greater funding, strong project management and efficiency, and strong partner and participant buy-in to be effective.
- Projects working in contexts with **high levels of migration and fluid labor markets** may encounter lower effectiveness in direct and isolated project activities and could consider adapting programming to a more mobile or multi-site model.
- The **COVID-19 pandemic may threaten the implementation** of ongoing and future interventions in child labor, forced labor, and trafficking; projects could consider delivering alternative low-contact programming, such as monitoring system development, for as long as is necessary to prevent transmission of the coronavirus.

6.2.4. CONCLUSIONS AND KEY CONSIDERATIONS RELATED TO FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH SUSTAINABILITY

Our analysis suggests that projects generally had partially adequate sustainability strategies, with results varying by outcome type:

- **Withdrawal and prevention of target populations** from child labor, forced labor, and trafficking, along with several other impact areas, may not be fully sustainable without continued support from donors and implementers, as evaluations suggested the conditions that drive labor abuses may re-emerge after the project concludes.
- **Awareness of labor issues raised across communities**, relevant government agencies, and other project partners was sustainable, as were new practices resulting in income generation programs and increases in local ownership over labor issues.

We also found that **delays of key project activities**, regardless of the projects' durations, threatened sustainability. To overcome barriers to sustainability:

- DOL may wish to **build in more time and funding** (from the project award) for implementers to deal with unpredicted delays, consolidate results, and build local stakeholders' capacity.
- Projects should **target country government actors**, particularly national ministries, to embed programming, and allocate greater resources to monitoring and enforcement components.

Our analysis also suggests that **carefully integrating complementary project activities with one another** may drive sustainability more than the total number of activities or the funding allocated to each of them.

6.2.5. CONCLUSIONS AND KEY CONSIDERATIONS RELATED TO CHALLENGES AND SOLUTIONS

Evaluations reported that the 19 **projects encountered challenges which threatened overall project effectiveness** 90 times, and applied solutions 49 times. In order of frequency, the five most common challenge areas faced by projects in achieving their goals were: limited government capacity, difficulties targeting participants, monitoring and reporting difficulties, inadequate project management, and political resistance or low political will.

Our analysis suggests that the **most effective solutions in overcoming those challenges** involved increasing flexibility, planning for contingencies, incentivizing stakeholder participation, and providing key administrative supports for subcontracted implementers.

To support implementers in **facing these challenges and developing appropriate solutions**, donors could prepare a toolkit or provide other resources, focusing on strategies that evaluators found were most successful in the present portfolio, such as:

- **Engaging expert consultants** to aid in policy development and regulatory advances
- **Providing incentives for stakeholders** to participate in programming (and supports to offset costs of participation)
- **Training subcontractors and implementing partners** on best practices for data collection and monitoring
- **Developing strategies at project outset** to overcome potential delays in programming as a result of external factors
- **Conducting early assessments of target communities** and refining targeting protocols to ensure participants are selected properly and provided with planned programs
- **Anticipating challenges in political will and public support** by developing a suite of awareness-raising and engagement materials
- **Consolidating achievements and building sustainability** by lengthening programming in target communities
- **Identifying and supporting low-capacity government agencies** with capacity building

- **Offering basic social services** to help address root causes of child labor in targeted communities where government services (at their current capacity) do not reach

Providing implementers with resources to apply these strategies could help projects overcome substantial challenges and achieve greater effectiveness.

6.2.6. CONCLUSIONS AND KEY CONSIDERATIONS RELATED TO EVALUATIONS AND DATA QUALITY

In examining documents for this review, we found that evaluation quality varied widely; given that the evaluations span 20 years, some variation in quality and approach is to be expected. Many interim and final evaluations failed to address key research questions (including in areas such as gender) that were laid out in their terms of reference and only 7 of the 19 laid out specific steps they had taken to address the sensitivity and challenges of data collection on child labor, forced labor, and trafficking topics. In addition, evaluations were performance evaluations that used designed that did not permit the identification of projects' causal impacts on outcomes of interest, but instead presented a nuanced depiction of projects' implementation and stakeholder perspectives. Finally, most evaluations in the portfolio had moderate to severe limitations, including:

- Limited budget and time available for field visits constrained evaluators' ability to collect representative data from project sites (or countries) and verify the accuracy of project data.
- The timing of baseline and endline child labor prevalence surveys was often misaligned with project launch and conclusion, limiting its relevance to assessments of project effectiveness.
- Projects often selected stakeholders and participants on behalf of evaluators to be interviewed or included in focus groups, possibly biasing the sample of respondents.
- The COVID-19 pandemic limited the availability of potential respondents for evaluations that took place in 2020 and 2021, as travel was more difficult and remote interviewing and focus group discussions were not always feasible.

These limitations, among others, also reduced our confidence in the accuracy and completeness of some evaluations. We also noted that projects' TPRs varied widely in their structure, completeness, and accuracy, which limited our ability to use them to assess results and compare projects.

To support the strength of future syntheses and learning exercises:

- DOL may wish to expand evaluation budgets and timelines, which could help evaluators collect more representative data and use more rigorous methods.
- Implementers should adhere to current required DOL TPR templates, striving for completeness and accuracy.
- Evaluators should verify that their final reports cover all elements detailed in the terms of reference.
- Evaluators should develop alternative means of data collection in case planned methods are not feasible, particularly in target communities.

ANNEX A. METHODOLOGY PLAN

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Methodology Plan for a Synthesis Review of OCFT Work in Cocoa and Fishing

May 24, 2021

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DISCLAIMER

This report was prepared for the U.S. Department of Labor (DOL) Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor, and Human Trafficking by Mathematica, under requisition number 1609-OCT-21-NAT-0002, contract number 1605DC-18-A-0020. The views expressed are those of the authors and should not be attributed to DOL. Mention of trade names, commercial products, or organizations does not imply endorsement of same by the U.S. Government.

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ACRONYMS

CL	Child labor
DOL	Department of Labor
FL	Forced labor
ILAB	International Labor Affairs Bureau
ILO	International Labor Organization
LAC	Latin America and the Caribbean
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
OCFT	Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor, and Human Trafficking
OSH	Occupational safety and health
RGR	Results-to-goals ratio
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
VSLA	Village savings and loan association
WFCL	Worst forms of child labor

I. INTRODUCTION

The U.S. Department of Labor's (DOL's) Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor, and Human Trafficking (OCFT) in the Bureau of International Labor Affairs (ILAB) is a global leader in supporting technical assistance efforts to end child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking. OCFT-funded efforts include direct services such as education and livelihood support interventions; partnering with governments and organizations to strengthen relevant laws, enforcement, policies, and social programs; training law enforcement and labor inspectors; and developing tools for businesses and trade associations to support efforts to raise awareness of and reduce reliance on child labor (CL), forced labor (FL), and human trafficking.

OCFT has invested in performance evaluations of the technical assistance projects they fund and seeks a synthesis review of OCFT-funded projects designed to reduce child labor, forced labor, or human trafficking in the cocoa and fishing/seafood sectors. To that end, OCFT contracted with Mathematica in December 2020 to conduct this synthesis review with a focus on those sectors.

The intended audience includes decision makers within DOL, donors deciding which interventions to fund, and governments and organizations implementing strategies to end labor abuses.

The objective of this document is to describe the analysis we propose for the synthesis review. By documenting our planned analysis, we enable DOL staff to provide feedback before the review begins. Section II lays out the research questions the synthesis review aims to answer and describes the projects and evaluation reports we will analyze to answer those questions. Section III describes the proposed analysis approach. Section IV describes how we will present the results of the synthesis review, and Section V reviews our approach to project administration, including staffing and the project timeline.

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II. THE SYNTHESIS REVIEW: RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND PROJECTS SELECTED

In this section, we describe the research objectives for the synthesis review, the research questions that will enable us to achieve the research objectives, the projects OCFT selected for the synthesis review, and those projects' evaluations.

A. Research objectives and research questions

The broad objective of this synthesis review is to learn from existing research on OCFT's work to inform and improve future efforts to eliminate child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking, specifically in the cocoa and fishing/seafood sectors. We have identified three specific objectives for this synthesis review:

- Determine high-level results of OCFT-funded projects in the cocoa and fishing/seafood sectors, including the degree to which projects met their expected outcomes.
- Provide insights on projects' theories of change and the types of interventions and strategies that hold promise for future programming to prevent child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking.
- Identify common trends in evaluation results and lessons learned about project features and implementation strategies that appear to support successful outcomes, and, based on these findings, provide key considerations for OCFT as they develop strategies moving forward.

We have developed a set of research questions in support of these objectives. We will communicate these findings clearly with engaging and easily understood visuals and infographics. The following questions will structure our analysis of the evaluation reports:

Describing project experiences, outcomes, and evaluations

- What are the characteristics of the programs that were evaluated? What were projects' objectives and strategies?
- What methodologies and data did evaluators use to evaluate the projects?
- To what extent did projects meet their goals for implementation, outputs, and outcomes?
- What challenges did projects face? What solutions did projects use to address challenges?

Analytic research questions: Assessment of trends and patterns

- What project characteristics, contextual factors, and strategies were associated with better outcomes?
- Did projects' theories of change capture key project elements and dynamics that appear to have led to outcomes of interest?
- What were the most successful strategies used to address project challenges?
- To what extent did projects incorporate lessons learned from previous projects?

Looking ahead: Key considerations for OCFT moving forward

- Based on the evaluation results, which OCFT investments are more likely to result in reduction in child labor, forced labor, or human trafficking in the cocoa or fishing sectors than others?
- What can OCFT include in funding opportunity announcements to ensure projects have the best chance of achieving reductions in child labor, forced labor, or human trafficking?
- Are there ways in which evaluation methods or data sources could be changed to make evaluation results more useful?

Given this review's focus on the cocoa and fishing sectors, our findings will apply to future work in those sectors. If we hypothesize that some of the findings may be generalized more broadly, we will note that in the final report and note limitations to our ability to generalize to other sectors.

B. The projects and evaluation reports selected for the review

To answer these research questions, we will analyze information from the external evaluation reports and associated documents of projects OCFT selected for the synthesis review. In this subsection, we describe the evaluation reports and provide details on the specific projects.

OCFT hires external evaluators to conduct independent performance evaluations of the projects they support, including the projects selected for the synthesis review. Most evaluation reports are based on descriptive analysis conducted at the end of project implementation. The evaluations typically rely on analysis of project-monitoring data and the results of interviews and focus groups conducted by the external evaluator; some also gathered survey data. The evaluators draw on project-monitoring data included in technical progress reports to determine the extent to which projects met targets they established at project outset in consultation with OCFT. Evaluators use those indicators, interviews, and focus groups to describe challenges encountered and strategies implementers used to overcome them. The evaluation reports also include lessons learned about implementation and, in some cases, recommendations for future projects.

The review will include 21 projects—5 fewer than the 26 projects OCFT originally identified for the synthesis review: we are unable to include 3 of the projects because their evaluation documents will not be completed in time; a fourth project will be excluded because its activities are not related to the cocoa and fishing sectors; a fifth project will be combined with another related project. All the projects were designed to reduce child labor, forced labor, and or human trafficking but did so in diverse ways. Eleven projects included a focus on the cocoa sector and ten included a focus on fisheries/seafood. The projects were carried out in 10 countries,[55] as shown in Figure II.1.

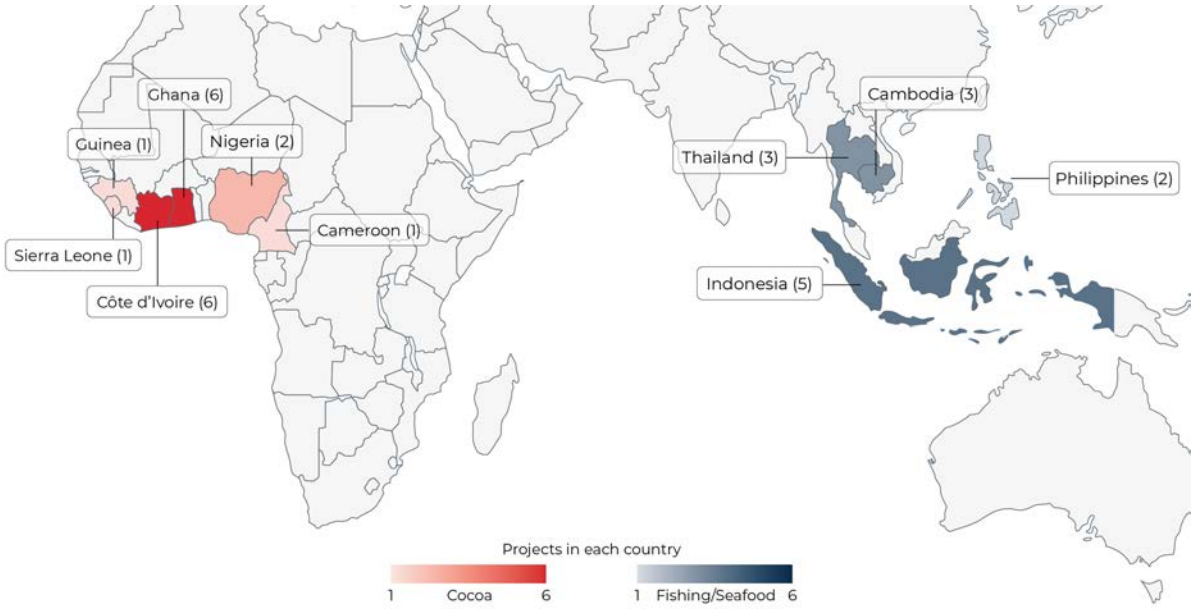
[55] The projects included activities in more than 10 countries, but the analysis for this review is restricted to the countries where activities focused on the cocoa or fishing sectors took place.

The cocoa projects focused on reducing child labor (particularly hazardous or worst forms of child labor) by 1) increasing access of children and youth to education and educational resources, 2) offering family livelihoods development activities, 3) raising awareness and building community buy-in, and 4) developing child labor monitoring systems and government capacity to reduce child labor. These projects were located in the major cocoa-producing countries of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, as well as Nigeria, Cameroon, Sierra Leone, and Guinea. It should be noted that the cocoa sector was only one of several intervention areas in the multi-country projects included in this review, such as Safe Youth at Work (SY@W) and Country Level Engagement and Assistance to Reduce Child Labor (CLEAR). Other targeted sectors under these multi-country projects included forestry, mining, construction, manufacturing, child domestic work, lumber, and non-cocoa agriculture.

The fishing/seafood projects focused on reducing child labor (particularly hazardous or worst forms of child labor) by 1) increasing access of children and youth to education and educational resources, 2) offering family livelihoods development activities, 3) raising awareness and building employer and community buy-in, and 4) developing CL monitoring systems and government capacity and policies to reduce child labor. These projects were located in Indonesia, Thailand, Cambodia, and the Philippines. As with the cocoa-related projects, fishing-related projects reviewed for this synthesis also targeted other sectors, including child domestic work, the footwear industry, agriculture, brickmaking, construction, informal mining, rock quarrying, street begging, and commercial sexual exploitation of children.

To the degree that parsing out sectoral and country-level efforts is possible, the analysis for this review is restricted to 1) project efforts related to the cocoa and fishing sectors and 2) to the countries where activities focused on the cocoa or fishing sectors took place.

Figure II.1. Number of projects included in the synthesis review, by country



Note: Numbers in parentheses indicate number of projects selected in each country. For this review, we exclude program activities in multi-country projects that take place in countries not targeted for their cocoa or fisheries sectors (for example, Argentina or Lebanon).

