

OCFT Livelihoods Services Evaluation

Final Report



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Acronyms	v
List of Exhibits	vi
Acknowledgements	i
Disclaimer	ii
Executive Summary	iii
Methodology	iv
Findings	v
1. Introduction	1
2. Background	4
2.1 Child and Forced Labor and Livelihoods Services	4
2.2 Study Objectives	10
2.3 Study Projects	12
3. Research Design	14
3.1 Overview	14
3.2 Quantitative Data	15
3.2.1 Data Sources	16
3.3 Qualitative Data	18
3.3.1 Data Sources	20
3.4 Integration of Quantitative and Qualitative Data	22
4. Support for OCFT Theory of Change	24
4.1 Causes of Child And Forced Labor	25
4.2 Project Outcomes	27
4.2.1 Intermediate Outcomes	28
4.2.2 Final Outcomes – Child Labor and Forced Labor	32
4.3 Implications for OCFT Livelihoods Programming	38
5. Brazil	41
5.1 Project Description	41
5.2 Data Sources	42
5.2.1 Quantitative Data	42

5.2.2	Qualitative Data	43
5.3	Poverty and Forced Labor in Brazil	44
5.4	Project Services	46
5.5	Project Outcomes	47
5.5.1	Intermediate Outcomes – Employment and Income.....	48
5.5.2	Final Outcomes – Engagement in Forced Labor	53
5.6	Summary	55
6.	Myanmar	58
6.1.	Project Description.....	58
6.2.	Data Sources.....	59
6.2.1.	Quantitative Data.....	59
6.2.2.	Qualitative Data.....	60
6.3.	Poverty and Child Labor in Myanmar.....	62
6.4	Project Services	64
6.5	Project Outcomes	66
6.5.1.	Intermediate Outcomes – Savings and Income	67
6.5.2.	Final Outcomes – Child Labor	72
6.6	Summary	82
7.	Rwanda	84
7.1	Project Description.....	84
7.2	Data Sources.....	85
7.2.1.	Quantitative Data.....	86
7.2.2.	Qualitative Data.....	87
7.3	Poverty and Child Labor in Rwanda.....	88
7.4	Project Services	89
7.5	Project Outcomes	90
7.5.1.	Intermediate Outcomes – Savings, Assets, Income, and Education.....	90
7.5.2.	Final Outcomes – Engagement in Child Labor	96
7.6	Summary	102
8.	Uganda	104
8.1	Project Description.....	104

8.2 Data Sources.....	105
8.2.1. Quantitative Data.....	106
8.2.2. Qualitative Data.....	107
8.3 Poverty and Child Labor in Uganda.....	108
8.4 Project Services.....	109
8.5 Project Outcomes.....	110
8.5.1. Intermediate Outcomes – Income and Savings.....	111
8.5.2. Final Outcomes – Engagement in Child Labor.....	115
8.6 Summary.....	121
References.....	125
Appendix A. Evaluability Assessment Criteria and Project Selection.....	128
Appendix B: Data Analysis.....	133
B.1. Quantitative Analysis.....	133
B.2. Qualitative Analysis.....	137
Appendix C: Project Logic Models.....	139
Appendix D: Characteristics of Participants with Project Outcomes Data.....	143
Appendix E: Participant Characteristics at Enrollment.....	151
E.1 Characteristics of Project Participants – IAP BRazil.....	151
E.2 Characteristics of Project Participants – My-PEC.....	153
E.2.1. Characteristics of Participant Households.....	153
E.2.2. Characteristics of Participant Children.....	154
E.3 Characteristics of Project Participants – REACH-t.....	156
E.3.1. Characteristics of Participant Households.....	156
E.3.2. Characteristics of Participant Children.....	159
E.4 Characteristics of Project Participants - AYEDI.....	160
E.4.1. Characteristics of VSLA Participants.....	160
E.4.2. Characteristics of Youth Participants.....	162

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ADEPE	Action Pour le Développement du Peuple
ATEFO	African Trainers and Entrepreneurs Forum
AVSI	Association of Volunteers in International Service
AYEDI	Uganda’s African Youth Empowerment and Development Initiative
BDH	Bono de Desarrollo Humano
CEO	Chief Evaluation Office
CL	Child Labor
CLMS	Child Labor Monitoring System
CMEP	Comprehensive Monitoring and Evaluation Plan
CSS	Conditional Scholarship Support
DBMS	Direct Participant Monitoring System
DOL	Department of Labor
ES	Entrepreneurship Support
FERWACOTHE	Duterimbere, Fédération Rwandaise des Coopératives de Théiculteurs
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HCL	Hazardous Child Labor
IAP	Integrated Action Plan
IFLY	Integrated Functional Literacy for Youth
ILAB	Bureau of International Labor Affairs
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMPAQ	IMPAQ International LLC
IOs	Intermediate Objectives
IRB	Institutional Review Board
JFFS	Junior Farmer Field School
L	Livelihoods Indicator
M-CRIL	Micro-Credit Ratings International Limited
MFS	Model Farm School
MS	Microfinance Support
My-PEC	Myanmar Program on the Elimination of Child Labor
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NFE	Non-Formal Education
OCFT	Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor, and Human Trafficking
OTC	Outcome
OTP	Output
POC	Principal Outcomes
REACH-T	Rwanda Education Alternatives for Children in Tea-Growing Areas
TVPRA	Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization
USD	United States Dollars
UWESO	Uganda Women’s Effort to Save Partners
VSLA	Village Savings and Loan Associations
WFCL	Worst Forms of Child Labor

LIST OF EXHIBITS

Exhibit 2.1: ILO Child and Forced Labor Conventions and Recommendations	5
Exhibit 2.2: OCFT Livelihoods Services Theory of Change: Child Labor and Forced Labor Reduction Projects Overarching Logic Model.....	10
Exhibit 2.3: Secondary Research Questions and Data Sources	11
Exhibit 3.1: Embedded Evaluation Design Framework.....	15
Exhibit 3.2: Available Monitoring Data	16
Exhibit 3.3: Data Availability and Limitations.....	17
Exhibit 3.4: Overview of Interviews and Focus Groups.....	18
Exhibit 3.5: Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Data across Projects.....	23
Exhibit 4.1: Key Findings and OCFT Theory of Change.....	24
Exhibit 4.2: Availability of Monitoring Data to Assess Key Elements from the Theory of Change.....	27
Exhibit 4.3: Intermediate Outcomes across Projects	29
Exhibit 4.4: Final Outcomes across Projects	32
Exhibit 4.5: Services and Child/Forced Labor Outcomes.....	36
Exhibit 5.1: Monitoring Data Available for IAP Brazil.....	42
Exhibit 5.2: IAP Monitoring Indicators.....	43
Exhibit 5.3: Qualitative Data Collected in Brazil.....	44
Exhibit 5.4: Training Received by Participants	47
Exhibit 5.5: Employment and Income after Project Participation	48
Exhibit 5.6: Regression Results, Intermediate Outcomes.....	49
Exhibit 5.7: Research Questions and IAP Brazil Findings	57
Exhibit 6.1: Monitoring Data Available for My-PEC	60
Exhibit 6.2: My-PEC Project Monitoring Indicators.....	60
Exhibit 6.3: Key Informant Interviews in Myanmar (Data Collection, Round 1)	61
Exhibit 6.4: Qualitative Data Collected in Myanmar (Round 2).....	62
Exhibit 6.5: My-PEC Services Received by Participant Households.....	65
Exhibit 6.6: Changes in Participant Household-Level Child Labor Indicators.....	74
Exhibit 6.7: Changes in Participant Child-Level Child Labor Indicators.....	75
Exhibit 6.8: Regression Results, Household-Level Child Labor Outcomes	77
Exhibit 6.9: Regression Results, Child-Level Child Labor Outcomes	79
Exhibit 6.10: Research Questions and My-PEC Findings.....	83
Exhibit 7.1: Monitoring Data Available for REACH-T	86
Exhibit 7.2: REACH-T Project Monitoring Indicators.....	87
Exhibit 7.3: Qualitative Data Collected in Rwanda.....	88
Exhibit 7.4: Education/Training Projects Enrolled, Participant Children.....	89
Exhibit 7.5: Changes in Savings, Pre- and Post-Project Participation, Participant Households	91
Exhibit 7.6: Changes in Assets Pre- and Post-Project Participation, Participant Households	94
Exhibit 7.7: Education/Training Attainment, Participant Children	97
Exhibit 7.8: Regression Results, Missed School because of Paid Work	98
Exhibit 7.9: Research Questions and REACH-T Findings	103
Exhibit 8.1: Monitoring Data Available for AYEDI	106
Exhibit 8.2: AYEDI Project Monitoring Indicators.....	107
Exhibit 8.3: Qualitative Data Collected in Uganda	108
Exhibit 8.4: AYEDI Services Received by Youth Participants	110
Exhibit 8.5: Intermediate Outcomes, VSLA Participants.....	112
Exhibit 8.6: Child Labor Indicators.....	116
Exhibit 8.7: Regression Results, Child Labor Indicators.....	118
Exhibit 8.8: Research Questions and AYEDI Findings.....	124

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DISCLAIMER

This report was prepared for the United States Department of Labor, Chief Evaluation Office, under contract number DOL-OPS-15-U-00197. The findings, interpretations, and conclusions expressed herein are entirely those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the US Department of Labor, nor does mention of trade names, commercial products, or organizations imply endorsement by the United States Government.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In 2015, the Chief Evaluation Office (CEO) of the U.S. Department of Labor (DOL) awarded IMPAQ a three-year contract to evaluate the results, achievements, and challenges of the livelihoods components of projects funded by the Bureau of International Labor Affairs' (ILAB) Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor, and Human Trafficking (OCFT). The study has two overall objectives:

- Assess whether the evidence supports the OCFT theory of change, which provides the building blocks for OCFT livelihoods services projects to reduce child labor or forced labor; and
- Gather evidence on the relative outcomes of different types of livelihoods services projects, particularly with respect to reducing child or forced labor, in order to inform future project design.

To do this, the IMPAQ team examined four selected OCFT-funded projects aimed at reducing child or forced labor that include a livelihoods component:

- The ***Integrated Action Program (IAP)*** in Brazil, which provides workers who were victims of, or vulnerable to, forced labor with vocational training and other services with the objective of helping them improve their access to employment opportunities, strengthen their livelihoods, and prevent their (re-)engagement in forced labor.
- The ***Myanmar Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (My-PEC)***, which provides households with children engaged in or at risk of engaging in child labor with a wide range of financial and vocational training services and access to village savings and loan associations (VSLAs) with the objective of helping them improve their employment situation and income, and ultimately reduce engagement in child labor.
- The ***Rwanda Education Alternatives for Children in Tea-Growing Areas (REACH-T)*** project, which provided households with children at risk of engaging in child labor with livelihoods services, including VSLA services, vocational training, and educational support services with the objective of helping them improve their finances and helping

children gain access to education and training opportunities that would ultimately reduce the need for engagement in child labor.

- The *African Youth Empowerment Development Initiative (AYEDI)* in Uganda, which provided a wide range of livelihoods activities, including vocational trainings and VSLAs, targeting both caregivers and their children, with the objective of improving households' financial situation and providing access to better employment opportunities for youth.

The OCFT theory of change¹ is based on the expectation that the provision of livelihoods services will generate increases in household income, which can buffer households against economic vulnerability, thereby reducing the need for income generation through child and forced labor. Through this multi-site evaluation of OCFT livelihoods services, we provide evidence on the OCFT livelihoods services theory of change and address two research questions:

- Does the evidence support the OCFT theory of change, namely, that the provision of livelihoods services improves the intermediate outcomes of vulnerable households, such as household income and savings, and, ultimately, reduces child labor and/or forced labor?
- What types of livelihoods services appear to be more effective in reducing the prevalence of child labor or forced labor?

Given the expected data sources, this evaluation was not designed to provide quantitative evidence on the impacts of the projects on the outcomes of project participants. Rather, the goal is to describe participants' economic well-being and child or forced labor engagement before and after project enrollment, and the perceived processes associated with project outcomes.

METHODOLOGY

IMPAQ uses a mixed-methods approach to assess whether the livelihoods services provided by the selected projects are associated with changes in the prevalence of child or forced labor and the potential processes linking livelihoods services and child and forced labor prevalence. The study

¹ The theory of change was developed through multiple discussions with ILAB staff and a desk review of relevant documentation. While the overarching OCFT theory of change developed for this study reflects livelihoods programming across projects, each project has its own project-specific theory of change.

relies on project monitoring data provided by each project’s implementing partners and qualitative data collected by the IMPAQ team at each project site.²

While these data provide important information about OCFT livelihoods project outcomes and the perceptions of implementers and participants about services, there are limitations to their use. In particular, IMPAQ was tasked with using existing project monitoring data and primary qualitative data for this study rather than collecting quantitative data on project participant characteristics and outcomes. These monitoring data were designed to inform relevant project indicators, which were developed by ILAB and implementers prior to this study. Therefore, the monitoring data collection methodology and structure were designed to accommodate project monitoring needs, rather than to facilitate a cross-project evaluation study. As a result, there is variation in data content and indicator measurement across projects. Furthermore, because monitoring data were not intended to facilitate an impact evaluation, they do not provide information on non-participants residing within the same areas as project participants, and thus it is not feasible to use these data to compare the outcomes of participants with the outcomes of non-participants.³ Finally, within the projects studied and within OCFT programming, the livelihoods component is just one piece of the overall interventions, which also include efforts to affect family and institutional factors contributing to child and forced labor. These efforts can include building government capacity to implement and enforce child and forced labor protections, increasing access to education, and improving awareness about labor rights, among other efforts. Thus we are unable to isolate the influence of livelihoods services independently from the influence of other project components.

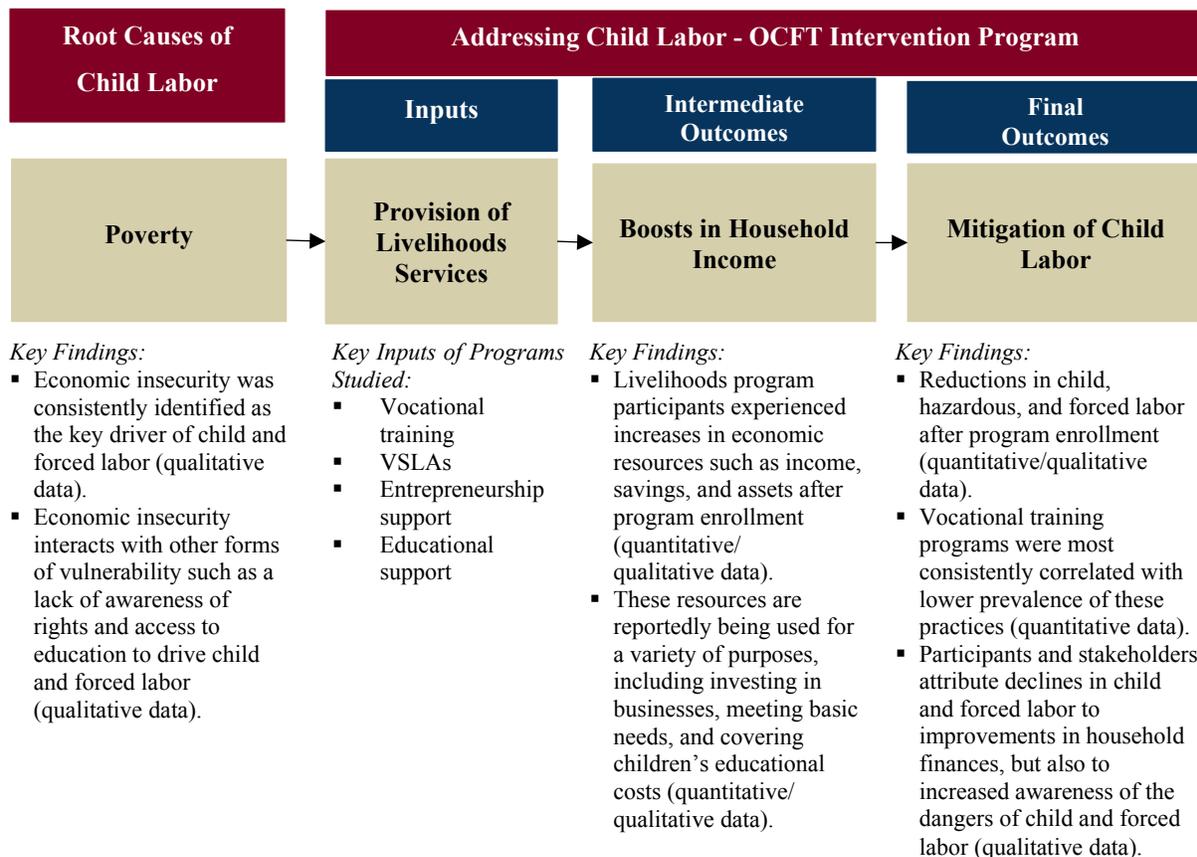
FINDINGS

Analyses of available project monitoring and qualitative data provide promising evidence about the validity of OCFT’s theory of change and the potential value of livelihoods services in reducing child or forced labor among project participants, as illustrated in Exhibit E.1.

² The timing of data coverage varied according to project implementation schedules and reporting requirements. Additional details for each program are provided in the program-specific chapters.

³ Projects conduct area based prevalence surveys that include both participants and non-participants. However, these surveys are designed to measure child and forced labor prevalence before and after program implementation rather than to facilitate an impact evaluation.

Exhibit E.1: Key Findings in Relation to OCFT Theory of Change



Changes in Intermediate Outcomes. In support of the OCFT theory of change, quantitative and qualitative evidence suggest that livelihoods project participants experienced increases in economic resources such as income, savings, and assets after project enrollment. A summary of these findings is illustrated in Exhibit E.2.

Based on the qualitative analyses, participants reportedly used the income and savings generated through livelihoods services for a variety of purposes, including investment in businesses, meeting basic household needs, and covering educational costs. Across the four projects studied, participants believed that vocational training had increased their household incomes due in part to the higher income associated with jobs obtained after training and the ability of households to reinvest these earnings in their businesses. Additionally, within all projects that included VSLAs, credit access, and/or start-up capital, respondents felt that these services provided participants with access to the necessary capital to reinvest in their businesses, for example, by buying livestock or

equipment. Finally, within all projects focused on reducing child or hazardous labor (My-PEC, REACH-T, and AYEDI), participants noted that economic resources generated through project participation improved their ability to meet the basic needs of household members and provided resources to be used for children’s education.

Exhibit E.2: Intermediate Outcomes across Projects

Outcomes		Brazil <i>IAP</i>	Myanmar <i>My-PEC</i>	Rwanda <i>REACH-T</i>	Uganda <i>AYEDI</i>
Intermediate Outcomes					
Income, Savings, Assets	Quantitative Findings	-	*	Increased number of savers, declining savings amount, increased household assets	Improved access to basic necessities
	Qualitative Findings	Increased earning potential, though limited by structural economic constraints	Increased savings and income, though limited by mismatch with employer needs	Increased savings and income; concern that these increases were insufficient	Increased savings and income to cover basic needs

Note: This table provides a general overview of the relevant findings for each project. Additional nuance and detail is available in Sections 5 through 8. “-” means that pre-enrollment data was unavailable, and thus no outcomes can be reported based on the monitoring data. “*” means that post-enrollment data was unavailable, and thus no outcomes can be reported based on the monitoring data.

Changes in Final Outcomes. As conceptualized in the OCFT theory of change, the ultimate objective of the livelihoods projects examined in this study was to reduce participation in child or forced labor. Based on available monitoring data, we found that across projects, participants experienced reductions in child and hazardous labor after project enrollment. These findings are summarized in Exhibit E.3.

Exhibit E.3: Final Outcomes across Projects

Outcomes		Brazil IAP	Myanmar My-PEC	Rwanda REACH-T	Uganda AYEDI
Final Outcomes					
Forced labor	Quantitative Findings	Not available	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Qualitative Findings	Reduction	N/A	N/A	N/A
Child labor	Quantitative Findings	N/A	Reduction	Reduction†	N/A
	Qualitative Findings	N/A	Reduction	Reduction	Reduction
Hazardous child labor	Quantitative Findings	N/A	Reduction	N/A	Reduction
	Qualitative Findings	N/A	Reduction	Reduction	Reduction
Other worst forms of child labor††	Quantitative Findings	N/A	N/A	N/A	Reduction

Note: This table provides a general overview of the relevant findings for each project. Additional nuance and detail is available in Sections 5 through 8.

†No direct measure available but decline in missing school for paid work.

††Other worst forms of child labor were not explicitly addressed in the qualitative data.

While differences in data, interventions, and project context prevent direct comparisons of relationships between particular services and the prevalence of child or forced labor across projects, a synthesis of outcomes across study projects suggests that there are some trends in the relationship between service type and child and forced labor outcomes. Based on available monitoring data, vocational training projects appeared to be more consistently correlated with lower levels of child and hazardous labor than other types of interventions, while entrepreneurship support was correlated with higher child and hazardous labor prevalence, and educational support projects showed mixed results.⁴ There is limited monitoring data to assess the association between child labor prevalence and VSLA participation. These findings based on the monitoring data are summarized in Exhibit E.4. When monitoring data are unavailable, we provide results based on qualitative data. It should be noted that the monitoring data do not allow us to establish a causal relationship between these services and outcomes.

⁴ While all projects included a vocational training component, findings related to entrepreneurship support are associated with My-PEC, which was the only project measuring outcomes of these services. Additionally, only REACH-T and AYEDI measured outcomes of educational support services.

Exhibit E.4: Child Labor Outcomes and Livelihoods Services

Country	Overall Outcomes	Outcomes Across Services Received			
		Vocational Training	VSLA/Credit	Entrepreneurship Support	Educational Support
Brazil	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Perceived reduction in forced labor (FL) (qualitative data) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reduced FL (qualitative data) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not a key project component 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not a key project component 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not a key project component
Myanmar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Significant declines in child labor (CL) and hazardous child labor (HCL) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lower HCL prevalence post-enrollment than other services† 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Similar prevalence of CL as most vocational training services but higher HCL prevalence than training projects 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Higher CL and HCL prevalence post-enrollment than other services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not a key project component
Rwanda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Significant reduction in children missing school for paid work 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lower prevalence of CL†† 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Perceived reduction in CL and HCL (qualitative data) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not a key project component 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Higher prevalence of CL than vocational training
Uganda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Significant reductions in HCL, other worst forms of child labor (WFCL) Significant increase in decent work 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Variation in prevalence of HCL and decent work post-enrollment††† Lower prevalence of WFCL among all training projects††† 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Perceived reduction in CL and HCL (qualitative data) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not a key project component 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lower HCL prevalence than any other service Lower WFCL prevalence††† Higher engagement in decent work than any other service
Summary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Declines in child labor outcomes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Vocational training projects are more likely to be associated with positive child/forced labor outcomes compared to other services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No significant difference from other services (based on monitoring data) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Higher prevalence of CL/HCL than other services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mixed results

†Compared to VSLA only (reference category)

††Compared to primary educational support (reference category) and measured as missing school for paid work.

†††Compared to those who did not enroll in a training pathway

Findings from the qualitative data suggest that participants and stakeholders across all four projects attributed reductions in child and forced labor largely to increased income generated as a result of project participation. They felt this income allowed them to better meet their basic needs and support their children's education. In addition to the perceived role played by increases in income, increased awareness of the dangers of child and forced labor was believed to further mitigate participation in these practices. Across all projects, participants reported that participation provided them with a greater awareness of labor rights and practices and an understanding of how their work conditions were exploitive. While previous literature has found that women's increased influence over household resource allocation can play an important role in reducing child labor prevalence, based on our qualitative data, the perspectives of participants and project stakeholders did not provide evidence of this relationship.

Implications. The study's findings have several implications for future programming. First, based on our analysis of project monitoring data, vocational training services appear to be most consistently associated with lower child labor prevalence when compared to other livelihoods services. The qualitative data suggest that, across the four projects studied, participants and stakeholders generally believed that jobs obtained after vocational training contributed to increased household income to pay for basic necessities and children's education. This in turn was reported to reduce reliance on child and forced labor. Additionally, the vocational training programs offered participants training in labor rights awareness, which was reported to be an important factor in reducing child and forced labor. The literature also suggests that the relatively lower prevalence of child labor among vocational training participants may be related to how these participants used the economic resources derived from livelihoods services. For example, studies have found that when recipients of livelihoods services invest additional income in growing their businesses, they may create additional opportunities for children to work and increase the returns on that labor (Dammert, *et al.*, 2017). It is possible that vocational training participants were less likely to make these types of investments than participants in other livelihoods services, resulting in differing levels of child labor prevalence. However, data limitations did not allow us to directly explore this possibility in the current study.

While vocational trainings were reported to increase households' economic security and were associated with relatively lower child labor prevalence among participants compared to other

services, there were concerns raised among stakeholders that these trainings were not always responsive to the needs of local employers, which could possibly affect the type of job that one could obtain following training and often, limit one's earning potential. Also, some stakeholders noted that the training programs were not always aligned with the needs of the overall local or regional economy. These findings suggest the importance of not only providing training interventions as an important component of livelihoods services but of offering training programs that focus on in-demand skills and include content that is relevant to employers.

Second, while participants and stakeholders perceived increased income to be an important factor in mitigating child and forced labor, the data suggest that other factors, such as awareness of the dangers of child and forced labor, understanding of labor rights, and recognition of the importance of education, further mitigate vulnerability to these practices. This suggests that it may be important to include an explicit and targeted awareness component in livelihoods programming. Third, our data do not provide any evidence that increased bargaining power of women helps to mitigate child or forced labor, as has been found in previous literature. However, this was not a direct goal of the four selected projects, and explicitly addressing these dynamics in future livelihoods programming may help mitigate child labor pressures.

Finally, across projects, it was commonly reported that, while the livelihoods services provided by the projects studied increased households' economic security, they were insufficient to lift households out of poverty, and that individuals would return to child and forced labor if their economic circumstances required it. As reported across projects, potential reasons for this concern included training services that were not sufficiently responsive to local employers' needs or the overall economic context, outside constraints on household income growth, and improved but still insufficient wages. Although not explicitly mentioned in our data, it is also possible that these constraints were related to the limited duration of these projects, as previous literature has shown that reductions in child labor are sometimes not sustained beyond the period of program support (Mastercard Foundation, 2018; Edmonds and Shrestha, 2014). Implications for livelihoods programming may include ensuring that program design maximizes the availability and intensity of services to increase household income and minimize beneficiaries' dependence on outside funding. Based on our findings, ensuring that positive project outcomes persist over the long-term

might include facilitating long-term collaborations among VSLA members and building the capacity of local individuals to deliver skills trainings once projects end.

1. INTRODUCTION

In 2015, the Chief Evaluation Office (CEO) of the U.S. Department of Labor (DOL) awarded IMPAQ a contract to evaluate the results, achievements, and challenges of the livelihoods components of projects funded by the Bureau of International Labor Affairs (ILAB), Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor, and Human Trafficking (OCFT). The study had two overall objectives:

- Assess whether the evidence supports the OCFT theory of change, which provides the building blocks for OCFT livelihoods services programs to reduce child labor or forced labor; and
- Gather evidence on the relative outcomes of different types of livelihoods services projects, particularly with respect to reducing child or forced labor, in order to inform future project design.

The study consisted of two phases: (1) an evaluability assessment phase to select the projects for inclusion in the multi-site evaluation; and (2) an evaluation phase to assess the diverse approaches of OCFT livelihoods projects and whether they are associated with reductions in child and forced labor. During the evaluability assessment phase, IMPAQ, in collaboration with CEO and ILAB, identified 21 livelihoods projects implemented by ILAB around the world. Using a range of evaluability assessment criteria (see Appendix A), four projects were selected for the study:

- The *Integrated Action Program (IAP)* in Brazil, a project that provides workers who were victims of (or are vulnerable to) forced labor with vocational training and other services with the objective of helping them improve their access to employment opportunities, strengthen their livelihoods, and reduce their vulnerability to forced labor.
- The *Myanmar Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (My-PEC)*, a project that provides households with children engaged in or at risk of engaging in child labor with a wide range of financial and vocational training services with the objective of helping them improve their employment situation and income and ultimately reduce the need for their children to engage in child labor.

- The *Rwanda Education Alternatives for Children in Tea-Growing Areas (REACH-T)* project, which provided households with children at risk of engaging in child labor with a wide range of livelihoods services, such as village saving and loan associations (VSLAs), educational support, and vocational trainings, with the objective of helping them improve their finances and helping children gain access to education/training opportunities that would ultimately reduce the need for child labor.
- The *African Youth Empowerment Development Initiative (AYEDI)* in Uganda, which provided a range of livelihoods activities, including VSLAs and vocational training, targeting both caregivers and their children, with the objective of improving the financial situation of caregivers and providing access to better employment opportunities for youth.

In the evaluation phase of the study, we used a mixed-methods approach to examine whether participants in livelihood services experienced improvements in income and savings (intermediate outcomes) after project participation, and whether participation was associated with reductions in child or forced labor (final outcomes). Note that given the available data sources, the study did not estimate the effects of each project on participants' intermediate and final outcomes but rather gathered evidence on the services received by project participants and on participants' economic well-being and child or forced labor engagement before and after project enrollment. The study also examined project stakeholders' and participants' perceptions on whether and how project services improved participants' intermediate outcomes and, ultimately, influenced participation in child and forced labor.

For this study, we relied on two sources of data: (1) project monitoring data, collected by each project, that provided quantitative information on the characteristics, services received, and outcomes of participant households and their children; and (2) qualitative data collected by IMPAQ researchers on-site, including key informant interviews with project stakeholders⁵ and focus group discussions with participants. IMPAQ was tasked with relying on existing project monitoring data and collecting on-site qualitative data to answer the study's key research questions. Note that project monitoring data were collected by project implementers for monitoring purposes rather than to facilitate the current study.

⁵ These included individuals such as implementers, community leaders, and government officials.

This report focuses on the results of the evaluation phase of the study and is organized to highlight the key findings across projects. Section 2 provides background on OCFT’s efforts to combat child and forced labor and an overview of the research questions addressed in this study. Section 3 provides details on the mixed-methods research methodology used for this evaluation. We then summarize our findings in Section 4 and synthesize themes across these projects to provide cross-cutting evidence to assess implications for OCFT’s theory of change and project design. In Sections 5 through 8, we provide detailed information for each project to support the findings presented in Section 4.

2. BACKGROUND

According to the International Labour Organization (ILO), in 2016 approximately 152 million children were engaged in child labor, and 73 million of these were engaged in hazardous work (ILO, 2017a). Child labor is most prevalent in Africa, where about 72 million children, or 19.6 percent of all children, are working. Around the world, children are most frequently working in the agricultural sector (70.9 percent) with smaller portions in the industrial and services sectors (11.9 percent and 17.2 percent, respectively). ILO also reports that approximately 24.9 million individuals are in forced labor, meaning that they are working under threats or coercion (ILO, 2017b). Forced labor takes a variety of forms, including forced labor exploitation, forced sexual exploitation, and state-imposed forced labor. Individuals in forced labor work across a variety of sectors including domestic services, agriculture and fishing, and in the sex industry. At the global level, efforts to reduce the prevalence of child and forced labor have resulted in a number of ILO conventions and recommendations that help to align definitions and provide standards for labor practices. Those most relevant to this study are summarized in Exhibit 2.1.

2.1 CHILD AND FORCED LABOR AND LIVELIHOODS SERVICES

Child labor and forced labor are complex issues with multiple root causes. Past research shows that lack of access to adequate education is a major factor in children's participation in work; even when schools are available, they are often unaffordable, too difficult to get to, or of poor quality (Guarcello *et al.*, 2015). Other causes of child and forced labor include the exploitation of cheap labor in some market sectors and geographic areas (Edmonds and Pavcnik, 2005); cultural norms, such as gender and age expectations, or the cultural value placed on participating in a family enterprise (Delap, 2001); and the existence of a wide range of vulnerabilities a child may experience, such as facing violence at home, being orphaned, or having a disability (UNICEF, 2013). A considerable body of research posits that household poverty and income instability is a *main* driver of child labor and of the involvement of adults in forced labor, making the income from such work crucial to the economic survival of the household (e.g., Dammert *et al.*, 2017; ILO-UNICEF-World Bank, 2017; Beegle *et al.*, 2006; Basu and Tzannatos, 2003).