Table II.1. Characteristics of projects selected for the synthesis review: Cocoa sector

No.[a]	Country, project acronym, primary implementer	Region	Main activities	Project goal	Primary targets[b]								Length, start and end dates	Budget (millions)
					Children/youth	Adults/families	Communities	Schools	Unions	Employers	Buyers	Government		
1	Ghana (MOCA), Winrock International	SSA	Child and family education, financial, & livelihoods supports, awareness-raising activities, monitoring	Reduce child labor (CL), particularly hazardous CL	X	X	X	X				X	November 2015–November 2019 (4 years)	$4.5
2	Côte d'Ivoire (ECLIC), International Cocoa Initiative	SSA	Child and family education, financial, & livelihoods supports, awareness-raising activities, supports for schools	Reduce CL and improve education access	X	X	X	X				X	November 2015–November 2019 (4 years)	$4.5
3	Ghana (FLIP)[c], Verité	SSA	Training, monitoring, and inspection capacity building	Stakeholder capacity building to address CL and forced labor (FL)					X	X		X	December 2017–December 2021 (4 years)	$2.0[d]
4	Côte d'Ivoire, among many other countries (SY@W), ILO	SSA (among other regions)	Community-driven occupational safety and health (OSH) improvement activities,	Occupational safety and health (OSH)			X					X	December 2014–December	$11.4

No.[a]	Country, project acronym, primary implementer	Region	Main activities	Project goal	Primary targets[b]								Length, start and end dates	Budget (millions)
					Children/youth	Adults/families	Communities	Schools	Unions	Employers	Buyers	Government		
			national action plan development	strengthening for youth workers									2019 (5 years), in CdI	
5	Côte d'Ivoire, among many other countries (CLEAR), ILO	SSA (among other regions)	Labor law enforcement support, local monitoring systems	Local and national government capacity building to address CL			X	X			X	X	July 2015–Unknown 2019 (X years) in CdI	$8.0
6	Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana (CCP), ILO	SSA	Awareness-raising activities, supports for schools, education supports, family livelihoods supports, monitoring systems	Accelerate reductions of CL, particularly WFCL	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	December 2010–December 2014 (4 years)	$10.0
7,8	Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, and Nigeria, among others (ECOWAS I and II), ILO	SSA	Awareness-raising activities, supports for schools, family livelihoods supports, employer and union engagement, monitoring systems	Support national and regional efforts to stop WFCL	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	September 2009–April 2014 (4.6 years)	$12.95 (across ECOWAS I and II)
9	Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, and Nigeria (WACAP), ILO	SSA	Awareness-raising activities, supports for schools, education supports, monitoring systems	Reduce hazardous and exploitative CL in commercial agriculture	X	X	X	X	X			X	September 2002–April 2006 (3.6 years)	$6[e]
10, 11	Ghana, and Sierra Leone, among others (CIRCLE I and II), Winrock International	SSA	Awareness-raising activities, school supports, vocational/education activities, government capacity-building	Promote local capacity to reduce CL through better education	X	X	X	X				X	July 2002–June 2008 (CIRCLE I and II) (5.9 years)	$8.5 (across CIRCLE I and II)

[a] Numbering is based on the list of reports provided by the contracting officer's representative (COR).

[b] Primary targets are the stakeholders or participants directly engaged with the project activities. "X" indicates the stakeholder or participant group was a core target of the project. Vacant cells indicate the target played a very minor role in the activities or was not engaged at all.

[c] This project also targeted the General Agricultural Workers Union with sensitization. Labor groups do not have a stand-alone column in this framework given that they are not typically key players or targets in these interventions.

[d] The FLIP project originally only had activities in Ghana and was allocated $2M. However, in 2020 OCFT added $1.5M in additional funding to expand project activities into Côte d'Ivoire. The only document available on FLIP for this synthesis review is an interim evaluation of activities in Ghana, as there will be no interim evaluation for the more recently rolled-out components in Côte d'Ivoire. Thus, this synthesis only considers FLIP activities in Ghana.

[e] USDOL provided $5 million for this project, and the Cocoa Global Issues Group provided $1 million.

CL = child labor, FL = forced labor, TIP = Trafficking in persons, OSH = occupational safety and health, WFCL = worst forms of child labor. For multi-country projects, we present the total budget for the project. However, projects such as SY@W, CLEAR, and ECOWAS I/II target countries that will not be part of this analysis because they do not have cocoa sectors. In the analysis of projects, we will attempt to identify the portions of these multi-country project budgets that correspond to the targeted cocoa-producing countries, so that we can better examine the costs and efficiency of those specific activities, as available data permit.

Table II.2. Characteristics of projects selected for the synthesis review: Fishing/seafood sector

No.[a]	Country, project acronym, primary implementer	Region	Main activities	Project goal	Primary targets[b]								Length, start and end dates	Budget (millions)
					Children/youth	Adults/families	Communities	Schools	Unions	Employers	Buyers	Government		
12	Cambodia (EXCEL), World Vision	SE Asia	School supports, family livelihood supports, vocational/ educational activities, government support and advocacy	Reduce child labor (CL) in agriculture, fishing, and domestic work	X	X	X	X				X	December 2012–December 2016 (4 years)	$11.1[c]
13	Indonesia (ENABLE), Save the Children	SE Asia	Awareness-raising activities, education activities, government capacity-building	Provide non-formal education to youth in or at risk of CL	X	X	X	X				X	September 2005–May 2010 (4.7 years)	$3.6[d]
14	Thailand (Shrimp), ILO	SE Asia	Livelihood supports, education services, supports to schools, awareness-raising activities	Eliminate CL in shrimp production and processing	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	December 2010–June 2015 (4.5 years)	$9.0
15	Indonesia (Fish & Footwear Phase II), ILO	SE Asia	Government capacity and policy support, monitoring, awareness-raising, education, social protection, and school supports	Eliminate hazardous CL in fishing/ footwear, develop best practices	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	October 2002–June 2004 (1.75 years)	$0.9
16	Indonesia (NPA TBP), ILO	SE Asia	Awareness-raising activities, government policy support, education and school supports, family livelihoods supports	Eliminate worst forms of child labor (WFCL) by supporting the Time Bound National Plan of Action	X	X	X	X	X			X	September 2003–December 2007 (4.3 years)	$5.6[e]
17	Cambodia (NPA WFCL TBP I), ILO	SE Asia	Education, financial and livelihoods supports, guidance to youth and families, school supports, awareness-raising activities	Eliminate WFCL and build platform to eliminate all forms of CL	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	September 2004–December 2008 (4.3 years)	$4.8
19[f]	Cambodia (NPA TBP II), ILO	SE Asia	Supports to government, monitoring, awareness-raising activities, monitoring, supports to schools, education and family livelihoods supports	Support Cambodia in eliminating exploitative and WFCL	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	September 2008–December 2012	$4.3
20	Thailand (WFCL), ILO	SE Asia	Awareness-raising activities, monitoring, education and school supports, employer training	Build stakeholder capacity to eliminate WFCL	X		X	X		X		X	September 2006–June 2011 (4.7 years)	$3.8
21[g]	Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand (SEA Fishing & Footwear), ILO	SE Asia	Education and other direct supports, awareness-raising activities, family and community engagement	Combat CL in fishing and footwear sectors	X	X	X					X	December 1999–December 2001 (2 years)	$2.9[g]

No.[a]	Country, project acronym, primary implementer	Region	Main activities	Project goal	Primary targets[b]								Length, start and end dates	Budget (millions)
					Children/youth	Adults/families	Communities	Schools	Unions	Employers	Buyers	Government		
22	Indonesia and Philippines (SAFE Seas), Plan International	SE Asia	Supports to government regulation, community monitoring systems, awareness raising activities, employer engagement	Combat FL and TIP on fishing vessels		X	X		X	X		X	December 2017 - December 2021 (4 years)[h]	$5.0

[a] Numbering continues the numbering shown in Table II.1.

[b] Primary targets are the stakeholders or participants directly engaged with the project activities. "X" indicates the stakeholder or participant group was a core target of the project. Vacant cells indicate the target played a very minor role in the activities or was not engaged at all.

[c] $10 million was provided by USDOL; $1.1 million was provided by World Vision.

[d] $2.5 million was provided by USDOL; $1.1 million was provided by Save the Children.

[e] $5.6 million was provided by USDOL; $10,000 was provided by ILO.

[f] Report 18 covered a project in Indonesia that did not relate to the cocoa or fisheries sectors and was excluded from this synthesis.

[g] $2.0 million was allocated for footwear-related activities, and $0.9 million was allocated for fishing-related activities.

[h] The SAFE Seas project is ongoing, and the interim report recommends that the implementer request a 12-month extension until December 2022.

CL = child labor, FL = forced labor, TIP = Trafficking in persons, OSH = occupational safety and health, WFCL = worst forms of child labor.

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III. PLANNED ANALYSIS

A. Framework for the analysis

We will employ a mixed-methods realist synthesis approach to the review (Pawson et al. 2004; Rycroft-Malone et al. 2012). Realist synthesis provides explanations for why complex social interventions may or may not work, in what contexts, how, and in what circumstances. Realist synthesis makes explicit the underlying assumptions about a theory of change, then systematically gathers evidence to test and refine that theory. We believe this is the most appropriate method for this synthesis review because it is designed for situations where multiple approaches or interventions are implemented in varied ways, and where the program logic can be complex, dynamic, and nonlinear. The conditions that contribute to child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking are complex.

Based on our experience in the sector and our initial review of project documents, we have identified a set of four key broad root causes, which the projects selected for this review address in their activities. These causes should be interpreted as phenomena that may contribute to the likelihood of child labor, forced labor, or human trafficking, but the relationships between these causes and labor practices are not linear or consistent, and although addressing one cause or combination of causes may be effective in reducing child labor, forced labor, or human trafficking in some cases, the same may not be true in other contexts. In their review of empirical research on the effects of public policies on child labor, Dammert et al. (2017) emphasized the complex nature of public policies' effects on the allocation of time within a household. Nonetheless, we find it useful to highlight potential causes that are often considered relevant in determining participation in child labor, forced labor, or human trafficking.

The first root cause we have identified is **household poverty**. Households' lack of resources to meet their basic needs may motivate them to engage as many household members as possible, including children and youth, in income-generating activities. Further, households experiencing poverty may resort to child labor as a buffer to protect against negative income shocks such as parental unemployment or agricultural losses (Dammert et al. 2017). Project implementers may engage in activities to promote income generation (such as skills training), and income smoothing (by facilitating access to credit or saving) to alleviate this pressure and improve quality of life for target households.

The second root cause we have identified is a **lack of access to high quality, relevant education**. A 2018 ILO report on ending child labor states that "there is broad consensus that the single most effective way to stem the flow of school-aged children into child labour is to improve access to and quality of schooling" (ILO 2018). Accessible, high quality, relevant education and training may develop the skills required to interrupt intergenerational cycles of poverty. Challenges related to access—including school locations far from families, school fees, or insecurity at or on the way to school—reduce enrollment. Even when families have access to school, if the education offered is low quality or not relevant to families' lives or occupational opportunities for youth, families may see little value in education, particularly when it comes at

the opportunity cost of giving up paid work. Project implementers may engage in activities to improve education access, such as covering school fees; to improve quality, such as providing teacher training; or to improve relevance, such as providing new vocational training opportunities aligned to local economic opportunities.

The third root cause we have identified is **unmet needs at the community level**. Unmet needs at the community level may promote child labor, forced labor, or human trafficking for all community members. For example, an entire village may lack access to potable water or medical care, increasing disease and decreasing income generation. A school may be in poor condition, decreasing the quality of education provided there. A community may see local economic opportunities diminish and opportunities elsewhere grow, incentivizing migration of children and youth and increasing their risk of trafficking, sexual exploitation, or other forms of child labor. Additionally, families may not be informed about labor laws or the importance of age-appropriate education and training for children and youth. Project implementers may promote the formation of community organizations to develop community action plans to identify community needs and put solutions into place.

Finally, the fourth root cause we have identified is **government inaction on labor abuses (child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking)**. Most countries have ratified key conventions on child labor and forced labor, including the ILO Minimum Age Convention and the Forced Labor Convention Number 29 of 1930 (ILO 2021); however, many of the countries that have ratified these conventions have not prioritized the resources necessary to put into place policies and programs to eradicate child labor, forced labor, or human trafficking. Project implementers may work directly with government institutions to identify ways government agencies can improve awareness of the importance of labor and human rights at the institutional, community, and societal levels, and to support actions to implement changes needed to eradicate child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking.

We will ground our analysis in a flexible logic model that describes how diverse projects could lead to reductions in child labor, forced labor, or human trafficking by addressing their root causes (Figure III.1). The logic model lists these root causes, then describes the inputs and outputs of activities that implementers carry out to address each, as well as the desired outcomes to address the root causes of child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking in the cocoa and fishing sectors. This logic model represents an attempt to capture the key causes and actions taken to address them. However, the circumstances that lead to child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking are complex, and neither the causes, inputs, outputs, nor outcomes shown in the logic model are exhaustive. We will expand the logic model as we learn about more project activities. Our analysis of project implementation and outcomes will follow the structure of the logic model with consideration of project inputs, outputs, outcomes, and ultimate outcomes. When seeking to understand factors that contributed to or limited a project's success in achieving intended outcomes, we will consider which of the root causes a project addressed, and whether unaddressed root causes might be constraining projects' potential impacts.

Box III.1. Gender and diversity analysis

Gender analysis

Child labor, forced labor, and trafficking affect girls and women differently from how they affect boys and men. For example, our initial review of selected OCFT projects suggests that boys may be more likely to engage in hazardous child labor in the cocoa sector in Ghana, but girls may be more vulnerable to commercial sexual exploitation in Indonesia. Given these distinct patterns, programs to address CL, FL, and trafficking may adopt gender-conscious approaches and target participants with distinct interventions based on their gender. To understand the types of gender-conscious programming—and their value—in the selected OCFT projects, we propose a multifaceted approach to collecting and analyzing gender-related data.

- **Where indicators are disaggregated by gender, we will use technical progress report data to assess the uptake and influence of project activities among girls and boys.**
- **We will extract qualitative gender-related information from interim and final evaluations of projects, including information on whether and how projects use a gender-conscious approach in their programming. We will include this information in our rubric and code the findings into categorical variables along with other project data.**
- **We will analyze associations between characteristics of project implementation, such as whether the project has an explicit gender-conscious approach, and outputs or outcomes, such as vocational training completion among targeted girls. More broadly, we will also examine how successful OCFT gender-conscious programming has been in achieving goals of women's and girls' empowerment in communities and equity in education and household economics.**
- **Finally, we will examine where and how project activities have disparate effects (whether intended or unintended) on participants based on their gender.**

Diversity analysis

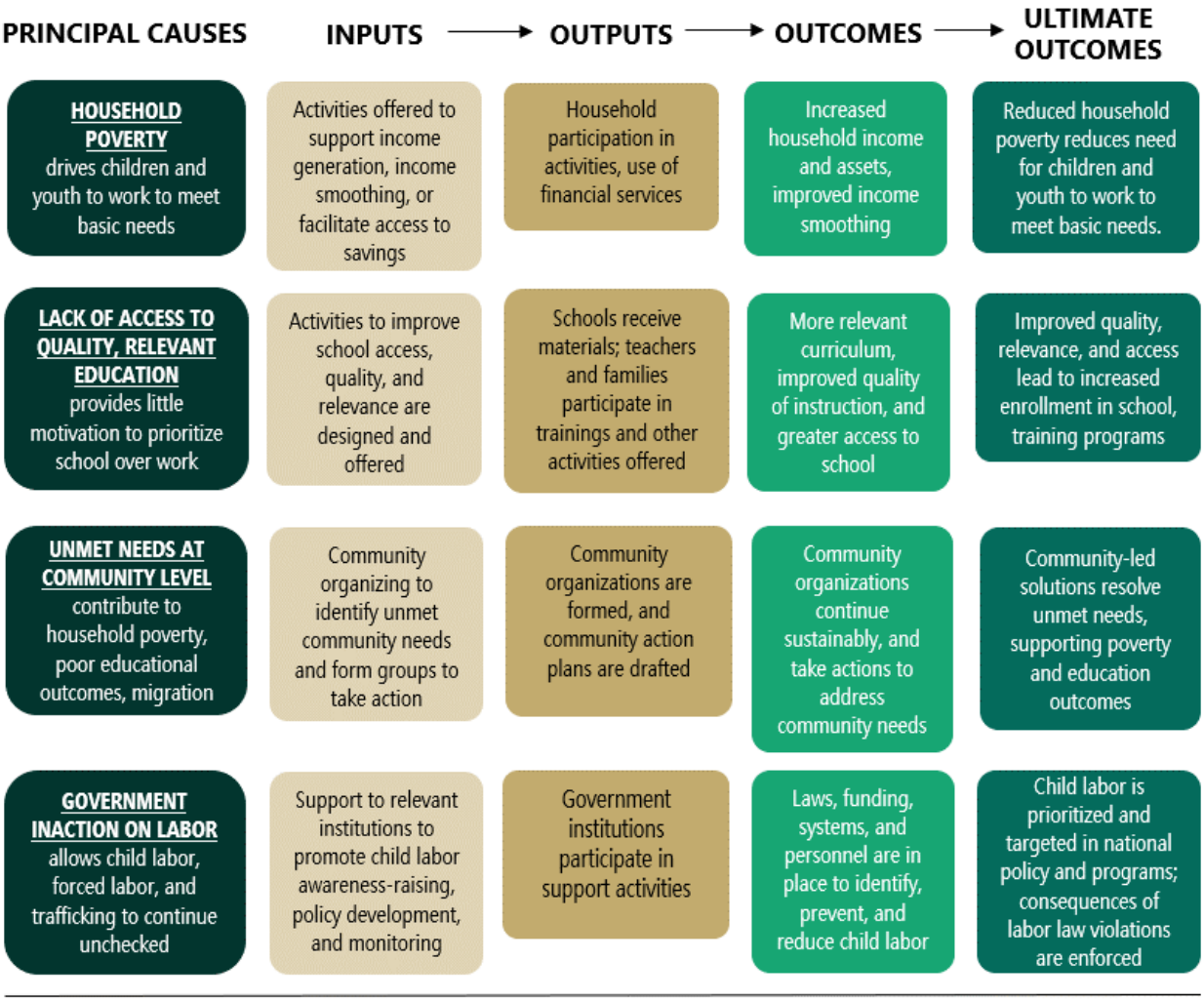
Child labor, forced labor, and trafficking may also affect younger children, migrants, ethnic minorities, or indigenous groups differently than they affect other populations. We will extract information on each of these aspects of diversity (to the degree that it is available) and analyze how these identities may interact with OCFT projects' activities. Specifically, we will examine how projects approach these groups, the barriers implementers may encounter in engaging them, and the projects' outcomes and unexpected results with these groups. This analysis will rely on findings available in project documents

The **inputs** column of the logic model describes the activities and strategies implementers carry out to achieve the desired outcomes. The **outputs** describe the evidence that the activities and strategies listed in the inputs column took place. For example, if an implementer facilitates teacher training to improve teachers' ability to spot students engaged in child labor, the inputs

would be training offered, and the outputs would be teachers trained. The **outcomes** column represents the expected impact of the outputs, and the **ultimate outcomes** column represents how the identified root cause of child labor, forced labor, or human trafficking was addressed. In the training example, the outcome might be improved teacher awareness of student engagement in child labor, whereas the ultimate outcome might be teachers connecting students to resources to support students in stopping or reducing engagement in child labor.