Exhibit 2.1: ILO Child and Forced Labor Conventions and Recommendations

ILO Convention	Description
ILO Convention No. 138 on the Minimum Age for Admission to Employment***	ILO Convention 138 requires members specify a minimum age for admission to employment or work within its territory, and no one under that age shall be admitted to employment or work in any occupation. C138 establishes 15 as the minimum age for work in general and 18 as the minimum age for hazardous work that jeopardizes children’s health, safety, or morals. Additionally, C138 recognizes that national policy should strive to eliminate child labor; therefore each member country should establish public policies toward this goal.
ILO Convention No. 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labor*	The worst forms of child labor are defined according to Article 3 of ILO Convention 182 as the following: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) All forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labor, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict; (b) The use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances; (c) The use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties; (d) Hazardous child labor—work that, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety, or morals of children.
ILO Recommendation 190 on Hazardous Child Labor	ILO Recommendation 190 gives additional guidance on identifying “hazardous work.” Recommendation 190 states in Section II, Paragraph 3, that “[i]n determining the types of work referred to under Article 3(d) of the Convention [ILO Convention 182], and in identifying where they exist, consideration should be given, inter alia to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) work which exposes children to physical, psychological, or sexual abuse; (b) work underground, under water, at dangerous heights or in confined spaces; (c) work with dangerous machinery, equipment and tools, or which involves the manual handling or transport of heavy loads; (d) work in an unhealthy environment which may, for example, expose children to hazardous substances, agents or processes, or to temperatures, noise levels, or vibrations damaging to their health; (e) work under particularly difficult conditions such as work for long hours or during the night or work where the child is unreasonably confined to the premises of the employer.
ILO Convention No. 29 on Forced Labour†	ILO Convention 29 defines “forced or compulsory labor” as: <i>All work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily.</i>
ILO Convention No. 105 on the Abolition of Forced Labour‡	ILO Convention 105 requires members to abolish forced labor: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) as a means of political coercion or education or as a punishment for holding or expressing political views ideologically opposed to the established political, social or economic system; (b) as a method of mobilizing and using labor for purposes of economic development; (c) as a means of labor discipline; (d) as a punishment for having participated in strikes; (e) as a means of racial, social, national or religious discrimination.

* http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO:12100:P12100_ILO_CODE:C182

† http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:C029

‡ http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:C105

*** https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:C138

Because of the link between poverty and child and forced labor, a number of studies have examined the effects of efforts to improve livelihoods on engagement in these practices. The literature has predominantly focused on livelihoods-enhancing services such as microfinance, cash transfers,⁶ credit access, educational supports, and the like. Because OCFT's efforts to combat child and forced labor incorporate variations on many of these components and work to influence outcomes through similar mechanisms, findings from previous research provide a framework for understanding the potential relationships between livelihoods services and the outcomes associated with the OCFT theory of change.

Across studies, the evidence suggests that, while poverty is a key driver of child and forced labor, projects designed to improve household economic stability have mixed effects on engagement in child labor. Specifically, child labor outcomes tend to vary depending on the types of services provided to participants and the incentives created for engaging children in work. In a systematic review of the empirical evidence, Dammert *et al.* (2017) found that those projects that attempted to reduce poverty by fostering self-employment or family agricultural productivity often had the effect of incentivizing child labor by creating work opportunities for children or substituting children's work for work previously done by adults. We examine a number of studies that further explore this relationship between types of poverty-reduction interventions and child labor.

Research has shown that limited access to credit can incentivize child labor. Specifically, households use access to credit and durable assets as collateral to offset economic shocks, mitigating pressures to engage in child labor (Beegle *et al.*, 2006). This suggests that providing households with access to credit and collateral can help reduce child labor prevalence. However, the evidence shows that these efforts have had mixed effects on both poverty reduction and child labor prevalence. For example, a number of microfinance projects resulted in increases in household borrowing (Crepon *et al.*, 2015), business investments (Angelucci *et al.*, 2015), and profits (Crepon *et al.*, 2015), which in some cases reduced child labor (Crepon *et al.*, 2015). In other cases, microfinance projects showed no effects on child labor prevalence (Tarozzi, 2015; Karlan and Valdivia, 2011).

⁶ While conditional cash transfers require participants to engage in particular behaviors, such as sending children to school or accessing healthcare to receive a cash transfer, unconditional cash transfers do not include these types of requirements.

Microcredit interventions are often accompanied by additional supports such as financial training for participants. These financial trainings have not been shown to have an effect on reducing the prevalence of child labor (Valdiva, 2011) and in one case, they were shown to increase child labor prevalence among girls (Giné and Mansuri, 2011). However, among participants receiving access to microinsurance *in addition to* microcredit as part of Pakistan’s National Rural Support Program, participation in child labor declined significantly, while school attendance increased. The researchers attributed these outcomes to a feeling among recipient households that they have a source of protection against economic shocks that provides an alternative to child labor (Landmann and Frölich, 2013).

Studies have also suggested that household transfers may help improve economic well-being and reduce child labor prevalence (de Hoop and Rosati, 2014; Beegle *et al.*, 2003). Poverty reduction projects that include cash transfers, conditional cash transfers in particular, have frequently been shown to have positive effects on reducing child labor (Dammert *et al.*, 2017). In a review of the impacts of conditional cash transfers on child labor, deHoop and Rosati (2014) found that these projects lower both the prevalence of child labor as well as the number of hours children spend working, and that they are particularly effective when implemented in combination with interventions that improve access to supply-side interventions such as healthcare and education. For example, in an examination of the *Programa de Asignación Familiar*, an educational and health cash transfer project in Honduras, Gailani and McEwan (2011) found that project participation decreased children’s work both inside the household (e.g., household chores) and outside the household.

A number of studies have also shown that Ecuador’s conditional cash transfer project—*Bono de Desarrollo Humano (BDH)*—has significantly reduced participation in child labor despite the fact that the amount of money that families received from BDH replaces only a small portion of the income received from child labor (Edmonds and Pavcnik, 2008). As shown in the BDH example, even when the cash received from these projects is less than the amount required to pay for schooling, an increase in youth educational enrollment has resulted. Edmonds and Schady (2008) found that the reduction in child labor and increase in educational enrollment result from households using income from the cash transfer to delay children’s entry into the labor force.

Conditional cash transfer projects with an educational component have been shown to be more effective in increasing school enrollment and reducing child labor than educational supports alone. In comparing these types of interventions in Nepal, Edmonds and Shrestha (2014) found that scholarship support for families only increases school enrollment at the beginning of the year, when most expenses are incurred. Alternatively, combining scholarship support with a conditional stipend increased schooling and reduced participation in hazardous child labor throughout the year, although these outcomes did not continue beyond the period of support.

The results of unconditional cash transfer projects have been more mixed than those associated with conditional transfers. For example, households participating in the unconditional Malawi Social Cash Transfer Project frequently invested funds into agricultural assets. This increased the economic return to child labor and resulted in children's increased work within the household and on the family farm or business (Covarrubius *et al.*, 2012). Despite this increased work, children in the project's participant households also experienced increased school enrollment and improved health (Innocenti Research Brief, 2018). While focused on asset rather than cash transfers, the Targeting the Hard-core Poor project in India has been shown to result in increased household consumption and income, partially through livestock and non-agricultural endeavors (Banerjee *et al.*, 2011). While this project improved economic well-being, there was no resultant change in child labor, although children's time spent studying did increase as a result of the project.

These studies suggest that efforts to improve the economic livelihoods of households have mixed effects on participation in child labor. To the extent that economic resources are invested in self-employment or agriculture, they frequently provide opportunities for children to work and increase the economic return on child labor, resulting in unchanged or even increased child labor prevalence. These effects may be mitigated through a number of important mechanisms explored throughout the current study. As shown in the previous examples, livelihoods interventions tend to have a greater impact on reducing child labor when they are linked to education and conditional economic support. In addition, the literature suggests that these poverty reduction projects can be more effective in reducing child labor when they target women in the household. For example, in studying a project designed to support mothers of child laborers in developing their own businesses, Kovrova and Rosati (2016) found that women's increased participation in economic

activities was associated with children’s increased school attendance and a reduction in the hours they spent working. Additionally, in studying an intervention including gender awareness training and assistance for women in small scale business or agricultural development in Nicaragua, deHoop *et al.* (2015) found that children were more likely to be attending school as a result of the project. This was due in part to women’s increased influence over time and resource allocation associated with their increased financial contribution to the household. Based on this previous research, we expect that the efficacy of the OCFT livelihoods theory of change will depend in part on how interventions are increasing savings and income for participants and how participants are using these resources.

While previous studies provide useful information on the impacts of poverty reduction efforts on child labor, a number of important gaps remain. The focus of prior work has predominantly been on the impacts of poverty reduction on children who are not of legal working age, with limited analysis of the effects of projects on hazardous work among older youth. Additionally, the projects examined in the previous studies focus on the effects of poverty alleviation projects, most of which are not specifically aimed at influencing child or forced labor.

In a targeted effort to reduce child and forced labor, OCFT programming works to improve the economic well-being⁷ of vulnerable households by providing multi-pronged, livelihood-enhancement services to project participants. Many of these services are similar to the types of projects described above. In a broad sense, livelihoods services include any project that enhances welfare by helping household members to cope with economic vulnerability in a way that alleviates the pressures of economic precariousness. In the context of this evaluation project, we included projects that mitigate economic insecurity in vulnerable households by boosting household income, assets, or savings, including VSLA projects, youth and adult vocational training, entrepreneurship training and resources, and educational support. This multi-site evaluation builds on the previous literature by presenting evidence on outcomes of these targeted efforts and the perceptions of stakeholders and participants on whether and how livelihoods services influence participation in child and forced labor. As explained in the following section, the assessment is focused around the OCFT livelihoods services theory of change, which is built

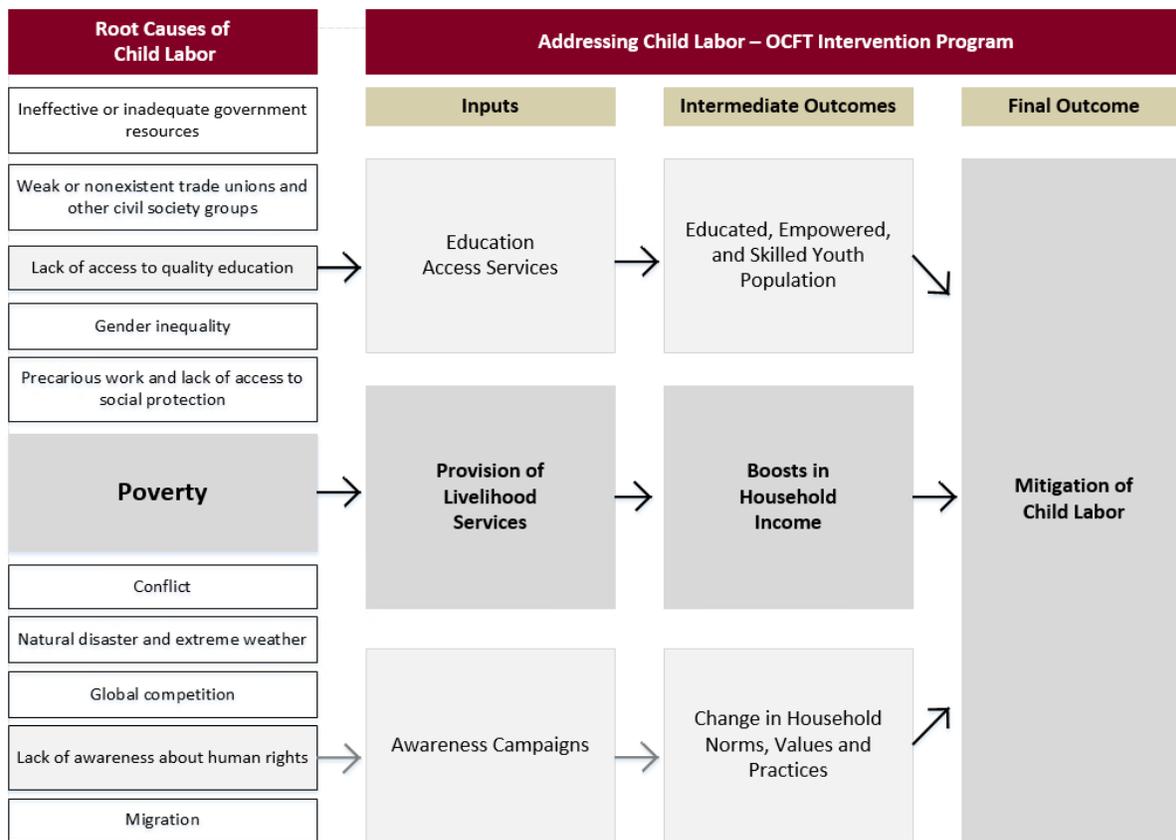
⁷ The term “economic well-being” is used to describe the ability of households to access employment (salary employment and/or self-employment) and achieve sufficiently high earnings to cover the needs of their household members, including their children.

on existing research, and emphasizes how changes in household income influence the prevalence of child and forced labor.

2.2 STUDY OBJECTIVES

Exhibit 2.2 presents the theory of change that underpins the project theories of OCFT-funded livelihoods interventions, developed through multiple discussions with ILAB staff and a desk review of relevant ILAB documentation.⁸ This theory of change posits that the provision of livelihoods services generates an increase in income, which can buffer households against economic shocks, thereby reducing the need for income generation through child and forced labor.

Exhibit 2.2: OCFT Livelihoods Services Theory of Change: Child Labor and Forced Labor Reduction Projects Overarching Logic Model



Note: This presentation of OCFT’s livelihoods interventions’ theory of change reflects our understanding of the underlying mechanisms and expected outcomes of livelihoods services projects.

⁸ This desk review included a review of relevant documentation for 21 OCFT grantee programs and ILAB reports. While the overarching OCFT theory of change developed for this study reflects livelihoods programming across projects, each project has its own project-specific theory of change.

This multi-site evaluation of OCFT livelihoods services provides evidence on the validity of the theory of change and answers two primary research questions:

- Does the evidence support the OCFT theory of change, namely, that the provision of livelihoods services improves the intermediate outcomes of vulnerable households, such as household income and savings, and, ultimately, reduces child labor and/or forced labor?
- What types of livelihoods services appear to be more effective in reducing the prevalence of child labor or forced labor?

Answers to these questions are informed by answers to the secondary research questions, shown in Exhibit 2.3. These questions relate directly to each component of the OCFT theory of change. To answer these research questions, we used a variety of data sources, including project monitoring data (project intake data, project input data, and project outcomes data) and qualitative data collected through site visits (interviews of project stakeholders and participant focus groups). The research methodology and data sources are described in detail in Section 3.

Exhibit 2.3: Secondary Research Questions and Data Sources

Research Question	Data Sources
<i>INPUTS: Livelihoods Services</i>	
What project approaches and types of services to increase household income did the OCFT-funded livelihoods services use to mitigate child labor or forced labor?	Project input data
What project approaches and types of services to shift the balance of intra-household bargaining dynamics did the OCFT-funded livelihoods services use to mitigate child labor or forced labor?	Project input data
What combinations of services were received?	Project intake data
When were services received?	Project input data
What were the characteristics of participants?	Project intake data
How many participants completed the intervention?	Project outcomes data
What was the perceived demand for the services among participants and grantee implementing partners?	Interviews and focus groups
<i>PROCESSES: Inputs to Intermediate Outcomes</i>	
To what extent did the approaches to increasing household income align with the needs of the local population and economy?	Interviews and focus groups
To what extent did the approaches to shifting the balance of intra-household bargaining dynamics align with the needs of the local population and economy?	Interviews and focus groups
What were the challenges and successes of initial implementation?	Interviews and focus groups
Was there local buy-in for the project?	Interviews and focus groups
<i>INTERMEDIATE OUTCOMES: Shifts in Income and Intra-Household Bargaining Dynamics</i>	
Was participation in OCFT-sponsored livelihoods services projects associated with increases in participant household income?	Project input data (services); outcomes data (income)

Research Question	Data Sources
What were the characteristics of households that saw an increase in household income?	Project intake data (characteristics); outcomes data (income)
What livelihoods services provision factors and contexts were associated with increases in participant household income? Why were these services perceived to be effective? Why were others perceived to be ineffective?	Project input data (services); outcomes data (income) Interviews and focus groups
Were OCFT-sponsored livelihoods services projects associated with shifting the balance of intra-household bargaining dynamics?	Interviews and focus groups
What livelihoods services provision factors and contexts were associated with shifts in intra-household bargaining dynamics?	Interviews and focus groups
What types of livelihoods services projects funded by OCFT appear to be more effective in improving household intermediate outcomes of interest?	Project input data (services); outcomes data (outcomes)
<i>PROCESSES: Intermediate Outcomes to End Outcomes</i>	
How did shifts in intra-household bargaining dynamics influence household decisions about child labor or forced labor?	Interviews and focus groups
How were different income-generating opportunities for participants associated with reductions in child labor or forced labor?	Interviews and focus groups
<i>END OUTCOME: Reduction of Prevalence of Child Labor or Forced Labor</i>	
Were OCFT-sponsored project livelihoods services associated with reductions in child labor or forced labor?	Project intake data (child or forced labor at intake); outcomes data (child or forced labor after project enrollment)
What factors and contexts of livelihoods services provision were correlated with increases in household income translating into reductions in child labor or forced labor?	Project input data (services); project intake data (outcomes at project intake); outcomes data (outcomes after project enrollment)
What livelihoods services provision factors and contexts were associated with shifts in intra-household bargaining dynamics translating into reductions of child labor or forced labor?	Interviews and focus groups
What types of livelihoods services funded by OCFT are correlated or perceived to be relatively more effective in improving the household final outcome of interest, namely, reducing the prevalence of child labor or forced labor?	Project input data (services); project intake data (child or forced labor at project intake); outcomes data (child or forced labor after project enrollment) Interviews and focus groups
<i>FUTURE PROJECT DESIGNS: Sustainability and Lessons Learned</i>	
Which intermediate and end outcomes associated with livelihoods services are sustainable?	Interviews and focus groups
Have OCFT-sponsored livelihoods services projects had any perceived unintended effects, either beneficial or detrimental, on the intervention communities?	Interviews and focus groups
What lessons and best practices can be derived from the evaluation of the portfolio of OCFT-sponsored livelihoods services projects?	Interviews and focus groups

2.3 STUDY PROJECTS

To determine which OCFT-sponsored projects with livelihoods components should be included in the evaluation, we conducted an evaluability assessment. During this phase, we gathered pertinent information about 21 OCFT livelihood projects implemented around the world and

developed systematic criteria for assessing the suitability of each project for inclusion in the study. The evaluability assessment criteria considered project design, fidelity of implementation, availability and reliability of project data, access to and buy-in from project stakeholders and implementing partners, country context, and project diversity (see Appendix A).

To determine whether projects met these criteria, we completed a range of knowledge development tasks including:

- A comprehensive desk review of project documentation provided by OCFT;
- Interviews with ILAB staff;
- Formulation of research questions and evaluability criteria based on advice and input from a technical working group, OCFT's Chief Monitoring and Evaluation Officer, and the Contracting Officer's Representative; and
- Interviews with implementing partner senior staff.

Using the information gathered, projects that did not satisfy the key evaluability conditions were eliminated, including projects that had major issues with timing, project implementation, or data access. This led to a shortlist of 11 projects. Appendix A gives a summary of the strengths and weaknesses of each project based on the evaluability assessment criteria. In the end, four projects were chosen for inclusion in the multi-site evaluation:

- The Integrated Action Program (IAP) in Brazil, implemented by the ILO;
- The Myanmar Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (My-PEC), implemented by the ILO;
- The Rwanda Education Alternatives for Children in Tea-Growing Areas (REACH-T) project, implemented by Winrock International; and
- The African Youth Empowerment and Development Initiative (AYEDI) in Uganda, implemented by World Education, Inc.

Along with other components, these projects contained a range of livelihoods services interventions that were implemented with the objective of reducing child or forced labor. A summary of our findings across these projects is provided in Section 4 while more information about each of the four selected projects is included in Sections 5 through 8.

3. RESEARCH DESIGN

In this section, we provide an overview of the mixed-methods approach to answering the study's research questions. This approach relied on participant monitoring data collected by implementing partners and qualitative data collected by IMPAQ researchers through site visits.

3.1 OVERVIEW

We used a mixed-methods approach to examine whether the livelihoods services provided by the selected projects were associated with reductions in the prevalence of child or forced labor and the perceived processes linking livelihoods services and child and forced labor prevalence. Quantitative monitoring data were used to measure project inputs and outcomes across different livelihoods services, and qualitative data from key informant interviews and participant focus groups were used to assess the perceived effectiveness of services and processes associated with the results of the selected OCFT livelihoods projects.⁹

Specifically, we characterized the design and context of each project, identified the livelihoods services received by project participants, measured project-related outcomes, examined whether various livelihoods services were associated with reductions in child or forced labor, and assessed participant and stakeholder perceptions of the effectiveness of these projects and their association with changes in household incomes and child and forced labor.

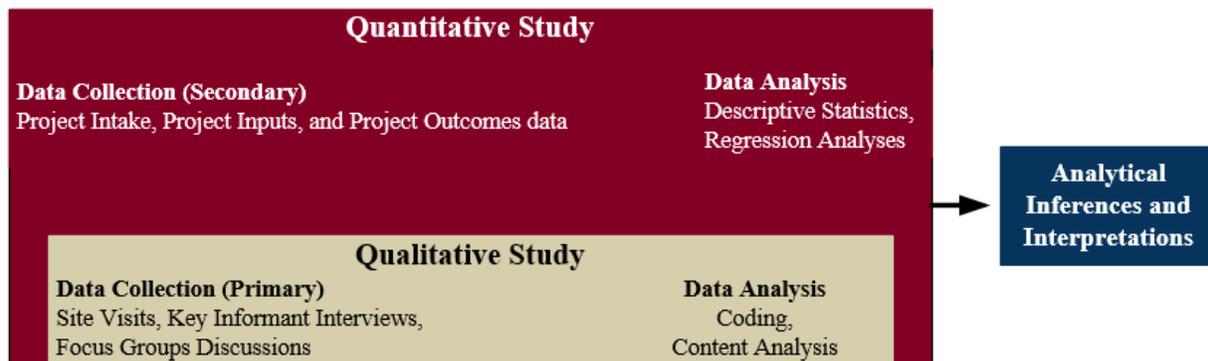
Our specific approach for this study used an embedded mixed-methods design to understand if participation in livelihoods services projects was associated with intermediate and final outcomes in the theory of change and to identify the perceived processes through which inputs are related with observed outcomes. An embedded mixed-methods design nests one approach to data collection (qualitative or quantitative) within the other and is commonly used when different types of information are necessary to answer different research questions.¹⁰ In the current study, qualitative analyses were nested within quantitative analyses to help better understand and explain

⁹ The timing of data coverage varied according to project implementation schedules and reporting requirements. Additional details for each program are provided in the program-specific chapters.

¹⁰ Creswell, John. 2014. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, Washington, D.C.: Sage.

measured outcomes. Specifically, quantitative analyses of project monitoring data allowed us to answer research questions related to project inputs and outcomes in the theory of change. Qualitative analyses of interview and focus group discussions provided additional information about the projects, particularly about project stakeholders’ and participants’ perceptions about whether and how project services influence household income and participation in child and forced labor. This design thus allowed an integrated qualitative exploration of the four selected projects, together with a quantitative examination of the projects based on available monitoring data collected by implementers. Exhibit 3.1 illustrates the design framework¹¹ and a detailed discussion is provided below.

Exhibit 3.1: Embedded Evaluation Design Framework



3.2 QUANTITATIVE DATA

Using monitoring data provided by the projects’ implementing partners, we examined the characteristics of project participants and the types of services they received for each intervention. We also examined the outcomes of participants after project enrollment, with a particular focus on the prevalence of child or forced labor. For this study, IMPAQ was not tasked with designing or collecting project monitoring data or with collecting any additional quantitative data. Rather, we used available project monitoring data to answer the study’s key research questions. Below we describe these data and the analysis methods used.

¹¹ Adapted from Creswell, John and Vicki Plano Clark. 2011. *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research*, 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

3.2.1 Data Sources

Analyses of participant characteristics, livelihoods service provision, and relevant outcomes relied on project monitoring data collected by each project’s implementing partner(s). In particular, each project was expected to collect the following types of monitoring data for project participants: (1) *project intake data*, collected at project enrollment to obtain information on participant characteristics and project-related outcomes; (2) *project input data*, which track project services received by participants; and (3) *project outcomes data*, which collect information on participants’ progress through the project and intermediate and final outcomes.¹² The monitoring data collected by the projects’ implementing partners are described in Exhibit 3.2.

Exhibit 3.2: Available Monitoring Data

Data	Description
Project Intake Data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To gather information on participant households and their children at enrollment, each project collected data from participants such as household structure, characteristics of the household head, living conditions, and income. ▪ Intake data also included information on the characteristics of children in the household and participation in child labor. ▪ All projects, except IAP, provided us with project intake data, which are used to measure the characteristics and economic and child or forced labor indicators of project participants at the time of project enrollment. IAP provided us with administrative data from the Government of Brazil, which are used to analyze participant characteristics.
Project Input Data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Each project captured information on <i>project inputs</i>, that is, services provided to participant households, training enrollment and completion, and other relevant project participation information. ▪ These data are used to identify which types and combinations of services participant households received.
Project Outcomes Data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Each project also collected information on participant outcomes after project enrollment. In particular, these data document project-related <i>intermediate outcomes</i> (e.g., household income, savings, assets, and employment) and <i>final outcomes</i> (e.g., child labor and hazardous labor indicators) of participant households and their children. ▪ These data are used to assess outcomes between the time participants enrolled in the project (based on project intake data) and after project enrollment (using project outcomes data).

Data Availability and Limitations. While these types of data provide information about participants, services, and project outcomes, there are limitations to their use. In particular, IMPAQ was tasked with relying on existing project monitoring data for this study rather than

¹² Because each implementing partner collects monitoring data differently, we have categorized the data into these categories. In addition to these monitoring data, programs collect baseline and follow-up survey data. These data were not used in our analyses because they include both participants and non-participants, are designed to understand child and forced labor prevalence rather than monitor participant outcomes, and cannot always be linked to the monitoring data.

collecting quantitative data on project participant characteristics and outcomes. The selection of relevant project monitoring indicators and data collection methods were developed by ILAB and implementers prior to this study and were dictated by project monitoring needs, data availability, and resources, rather than to facilitate a cross-project evaluation study. As a result, there is variation in indicators and data content across projects. Furthermore, project monitoring data do not provide information on non-participants residing within the same areas as project participants, and therefore, it is not feasible to compare the outcomes of participants with the outcomes of non-participants after the projects using these data.¹³ Finally, within the projects studied, the livelihoods components were just one piece of the overall interventions, which also included efforts to affect family and institutional factors contributing to child and forced labor. These efforts included building government capacity to implement and enforce child and forced labor protections, increasing access to education, and improving awareness about labor rights, among other efforts. Thus, we were unable to assess the extent to which participant outcomes were associated with the livelihoods services programming or with other project features. Exhibit 3.3 summarizes data availability and limitations across projects. A description of the specific analyses we conducted are included in Appendix B.

Exhibit 3.3: Data Availability and Limitations

	Brazil IAP	Myanmar My-PEC	Rwanda REACH-T	Uganda AYEDI
Number of participants	698 workers	669 households with 1,284 children	2,958 households with 4,182 children	2,742 households, 4,789 youth
Project Intake Data	No†	Yes	Yes	Yes
Project Input Data	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Project Outcomes Data	Yes (12 months after enrollment; 79 of 698 participants)††	Yes (6 months after enrollment 932 of 1,284 children)	Yes (five rounds, up to 30 months after enrollment); respondents varied by round)†††	Yes (12 months after enrollment; 746 of 2,742 households; 4,053 of 4,789 youth)

Notes: “Yes” indicates that the data were collected and made available for this study; “No” indicates that the data were not made available for this study.

† To measure participant characteristics at enrollment, we use existing administrative data from the Government of Brazil, which include information on 698 project participants.

†† IAP project outcomes data did not report whether participants were engaged in forced labor, as this was not required by the CMEP.

††† Rwanda REACH-T project outcomes do not measure child labor participation directly but rather report on whether children missed school because they were involved in “paid work.” This is discussed in greater detail in Section 7.

¹³ Projects conduct area based prevalence surveys that include both participants and non-participants. However, these surveys are designed to measure child and forced labor prevalence before and after program implementation rather than to facilitate an impact evaluation.

3.3 QUALITATIVE DATA

Our analyses also relied on qualitative data, which helped to answer research questions associated with understanding how livelihoods services are perceived to influence income and how income is perceived to influence engagement in child and forced labor (see Exhibit 2.3). The qualitative data also provided information about the projects’ operational context, design, and service delivery, as well as perceived quality and effectiveness, perceived challenges and lessons learned, and perceived sustainability. We collected these data through visits to the project sites in each country. During each site visit, we conducted key informant interviews and focus group discussions, and observed the project’s context and activities. For each project, the types of participants in the interviews and focus group discussions are listed in Exhibit 3.4.

Exhibit 3.4: Overview of Interviews and Focus Groups

Data Collection Method	Type of Respondent	Location
IAP <i>15 interviews and 4 focus groups</i>		Brazil
Key Informant Interviews	3 University Professors and Training Instructors 2 Rescuers of Victims of Forced Labor 2 IAP Project Staff 1 Agricultural Employer 4 ILO Staff 3 National Government officials	Cuiabá Cuiabá Cuiabá Cuiabá Brasília Brasília
Focus Group Discussions	2 with Current IAP Participants – 9 people in each group 1 with Past IAP Participants – 3 people 1 with Past IAP Participants – 2 people	Cuiabá Poconé Rosário do Oeste
My-PEC - Myanmar <i>53 interviews and 12 focus groups</i>		
Key Informant Interviews	3 ILO Staff (Round 1) and 4 ILO Staff (Round 2) 3 World Vision Staff (Round 1) 3 World Vision Staff (Round 2) 1 AVSI Staff (Round 1) 3 AVSI Staff (Round 2) 6 Village Committee Leaders (Round 1) 12 Village Committee Leaders (Round 1)	Yangon Dagon Seikkan Yangon Labutta Township Yangon Dagon Seikkan Labutta Township

Data Collection Method	Type of Respondent	Location
	3 Local Government Authorities (Round 2) 6 Local Government Authorities (Round 2) 6 Community Committee Members (Round 2) 3 Community Committee Members (Round 2)	Dagon Seikkan Polaung Island Dagon Seikkan Polaung Island
Focus Group Discussions	4 Groups of Current Participants (Round 2) 1 Financial management training (Round 2) – 9 people 1 Business start-up training (Round 2) – 10 people 1 Skills training (Round 2) – 4 people 1 VSLA (Round 2) – 7 people 1 Business start-up training (Round 2) – 7 people 1 Agricultural training (Round 2) – 7 people 1 Fishing training (Round 2) – 7 people 1 VSLA (Round 2) – 5 people	Dagon Seikkan Dagon Seikkan Dagon Seikkan Dagon Seikkan Dagon Seikkan Polaung Island Polaung Island Polaung Island Polaung Island
REACH-T - Rwanda <i>11 interviews and 8 focus groups</i>		
Key Informant Interviews	3 Implementing Partner Staff 2 Model Farm School Instructors 2 Local Government Officials 1 Local Government Official 1 Mother Trainer 1 Mother Trainer 1 Conditional Scholarship Support Service Provider	Kigali Rubavu Rubavu Gicumbi Rubavu Gicumbi Gicumbi
Focus Groups	1 VSLA (male) – 5 people 2 VSLA (female) – 7 people in each 1 Model Farm School (male) – 5 people 1 Model Farm School (female) – 8 people 1 VSLA (male) – 2 people 1 VSLA (female) – 14 people 1 CSS (female) – 5 people	Rubavu Rubavu Rubavu Rubavu Gicumbi Gicumbi Gicumbi
AYEDI - Uganda <i>29 interviews and 8 focus groups</i>		
	2 Implementing Partner Staff 4 Implementing Partner Staff 5 Implementing Partner Staff	Kampala Iganga Lira

Data Collection Method	Type of Respondent	Location
Key Informant Interviews	1 National Government Official	Kampala
	2 Community Committee Members	Iganga
	2 Community Committee Members	Lira
	5 Local Government Officials	Iganga
	4 Local Government Officials	Lira
	1 Partner Organization Member	Lira
	1 Partner Organization Member	Skype
	1 Employer	Iganga
	1 Private Sector Organization Member	Lira
Focus Group Discussions	1 VSLA group (male) – 5 people	Iganga
	1 VSLA (female) – 10 people	Iganga
	1 Youth in trade certificate project (male) – 11 people	Iganga
	1 Youth in trade certificate project (female) – 11 people	Iganga
	1 VSLA (male) – 5 people	Lira
	1 VSLA (female) – 5 people	Lira
	1 Youth in trade certificate project (male) – 7 people	Lira
	1 Youth in trade certificate project (female) – 7 people	Lira

For each project, we planned two visits: an initial fact-finding visit to gather information about on-site data collection and logistical needs, and a later data collection visit. We conducted both types of visits to the livelihoods implementation sites in Myanmar, Brazil, and Uganda. In Brazil and Uganda, project implementation was well underway when data collection for this evaluation began. In Myanmar, the project was just beginning, allowing us to collect data on the early stages of project implementation during the initial site visit. We then conducted a follow-up visit approximately a year later to collect data at a point further along in project implementation. Due to the early closeout of the REACH-T project in Rwanda, we conducted only one data collection visit to that country.¹⁴

3.3.1 Data Sources

IMPAQ researchers conducted four types of qualitative data collection activities: (1) reviews of

¹⁴ Because of delays in government approval of the research, this site visit was conducted almost a year after grant-funded services had ended (although certain activities continued after the closeout of the program).

relevant project documents; (2) direct project observations during site visits; (3) interviews with project staff, partners, and stakeholders; and (4) focus group discussions with project participants. Prior to conducting fieldwork, IMPAQ obtained and reviewed all relevant project documents, including project design materials, reports, evaluations, monitoring tools, studies, and other data used to inform the design of project components. These documents provided information about project context, implementation, and services, which were used in designing the data collection instruments, identifying key informant interview and focus groups participants, and planning site visit locations.

During the site visits, our researchers directly observed project operations whenever possible. This included observing trainings, VSLA meetings, and stakeholder events. During the site visits, we also conducted key informant interviews with a purposive sample of project staff, local employers, community partners, government officials, and other project stakeholders. In these interviews, we gathered information on the respondents' opinions, perceptions, and recollections regarding the implementation of project activities, processes for transforming input services into the desired outcomes, project quality and effectiveness, the potential for sustainability, and the successes or challenges encountered. All interview respondents provided written consent to participate in an anonymous and confidential interview where all reported data would be de-identified. We also collected contextual information about the areas in which livelihoods services were being provided and gathered data on how these services were designed and delivered, how projects attempted to meet participant needs in a way that was responsive to local labor market conditions, challenges that arose, whether modifications were made to the design of the project, and what promising strategies emerged. We worked closely with the implementing partners to identify a diverse group of key informants who represented a range of perspectives and experiences.

We also conducted focus group discussions with participants to record their perspectives on and experiences with the livelihoods services they received and to gather perspectives on whether and how desired outcomes were achieved. In collaboration with in-country data collection partners and implementing partners, we identified the types of individuals who would provide us with a diverse mix of focus group participants, such as participants who had different lengths of exposure to the intervention and those who had experienced different outcomes.

We worked with our in-country data collection partners, who were experienced in locating and recruiting focus group participants within their own country's sociocultural context, to put together the groups of participants and arrange the logistics. The number of focus groups conducted for each project depended on the number of services provided, the gender composition of the participants, and the geographic distribution of services. For each project, we held separate focus groups for each type of service received, to the extent feasible. As appropriate, we also conducted focus groups with male and female participants separately to facilitate open discussion and explore how the project experience, outcomes, and context vary by gender. In addition, we attempted to ensure geographic diversity in selecting sites for the focus groups by conducting data collection in both urban and rural settings and across implementation sites, as appropriate.

The qualitative data were collected using structured interview and focus group protocols. These data collection instruments were adapted to local contexts, reviewed by local data collection partners for cultural sensitivity, and translated into relevant local languages. All data collection instruments and procedures were reviewed by U.S. and country-specific IRBs, as required.

3.4 INTEGRATION OF QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE DATA

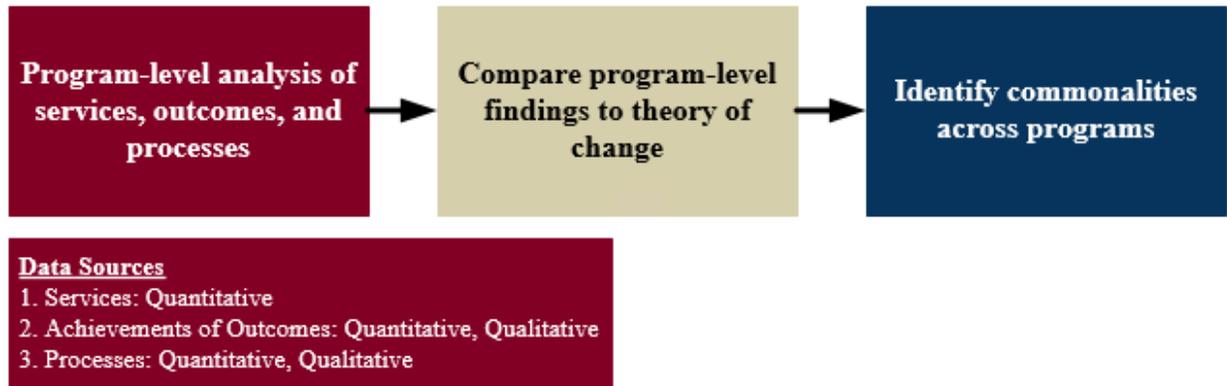
Based on answers to the research questions, we produced a comprehensive overview of the project theory for each project and its relationship to OCFT's theory of change. To do so, we integrated the qualitative information with the project inputs and outcomes derived from the quantitative data. As illustrated in Exhibit 3.5, we first conducted project-level analyses of qualitative and quantitative findings to identify:

- Services received (quantitative data).
- Instances in which desired outcomes were and were not achieved (both the qualitative and quantitative data).
- Specific processes that appear to be correlated with each outcome (both the qualitative and quantitative data).

We then linked the inputs, outcomes, and potential processes to build a complete project-level picture of the robustness of the theory of change. Once we integrated the quantitative and qualitative data to examine project-level dynamics, we reviewed key findings to identify common

themes across projects. However, differences in data, interventions, and project context prevented direct comparisons of relationships between particular services and the prevalence of child or forced labor across projects.

Exhibit 3.5: Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Data across Projects

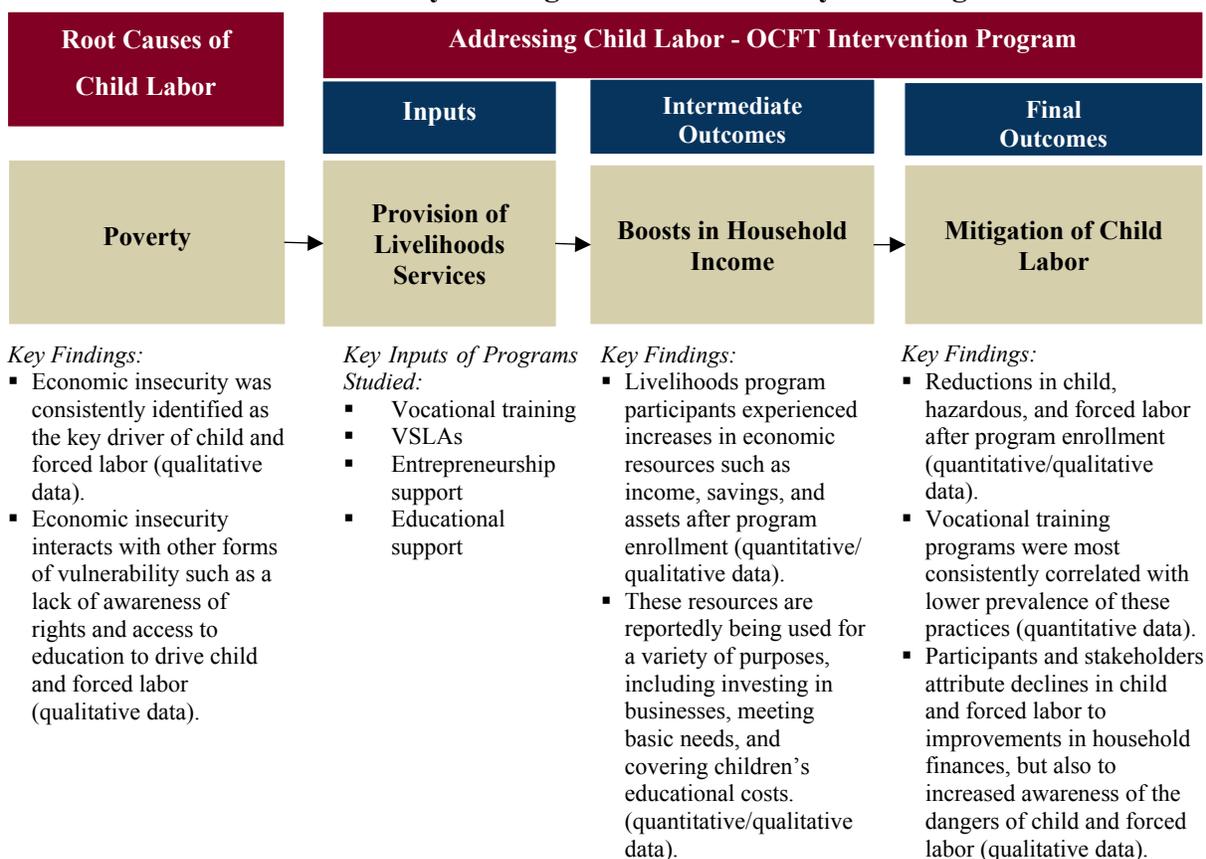


The following section synthesizes our findings across the four projects included in the evaluation, discussing key themes that emerged, identifying similarities, and assessing how the findings from each project are aligned with the OCFT theory of change. Sections 5 through 8 provide a detailed description of findings for each project.

4. SUPPORT FOR OCFT THEORY OF CHANGE

Over the course of the past decade, OCFT has supported the implementation of projects in numerous countries aiming to improve the economic well-being of vulnerable households to reduce the prevalence of child and forced labor. In this study, we examined the application of the OCFT theory of change in relation to four selected projects that provide livelihoods services intended to reduce engagement in child and forced labor: IAP in Brazil, My-PEC in Myanmar, REACH-T in Rwanda, and AYEDI in Uganda. This section summarizes and synthesizes our findings across projects and discusses the implications for the OCFT theory of change. In general, we found support for the OCFT theory of change, although data limitations prevented us from identifying or measuring causal relationships. The key findings in relationship to the OCFT livelihoods theory of change are illustrated in Exhibit 4.1. Country-specific analyses can be found in sections 5 through 8.

Exhibit 4.1: Key Findings and OCFT Theory of Change



Our analyses of both quantitative monitoring and qualitative data suggest that across all four project contexts, poverty was associated with engagement in child and forced labor and that participation in livelihoods services was correlated with improved economic well-being. The data also suggest that across projects, participation in livelihoods services was correlated with reductions in child and forced labor. However, we found that in general, vocational training participants tended to experience lower levels of child and hazardous child labor prevalence than those participating in other services, such as entrepreneurial support.¹⁵ Building on previous literature, this may be because direct efforts to grow household enterprises resulted in opportunities for children to work and increase returns on child labor (see Section 2). Project participants noted that they used the income generated through livelihoods interventions to invest in household businesses, pay for the basic needs of household members, and cover children's educational expenses. Across projects, participants felt that increased income generated through livelihoods services allowed them to be less dependent on income from child and forced labor.

Participants also felt that awareness of the dangers of child and forced labor, labor rights, and the importance of education play a critical role in mitigating child and forced labor. This suggests the importance of integrating a targeted awareness strategy into poverty reduction efforts. Contrary to prior studies, we found limited evidence that increases in women's household bargaining power influences child or forced labor, although this outcome was not an explicit goal of the projects studied.

4.1 CAUSES OF CHILD AND FORCED LABOR

As conceptualized in the OCFT theory of change and in accordance with the literature on child labor (Dammert *et al.*, 2017; ILO-UNICEF-World Bank, 2017; Beegle *et al.* 2004; Basu and Tzannatos. 2003), virtually all interviewees and participants in all focus groups identified economic insecurity as the primary driver of participation in child and forced labor. They noted that project participants engage in these practices as a means to provide for necessities such as food and shelter. In Brazil, project implementers and partners identified poverty as the key factor driving the high prevalence of forced labor. They felt that many workers have access only to low-paying jobs and cannot afford to meet their families' basic needs, pushing many to enter forced

¹⁵ Although outcomes associated with entrepreneurship support were only measured as part of the My-PEC program.

labor as their only option to improve their livelihoods. In Myanmar, Rwanda, and Uganda, project implementers and other stakeholders believed that the main cause of child labor was that families did not have the economic means to support their children's basic needs and so they rely on their children's income for survival. It was also reported in Myanmar, Rwanda, and Uganda that families could not afford to send their children to school because they could not cover school-related expenses.

Across all projects, stakeholders and participants also reported that economic insecurity interacts with other factors to create contextually specific forms of vulnerability to child and forced labor. Specifically, a lack of awareness of labor rights and the dangers of child and forced labor were viewed as working in combination with poverty to make individuals more vulnerable to child and forced labor. In Brazil, for example, six interviewees believed that a combination of economic desperation and a lack of awareness of rights made workers vulnerable to “gatos.” These recruiters, paid by employers, prey on a lack of knowledge about labor contracts and rights, and recruit economically desperate individuals into forced labor. Additionally, in Rwanda, participants in three focus groups and six stakeholder interviewees reported turning to hazardous labor to cover the costs of household necessities, however, prior to project participation, they were unaware that the types of work they were doing were considered to be hazardous.

Across the My-PEC, REACH-T, and AYEDI projects, analyses of qualitative data suggest that economic necessity and access to education also interacted to influence the prevalence of child labor. In these settings, child labor was mentioned as the most viable alternative when education was not an option. Participants in all focus groups across these three projects noted that a lack of access and financial resources precluded parents from sending children to school. For example, in Myanmar, many participant communities were located far from schools, and eight implementers and partners reported that to attend school, children would need accommodations in the village where the school was located. This increased the financial burden of attending school and made it logistically difficult. Even when schools were not located so far away as to require lodging, participants felt that they were still not located close enough to be accessible. When getting to school required walking a long distance, parents were reluctant to send their children to school because of safety issues. This was particularly true for girls. Given these perceived obstacles to education, which are compounded by a lack of resources to afford school-

related expenses, child labor was believed to be an alternative.

4.2 PROJECT OUTCOMES

Given the economic underpinnings of child and forced labor, the OCFT livelihoods theory of change posits that the provision of livelihoods services, which are intended to increase household income, can buffer households against economic vulnerability, thereby reducing the need for income generation through child and forced labor. In this section, we synthesize evidence across the projects studied to assess support for the outcomes included in the OCFT theory of change and identify associations between livelihoods services and child and forced labor prevalence.

As described in Section 3, analyses of project outcomes were based on monitoring data collected by project implementers. Exhibit 4.2 summarizes the available monitoring data used. These data were collected by individual implementing partners and were designed to facilitate project monitoring rather than a multi-country evaluation. Therefore, indicators vary in how they were measured and reported, limiting the ability for direct comparisons across projects. In addition to the monitoring data, qualitative data collected by the IMPAQ team were used to examine project stakeholders' and participants' perceptions of changes in outcomes associated with project participation and the processes driving these changes.

Exhibit 4.2: Availability of Monitoring Data to Assess Key Elements from the Theory of Change

Outcomes	Brazil <i>IAP</i>	Myanmar <i>My-PEC</i>	Rwanda <i>REACH-T</i>	Uganda <i>AYEDI</i>
Intermediate Outcomes				
Income, Savings, Assets				
<i>Pre-enrollment</i>	Not available [†]	Yes	Yes	Yes
<i>Post-enrollment</i>	Yes	Not available*	Yes	Yes
Final Outcomes				
Forced labor	Not available	--	--	--
Child labor	--	Yes	No direct measure available	--
Hazardous child labor	--	Yes	Not available	Yes
Other worst forms of child labor	--	--	Not available	Yes

Note: "--" denotes that the outcome is not relevant for the particular project.

[†] While these data were collected, pre-enrollment information is missing for those individuals for which there are post-enrollment data, preventing us from comparing outcomes for the same individuals.

* While this was not measured during the study period, it will be measured in subsequent data collection.

4.2.1 Intermediate Outcomes

The underlying OCFT theory of change suggests that livelihoods services increase household income, savings, and assets leading to improved economic well-being. Such improvements in intermediate outcomes are expected to lead to a reduction in child and forced labor. Analyses of available quantitative and qualitative data across projects generally provided support for this supposition (see Exhibit 4.3). In particular, based on available monitoring data, we found that:

Key Findings – Intermediate Outcomes:

In support of the OCFT theory of change, quantitative and qualitative evidence suggest that livelihoods program participants experienced increases in economic resources such as income, savings, and assets after program enrollment. These resources were reportedly being used for a variety of purposes, including investing in businesses, meeting basic needs, and covering children’s educational costs.

- In Brazil, 64.5 percent of IAP participants were employed at 12 months after project enrollment (with average earnings of 797 reis or 224 USD per month).¹⁶
- In Rwanda, 50.7 to 58.5 percent of REACH-T participant households had savings in the 30-month period after project enrollment, compared with 43.8 percent at project enrollment. Additionally, livestock ownership increased by 13.4 percentage points in the final round of data collection.
- In Uganda, 98.5 percent of AYEDI participant households had savings at 12 months after project enrollment. Also, the proportion of adolescent youth who had a blanket, at least two sets of clothes, and at least one pair of shoes increased significantly after project enrollment.

These findings suggest that livelihoods services were correlated with improvements in savings and assets among participant households in Rwanda and Uganda, and with employment among a majority of participants in Brazil.¹⁷ Additionally, participants and stakeholders across projects reported perceived increases in income and savings as a result of project participation. Together, these findings partially support OCFT’s theory of change that livelihoods services may help participant households to improve their financial circumstances. There was however, a shared concern across projects that services may be insufficient to lift participants out of poverty. This

¹⁶ Comparable program intake data was not available for the 79 individuals for which we have program outcomes data.

¹⁷ Post-enrollment monitoring data on income, savings, or assets are not available for Myanmar.

could continue to leave individuals vulnerable to child and forced labor even after project participation.

Exhibit 4.3: Intermediate Outcomes across Projects

Outcomes		Brazil <i>IAP</i>	Myanmar <i>My-PEC</i>	Rwanda <i>REACH-T</i>	Uganda <i>AYEDI</i>
Intermediate Outcomes					
Income, Savings, Assets	Quantitative Findings	Pre-enrollment data unavailable	Post-enrollment data not yet available	Increased number of savers, declining savings amount, increased household assets	Improved access to basic necessities
	Qualitative Findings	Increased earning potential, though limited by structural economic constraints	Increased savings and income, though limited by mismatch with employer needs	Increased savings and income, concern that these increases were insufficient	Increased savings and income to cover basic needs

Note: This table provides a general overview of the relevant findings for each project. Additional nuance and detail is available in Sections 5 through 8.

Vocational and Skills Training. Across the four projects studied, participants generally believed that vocational and skills training had increased their household incomes. This was reported to be due in part to the higher income associated with jobs obtained after training and the ability of households to reinvest those earnings in their businesses. It was noted that these increases may depend in part upon local economic needs and the extent to which participants had access to the tools to implement what they had learned.

A key challenge in implementing effective training projects was ensuring that they were responsive to the local economic context and employer needs. In some of the projects assessed, respondents felt that the ability of training projects to generate increases in income was limited by these contextual factors. For example, in Brazil, participants and implementers believed that project participants were far more successful in finding employment prior to the 2012 World Cup, when there was a high demand for construction workers. However, the economy has since contracted and the perceived success of the project in improving the economic security of participants has been limited by structural economic factors. In addition to such structural factors, the success of training projects in placing participants was perceived to depend on the specific

needs of local employers. This can be seen in Myanmar, where the sewing and garment trainings were felt to be too short to develop the skills necessary to meet local employer needs.

Access to Capital and Savings. Across all projects that included start-up capital and lending components, participants reported that these services provided them with access to credit that had been previously unavailable or was too expensive. Such projects were seen to be important in increasing economic security by providing low cost loans and capital to households that were severely over-indebted and otherwise had no access to credit other than informal lenders, who charged exorbitant interest rates that further threatened their economic well-being.

Additionally, in all projects where they were implemented, VSLAs were cited by participants as being important tools for increasing savings that could be used for investing in household enterprises or children's education.¹⁸ Participants also described indirect means by which they felt VSLAs have increased income, such as by facilitating social support. For example, in Rwanda, participants felt that the relationships developed through VSLAs were important in ensuring households' economic stability.¹⁹ If individuals were unable to cultivate their fields, participants noted that they could call on other VSLA members for help, ensuring that they did not miss out on much-needed income. This collaboration was believed to be important not only for facilitating social and economic support but also for the sustainability of the VSLA. In Rwanda, where respondents reported that there had been trust and collaboration among members, it was noted that these VSLAs were still functioning effectively a year after the end of the REACH-T project. However, examples from Myanmar suggest that a lack of effective collaboration among members and limited support from local authorities were perceived to lead to the collapse of VSLAs.

Use of Income/Capital. As described in Section 2, the link between increased income and child or forced labor outcomes depends in part on how economic resources are accessed and used. To the extent that these resources are invested in household enterprises, they have the potential to create opportunities for children to work and increase the returns on child labor. Across all

¹⁸ Including participants in five focus groups in Myanmar, all focus groups with caregivers in Uganda, and seven focus groups in Rwanda.

¹⁹ Similar trends were identified in India by Sengupta (2013).

projects that included VSLAs, microfinance, and/or start-up capital, respondents felt that these services provided participants with access to the necessary capital to reinvest in their businesses, for example, by buying livestock or equipment. Additionally, the REACH-T monitoring data suggested that participants may have used improved access to savings for accumulating productive assets such as livestock. Participants also noted that financial management training helped them track expenditures, increase profits, and generate additional savings.

While participants reported that livelihoods services facilitated investments in their businesses, analyses of project outcomes monitoring data suggest that project participation was also correlated with improvements in households' ability to meet basic needs. For example, in Uganda, adolescent youth in participant households experienced significant increases in access to food, clothing, shoes, and a blanket. Additionally, in Rwanda, participants in each of the adult focus groups noted that they used increased income from project participation to cover basic needs such as food, soap, and clothing.

Across all projects focused on child or child hazardous labor (My-PEC, REACH-T, and AYEDI), participants noted that the income generated from jobs for which projects trained participants, investment in businesses, and savings from VSLAs improved the household's ability to meet the basic needs of household members and freed resources to be used for children's education. While previous studies suggest that improved economic well-being is most effective in reducing child labor when it is conditional on supporting children's basic and educational needs (see Section 2), findings across the OCFT livelihoods projects suggest that resources were being invested in these areas even in the absence of conditional requirements. However, given the available data, we were unable to compare the magnitude of investments in children's well-being and education across projects or estimate how these investments are different from mechanisms such as conditional cash transfers.

4.2.2 Final Outcomes – Child Labor and Forced Labor

As conceptualized in the OCFT theory of change, the ultimate objective of the livelihoods projects examined in this study was to reduce participation in child or forced labor. Where project monitoring data were available, we examined changes in child and hazardous labor after project enrollment and assessed correlations between these practices and the types of services provided by projects. Qualitative analyses were used to assess project stakeholders’ and participants’ perceptions of project effectiveness in reducing child or forced labor, and identify perceived mechanisms that led to those results. A summary of the final results is presented in Exhibit 4.4.

Key Findings – Final Outcomes:

In support of the OCFT theory of change, program participants experienced reductions in child, hazardous, and forced labor after program enrollment. Vocational training programs were most consistently correlated with lower prevalence of these practices compared to other services. Participants and stakeholders attributed declines in child and forced labor to improvements in household finances, but also to increased awareness of the dangers of child and forced labor.

Exhibit 4.4: Final Outcomes across Projects

Outcomes		Brazil <i>IAP</i>	Myanmar <i>My-PEC</i>	Rwanda <i>REACH-T</i>	Uganda <i>AYEDI</i>
Final Outcomes					
Forced labor	Quantitative Findings	Not available	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Qualitative Findings	Reduction	N/A	N/A	N/A
Child labor	Quantitative Findings	N/A	Reduction	Reduction†	N/A
	Qualitative Findings	N/A	Reduction	Reduction	Reduction
Hazardous child labor	Quantitative Findings	N/A	Reduction	N/A	Reduction
	Qualitative Findings	N/A	Reduction	Reduction	Reduction
Other worst forms of child labor††	Quantitative Findings	N/A	N/A	N/A	Reduction

Note: This table provides a general overview of the relevant findings for each project. Additional nuance and detail is available in Sections 5 through 8.

†No direct measure available but decline in missing school for paid work.

††Other worst forms of child labor was not explicitly addressed in the qualitative data.

Prevalence of Child and Forced Labor. Based on available monitoring data, we found that across projects, participants experienced reductions in child and child hazardous labor after project enrollment. In Myanmar, the prevalence of child labor (international definition) among participants declined by 10.7 percentage points. Similarly, the proportion of children engaged in

hazardous labor declined by 17.8 percentage points, from 40.3 percent at enrollment to 22.5 percent after enrollment. In Rwanda, there were no direct measures of child labor in the project outcomes data. However, based on available monitoring data, we found a decline in the percent of participant children that missed school because of engagement in paid work in the post-project enrollment period. In Uganda, AYEDI youth participants also experienced statistically significant declines in participation in hazardous labor and other worst forms of child labor (the proportion engaged in hazardous labor declined from 55.8 percent at project enrollment to 8.2 percent at 12 months after enrollment and engagement in other worst forms of child labor declined from 7.6 percent at enrollment to 0.3 percent at 12 months after enrollment). These declines were accompanied by a statistically significant increase in participation in decent work. A lack of project outcomes data on forced labor in Brazil prevented us from quantitatively measuring whether IAP participants experienced a reduction in forced labor after project participation. However, analyses of qualitative data indicated that ten of the implementers and partners interviewed and participants in all focus groups believed that the project reduced participation in forced labor.

Variation by Livelihoods Services. As noted in the literature, different types of efforts to reduce poverty often have varied effects on child labor outcomes. Specifically, services that support the development or expansion of family enterprises have the potential to increase income and alleviate the underlying economic vulnerability that often necessitates child and forced labor. However, by investing in the growth of family businesses, these services can also create opportunities for children to work and can increase the economic returns associated with child labor. Therefore, it is important to examine associations between various types of livelihoods interventions and child and forced labor prevalence.

While differences in data, interventions, and project context prevented direct comparisons of relationships between particular services and the prevalence of child or forced labor across projects, a synthesis of outcomes across study projects suggests some trends in the relationship between service type and child and forced labor outcomes. These trends are summarized in Exhibit 4.5. Based on available data, vocational and skills training projects appeared to be more consistently correlated with lower post-enrollment levels of participation in child and hazardous labor than other types of interventions. For example, post-enrollment, My-PEC agricultural and

fisheries trainings were associated with lower levels of hazardous child labor prevalence compared to other project services. However, My-PEC's entrepreneurial support services, both alone and in combination with other services, tended to be associated with higher child labor prevalence compared to other services. Among AYEDI youth participants, prevalence of other worst forms of child labor was statistically significantly lower for those enrolled in most of the vocational training pathways. However, hazardous child labor outcomes were more mixed, depending on the particular training pathway participants chose. REACH-T did not directly measure child or hazardous labor outcomes, but our analyses show that those participating in Model Farm School (MFS) and Conditional Scholarship Support (CSS), both of which have substantial training components, were less likely to miss school for paid work than those receiving other REACH-T services.

Across projects, participants reported positive effects of VSLAs on child labor outcomes. However, available monitoring data from Myanmar showed that the post-enrollment prevalence of child and hazardous child labor among those participating only in VSLA services was similar to those participating in most other livelihoods services.²⁰ Finally, the relationship between educational support and child and hazardous child labor outcomes was mixed. AYEDI school block grants were associated with lower levels of hazardous child labor compared to the project's vocational training pathways. However, primary and secondary educational support offered by REACH-T was more likely to be associated with participants missing school for paid work than the project's vocational training interventions.

Income and Awareness. Findings from qualitative data suggest that participants and stakeholders attributed reductions in child and forced labor largely to increased income, which they felt allowed households to better meet their basic needs. An inability to cover necessities such as food and shelter was believed to be a key driver of child and forced labor. With the additional income generated by project activities, households felt that they were better able to provide these necessities and were less dependent on the income generated by child and forced labor, reducing the opportunity costs of not participating in these practices. Across projects, participants also felt that the income generated through participation in livelihoods projects provided financial

²⁰ Similar monitoring data were not available in other countries with VSLAs.

resources to cover educational costs. This allowed them to enroll children in school rather than participate in child labor. It was believed that this benefit accrued to everyone in the household, not just to those participating in livelihoods services. Youth reported using the increased income they earned to support school attendance of other children in the household.

In addition to the perceived role played by increases in income, increased awareness of the dangers of child and forced labor were believed to further mitigate participation in these practices. Across all projects, participants reported that participation provided them with a greater awareness of labor rights and practices and an understanding of how their work conditions were exploitive. Armed with this knowledge, participants felt that they were better able to identify and move into decent work or to prevent their children from engaging in child or hazardous labor. In

Exhibit 4.5: Services and Child/Forced Labor Outcomes²¹

Country	Overall Outcomes	Outcomes Across Services Received			
		Vocational Training	VSLA/Credit	Entrepreneurship Support	Educational Support
Brazil	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Perceived reduction in forced labor (FL) (qualitative data) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reduced FL (qualitative data) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not a key project component 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not a key project component 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not a key project component
Myanmar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Significant declines in child labor (CL) and hazardous child labor (HCL) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lower HCL prevalence post-enrollment than other services.† 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Similar prevalence of CL as most vocational training services but higher HCL prevalence than training projects 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Higher CL and HCL prevalence post-enrollment than other services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not a key project component
Rwanda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Significant reduction in children missing school for paid work 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lower prevalence of CL†† 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Perceived reduction CL and HCL (qualitative data) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not a key project component 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Higher prevalence of CL than vocational training
Uganda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Significant reductions in hazardous child labor (HCL) and other worst forms of child labor (WFCL) Significant increase in decent work 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Variation in prevalence of HCL and decent work post-enrollment††† Lower prevalence of WFCL among all training projects††† 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Perceived reduction in CL and HCL (qualitative data) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not a key project component 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lower HCL prevalence than any other service Lower WFCL prevalence††† Higher engagement in decent work than any other service
Summary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Declines in child labor outcomes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Vocational training projects are more likely to be associated with positive child/forced labor outcomes compared to other services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No significant difference from other services (based on monitoring data) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Higher prevalence of CL/HCL than other services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mixed results

†Compared to VSLA only (reference category)

††Compared to primary educational support (reference category) and measured as missing school for paid work.

†††Compared to those who did not enroll in a training pathway

²¹ All results derive from quantitative data, unless otherwise specified.

Brazil, for example, participants reported that given their new awareness of labor rights, they would be willing to accept decent work at lower wages to avoid forced labor. Additionally, parents in Rwanda reported reevaluating their assumptions about the acceptability of child and hazardous labor and the importance of education. This was in turn reported to influence their investment in their children's education. These findings suggest that broader poverty reduction activities may benefit from including a targeted awareness component to mitigate the potential for their work to increase child labor prevalence. However, additional data and alternate methods are necessary to test and measure the effects of these efforts.

Intra-household Bargaining Dynamics and Child and Forced Labor. As noted in Section 2, previous literature found that women's increased influence over household resource allocation can play an important role in reducing child labor prevalence. However, based on our qualitative data, the perspectives of participants and project stakeholders did not provide evidence to support this relationship. Across all projects, stakeholders believed that project services influenced intra-household bargaining power, even though this was not an explicit goal of these projects. Stakeholders specifically noted the importance of the financial training components of the projects in emphasizing joint household decision-making and financial planning and participants felt that this training led to greater collaboration in financial planning between men and women in the household. However, there were no reports that changes in intra-household bargaining led to changes in child or forced labor or in the engagement of adolescent youth in hazardous work.

Sustainability. The project outcomes data made available for this study provided information about changes in economic resources and participation in child labor for a relatively short period following project participation. The further institutionalization and sustainability of these results will depend on a number of factors. For example, as noted by participants in Brazil, because households remained economically vulnerable, participants may find themselves in a position where they would return to forced labor if financially necessary, although they argued that their awareness of labor rights would help mitigate this. Similarly, in Uganda, it was noted that youth sometimes return to hazardous labor to support their businesses. As noted previously, the perceived insufficiency of livelihoods interventions to lift households out of poverty, potentially

makes them vulnerable to reengagement in child and forced labor if they do not receive additional support.

Sustained income and child and forced labor outcomes are likely to vary across types of participants. For example, recent research found that among livelihoods participants receiving the same or similar services, boys were significantly more likely than girls to experience sustained increases in earnings over the three years after receiving livelihoods services (Mastercard Foundation, 2018). This was due to factors such as the influence of workplace gender-based violence in limiting girls' employment, and gendered expectations of the type of work girls could do. Future research would benefit from tracking participant outcomes over a longer period of time than was feasible for the current study.

4.3 IMPLICATIONS FOR OCFT LIVELIHOODS PROGRAMMING

The available data suggest that participation in livelihoods services was correlated with increased income, savings, and assets and reduced prevalence of child and forced labor, as posited by the OCFT theory of change. While these data did not allow us to establish causality or measure the effects of these relationships, the study's findings provide several implications for future livelihoods programming.