We do not intend for this framework to indicate that addressing one root cause of child labor, forced labor, or human trafficking will lead to a reduction in these undesired outcomes because the presence of one or more of the other root causes could be enough to lead to these outcomes. For example, even children and youth who have access to high quality, relevant education may be compelled to work to earn an income rather than go to school because their household is experiencing poverty.

Figure III.1. Logic model for projects in the synthesis review



Notes: The inputs represent a selection of activities and strategies that may be used to address the principal causes of child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking, but this is not an exhaustive list of causes or strategies used to address them.

B. Proposed analytic methods

We will use the logic model to organize the large amount of information included in the evaluation reports and technical progress reports (TPRs) and identify contextual factors, inputs, outputs, outcomes, and ultimate outcomes. As we detail below, we will create standardized categorical indicators to help identify similarities among projects. We will then classify projects' levels of effectiveness and use the categorical indicators to identify common characteristics among the most effective and least effective projects; we describe this in more detail below. A review of the qualitative findings presented in the evaluation reports—including lessons learned, challenges faced, and strategies used—will complement this analysis. We will conduct our analysis for subgroups of projects defined by sector as well as for all projects combined as appropriate.

The analysis will comprise the following steps:

- **Step 1. Build and complete a rubric that captures relevant information for all projects.** We will use this rubric to track quantitative and qualitative information gleaned from evaluation reports and TPRs. To the extent possible, we will identify project characteristics, such as budget, timeline, targets, and activities; evaluation features, such as methods or data quality issues; the evaluator's assessment of project implementation, outcomes, and context; challenges faced and strategies used; and results for each indicator for which a goal was set, grouped into inputs, outputs, outcomes, and ultimate outcomes to follow the logic model. Our review will be based on information provided in the evaluations and TPRs, which will include subjective and objective information (see Box III.2, Data sources). We will note if we have a different interpretation than the evaluators on any findings. Appendix A presents the rubric based on the evaluations we have reviewed so far (it incorporates updates made to the rubric shared during the launch meeting and reviews of early drafts of this methodology plan). We expect the rubric to evolve as we identify additional content to track while we review the remaining reports. ***Result: completed rubric with detailed information for all projects.***

Box III.2. Data sources

We will combine data from the following sources to form a comprehensive picture of project activities, facilitators, barriers, and outcomes.

- We will carefully review **final evaluations** and extract information from them to insert in the rubric. For the four projects in this review for which final evaluations are unavailable, we will rely on interim evaluations for project information.
- Where available, we will read **interim evaluations** to contextualize information from final evaluations, including where and how delays in project implementation occurred.
- We will review **final technical progress reports** to extract life-of-project indicator data. Where TPRs are unavailable, we will seek information on goal completion in the evaluations themselves.
- Where available, we will review projects' **baseline and endline child labor prevalence survey reports**, examining the survey methods and the reports' conclusions to identify the relevance of the CL prevalence findings to project activities. In our rubric, we will include information on how implementers used findings from baseline surveys to inform implementation.
- We will review **multi-country project budgets** to parse out the program allocations for specific countries of interest (where cocoa or fisheries sectors are targeted).

- **Step 2. Group projects by sector and type.** In addition to conducting analysis on the full set of projects, we will conduct analysis within groupings of similar projects to uncover dynamics that may arise within a sector or project type that might not be apparent when reviewing the full group. Projects included in this synthesis review target

multiple participant and stakeholder groups, including children, families, communities, schools, private sector actors (including employers and buyers), unions, civil society organizations, and government. Projects also vary in their duration, primary activities, geographical scope, and degree of integration with larger policy efforts. Given this variation, we will devise our project grouping approach once we have extracted data from all projects to the rubric. Knowing that inputs and contextual characteristics may affect outcomes differently depending on the project type, we will conduct analyses both within groups of projects with similar types and across all types. For example, we will compare all projects in South East Asia with a strong government capacity-building focus to one another and will also compare all projects in Cambodia to one another, regardless of primary project activities. ***Result: groupings by project sector and type.***

- **Step 3. Create categorical indicators to represent project characteristics and contextual factors.** Appendix A, Tables A.1 and A.3 show the full set of project characteristics and contextual factors captured in the rubric. To facilitate our analysis, we will create standardized, categorical indicators of project characteristics and contextual characteristics. Whereas the results presented in the evaluation reports provide specific information on each project, such as the project's exact budget and duration, the categorical indicators will have a set number of values, facilitating comparisons of similar projects. For example, we could group all projects with durations classified as short, budgets classified as large, or identified as focused on the worst forms of child labor. The categorical indicators could be binary, indicating whether a project has a characteristic or not. For example, we will create a binary indicator for whether the project targets families and another for whether a project engages government. In other cases, indicators will have one of several categories. For example, a region indicator would take on one of several categories corresponding to the region where the project took place. Finally, the categorical indicators could represent ranges of values for continuous variables such as budgets, converting specific budget numbers to ranges, such as small, medium, large, or very large.[56] In Table III.1, we provide examples of the categorical indicators used to represent project characteristics and contextual factors for two hypothetical projects. ***Result: project characteristics and contextual factors coded to categorical values in a new categorical rubric.***

[56] To create categories for values of continuous variables, such as budget amounts, we will review the distribution of the specific values observed for all projects. We will aim to group characteristics with continuous values into two, three, or four groups, depending on the distribution of values. For example, if project durations are evenly distributed from the shortest to longest, we might categorize durations into four groups, but if durations were all either one to two years or five to six years, we might create only two categories.

Table III.1. Creating categorical indicators from project characteristics and inputs

	Specific values		Categorical indicators	
Item	**Project 1**	**Project 2**	**Project 1**	**Project 2**
Project focus	Reduce child labor (CL) and improve education access among youth ages 14–17 in cocoa-growing communities	Build government awareness/capacity to monitor and prevent the worst forms of child labor (WFCL) across several agricultural and extractive sectors	Direct services to reduce CL	Government capacity building
Budget	$5 million	$900,000	Medium	Small
Budget per year	$2 million	$450,000	Large	Small
Period of performance	2.5 years	2 years	Short	Short
Intervention included income-generation supports	Yes, IGA was primary component of project	No	1	0
Intervention included technical support	No	Yes, project trained government technical staff	0	1
Intervention included regulation harmonization	No	Yes, project worked with ministries to align CL policy	0	1

Note: This table is an example of a subset of categorical indicators we will create.

CL = child labor; WFCL = worst forms of child labor.

- **Step 4. Calculate results-to-goals ratios for inputs, outputs, outcomes, and ultimate outcomes.** We expect most projects to follow the path of inputs, outputs, outcomes, and ultimate outcomes described in Figure III.1. To understand whether projects were implemented as expected, we will use information presented in the projects' TPRs to assess progress toward specific goals.[57] Depending on data quality and availability, for each goal that was set, we will calculate the ratio between observed results and the goal, which we refer to as the results-to-goals ratio (RGR). For example, if an implementer's goal is to complete

[57] Baseline and endline reports for child labor prevalence surveys are available for a small subset of projects (baseline, endline, or both kinds of reports are available for four projects at the time of publishing this document). We will review the reports to learn about major issues confronted when collecting the data and to learn about how projects did or did not use the results of the surveys to develop a more complete understanding of the project, but will rely on the evaluation reports and TPRs as primary data sources to assess changes in child labor over the course of the project (see Box III.2 for more detail on our intended use of data sources).

100 trainings, and the implementer completes 110 trainings, the RGR for that goal is 1.1.[58] Appendix Table A.5 shows the structure we will use to document goals and results and calculate RGRs. Using each project's set of RGRs, we will classify each project as demonstrating low, moderate, high, or full completion of the goals set for inputs, outputs, outcomes, and ultimate outcomes, based on an average RGR of less than 40 percent, 40 to 69 percent, 70 to 99 percent, and 100 percent or more, respectively.[59] To supplement this approach, we will compute the percentage of each project's RGRs that are greater than 1—that is, the proportion of indicator targets the project met. We will use this figure to aggregate the overall goal achievement of projects and to complement our reporting of average RGRs, which can be skewed by extremely high ratios, such as those where the project achieved 700 percent of the target. ***Result: RGRs for each performance indicator; average RGRs across each project's inputs, outputs, outcomes, and ultimate outcomes; and the percentage of each project's goals which were met.***

- **Step 5. Assess completion of goals for inputs and outputs for which goals were set, using RGRs and qualitative information from evaluation reports.**[60] We will review average RGRs for inputs and outputs, the percentage of RGRs that are greater than 1, and our qualitative assessment of each project's inputs and outputs based on evaluations to produce an achievement rating for each project's group of inputs and group of outputs on a 3-point scale. A score of 1 means the project did not deliver inputs as planned, 2 indicates the project partially delivered its planned inputs, and 3 shows the project delivered all or nearly all planned inputs. The same scoring structure will be applied to whether a project produced its planned outputs. We will convert the number scores into C (1), B (2), and A (3) for consistent color coding and visualization in the analysis table (see Appendix B). ***Result: two sets of scores (1, 2, or 3, and A, B, or C) rating projects' completion of input and output goals, based on RGRs and qualitative information in evaluation reports.***
- **Step 6. Classify each project's level of effectiveness for specific outcome domains.** Pairing qualitative information extracted from project evaluations and other documents with

[58] This approach depends on the assumption that goals were set and updated using a similar approach across projects, taking into consideration project resources and anticipated challenges. If goals were set consistently, they will be a consistent metric across projects. In the final synthesis review report, we will comment on our assessment of how consistently the goals were set, based on information available. For example, if individual goals are exceeded by a large margin, or if results fall far short of a goal, it may be that assumptions made in setting the goal were off or that conditions or resources changed, and we will review the evaluation reports for information that might help us understand the context for such differences between goals and observed outcomes. Similarly, if most projects exceed most of their goals, it could be evidence that the goals could be set higher of that more resources were provided than necessary.

[59] The classification of goal completion will be done for inputs, outputs, outcomes, and ultimate outcomes for each project and each will be the average of multiple RGRs. For all projects and steps along the logic model, calculating RGRs depends on data completeness and quality as well as the apparent validity of targets set. As noted in Steps 5-7, we will complement our use of RGRs (including the percentage of each project's RGRs that are greater than 1) with an assessment of inputs, outputs, outcomes, and ultimate outcomes using qualitative information from the evaluations.

[60] As noted in Steps 7 and 8, we will take a more granular approach with outcomes than with inputs and outputs, scoring them on an outcome-by-outcome basis.

RGRs produced in Step 4, we will assess the degree to which projects achieved goals for specific outcome domains, such as increased education access or stronger government oversight. We will score each project on each possible outcome domain on a 4-step categorical scale—rather than a 3-step scale as used for inputs and outputs—to capture greater nuance in outcome achievement. An outcome score of 0 means no progress was made toward the outcome goal, a score of 1 indicates minimal progress was made, 2 means the project made moderate progress toward the outcome goal, and 3 means the project achieved or exceeded the goal. Where projects did not seek to achieve a given outcome, they will receive an not applicable value, N/A. This approach will offer three key benefits for subsequent analysis. First, analysis by specific outcome domain will enable us to learn from projects with divergent outcome domain scores—for example, those projects that exceeded goals for two outcome domains but failed to reach the target for a third outcome domain. Second, individual outcome scoring will also allow us to look across projects to examine how often and in what types of projects are outcome goals, such as government capacity built, typically reached or not. This could give us insights into which contextual or project factors were associated with achievement in that particular outcome. Third, this approach will allow us to identify more challenging outcome domains as well as synergies and linkages between complementary outcomes, such as momentum-building between awareness-raising achievements and education access and quality improvements. In Table III.2, we provide an example of these assessments and their categorical scoring of effectiveness for two hypothetical projects.[61] ***Result: Scores of 0, 1, 2, or 3 (or N/A) indicating each project's effectiveness for specific outcome domains.***

- **Step 7. Combine outcome domain scores for each project to form an average outcome achievement score.** To assess each project's general outcome achievement, we will average the specific outcome domain scores, creating a value on a continuous scale. We will then rescale the continuous variable values to a discrete 1-2-3 system, which allows us to crosswalk to A-B-C letter scores. With this approach, we are afforded a view of how individual projects performed across all their outcomes. ***Result: two sets of scores (1, 2, or 3, and A, B, or C) for projects' average achievement of outcomes.***
- **Step 8. Classify projects' overall effectiveness as high, moderate, or low (A, B, or C).** We will assess overall effectiveness of projects by combining the scores that each project received for successfully delivering all its planned inputs, producing all its planned outputs, and achieving all its desired outcomes (sourced from the average outcome score computed in Step 7).[62] First, we will sum the 1-2-3 scores of inputs, outputs, and outcomes for each project, producing values between 3 and 9. Then, we will crosswalk those sums to letter grades: projects with sums of 8 and 9 receive an A score for overall effectiveness, those with scores of 6 and 7 receive B scores for overall effectiveness, and projects with sums of 5 or lower receive C scores. This high-level view allows us to quickly identify projects with

[61] Ultimate outcomes, such as *government capacity to reduce CL supported*, are not measured thoroughly across projects, so our assessment of specific outcomes will take place at the intermediate outcome level.

[62] If an ongoing project has no final evaluation of outcomes or final TPR yet available, we will adjust our approach to exclude any outcomes scores and judge effectiveness on the interim data on inputs and outputs.

strong overall performance in our analysis, and the separate input, output, and outcome scores assessed in Steps 5 and 7 deliver a more nuanced view of how projects advanced against their goals at each stage. ***Result: A, B, or C scores for projects' overall effectiveness.***

Table III.2. Example assessments of project effectiveness, using outcome achievement

Outcomes achievement				
	Details		Effectiveness score (0–3)	
Outcome domain	Project 1	Project 2	Project 1	Project 2
Awareness of child labor (CL) raised	Raised awareness among targeted families and in their communities; encountered some cultural pushback but found local advocates to build momentum and achieve goal	Raised short-term awareness in government ministries and in local councils, but turnover in government offices impeded institutional integration of knowledge	3	1
Family incomes increased	Slightly increased family incomes through IGA trainings and equipment provision; full benefits of this component may lag beyond the short project and evaluation time frame	N/A	2	N/A
CL rates reduced in children ages 10–15	Reduced CL rates by 7% in target communities, impeded by ongoing household need for labor, falling short of 25% reduction goal	N/A	1	N/A

Note: This is a subset of the many outcome domains we will document and score. For projects where an outcome is targeted, we will assess the effectiveness of the project in reaching the target using qualitative data from the evaluation and quantitative data from the project TPRs. These assessments of effectiveness will then be translated into number scores, as shown in the two rightmost columns of this table. A score of 0 means no progress was made toward the outcome goal, 1 indicates minimal progress was made, 2 means the project made strong progress against the outcome goal, and 3 means the project achieved or exceeded the goal. These number scores, in turn, are converted to an A-B-C letter score as described in Step 6. We will also score inputs and outputs by project.