Variation in Services and Outcomes. As evident in previous literature, the effects of poverty reduction efforts on child labor can be mixed, depending on the type of service and how resources are used. Our analyses suggest that vocational and skills training projects offered to parents and youth appear to be more consistently associated with lower levels of child labor post-enrollment than other livelihoods services such as entrepreneurship support, which provides access to capital for investment in enterprises, and direct educational support.²² While this study provides suggestive evidence of these dynamics, establishing a causal relationship between various services and outcomes, estimating the effects of one service relative to another, and identifying mechanisms would require alternate data and a different research design. However, previous literature suggests that the relatively lower prevalence of child labor among vocational training

²² While all projects included a vocational training component, findings related to entrepreneurship support are associated with My-PEC, which was the only project measuring outcomes associated with these services. Additionally, only REACH-T and AYEDI measured outcomes associated with educational support services.

participants may be a result of how these participants use the increased income and economic resources associated with livelihoods services. For example, studies have found that when recipients of livelihoods services invest additional income in growing their businesses, they may create additional opportunities for children to work and increase the returns on that labor (Dammert, *et al.*, 2017). It is possible that vocational training participants were less likely to make these types of investments than participants in other livelihoods services, resulting in differing levels of child labor prevalence.

While vocational trainings were reported to increase households' economic security and were associated with relatively lower child labor prevalence among participants compared to other services, there were concerns raised among stakeholders that these trainings were not always responsive to the needs of local employers, which could affect the type of job that one could obtain following training and often, limit one's earning potential. Also, some stakeholders noted that the training programs were not always aligned with the needs of the overall local or regional economy. This finding suggests the importance not only of providing training interventions as a component of livelihoods services but of offering training programs that focus on in-demand skills and include content that reflects employers' needs.

Factors Mitigating Child and Forced Labor. While participants and stakeholders felt that increased income was an important factor in mitigating child and forced labor, the data were consistent with the literature that suggests that other factors, such as awareness of the dangers of child and forced labor, understanding of labor rights, and recognition of the importance of education, further mitigate vulnerability to these practices. This suggests the importance of including an explicit and targeted awareness component in livelihoods programming.

We do not find any evidence that increased bargaining power of women helps to mitigate child or forced labor, as has been found in previous literature. However, this was not a direct goal of the projects assessed. Explicitly addressing these dynamics in future OCFT programming may help mitigate the pressure to engage in child and forced labor and enable future studies to assess related changes in outcomes.

Facilitating Sustainability of Outcomes and Risks of Returning to Child and Forced Labor.

While the livelihoods services provided by the projects studied were reported to increase

households' economic security, across projects there was a common concern that services were insufficient to sustainably lift households out of poverty. This was accompanied by a concern that individuals would return to child and forced labor if their economic circumstances required it. Our qualitative data suggests that constraints to escaping poverty might be the result of a variety of factors. For example, as noted in Brazil and Myanmar, there were concerns that training services were not sufficiently reflective of in-demand employment sectors or employers' specific needs, which may limit participants' earning potential. There were also concerns that structural economic constraints on household income growth and improved but still insufficient wages may prevent participant households from escaping poverty and may lead to continued engagement in child and forced labor. Although not explicitly mentioned in our data, it is also possible that these constraints were related to the limited duration of projects, as previous literature has shown that reductions in child labor are sometimes not sustained beyond the period of support (Mastercard Foundation, 2018; Edmonds and Shrestha, 2014).

These findings suggest that continued poverty may limit the sustainability of projects' child and forced labor outcomes. They also suggest that the responsiveness of services to employer needs and the sustainability of livelihoods interventions are likely important in ensuring long-term positive outcomes. Generating sufficient economic resources to facilitate the sustainability of outcomes might include ensuring that program design maximizes the availability and intensity of services to increase household income. This might include further investment in building the collaboration²³ that was identified as being so important to the sustainability of VSLAs in Myanmar and Rwanda or building the capacity of local trainers to continue to deliver these services once project funding ends.

In the following sections, we provide detailed information supporting the findings for each project. We also elaborate on the examples described in this section and provide details and quotes from our qualitative data to further illustrate these points.

²³ For example, in Myanmar, when there was effective collaboration among participants, VSLAs tended to be more sustainable, while those lacking effective collaboration tended to break down (see section 6.5.1). In Rwanda, where VSLA participants were able to develop collaborative relationships, they provided additional support to one another in times of economic hardship, for example by cultivating sick members' fields. This dynamic provided additional motivation and support for sustaining the VSLA (see section 7.5.1).

5. BRAZIL

5.1 PROJECT DESCRIPTION

The ILO is implementing the *Consolidating and Disseminating Efforts to Combat Forced Labor in Brazil and Peru* project.²⁴ The project in Brazil, which is the subject of this evaluation, focuses on providing livelihoods services to vulnerable workers in the state of Mato Grosso with the objective of improving their economic situation and reducing their susceptibility to forced labor. Reflective of the OCFT theory of change, vocational training provided through IAP aims to provide households with the skills necessary to increase earnings and reduce participation in forced labor. IAP started in 2008, before the OCFT grant to ILO in 2012. Its goal is to break the cycle of forced labor in participant households and decrease household vulnerability to labor exploitation. The project targets workers who have worked under forced labor conditions in the past (“rescued” individuals) and individuals at risk of becoming victims of forced labor (“vulnerable” individuals).²⁵

IAP identifies rescued and vulnerable workers, offers comprehensive training to provide education on basic and human rights and vocational skills, and places trained workers in the labor market. IAP staff first reached out to individuals rescued from forced labor before they migrated to other locations and contact was lost. In addition, IAP recruited vulnerable individuals who were at risk of becoming victims of forced labor. These individuals were usually acquaintances or family members of the rescued individuals. Both rescued and vulnerable individuals received the same services, including basic education and vocational skills training. Individuals are brought to the city of Cuiabá and provided with accommodations and meals. They also receive a monthly salary during the course of the project. In the first week of training, they receive human and civil rights education, which addresses forced labor and workers’ rights. For many participants, this is the first time they realize that they have been victims of forced labor, making the initial awareness education as important as the vocational training. After the first week, the vocational training

²⁴ The ILO program’s efforts in Peru focus exclusively on technical cooperation aspects; hence, the present evaluation was conducted only in Brazil.

²⁵ The full program logic model is shown in Appendix C.

begins. IAP offers participants training in farming/agriculture, particularly in the use of agricultural machinery. There are also trainings on construction, gastronomy, mechanics/engineering, and other trades. Training typically involves both classroom activities and practice sessions.

5.2 DATA SOURCES

5.2.1 Quantitative Data

We used administrative data and project monitoring data provided by the ILO for all participants to examine participant characteristics, services received, and relevant outcomes at approximately 12 months after project entry. Exhibit 5.1 describes the project data that were made available for this study. Exhibit 5.2 lists the project’s monitoring indicators and whether the information required to measure these indicators was observed in the data.

Exhibit 5.1: Monitoring Data Available for IAP Brazil

Data	Description
Administrative Data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Data from Government of Brazil ▪ Information about 2,367 individuals who were residing in the project’s target areas and who had either worked under forced labor conditions in the past (“rescued”) or were identified as being at risk of becoming victims of forced labor (“vulnerable”) ▪ Of these individuals, 698 were ultimately selected to receive project services (participants) and 1,669 did not receive any project services (non-participants)
Project Input Data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Information on the services received by the 698 project participants, including the type of training, training completion status, and training duration
Project Outcomes Data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ ILO attempted to reach project participants and collect information on their outcomes at approximately 12 months after project entry. ILO was able to reach 79 of the 698 participants, who were asked to provide information on their education level, work status, and income.²⁶

²⁶ After multiple communications with the ILO, it was made clear that it was not feasible for ILO to obtain outcomes data for the remaining program participants; thus, analyses of program outcomes data are restricted to the 79 participants for whom data are available. Because the program began before ILO involvement, ILO was not able to retroactively collect monitoring data on many participants. Another key limitation of the program outcomes data is that, while ILO collected information on participants’ employment and earnings after enrollment, they were not tasked with collecting information on whether participants were in forced labor, a key indicator for assessing the OCFT theory of change. Thus, outcomes data for measuring forced labor prevalence after program enrollment is not available for this study.

Exhibit 5.2: IAP Monitoring Indicators

Measure	Availability	Data Sources
Inputs		
L1: Households receiving livelihoods services	✓	Project Input Data
L2: Adults receiving training/employment services	✓	Project Input Data
Intermediate Outcomes		
OTP 14: Completion status of job-skills training (by sex, age, and education)	✓	Project Input Data (available for 518 of 698 participants)
OTC 7: Participants who report an increase in income/assets	✓	Project Outcomes Data (income observed for 79 of 698 participants)
Final Outcomes		
Participants exposed to forced labor	Not available	Not collected

Note: The data report training completion status for 517 of the 698 participants. Information on post-enrollment participant income was only reported for the 79 participants in the project outcomes data. As noted, there is no information on participants' forced labor status after receiving project services, which means that we could not quantitatively assess whether participants were engaged in forced labor after project enrollment.

5.2.2 Qualitative Data

Following a review of background information and a preliminary visit in 2016 to assess data collection and logistical needs, we collected qualitative data on-site in May and June 2017. The research team consisted of one IMPAQ staff member supported by one interviewer and one note taker from DK Comunicação LTDA. All team members were native Portuguese speakers who were fluent in English. As shown in Exhibit 5.3, we conducted key informant interviews and focus groups during the site visit in the state of Mato Grosso between May 22 and May 31, 2017. In addition, the team conducted three interviews with stakeholders in Brasília in June 2017. In the interviews and focus group discussions, we gathered information on the respondents' opinions and experiences regarding the project, assuring them that all information they provided was anonymous and confidential and that all reported data would be de-identified. In Brazil, given participant demographics, all participant focus group participants were male.²⁷

²⁷ At the time of field work, all current IAP participants (the population from which we could recruit focus group participants) were male. Additionally, those past participants we were able to reach and recruit to participate in the focus groups were all male. This limits the ability of our findings to represent variation in program experiences and outcomes based on gender.

Exhibit 5.3: Qualitative Data Collected in Brazil

Data Collection Method	Type of Respondent	Location
Key Informant Interviews	3 University Professors and Training Instructors	Cuiabá
	2 Rescuers of Victims of Forced Labor	Cuiabá
	2 IAP Project Staff	Cuiabá
	1 Agricultural Employer	Cuiabá
	4 ILO Staff	Brasília
	3 National Government officials	Brasília
Focus Group Discussions	2 with Current IAP Participants – 9 people in each group	Cuiabá
	1 with Past IAP Participants – 3 people	Poconé
	1 with Past IAP Participants – 2 people	Rosário do Oeste

5.3 POVERTY AND FORCED LABOR IN BRAZIL

Using the qualitative data collected through on-site interviews and focus groups, we examined the perceived links between a lack of income and participation in forced labor in Mato Grosso. Project implementers consistently identified poverty and a lack of knowledge about worker rights as the two key factors explaining the high prevalence of forced labor in the area. All 15 implementers and partners who were interviewed believed that poverty and a lack of employment opportunities in Mato Grosso were key drivers of forced labor. Mato Grosso is a rural state, with much of its economy relying on agriculture and cattle production; both the implementation team and partners identified livestock and forestry activities as the top industries responsible for menial working conditions. Five stakeholders also cited cutting sugarcane, which offers tedious, tiring, and exhaustive work because of payment by the ton, as a prominent type of forced labor. Workers lack access to consistent employment and often find seasonal jobs in agriculture or otherwise move from one odd job to another (e.g., work in mills, brick laying, and textiles). More than two thirds of implementers and partners elaborated that many workers in Mato Grosso have access only to low-paying jobs with poor working conditions, and many do not have access to school or other basic services. It was noted that these limited opportunities push individuals to leave their families and enter forced labor as their only means to improve their livelihoods.

Given the underlying economic needs of individuals in Mato Grosso, project implementers believed that addressing forced labor requires more than rescuing victims; if their socioeconomic

needs are not met and they lack alternative options, they will return to forced labor. More than half of the project implementers who were interviewed and have firsthand knowledge of the needs of rescuees and participants felt that without the IAP project, those who are rescued from forced labor will likely return. Specifically, many individuals lack the education and training options that could provide them with the qualifications needed to obtain decent employment. Therefore, the implementers believed that, to eradicate forced labor, projects must provide participants with training and employment services to improve their qualifications. Characteristically, one implementer said:

“The inspectors would find the same people. Why? Because the unemployment insurance would end and the worker was in the same socioeconomic situation, in terms of skills, that led them to be recruited in the first place.”

Collectively, implementers and partners all believed that poverty and a lack of opportunities to generate income make individuals increasingly vulnerable to exploitation through forced labor. Six interviewees brought up the predatory behavior of employers’ recruiters, known as “gatos,” reporting that workers are often tricked or enticed by the gatos, who offer advance pay for the worker’s family. But when the workers arrive at the workplace, they discover that things are not as promised: they are forced to work under poor conditions and often do not get paid until their “debt” is repaid. Interviewees believed that workers are vulnerable to these gatos because they are desperate to earn money, but also because they are unaware of their worker and human rights. Though two of the implementers felt that some small employers believe they are helping workers by providing them with the opportunity to earn a small wage, they still believed that the majority of employers using forced labor are intentionally exploiting victims’ lack of knowledge and economic desperation.

Participants largely echoed the views of the implementers. In all of the focus groups, participants shared that the need to provide for themselves or their families, combined with a lack of understanding of the extent to which their rights would be violated, led to their involvement with forced labor. In addition, in each of the focus groups, some participants reported that they knew what they were getting into when recruiters approached them, but agreed to the work because

they needed money for necessities and lacked alternatives for generating income. As told by one participant:

“They said there was good accommodation, breakfast, lunch, and dinner, and when the recruiter (gato) took us there, we saw it was completely different. We arrived at the farm and it was all bushes. At night we took a shower in the bushes, there was no electricity, we did everything on the ground (defecating), food on the ground, we ate on the ground. The water that was brought was hot; no one could drink it.”

Another participant shared a similar story, saying:

“They told us we would work for 50 days and we would come back with a good amount of money. We didn’t go there because we wanted to, but because we needed to, because of our children and our family. When we got there, it was all different from what they said. The house we were staying at was different, the food, the conditions were awful. The way we worked was different; during the holidays and the weekends we weren’t supposed to work and we worked anyway and we didn’t earn for the extra time. If we worked at night, there was no extra for the night shift. We would work 24 hours a day.”

5.4 PROJECT SERVICES

In an effort to reduce vulnerability to forced labor, IAP provided participants with training services to help them improve their skills and access good employment opportunities. The underlying project theory was that improving access to better jobs would help participants improve their incomes, thereby increasing their economic security and reducing their vulnerability to forced labor. Using project input data, we identified the types of training services received by participants and training completion. Exhibit 5.4 summarizes this information. Half of the 698 participants received farming/agricultural training and 35.1 percent received training in construction. Other training types were less popular, ranging from 8.3 percent for gastronomy to 1.3 percent for sewing. About 64.0 percent of participants completed at least one type of training, while 10.2 percent did not complete any training. Training completion information was missing for 25.8 percent of cases. See Appendix E for more information on project participants.

Exhibit 5.4: Training Received by Participants

Training	Participants 698
Training type	
Construction	245 (35.1%)
Gastronomy	58 (8.3%)
Farming/agriculture	348 (49.9%)
Mechanics and electricians	47 (6.7%)
Sewing	9 (1.3%)
Ceramics	25 (3.6%)
Number of training types received	
One	639 (91.6%)
Two	56 (8.0%)
Three	3 (0.4%)
Training completion status²⁸	
Did not complete training	71 (10.2%)
Completed training	447 (64.0%)
Missing	180 (25.8%)

Note: Reported is the number of participants with sample proportion in parentheses.

Source: Project input data.

5.5 PROJECT OUTCOMES

Using available qualitative and quantitative data, we examined whether project participation was associated with improved employment and earnings and reduced likelihood of becoming a victim of forced labor. Key findings related to participant outcomes associated with the OCFT theory of change are summarized in Box 5.1.

BOX 5.1: SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS, IAP

Intermediate Outcomes

- Post- enrollment employment and income did not vary based on type of training received
- Participants felt the program improved income and employment opportunities
- There were concerns that training did not focus on high-demand sectors

Final Outcomes

- No available quantitative data on forced labor outcomes
- Perception among participants and implementers that the program helped participants increase their income and awareness of forced labor, and thus reduced engagement in forced labor
- Some participants noted that, if necessary and based on their economic situation, they would return to forced labor

²⁸ Separate analyses (not shown) indicated that for those who completed training, 40.3 percent received training for up to 30 days. The remaining completers received training for 31 to 60 days (20.0 percent), 61 to 90 days (6.2 percent), and more than 90 days (36.4 percent).

5.5.1 Intermediate Outcomes – Employment and Income

Employment and Earnings. Project outcomes data were used to examine participants' employment and earnings after project entry. Because project implementers did not track all participants after they enrolled in the project, outcomes data are available only for 79 of the 698 participants.²⁹ Based on information about these 79 participants, we constructed two intermediate outcome indicators, measured at 12 months after project enrollment: (1) *employment status* – indicates if the individual was employed;³⁰ and (2) *income (in reais)* – measures the monthly salary earnings. These indicators are presented in Exhibit 5.5. Unfortunately, there was no pre-enrollment information on these indicators available for these 79 participants.

Exhibit 5.5: Employment and Income after Project Participation

Employment and Income	Participants 79
Employment status	
Employed	51 (64.6%)
Not employed	28 (35.4%)
Income (in reais)	
Salary income (monthly)	797 (814)

Note: Reported is the number of participants with sample proportion in parentheses; for income, reported is the mean with the standard deviation in parentheses.

Source: Project outcomes data.

At 12 months after project enrollment, 64.6 percent of participants were employed, and the average monthly salary income for all participants (including those who are employed and those who are not employed) was 797 Brazilian reais (about 224 USD). Dividing the total average salary income of all employed individuals by the total number of employed individuals indicates that the average monthly salary income for employed participants was 1,234 Brazilian reais (about 348 USD). This is lower than the monthly per capita income of Brazil in 2017 (about 818 USD).³¹

Overall, our analyses provide no evidence that employment and income varied by the specific

²⁹ Note that there were notable differences in characteristics between the 79 participants with follow-up data and the entire sample of 698 participants. As seen in Appendix D, Exhibit D.1, the 79 participants with follow-up data were less likely than the average participant to be 18 to 24 years old, a rescued worker, and reside in an urban location. These differences suggest that the 79 participants with follow-up data may not be representative of all participants served by the program during the study period.

³⁰ Note that the data do not report additional information about employment status, including for example if the individual was employed in a full-time or a part-time job, if the individual was employed in a salaried job or as a contractor, or the number of hours/days/weeks of employment.

³¹ <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD>; annual salary was divided by 12 to obtain an average monthly salary.

training services received. To examine whether employment and income were associated with the types of training received, we used multivariate linear regression models; for technical details, see the discussion of model (1) in Appendix B. The small sample size (79 individuals) indicates that low statistical power might make it difficult to obtain evidence about whether individual characteristics and services are correlated with outcomes. Exhibit 5.6 summarizes the results. See Appendix B for a descriptive analysis of the variables included in the regression.

Exhibit 5.6: Regression Results, Intermediate Outcomes

Coefficients	Employed	Salary Income
Training Type		
Construction	–	–
Gastronomy	.135 (.263)	4 (509)
Farming/agriculture	-.034 (.208)	-419 (703)
Mechanics and electricians	-.235 (.324)	47 (457)
Ceramics	-.163 (.306)	-221 (748)
Individual Characteristics		
Rescued	–	–
Vulnerable	.072 (.139)	-24 (202)
Male	–	–
Female	.170 (.144)	-311 (276)
Less than 25 years old	–	–
25 to 34 years old	-.202 (.151)	-295 (218)
35 to 44 years old	-.176 (.203)	-297 (276)
45 to 55 years old	-.285 (.191)	149 (511)
55+ years old	-.569 (.389)	-628 (668)
White	–	–
Pardo (multi-race)	.272 (.155)*	406 (260)
Black	.284 (.164)*	381 (302)
Missing	-.387 (.279)	-962 (858)
Did not complete primary	–	–
Primary school	.103 (.150)	309 (298)
High school	-.302 (.182)*	-345 (242)
Missing	.420 (.151)***	484 (348)
Single	–	–
Married	.139 (.149)	123 (258)
Missing	.857 (.252)***	1,357 (791)*
1 household member	–	–
2-3 household members	-.161 (.253)	-301 (336)
4+ household members	-.131 (.235)	32 (319)
Missing	-.092 (.323)	187 (606)
Rural	–	–
Urban	.144 (.137)	126 (268)
Constant	.478 (.426)	890 (672)
<i>Observations</i>	79	79
<i>R-squared</i>	.372	.289

Note: Reported are estimated parameters with standard errors in parentheses. Fixed effects for the main source of income and house material are included but not reported. There were no individuals who received sewing training, with missing age, with college education, or with missing rural/urban location. – = omitted (or baseline) category. ***, **, * = change is statistically significant at the 1, 5, 10 percent level.

Results for the likelihood of employment (employed) show that there were no statistically significant correlations between outcomes and the specific training received. There were also no statistically significant differences in the likelihood of employment based on participant status (rescued vs. vulnerable), gender, or age. As with employment, the regression results for salary income showed little evidence that income was correlated with services received or with individual characteristics. The only statistically significant parameter was for missing marriage status.

Interview and focus group participants felt that IAP offered participants the potential to improve their income. Fourteen out of 15 interview participants reported that the vocational training offered by the project provided participants with the opportunity to improve their employability and 13 reported that it improved participants' ability to generate a higher income. The implementers also believed that through the training, participants obtained basic skills—such as reading and writing—that made them more employable in the labor market. As one implementer described it:

“Participants will be in the job market fighting for a job in an equal position with others. When we got them, their fight to be in the market was unequal, they were down there and the other was up there. Now [they are] battling in the market in a more competitive way.”

It should be noted that implementers and partners from the government and education sectors believed that training participants for jobs in high demand in the state of Mato Grosso, such as machine operator, offered higher earning potential than jobs that do not require training, such as laborers in agriculture. However, our earlier analyses (Exhibit 5.6) do not suggest that there was any measurable difference in salaries for those trained as machine operators compared to those trained in agriculture.

Participants across each of the two focus groups with project completers reported that their incomes had increased after receiving project training. Consistent with the stated goals of the project, participants believed the training made them more employable, providing them with recognized credentials that facilitated access to jobs with salaries that were previously unattainable. In fact, participants in each of these focus groups felt that due to the training, they were able to obtain sustainable jobs that offered them good working conditions and the

opportunity for career advancement. Below are two testimonials that best summarize the perceived effect of the project for participants:

“I am very grateful for this program, because my wife was sick and I had three children to feed. I bought a good house and a motorcycle. It’s not the best house, but we can live there. [The program] changed my life.”

“My salary was minimum wage and I couldn’t buy anything. I could only pay the water and electricity bills and food. There was nothing left. Through the firm I got into, because of the courses, my salary is higher. I managed to cover our basic needs and buy furniture for my house.”

Awareness. Ten interviewees believed that it was not just the technical skills taught in the training that were important in helping participants find better jobs but also the awareness of labor rights and standards. Implementers in particular felt that the project improved participants’ knowledge of safe and legal working conditions, and helped them understand the salary, working conditions, and other benefits they deserved in legal employment. One implementer believed that even if the project’s participants did not become employed in the types of jobs for which they were trained, they at least had the knowledge that they should not be working in slave labor conditions and they would not go back to those kinds of roles. Although not a prominent theme in all interviews, seven of the implementers and partners mentioned the value of social benefits, in addition to employment advancement, as an important factor when considering how formal employment increases household resources. These interviewees believed that the nonpecuniary benefits and protections of working in a formal job may be greater than the wage itself or may offset any reduction in pay that may occur when workers move from forced labor into the formal job market.

Economic Context. A particular challenge for implementers in identifying perceived factors responsible for reducing forced labor was that past internal analyses of IAP results had found that many participants end up working in a profession different from the one for which they trained. A potential interpretation offered by one implementer was that the vocational training had broader benefits and prepared participants for multiple opportunities, including entry into several professions, self-employment, or becoming a small entrepreneur:

“All of them had improved education, income, employability, although none of them

worked in a profession they were qualified for.” Another implementer noted, “We have many examples that sometimes the person takes a qualification course for a certain specialized field and afterwards during the monitoring, this person became a micro-entrepreneur, they are involved in another activity.”

Employment in an industry other than one for which they were trained may also reflect a mismatch between the types of jobs for which IAP trains workers and the available jobs. Both implementers and participants claimed that individuals failed to become employed in the industry for which they had been trained because of economic factors outside of the project’s scope. Although stakeholders believed that the project can increase participants’ employability, they acknowledged that because of the economic conditions in the country, many still struggle to find jobs. This challenge was perceived to impede participants’ ability to increase their income, and stakeholders noted that this may increase their vulnerability and risk for returning to forced labor. When describing the performance of IAP broadly, implementers believed that when economic conditions have been good, the project has helped participants stay out of forced labor. They specifically cited the numerous construction jobs available due to the 2014 World Cup. However, because the economy has been more depressed recently, they think the project’s success has been more limited.

Money Management. Participants in the interviews and focus groups reported that the seminars in money management and saving were very helpful in addition to the vocational training and awareness raising they received. Five of the implementers interviewed reported that the project helped to address money management issues and participants in three focus groups reported that seminars offered during citizenship week helped to ensure that they used their income effectively to cover their basic needs and save for the future. For example, after attending the money management seminar, one participant reported:

“Today if I get a job I will write down what I can spend and what I can’t. If I earn two thousand, for example, I will spend only one thousand because nobody knows what will happen tomorrow, nobody knows if I am going to have a job or not. In the seminar, the woman taught us everything.”

Other participants provided similar testimonials, suggesting that, in addition to the potential value

of vocational training, money management seminars may help participants to improve their financial circumstances. As a former IAP participant said:

“Each seminar was something different. For me, what struck me the most was the one about managing the money. Things changed for me. [Before,] I had nothing and I just used all the money. When I saw this seminar, I thought about so many things.”

5.5.2 Final Outcomes – Engagement in Forced Labor

As noted, the project did not collect information on whether participants were in forced labor after project enrollment. Thus, qualitative data are the only source of information about forced labor outcomes.

Income, Awareness, and Forced Labor Participation. Participants in all focus groups felt that IAP had reduced the likelihood that they would engage in forced labor. Income generation as a result of the project’s training services was perceived to be a critical protective factor in preventing forced labor. Participants in both focus groups with project completers credited IAP with helping them generate the income needed to avoid forced labor. This was also reflected in the views of interviewed implementers and partners, ten of whom held similar views as participants, stating that increased household income reduces the need to consider working in forced labor conditions. For example, one partner said:

“I think that basically it is having alternative income, not necessarily a formal paid job, but alternatives to generate income that decreases the vulnerability of these communities, these people, to the slave labor exploitation.”

Participants across all focus groups also noted that their increased awareness about workers’ rights and an increased sense of self-worth were key accomplishments of IAP and that these changes decreased vulnerability to exploitation. During the two focus groups with current participants, those who reported that they would return to forced labor if they had to in order to survive felt that they would now be more reluctant to do so because they were more knowledgeable about their rights. Participants reported, for example:

“Now we know what to ask, knowing what the company is like, knowing what our rights

are, what is right and wrong.”

“We will know soon that, from what they are saying, if there is any paper to sign, if they have a document, [if they say] sign our contract. Now we will know all of that.”

“I think that necessity speaks loudly if the family needs to eat, your children need to eat, we need to eat. Today if you don’t have money, you’re nothing. In those times, necessity speaks but it doesn’t mean I will be tricked again, you know? I will not [return to forced labor] right away as I’ve done before. I will research it first to understand how it is before I go.”

Project stakeholders also noted the importance of participants’ increased awareness about workers’ rights, social resources, and what constitutes forced labor in reducing vulnerability. For example, two project stakeholders reported:

“The project improves awareness of the risks of slave labor as well, of their rights, their social projects, their access to the projects. So even if the person does not receive a job offer once they finish that step of the training, even if they cannot put themselves in the formal job market, still we see a great decrease of their vulnerability. The risk of going back to that cycle decreases a lot.”

“The project allows the worker to get notions of citizenship and social empowerment that make them more capable to resist the occasional events where they might have to go back to that situation.”

Intra-household Bargaining. As noted in Section 2, previous research has found that women’s role in household decision making can influence resource allocation and participation in exploitive labor practices. In the context of IAP, we explored whether project participation influenced intra-household bargaining in a way that may have affected engagement in forced labor. Although it was not a direct goal of the project, our analyses provided limited evidence that project stakeholders and participants felt that the project affected intra-household bargaining dynamics in a way that reduced forced labor. Four implementers reported that training on gender inclusiveness and money management may have had some influence on households. Participants in three of the focus groups reported that they made money decisions in collaboration with their wives, while others reported that their wives were the main decision makers. This contradicted

the views of project stakeholders that men are the primary decision makers and that women have a limited role. While participants felt that the project may have affected their views about including their wives in money management decisions, there were no reports that forced labor was reduced as a result of shifts in intra-household bargaining.

5.6 SUMMARY

In an effort to reduce the prevalence of forced labor in Brazil, ILO supported the implementation of IAP, which provided training and support services to workers rescued from or vulnerable to forced labor. The underlying theory of change is that, by providing vocational training and livelihoods services, the project would help workers to improve their skills, access employment opportunities, and strengthen their livelihoods. Ultimately, these effects were expected to reduce the likelihood of (re-)engagement in forced labor.

The analyses of the qualitative and quantitative project data provided important insights about the validity of OCFT's theory of change. Analyses of qualitative data showed that both project stakeholders and participants shared the view that the main driver of forced labor was a lack of income. They believed that a lack of employment opportunities may push workers to engage in forced labor as the only means to provide for their families. In addition, a lack of income and knowledge of their rights compounded individuals' vulnerability to forced labor. Stakeholders felt that workers are often unaware of their worker and human rights, which when combined with extreme poverty, makes them vulnerable to recruiters who entice them into accepting jobs that do not offer acceptable working conditions. Participants described falling victim to these recruiters and ending up in forced labor. This dual vulnerability requires an approach to reducing forced labor that addresses both a lack of income and a lack of awareness, as implemented by IAP.

Both stakeholders and trainees agreed that the training services offered by IAP helped participants to improve their skills, employability, and income. However, monitoring data on the outcomes of project participants were limited—information on employment and income was available for only 79 of the 698 participants and there was no pre-enrollment employment or income data for these individuals. The analyses of the available data showed that nearly two-thirds (64.6 percent) of the 79 participants reported that they were employed after project participation, with the average employed worker earning 1,234 reais (about 348 USD) monthly. Further analyses did not provide

evidence that employment rates and income are correlated with the types of training received.

Project monitoring data did not provide information on whether participants were engaged in forced labor after project enrollment, so we could not quantitatively examine whether project participation was correlated with reducing forced labor. Based on the interviews and focus group discussions, we found that both stakeholders and participants believed that the project was generally effective in reducing forced labor. This perceived effect occurred through two, often interactive, processes. First, participants and stakeholders believed that the training offered by the project helped participants to find jobs and improve their incomes, thus reducing the likelihood of engagement in forced labor as their only means to provide for their families. Second, these individuals believed that the project improved awareness about worker and human rights, helping to reduce the vulnerability of participants to forced labor. In many ways, these processes were perceived to reinforce one another. While there was a general sense that the project reduced engagement in forced labor, there was also a recognition that these reductions were vulnerable to changing economic circumstances. Participants noted that if their economic situation were dire, they might consider returning to forced labor. However, they were more likely to first explore other options and take actions to ensure that their rights were protected, such as demanding a labor contract.

Overall, data constraints limited our ability to quantitatively draw conclusions about the validity of all the components of the OCFT theory of change in relation to IAP. However, those involved in the project believed that the training, in combination with other services, helped rescued and vulnerable workers to improve their socioeconomic status, increased their awareness about forced labor, and reduced their vulnerability to forced labor, although this reduced engagement in forced labor may be precarious and dependent on economic circumstances.

These findings are summarized, in relation to each of the study's key research questions, in Exhibit 5.7.