- **Step 9. Analyze how project characteristics, inputs, and contextual factors relate to projects' success in achieving desired outputs and outcomes (overall and by sector).** Within project groups formed by sector and type in Step 2, we will analyze how project characteristics, inputs, and contextual factors relate to project outputs and outcomes. Based on our theory of change, our prior knowledge of the projects from the extraction process, and our understanding of factors that are plausibly related to effectiveness, we will produce various hypotheses that lay out possible associations between factors and outcomes. For example, we may theorize that longer-term projects are more likely to achieve substantial reductions in CL, or that projects with a village savings and loan association (VSLA) component are more likely to be considered sustainable. For these example hypotheses, we would then sort projects by the categorical indicators of project duration or whether the project has VSLA components and assess whether trends appear in categorical indicators of relevant outcomes (in this example, the size of CL reduction or the likelihood of income increase sustainability). If necessary, we will add additional filters based on other factors,

such as the degree of local government buy-in, to identify more nuanced associations between factors and outcomes. We will also examine the influence of external conditions, such as the turnover of government personnel or economic recessions, on projects' effectiveness, and will complement our overall effectiveness assessments with details on whether and how these contextual factors tended to affect project implementation.[63] Our analysis will assess the influence of these various factors on projects' specific outcomes, on projects' average scores across outcomes, and on projects' overall effectiveness scores (which combine inputs, outputs, and outcomes).

With a sample size this small, formal statistical analysis will not be informative. Instead, we will review and assess the relationships between inputs and characteristics and observed outputs and outcomes directly (see Appendix Table B.1 for an example of an analysis table we might use for this purpose). We will also compare effectiveness of projects within each outcome domain (such as occupational safety and health improvements for youth workers or elimination of WFCL) because projects' effectiveness may vary by domain. This analysis will yield our high-level assessment of project characteristics and contextual factors commonly observed among the most and least effective projects, as well as potential interactions between key contextual factors and project characteristics that appear to be correlated with successful outcomes.

In addition to developing findings that span all projects reviewed in this synthesis, we will conduct sub-analyses to identify sector-specific findings to illustrate the most and least effective aspects of OCFT programming particular to cocoa and fishing sectors. This means that as appropriate, we will conduct analysis up to three times: overall, for the cocoa sector, and for the fishing sector. ***Result: Analysis findings on factors associated with better outcome achievement and overall project effectiveness.***

- **Step 10**. **Identify effective solutions to commonly observed challenges**. Evaluation reports identify challenges projects encountered and solutions that projects used to address them. To synthesize findings on this topic, we will extract challenges projects faced and the solutions they applied, as well as the effectiveness of those solutions, to the rubric. We will then identify common challenges faced across projects and will group them, paying attention to the situations and contexts where similar challenges were most likely to arise. Finally, we will examine solutions applied to each group of challenges and the effectiveness of those strategies in addressing the challenges, identifying which types of solutions tended to solve problems best and which groups of challenges which were most intractable. In Table III.3, we show how we will synthesize and present findings on challenges encountered and solutions adopted across projects. ***Result: Analysis findings on commonly observed challenges and solutions and effectiveness of solutions used.***

[63] Contextual factors in which projects operate will be among the data extracted to the rubric from evaluations and other data sources. As with other rubric items, the presence or absence of these factors will then be coded to categorical variables to aid in the assessment of whether external conditions were associated with project implementation and achievement.

Table III.3. Example of challenges and solutions and synthesis across projects

	Challenges	Times occurred	Solutions	Times used	Success 0–3
Challenge Type 1	Challenge 1A	2	Solution to challenge 1A	1	1
	Challenge 1B	4	Solution to challenge 1B1	1	3
			Solution to challenge 1B2	1	0
			Solution to challenge 1B3	1	2
	Challenge 1C	1	None applied	N/A	N/A
Challenge Type 2	Challenge 2A	3	Solution to challenge 2A1	2	1
			Solution to challenge 2A2	1	3
	Challenge 2B	1	Solution to challenge 2B1	1	2
	Challenge 2C	2	Solution to challenge 2C1	2	1
			Solution to challenge 2C2	1	3
	Total challenges	**13**	**Total solutions applied**	**11**	

Note: This table includes stand-in information and fabricated scores to illustrate potential assessments of challenges and corresponding solutions. For an example of how this template is applied to real data, see a completed table on challenges and solutions on page 36 of the synthesis review that Mathematica completed for ILAB's Office on Trade and Labor Affairs.

- **Step 11. Assess to what extent projects addressed lessons learned in earlier projects.** Project evaluation reports often identify lessons learned. OCFT is interested in understanding to what extent subsequent projects adapted their efforts based on those documented lessons learned. To address this question, we will extract lessons learned from evaluations to the rubric and assess to what extent more recent projects appear to have adapted their efforts based on lessons learned in earlier projects (or whether more recent project evaluations have the same lessons learned as early projects). We will also review the challenges and solutions, as assessed in Step 10, over time to examine whether challenges that appeared early in this portfolio of projects (for example, those that appeared in 2000–2005) continued to impede projects later (for example, in the period 2016–2020), or if they were preempted or avoided by implementers. This long view of project challenges and solutions may also illuminate broader changes in the cocoa and fisheries sectors and changes in child labor prevalence and conditions in those sectors over time. ***Result: Analysis findings on the extent to which projects addressed lessons learned in earlier projects.***

Table III.4 shows how our analytical approach addresses the research questions posed by OCFT.

Table III.4. Strategies to address research questions

Research question	Data source[a]	Analytical approach[b]
1. What are the characteristics of the programs that were evaluated? What were projects' objectives and strategies?	Final (and interim) evaluation reports, TPRs, survey reports, multi-country project budgets	We will review and extract information from these data sources to the synthesis rubric and provide descriptive analysis of project characteristics, contexts, objectives, and strategies
2. What methodologies and data did evaluators use to evaluate the projects?	Final (and interim) evaluation reports	We will review and extract methodology information from evaluations to the synthesis rubric and provide descriptive analysis of evaluators' approaches
3. To what extent did projects meet their goals for implementation, outputs, and outcomes?	Final (and interim) evaluation reports, TPRs, survey reports	We will review and extract achievement information from these data sources to the synthesis rubric and RGR sheets, code levels of achievement to categorical variables, and assess the degree to which projects met stated goals
4. What challenges did projects face? What solutions did projects use to address challenges?	Final (and interim) evaluation reports, TPRs	We will review and extract information on most frequently observed challenges and solutions to the synthesis rubric, group similar challenges and solutions, and provide descriptive analysis of challenges and solutions and success of solutions applied
5. What project characteristics, contextual factors, and strategies were associated with better outcomes?	Final (and interim) evaluation reports, TPRs, survey reports, multi-country project budgets	Using coded values from our categorical variables, we will test hypotheses and identify relationships between project characteristics, context, and strategies and projects' achievement of outcomes
6. Did projects' theories of change capture key project elements and dynamics that appear to have led to outcomes of interest?	Final (and interim) evaluation reports, TPRs, survey reports	Using information extracted to the rubric on projects' theories of change and assumptions, we will assess the validity of the projects' designs and draw conclusions on trends observed across projects
7. What were the most successful strategies used to address project challenges?	Final (and interim) evaluation reports, TPRs	Using information collected and coded in the approach for RQ4 (coupled with additional review of evaluations' qualitative assessments), we will identify and score the success of strategies that projects deployed to address challenges
8. To what extent did projects incorporate lessons learned from previous projects?	Final (and interim) evaluation reports	We will track lessons identified in early evaluations and assess the extent to which later projects appear to have incorporated learning from the early lessons learned

Research question	Data source[a]	Analytical approach[b]
9. Based on the evaluation results, which OCFT investments are more likely to result in reduction in child labor, forced labor, or human trafficking in the cocoa or fishing sectors than others?	Final (and interim) evaluation reports, TPRs, survey reports	Having identified key project characteristics associated with outcome achievements (RQ5), we will synthesize the most effective investment types (such as education programming or livelihoods generation) in each sector and across sectors
10. What can OCFT include in funding opportunity announcements (FOAs) to ensure projects have the best chance of achieving reductions in child labor, forced labor, or human trafficking?	Final (and interim) evaluation reports, TPRs, survey reports	Having identified key project characteristics associated with outcome achievements (RQ5), we will present key project design elements OCFT may consider including in future FOAs
11. Are there ways in which evaluation methods or data sources could be changed to make evaluation results more useful?	Final (and interim) evaluation reports, TPRs, survey reports, multi-country project budgets	Having extracted and reviewed information from all data sources, we will determine where there are gaps in information or weaknesses in methods and provide key considerations for future documentation and reporting

[a] Where available, we will review projects' baseline and endline child labor prevalence survey reports, examining the survey methods and the reports' conclusions to identify the relevance of the CL prevalence findings to project activities. Where relevant, we will also review multi-country project budgets to parse out the funding allocations for programs in specific countries of interest (where cocoa or fisheries sectors are targeted).

[b] All analytical approaches begin with extraction of information from evaluations, TPRs, and other relevant documents to the synthesis rubric.

FOA = funding opportunity announcement, CL = child labor, FL = forced labor, TIP = Trafficking in persons, OSH = occupational safety and health, WFCL = worst forms of child labor.

C. Limitations

Our proposed strategy will create standardized indicators of project effectiveness so that we may group and compare diverse projects with diverse indicators of success, facilitating analysis to identify promising project features and strategies. Nonetheless, project findings must be viewed in light of several limitations.

- We are limited in our ability to assess the effectiveness of projects at reducing child labor, forced labor, and trafficking because most **evaluators did not use methodologies that would permit them to estimate projects' causal impacts on outcomes of interest**.[64]

[64] The absence of impact estimates from the evaluation reports is one reason that meta-analysis is not a feasible method for this review. Meta-analysis is a statistical method that combines the results of separate quantitative analyses of the same intervention to generate a pooled estimated impact of that intervention with greater confidence than the estimate from any single evaluation. This method typically calls for the combination of the results of impact evaluations that produce an estimated causal impact and standard error of the estimate. Results consider the level of precision of each causal estimate to create a new result that is weighted by how much information each evaluation provides. The evaluation reports included in the synthesis review do not allow for a meta-analysis for several key

Therefore, we cannot rule out that some observed outcomes, such as indicators of reduced participation in child labor or forced labor, could be influenced by other activities or ongoing campaigns rather than the project activities. Qualitative information in the evaluation reports may provide additional information to determine whether other activities may contribute to the observed outcomes.

- **The RGR is a noisy indicator with three important limitations.** First, progress against goals will be a consistent indicator only if goals are set consistently. Furthermore, even if the methods used to set goals are consistent, if conditions or project plans change—for example, if a goal is abandoned based on shifting priorities—the interpretation of the RGR must also change and projects' goals may not always be updated consistently. Second, the results that are measured capture the work done in the project, but as we discuss in the previous paragraph, these results could be due to the project or due to other, concurrent activities. Third, different strategies in goal setting could vary in idiosyncratic ways that could influence the apparent effectiveness of some projects more than others. For example, if a project officer for West Africa sets more ambitious goals than a project officer for Southeast Asia, projects in West Africa could appear less effective than projects in Southeast Asia because of a difference in goals rather than a difference in effectiveness. We do not have the information to consider such differences when interpreting results. Early in our analysis, we will assess the completeness and apparent consistency of the goals set in TPRs and assess the utility of calculating and analyzing projects' RGRs. Where RGR information is limited, we will complement with qualitative information from the evaluation reports.
- In general, **our analysis is limited by the quality and completeness of information available in the evaluation reports and TPRs**. We may be unable to identify or correct for any errors, omissions, or bias in the data used or analysis conducted for the evaluation reports. Furthermore, most information in the reports is qualitative in nature and varies across projects, limiting our ability to compare project characteristics or outcomes.
- Although the diverse set of projects in two sectors selected for the synthesis review provides rich variation to study, the variation also poses challenges. It is difficult to identify how variation in project characteristics or context might relate to successful outcomes when so many project types, characteristics, and contextual factors vary at the same time within a small sample and when some contextual factors are correlated with others. For example, we may find that projects that target enforcement of child labor laws by working with government agencies are more effective if they also target community leaders in monitoring child labor. However, we would be unable to determine whether superior outcomes observed for a small group are due to the group characteristic or due to chance. At the same time, qualitative information from the evaluation reports will help us understand how the group characteristic relates to project effectiveness for that group.

reasons: (1) the reports do not include estimates of projects' *causal* impacts on outcomes of interest; (2) the projects represent diverse interventions, which would yield a pooled estimate that would be too generic to be meaningful; and (3) the outcomes of interest also vary from project to project. Nonetheless, without a meta-analysis, the methods described in this report will allow for a rigorous evaluation of the rich information in the reports included in the synthesis review.

- **Our analysis of the extent to which OCFT projects have incorporated lessons learned through previous projects also depends on what is reported in evaluation reports.** Assessing to what extent projects have addressed lessons learned in earlier projects depends on lessons being reported in the early projects' reports and on later projects reporting enough information for us to determine whether they addressed the earlier lessons.
- **Patterns and trends may be difficult to identify across an extended time horizon, and dynamics relevant in the late 1990s may not have the same relevance now.** Contexts and dynamics have changed since the late 1990s when the oldest projects in the review were implemented. Some findings from those projects are less relevant today, limiting their usefulness in the review. For example, early challenges associated with local government buy-in for reducing CL in the cocoa sector may not be relevant today. Furthermore, some of the dynamics observed in the early projects may not play out in the same way today, limiting our ability to draw conclusions based on trends observed among old and recent projects.

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IV. EXPECTED DELIVERABLES FROM THE SYNTHESIS REVIEW

To ensure we communicate the findings from the analysis in a way that is useful to decision makers within and outside DOL, we will produce a visually appealing, concise report. The report will focus on key findings and the identification of information that may be relevant to OCFT as the office plans its future investments.

The main body of the report will focus on key findings and essential background information, with detailed descriptions of analysis methods or detailed findings in appendices. The executive summary will provide a high-level summary. The report will describe the motivation for the report and background on the projects selected for the synthesis review, and a brief description of the analysis methods. The majority of the report will focus on results and lessons learned. The report will also include suggestions for how to strengthen the evaluation reports so they are more conducive to cross-project analysis. We will append to the report our annotated bibliography of non-USDOL projects targeting child labor, forced labor, and trafficking in the cocoa and fisheries sectors. Box 1 shows a proposed high-level outline of the report structure.

Box IV.1: Structure of synthesis review report

Executive summary

Introduction

Motivation for the report and background on OCFT-funded projects

Description of projects

Analysis approach

Results: by type and overall

Conclusions

Considerations:

- For funding future projects
- To improve implementation
- To enhance future synthesis reviews

Appendices: Annotated bibliography, methodology plan, lists of reports used, compendium of infographics and data visualization formats, and final dissemination plan

As described previously, we will divide the projects into sectors and analysis subgroups (groups that we will determine as we extract information from the reports into the rubric). For each sector and analysis subgroup and for the full group of studies overall, we will describe the project characteristics we have identified as potentially correlated with the most successful outcomes and those correlated with the least successful outcomes. Our presentation of findings will be supported by evidence from the synthesis review. For example, if we state that projects that engage families are most effective if they also involve schools, we will specify the number of projects that were highly effective—both among those seeking to engage families only and among those that also included schools.

The report will incorporate infographics to convey the findings of the synthesis review in a visually appealing way. For example, the infographics may convey the characteristics of the projects included in the synthesis review, describe the findings, and represent recommendations for how to focus funding moving forward and potentially how to improve project implementation. Some infographics will be embedded in the final report to illustrate key findings, and others will be included in a stand-alone document summarizing key information from the report.