Exhibit 5.7: Research Questions and IAP Brazil Findings

Research Question	Summary	Evidence
Q1. Does the evidence support the OCFT theory of change, namely, that the provision of livelihoods services improves the intermediate outcomes of vulnerable households, such as household income and savings, and, ultimately, reduces child labor and/or forced labor?	Support	Quant. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> After project enrollment, 64.6 percent of participants were employed, and the average monthly salary income for all participants was 797 Brazilian reais (about 224 USD). Unfortunately, there was no intake data on these indicators for these individuals.
		Qual. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Project stakeholders and participants felt that the main driver of forced labor was a lack of income. Income generation as a result of the project’s training services was perceived to be a protective factor in preventing forced labor. Perception that the project helped participants increase their income and awareness of forced labor, and thus reduced engagement in forced labor. Some participants noted that, if necessary and based on their economic situation, they would return to forced labor.
Q2. What types of livelihoods services appear to be more effective in reducing the prevalence of child labor or forced labor?	Limited variation in services	Quant. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> All participants received vocational training, however post-enrollment employment and income did not vary based on the type of training received.
		Qual. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> While participants felt the trainings increased their income, they were not seen to focus on high-demand sectors. Participants across all focus groups noted increased awareness about workers’ rights and an increased sense of self-worth as key accomplishments of IAP and as factors that decrease vulnerability to exploitation.

6. MYANMAR

6.1. PROJECT DESCRIPTION

My-PEC is a comprehensive, multi-stakeholder project implemented by ILO, with the objective of reducing child labor in Myanmar. My-PEC aims to create an environment for eliminating child labor by establishing a national legal framework consistent with international labor standards, raising awareness about child labor among the public, and increasing the capacity of stakeholders to implement child labor reduction projects. To reduce child labor, My-PEC offers a wide range of livelihoods services (alongside its other components) to households in targeted communities where children are at risk of being engaged in child labor. These services seek to improve households' economic security by training adults and youth of working age for higher paying jobs outside of hazardous labor. The project also offers savings mechanisms, designed to allow households to reinvest in their businesses and increase household income. The goal of these efforts is to reduce households' reliance on child and hazardous child labor as a means of generating income. Direct interventions have been implemented in three townships: Labutta, where there is a high prevalence of child labor in fishing and farming; Dagon Seikkan, where there is a high prevalence of child labor in textile manufacturing; and Ye, where there is a high prevalence of child labor in farming.

My-PEC provides livelihoods services under an ILAB-OCFT grant awarded in December 2013. Similar to the OCFT theory of change, the underlying theory of change for My-PEC is that through vocational training, entrepreneurship support, and VLSA services, participant households will improve their employment situation and income. The intent is to ultimately reduce the need for children to engage in child labor. The My-PEC logic model is illustrated in Appendix C.

My-PEC's service provision strategy includes vocational training and savings and entrepreneurship support services to help participant households access better employment opportunities and improve their income. My-PEC offers vocational training that emphasizes good

agriculture practices (GAP)³² and shrimp and fisheries value chain and processing, as well as training in other trades, such as garment sewing and construction. These services are expected to help participants obtain the skills needed to access better employment opportunities and improve their income, thereby reducing reliance on child labor.

In addition to vocational training, My-PEC offers a wide range of savings and entrepreneurship support services, including start-up kits with information on how to start businesses in agriculture (seeds, fertilizer, etc.) and fishing (fish nets, fishing equipment, etc.). My-PEC also provides interested households with start-up kits for developing home-based microenterprises in the garment sector. Further, the project offers households microfinance support, financial management training, and assistance in preparing business plans. This support includes assistance on how to apply for loans, perform cash flow analyses, and develop financial projections. These services are expected to provide participants with the option to become self-employed as a means to improve their earnings. Finally, participant households are offered VSLA services accompanied by financial training.

6.2. DATA SOURCES

To assess the extent to which outcomes associated with the My-PEC project reflect the OCFT theory of change, we relied on project monitoring data collected by the project on participants' characteristics, services received, and economic and child labor outcomes, and on qualitative data collected by IMPAQ on-site. These data sources are described below.

6.2.1. Quantitative Data

As noted in Section 3, we used project monitoring data provided by the ILO to assess the services provided by My-PEC and relevant participant outcomes. Exhibit 6.1 describes the project data that were made available for this study. Additionally, Exhibit 6.2 lists the project's monitoring indicators and whether the information required to measure these indicators was observed in the data. The project outcomes data, collected at six months after project enrollment, did not include

³² Good agricultural practices (GAP) refer to methods and processes to be implemented on farms to produce high-quality food in a safe environment, taking into account environmental sustainability and the local context. See <http://www.fao.org/docrep/pdf/010/ag856e/ag856e00.pdf> for more information on this topic.

information on the key intermediate outcome of participant households, namely, an increase in monthly household income.³³ Therefore, we relied on qualitative information to assess perceived changes in income.

Exhibit 6.1: Monitoring Data Available for My-PEC

Data	Description
Project Intake Data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provide information on the characteristics of 669 participant households and their 1,284 children Report whether participant children were engaged in child or hazardous labor at the time of project enrollment
Project Input Data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provide information on project services received by the participant households and their children
Project Outcomes Data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Document the outcomes of 932 children in 492 participant households at approximately six months after project enrollment, including child labor indicators

Exhibit 6.2: My-PEC Project Monitoring Indicators

Measure	Availability	Data Sources
Inputs		
L1: Households receiving livelihoods services	✓	Project Input Data
L2: Adults receiving employment services	✓	
L4: Adults provided with economic strengthening services	✓	
Intermediate Outcomes		
OTC 9: Households that increase their monthly income	Not available at the time of analysis†	--
Final Outcomes		
POC 1: Participant children engaged in child labor	✓	Project outcomes data (collected from 932 of 1,284 participant children in 492 of 669 participant households)
POC 2: Participant children engaged in hazardous child labor	✓	
POH 1: Participant households with at least one child engaged in child labor	✓	
POH 2: Participant households with at least one child engaged in hazardous child labor	✓	

Note: The project outcomes data included the information needed to construct key child labor indicators for 932 (of 1,284) children in 492 (of 669) participant households at six months after project enrollment.

†= this information will be collected in the project's follow-up survey.

6.2.2. Qualitative Data

The qualitative data collection in Myanmar focused on two implementation sites: Dagon Seikkan and Labutta townships. Dagon Seikkan Township is in the southern part of Yangon and is bordered by the Yangon River. It is an industrial town that supports many industries, including garments, wood, plastic, and paper. The region receives large influxes of migrants from the delta (Ayeyarwaddy) and dry regions of the country. Labutta Township is a coastal area in the

³³ Note that this outcome will be measured in subsequent rounds of data collection conducted by the program.

Ayeyarwaddy division of Myanmar. The six villages in Labutta receiving My-PEC livelihoods services are located on the islands in the south of Myanmar. Polaung is about six hours from Labutta by boat, and the other five villages are one to two hours further away. Villages in Labutta Township are primarily dependent on fishing and agriculture (rice) and are extremely poor. Focusing the data collection in these two sites provided insights into variations in project implementation and outcomes across rural and urban areas.

Following a visit to Myanmar in 2016 to collect background information, the IMPAQ team made its first data collection visit in May 2017 and conducted interviews with key informants in three sites: (1) the city of Yangon; (2) Dagon Seikkan Township; and (3) Labutta Township. During this trip, we conducted key informant interviews with the implementing partners and community stakeholders as summarized in Exhibit 6.3. Because of the timing of My-PEC implementation, the goal of this round of data collection was to gather information about the early implementation process and the community context and needs.³⁴ In the interviews, we gathered information on the respondents’ opinions and recollections regarding the project, assuring them that all information they provided was anonymous and confidential and that all reported data would be de-identified.

Exhibit 6.3: Key Informant Interviews in Myanmar (Data Collection, Round 1)

Type and Number of Respondents	Location
3 ILO staff members	Yangon
3 World Vision staff members	Dagon Seikkan
1 AVSI staff member	Labutta Township
6 Village Committee leaders ³⁵	Dagon Seikkan Township
12 Village Committee leaders	Labutta Township

A second round of data collection was conducted in February 2018. Because this occurred at a later stage of implementation, the second site visit provided an opportunity to update the team’s understanding of participant and stakeholder perceptions of project implementation, outcomes, and potential processes linking services to outcomes gained during the first site visit.³⁶ Data

³⁴ IMPAQ teamed with M-CRIL Myanmar Ltd. for this data collection. The research team consisted of one IMPAQ staff member supported by two interviewers and one note taker from M-CRIL. One of the interviewers was bilingual (English and Burmese) and served as the interpreter for the evaluation staff during the interviews.

³⁵ Community committees are composed of community leaders and local residents and assist in My-PEC coordination.

³⁶ IMPAQ once more teamed with M-CRIL for the data collection, with the research team again consisting of one IMPAQ staff member supported by two interviewers (one bilingual in English and Burmese) and one note taker from M-CRIL. Where possible, we interviewed the same program staff members as in the first round. The same interview protocol was used in both rounds of interviews.

collection took place in Yangon, Dagon Seikkan, and Polaung Island in Labutta Township. As in the first site visit, interviews were conducted with implementers as well as with various community stakeholders. During the second data collection visit, the team conducted four focus group discussions in Dagon Seikkan with participants receiving various livelihoods services, including vocational training, start-up business training, and financial management training, and with VSLA members. We held four additional focus groups in Polaung Island, which included participants receiving improved agricultural productivity training, fisheries training, microfinance support, and business training/start-up kits. Exhibit 6.4 summarizes the key informant interviews and focus group discussions conducted during the second visit. Each focus group had about seven participants aged 18 and over, with a similar number of males and females.

Exhibit 6.4: Qualitative Data Collected in Myanmar (Round 2)

Data Source	Type of Respondent	Location
Key Informant Interviews	4 ILO staff	Yangon
	3 World Vision staff	Yangon
	3 AVSI staff	Yangon
	3 Local Government Authorities	Dagon Seikkan
	6 Community Committee Members	Dagon Seikkan
	6 Local Government Authorities	Polaung Island
	3 Community Committee Members	Polaung Island
Focus Group Discussions	1 Financial management training (Round 2) – 9 people	Dagon Seikkan
	1 Business start-up training (Round 2) – 10 people	Dagon Seikkan
	1 Skills training (Round 2) – 4 people	Dagon Seikkan
	1 VSLA (Round 2) – 7 people	Dagon Seikkan
	1 Business start-up training (Round 2) – 7 people	Polaung Island
	1 Agricultural training (Round 2) – 7 people	Polaung Island
	1 Fishing training (Round 2) – 7 people	Polaung Island
	1 VSLA (Round 2) – 5 people	Polaung Island

6.3. POVERTY AND CHILD LABOR IN MYANMAR

All participant focus groups as well as implementers and partners who were interviewed reported that poverty is among the main causes of child labor in Myanmar and that families rely on children to work in order to meet their basic needs. Compounding this, interviewees and focus group participants noted that children often work with their parents, and employers are eager to hire children. For example, one partner reported that many parents work as street vendors or laborers, which makes it easy to involve their children in the business. Stakeholders across seven interviews and participants in two focus groups in urban Dagon Seikkan also felt that in towns and villages that have garment factories or other manufacturing plants (e.g., vermicelli factories or wood

mills), the availability of job opportunities has deterred some children from remaining in school. The smaller villages were described as having few opportunities outside of agricultural work and for that reason, migration occurs to larger towns or cities, especially those that have some kind of manufacturing. Three implementers and local stakeholders and participants in two focus groups noted that in Dagon Seikkan, there was easy access to work in factories. As one stakeholder explained:

“The factories nearby entice parents to let their children earn whatever income can be added to the family. Though the factories cannot legally employ the children, if any inspector or visitor comes to the working areas, the children are hidden in a room.”

In all participant focus groups, participants felt that a consequence of poverty and lack of income is that parents are unable to afford education-related expenses, which leads school-age children to drop out and begin working. Though some school-age children were perceived to drop out because they or their parents believe it is more useful for them to work to contribute income to the household, other parents cannot afford to send their children to school, even if they are interested in doing so. As one participant explained:

“I have four children and my income is not able to cover all of their school expenses, they are in seventh, ninth, and tenth grade. Since I cannot put them in school, they become child laborers. There are many people like me in the village, and it is very difficult for them to let their children pursue schooling.”

In 18 interviews with implementers and partners conducted in round one and round two, similar challenges were mentioned. As one stakeholder reported:

“The government always says that school is free, but that does not mean that everything is free. There are many things that they still need. For example, notebooks, textbooks, school supplies, and uniforms cost lots of money. Also, NGOs provide access to primary school education, but not middle school.”

Eight of the implementers and partners interviewed during the round one and round two site visits also mentioned accessibility and safety concerns as barriers for parents wanting to support their children’s education. For example, in some rural villages, it was reported that students have to

travel long distances to attend secondary school, which requires parents to pay high accommodation costs so students can stay in the village where their school is located. Also, children may have to walk long distances after school to return home, which raises safety concerns for parents, especially regarding girls.

In addition to barriers related to cost, seven of the eight implementers and partners interviewed during round two data collection felt that some parents tolerated or encouraged their children's participation in child labor even if their income was sufficient to cover basic needs or send their children to school. Interviewees mentioned that child labor may occur in richer families as a result of cultural attitudes. Others noted that there is a common attitude that when children work, it prepares them for the work they will do as adults and promotes household responsibility. As noted by one stakeholder:

“Child labor is becoming a normal practice in the country. They do not think of it as a problem.”

Parental and cultural attitudes were not prominent themes among round one interviews or within the participant focus groups, suggesting that there may not be a shared understanding between the implementers and participants about the causes of child labor.

6.4 PROJECT SERVICES

To reduce child labor among participants, My-PEC provides livelihoods services, as described previously. Based on data collected by My-PEC, Exhibit 6.5 shows the services received by participant households, overall and in each township. All participants received at least one type of service. Overall, about 61.1 percent received one service, 32.1 percent received two services, and 6.7 percent received three services. As can be seen, many My-PEC services focus on reducing household poverty by facilitating entrepreneurship and investment in household businesses. As noted in Section 2, previous literature has suggested that these types of activities may increase opportunities for children to work inside or outside the home. Thus, while they may mitigate the effects of poverty, they may still increase child labor prevalence. See Appendix E for more information on project participants.

Exhibit 6.5: My-PEC Services Received by Participant Households

	All	Ye	Labutta	Dagon Seikkan
Participant Households	669	199	300	170
Services received				
Agricultural training only	69 (10.3%)	53 (26.6%)	16 (5.3%)	0 (0%)
Fisheries training only	156 (23.3%)	9 (4.5%)	147 (49.0%)	0 (0%)
Other training only	19 (2.8%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	19 (11.2%)
Microfinance support (MS) only	16 (2.4%)	16 (8.0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Entrepreneurship support and start-up kits (ES)	10 (1.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	10 (5.9%)
VSLA only	139 (20.8%)	39 (19.6%)	0 (0%)	100 (58.8%)
VSLA plus MS and/or ES	63 (9.4%)	22 (11.1%)	0 (0%)	41 (24.1%)
VSLA plus agricultural training	39 (5.8%)	39 (19.6%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Agricultural training plus MS and/or ES	137 (20.5%)	15 (7.5%)	122 (40.7%)	0 (0%)
VSLA plus fisheries training	21 (3.1%)	6 (3.0%)	15 (5.0%)	0 (0%)
Number of services received				
One service	409 (61.1%)	117 (58.8%)	163 (54.3%)	129 (75.9%)
Two services	215 (32.1%)	58 (29.2%)	116 (38.7%)	41 (24.1%)
Three services	45 (6.7%)	24 (12.1%)	21 (7.0%)	0 (0.0%)

Note: Reported is the number of participant households with sample proportion in parentheses.

Source: Project input data.

Because of geographic variation in the local economies, the services that participants received varied across implementation sites. In Ye, 53.8 percent of participant households received agricultural training. Of these, 26.6 percent received no other services, 19.6 percent also participated in VSLAs, and 7.5 percent also received MS and/or ES. About 7.5 percent of Ye participants received fisheries training (4.5 percent stand-alone and 3.0 percent in combination with other services). About half (53.3 percent) of all Ye participants participated in VSLAs, either stand-alone (19.6 percent) or in combination with training or other services (33.7 percent).

In coastal Labutta, 54.0 percent of participant households received fisheries training and 47.0 percent received agricultural training. Most of the Labutta households that received agricultural training also received microfinance and/or entrepreneurship support (40.7 percent). Moreover, about 5.0 percent of participant households in Labutta participated in VSLAs in combination with fisheries training.

In urban Dagon Seikkan, training was far less common. Here, only 11.2 percent of participants received training, primarily in the garment and sewing trades. However, the vast majority (82.9 percent) participated in VSLAs. A little less than a third (30.0 percent) of households received entrepreneurship support and start-up kits, with the majority of these (24.1 percent) also participating in VSLAs.

As reported in the key informant interviews and focus group discussions, a key challenge to project participation was travel and transportation from remote areas, particularly in Labutta Township. Many areas of Labutta Township are extremely remote, requiring long journeys by boat. In Labutta and other locations, the obstacles presented by travel logistics were insurmountable, as exemplified in the following comments by both participants and implementers:

“Another challenge is the transportation issue. To come to the trainings, our travel always depends on the tide.”

“I have not received any trainings as I cannot travel by car.”

“The main challenge during the project is travel issues for both the project team and the participants. Sometimes, the project team had to spend the night at the village due to bad weather conditions.”

6.5 PROJECT OUTCOMES

We used available quantitative and qualitative data to examine if project participation was correlated with income and savings and reduced likelihood of participating in child labor. In addition, the qualitative data were used to assess stakeholder and participant perceptions about whether and how project services are associated with these outcomes. Key findings related to the intermediate and final outcomes from the OCFT theory of change are identified in Box 6.1.

BOX 6.1: SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS, MYANMAR MY-PEC

Intermediate Outcomes

- No monitoring data on intermediate outcomes
- Participants felt that start-up capital and VSLAs helped them to improve their access to savings, invest in their businesses, reduce reliance on predatory lenders, and improve their income. They felt that this improved economic well-being and allowed them to send children to school.
- Participants reported that vocational training helped them increase their income (particularly agricultural training) but there were concerns that garment training did not meet employer needs
- Vocational trainings were believed to improve awareness of the hazards of child labor
- Participants were concerned that while they saw improvements in income from My-PEC, they were not sufficient to lift them out of poverty

Final Outcomes

- Child labor declined by 10.7 percentage points, from 65.3% at program intake to 54.6% six months after program enrollment
- Hazardous labor declined by 17.6 percentage points, from 61.7% at program intake to 44.1% six months after program enrollment
- Vocational training programs were associated with lower hazardous child labor prevalence than other services
- Entrepreneurship support was associated with higher child and hazardous child labor prevalence than other services

6.5.1. Intermediate Outcomes – Savings and Income

My-PEC collected outcomes data on the children in participant households approximately six months after these households started receiving services. The project did not collect outcome information on participant households' income and savings at the time of analysis, as this information will be collected in subsequent rounds of data collection. Therefore, to understand whether project participation was associated with improved household income and savings, we relied on qualitative information collected by team researchers in the field regarding the perceptions and experiences of interview respondents and focus group discussants.

Access to Capital. As noted previously, constraints in accessing capital and credit can result in households turning to child labor to mitigate the effects of economic shocks (Beegle 2013). In the qualitative data, limited access to capital was identified as a key economic constraint of My-PEC participants. In key informant interviews and participant focus group discussions, stakeholders and participants felt that project participants were constrained in increasing their income and savings because of a lack of access to credit at reasonable rates. Implementers and partners also believed that over-indebtedness is a key challenge for the My-PEC target population, and three of the implementers and partners interviewed felt that project services have helped participants to decrease their debt and their dependence on lenders that impose high interest rates.

To overcome limited access to capital, My-PEC provided participants with start-up capital to invest in their businesses. *In five participant focus groups, respondents felt that My-PEC start-up capital played an important role in allowing participants to invest in their businesses without accumulating large debts.* In particular, they reported that the start-up capital allowed them to have money available for investment in business activities, rather than needing to use all of their money to cover consumption and basic household needs. Participants in five of the focus groups also felt that the start-up capital allowed them to send their children to school, as illustrated by the following comments:

“If our business income just covers the household consumption, we won’t be able to provide the children education. Now with the 50,000 kyat from the project and with the existing working capital it is helpful to our children not to drop out from school.”

“I have a small workshop at home and I have invested the 50,000 kyat, which I received from the project. That is why I am able to send my daughter to an NFE [Non-Formal Education] program for 8 months.”

In addition, it was perceived that because of credit available through the project’s VSLAs, participants were able to avoid taking out loans with high interest rates—particularly from informal sources—to start their own business. As explained by one implementer:

“The program provided saving technical supports to these saving groups and saving boxes. They are eligible to take loan amounts equal to three times their savings, which makes them less dependent on the informal moneylenders with higher interest rates. The savings group interest rate is only 1 percent to 2 percent, which helps them to start doing business.”

Participants in five of the focus groups also felt that VSLA services helped them avoid paying high interest rates and becoming heavily indebted to other lenders. For example, here is how one participant explained the benefits of the My-PEC VSLA compared to the options available before the project:

“We learned things from the trainer to save at least 4,000 kyat monthly. And if my saving is 10,000 kyat, after two months I can take a 30,000-kyat loan from the savings group. I

used to take loans with a 20 percent interest rate from outside and now from this savings group, we are charged only 3 percent on our loans.”

One implementer noted that VSLAs tended to be most successful and self-sustaining when there were collaborative relationships among participants. In the absence of this collaboration, the VLSAs were vulnerable to breaking down. In describing this challenge, the implementer noted:

“The other two villages stopped ... because there is not cooperation among the group members.... The business planning and management training provided by the program aimed to manage the collected interest rate and invest in the business. But they [the two villages] found it very difficult to sustain when the project ends. The main challenge is lack of collaboration among the villagers.”

Similarly, in two of the participant focus groups, participants cited cooperation and collaboration as important components of the VSLA.

Money Management Training. My-PEC participants and implementers cited money management and business planning skills as important benefits of the project, supporting previous literature that suggests that money management training is associated with increases in revenue, profits, or employment (Valdivia 2011). *Participants and implementers believed that these trainings contributed to participants’ capacity to increase savings and generate income.* In three focus groups, participants reported that they gained these skills directly from the project and that they found them useful in practice:

“We have gained the awareness about the business and the importance of balancing income and expenditure to manage the family financing.”

“[The program helped us learn] how to categorize daily income into different expenses, how much income you have earned today [and] what you have purchased are to be recorded with the date in detail, so that you will get to know how much money you have received today and how much extra you can save from tomorrow.”

Three of the implementers interviewed also felt that the project led to positive changes in how participants manage their household and business finances, which helped them increase their

household income. Respondents believed that prior to the project, many participants were unaware of how to manage or allocate their income so that their children could attend school. Because of the financial management components, these implementers noted that VLISA participants were managing their income well and understood the benefit of using their savings to invest in their business and in their children's education.

Vocational Training. Participants across all focus groups with training recipients believed that the vocational training provided by My-PEC for both adults and youth has improved their capacity to earn additional income. Participants felt that, as a result of the training they received, they were able to obtain better-paying jobs in the project's focus occupations. Participants in two focus groups in Dagon Seikkan noted that they appreciated the training for youth, which provided them with access to a national registration card, allowing them to work in certain jobs in factories. In other cases, participants felt that they benefited from the certificate provided through My-PEC training because it gave them additional legitimacy and credibility when looking for employment.

Across all focus groups with trainees, participants not only felt that the training helped them find new jobs but that it also resulted in greater income in their current work. In particular, those who received agricultural training believed that the training helped them increase production through better practices. Below are two typical responses from participants:

“They suggested growing paddy on an acre of land by providing sample paddy seeds and two types of fertilizers. I have used only one fertilizer because the soil is already good enough and the harvest has increased from 80 to 120 baskets an acre.”

“I used to harvest the vegetables every four days and the harvest amount was very low. They suggested harvesting every seven days and, with the proper use of natural pesticides, the harvest amount has significantly increased.”

Participants in two focus groups in Labutta and local stakeholders perceived direct ties between these types of changes in production, increased household income, and participants' ability to care for the needs of their children. In particular, participants reported savings in labor and other costs, which they felt helped them support their children and afford the costs of education.

Implementers and partners generally held positive views about the value of the vocational training as well, and thought that the trainings provide a long-term solution to poverty and a lack of income. In four of the interviews, implementers reported a belief that many participants were able to find employment, earn better incomes, and advance their careers as a result of the vocational training.

However, participants, implementers, and local stakeholders also pointed out a number of perceived challenges. There was concern that upon completion of training, participants did not have access to the types of resources needed to translate what they had learned into increased income. For example, implementers cited the need to provide tool kits after the sewing and garment training so that youth who are legally old enough to work could begin working in the industry for which they were trained. They believed that because of delays in getting these tool kits, youth begin working in different industries or forget their training because they are not putting it to use. As one implementer noted:

“After the trainings, we requested that the trainers give us a list of tool kits to be provided to children, and the children also thought that they would be provided with the tool kits just after the trainings, but they have not yet been provided. They [the children] have started working [to contribute to] the family income. If the children were provided with the kits after the trainings, they would be able to start using them and generate more income.”

Respondents also expressed a concern that the sewing and garment trainings were insufficient for meeting employers’ needs, thereby limiting their ability to help participants generate additional income. Participants in one of the focus groups felt that the 15-day duration of the training was not enough time to learn the skills they needed and left them inadequately prepared to find well-paid work.

“Some children have started joining the factories [after the trainings] ... and their parents said these children are still getting less payment because the duration of the training is very short and they did not learn properly during the trainings.”

“15 days is very short for a child to learn to work professionally. She is still not able to compete with others. Since our children are not qualified, none of the employers will pay them a decent amount.”

Despite the feeling that these trainings may not have substantially raised participants’ incomes, two implementers and participants in a focus group believed that they resulted in safer working conditions for children, as reflected in the following comment:

“The reason children are getting less payment is that... they are considered as just helpers at the factory. Anyway, in my opinion, they are safer than when they used to do things on the streets or casual jobs in hazardous working conditions.”

While participants in all of the focus groups felt that My-PEC had helped raise their incomes, there was also discussion that any increases in income were insufficient for raising their families out of poverty. While these participants felt that the project may help them in the long-term, there were concerns that it cannot solve the financial issues that they face right now.

6.5.2. Final Outcomes – Child Labor

My-PEC collected outcomes data at six months after project enrollment from 1,002 children in 528 participant households during our study period.³⁷ These data include information necessary to measure key child labor indicators at the household and at the child levels. This section presents descriptive analyses of child labor indicators at the time of project enrollment (based on project intake data) and at six months after project enrollment (based on project outcomes data). Moreover, linear regression models are estimated to assess the extent to which the prevalence of child labor after project enrollment is correlated with the types of project services received and participant household and child characteristics.

³⁷ Note that the characteristics of the 492 participant households in the program outcomes data were generally similar to the characteristics of all 669 participant households (see Appendix D, Exhibit D.2). Similarly, the characteristics of the 932 participant children in the program outcomes data were similar to the characteristics of all 1,284 participant children (see Appendix D, Exhibit D.3). This suggests that child labor indicators based on program outcomes data are representative of the indicators for the entire participant population.

Project outcomes data were used to measure the following household-level child labor indicators at six months after project enrollment:

- *Engagement in child labor (international definition)*³⁸ – whether the household had at least one child engaged in child labor based on the international child labor definition;
- *Engagement in child labor (My-PEC project definition)*³⁹ – whether the household had at least one child engaged in child labor based on the My-PEC project definition; and
- *Engagement in hazardous child labor* – whether the household had at least one child engaged in a hazardous work activity in the previous six months.

Descriptive Analyses. At the household level, My-PEC participants experienced significant reductions in child labor based on both the international and My-PEC definitions after program enrollment. They also experienced significant reductions in hazardous child labor. Exhibit 6.6 compares the child labor indicators of participant households at six months after project enrollment (based on project outcomes data)⁴⁰ with the child labor indicators of participant households at project enrollment (based on project intake data). The right-hand column reports t-test differences. Note that because of missing values in the project outcomes data, the three indicators could not be calculated for all 492 participant households.⁴¹ Similarly, missing values in the project intake data did not permit the measurement of indicators at project enrollment for all participant households.⁴²

³⁸ Following international standards established by the ILO, a child is engaged in child labor if he/she either is: (i) under the age of 18 and engaged in any hazardous work, or (ii) under the age of 15 and engaged in any form of economic activity (paid or unpaid).

³⁹ According to the ILO definition for the My-PEC program, child labor is defined as follows: (1) children 5-11 years old engaged in an economic activity for more than one hour a week; (2) children 12-13 years old engaged in household work with economic value for more than four hours a day or 24 hours per week, or in work between 6 p.m. to 6 a.m., or in one hour of any hazardous work activity; (3) children 14-15 years old engaged in economic activity for more than four hours a day or 24 hours per week, in work between 6 p.m. to 6 a.m., in work for one hour in any hazardous work activity; and (4) adolescents 16–17 years old engaged in economic activity for more than 44 hours per week, in work between 6 p.m. to 6 a.m., or work for one hour in any hazardous work activity.

⁴⁰ Note that the child labor indicators at six months after program enrollment were calculated based on the children’s age at the time of collection of the program outcomes data.

⁴¹ Based on program outcomes data, household-level child labor (international definition) was measured for 430 participant households, the household-level child labor (My-PEC definition) for 467 participant households, and household-level hazardous child labor for 261 participant households.

⁴² Based on program intake data, household-level child labor (international definition) at program enrollment was measured for 491 participant households; household-level child labor (My-PEC program definition) at program enrollment was measured for 476 participant households, and household-level hazardous child labor at program enrollment was measured for 370 participant households.

Exhibit 6.6: Changes in Participant Household-Level Child Labor Indicators

	At 6 months after project enrollment	At project enrollment	Difference
Participant Households	492	492	
Child labor engagement (international definition)	N = 430	N = 491	
Yes	295 (68.6%)	385 (78.4%)	-.098 [.001]***
No	135 (31.4%)	106 (21.6%)	.098 [.001]***
Child labor engagement (My-PEC project def.)	N = 467	N = 476	
Yes	302 (64.7%)	367 (77.1%)	-.124 [.000]***
No	165 (35.3%)	109 (22.9%)	.124 [.000]***
Household-level hazardous child labor	N = 261	N = 370	
Yes	111 (42.5%)	235 (63.5%)	-.210 [.000]***
No	150 (57.5%)	135 (36.5%)	.210 [.000]***

Note: Reported is the number of participant households with sample proportion in parentheses. Right column reports *t*-test differences, with the *p*-value in brackets. ***, **, * = change is statistically significant at the 1, 5, 10 percent level.

Source: Project intake data (at project enrollment) and project outcomes data (at six months after project enrollment).

Based on the international definition, about 68.6 percent of participant households had a child engaged in child labor six months after project enrollment, this represents a decrease of 9.8 percentage points from the time of enrollment. Similar findings were obtained using the My-PEC project definition of child labor, showing a reduction of 12.4 percentage points, from 77.1 percent at project enrollment to 64.7 percent at six months after project enrollment. There was an even larger reduction in hazardous child labor in participant households (21.0 percentage points). All of these reductions were statistically significant at the 1 percent level.

Using project data, we measured the same three child labor indicators at the child level.⁴³ Exhibit 6.7 shows that at the child level, My-PEC participants experienced significant reductions in child labor based on both the international and My-PEC definitions. They also experienced significant reductions in hazardous child labor.

⁴³ The post-program indicators were constructed using the same questions used to construct pre-program indicators based on the program intake data; see footnote in Appendix E for a list of questions.

Exhibit 6.7: Changes in Participant Child-Level Child Labor Indicators

	At 6 months after project enrollment	At project enrollment	Difference
Total Participant Children	932	932	
Child-level child labor (international definition)	n = 742	n = 928	
Yes	405 (54.6%)	606 (65.3%)	-.107 [.000]***
No	337 (45.4%)	322 (34.7%)	.107 [.000]***
Child-level child labor (My-PEC project def.)	n = 889	n = 903	
Yes	392 (44.1%)	557 (61.7%)	-.176 [.000]***
No	497 (55.9%)	346 (38.3%)	.176 [.000]***
Child-level hazardous child labor	n = 574	n = 690	
Yes	129 (22.5%)	278 (40.3%)	-.178 [.000]***
No	445 (77.5%)	412 (59.7%)	.178 [.000]***

Note: Reported is the number of participant children with sample proportions in parentheses. The right-hand column reports *t*-test differences, with the *p*-value in brackets. ***, **, * = change is statistically significant at the 1, 5, 10 percent level.
 Source: Project intake data (at project enrollment) and project outcomes data (at six months after project enrollment).

According to the international definition, 54.6 percent of children were engaged in child labor at six months after project enrollment, representing a significant reduction of 10.7 percentage points compared to the value at project enrollment (65.3 percent). Using the My-PEC definition of child labor, the reduction was even greater, with 44.1 percent of participant children being in child labor six months after project enrollment, compared with 61.7 percent at project enrollment, a reduction of 17.6 percentage points. Hazardous child labor also showed a significant decline. About 40.3 percent of children reported engagement in hazardous labor at project enrollment, but only 22.5 percent at six months after project enrollment, a decrease of 17.8 percentage points. All of these declines were statistically significant at the 1 percent level.

Multivariate Regression Analyses. The analyses discussed above indicate that the prevalence of child labor among participant households declined significantly after project participation. To examine whether child labor outcomes at six months after project enrollment were correlated with the types of My-PEC services received by participant households and characteristics, we used multivariate linear regression models that estimated household-level child labor indicators based on observed household characteristics and services received. Similarly, we estimated child-level indicators based on household characteristics, child characteristics, and services received (see models (1) and (2) in Appendix B for a technical discussion).

Because many project participants received more than one My-PEC service, with some receiving

up to three, our analyses considered 10 combinations of services received: (1) VSLA services only; (2) agricultural training only; (3) fisheries training only; (4) other skills training only; (5) microfinance support (MS) only; (6) entrepreneurship support and start-up kits (ES) only; (7) VSLA plus MS and/or ES; (8) VSLA plus agricultural training; (9) agricultural training plus MS and/or ES; and (10) VSLA plus fisheries training. Throughout the regression analyses, VSLA only is the reference (baseline) category.

Based on previous literature, we anticipated that those services that provide resources for investing in family enterprises would be associated with no changes in or higher prevalence of child labor (see Section 2). In the context of My-PEC, these include MS, ES, and to a lesser extent, VSLA and vocational training. We found general support for this literature. Specifically, vocational trainings and VSLA services tended to be associated with lower child labor prevalence than ES services. However, this evidence varied depending on the measure of child labor used as well as the specific type and combination of services received.

Household-level outcomes. Exhibit 6.8 presents the regression results for household-level outcomes. These findings are summarized in Box 6.2. Using the *international definition* of child labor, we found no evidence that post-enrollment child labor prevalence was correlated with services received.

BOX 6.2: SUMMARY OF KEY HOUSEHOLD-LEVEL FINAL OUTCOMES

- ES was associated with higher child labor (*My-PEC definition*) and hazardous child labor prevalence than other services.
- Hazardous child labor prevalence was lowest among households receiving agricultural and fisheries training.
- There were no significant differences in child labor prevalence between households participating in VSLAs alone and those receiving vocational training services.

However, using the *My-PEC* definition, *our household-level findings suggest that entrepreneurship support was associated with significantly higher child labor (My-PEC definition) and hazardous child labor prevalence post-enrollment than other services.*⁴⁴ In particular, households that received ES services, either alone or in combination with VSLA and MS services, were 24.1 and 16.7 percentage points less likely to have children engaged in child labor (*My-PEC definition*) than those that participated in VSLAs alone. ES services were also associated with a significantly higher prevalence of hazardous child labor than VSLAs alone (43.6

⁴⁴ Although the number of households receiving only ES services is relatively small.

percentage points higher).

Post-enrollment hazardous child labor prevalence was significantly lower among households receiving agricultural and fisheries training services than those receiving other services (48.7 and 39.7 percentage points lower than VSLA only, respectively), including when agricultural training was combined with MS and/or ES and fisheries training was combined with VSLA (40.2 and 36.8 percentage points lower than VSLA only, respectively). Using the My-PEC definition, we also found no significant differences in child labor prevalence between participation in VSLAs only and vocational training services.

Exhibit 6.8: Regression Results, Household-Level Child Labor Outcomes

Household-level Outcomes	Child Labor (international def.)	Child Labor (My-PEC project def.)	Hazardous Child Labor
Services Received			
VSLA only	–	–	–
Agricultural training only	-.017 (.133)	.167 (.136)	-.487 (.225)**
Fisheries training only	-.094 (.117)	.121 (.088)	-.397 (.203)*
Other skills training only	-.026 (.127)	-.174 (.127)	.076 (.220)
Microfinance support (MS) only	-.007 (.077)	.141 (.134)	.015 (.328)
Entrepr. support & start-up kits (ES)	.228 (.153)	.241 (.105)**	.436 (.257)*
VSLA plus MS and/or ES	.000 (.075)	.167 (.079)**	-.031 (.133)
VSLA plus agricultural training	.140 (.107)	.085 (.093)	.206 (.281)
Agric. training plus MS and/or ES	-.100 (.117)	-.017 (.098)	-.402 (.213)*
VSLA plus fisheries training	-.146 (.124)	.196 (.134)	-.368 (.212)*
Household Characteristics			
Household Size			
1-2 members	–	–	–
3-4 members	-.076 (.041)*	-.049 (.061)	-.272 (.101)***
5-6 members	-.173 (.052)***	-.164 (.064)**	-.350 (.104)***
7 or more members	.034 (.177)	-.189 (.187)	-.621 (.185)***
Household head: Gender			
Male	-.032 (.051)	-.006 (.069)	-.084 (.102)
Female	–	–	–
Missing	.056 (.244)**	N/A	-.555 (.472)
Household head: Age			
18-24 years old	–	–	–
25-34 years old	.390 (.136)***	.518 (.237)**	-.571 (.235)**
35-44 years old	.249 (.130)*	.393 (.228)*	-.603 (.208)***
45-54 years old	.221 (.130)*	.351 (.229)	-.725 (.208)***
55-64 years old	.230 (.137)*	.329 (.231)	-.560 (.205)***
> 65 years old	.107 (.146)	.393 (.242)	-.718 (.241)***
Household head: Education			
Primary or less	–	–	–
Middle school	-.021 (.047)	-.167 (.054)***	.064 (.078)
High school	-.053 (.078)	-.114 (.100)	.007 (.150)
Missing	-.057 (.110)	-.199 (.118)*	.165 (.184)
Township			
Ye	.497 (.072)***	.327 (.064)***	.337 (.135)**

Household-level Outcomes	Child Labor (international def.)	Child Labor (My-PEC project def.)	Hazardous Child Labor
Labutta	.552 (.134)***	-.044 (.109)	.350 (.221)
Dagon Seikkan	–	–	–
Monthly household income			
Less than 200,000 kyats	–	–	–
200,001 – 400,000 kyats	-.109 (.069)	-.030 (.078)	.027 (.151)
More than 400,000	-.008 (.123)	-.003 (.170)	-.058 (.322)
Missing	-.155 (.069)**	-.006 (.092)	-.013 (.106)
Received non-My-PEC services			
Yes	-.037 (.041)	-.057 (.059)	-.219 (.084)**
No	–	–	–
Missing	.000 (.076)	-.021 (.100)	N/A
Engaged in child labor/hazardous child labor at intake			
Yes	.313 (.053)***	.295 (.054)***	.197 (.075)***
No	--	--	--
Constant	-.047 (.153)	-.075 (.265)	1.356 (.273)***
<i>Observations</i>	430	467	261
<i>R-squared</i>	.52	.24	.23

Note: Reported are estimated parameters with standard errors in parentheses. Fixed effects for main source of income and house material are included but not reported. ***, **, * = change is statistically significant at the 1, 5, 10 percent level. – = baseline category. N/A = no missing values or omitted due to multicollinearity.

Child-level outcomes. Our child-level analyses found more limited variation in child labor prevalence across service types, as shown in Exhibit 6.9 and summarized in Box 6.3. *Specifically, only other skills training was associated with significantly*

BOX 6.3: SUMMARY OF KEY CHILD-LEVEL FINAL OUTCOMES

- Only other skills training was associated with significantly lower child labor prevalence (*My-PEC definition*) than other services.
- Agricultural and fisheries training were associated with significantly lower hazardous child labor prevalence than other services.

lower child labor prevalence (My-PEC definition)⁴⁵ than VSLA participation alone (18.6 percentage points lower).⁴⁶ However, agricultural and fisheries training were associated with lower rates of hazardous child labor than other services. For agricultural training, this applied even in combination with MS and/or ES. Compared with households that received VSLA only (reference category), hazardous child labor rates were: 51.1 percentage points lower for children in households that received agriculture training only; 35.9 percentage points lower for children in household that received fisheries training only; 38.8 percentage points lower for children in

⁴⁵ Note that results by age and education are different for the international child labor definition rather than for the My-PEC program definition. The reason is that many children in the 14–15 and 16–17 age categories are not in child labor based on the international definition but are in child labor based on the My-PEC program definition.

⁴⁶ There is no significant variation in child labor prevalence across services using the international definition of child labor.

households that received agricultural training plus MS and/or ES; and 29.7 percentage points lower for children in households that received VSLA plus fisheries training. Unlike the household-level measurement, when measured at the child level, there was no significant correlation between ES alone and increased child or hazardous labor.

Exhibit 6.9: Regression Results, Child-Level Child Labor Outcomes

Child-Level Outcomes	Child Labor (International def.)	Child Labor (My-PEC def.)	Hazardous Child Labor
Services Received			
VSLA only	–	–	–
Agricultural training only	-.093 (.113)	-.064 (.093)	-.511 (.138)***
Fisheries training only	-.094 (.090)	.070 (.066)	-.359 (.137)***
Other skills training only	-.001 (.090)	-.186 (.077)*	-.032 (.148)
Microfinance support (MS) only	.067 (.115)	.045 (.103)	-.241 (.191)
Entrepr. support & start-up kits (ES)	.039 (.121)	.095 (.125)	.214 (.221)
VSLA plus MS and/or ES	.025 (.055)	.085 (.056)	-.003 (.085)
VSLA plus agricultural training	.144 (.086)*	-.025 (.106)	.222 (.191)
Agric. training plus MS and/or ES	-.133 (.094)	-.029 (.072)	-.388 (.139)***
VSLA plus fisheries training	-.055 (.108)	.063 (.105)	-.297 (.158)*
Children Characteristics			
Male	.019 (.028)	.069 (.030)**	.100 (.037)***
Female	–	–	–
Age			
5 to 11 years old	–	–	–
12 to 13 years old	.068 (.040)*	.179 (.047)***	.160 (.054)***
14 to 15 years old	-.326 (.055)***	.286 (.056)***	.107 (.066)
16 to 17 years old	-.321 (.063)***	.228 (.067)***	.187 (.073)**
Education			
Primary or less	–	–	–
Middle school	-.065 (.042)	-.157 (.045)***	-.084 (.057)
High school	-.010 (.091)	-.211 (.099)**	-.097 (.117)
Missing	-.538 (.094)***	-.915 (.094)***	-.386 (.114)***
Currently Attending School			
Yes	–	–	–
No	.586 (.083)***	1.036 (.083)***	.310 (.102)***
Missing	N/A	.104 (.190)	N/A
Township			
Ye	.532 (.065)***	.652 (.052)***	.409 (.110)***
Labutta	.569 (.100)***	.032 (.080)	.425 (.146)***
Dagon Seikkan	–	–	–
Engaged in child labor/hazardous child labor at intake			
Yes	.646 (.075)***	-.185 (.104)*	--
No	.447 (.080)***	-.402 (.103)***	-.048 (.041)
Missing	--	--	-.074 (.061)
Constant	-.442 (.172)***	.335 (.221)	.620 (.387)
<i>Observations</i>	740	888	572
<i>R-squared</i>	.51	.31	.16

Note: Reported are the estimated parameters with standard errors in parentheses. Also included but not reported are fixed effects for household characteristics (household size; household head gender, age, and education; main source of income; monthly household income; received non-My-PEC services; and house material). ***, **, * = change is statistically significant at the 1, 5, 10 percent level. – = baseline category.

Qualitative Analyses. As shown in Exhibit 6.9, participation in child labor (international definition) was 58.6 percentage points lower among children enrolled in school. Participants in all of the focus group discussions believed that My-PEC services were an important factor contributing to their capacity to afford school and education-related expenses and allowing families to prioritize schooling over work. Participants also believed that with the support of the project, their households experienced an increase in earnings, helping them cover educational costs and mitigate reductions in household income because the child was not working. They felt that subsequently, My-PEC communities have seen an increase in school attendance because (1) more children were able to enroll in school, (2) children were more likely to regularly attend classes, and (3) there has been a reduction in school dropouts.

While participants linked increased income to increased school attendance, awareness of labor rights and practices was also believed to be an important factor in increasing school attendance. Adult participants in seven focus group discussions described changes in their attitudes towards schooling and work as an important contribution of the project. They reported that, because of My-PEC, they understand the importance of their children attending school instead of working to contribute to family finances.

Although participants felt that increases in income were associated with increased school attendance and a reduction in child labor, implementers tended to be more doubtful. Some implementers believed that rising income plays a role in reducing child labor but one was more skeptical that higher income would reduce child labor, believing that for some families, the income barriers to education may not be immediately surmountable as a result of My-PEC services. As noted previously, participants noted that high-interest debt is a challenge and as one stakeholder noted:

“Children were provided school supplies at the beginning of the school year and since the families are over-indebted, they sell the supplies in the market instead of giving them to their kids.”

Moreover, in remote areas such as Polaung, implementers believed that transportation remains a substantial barrier to education, with children having to travel long distances and potentially pay for lodging in the villages where the schools are located. It was believed that for some, these

additional costs could not be met even with the additional income. Overall, there was no clear consensus among implementers about the contribution of household income or increased awareness of the value of education to the likelihood of children engaging in child labor.

As previously discussed in the context of forced labor in Brazil, in Myanmar the qualitative data suggest that awareness of the dangers of child labor was perceived to be a key component in reducing participation in child labor, particularly hazardous work. Participants in four focus groups reported that since enrolling in the project, they have stopped allowing their children to work in hazardous conditions. For example, participants commented:

“Before the project I used to send my son to work easily, but now I have the awareness and I will go out and work instead of my son working.”

“My son used to work at a boiler in a wood factory. After receiving training from the project, I am aware of the hazardous environment he is experiencing and he no longer works there.”

As noted in Section 2, women’s engagement in decisions about the allocation of household resources can be a key factor in mitigating child labor. In Myanmar, we examined whether the services offered by the project shifted influence in household decision-making to women, who may be more likely than men to invest resources in savings and their children’s education, thereby reducing child labor participation. In 11 of the interviews with implementers and partners across the two site visits, stakeholders expressed mixed views about the role of women in decision-making and intra-household bargaining dynamics. Six project stakeholders said that women are likely to be involved in decision-making within the household, with many women being in charge of money management, while others felt that men are the primary decision makers and that women have limited bargaining power regarding employment and money management decisions. None of the partners or implementers interviewed during the second site visit, after livelihood services were implemented, believed that the project had changed intra-household bargaining in a way that influenced decisions to engage children in child labor.

6.6 SUMMARY

ILO supported the implementation of My-PEC in Myanmar to provide a wide range of vocational training, entrepreneurship support, and VSLA services to households with children involved in or at risk of being involved in child labor. Based on the project's theory of change, services are expected to help participant households improve their employment situation and increase their economic resources through increased income and savings, with the ultimate goal of reducing the likelihood that children in participant households will engage in child labor.

Those who participated in My-PEC generally felt that project services provided necessary capital to invest in their businesses and the skills necessary to secure higher paid work. Participants believed that increased savings and income from My-PEC helped them to secure the money needed to support their families and send their children to school. However, there were concerns that some services were insufficient to generate substantial increases in income. For example, in some cases, participants did not receive start-up kits that allowed them to translate their training into work, which they felt prevented them from fully capitalizing on the training they received. Additionally, participants voiced concerns that the sewing and garment training offered by My-PEC was insufficient to develop the skills necessary to earn a decent income.

Analyses of project monitoring data showed that participant households and their children experienced a significant decline in child labor after project enrollment. In particular, the proportion of participant children engaged in child labor (*international definition*) declined from two-thirds at the time of project enrollment to a little more than half at six months after project enrollment. Similarly, using the *My-PEC project definition*, child labor declined from about 62 percent at project enrollment to about 44 percent at six months after enrollment. In addition, the proportion of children engaged in hazardous labor declined significantly, from about 40 percent at project enrollment to about 23 percent at six months after project enrollment.

In general, child labor and hazardous child labor prevalence was correlated with the types of services received. Specifically, post-intervention, entrepreneurship support was associated with higher child labor (household measure using the My-PEC definition) and hazardous child labor prevalence (household measure) than other livelihoods strategies, such as vocational trainings and VSLAs. This provides some alignment with previous literature suggesting that entrepreneurship

services sometimes result in unchanged or higher child labor prevalence because these services create additional opportunities for children to work. Additionally, vocational training services were associated with significantly lower prevalence of hazardous child labor (child measure) compared to other services. Our qualitative data did not suggest that changes in women’s household bargaining power influence decisions about child and hazardous labor. However, participants’ awareness of the dangers of engagement in these practices may have played a mitigating role. Specifically, participants reported that project participation changed their understanding of the roles of work and education for children and resulted in diverting children’s time from work to school. These findings are summarized in relation to each of the study’s key research questions in Exhibit 6.10.

Exhibit 6.10: Research Questions and My-PEC Findings

Research Questions	Summary	Evidence
Q1. Does the evidence support the OCFT theory of change, namely, that the provision of livelihoods services improves the intermediate outcomes of vulnerable households, such as household income and savings, and, ultimately, reduces child labor and/or forced labor?	Support	Quant. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> No monitoring data available for intermediate outcomes. Significant declines in child and hazardous labor measured at both the child and household level.
		Qual. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> My-PEC services were believed to contribute to participants’ capacity to afford school and education-related expenses and allow families to prioritize children’s schooling over work. Participants were concerned that while they saw improvements in income from My-PEC, they were not sufficient to lift them out of poverty.
Q2. What types of livelihoods services appear to be more effective in reducing the prevalence of child labor or forced labor?	Vocational training projects were associated with lower child labor and hazardous child labor prevalence	Quant. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Vocational training projects were associated with lower hazardous child labor prevalence post-enrollment than other services. Entrepreneurship support was associated with higher child and hazardous child labor prevalence post-enrollment than other services.
		Qual. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Perception that start-up capital and VSLAs helped improve access to savings, invest in businesses, reduce reliance on predatory lenders, and improve income to send children to school. Participants reported that vocational training helped them increase their income (particularly agricultural training) but there were concerns that garment training did not meet employer needs. Vocational trainings were believed to improve awareness of the hazards of child labor. Awareness of labor rights and practices was believed to be an important factor in increasing school attendance.

7. RWANDA

7.1 PROJECT DESCRIPTION

In September 2013, OCFT awarded a four-year cooperative agreement to Winrock International to implement the *Rwanda Education Alternatives for Children in Tea-Growing Areas (REACH-T)* project. The project's objectives included increased school attendance among participant children, increased enforcement of child labor laws in the tea sector, and inclusion of child labor issues in Government of Rwanda policies and private sector action plans. The project's objectives related to livelihoods included increased income streams in participant households and increased opportunities for safe employment for participant children of legal working age (16–17 years).

One of the key project objectives was to provide livelihoods services to households with children involved in or at risk for child labor. The project's theory of change holds that through the provision of savings interventions and educational support and training, households will be less reliant on income generated through child labor, thereby reducing the prevalence of child labor as posited in the OCFT theory of change. REACH-T services were implemented by Winrock and three Rwandan subcontractors: Duterimbere, Fédération Rwandaise des Coopératives de Théiculteurs (FERWACOTHE), and Action Pour le Développement du Peuple (ADEPE).

REACH-T provided two primary types of livelihoods services to participant households: VSLA services and education and vocational training projects. In addition to providing a framework for building savings, VSLAs were intended to provide participants with training and kits to teach them about credit, borrowing, and managing finances. The REACH-T VSLAs, which established a one-year savings and borrowing project aimed at making a specific income-generating purchase or investment, were supported by community members who had received special training in how to run a VSLA, known as Mother Trainers. These Mother Trainers were initially paid a small amount from the grant and many continued their work past the end of the grant on a volunteer basis. The expectation was that VSLA participation would help participant households to improve their economic well-being and their ability to provide for their children's basic needs and education, thereby mitigating the need for child labor.

REACH-T also provided participant children with linkages to education and training projects. The project offered youth the opportunity to enroll in the Conditional Scholarship Support (CSS) project, which provided vocational training, primarily in knitting and sewing. This project targeted girls aged 16–17 years. In addition, the Model Farm School (MFS) project provided training in farming, vegetable growing, animal husbandry, and vocational training in skills such as carpentry and welding. The Model Farm School project was available to boys and girls aged 16–17 years. An important livelihoods service was the provision of tools and materials that the youth enrolled in Conditional Scholarship Support or Model Farm School training could use to start a business based on their training. Sewing machines, carpentry tools, and the like provided these youth with vital support in generating income for themselves and their families through non-hazardous work. It was anticipated that vocational training would assist youth approaching legal working age to have access to good employment opportunities rather than having to work under hazardous conditions.

In January 2015, 16 months after grant award, provision of direct services by the subcontracted service providers began. In its early stages, implementation of the REACH-T grant proceeded as planned, with few major delays in the provision of livelihoods services. However, the project soon began to experience financial problems, and by September 2016 had canceled all three of its service provision subcontracts. Grantee staff, with the assistance of a consultant from Duterimbere, continued to provide REACH-T services for another six months. However, ongoing budget and administrative problems resulted in project services ending in March 2017, six months before the planned closeout date. As a result, some promised trainings and services were not delivered as planned. For example, while it was planned that individual start-up kits would be provided to each Model Farm School participant, due to budget constraints, each kit was instead distributed to a group of several students.

7.2 DATA SOURCES

To assess the extent to which outcomes associated with the REACH-T project reflect the OCFT theory of change, we relied on project monitoring data collected by the project on participants' characteristics, services received, and economic and child labor outcomes, and on qualitative data collected by IMPAQ on-site. These data sources are described below.

7.2.1. Quantitative Data

As noted in Section 3, we used project monitoring data provided by Winrock to assess the services provided by REACH-T and relevant participant outcomes. Exhibit 7.1 describes the project data that were made available for this study. Exhibit 7.2 lists the project’s monitoring indicators and whether the information required to measure these indicators was observed in the data.

Exhibit 7.1: Monitoring Data Available for REACH-T

Data	Description
Project Intake Data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Include 2,958 participant households and their 4,182 children that started receiving project services from January through December 2015 ▪ Provide information on household characteristics (district of residence, marital status, household head’s education and employment status, and household size) and children’s characteristics (gender, age, health status, education, and school enrollment status) ▪ Identify whether children were engaged in hazardous labor at the time of project enrollment
Project Input Data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Provide information on services received by participant children, including whether they: (1) received education support to complete primary school; (2) received education support to complete secondary school, (3) enrolled in the Model Farm School project; and (4) enrolled in the Conditional Scholarship Support project ▪ Reported services received by adult members of participant households; however, information was missing for more than 80 percent of cases, so it was not used in the analyses
Project Outcomes Data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Provide information on the outcomes of participant households and their children for up to 30 months after project enrollment ▪ Based on the timing of the data collection (i.e., the number of months between project enrollment and the time the data was collected), the outcomes data are organized as follows: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Round 1:</i> 1–6 months after project enrollment (96 households and 1,278 children) ▪ <i>Round 2:</i> 7–12 months after project enrollment (679 households and 2,317 children) ▪ <i>Round 3:</i> 13–18 months after project enrollment (2,183 households and 2,481 children) ▪ <i>Round 4:</i> 19–24 months after project enrollment (1,962 households and 978 children) ▪ <i>Round 5:</i> 25–30 months after project enrollment (1,275 households and 1,888 children). ▪ Provide information about participant households’ living conditions and savings ▪ Report outcomes for participant children, including the number of days they were enrolled in school/training, whether they missed days of school, the number of days missed, and the reason for missing school ▪ Do not provide direct information about whether children were engaged in child or hazardous labor. In lieu of this information, we report on whether children missed school because they were involved in paid work.

Exhibit 7.2: REACH-T Project Monitoring Indicators

Measure	Availability	Data Sources
Inputs		
L1: Individuals receiving economic strengthening services	Available; many missing values	Project Input Data
L2: Adults receiving employment services	Available; many missing values	Project Input Data
L3: Children receiving employment services	✓	Project Input Data
L4: Adults receiving economic strengthening services	Available; many missing values	Project Input Data
L5: Adults receiving services other than employment and economic strengthening	Available; many missing values	Project Input Data
E4: Children receiving vocational training services	✓	Project Input Data
Intermediate Outcomes		
IO2.3.2a: Participant households that report an increase in assets	✓	Project Outcomes Data (five rounds, up to 30 months after project enrollment)
IO3.4: Participant households that report an increase in savings	✓	
IO4.2.2a: Participant children receiving support to access technical, vocational education & training (TVET)	✓	
IO4.2.2b: Participant children enrolled in Reach-T's Model Farm School	✓	
Final Outcomes		
POC 2: Participant children engaged in hazardous child labor	Not available; data report whether children missed school because of paid work	Project Outcomes Data (five rounds, up to 30 months after project enrollment)

7.2.2. Qualitative Data

In-person qualitative data collection in Rwanda took place in March 2018. Because of delays in approval of the research by the Government of Rwanda, the data collection took place more than a year after Winrock stopped providing services. Therefore, the qualitative information may be subject to recall bias. Under the direction of IMPAQ's data collection lead, the data collection subcontractor, Incisive Africa, conducted key informant interviews and focus group discussions with participants in the capital, Kigali, and in the tea-growing districts of Gicumbi and Rubavu. The team selected these locations to ensure that the interviewers were able to speak with participants who received various types of services in both urban and rural sites.⁴⁷ Exhibit 7.3 summarizes the types of respondents and the location of the key informant interviews and focus group discussions. In the interviews and focus group discussions, we gathered information on the

⁴⁷ With a few exceptions, the team conducted all the interviews and focus group discussions in Kinyarwanda.

respondents’ opinions and recollections regarding the project, assuring them that all information they provided was anonymous and confidential and that all reported data would be de-identified.

Exhibit 7.3: Qualitative Data Collected in Rwanda

Type of Data	Type of Respondent	Location
Key Informant Interviews	3 Implementing Partner Staff Members	Kigali
	2 Model Farm School Instructors	Rubavu
	2 Local Government Officials	Rubavu
	1 Local Government Official	Gicumbi
	1 Mother Trainer	Rubavu
	1 Mother Trainer	Gicumbi
	1 Conditional Scholarship Support Service Provider	Gicumbi
Focus Groups	1 VSLA (male) – 5 people	Rubavu
	2 VSLA (female) – 7 people in each	Rubavu
	1 Model Farm School (male) – 5 people	Rubavu
	1 Model Farm School (female) – 8 people	Rubavu
	1 VSLA (male) – 2 people	Gicumbi
	1 VSLA (female) – 14 people	Gicumbi
	1 CSS (female) – 5 people	Gicumbi

7.3 POVERTY AND CHILD LABOR IN RWANDA

In all key informant interviews and focus group discussions, respondents identified poverty as a key driver of child labor. Implementers, partners, and participants cited several ways that they believed poverty leads to child labor. In some cases, work was viewed as an alternative to education, which is economically out of reach for many parents. One youth participant described the challenges parents face when making decisions about work and education for their children:

“They had challenges because they couldn't afford our school fees, our clothes, money for notebooks and pens.... They couldn't afford those, even uniforms, so they would then choose to send us into the fields to carry bricks for money [which is difficult and risky].”

Adult participants reported similar challenges. For example, one participant shared that she used to believe her son had to do hazardous work even though he was interested in continuing school:

“He kept complaining that the bags of sand were too heavy for him to carry, but I told him we had no choice since we were poor and I couldn't afford to pay for his school fees for him to continue his studies.”

Food insecurity and hunger were reported in three focus group discussions and six interviews with implementers as consequences of poverty that impede children’s ability to go to school or

that drive children or their parents to try to earn money through child labor. Child participants provided similar accounts of how food insecurity negatively influenced their schooling:

“We didn’t have a choice. If you spent the night hungry without supper, the next day you wake up to go a find a job so that you can get something to eat.”

“We used to spend nights with no food and my mom would ask me if I would be able to go to school on an empty stomach. When I would get to school, I would be sleeping while the teacher is explaining. I then decided to abandon school.”

“The challenge for me was that, when I came home from school I would realize that there was no food, there was nothing to eat. When I also thought that even tomorrow there will be no food to eat, I would decide not to go back to school but instead to go to look for money. It became necessary that I drop out of school so that I can try to earn money to get food and what I needed.”

7.4 PROJECT SERVICES

To address the prevalence of hazardous child labor, REACH-T implemented the VSLA and education/training services described previously. Exhibit 7.4 tabulates the education/training projects in which participant children were enrolled based on project input data. About 59.5 percent of participant children received educational support to complete their primary grade education, and an additional 5.1 percent received support to complete secondary grade education. About 24.4 percent of participant children enrolled in the Model Farm School project, and the remaining 11.0 percent enrolled in the Conditional Scholarship Support project. See Appendix E for more information on project participants.

Exhibit 7.4: Education/Training Projects Enrolled, Participant Children

Number of Children	Participant Children
	4,182
Education/training project	
Education support: Primary grade	2,487 (59.5%)
Education support: Secondary grade	213 (5.1%)
Model Farm School (MFS)	1,021 (24.4%)
Conditional Scholarship Support (CSS)	461 (11.0%)

Note: Reported is the number of participant children with sample proportion in parentheses.

Source: Project input data.

7.5 PROJECT OUTCOMES

We used available quantitative monitoring data to document REACH-T participant outcomes after project enrollment and assess whether project participation was associated with an improvement in participants' economic well-being and a reduction in child labor. In addition, we used qualitative data to assess stakeholder and participant perceptions about whether and how project services are associated with these outcomes. Key findings are summarized in Box 7.1.

BOX 7.1: SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS, RWANDA REACH-T

Intermediate Outcomes

- In the 30-month period after program enrollment, a higher portion of participants had household savings and participant households experienced an increase in ownership of livestock, agricultural equipment, and electronic assets
- Participants felt that increased income and savings from VSLAs allowed them to invest in their businesses, however, increased income was not enough to lift households out of poverty

Final Outcomes

- No direct measure of child labor – instead we report on missing school for work
- There was a reduction in the portion of participants who missed at least one day of school because of paid work later in the program compared to early in the program
- Participants who received services with a strong vocational training component (Model Farm School and the Conditional Scholarship Support) were less likely to miss school because of paid work than those who received primary grade education support
- Perception among program stakeholders and participants that the program reduced child and hazardous child labor because increased savings and income allowed households to both meet basic needs and support children's education; and program increased awareness about child labor and importance of education

7.5.1. Intermediate Outcomes – Savings, Assets, Income, and Education

In the context of REACH-T, we used project outcomes data to assess changes in household savings and assets.⁴⁸ Using qualitative data, we examined if and how the project improved economic well-being, as perceived by participants and stakeholders.

Savings. *Over the course of the project, we found that a higher proportion of participant households were saving, although the amount of savings declined.* Exhibit 7.5 presents changes in household savings between project intake (at the time of project enrollment) and each round of

⁴⁸ Note that the characteristics of participant households with program outcomes data in each round were generally similar to the characteristics of all 2,958 participant households (see Appendix D, Exhibit D.4). This suggests that post-enrollment outcomes based on program outcomes data are representative of the outcomes for the entire participant population.

outcomes data collection (following project enrollment). Because the sample of respondents was different across rounds, the data are presented for the cases available at each round.⁴⁹ For example, 56.3 percent of the 96 participants in round 1 had savings at intake; by the time of round 1 measurement, the proportion of savers had increased by 33.3 percentage points. The change was statistically significant at the 1 percent level. Similarly, participants had average savings of 11,016 Rwandan francs (less than 14 USD) at project enrollment, which increased by 2,160 Rwandan francs (approximately 2.75 USD) by round 1 measurement; this increase however lacked statistical significance. Following round 1, the average savings amount declined and the proportion of participant households with savings increased.

Exhibit 7.5: Changes in Savings, Pre- and Post-Project Participation, Participant Households

	Round 1	Round 2	Round 3	Round 4	Round 5
Total	96	679	2,183	1,962	1,275
Household has savings					
At intake	.563 (.499)	.585 (.493)	.528 (.499)	.525 (.500)	.507 (.500)
Change	<i>+.333***</i>	<i>+.186***</i>	<i>+.246**</i>	<i>+.316***</i>	<i>+.383***</i>
Savings Amount					
At intake	11,016 (17,989)	10,924 (15,402)	8,741 (13,761)	8,614 (13,480)	6,920 (11,322)
Change	<i>+2,160</i>	<i>-3,259**</i>	<i>-1,866***</i>	<i>-1,929***</i>	<i>-663</i>

Note: Reported is the sample mean at project intake with standard deviation in parenthesis (in boldface) and the change in the sample mean between project intake and each round of project outcomes data (in italics). ***, **, * = change is statistically significant at the 1, 5, 10 percent level.

Source: Project intake data; Project outcomes data.

One potential explanation for the decline in the savings amount is that households with savings at project enrollment (“old savers”) had higher savings than households that started saving after project enrollment (“new savers”). Separate analyses confirmed this hypothesis.⁵⁰ These analyses also showed that average savings for “old savers” declined over time, indicating that these households may have started using their savings. While there was no information in the quantitative data to verify this explicitly, separate analyses showed that households with savings at project enrollment were more likely than those with no savings to experience an increase in ownership of assets such as livestock and agricultural equipment over time. This points to the

⁴⁹ See Appendix B for a description of the follow-up rounds.