We will work with DOL to identify an effective strategy to disseminate the synthesis review's findings by focusing on the report's findings and identifying the most relevant audience for those findings. To maximize the report's reach, once we have preliminary findings, we will discuss dissemination options with DOL to identify and reach decision makers within DOL and other decision makers working to reduce child labor, forced labor, and trafficking around the world, including the ILO and others. The report's impact may be greatest if, in addition to disseminating findings widely, intended readers engage with the document and consider acting on its conclusions. By presenting results in a concise and visually appealing way, with action-oriented recommendations featured prominently, we hope to maximize engagement with the synthesis review. The draft dissemination plan, which will be the product of Mathematica's insights into effective and appropriate dissemination strategies and conversations with DOL to learn more about child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking in the cocoa and fishing/seafood sectors, will define the target audience and discuss the best strategies to reach those audiences.

After finalizing the synthesis review, we will work with DOL to plan a virtual briefing presentation with ILAB. This briefing will enable us to share the results in an interactive setting with discussion of the results and next steps for DOL. We will work with DOL to identify whom to include in the presentation, and Mathematica will develop the presentation and discussion plan.

V. ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURES

To ensure all products are of high quality and within the project's required timeline and budget, we have put into place administrative structures. This section describes the project team's roles and responsibilities, presents the timeline of next steps, and outlines our approach to data protection and destruction.

A. Roles and responsibilities of the evaluation team

We formed a small project team to use project resources efficiently while allowing team members to engage more deeply in the analysis. **Dr. Sarah Liuzzi** oversees the project and provides technical leadership. She manages the synthesis review, leads its design and implementation, and oversees the team. Dr. Liuzzi also monitors the project's budget and schedule and manages communication with DOL. **Mr. Josh Meuth Alldredge** reviews evaluation reports, contributing to structuring and filling the rubric, and analyzing the data. **Ms. Naomi Dorsey** supports Dr. Liuzzi in project management and will conduct the literature search for the annotated bibliography. **Ms. Gwyneth Olson**, our graphic design specialist, will contribute to developing ideas for infographics and eventually create them. Specialized support staff will also contribute to the project to help draft and update budget and other project management documents, and a senior researcher will conduct quality assurance reviews for the project.

B. Timeline for the synthesis review

The project timeline allows time to complete all activities, including the presentation at DOL, in time for DOL to consider the findings of the synthesis review when making funding decisions by December 2021. To meet this timeline (Figure V.1), we will conduct the analysis after DOL approves the methodology plan in a concentrated period not to exceed four months. We will wait to begin in-depth analysis until that point to ensure we include DOL's feedback in all analyses. We expect to submit the draft report by late July 2021. After discussing findings with DOL, we will submit a proposed plan for infographics to develop and a dissemination plan. We will submit the final report within three weeks of receiving DOL's feedback on the draft. Our briefing at ILAB to present findings will occur within one month of DOL's acceptance of the final report.

Figure V.1. Timeline of key activities

	2021											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Desk review and methodology plan												
Initial rapid desk review												
Draft methodology plan			▲									
Final methodology plan				↻	▲							
Annotated bibliography of non-ILAB projects						▲						
Preliminary report outline						▲ ↻						
Draft synthesis review report								▲	↻			
Draft infographics and dissemination plan									▲ ↻			
Final report, infographics, and dissemination plan										▲ ↻	▲	
Briefing with ILAB												▲
Data destruction and contract end												

Note: This timeline might shift due to unexpected challenges and the timing of feedback received from DOL. We will destroy confidential data after all work is complete, which could occur before the deadline of seven days before contract end.

▲ = deliverable; ↻ = DOL feedback.

C. Ethical considerations and confidentiality

Mathematica will review projects' technical progress reports (TPRs), which include information that may be made available to the public but may also be sensitive. Mathematica will store all project files on a secure server, and files will be accessible only to the project team members who will analyze the data. Mathematica will confer with DOL before including any project-specific information in the report or other public documents to avoid making specific criticisms public inappropriately. Mathematica will destroy the files and certify their destruction no later than seven days before the end of the contract.

METHODOLOGY PLAN APPENDIX A
Rubric

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Table A.1. Rubric fields for project characteristics

Project characteristics
Project details
Budget (millions)
Performance period (years)
Budget per year (millions)
Implementing organization
Region
Country and district/province
GDP per capita in project's first year (PPP in current [2021] dollars)
Current trade relationships with the US and labor convention ratifications
Any extensions (If yes, how many & cost or no-cost extensions) listed as of report publishing
Target industry/sector/supply chain (cocoa/fisheries/other)
Project engages families? How?
Engages community leaders? How? (if yes, local or national levels)
Engages potential child workers (prevention)? How?
Engages child workers (remediation)? How?
Age range(s) of child workers, forced laborers, or trafficking victims targeted in project
Engages migrant children or youth, specifically?
Engages schools? How?
Engages employers/producers? How? (if yes, local, national, or international levels)
Engages civil society actors? How? (if yes, local, national, or international levels)
Engages government? How? (if yes, local, national, or international levels)
Engages organized labor? How? (if yes, local, national, or international levels)
Engages consumer groups, investors, buyers, industry groups, shareholders or other interested parties outside the target country? How?
Project focus (brief description of core goal)
Child labor focus (Y/N)
Forced labor focus (Y/N)
Human trafficking focus (Y/N)
Gender-conscious approach or gender-tailored programming (Y/N and describe)
Is the project explicitly tripartite? (Y/N, describe)

Project characteristics
Project design
Risks or critical assumptions
Factors or opportunities that contributed to project success (during life of project)
Component present: technical or vocational training (Y/N)
Component present: skills training for children and youth (literacy, numeracy, life skills (Y/N)
Component present: skills training for adults (literacy, numeracy, life skills (Y/N)
Component present: farming training (Y/N)
Component present: investments in infrastructure (Y/N)
Component present: investments in school quality (including teacher training and curriculum development) (Y/N)
Component present: improvements to education access for children and youth (Y/N)
Component present: supports to local government (Y/N)
Component present: supports to district or national government (Y/N)
Component present: community awareness-raising of CL, FL, TIP (Y/N)
Component present: occupational safety and health (OSH) training (Y/N)
Component present: savings and loan associations
Component present: income-generating activities, trainings (Y/N)
Component present: supports for obtaining birth certificates (Y/N)
Inputs
Outputs/activities
Intermediate outcomes
Ultimate outcomes
Does project use an evidence-based, theory-driven approach?

Table A.2. Rubric fields for data source features

Evaluation and data features
Evaluation manager
Data validity
Data collection challenges and lessons (e.g., in collecting information on illegal labor practices)
Data used for the evaluation
Evaluation methodology
Overall impression of evaluation quality
Study limitations
Evaluation published at or near project midpoint, end, or later (3 options)
Date evaluation published relative to project end
Final (or if unavailable, interim) report author (firm or individual)
Final TPR available
Survey report(s) available (specify baseline, endline, or other)
Interim report available

Table A.3. Rubric fields for evaluation findings

Evaluation findings
Implementation drivers
Project management and timeline
Project design strengths and weaknesses
Staff and implementing partner capacity and development
Operational budget and efficiency
Communication structures
Comment on the targets (e.g., are they reasonable?)
Quality of PMP/TPRs (high-level)
Quality of CMEP (required since 2010)
Performance accountability (responsiveness of project to OCFT feedback and interim evaluation findings)
Outcomes and recommendations
Effectiveness in meeting project goals
Effectiveness in reducing child labor, forced labor, or trafficking, specifically
How results were achieved (or not)
Efficiency (achievement of goals/cost and time)
Implementer had a risk management plan
Implementer had a sustainability strategy
Evaluator's assessment of sustainability/risk management
Effects on policy
Impacts for vulnerable groups beyond children or forced laborers (e.g., migrants, workers with disabilities)
Impacts by gender, including intentional and unintentional results
Effects on legal framework
Effects on enforcement practices
Effects on compliance trends (distinct from government enforcement)
Effects on resource allocation
Systems change (e.g., families' financial incentives)
Effects on worker voice or empowerment (including union capacity)
Effects on local environment or environmental issues
Other outcomes, including interesting aspects or trends noted by evaluator
Evaluator's recommendations

Evaluation findings
Evaluator's comments on context
Political climate
Economic conditions
Prevailing attitudes and practices toward child workers and forced laborers
Interest and influence of stakeholders / power dynamics

Table A.4. Rubric fields for challenges and solutions and lessons learned

Project challenges and solutions
Challenge 1
Solution 1
Success (0: low, 2: high) of solution 1
Challenge 2
Solution 2
Success (0: low, 2: high) of solution 2
Challenge 3, and so on as necessary for each project
Lesson learned 1
Lesson learned 2
Lesson learned 3, and so on as necessary for each project

Table A.5. Rubric fields for inputs, outputs, and outcomes with stated goals

Indicator with stated goals	Outcome	Goal	Results-to-goals ratio	Was goal met? (RGR ≥ 1)	Reliability / validity concerns?	Delay on inputs?	Notes
Inputs: Execution of planned activities							
Indicator 1							
Indicator 2							
Qualitative highlights							
Outputs: Participation in planned activities							
Indicator 1							
Indicator 2							
Qualitative highlights							
Outcomes: Application of new skills or capacities							
Indicator 1							
Indicator 2							
Qualitative highlights							
Ultimate outcomes							
Indicator 1							
Indicator 2							
Qualitative highlights							

Note: The inputs, outputs, and outcomes will be defined flexibly to accommodate variation in projects. We will only track delays on inputs.

METHODOLOGY PLAN APPENDIX B
Sample Analysis with Categorical Data

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Table B.1. Sample analysis table, sorted by project effectiveness (example data)

No.	USD budgeted per year (millions)	Intervention strategy	Sector	Engaged community leadership in planning	Quality of project management and level of efficiency	Level of partner and participant buy-in	Degree to which inputs were successfully delivered	Degree to which outputs were successfully produced	Degree to which outcomes were successfully achieved
1	0.38	Comprehensive	C	1	A	B	A	A	B
13	1.56	Comprehensive	F	1	A	B	B	A	A
16	0.44	Balanced	F	1	A	B	A	A	B
17	0.23	Comprehensive	F	1	X	B	A	A	B
14	0.27	Comprehensive	C	1	C	A	B	B	A
18	0.22	Balanced	C	1	A	B	A	B	B
2	1.23	Narrow	C	1	A	C	B	B	B
6	0.46	Narrow	F	1	B	C	B	B	B
7	1.88	Narrow	C	0	B	B	B	B	B
8	0.48	Comprehensive	C	1	B	B	B	B	B
9	0.44	Narrow	F	1	C	B	B	B	B
15	0.94	Balanced	C	1	B	A	C	B	A
19	0.50	Comprehensive	F	1	C	B	B	B	B
3	1.37	Narrow	F	0	A	B	B	B	C
4	2.09	Narrow	F	0	C	B	B	B	C
10	0.42	Comprehensive	F	0	C	C	B	C	B
11	0.63	Comprehensive	C	1	C	B	C	B	C
5	0.29	Comprehensive	C	0	C	A	C	C	C
12	0.46	Comprehensive	F	0	C	B	C	C	X

Note: The data in this table was fabricated to illustrate the analysis we will conduct. The analysis process will review several hundred categorical variables against the coded input, output, and outcome scores, identifying characteristics and conditions that are associated with low and high project effectiveness. These example data might lead us to further explore the relationship between community leader engagement in activity planning and the successful delivery of inputs, and so on.

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ANNEX B. LIST OF DOCUMENTS REVIEWED

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Table B1. List of documents reviewed

Project	Final evaluator (firm or consultant)	Final evaluation name	Date published	TPR	Interim eval.	Survey reports	Budget
Ghana MOCA	IMPAQ: Bowen and Obeng Adomaa (evaluation contracted by DOL)	Final Performance Evaluation: Mobilizing Community Action and Promoting Opportunities for Youth in Ghana's Cocoa-Growing Communities (MOCA)	Nov-19	X	X	X	
Côte d'Ivoire ECLIC	IMPAQ: Zegers and Kakou-Agnimou (evaluation contracted by DOL)	Final Performance Evaluation: Eliminating Child Labor in Cocoa Growing Communities (ECLIC)	Feb-20	X	X	X	
Ghana FLIP	Independent consultants: Arhin, Agbenyega, and Obeng-Okrah (evaluation contracted by DOL)	No final evaluation available	Jan-20		X		
SY@W	NORC: O'Brien, Kysia, Davis, Rigaux (evaluation contracted by DOL)	External Independent Final Evaluation: Building a Generation of Safe and Healthy Workers: SafeYouth@Work Project	Jul-19	X	X		X
CLEAR	Sistemas, Familia y Sociedad: Zegers and Bowen (evaluation contracted by DOL)	Independent Joint Final Evaluation: Country Level Engagement and Assistance to Reduce (CLEAR) Child Labor Project	Sept-18	X	X		X
Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire CCP	Independent consultants: Muñoz Sevilla, Arkorful, Kouakou (evaluation contracted by ILO/IPEC)	IPEC Evaluation: Towards child labour free cocoa growing communities in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana through an integrated area based approach (CCP)	Sep-14	X	X		X
ECOWAS I,II	Independent consultants: Gilboy, Konate, Tidiane Toure, Akinrimisi, Afari, and Oleh (evaluation contracted by ILO/IPEC)	IPEC Evaluation: Eliminating the Worst Forms of Child Labour in West Africa and Strengthening Sub-Regional Cooperation through ECOWAS I and II	Apr-14	X	X		X
WACAP	Independent consultant: Asangalisah (evaluation contracted by ILO/IPEC)	IPEC Evaluation: West Africa Cocoa/ Commercial Agriculture Programme to Combat Hazardous and Exploitative Child Labour	Apr-06	X	X		X

Project	Final evaluator (firm or consultant)	Final evaluation name	Date published	TPR	Interim eval.	Survey reports	Budget
CIRCLE I,II	Macro International: Upton (pre-merger with ICF) (evaluation contracted by DOL)	Independent Final/Midterm Evaluation of the Community-Based Innovations to Reduce Child Labor Through Education Project (CIRCLE) in Africa	Aug 2007		X		X
NORC studies	NORC: various authors (study contracted by DOL)	Assessing Progress in Reducing Child Labor in Cocoa Production in Cocoa Growing Areas of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana; Assessment of Effectiveness of Cocoa Industry Interventions in Reducing Child Labor in Cocoa Growing Areas of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana	Oct-2020	N/a	N/a	N/a	N/a
Cambodia EXCEL	MSI: Orsini (evaluation contracted by DOL)	Eliminating eXploitative Child Labor Through Education and Livelihoods	Jan-17	X	X	X	
Indonesia ENABLE Aceh	ICF Macro: McCulloch (evaluation contracted by DOL)	Independent Final Evaluation of Enabling Aceh to Combat Exploitation Through Education	Jul-10	X	X		
Thailand CECL shrimp	Independent consultants: Jersild, Ieumwananonthachai, and Kotsan (evaluation contracted by ILO/IPEC)	IPEC Evaluation: Combating the worst forms of child labour in shrimp and seafood processing areas of Thailand	Jul-15	X	X		
Indonesia Fish-Footwear Phase II	Unnamed consultant (evaluation contracted by ILO/IPEC)	No final evaluation available	Apr-04		X		
Indonesia TBP	Independent consultants: Shubert, Tampubolon, and Arna (evaluation contracted by ILO/IPEC)	IPEC Evaluation: Combating the Worst Forms of Child Labour in Indonesia. Supporting the Time Bound Programme for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour in Indonesia	Jan-08	X	X		
Cambodia TBP	Independent consultants: Wark, Angelo Diaz, Somith, Tapas Dash (evaluation contracted by ILO/IPEC)	IPEC Evaluation: Support to the Cambodian National Plan of Action on the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour: A Time-Bound Approach	May-09	X	X		

Project	Final evaluator (firm or consultant)	Final evaluation name	Date published	TPR	Interim eval.	Survey reports	Budget
Cambodia TBP II	Independent consultants: Zegers and Somith (evaluation contracted by ILO/IPEC)	IPEC Evaluation: To Contribute to Developing National Capacities to Achieve the 2015 National Child Labour Reduction Targets and the ILO Global Targets for Ending the Worst Forms of Child Labour in Cambodia by 2016	Nov-12	X	X		
Thailand WFCL	Independent consultants: Wark and leumwananonthachai (evaluation contracted by ILO/IPEC)	IPEC Evaluation: Support for National Action to Combat Child Labour in its Worst Forms in Thailand	Oct-10	X	X		
South East Asia Footwear & Fishing	Independent consultants: Weidmann, Edralin, Yohanista Erowati, Phlainoi, Abrenica, Aquino, Ty, and Wongsurawat (evaluation contracted by ILO/IPEC)	IPEC Evaluation: Programme to combat Child Labour in the Footwear and Fishing Sector in South-East Asia	Apr-02	X			
SAFE SEAS	IMPAQ: Bowen, Ysik, Sirait (evaluation contracted by DOL)	No final evaluation available	Mar-21		X		X

Figure B.1. Diagram of project and evaluation inclusion process

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ANNEX C. SUMMARY BRIEF

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REVIEW BRIEF | FEBRUARY 2022

SYNTHESIS REVIEW OF OCFT WORK IN COCOA AND FISHING/SEAFOOD

Key project factors were linked to effectiveness in fighting labor abuses

Photo credit (from left): Borney, Mardinal. iStockPhoto.