⁵⁰ Average savings for “old savers” in the five rounds were: 22,083 (round 1); 10,921 (round 2); 7,739 (round 3); 7,099 (round 4); and 6,773 (round 5). By comparison, average savings for “new savers” were: 6,407 (round 1); 4,498 (round 2); 5,907 (round 3); 6,576 (round 4); and 6,204 (round 5).

possibility that households with savings at project enrollment used their savings to invest in these assets.

Findings from the qualitative data collection suggest that participants generally thought that savings schemes, such as the REACH-T VSLAs, were important mechanisms for increasing household savings. Participants in seven focus groups felt that the project helped them adopt saving practices; provided access to loans to cover their basic needs, helped them cope with emergencies, or invest in income-generating activities; and facilitated access to support from neighbors and community members. They reported that, from their perspective, these benefits helped stabilize and increase household income.

Participants in four focus groups with VSLA participants also felt that the VSLAs helped them to develop effective money management skills. During the focus group discussions, participants reported that prior to participating in the project, they did not use money efficiently. They said, however, that the project taught them to put money aside for savings. For example, participants noted that they used to believe that because they only had a small amount of money, it wasn't possible to save, so they spent money less strategically. As one participant reported:

“We used to waste our money and I couldn't get the basic needed things for my home, but now I save the money I earn, I have been able to get livestock that now gives me manure for my garden, which in turn has increased my produce. All this is because of REACH-T.”

Similarly, another participant noted:

“[Before the program] if I had one hundred francs, I would often think that it's little money that couldn't achieve anything or make a difference, therefore I could spend it on useless things. Now since I joined the savings and loans groups, I learned how to save and later to use the savings to buy a chicken, sheep, and other animals that would multiply by themselves.”

These comments suggest that participants felt that VSLAs provided them with a mechanism to save as well as to access credit or borrow funds to support their basic needs or support investment in income-generating activities, for example by investing in agricultural inputs.

Participants across four focus groups felt the VSLAs provided not only financial support but also necessary social support in times of economic hardship. For example, group members in one focus group noted that they cultivated each other's fields if someone was sick or had an emergency. This ensured that no one missed out on the harvest. Similarly, members hired each other for small jobs or casual labor, which helped stabilize their incomes. Participants believed that these types of relationships among members have helped to expand the effects of VSLAs beyond their savings function and given them a role in increasing household income. They also felt that this emphasis on collaboration and relationship building plays an important role in ensuring the sustainability of VSLAs. As one participant noted:

“We now know each other.... We have to keep doing this in the future so that they too [children] don't end up being involved in child labor jobs. Another goal is to remain being members of the savings associations to remain together.”

Implementers and partners reported similar benefits of the VSLA component of REACH-T. In five key informant interviews with implementers and partners, respondents described members using their savings and loans to support small businesses or expand income-generating activities, such as renting land to cultivate additional crops for income. They also stressed the importance of instilling a culture of savings and saving behavior among participants. They believed that participants have been taught that “poor people can save” and that saving or knowing how to ask for a loan will increase their income.

Although REACH-T stakeholders were generally positive about the effects of VSLAs, there were concerns expressed in four focus groups and four interviews that the savings from VSLAs were not sufficient to lift households out of poverty. For example, participants in one focus group believed that VSLA loans and savings did not provide enough financial resources to allow them to care for the needs of all their children or to buy enough livestock to substantially increase their earnings and profits. In addition, implementers acknowledged that not all savings groups have functioned well and that the savings and share-outs have not reached the level they hoped, but they believed that improvement has occurred relative to before the project.

Household Assets. As noted by Beegle *et al.* (2013), assets can provide important collateral to buffer households against economic shocks and prevent child labor. However, transferred assets

such as livestock, do not always have a significant effect on reducing child labor (Banerjee *et al.*, 2011). Given these mixed results, we further explored changes in assets among REACH-T participants. *In general, over the course of REACH-T implementation, household assets increased among participants, particularly assets related to agricultural production.* Exhibit 7.6 presents changes in household assets over time. The results show that participant households were more likely to own livestock by rounds 3 through 5 of the project outcomes data. In particular, livestock ownership increased by 3.5 percentage points at round 3, by 8.2 percentage points at round 4, and by 13.4 percentage points at round 5. There was also evidence that ownership of electronic assets increased after project enrollment for participants in rounds 1 through 3. Although there was no evidence of an increase in ownership of means of transport, there was a small increase in the proportion of participant households that owned agricultural equipment in rounds 3 through 5.

Exhibit 7.6: Changes in Assets Pre- and Post-Project Participation, Participant Households

	Round 1	Round 2	Round 3	Round 4	Round 5
Total	96	679	2,183	1,962	1,275
Livestock					
At project intake	.653 (.479)	.740 (.439)	.709 (.455)	.680 (.466)	.658 (.475)
<i>Change</i>	<i>+.100</i>	<i>+.010</i>	<i>+.035**</i>	<i>+.082***</i>	<i>+.134***</i>
Electronic assets					
At project intake	.400 (.492)	.558 (.497)	.484 (.500)	.438 (.496)	.384 (.487)
<i>Change</i>	<i>+.176**</i>	<i>+.050*</i>	<i>+.036**</i>	<i>-.010</i>	<i>-.027</i>
Means of transport					
At project intake	.011 (.103)	.019 (.138)	.016 (.126)	.013 (.113)	.013 (.112)
<i>Change</i>	<i>-.011</i>	<i>+.027***</i>	<i>+.001</i>	<i>-.002</i>	<i>-.009**</i>
Agricultural equipment					
At project intake	.937 (.245)	.932 (.253)	.928 (.259)	.921 (.270)	.916 (.278)
<i>Change</i>	<i>+.004</i>	<i>+.018</i>	<i>+.028***</i>	<i>+.037***</i>	<i>+.033***</i>

Note: Reported is the sample mean at project intake with standard deviation in parenthesis (in boldface) and the change in the sample mean between project intake and each round of project outcomes data (in italics). ***, **, * = change is statistically significant at the 1, 5, 10 percent level.

Source: Project intake data; Project outcomes data

Household Income. There were no direct measures of household income in the REACH-T monitoring data. *However, analyses of qualitative data show that participants believed that the vocational trainings provided through REACH-T played an important role in increasing income.* Across all focus group discussions, participants believed that vocational training for youth provided marketable skills and led to higher wages, as well as safer and healthier work conditions. Youth participants noted that before the project, they worked harvesting tea but earned little

income. After completing the project, they discussed the process of finding work using the skills they had acquired from the project. For example, youth participants said:

“I used to look for jobs and go back home with 1,000 francs, but now I come home with 2,000 francs. I know now wherever they send me to work, there is a promise of good money.”

“Now that I am tailoring, I can earn 1,500 or 2,000 francs every day, with which I now can afford the basic necessities of life. Previously I used to work but never used to be able to afford them. I used to beg from my parents.”

Participant youth reported that they used the additional money to pay for necessities such as clothes, soap, food, and shoes. In addition, youth reported that the increased income enabled them to set aside money for savings or investing in their business. For example, one participant said:

“After joining the project, I earn more money than before the project. Now I make decisions to save, I can afford to buy chicken or a goat for rearing from my savings.”

Implementers and partners generally agreed with the participants and believed that vocational training and training in agriculture helped to increase household income. For example, three implementers and partners felt that youth were trained in marketable skills and those who completed vocational training found work and earned more money than they did when working in child labor. One implementer noted that:

“The trainees and their families now don't have to depend only on incomes derived from land [and] farming or bank credit. They are able to get new forms of income by practicing what they learned from the REACH-T project.”

Similarly, another implementer reported:

“Trainees are no longer going to work in the tea plantations. Today they are working in Mahoko [nearest trading center] practicing what they learned. They are tailoring in the market. They are earning money now without doing back-breaking work.”

One implementer believed that the success of these trainings was due in part to the fact that they aligned with the needs of local labor markets:

“The REACH-T project trains these children in skills that are marketable in their local communities, for instance carpentry, where children would start workshops to supply wooden chairs, doors, building materials etc., thus increasing incomes in their homes. Some children had dreams of being motor vehicle mechanics, but there are ... very few cars in their communities. Therefore, this would not be a solution.”

Although participants, implementers, and partners mostly considered the project to have had a positive effect on household income, several focus group and interview participants thought that these impacts were not enough to sufficiently reduce poverty. For example, one implementer felt that the assistance provided to children was only a small portion of what the family needed, and therefore household poverty persisted. Another felt that although the project helped support children’s education, the intervention would have to be more intensive to affect income in a meaningful way. Participants were more positive about the effects of the project, but several noted that they still lived in precarious economic circumstances, even with the help of the project. For instance, one participant explained that the household still faced economic insecurity because the farming season was not good. These participants did not fault the project, but this observation illustrates that even with savings schemes and vocational trainings, livelihoods services may still leave some participants vulnerable.

7.5.2. Final Outcomes – Engagement in Child Labor

The ultimate objective of the REACH-T project was to reduce the prevalence of child labor, and specifically to reduce the engagement of children in hazardous work activities. However, the project did not provide direct information on whether participant children engaged in child labor or in hazardous work activities after project participation. In lieu of this information, we explored changes in education and whether participant children missed school because of paid work. We also relied on qualitative data collected in the field to assess perceptions of child and hazardous labor outcomes among stakeholders and participants.

Education. We found that over the course of REACH-T participation, there was a reduction in the portion of children who missed school for work. Exhibit 7.7 presents indicators of education/training attainment for participant children, including reasons they missed school. On average, the 1,278 participant children included in round 1 reported that they attended 58.3 days of school/training in the previous academic term. About 69.6 percent of children reported that they missed at least one day of school and the average participant child missed 6.5 days of school during the school year. The most frequently reported reason for missing school was that the child was engaged in household chores (26.5 percent) or was sick (26.8 percent). In round 1, 8.2 percent of participants missed school because of participation in paid work. This number decreased substantially in later rounds and had dropped to 4.9 percent by round 5. It is also notable that over time there was a substantial drop in the percentage of participants who missed school because of household chores. This value dropped to 15.4 percent by round 5.

Exhibit 7.7: Education/Training Attainment, Participant Children

	Round 1	Round 2	Round 3	Round 4	Round 5
Total	1,278	2,317	2,481	978	1,888
School/training attainment (previous term)					
Number of days attended	58.3 (19.0)	40.3 (14.8)	51.4 (18.1)	53.6 (15.7)	53.9 (19.7)
Missed at least one day	893 (69.9%)	1,214 (52.4%)	1,489 (60.0%)	450 (46.0%)	1,148 (60.8%)
Number of days missed	6.5 (10.9)	3.4 (7.0)	3.8 (7.3)	3.7 (8.5)	4.5 (9.2)
Main reason for missing school/training					
Paid work	105 (8.2%)	128 (5.5%)	117 (4.7%)	49 (5.0%)	93 (4.9%)
Household chores	339 (26.5%)	326 (14.1%)	410 (16.5%)	142 (14.5%)	290 (15.4%)
Sickness	343 (26.8%)	640 (27.6%)	804 (32.4%)	164 (16.8%)	538 (28.5%)
Hunger	121 (9.5%)	126 (5.4%)	112 (4.5%)	62 (6.3%)	78 (4.1%)
Other reasons	235 (18.4%)	348 (15.0%)	393 (15.8%)	97 (9.9%)	291 (15.4%)
Did not miss school	385 (30.1%)	1,103 (47.6%)	992 (40.0%)	528 (54.0%)	740 (39.2%)

Note: Reported is the sample proportion, or sample mean with standard deviation in parentheses.

Source: Project outcomes data.

To assess whether the probability of missing school because of paid work was correlated with the education/training project in which children enrolled, we used linear regression models to estimate each indicator. For a technical explanation, see the discussion of model (2) in Appendix B. Exhibit 7.8 reports the results. For brevity, we report the estimated parameters only for the education/training projects in which children were enrolled. As shown in Exhibit 7.8, participants who participated in vocational and skills training services, specifically the Model Farm School and the Conditional Scholarship Support project, were significantly less likely to miss school post-enrollment because of paid work compared to those who received primary grade education

support (reference group). This was specifically the case for Model Farm School participants in rounds 2, 3, and 4 as well as for Conditional Scholarship Support participants in rounds 4 and 5.

Exhibit 7.8: Regression Results, Missed School because of Paid Work

	Round 1	Round 2	Round 3	Round 4	Round 5
Total	1,278	2,317	2,481	978	1,888
Missed school because of paid work					
Education support: Primary grades	–	–	–	–	–
Education support: Secondary grades	.089 (.059)	.032 (.049)	-.062 (.045)	-.079 (.048)	-.018 (.027)
Model Farm School (MFS)	-.105 (.057)*	-.121 (.040)***	-.096 (.040)**	-.149 (.055)***	-.080 (.055)
Conditional Scholarship Support (CSS)	-.017 (.073)	-.008 (.062)	-.036 (.070)	-.136 (.050)***	-.123 (.041)***

Note: Reported are estimated parameters with standard errors in parentheses. Also included in each specification but not reported are indicators for district of residence, marital status of household head, education of household head, occupation of household head, child gender, child age, parent’s living status, child education, child school enrollment at project enrollment, and child labor participation at enrollment. ***, **, * = change is statistically significant at the 1, 5, 10 percent level. – = baseline category.

Economic Well-Being and Education. Project stakeholders generally believed that the income, savings, and loans that participants obtained because of the project helped caregivers financially support their children, while increased awareness about the dangers of child labor and the benefits of education helped motivate caregivers to support their children’s education. Respondents frequently linked economic well-being with an ability to support education and divert children away from child and hazardous labor.

In all of the focus groups, participants felt that before the project, parents could not afford food and education expenses. Children would go to school hungry, which limited their ability to learn and prompted them to drop out, or would forego school in order to earn money to buy food. Implementers and partners believed that REACH-T increased the capacity and willingness of caregivers to support their children, particularly their children’s education, which diverted their time from child labor to education. Participants in each of the five adult focus groups also believed that the savings achieved through participating in the VSLAs meant they could afford to buy food, soap, and clothes for their children as well as afford education-related expenses such as books and uniforms. Consequently, they felt that their children now had an alternative to engaging in child labor. For example, one participant reported:

“We stopped allowing them to go to work, because we made progress. Before [the program] we didn’t have money to buy books, our children would go to look for a job. But now we can afford to buy soap, books because of the savings we achieved.”

Other participants reported that the direct support children received for education-related expenses from the project meant they could use their income on such needs as blankets and bedsheets instead of having to choose between basic needs and children’s education. Participants also reported that youth used the increased income earned after completing the project to cover their basic needs. For example, they used their earnings to purchase food, clothes, and soap, and therefore did not rely on their parents to provide for them. Participants felt that this increased independence relieved the burdens facing caregivers and reduced youths’ desperation to find work.

Participants in each of the youth focus groups also reported that they used the income they earned from working in decent jobs to support the needs of their siblings and even their parents. Youth described helping to pay for food and other items such as clothes, books, and health insurance for their siblings. In some cases, they also provided money to their parents. For example, one youth participant reported:

“I can now buy trousers for myself and another clothing item that I need. I am even able to buy some groceries since I know that my family needs money for groceries. Now, I consider myself a grown person due to the skills I received. Now I can’t just go back home with nothing and ask for food. I know our family’s situation and that I need to contribute to ensure that the family eats.”

Awareness. As in Brazil and Myanmar, increased awareness of issues associated with child and hazardous labor was believed to be an important factor in reducing engagement in these practices. *All stakeholder types (implementers, partners, and participants) believed that changes in attitudes about child labor and education were also responsible for reductions in child labor.* In two of the youth focus groups, participants reported that they were previously unaware of the dangers of hazardous work or accepted that it was a necessity. However, they reported that their attitudes have changed since participating in REACH-T. As an illustration, a youth participant reported:

“In my case, before the training, I used to do really rough jobs. But with the REACH-T program, the heavy sack of potatoes that I used to carry, I can no longer do it, it scares me! REACH-T changed our thinking and we can now use other ways to improve our lives.”

Another youth participant explained his perception of how increased awareness and income work together as a deterrent to engaging in hazardous work, saying:

“Because now I know that it’s risky, I know that it has negative effects on my health. Also, when I look at my earnings now, I earn a lot more than I used to before but without carrying heavy loads as a way of earning money. I’ve learned that carrying a heavy load can also damage your heart. I now carry smaller loads and still earn more money than before because my life has changed.”

Adult participants also noted that their attitudes towards child labor and education have changed since the project began. Participants in all five adult focus groups reported that they, or other parents they know, have stopped allowing their children to work or have become supportive of their children’s education. One adult participant described the situation as follows:

“Parents used to send their children to work instead of studying. It wasn’t about poverty, it was a problem of narrow thinking. We used not to give an importance to children’s education. But now in our country, no child is allowed to drop out of school. If he does, they look for his parents to know what went wrong with his child, and parents also call the authorities when the child doesn’t want to go to school”

Like participants, implementers and partners in nine interviews believed that changes in knowledge and attitudes have contributed to reductions in child labor. However, while some considered both increased income and changes in attitudes to be important factors, others thought that these shifts were related more to structural changes than to REACH-T. For example, one partner commented that the commitment of the community and government to eliminating child labor in the tea sector was the key motivating factor. Thus, the partner explained:

“It was not the program that reduced the number of children in child labor but, rather, it is the attitude of the Rwandan population towards child labor that changed.... The program only managed to awaken us towards finding a solution to the child labor

problem. Our tea I earlier said is on the international watch list and therefore, we are working hard to reverse this situation and get it removed from that watch list.

Intra-Household Bargaining. *As in Brazil and Myanmar, we did not find evidence to support previous studies that point to a link between women’s decision making power around household resources and child labor prevalence. The implementers we spoke with believed that in Rwanda, decision-making related to household income and spending was collaborative between husband and wife. For the most part, they saw this as a result of cultural practices in Rwanda and the overall evolution of social norms rather than REACH-T. While implementers felt that participation in REACH-T simply reinforced existing attitudes and behaviors, participants across eight focus groups reported positive changes in bargaining power and decision-making authority within their households, which they attributed to REACH-T services. Adult participants, especially the female parents and caregivers, felt that the savings generated through VSLA services enabled them to have a say in household decisions, as reflected in the following quotes:*

“[Most of the] people in the savings and loan groups are women. Those women are the ones who take on those microloans. As you can see, it is a lot of them. For sure, this brings a change to who makes decisions at home.”

“Changes occurred with time. After training, households started perceiving things very differently. . . Before the training, the man was the authority in matters concerning money but after training, the men were made aware that women too are important in the decision-making of a household.”

In both youth participant focus groups, similar dynamics were noted. Specifically, as a result of REACH-T training and subsequent income, participants believed they had greater decision-making authority in their households:

“[My role at home] has changed because I’m an important person now after the program. I’ve trained and now I can work and earn money, now things have changed.”

“Yes, there is a change. They used to take decisions without my participation because I had no money to contribute in the family, but now they take decisions with me since they realized that I can make decisions for myself thanks to the skills from the program.”

While there were reports of changes in decision-making power among women and youth in participant households, this was not perceived to directly influence participation in child labor.

7.6 SUMMARY

The REACH-T project offered participant households a wide range of livelihoods services to help them improve their economic well-being and provide children with linkages to education/training opportunities. These services were intended to mitigate child labor and hazardous child labor through two channels: (1) improved household finances, which would reduce the need for child labor; and (2) improved access to education/training, which would help keep children enrolled in school and help those of legal working age access opportunities for employment in non-hazardous labor. To achieve these goals, REACH-T offered participant households the opportunity to participate in VSLAs and receive vocational training and educational support services.

REACH-T services were intended to address the systemic poverty in project areas, which project stakeholders and participants believed to be the key driver of child labor. Specifically, many parents could not afford to cover the costs of basic needs of their families or send their children to school, leading children to work in order to provide for themselves and their families. Our analyses suggest that project participants saw improvements in their economic well-being following project enrollment. Specifically, there was an increased prevalence of saving among participants and participants saw increases in assets, particularly those assets relevant to agricultural production. In interviews and focus group discussions, participants generally believed that they saw their incomes and savings increase because of REACH-T services. There were concerns, however, that these services alone do not generate enough economic resources to lift households out of poverty, potentially threatening the sustainability of any positive outcomes associated with the project.

While we found that participant households increased savings for investment in their businesses and accumulation of assets, a dynamic that previous literature suggests can increase child labor and reduce participation in schooling, our analyses show a reduction in the percentage of participants who missed school because of paid work. In examining variation in this outcome across REACH-T services, we found that participation in services with a strong training component, specifically MFS and CSS, was more strongly correlated with not missing school for

paid work following enrollment compared to participation in primary school support (the reference category).

Analyses of the qualitative data also showed that both project stakeholders and participants believed that REACH-T was effective in curbing child labor. This was perceived to be the result of a variety of factors, including the fact that increased income was used to support schooling, participants were more aware of the dangers of child and hazardous labor, and participants placed an increased emphasis on children’s education. Throughout the qualitative data, respondents emphasized the links between project participation and the ability to support children’s education, diverting them from participation in child and hazardous labor.

These findings are summarized in relation to each of the study’s key research questions in Exhibit 7.9.

Exhibit 7.9: Research Questions and REACH-T Findings

Research Questions	Summary	Evidence
Q1. Does the evidence support the OCFT theory of change, namely, that the provision of livelihoods services improves the intermediate outcomes of vulnerable households, such as household income and savings, and, ultimately, reduces child labor and/or forced labor?	Support	Quant. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A higher portion of participants had household savings and experienced an increase in ownership of livestock, agricultural equipment, and electronic assets post-enrollment. Reduction in the portion of participants who missed at least one day of school because of paid work later in the project compared to early in the project.
		Qual. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Perception that the project reduced child and hazardous child labor because increased savings and income allowed households to meet basic needs and support children’s education. Perception that increased awareness about the dangers of child labor and the benefits of education helped motivate caregivers to support their children’s education. Some felt that the positive effects of the project were not enough to sufficiently reduce poverty.
Q2. What types of livelihoods services appear to be more effective in reducing the prevalence of child labor or forced labor?	Vocational training projects were associated with lower child labor and hazardous child labor prevalence	Quant. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Participants who received services with a strong vocational training component (Model Farm School and the Conditional Scholarship Support) were less likely to miss school post-enrollment because of paid work than those who received primary grade education support.
		Qual. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Participants believed that the vocational trainings provided through REACH-T played an important role in increasing income. Participants thought that savings schemes, such as the REACH-T VSLAs, were important mechanisms for increasing household savings and accessing social support. All stakeholder types (implementers, partners, and participants) believed that changes in attitudes about child labor and education were also responsible for reductions in child labor.

8. UGANDA

8.1 PROJECT DESCRIPTION

AYEDI was implemented by World Education Incorporated's (WEI) Bantwana Initiative in partnership with the Government of Uganda. The project was implemented in a single sub-county in each of four districts (Gulu, Lira, Iganga, and Bugiri) in Northern and Eastern Uganda. These sub-counties were selected based on predetermined criteria, including large numbers of orphans and vulnerable children/youth affected by conflict, underserved areas, extreme unemployment, factories and plantations where youth work under hazardous conditions, local governments willing to establish and sustain child labor monitoring systems, and a range of private sector actors that could be engaged.

AYEDI was implemented with the following partners: Straight Talk Foundation, which provided life skills training; Reco Industries, which provided training in Junior Farmer Field Schools (JFFS); Uganda Women's Effort to Save Partners (UWESO), which provided training on VSLAs; and African Trainers and Entrepreneurs Forum (ATEFO) and Acholi Private Sector Development Centre (APSEDEC), which provided private sector business mentorship. The project's logic model (see Appendix C), reflecting the OCFT theory of change, suggests that providing households with livelihoods services, including training and educational support for youth and VSLAs, will increase the household's income and thus reduce its reliance on child labor. To achieve its objectives, AYEDI provided a wide range of livelihoods activities targeting both caregivers and their children. These activities are described below.

Youth Empowerment Clubs. Participation in a youth empowerment club was the first step required in the service process for adolescent participants of AYEDI. Led by the Straight Talk Foundation, these clubs provided youth with a wide range of support and training in areas such as child rights and responsibilities, adolescent sexual reproductive health, life skills, career guidance and counseling, and leadership. Other features of the "club package" were study tours, occupational safety training, and entrepreneurship training. AYEDI also helped youth develop leadership and advocacy skills through the youth empowerment clubs, and linked them to graduates of the President's Young African Leadership Initiative (YALI) and the Embassy's

Youth Council. The club training lasted for about three months, at which time the youth chose a training pathway based on the career exploration done as part of the club package.

Youth Training Pathways. After participation in the youth empowerment clubs, participant youth were offered the opportunity to enroll in different training pathways. Youth were free to self-select into the training pathway(s) of their choice. The Integrated Functional Literacy for Youth (IFLY) project provided functional literacy and numeracy skills to youth who have little or no formal education. The Non-Formal Education (NFE) trade certificate project targeted youth interested in pursuing work in a specific trade. AYEDI also offered training to help youth in starting a microenterprise or micro-franchise in agriculture. In particular, AYEDI provided youth participants with referrals to agricultural and agribusiness training, such as the Junior Farmer Field Schools (JFFS), as a means to help them improve their agricultural skills and start their own businesses.⁵¹

School Block Grants. In addition to these training pathways, AYEDI offered participants support with enrollment in secondary school for primary school graduates, and support for secondary school students at high risk of dropping out and entering child labor.

Village Savings and Loan Associations (VSLA). Finally, AYEDI offered caregivers the opportunity to enroll in VSLAs that provide access to integrated financial services, including financial advice, low-interest loans, and saving products. The ultimate objective was to promote economic well-being by helping households improve their savings and obtain access to credit, thereby reducing the need for their children to be engaged in child labor.

8.2 DATA SOURCES

To examine the effectiveness of the livelihoods services provided through AYEDI and whether these services reflect OCFT's theory of change, we relied on a variety of quantitative and qualitative data sources, as described in this section.

⁵¹ Key informants in Uganda reported that JFFS was considered to be an option within the IFLY pathway.

8.2.1. Quantitative Data

Exhibit 8.1 describes the project data that were made available for this study. Exhibit 8.2 lists the project’s monitoring indicators and whether the information required to measure these indicators was observed in the data.

Exhibit 8.1: Monitoring Data Available for AYEDI

Data	Description
Project Intake Data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Provide information on VSLA and youth participants who enrolled in the project from January 2015 through June 2016 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Consist of 2,742 individuals who were caregivers of adolescent youth (i.e., youth who were 15–17 years old) and who participated in VSLAs ▪ Report the district of residence and gender of participants but do not provide information on key characteristics such as age, education, and household size ▪ Provide information on the living conditions of adolescent youth under the care of VSLA participants and on attitudes towards child labor ▪ Youth intake data consist of 4,789 adolescent youth who received livelihoods and training services <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Data provide information on district of residence, gender, age, and education
Project Input Data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Include information on the specific livelihoods and training services received by 4,053 of the 4,789 adolescent youth in the youth data
Project Outcomes Data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Collected approximately one year after project enrollment and include information on 746 of the 2,742 participants in the VSLA sample,⁵² and 4,053 of the 4,789 participant youth in the youth sample ▪ Include participant intermediate and final outcomes, including indicators related to the prevalence of hazardous labor and other worst forms of child labor

⁵² Note that the characteristics of the 746 VSLA participants with program outcomes data were similar with the characteristics of all 2,742 VSLA participants, except that participants in Budhaya were overrepresented and participants in Paicho and Unyama were underrepresented in the outcomes data (see Appendix D, Exhibit D.5).

Exhibit 8.2: AYEDI Project Monitoring Indicators

Measure	Availability	Data Sources
Inputs		
L1: Households receiving livelihoods services	✓	Project Input Data (available for 4,053 of 4,789 youth participants)
L4: Individuals provided with economic strengthening services	✓	
L5: Individuals provided with services other than employment services	✓	
L3: Children of legal working age provided with employment services	✓	
E1: Children engaged in or at high risk of entering child labor who receive education or vocational services	✓	
E4: Children engaged in or at high risk of entering child labor who are enrolled in education or vocational services	✓	
Intermediate Outcomes		
IO 3.2: Adolescent youth enrolled in Junior Farmer Field School (JFFS) who obtain a certificate	✓	Project Outcomes Data (available for 4,053 of 4,789 youth participants)
IO 3.2: Adolescent youth enrolled in trade certificate project who pass national skills assessment	✓	
IO 3.2: Enrolled adolescent youth with improved scores on occupational safety and health test	✓	
IO 3: AYEDI adolescent youth engaged in decent work	✓	
IO 1.1: Caregivers in AYEDI village savings and loan associations (VSLAs) who are actively saving	✓	Project Outcomes Data (available for 746 of 2,742 VSLA participants)
Final Outcomes		
POC 1: Participant children engaged in child labor	✓	Project Outcomes data (available for 4,053 of 4,789 youth participants; youth participants were of working age, thus focus is on hazardous labor)
PO: AYEDI graduates	✓	Project Input Data (available for 4,053 of 4,789 youth participants)

8.2.2. Qualitative Data

Following a preliminary site visit in 2016 to assess logistical arrangements, qualitative data were collected on-site in Kampala and the districts of Iganga in Eastern Uganda and Lira in Northern Uganda in August 2017. These implementation sites were selected to represent the diversity of services provided by AYEDI and to ensure variation in urban/rural representation. Exhibit 8.3 summarizes the qualitative data collected during the 2017 site visit. In the interviews and focus group discussions, we gathered information on the respondents' opinions and recollections

regarding the project, assuring them that all information they provided was anonymous and confidential and that all reported data would be de-identified.⁵³

Exhibit 8.3: Qualitative Data Collected in Uganda

Data Source	Type of Respondent	Location
Key Informant Interviews	2 Implementing Partner Staff	Kampala
	4 Implementing Partner Staff	Iganga
	5 Implementing Partner Staff	Lira
	1 National Government Official	Kampala
	2 Community Committee Members	Iganga
	2 Community Committee Members	Lira
	5 Local Government Officials	Iganga
	4 Local Government Officials	Lira
	1 Partner Organization Member	Lira
	1 Partner Organization Member	Skype
	1 Employer	Iganga
	1 Private Sector Organization Member	Lira
Focus Group Discussions	VSLA (male) – 5 people	Iganga
	VSLA (female) – 10 people	Iganga
	Youth in trade certificate project (male) – 11 people	Iganga
	Youth in trade certificate project (female) – 11 people	Iganga
	VSLA (male) – 5 people	Lira
	VSLA (female) – 5 people	Lira
	Youth in trade certificate project (male) – 7 people	Lira
	Youth in trade certificate project (female) – 7 people	Lira

8.3 POVERTY AND CHILD LABOR IN UGANDA

Respondents across stakeholder types believed that a lack of income is the primary cause of child labor in communities served by AYEDI. Across all focus groups and interviews, project stakeholders and participants thought that children and youth who engage in child labor typically do so because their caregiver is unable to provide for their basic needs or because they do not have a caregiver and, therefore, their household relies on them for income. It was believed that the inability to afford food, medicine, clothes, or bedding leads minors, especially older siblings, to seek out opportunities to earn income, including by engaging in child labor or hazardous work. These children and youth felt compelled to earn income either to provide for their own needs directly or to help support the needs of the rest of the household.

⁵³ The research team consisted of one IMPAQ staff member and two four-person teams from the local data collection company, Associates Research. Interviews conducted in English were led by the IMPAQ researcher; the interviews and focus groups in local languages were conducted by a lead interviewer and note taker from Associates Research and observed by the IMPAQ researcher.

Stakeholders and participants also felt that poverty and lack of income contribute to the inability of children to attend school, so they engaged in child labor as an alternative. It was noted that in some cases, children or youth drop out of school because they need to earn money to provide for themselves or their family's basic needs. In other cases, caregivers were unable to afford school-related expenses such as uniforms, books, or sanitary pads for girls. In such cases, it was noted that even if caregivers or their children wish to continue school, these financial barriers increase the likelihood of dropping out. Once youth are no longer in school, respondents described them as becoming increasingly vulnerable to child labor.

8.4 PROJECT SERVICES

To address these vulnerabilities, AYEDI provided the livelihoods services described previously. Exhibit 8.4 summarizes the information that the project collected on the livelihoods services received by 4,053 of 4,789 youth participants in the data provided. As noted previously, engagement in a youth empowerment club was the required first step for adolescent participants of AYEDI. Through the youth empowerment clubs, participants received training on topics that include children's rights and responsibilities, particularly those related to child labor and education, adolescent sexual and reproductive health, life skills, leadership skills, occupational health and safety, and entrepreneurship. Youth participants also received career guidance, counseling, and career planning services. See Appendix E for more information on project participants.