PROJECT OVERVIEW

With 160 million children engaged in child labor and 25 million adults engaged in forced labor worldwide, developing and implementing effective strategies to combat labor abuses is a critical effort (International Labor Organization (ILO) 2020, 2017). The Bureau of International Labor Affairs (ILAB), part of the U.S. Department of Labor (USDOL), has invested in programs over the last 25 years to eliminate child labor and forced labor globally. Since 1999, the ILAB Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor, and Human Trafficking (OCFT) has funded projects that seek to address child labor, forced labor, trafficking, and unsafe working conditions. As part of its work, OCFT procures performance evaluations and syntheses of its projects to generate credible evidence on effective strategies to combat and eliminate labor abuses. This brief presents findings from a synthesis review of 19 OCFT-funded projects in the cocoa and fishing/seafood sectors.

USDOL commissioned Mathematica to conduct a synthesis review of performance evaluations of cocoa and fishing/seafood projects. Full synthesis review report may be found online at https://www.dol.gov/agencies/ilab/research-impact-evaluation

KEY FINDINGS ON PROJECT EFFECTIVENESS

OVERALL FINDINGS

- Across both sectors, project effectiveness appears closely associated with key *design* factors: project funding and duration; tripartite structure; family, community leader, and union engagement; and subcontracting through local organizations to build capacity and ensure relevance.
- Similarly, *implementation* factors were related to project effectiveness across the portfolio: grantee capacity, performance monitoring practices, and planning processes.

COCOA SECTOR FINDINGS

- Cocoa projects designed with various components or close links between components were more effective than projects designed with fewer components or linkages.
- Multi-country, multi-sector cocoa projects struggled to provide adequate funding and administration for sets of subprojects. However, they generally succeeded in raising awareness of labor issues among stakeholders, mobilizing national governments to address labor abuses, and disseminating and cross-pollinating effective strategies.

FISHING/SEAFOOD FINDINGS

- In contrast to cocoa projects, fishing/seafood projects designed with fewer components or fewer links between them were, on average, more effective than fishing/seafood projects designed with more components or close linkages.
- Projects in this sector also performed better when heavily engaging employers.
- Fishing projects with more logical, coherent theories of change were more effective in achieving their targets than those with gaps in elements or logic of their theories of change. Projects integrating their efforts with outside initiatives were also more effective. These findings likely apply to cocoa as well, but in our small pool of cocoa projects, the association was not apparent.

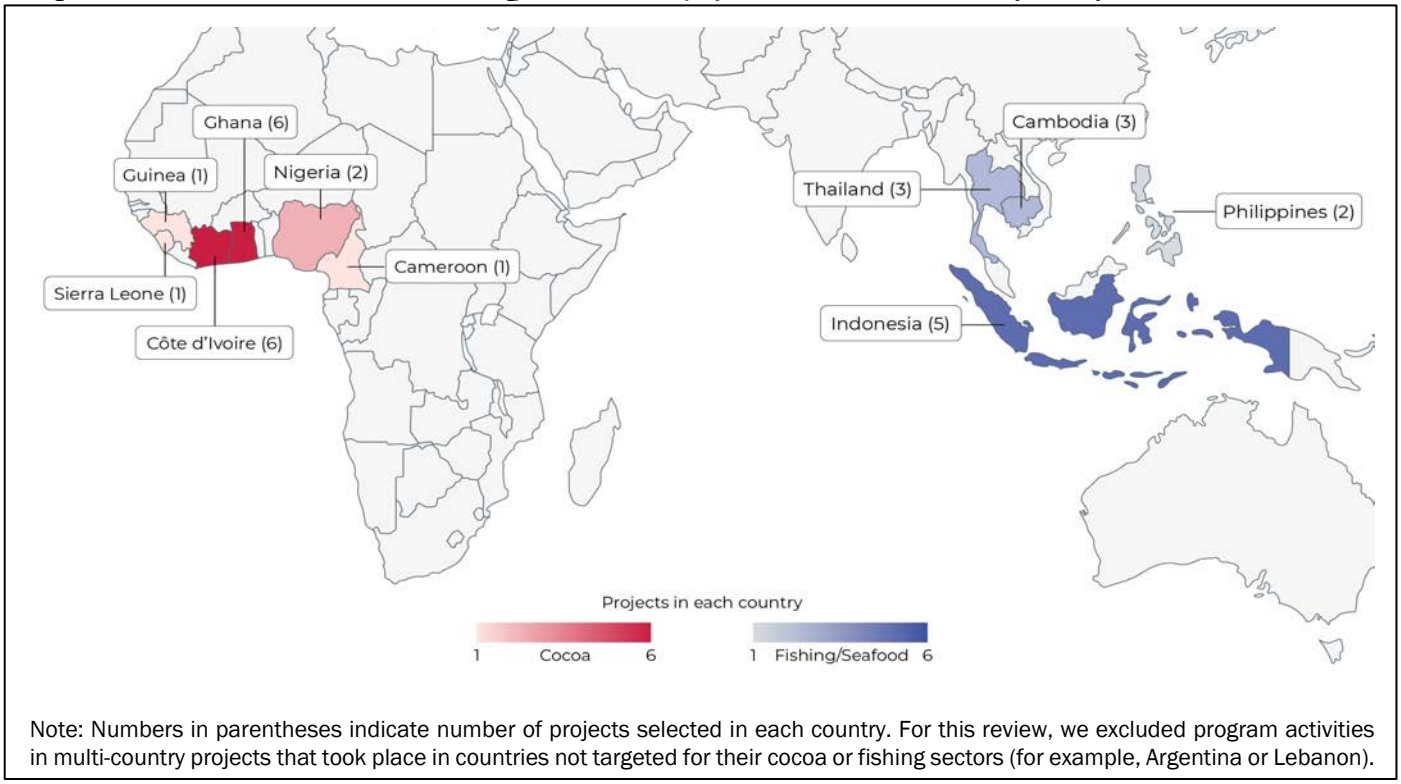
DETAILED RESULTS

Characteristics of projects included in the synthesis review

Within each sector, projects were similar in terms of geography and strategic partners. Projects differed most in their funding amounts and scopes of work.

Geography	The 9 cocoa projects were concentrated in West Africa (particularly in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire), and the 10 fishing/seafood projects took place in Southeast Asia.
Strategic partners	All projects engaged governments (typically in capacity building and policy guidance areas) and nearly all engaged children, youth, and families with education, training, or income generation programs. Just over half of projects engaged unions, and a subset of projects, particularly in the fishing sector, also engaged employers in education and compliance activities.
Budget	Project value varied from $900,000 to $13.0 million (for ECOWAS I & 2, a multi-phase project in West Africa). Average project value was $5.7 million.
Scope	Several projects in the portfolio had small scopes and few goals, such as supporting stakeholder institutions in using ILO child labor monitoring systems. Other projects had wide-ranging interventions and ambitious goals, including direct actions to immediately address labor abuses and technical assistance to build government capacity and advance policy.

Figure 1. Distribution of OCFT cocoa and fishing/seafood sector projects included in this review by country



Note: Numbers in parentheses indicate number of projects selected in each country. For this review, we excluded program activities in multi-country projects that took place in countries not targeted for their cocoa or fishing sectors (for example, Argentina or Lebanon).

FINDINGS

Our analysis of data extracted from evalutions and project documents revealed associations between project design, characteristics, context, and effectiveness (defined here as *success in delivering planned inputs, producing planned outputs, and achieving desired outcomes*). Desired outcomes included reductions in labor abuses, increases in partner capacity, and improvements in educational enrollment, among others. Our analysis provides insights on general trends across the project portfolio; however, individual projects may defy larger patterns. Given the small sample size of projects and the limits of our methodology, portfolio-wide findings should be interpreted in light of individual projects' distinct characteristics and implementation experiences. Findings related to sustainability are discussed in full in the synthesis report.

Cross-cutting findings

In our analysis of factors that may influence project effectiveness, we found that most associations were present in both the cocoa and fishing/seafood sectors.

Larger projects (both in terms of budget and duration) appeared to be more effective than smaller projects (see Figure 2). Qualitative information from evaluations suggests projects with smaller budgets struggled to overcome delays and challenges and produce sustainable outcomes.

Figure 2. Project size and average effectiveness

Funding group	Project value per year, per country (millions)	Effectiveness score (range: 3-9)	Avg. group score
Projects allocated <$1m per year, per country	$0.2	4	5.0
	$0.3	7	
	$0.7	6	
	$0.8	3	
	$0.8	5	
Projects allocated $1m or more per year, per country	$1.0	7	6.5
	$1.1	6	
	$1.1	5	
	$1.1	9	
	$1.2	7	
	$1.3	8	
	$2.0	4	
	$2.8	6	

Note: Projects for which we only have interim outcome information are not included in this figure. Evaluations of multi-country, multi-sector projects which did not provide adequate detail on cocoa or fishing-related results achievement are also not included in this figure.

Projects that **heavily engaged families, community leaders, and unions** were more effective than projects that did not engage those groups to the same degree.

Across both sectors, there was **no apparent association** between whether a project **engaged investors, consumer groups, or buyers** and the project's effectiveness.

Projects with a **strong tripartite approach** (engaging unions, government partners, and the private sector) were more effective than those with less explicit tripartite approaches.

Projects that **subcontracted programming to local organizations for small, locally relevant subprojects** were more effective than projects that did not subcontract programming to local organizations.

Projects that set up **long-term, outcome-based planning with partner governments** were more effective than projects that planned primarily for shorter term results, without close government collaboration to produce concrete plans that extended beyond the project scope to reduce and eliminate labor abuses.

Partner and participant enthusiasm for project goals and activities was associated with effectiveness, as were reported **public attitudes in support of labor rights**. However, pressure and influence from non-project stakeholders does not appear to be associated with project success.

Projects targeting **countries with low gross domestic product** (GDP) per capita at project outset were more effective in meeting planned goals than projects targeting countries with high GDP.

Implementer capacity and management quality were associated with project efficiency, higher levels of partner and participant buy-in to project activities, fewer severe delays, and project effectiveness.

Projects where **implementer capacity grew** or where implementers used thorough planning, a well-researched initial approach, strong service delivery systems, or deliberate alignment with similar projects were more effective.

Implementers with moderate to strong **monitoring and evaluation processes, participant targeting, and planning with partners for continuity of efforts** after projects closed tended to be more effective.

Cocoa sector-specific findings

Given the small pool of six comparable cocoa-sector projects included in our synthesis review, our analysis at the cocoa-sector level can only detect strong associations between variables. The bulk of the insights relevant to cocoa can be found in the cross-cutting findings of this brief.

Cocoa projects designed with **various components and/or close links between components** were more effective than projects designed with fewer components or linkages.

Our qualitative assessment of the three cocoa-related projects that were multi-country and multi-sector (SY@W, CLEAR, and CIRCLE I & II) suggests that such **global initiatives had mixed results.** These projects generally struggled with inadequate funding and duration of country-level programs, difficulties with global project administration and supporting country-level staff, and difficulties with host governments or other local partners. In some cases, these challenges limited projects' achievements in direct services, such as income generation activities, and in government capacity-building, such as policy reform activities. Nonetheless, these projects generally succeeded in increasing awareness of labor issues among stakeholders, mobilizing national governments to address labor abuses, and disseminating and cross-pollinating effective strategies.

Fishing/seafood sector-specific findings

Fishing and seafood projects differ from cocoa projects in several key dimensions. Whereas cocoa projects tended to offer comprehensive interventions in a small number of sites, fishing/seafood projects tended to be more dispersed, at times engaging diverse employers, provincial governments, teachers, unions, and children. Fishing and seafood projects may not require such close linkage of components and investing in fewer components could increase the funding available for (and thus the intensity or dosage) of each activity. This helps to explain our first finding below.

In contrast to cocoa projects, fishing/seafood projects designed with **fewer components and/or fewer links between them** were more effective than projects designed with more components and/or close linkages.

Fishing/seafood projects that **heavily engaged employers** were more effective than projects that did not engage employers or did so to a lesser degree.

Projects with more **logical, coherent theories of change** were more effective than those with substantial gaps in the elements or logic of their theories of change.*

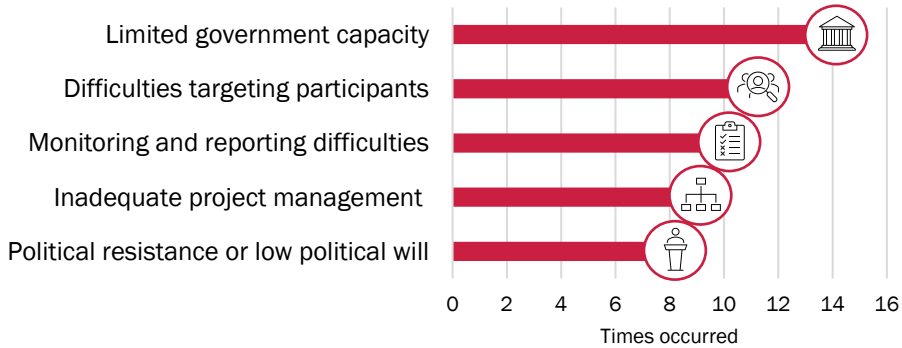
Implementers that **integrated their project activities** with government or other donor-funded initiatives were more likely to achieve their goals, including in reducing labor abuses and in areas of policy change, migrants' rights, women's and girls' empowerment, and education enrollment.*

* These findings also likely apply to cocoa sector projects, but we did not observe a clear association between these factors and project effectiveness in our small pool of 6 comparable cocoa sector projects.

CHALLENGES AND SOLUTIONS

We found that the 19 projects encountered 90 challenges—reported by evaluators and identified in this review—that threatened overall effectiveness; projects applied solutions 49 times.

Figure 3. Five most common challenges projects faced



The most effective solutions in overcoming observed challenges involved increasing flexibility, planning for contingencies, incentivizing the participation of stakeholders, and providing key administrative supports for subcontracted implementers.

SUSTAINABILITY

Projects generally had **partially adequate sustainability strategies**, with results varying by outcome type. Evaluations suggested that across all outcome types, projects' impacts on the outcome of reducing child labor, forced labor, or human trafficking were hardest to sustain past project end.

Impacts on outcomes related to **awareness of labor issues** raised across communities, relevant government agencies, and other project partners were likely to be sustained, as were increases in local ownership over labor issues.

In most cases, impacts on the **withdrawal and prevention of target populations** from engaging in child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking may not be fully sustainable without continued support from donors and implementers, as evaluations suggested the conditions that drive labor abuses may re-emerge after the project concludes.

We also found that **delays of key project activities**, regardless of the projects' durations, threatened sustainability of project achievements because projects were less likely to be able to deliver programming to the extent that would allow participants and stakeholders to absorb program benefits.

KEY CONSIDERATIONS

This synthesis review identified the following key considerations, organized by the intended audience:

CONSIDERATIONS FOR USDOL

1. DOL may wish to build in **more time and funding** (from the project award) or **consider using a multi-phase funding model** for implementers to deal with unpredicted delays, consolidate results, and build local stakeholders' capacity. Building in more time and funding could also help grantees develop partners' capacity, supporting sustainability of local knowledge. DOL may also choose to reduce the scope of some projects to better align with the available resources and time.
2. Cocoa projects may benefit from a design with **comprehensive components and linkages between them**; fishing/seafood projects may not benefit from such strong linkages.
3. Ensuring **strong tripartite approaches that engage unions (or the communities of workers they represent), governments, and the private sector** could support effectiveness across both sectors.
4. Heavily engaging **families and community leaders** could support effectiveness in both sectors.
5. **Listing and interrogating assumptions behind theories of change** (before and after award) could support project effectiveness.

CONSIDERATIONS FOR GRANTEES

6. Grantees focusing on **maintaining and building their capacity and management quality** (and that of their local sub-grantees) may enjoy greater partner and participant buy-in, greater project efficiency, fewer delays, and greater overall effectiveness.
7. Grantees dedicated to **carefully researching and planning an initial approach; developing strong monitoring, participant targeting, and service delivery systems; and deliberately aligning their work with ongoing, outside initiatives** could be more successful in achieving their objectives.
8. To support sustainability across both project sectors, projects can **target country government actors**, particularly national ministries, to embed programming, and **allocate greater resources to monitoring and enforcement** components.

CONTEXTUAL CONSIDERATIONS

9. Projects may wish to **choose sites after conducting brief assessments of local enthusiasm** for project goals from partners and participants, as this factor may support project effectiveness. Similarly, general positive public opinion toward children's and workers' rights could support project effectiveness, with implications for country or region selection or the need for advance work to boost awareness.
10. Projects that take place in **countries with low GDP per capita could be more effective** than those in higher-income countries, though such projects may also require greater funding, stronger project management, and stronger partner and participant buy-in to be effective.

SYNTHESIS METHODS

OCFT commissioned a study to synthesize findings from performance evaluations and monitoring data from 19 ILAB-funded projects implemented from 1999 through 2021 to reduce child labor and/or forced labor in the cocoa and fishing/seafood sectors. The overarching goals of this synthesis were to:

(1) highlight common trends in findings, lessons learned, and key considerations for future programming;
(2) gain insights on the theories of change (TOCs), types of interventions, and promising strategies for DOL and others aiming to reduce labor abuses around the world; and
(3) determine the high-level results of these projects.

To reach these goals, we extracted information from project documents and external performance evaluations to a detailed rubric, coded it to categorical variables, scored projects by effectiveness, identified relationships between project factors and effectiveness (as well as sustainability), and examined project challenges and solutions discussed by evaluators. We then drew out findings identified across the portfolio and paired them with specific examples from projects to illustrate relationships more clearly. Three multi-country, multi-sector projects were not suitable for comparison in our categorical analysis and were analyzed through a qualitative review (available in the forthcoming main report).

The findings of this synthesis should be interpreted with caution, given that evaluations and project documents on which it is based were of variable quality and completeness and our methods do not prove causal relationships.

To contextualize OCFT's programming, we also produced an annotated bibliography of evaluations of programs funded by donors other than USDOL to address child labor and forced labor in cocoa and seafood/fishing sectors. This annotated bibliography is summarized in our report and included as an annex.

Funding for this evaluation was provided by the United States Department of Labor under contract number 1605DC-18-A-0020 with Mathematica. This material does not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the United States Department of Labor, nor does the mention of trade names, commercial products, or organizations imply endorsement by the United States Government.

ANNEX D. ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

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The goal of this annotated bibliography is to identify and summarize evidence of the outcomes of programs outside the U.S. Department of Labor (USDOL) intended to reduce child labor, forced labor, or human trafficking in cocoa or fishing sectors. To conduct the searches, we used search terms relevant to labor abuse (child labor, forced labor, and or trafficking) and relevant supplemental sector terms (cocoa or fishing/seafood), prioritizing results from 2015 and later. Drawing from 54 repositories identified in collaboration with the Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor, and Human Trafficking (OCFT), we screened over 500 documents for reports and papers on non-USDOL programs aiming to reduce child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking in the cocoa and fishing/seafood sectors. We screened in 31 items that met those criteria, including those that did not have rigorous program impact information, and extracted information from those items to a rubric. Then, after putting aside screened-in items that were not specific to particular programs or that duplicated other items, we drafted summaries for 22 of those most relevant documents. Unfortunately, only three of the documents we screened in reported on estimated causal impacts of the interventions on outcomes of interest. For each screened-in item, we present a description of the program or policy followed by either evaluation results or an indication that evaluation results are not available. We classified information on each program or policy into the following types:

- Impact evaluation (randomized or quasi-experimental): evaluations that estimate causal impacts
- Descriptive implementation study: a study that attempts to learn from implementation experiences but does not estimate causal impacts
- Implementation description: a document that describes implementation but is more focused on reporting than on garnering lessons learned
- Investigative article: a news article that reports an investigative journalism
- Program description: a document that describes a program's model or plans without reporting on implementation or outcomes

The 22 summaries are below, organized by type.

1. **The Impact of Financial Education for Youth in Ghana (2015); Not sector-specific[65]:** The authors (Berry, Karlan, and Pradhan) evaluate two school-based financial literacy education programs in primary and junior high government-run schools in Ghana. The first program, from Aflatoun, an international non-governmental organization (NGO) focused on children's financial education, included financial and social education, and a school savings club that enabled children to deposit or withdraw savings. Social education focused on "personal exploration and children's rights and responsibilities" while highlighting negative impacts of child labor and highlighting child labor as a violation of basic rights. The second program designed for the evaluation, Honest Money Box (HMB), was modeled on the financial aspects of Aflatoun's program but focused solely on improving financial skills and savings behaviors through financial literacy education, omitting the social education components included in the Aflatoun program. The after-school savings clubs were led by trained teachers and after

[65] We included two studies that were not specific to the cocoa or fishing/seafood sectors because these took place in countries among those OCFT targets for intervention in those sectors.

participants completed the Aflatoun or HMB program, the savings clubs continued operations so children could deposit or withdraw savings.

Evaluation results (impact evaluation—randomized): The authors conducted the study in 135 primary and junior high schools in the 2010–2011 school year. The programs were implemented by four Ghanaian organizations: (1) the Women and Development Project, (2) the Ask Mama Development Organization, (3) Berea Social Foundation, and (4) Support for Community Mobilization Projects and Programs. Schools were randomly assigned to the Aflatoun program, the HMB program, or a control condition. Authors analyzed impacts on outcomes including financial decision making; savings at home; financial literacy; confidence; and labor, risk, and time preferences. Both programs had significant impacts on savings behavior relative to the control group after nine months (children in both groups increased savings at school), but there was no statistically significant difference between the two treatment groups on child labor. Though the effect was not statistically significant, the HMB program led youth to work more than those in the Aflatoun program (though school attendance did not change). The authors found no evidence for impacts on savings attitudes, home savings support, risk aversion, time preference, financial literacy, expenditures, confidence, or academic performance. Full link: https://developmentevidence.3ieimpact.org/search-result-details/impact-evaluation-repository/the-impact-of-financial-education-for-youth-in-ghana/6243

2. **Program Keluarga Harapan (PKH) (2007–2013); Not sector-specific:**
This program, introduced by the Government of Indonesia with the World Bank Indonesia Office, distributed cash transfers to households to promote health and education investments in children in Indonesia. Households in sub-districts where the program was implemented received cash transfers that ranged between US$60 and US$220 (or 15 to 20 percent of the household's income), conditional on completing health and education requirements (such as complying with school enrollment and attendance requirements).

   Evaluation results (impact evaluation—randomized):
The evaluation, conducted by the Abdul Latif Jameel Poverty Action Lab (J-PAL) using a sub-district level randomized design, showed a 34 to 48 percent reduction in reported engagement in child labor in children aged 13 to 15 in households that received cash transfers relative to children in the comparison sub-districts (9.2 percent of children in comparison group households participated in child labor). Along with other studies, this evaluation informed the decision of Indonesia's Ministry of Social Affairs to expand participants for the PKH program from 5.98 million families in 2016 to 10 million families in 2020. Full link: https://www.povertyactionlab.org/evaluation/medium-term-impact-conditional-cash-transfers-health-and-education-indonesia

3. **Community Development Programme (2015–2018); cocoa sector:**
The International Cocoa Initiative (ICI) implemented the Community Development Programme in 46 cocoa-growing communities in Côte d'Ivoire and 29 cocoa-growing communities in Ghana. The program set up and supported community groups focused on child protection, education, women's empowerment, and income-generation activities with the overall goal of improving the communities' capacity to protect children from child labor.

   Evaluation results (impact evaluation—quasi-experimental):
The evaluation of the project was conducted by the Bureau of Integrated Rural Development

(one of the four research centers of the College of Agriculture and Natural Resources of the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology in Ghana), and used a mixed-methods approach with community-level propensity score matching and qualitative data from key informant interviews and focus group discussions. The evaluation found several positive impacts of the Community Development Programme in participating communities. First, the program reduced children's participation in hazardous child labor. In Côte d'Ivoire, the prevalence of hazardous child labor decreased from an estimated 62 percent to 51 percent in participating communities; evaluators also noted a decrease in Ghana, although it was not statistically significant. The program also improved various metrics of the severity of hazardous child labor: in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, the evaluator found reductions in the number of hours spent working on hazardous tasks, the average number of days that children worked, and the average number of hazardous tasks (Côte d'Ivoire only). School enrollment in Côte d'Ivoire increased from an estimated 69 percent to 84 percent in ICI-assisted communities; enrollment was already nearly 100 percent in both assisted and matched control communities in Ghana before the intervention took place. Full link: https://cocoainitiative.org/knowledge-centre-post/the-impact-of-icis-community-development-programme-in-ghana-and-cote-divoire-on-child-labour/

4. Child Labour Monitoring and Remediation Systems (CLMRS) (2012–2019); cocoa sector:
Nestlé's CLMRS, implemented in partnership with the ICI as part of the broader Nestlé Cocoa Plan, sought to improve the lives of cocoa farmers and their families, addressing the root causes of child labor, including insufficient education infrastructure, labor shortages, and poverty. The system included four strategies to identify and remediate child labor: (1) community-based facilitators (members of the community that are often farmers themselves); (2) Community Service Groups (informal collectives comprised of 10 or more producers to make workers available when needed to address chronic labor shortages); (3) income-generating activities; and (4) educational activities (such as construction or renovation of school buildings, distribution of school kits, and bridging courses). The community-based facilitators raised awareness of child labor, identified cases of child labor, and requested remediation actions to be implemented by ICI in conjunction with the Nestlé and the cocoa supplier farm or cooperative.

Evaluation results (descriptive implementation study):
The Fair Labor Association (FLA) conducted an evaluation of the CLMRS in 2019 using quantitative data collected from Nestlé's documentation and internal monitoring reports; data collected by FLA in the field during the post-harvest visit; and qualitative data from field visits, key informant interviews, field observations, and focus group discussions in the intervention areas. The evaluation found that CLMRS effectively collected data on child labor among cocoa producers and supported capacity building within cooperatives to do the same. FLA found that most cocoa producers (86 percent) reported that their children have access to school, and nearly half of them (47 percent) credited the school infrastructure program with facilitating their attendance. Income-generating activities in households where mothers are engaged in the activities also affected attendance, with reported school attendance rates of 92 percent among children whose mothers are involved in income-generating activities as part of the CLMRS as compared with 84 percent among children of cocoa households only involved in the CLMRS. Community Service Groups filled labor gaps, reducing reliance on children, with 95 percent of participants reporting that they no longer relied on their children to fill labor gaps. Despite these improvements, FLA reports that CLMRS data "show

persistent cases of children in hazardous work and children considered at risk of child labor" and that "having no child labor is yet to be a self-sustained community-wide norm." Full link: https://cocoainitiative.org/knowledge-centre-post/fair-labor-association-evaluation-of-nestles-clmrs-in-cote-divoire/

5. **Creating a Protective Environment for Children in Cocoa Growing Regions of Soubré, Côte d'Ivoire (November 2012–December 2015); cocoa sector:** This project was a public-private partnership between International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour and Mars Incorporated, which funded the project through the Vision for Change Program. The project aimed to contribute to the elimination of the worst forms of child labor in Côte d'Ivoire through (1) the System of Observation and Monitoring of Child Labor (or Système d'Observation et de Suivi du Travail des Enfants) in Côte d'Ivoire (SOSTECI); (2) the development and implementation of community action plans; and (3) social mobilization through education, Supporting Children's Rights Through Education, the Arts and the Media methodology and awareness.

   Evaluation results (descriptive implementation study):
   The evaluator indicated the project fully reached two of three objectives—those related to community action plans and social mobilization activities. Implementation delays meant SOSTECI was operational for only four months during the project, and at the time of the final report, the system was still in development. The evaluator found that overall, the project raised awareness of negative consequences associated with child labor based on meetings and visits with community members, schools, and committees in three participant villages, and added that those interviewed perceived this increased awareness as one of the "most sustainable effects." Full link: https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---exrel/documents/publication/wcms_409587.pdf

6. **CocoaAction (2014–2019); cocoa sector:** The CocoaAction strategy emphasizes collaboration between chocolate and cocoa industry leaders, producing- and consuming-country governments, development partners, and civil society actors to focus on boosting productivity and strengthening community development in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. CocoaAction companies (including Barry Callebaut, Blommer, Cargill, The Hershey Company, Ferrero, Mars, Mondelēz, Nestlé, and Olam) committed to using their resources to help create a sustainable, thriving cocoa sector, and aimed to support 300,000 cocoa farmers to adopt CocoaAction productivity practices and empower 1,200 communities through community development interventions by 2020. The Community Development Package included multiple intervention areas: primary education (improvements to existing formal schooling infrastructure, materials and equipment, support for formation and/or strengthening of community-based school management committees); child labor (awareness raising, formation of child protection committees [CPCs], formation of Child Labor Monitoring and Remediation Systems); and women's empowerment (gender sensitivity training, support for income generating activities, support for women in farming and community governance structures).

   Evaluation results (descriptive implementation study):
   An evaluation conducted by KPMG found mixed results. Although 1,200 communities received a needs assessment, the level of implementation of the full Community Development Package in the communities is unknown. KPMG concluded that (1)

CocoaAction seized momentum but did not design its programming to achieve systemic change; (2) CocoaAction succeeded as a platform for member company collaboration but not as a platform for stakeholder engagement; (3) the program governance structure was well defined but not geared toward delivering impact; (4) CocoaAction built the monitoring and evaluation system with sincere intentions, but the system lacked alignment on expectations, rendering it unfit for its purpose; and (5) CocoaAction boosted sector capacity on sustainability and enabled the companies to learn from their efforts. This, in turn, has led to more partnerships, such as one with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) to support Village Savings and Loans Associations (VSLAs) in Côte d'Ivoire. Although CocoaAction companies implemented CLMRS, the document does not report child labor outcomes given low quality data collection in 2018 and 2019. Full link: https://www.worldcocoafoundation.org/cocoaaction-2019-data/

7. **Illegal Fishing and Human Rights Abuses at Sea (2019); fishing sector**: Oceana, an NGO that advocates for responsible fishing, developed the Global Fishing Watch mapping platform and used it to select and analyze the activities of vessels with possible illegal, unreported, and unregulated fishing; forced labor; or human trafficking histories. The case studies identified vessels that exhibited suspicious patterns of behavior, including evading public tracking systems, spending extended time at sea (which can facilitate human rights abuses), and avoiding ports known to enforce regulations. From the case studies, Oceana made five recommendations to address, among other issues, forced labor and human trafficking: (1) ban trans-shipment at sea; (2) expand vessel transparency; (3) increase publicly available vessel information; (4) share information about vessels engaged in forced labor; and (5) improve monitoring and enforcement.

   Evaluation results (descriptive implementation study): The document did not provide information on whether governments are acting on these recommendations. Full link: https://usa.oceana.org/publications/reports/illegal-fishing-and-human-rights-abuses-sea#

8. **Nestlé Child Labor Monitoring and Remediation System[66] (Nestlé CLMRS) (2012–); cocoa sector:** Nestlé introduced its CLMRS in Côte d'Ivoire in 2012, expanding into Ghana in 2017. Through the program, Community Liaison People (CLP) visit the households and farms of all cocoa cooperative members to raise awareness of child labor, conduct surveys, identify and record cases of child labor, and follow up with children after cases are identified. CLP then enter the information into a database via a mobile app. When a case of child labor or hazardous labor is identified, the child, family, or community receives remediation. Remediation activities include women's literacy and income-generating activities; financial education and access to loans and saving schemes; access to water, sanitation, and hygiene; and access to education initiatives. The CLP follow up with children to determine whether they have stopped engaging in child labor, particularly hazardous tasks, after cases are identified.

   Evaluation results (implementation description): No external evaluation results are available. According to Nestlé's September 2019 Cocoa Plan Report, 14,511 children identified as engaged in child labor had at least one follow-up visit (51 percent were still doing hazardous

[66] This is a cocoa company initiative and is self-evaluated.

tasks at last visit) and 8,549 had at least two follow-up visits by a CLP (31 percent were still doing hazardous tasks after two consecutive home visits). Nestlé's 2019 Cocoa Plan Report states that men and women interviewed in the communities spoke favorably of the results of CLMRS, with 80 percent of women considering CLMRS successful, including 15 percent who rated it very useful. They also report that 92 percent of cocoa producers surveyed believe that the dissemination of social programs through the CLMRS has been strong. Full link: https://www.nestle.com/stories/system-tackle-child-labor-education-effective

9. **Fair Trade Certification (1998–present); cocoa sector:** Fair Trade USA, an organization focused on alleviating global poverty and promoting sustainable development, implements Fair Trade certification, which requires that cocoa producers be audited against standards that cover four pillars of sustainable development: (1) income sustainability; (2) empowerment; (3) well-being; and (4) environmental sustainability. The two primary mechanisms of Fair Trade certification are the implementation of Fair Trade Standards and investment in Community Development. The 2018 Fair Trade USA Annual Report states that Fair Trade is the sole independent certification that guarantees a higher income to farmers and workers. Fair Trade certification strictly prohibits the worst forms of child labor, along with providing guidance on minimum working ages. Companies buying cocoa on fair trade terms pay at least the Fair Trade Minimum Price and a Community Development Premium, amounts determined to fairly compensate producers and allow for community investments in clean water, education, and health care. These premium investments for education are often used by farmers to fund school construction, school fees, and school kits, significantly reducing child labor (though the report does not provide percentage reduction figures). The 2018 Annual Fair Trade report states that no company or government has come close to the sector-wide goal to eliminate child labor in cocoa production.

   Evaluation results (implementation description): All data are from Fair Trade's 2018 Annual Report, as external evaluation results are not yet available. Full link: https://www.fairtradecertified.org/impact/research-impact-reports

10. **Fisheries Child Labor Socialization Engagement Workshops, Sustainable Fisheries Management Project (SFMP) (October 2017–August 2018); fishing sector:** From October 2017 to August 2018, Friends of the Nation (a Ghanaian NGO with a focus in socio-environmental advocacy), with funding from USAID, organized a series of workshops to familiarize the existing District Child Protection Committees (DCPCs) from the 10 coastal districts of the Central Region of Ghana with the National Fisheries Child Labour Policy. The workshops aimed to strengthen the capacity of the DCPCs, district assemblies, and other institutions to develop and implement anti-Child Labour and Trafficking (CLaT) plans and strategies in their various jurisdictions in line with the National Fisheries Child Labour Policy. Workshop participants identified intervention areas to be jointly implemented across the districts to address the root causes of CLaT, including (1) public awareness and advocacy; (2) health, welfare, and social protection; (3) education, training, and capacity building; (4) social development, decent work, and reintegration; and (5) governance, legislation, and enforcement. At the final workshop in August 2018, participants expressed that the workshops enhanced DCPCs' ability to implement components of the National Fisheries Child Labour Policy.

Evaluation results (implementation description):
The report did not provide information on the intervention's impacts on child labor or other outcomes. Full link: https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00TS4G.pdf

11. **Responsible Cocoa[67] (2018–2025); cocoa sector:** Mars's Responsible Cocoa program focuses on three core areas to deliver positive change across the company's cocoa supply chain: (1) protect children; (2) preserve forests; and (3) improve farmer income. The first goal includes a CLMRS for households at risk of child labor, as well as provision of CARE's VSLA to empower women economically and socially. As of 2019, an estimated 34,000 households were monitored through CLMRS (with a goal of 180,000 households monitored by 2025). There were 12,134 CARE VSLA members (with a target of 62,000 members by 2025). As of 2019, 134,003 farmers and 1,511 farmer organizations' staff received training on human rights, including responsible labor practices, local labor polices, and child labor practices. In addition, Mars partnered with Jacobs Foundation to fund the Child Learning and Education Facility to increase access to primary education for 5 million children, as well as the Early Learning and Nutrition Facility focused on children under age 5 and their caregivers.

    Evaluation results (implementation description): The program is ongoing and final evaluation results are not available. Full link: https://www.mars.com/sustainability-plan/cocoa-for-generations

12. **Cocoa for Good[68] (2018–2030); cocoa sector:** Hershey's Cocoa for Good program aims to address systemic social issues in its cocoa supply chain, including poor nutrition, challenges facing youth, and vulnerable ecosystems, by reducing poverty—a contributor to child and forced labor. The program seeks to increase the profitability of cocoa farming, help farmers diversify household incomes, educate families on financial strategies, empower communities, foster women's leadership through training on alternative income-generating opportunities and participation in VSLAs, and improve the quality of nutrition and access to education. In 2018, the program introduced a CLMRS component into the Hershey supply chain. From 2018 to 2019, the CLMRS programs reviewed and assessed 68,988 children who were living in cocoa communities. The CLMRS programs found that 6.7 percent (4,616) of children were doing inappropriate work and were in the process of remediation. Hershey reports that among this segment of the Hershey cocoa supply chain, there were zero instances of forced labor identified. Cocoa for Good also invests in education to lower the risk of child labor, investing in school infrastructure improvements and School Management Committees. Using the Transforming Education in Cocoa Communities Initiative, Cocoa for Good offers bridge classes to help students catch up on missed school before re-enrolling, and helps families obtain birth certificates for school enrollment. As part of the education investments, Cocoa for Good has renovated 73 classrooms, helped families obtain 1,296 birth certificates, provided 9,126 school kits, and reported that 84,284 children were enrolled in primary schools that benefited from education interventions as part of the program.

[67] This is a cocoa company initiative and is self-evaluated.

[68] This is a cocoa company initiative and is self-evaluated.

Evaluation results (implementation description): The program is ongoing, and final evaluation results are not available. Full link: https://www.thehersheycompany.com/en_us/sustainability/shared-business/cocoa-for-good.html

13. **Cocoa Life (2012–2025); cocoa sector:** Mondelēz International aims to source all cocoa for the company's chocolate brands from the Cocoa Life program by 2025, and aims to reach 200,000 farmers and 1 million community members with Cocoa Life programming. By the end of 2020, Cocoa Life reached 188,043 farmers in 2,169 communities and 68 percent of Mondelēz International's chocolate sourced cocoa from Cocoa Life. Cocoa Life uses 10 key performance indicators, including reductions in child labor and forced child labor and increases in career opportunities for youth in the cocoa sector, to measure progress in delivering activities. Specific activities include community-level CPCs, a CLMRS, and education on issues of child labor and forced child labor for community members and farmers. Mondelēz International has engaged Ipsos, a market research and consulting firm, to conduct an impact evaluation of the Cocoa Life program and FLOCERT, a global certifier for Fairtrade, to conduct supply chain verification of cocoa from Cocoa Life communities in the Mondelēz supply chain.

    Evaluation results (implementation description): All data are from Mondelēz International's 2020 reporting; external evaluation results are not available. Full link: https://www.cocoalife.org/impact#

14. **Forever Chocolate (2016–2025); cocoa sector:** Chocolate producer Barry Callebaut's Forever Chocolate program aims to bring 500,000 cocoa farmers in their supply chain out of poverty and eradicate child labor from the supply chain by 2025. Key program components include adult literacy classes, water filter distribution at schools, health programs, and establishing or strengthening community institutions such as CPCs and VSLAs. The program uses the CLMRS approach developed by ICI, and as of 2019 the CLRMS identified 22,965 child labor cases in Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire, and Cameroon, with 4,971 in the process of remediation. The Forever Chocolate program considered 335 identified child labor cases as remediated. As of 2019, child labor monitoring and remediation activities cover 42.16 percent of farmer groups from which Barry Callebaut sources cocoa, as part of Forever Chocolate (compared with 3.2 percent in 2016–2017).

    Evaluation results (implementation description): All data are from Barry Callebaut's Annual Reports; external evaluation results are not yet available. Full link: https://www.barry-callebaut.com/en-US/group/forever-chocolate-our-plan-make-sustainable-chocolate-norm

15. **Chocolate Company Standards of Public Certification (2019); cocoa sector:** In 2001, major chocolate companies Hershey, Mars, Godiva, Nestlé, and Mondelēz took pledges to stop using cocoa produced using child labor by July 2005. The companies committed to eradicate child labor from supply chains by developing and implementing "standards of public certification" that including a monitoring system, a clear verification system, and the creation of consumer labels that would indicate that end products are free of child labor.

    Evaluation results (investigative article):
    In this investigative article, the *Washington Post* reported that the chocolate companies' certifications have not been adequate in addressing child labor. Farm inspections are

sporadic and easily evaded, and chocolate companies that use labels acknowledge they did not eradicate child labor. Poor enforcement of child labor rules has weakened chocolate companies' certification of child-labor-free chocolate, with less than 10 percent of supplier cocoa farms visited by third-party inspectors involved with the certification. With no farm-level monitoring, none of the three major "product certifier" organizations has offered a guarantee with respect to labor practices they assess. Full link: https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2019/business/hershey-nestle-mars-chocolate-child-labor-west-africa/

16. **Utz, Fairtrade, and Rainforest Alliance Certification Systems (2019). *Washington Post's* "Chocolate companies sell 'certified cocoa.' But some of those farms use child labor, harm forests" article *(not a program evaluation)* (2019); cocoa sector:** Utz, Fairtrade, and Rainforest Alliance audit chocolate producers to certify them as fair trade.

    Evaluation results (investigative article):
    The *Washington Post* article examines the Utz, Fairtrade, and Rainforest Alliance certification systems for the largest chocolate companies, including Mars, Nestlé, and Hershey. The *Washington Post* reports that Utz has approved more cocoa than any other auditing organization, yet Utz-certified farms in Côte d'Ivoire were more likely than other non-certified farms to have child laborers, including children working in dangerous situations—such as working with machetes. Researchers from Wageningen University & Research conducted surveys of cocoa farmers in Côte d'Ivoire and found that about 14 percent of noncertified farmers reported using child labor, while about 16 percent of Utz-certified farmers did. With Utz's lapse in compliance reviews, the *Washington Post* suggests that major chocolate companies are not effectively eliminating labor abuses, including child labor, through certification-based monitoring efforts. Full link: https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2019/10/23/chocolate-companies-say-their-cocoa-is-certified-some-farms-use-child-labor-thousands-are-protected-forests/

17. **Policy on Anti-Child Labour and Trafficking (CLaT) in Fisheries in Ghana (2016); fishing sector:**
    This strategy, developed by the Ministry of Fisheries and Aquaculture Development in Ghana and funded by USAID, outlines six objectives to combat child labor and trafficking in fisheries in Ghana: (1) achieve a minimum of 60 percent reduction in CLaT through the development of rescue and referral protocols that are consistent with national legislations and regulations; (2) develop rehabilitation and reintegration protocols for all stakeholders connected to anti-CLaT interventions; (3) prevent at-risk children from engaging in child labor or being exposed to trafficking; (4) mobilize civil society action and promote community awareness and behavior change and to ensure collective response to CLaT elimination by 2020; (5) strengthen relevant government institutions as part of the process of promoting coordination among stakeholders and sectors functioning for the welfare of working children; and (6) promote speedy and effective prosecution along the criminal justice process by strengthening institutions whose jurisdiction falls along the chain of anti-CLaT work, enforcement, and prosecutions.

    Evaluation results (program description):
    Final results from the strategy implementation are not yet available. Full link: https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00WJ7S.pdf

18. **Accelerate Action for the Elimination of Child Labour in Africa (ACCEL Africa) (November 2018–November 2022); cocoa sector:**
This project, funded by the Government of the Netherlands, aims to accelerate the elimination of child labor in cocoa, coffee, cotton, gold, and tea value chains in Côte d'Ivoire, Egypt, Malawi, Nigeria, and Uganda. Partnering with government ministries, community leaders, employer and worker organizations, civil society organizations, universities, buyers, and investors, the project promotes national legislation to reduce child labor throughout supply chains. The project also fosters alliances and synergies with similar initiatives in Côte d'Ivoire and regionally.

Evaluation results (program description):
The project is ongoing and final evaluation results of ACCEL are not yet available. Full link: https://www.ilo.org/africa/technical-cooperation/accel-africa/WCMS_779516/lang--en/index.htm

19. **Beyond Chocolate (2020–2030); cocoa sector:** The Beyond Chocolate partnership is a multi-stakeholder collaboration with over 50 companies and organizations that cover 90 percent of the Belgian chocolate sector. All companies that are part of the partnership have committed to reaching the partnership's end goals of zero deforestation and a living income for cocoa producers. As part of the income-related commitments, the partnership aims to eliminate forced labor, extend schooling, and end the worst forms of child labor in the cocoa value chain. The 2019 baseline report concluded that a holistic approach to preventing, identifying, and ending child labor in the cocoa supply chain is needed. Signatories to the collaboration generally use three strategies to address child labor: (1) prevention, (2) supply chain monitoring, and (3) remediation and community development. The prevention strategy includes training and awareness-raising on child labor in the cocoa supply chain to help famers identify tasks that may harm children and reduce the risks that children face on farms. Supply chain monitoring programs implement CLMRS to identify and protect children in the cocoa supply chain. Remediation and community development interventions include implementing the CLMRS, establishing CPCs, remediating identified cases of child labor, improving education infrastructure, and enhancing access to education in cocoa-growing communities.

Evaluation results (program description):
Because the partnership is ongoing, a final evaluation is not yet available. Full link: https://www.idhsustainabletrade.com/news/beyond-chocolate-2019-annual-report/

20. **Cocoa Origins Program (2018–2020); cocoa sector:** Developed by IDH—The Sustainable Trade Initiative and Equipoise and funded by the Dutch Ministry of Agriculture, Nature, and Food Quality, the Cocoa Origins Program aims to promote cooperation throughout the supply chain, contributing to closer and more stable, long-term trade relations to reach 100 percent sustainable cocoa consumption in the Dutch market by 2025. In Ghana, the project aims to promote more sustainable cocoa consumption by cooperating with stakeholders throughout the supply chain to address root causes of low farmer incomes, child labor, and deforestation. The program's CLMRS began in Ghana in September 2020, and by November, 416 households were in the CLMRS, 178 households were interviewed, and 220 cases of child labor had been found.

Evaluation results (program description):
A final evaluation of the program is not yet available. Full link: https://www.idhsustainabletrade.com/initiative/cocoa-origins/

21. **Fair for Life Certification (2006–present); cocoa and fishing sectors:** Created by the Swiss Bio-Foundation and later taken over by Ecocert Group, the Fair for Life Certification is active in more than 90 countries and aims to safeguard human rights at all stages of production, ensure that workers have fair and safe working conditions, and ensure that smallholder farmers receive fair compensation. As part of the principle to protect children and young workers, certification includes criteria that (1) no children are employed; (2) no work is carried out by children of contracted workers; (3) young workers are not engaged in work at night or in work that is dangerous to their health, safety, or personal development, and tasks young workers carry out are appropriate to their age; (4) working hours of young workers do not interfere with their education, and normal school attendance is ensured; and (5) young workers do not regularly work more than 8 hours per day, and accumulated time for school, work, and transportation is less than 10 hours per day. The certification is available to organizations, companies, eligible farms, traders, and processors and can apply to a variety of products, including agricultural, wild collection, honey, livestock, cosmetic, beauty, fish, textile, handicraft, and mining products. There are six steps of the certification process: (1) application, (2) contractual agreement, (3) initial evaluation, (4) corrective measures, (5) certification decision, and (6) continuous surveillance. Once certified, operators receive performance ratings that can offer incentive for companies to improve beyond the minimum requirements every year.

    Evaluation results (program description): External evaluation results for the certification program are not available. Full link: https://www.fairforlife.org/pmws/indexDOM.php?client_id=fairforlife&page_id=home&lang_iso639=en

22. **The Slavery & Trafficking Risk Template (STRT) (2016–present); cocoa and fishing sectors:** The STRT aims to help companies and their suppliers build socially responsible supply chains as part of the Social Responsibility Alliance initiative, a consortium of organizations working together to support companies as they work to protect human rights. Launched in late 2016, the template is a self-assessment questionnaire that can help companies comply with legislation prohibiting human trafficking and modern slavery. Companies can use the data collected through the template to improve supply chain visibility, assess and mitigate risk, improve human-trafficking related public disclosures, and ensure the company's compliance with legislation. The STRT can also help organizations disclose international forced-labor indicators and identify risks of slavery and human trafficking in their supply chain, which can inform a risk-mitigation action.

    Evaluation results (program description): Evaluation results from the use of the STRT are not available. Full link: https://www.socialresponsibilityalliance.org/strt/

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ANNEX E. REFERENCES

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