After participating in youth empowerment clubs, 80.2 percent of the youth participants enrolled in the IFLY education pathway, and 49.7 percent enrolled in JFFS. About 15.9 percent enrolled in the NFE trade certificate project, while very few received school block grant services or participated in other types of training (for example, information and communication technology training, and apprenticeship training). Only 1.6 percent of youth participants did not enroll in a pathway. Importantly, 87.7 percent of youth participants who enrolled in IFLY completed the project. Similarly, 16.3 percent of youth enrollees in JFFS completed the project and obtained a certificate. Certificate attainment was lower for NFE enrollees (11.8 percent).

Exhibit 8.4: AYEDI Services Received by Youth Participants

Total Number of Participants	Youth Participants
	4,053
Youth empowerment club package	
Child Rights and Responsibilities Training	3,257 (80.4%)
Adolescent Sexual Reproductive Health	3,472 (85.7%)
Life Skills Training	3,281 (81.0%)
Career Guidance and Counseling	3,119 (77.0%)
Leadership Training	2,916 (72.0%)
Study Tours	2,757 (68.0%)
Occupational Safety	2,605 (64.3%)
Engaged in Community Campaign	3,872 (95.5%)
Career Planning	3,972 (98.0%)
Entrepreneurship Training and Business Package	2,768 (68.3%)
Education pathway chosen	
IFLY	3,251 (80.2%)
JFFS	2,015 (49.7%)
NFE Trade Certificate Program	643 (15.9%)
School Block Grant	26 (0.6%)
Other training	32 (0.8%)
Did not enroll in any pathway	64 (1.6%)
Completion rates (among those enrolled)	
Completed IFLY pathway	3,553 (87.7%)
Enrolled in JFFS and obtained certificate	328 (16.3%)
Enrolled in NFE and obtained trade certificate	76 (11.8%)

Note: Reported is the number of participants with sample proportion in parentheses.

Source: Project input data.

8.5 PROJECT OUTCOMES

Project monitoring data were used to examine whether AYEDI project participation was associated with improvements in participants' economic well-being and reductions in child labor, measured at 12 months after project enrollment. In addition, the qualitative data were used to assess stakeholder and participant perceptions about whether and how project services are associated with these outcomes. Key findings are summarized in Box 8.1.

BOX 8.1: SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS, UGANDA AYEDI

Intermediate Outcomes

- Nearly all VSLA participants (98.5 percent) were actively saving money at 12 months after program enrollment and average savings were 109,899 Ugandan shillings (about 30 USD).
- Adolescent youth under the care of VSLA participants were more likely to have their basic needs met after program enrollment, however there were declines in access to education and healthcare.
- VSLA participants felt participation had increased household income by teaching them money management skills, providing access to credit, and increasing their savings.
- Youth participants believed that AYEDI training allowed them to generate income in non-hazardous work and better provide for basic needs of household members.

Final Outcomes

- At 12 months after program enrollment, there were significant reductions in participation in hazardous and other worst forms of child labor and a significant increase in decent work.
- Youth participants in IFLY and school block grants were less likely to be engaged in hazardous child labor and the worst forms of child labor, and more likely to be in decent work than those who did not enroll in a training pathway.
- Participants believed that AYEDI reduced hazardous labor as a result of increased income, allowing basic needs to be met, and providing resources for supporting the education of other family members.

8.5.1. Intermediate Outcomes – Income and Savings

Using project outcomes data, we examined VSLA participants' savings and the living conditions of adolescent youth under their care. Because there were no quantitative data available on the income of either VSLA participants or youth participants, we used qualitative data to assess the perceived value of services in improving income, assets, and savings for VSLA participants and in improving the ability of youth participants to increase their income. The perceived processes by which this occurs were also examined.

Savings. AYEDI provided outcomes data on 746 of 2,742 VSLA participants, which were used to measure participant outcomes at approximately 12 months after project enrollment. The outcomes data provided information on whether VSLA participants were actively saving money following participation in VSLAs, the amount saved, and whether they were able to improve the living conditions of adolescent youth under their care.

*As shown in Exhibit 8.5, nearly all VSLA participants (98.5 percent) were actively saving money following project enrollment.*⁵⁴ On average, VSLA participants had saved 109,899 Ugandan

⁵⁴ There was no comparable data available to measure savings at intake.

shillings, which is about 30 USD.⁵⁵ Importantly, the living conditions of adolescent youth under the care of VSLA participants improved after project enrollment. For example, at project enrollment, 79.1 percent of these adolescent youth had at least two meals a day. At 12 months after project enrollment, this proportion increased to 97.3 percent. As the right-hand column of Exhibit 8.5 shows, there was a statistically significant 18.2 percentage point increase in this outcome. Similarly, the proportion of adolescent youth who had a blanket, at least two sets of clothes, and at least one pair of shoes increased significantly after project enrollment.

Despite improvements in access to basic needs, there were significant reductions in access to education and healthcare among adolescents in VSLA participant households between project enrollment and 12 months after enrollment. At 12 months after enrollment, 49.5 percent of households reported that the adolescent youth under their care had access to education, compared with 58.0 percent at project enrollment. Similarly, 56.2 percent reported access to healthcare at 12 months after enrollment, compared with 81.1 percent at enrollment.

Exhibit 8.5: Intermediate Outcomes, VSLA Participants

	At 12 Months after Project Enrollment	At Project Enrollment	<i>Difference</i>
Number of Participants	746	746	
Savings			
Actively saving	735 (98.5%)	–	–
Amount saved (in Ugandan shillings)	109,899 (94,825)	–	–
All adolescent youth under your care have:			
at least two meals a day	726 (97.3%)	590 (79.1%)	.182 [.000]***
a blanket	653 (87.5%)	394 (52.8%)	.347 [.000]***
at least two sets of clothes	701 (94.0%)	565 (75.7%)	.182 [.000]***
at least one pair of shoes	598 (80.2%)	416 (55.8%)	.244 [.000]***
All adolescent youth under your care have:			
access to education	369 (49.5%)	433 (58.0%)	-.086 [.001]***
access to healthcare	419 (56.2%)	605 (81.1%)	-.249 [.000]***

Note: Reported is the number of participants with sample proportion in parentheses; for amount saved, reported is the mean with standard deviation in parentheses. The right-hand column reports t-test differences between pre- and post-enrollment values, with the p-value in brackets. ***, **, * = change is statistically significant at the 1, 5, 10 percent level.

Source: Project intake data and project outcomes data.

During all focus group discussions with caregivers, participants felt that being a part of the VSLAs had raised their household income. The reason for this, they said, was that participation in the VSLAs had taught them business and money management skills, provided access to credit,

⁵⁵ The per capita income in Uganda was about 604 USD in 2017 (<https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD>).

and increased their savings: *“We are now knowledgeable on how to spend the money. Then they trained us on record keeping and ledger management.”* As an example, one female caregiver reported that access to credit through the VSLA helped increase production on her land. She explained:

“You can have your land but you can’t till it with [your] hands, so you can go and borrow money and use it to plow, so at the end of season you can pay back the money and you also have some remaining to use at home.”

Project implementers and partners who were knowledgeable about the VSLA component believed that AYEDI improved household income, leading to better living conditions for the caregivers and for the adolescent youth under their care. Implementers believed that VSLA participation helped participants to increase savings, gain access to credit, and improve their business and financial management skills. One partner explained:

“The financial literacy helps them in terms of, how do they plan for money, who makes decisions, loans, how do you manage debts, budgeting, saving with the goal, knowing your options when you go for a loan from the bank.”

Income. Perceptions of the project’s efficacy in helping participant youth increase their incomes were similarly positive. *Project stakeholders and participants believed that the project was effective in helping out-of-school youth obtain trade, entrepreneurship, and savings and financial planning skills that helped them improve their income.* In all of the youth focus groups, participants felt that participating in AYEDI increased their ability to earn income. Youth who participated in the NFE project reported that AYEDI provided them with trade skills, for instance in hairdressing or mechanics, which allowed them to earn income from non-hazardous work. One female youth felt that learning to do hair was the most valuable part of AYEDI because it helped her make money to pay for food or school fees. A male youth felt that mechanics training helped him to find a job and earn income that allowed him to buy food for his family.

Other youth felt that they benefited from learning agricultural and entrepreneurship skills, which encouraged them to engage in income-generating activities. In addition to the importance of

learning trade or farming skills, youth participants valued knowing how to conduct business, as illustrated by the following comment:

“Right from the beginning, AYEDI has been very useful because I didn’t know how to do business. I would go and mine sand. I would dig pit latrines for people, but right now I can do my business and in a day I can make ten thousand shillings, and I am proud of it.”

Youth participants believed that the income generated following the AYEDI trainings was important in being able to provide for basic necessities. During the focus groups, participant youth described challenges they had in meeting their basic needs before joining the project. Youth participants in three youth focus groups mentioned struggling to afford food and household items. Some explained that they felt an obligation to support their parents or provide for themselves. In all focus groups with caregivers, respondents also reported that before the project, they struggled to afford bedding, shoes, food, and school fees for their children. According to the interviews and focus groups with youth participants, there was a perception that increased income from the project enhanced the capacity of youth to provide for their own needs. As one female youth described:

“I used to ask for money from my mother or do hazardous work for my basic needs, but since the project has enrolled me, I make decisions on how to plan and use my money.”

A male youth shared another example, saying:

“Before the project, I used to sleep on the floor, and since I have a business now, I have bought a mattress for 20 thousand shillings using my profit I made and am sleeping on it.”

Beyond supporting their own needs, youth also reported giving money to their parents and family members. A male youth reported that he was able to help support his father because of AYEDI:

“My parent fell sick recently and I was able to get money to take care of him and pay money in the facility and my father was operated [on]. All this was a result of AYEDI.”

In all of the adult focus groups, caregivers also believed that AYEDI provided youth with the skills they need to earn income through decent work. Overall, 15 key informant interview

respondents said that they were particularly satisfied with the youth component of the project, believing that it helped youth to start earning income immediately and contribute to their own well-being and that of their households.

8.5.2. Final Outcomes – Engagement in Child Labor

Project monitoring data were used to measure key indicators of child labor at 12 months after project entry and assess the extent to which these indicators were correlated with adolescent youth characteristics and services received. Because these data are based on reports of working conditions among youth of working age, the measures of changes in child labor reported here focused on hazardous work. Qualitative data were used to assess the perceived value of project services in reducing child and hazardous child labor and the processes by which they are perceived to do so.

AYEDI provided data from 4,053 of 4,789 youth participants at approximately 12 months after project entry. Based on this information, we performed descriptive analyses of child labor indicators at 12 months after project enrollment (based on outcomes data) for participant households and their children, and compared them with child labor indicators at project enrollment (based on intake data). We also estimated linear regression models to assess the extent to which the prevalence of child labor indicators at 12 months after project enrollment are correlated with the types of project services received and participant household and child characteristics.⁵⁶

Descriptive Analyses. Using outcomes data, we measured the following child labor indicators at 12 months after project enrollment:

- *Employed* – whether the adolescent youth engaged in work in the last seven days.
- *Engagement in hazardous labor* – whether the adolescent youth was exposed to hazardous conditions while at work.

⁵⁶ Note that the 4,052 youth participants in the outcomes data were similar in terms of their observed characteristics with all 4,789 youth participants served by the program (see Appendix D, Exhibit D.6). Thus, analyses of child labor outcomes based on outcomes data are representative of the entire youth participant population.

- *Engagement in other worst forms of child labor* – whether the adolescent youth was exposed to other worst forms of child labor (child trafficking, armed conflict, illicit activities, and sexual exploitation).
- *Engagement in decent work* – whether the adolescent youth engaged in labor that was not considered hazardous or among other worst forms of child labor.

Exhibit 8.6 presents child labor indicators for youth participants at project enrollment (based on project intake data) and after enrollment (based on project outcomes data), as available. The right-hand column reports the t-test differences at project enrollment and following enrollment.

Exhibit 8.6: Child Labor Indicators

Total Number of Youth Participants	At 12 months after Project Enrollment	At Project Enrollment	Difference
	4,053	4,053	
Employed	2,721 (67.1%)	2,433 (60.0%)	.071 [.000]***
Engaged in hazardous labor	333 (8.2%)	2,260 (55.8%)	-.475 [.000]***
Engaged in other Worst Forms of Child Labor	13 (0.3%)	306 (7.6%)	-.072 [.000]***
Engaged in decent work†	2,384 (87.6%)	164 (6.7%)	.809 [.000]***

Note: Reported is the number of participants with sample proportion in parentheses. The right-hand column reports the t-test differences between pre- and post-enrollment outcomes, with the p-value in brackets. † Defined only for adolescent youth who were employed. ***, **, * = change is statistically significant at the 1, 5, 10 percent level.

Source: Project intake data and project outcomes data.

Results show that the proportion of employed youth (who are of working age) and the working conditions of youth participants improved after project enrollment. At project enrollment, 60.0 percent of youth participants were employed, compared with 67.1 percent 12 months after enrollment, a statistically significant difference of 7.1 percentage points. The likelihood of engagement in hazardous child labor declined by 47.5 percentage points, from 55.8 percent at project enrollment to just 8.2 percent 12 months after enrollment. Similarly, the proportion of youth engaged in other worst forms of child labor declined from 7.6 percent to 0.3 percent. At the same time, while only 6.7 percent of employed youth were engaged in decent work at project enrollment, 87.6 percent were employed in decent work 12 months after enrollment.

Multivariate Regression Analyses. To examine whether child labor indicators at 12 months after project enrollment are correlated with specific AYEDI services, we used multivariate linear regression models to estimate child labor indicators based on observed youth characteristics and services received (see model 1 in Appendix B

BOX 8.2: SUMMARY OF KEY FINAL OUTCOMES

- Among the vocational training pathways, IFLY was correlated with a lower prevalence of hazardous child labor and a higher prevalence of decent work when compared with JFFS, NFE, other trainings, and not enrolling in a pathway.
- School block grant participants were the least likely to be engaged in hazardous child labor and the most likely to be engaged in decent work. They were also significantly less likely to be engaged in the worst forms of child labor than those who did not enroll in a pathway.

for a discussion). The results are summarized in Box 8.2. Exhibit 8.7 shows that *each of the project's vocational training pathways were associated with significantly different levels of hazardous child labor compared to those who did not enroll in a pathway (which is the reference group)*. Those participating in IFLY were significantly less likely (7.3 percentage points) to be engaged in hazardous child labor and were more likely to be engaged in decent work (13.8 percentage points) than those who did not enroll in a pathway. However, those enrolled in JFFS were 6.8 percentage points more likely to be engaged in hazardous child labor and 12.1 percentage points less likely to be engaged in decent work than those who did not enroll in a pathway. Note that these results capture correlations between services and outcomes; thus, they do not necessarily indicate that JFFS was less effective than other pathways. Despite variation in the prevalence of hazardous child labor and decent work, *participants across all pathways were significantly less likely to be engaged in other worst forms of child labor compared to those who did not enroll in a pathway*.

AYEDI school block grant participation showed more consistently positive associations with the prevalence of hazardous and other worst forms of child labor. School block grant participants were significantly less likely than those not enrolled in a pathway to be engaged in hazardous child labor or other worst forms of child labor (11.4 and 3.3 percentage points, respectively) and were more likely to be engaged in decent work (20.3 percentage points) post-enrollment.

Exhibit 8.7: Regression Results, Child Labor Indicators

Coefficients	Engaged in hazardous labor	Engaged in worst forms of child labor	Engaged in decent work†
Education Pathway			
School block grant	-0.114 (.031)***	-0.033 (.013)**	.203 (.057)***
IFLY	-.073 (.030)**	-.035 (.014)**	.138 (.052)***
NFE trade certificate project	-.019 (.031)	-.033 (.014)**	.043 (.055)
JFFS	.068 (.012)***	-.005 (.002)*	-.121 (.018)***
Other training	.050 (.067)	-.028 (.011)**	-.031 (.095)
Did not enroll	–	–	–
Gender			
Male	–	–	–
Female	-.016 (.008)	-.003 (.002)	.019 (.012)
Age			
15 years old	–	–	–
16 years old	-.006 (.011)	-.001 (.002)	.010 (.016)
17 years old	-.001 (.012)	-.002 (.002)	.006 (.017)
Level of Education			
Never enrolled in primary school	–	–	–
Did not complete primary school	-.044 (.023)	.005 (.002)***	.068 (.033)*
Completed primary school	-.058 (.027)**	.002 (.003)	.087 (.038)**
Dropped out of secondary school	-.075 (.025)***	.002 (.002)	.120 (.035)***
Enrolled in secondary school	-.094 (.032)***	-.002 (.002)	.123 (.040)***
Dropped out of vocational training	-.068 (.047)	.026 (.025)	.094 (.071)
Missing	-.038 (.079)	.001 (.001)	.056 (.090)
Can read/write?			
Yes	.014 (.009)	.000 (.002)	-.025 (.013)
No	–	–	–
Sub- county, District			
Budhaya, Bugiri	.040 (.019)**	-.004 (.002)*	-.106 (.050)**
Paicho, Gulu	.111 (.017)***	-.003 (.002*)	-.155 (.022)***
Unyama, Gulu	.204 (.018)***	.000 (.002)	-.234 (.021)***
Buyanga, Iganga	.080 (.014)***	.005 (.003)*	-.080 (.018)***
Adekokwok, Lira	–	–	–
Buwuanga, Masaka	.033 (.013)**	.004 (.003)	-.070 (.023)***
Engaged in HCL/WFCL/decent work at intake			
Yes	-.010 (.024)	-.002 (.002)	-.114 (.069)*
No	--	--	--
Constant	.099 (.039)**	.037 (.015)**	.916 (.088)***
<i>Observations</i>	4,053	4,053	2,721
<i>R-squared</i>	.07	.02	.10

Note: Reported are estimated parameters with standard errors in parentheses. We also controlled for employment at project intake, although results are not report.

† Defined only for adolescent youth who were employed.

***, **, * = change is statistically significant at the 1, 5, 10 percent level.

Analyses of qualitative data indicate that 18 project stakeholders and participants in seven focus groups shared the view that AYEDI reduced engagement in hazardous and child labor among

youth. They believed that this change resulted from a combination of increased household income, greater awareness of the dangers of child labor and hazardous work, intensified community monitoring of child labor and child welfare cases, and increased monitoring of small-scale employers by the project. Though not all stakeholders agreed on the relative importance of each of these components, there was agreement that increased income is important in reducing child labor. According to interviews with five implementers and partners, increased income reduced child labor because youth used their earnings to meet their basic needs and contribute earnings to household needs, including the school fees of younger siblings or relatives. A second perceived factor is that caregivers were better able to provide for their children's basic needs and education.

Savings, Income, and Child Labor. Youth and caregiver focus groups and implementers with direct knowledge of VSLA activities felt that AYEDI encouraged VSLA participant caregivers to support the basic needs of their children, both by providing them with access to additional income and with guidance on how to direct those resources. These implementers also believed that VSLA participants had invested in their businesses since the AYEDI project began and had seen returns in terms of income. This additional economic security enabled them to support the basic needs of adolescent youth and reduce the need for participation in child or hazardous labor. As project implementers explained:

“The reason why these youth are engaged in hazardous labor is because there is poverty at home and they can't access basic needs. They can't buy clothes or food. Now, because caregivers have access to savings and they can generate some business, they have a source of income. Now they can buy things for their children, like a blanket, clothes, food and send them to school, so it has helped reduce child labor in that way.”

“The data we have was actually show about 70% using the [money they had saved in the] VSLA, getting money to now either start their own business or improve their activities which of course translate into income for the household.”

“...We expect them to save some money with the group, so that once they need it they can access and get it as capital to reinvest in their businesses.”

Implementers and partners believed that VSLA participation not only provided opportunities for caregivers to increase their income, but also guidance on how to spend their income in ways that

benefited the children and youth under their care. They reported that most VSLA participants spent money on school materials and school fees or invested in their businesses. They also accessed the social welfare fund when emergencies arose.

For girls, another perceived benefit of AYEDI was the reduced risk of early marriage. Female youth in one focus group reported that they and other girls their age often engage in hazardous work to generate income to avoid early marriage. They felt that AYEDI trainings provided an opportunity for them to earn income and avoid forced marriage while engaging in non-hazardous work. Because girls could contribute to meeting their own needs or the needs of their households, participants felt they were less likely to be forced into early marriage. These participants along with male caregivers and four of the implementers and partners interviewed also agreed that AYEDI helped address attitudes towards child marriage.

In the focus groups, youth participants discussed their perception that the income generated as a result of participation in training not only affected their own participation in hazardous labor but also that of their family members. In all of the focus group discussions with youth, participants reported spending their income on school fees for younger siblings or nieces and nephews. They reported that keeping them in school would prevent them from engaging in child labor or hazardous work.

Although the stakeholders overwhelmingly believed that the income generated as a result of AYEDI reduced child and hazardous labor, two key members of the implementation team recognized some limitations. In particular, they said disengaging from hazardous labor can be a gradual process, and additional income does not automatically lead to positive results. Although most stakeholders believed that the trainings deterred youth from going back to work at hazardous jobs, six implementers and stakeholders felt that youth could and do re-engage in hazardous work, albeit briefly, in order to supplement the finance of their businesses, saying for example:

“...The youth are sort of part timing, they come to AYEDI, and then when they are not engaged with AYEDI, they go back to the quarry.”

“Why I go there once a month is because I am looking for money to boost my business. If my business boosts up, I am going to disengage completely.”

Finally, as described previously, it is possible that women's role in household decision making can influence child labor outcomes. AYEDI stakeholders reported in 14 of the interviews that they believed the project's services led to changes in intra-household bargaining, and that for many AYEDI participants, the project reduced conflict within the household. Stakeholders who reported positive changes believed that the decrease in conflict was a result of AYEDI training in financial planning, which encouraged families to plan their finances together, and also a result of increased income generation by women and youth. Participants in each of the four focus groups reported that, in some households, the project has led to greater collaboration in spending decisions and, in some cases, to less conflict or violence. Male focus group participants reported that they have adopted the savings and planning behavior encouraged by AYEDI. They sit together with their wives and sometimes their older children to discuss household needs and plans for income generation and spending. Stakeholders also attributed the perceived decrease in family conflict to women's and youth's increased capacity to generate savings or income for the household. However, there were no reports that changes in intra-household bargaining led to reductions in child labor or in the engagement of adolescent youth in hazardous work.

8.6 SUMMARY

The main objective of AYEDI was to reduce the likelihood of engagement in child and hazardous labor among adolescent youth in Uganda. To achieve this objective, the project included two livelihoods components. The first component offered the caregivers of adolescent youth the opportunity to enroll in VSLAs as a means to improve their income and savings. The expectation was that VSLA participation would help caregivers improve their ability to provide for their children's basic needs and education. The second component was to offer adolescent youth a wide range of life skills training and support services, and the opportunity to enroll in education pathways that would help them improve their life and vocational skills. Based on the project's theory of change, these services were expected to help participants increase their household savings and income. This, in turn, would help participant youth find decent employment and reduce the likelihood that they and members of their households would engage in child and hazardous labor.

Our analyses show that project participants saw improvements in savings and economic well-being. In all four focus groups with caregivers who participated in VSLAs, participants stated that they did not previously have the means to cover the basic needs of the adolescent youth under their care or provide them with access to education and health care services, and that they believed participation in VSLAs supported their ability to cover these expenses. Analyses of monitoring data show that nearly all VSLA participants (98.5 percent) were actively saving after project enrollment. We also found that the ability of VSLA participants to cover their children's basic needs improved substantially after receiving project services.⁵⁷ There was a shared belief among project stakeholders and participants that the project helped caregivers to improve their income and savings, and thus provide for the adolescent youth under their care. However, there is evidence that access to health care and education declined among youth in VSLA participant households following project enrollment.

In general, we found that youth who participated in AYEDI services experienced reductions in participation in hazardous child labor and other worst forms of child labor, accompanied by increases in decent work. At 12 months after enrollment, only 8.2 percent of youth participants were engaged in hazardous child labor compared with 55.8 percent at the time of project enrollment. Moreover, almost none of the youth participants were involved in other worst forms of child labor at 12 months after project enrollment, compared with 7.6 percent at intake. Importantly, 87.6 percent of employed youth participants were engaged in decent employment at 12 months after project enrollment, compared with just 6.7 percent at enrollment. Participants felt that AYEDI reduced participation in hazardous child labor as a result of increased income, allowing basic needs to be met and providing resources for supporting the education of other family members.

The monitoring data show that post-enrollment engagement in hazardous labor: (1) was significantly lower among school block grant and IFLY participants compared to those who did not enroll in a training pathway; and (2) was significantly higher for JFFS participants compared to those who did not enroll in a pathway. However, participation in all pathways was associated

⁵⁷ Including an 18.2 percentage point increase in adolescent youth having at least two meals a day, 34.7 percentage point increase in having a blanket, 18.2 percentage point increase in having at least two sets of clothes, and 24.2 percentage point increase in having at least one pair of shoes.

with a lower prevalence of other worst forms of child labor compared to those who did not enroll in a pathway.

While the findings show that AYEDI participation was associated with a decline in child labor outcomes and an increase in decent work, there were concerns about the sustainability of these outcomes given the growth of businesses among youth participants. For example, the qualitative data show a belief that some participants did return to hazardous labor for brief periods to help finance the businesses for which AYEDI prepared them. While we do not have quantitative data to measure this dynamic, it is anticipated by findings of previous studies as outlined in Section 2. These findings are summarized in relation to each of the study's key research questions in Exhibit 8.8.

Exhibit 8.8: Research Questions and AYEDI Findings

Research Questions	Summary	Evidence	
<p>Q1. Does the evidence support the OCFT theory of change, namely, that the provision of livelihoods services improves the intermediate outcomes of vulnerable households, such as household income and savings, and, ultimately, reduces child labor and/or forced labor?</p>	Support	Quant.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Nearly all VSLA participants were actively saving money after project enrollment. ▪ There were significant reductions in participation in hazardous and other worst forms of child labor and a significant increase in decent work among youth beneficiaries.
		Qual.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Participants believed that AYEDI reduced hazardous labor as a result of increased income, allowing basic needs to be met, and providing resources for supporting the education of other family members. ▪ Stakeholders believed that the project was effective in helping out-of-school youth obtain trade, entrepreneurship, and savings and financial planning skills that helped them improve their income. ▪ For girls, a perceived benefit of AYEDI was the reduced risk of early marriage. ▪ Although most stakeholders believed that the trainings deterred youth from going back to work at hazardous jobs, some felt that youth could and do re-engage in hazardous work, albeit briefly, in order to supplement the finance of their businesses.
<p>Q2. What types of livelihoods services appear to be more effective in reducing the prevalence of child labor or forced labor?</p>	Vocational training projects were associated with lower child labor and hazardous child labor prevalence	Quant.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ IFLY was correlated with a lower prevalence of hazardous child labor and a higher prevalence of decent work when compared with JFFS, NFE, other trainings, and not enrolling in a pathway. ▪ Participation in any pathway was associated with lower prevalence of other worst forms of child labor. ▪ School block grant participants were the least likely to be engaged in hazardous child labor and the most likely to be engaged in decent work. They were also significantly less likely to be engaged in other worst forms of child labor than those who did not enroll in a pathway. ▪ <u>Lack of quantitative outcome information for VSLA participants.</u>
		Qual.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Youth participants felt that the income generated as a result of participation in vocational training not only decreased their own participation in hazardous labor but also that of their family members. ▪ VSLA participants felt participation had increased household income by teaching them money management skills, providing access to credit, and increasing their savings. ▪ Participants felt that being a part of the VSLAs had raised their household income. ▪ Implementers and partners believed that VSLA participation not only provided opportunities for caregivers to increase their income, but also guidance on how to spend their income in ways that benefit the children and youth under their care.

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APPENDIX A. EVALUABILITY ASSESSMENT CRITERIA AND PROJECT SELECTION

The evaluability assessment criteria included:

- project design,
- fidelity of implementation,
- reliability of project administration data,
- availability of outcome data,
- access to and buy-in from key stakeholders,
- implementing partner buy-in,
- country context, and
- project diversity.

The scoring matrix is shown in Exhibit A.1.

Exhibit A.1: Evaluability Assessment Scoring Matrix

ILAB Livelihoods Projects Document Review Scoring Matrix			
Item	Rater 1	Rater 2	Guidance
Project Information			
Country			
Region			
Project Name			
Sector(s)			
Documents Reviewed			
Reviewer Name(s)			
Date of Reviews			
Project Implementer (Primary)			
Other Project Implementers			
Award Amount			
Grant Award Date			
Grant Start Date			
Grant End Date			
Current phase of Implementation			
Project will be active in early 2016?			
Project Description			
Context / Background Summary			
Other Stakeholders Involved			
Project Summary			
Grant Award Date			
Grant Start Date			
Grant End Date			
Current phase of Implementation			
Project will be active in early 2016?			
Project Description			

ILAB Livelihoods Projects Document Review Scoring Matrix			
Item	Rater 1	Rater 2	Guidance
Context / Background Summary			
Other Stakeholders Involved			
Project Summary			
Brief Description of Components			
Brief Description of Livelihoods Components			
Brief Description of Non-Livelihoods Components			
Relative importance of Livelihoods components			
Can Livelihoods components be looked at/analyzed separately from the rest of the project?			
Detailed Description of Livelihoods Components			
Stated Objectives (Goals)			
Type(s) of intervention (Activities)			
Target Population			
Number of Participants			
Locations in Country			
Rural or Urban			
Evaluability Assessment			
Do we have enough resources (staff, time, and dollars) to evaluate this project?			
Would it be safe to travel to this country in 2016?			
Is it clear who the key informants would be?			
Is it clear what the livelihoods outcomes would be?			
Is there any other information needed to assess evaluability?			
Are there existing data or indicators?			
Is there a viable comparison group using ancillary data source (e.g. household survey)?			
Can we evaluate this Project?			
Overall Assessment			
Interviews			
Were there new insights about the project overall?			
How is the project structured/set up?			
Were there new insights about the overall country context			
Were there new insights about the livelihoods components of the project?			
Can livelihoods components be easily isolated from other components?			
How is the timing in terms of stage of implementation?			
Are there any challenges with data quality or reporting?			
Were any new data sources uncovered?			
Is safety a concern?			
Are there other logistical challenges to consider?			

ILAB Livelihoods Projects Document Review Scoring Matrix			
Item	Rater 1	Rater 2	Guidance
Did we learn anything new concerning the project implementers / partners?			
Implementer participation?			
Any new challenges that came to light from the conversation that could impact the evaluability?			
Any particular assets or promising practices of this project that would warrant studying it?			
Overall, how feasible do informants think it is to study this country or work with these implementation partners?			

Exhibit A.2: Evaluability Assessment Project Selection

Country	Project	Strengths	Weaknesses	Recommendation
Brazil, Peru	Consolidating and Disseminating Efforts to Combat Forced Labor in Brazil	Livelihoods services to mitigate forced labor differentiated from other project components. Livelihoods services designed to be responsive to the local context. Strong coordination among partners.	Relatively small-scale project.	<i>Include</i>
Burkina Faso	Reducing Child Labor Through Education and Service	Livelihoods services clearly differentiated from other components of the project. Strong coordination among partners.	Data quality concerns. Security concerns.	Exclude
Ethiopia	Engaged, Educated, Empowered Ethiopian Youth Project	Livelihoods services differentiated from other components of the project Livelihoods services designed to be responsive to the local context. Follow-up to a previous project, potentially allowing for interesting evaluation design.	Severe safety concerns due to political instability. Early delays in getting project started.	Exclude
Haiti	Project to Reduce Child Labor and Improve Labor Rights and Working Conditions in Haiti: Let's Work for Our Rights	Livelihoods services clearly differentiated from other components of the project. Strong project design and government relationships. Good data collection platform.	Substantial implementation delays of livelihoods services.	Exclude

Country	Project	Strengths	Weaknesses	Recommendation
Honduras	Futuros Brillantes: Project to Reduce Child Labor and Improve Labor Rights	Livelihoods services clearly differentiated from other components of the project. Livelihoods services designed to be responsive to the local context. Access to key stakeholders.	Implementation of livelihoods services severely delayed the livelihoods intervention, amid serious security concerns.	Exclude
Liberia	Actions to Reduce Child Labor	Livelihoods services clearly differentiated from other components of the project. Strong support from stakeholders. Feasibility of identifying a comparison group.	Data quality concerns. Findings unlikely to be generalizable because of disruption caused by Ebola epidemic.	Exclude
Myanmar	My-PEC: Myanmar Program on the Elimination of Child Labor	Livelihoods services designed to be responsive to the local context. Project design based on extensive research and needs assessment. Potential for more rigorous quantitative analysis due to late start of implementation.	Remoteness of some intervention sites. Substantial political instability in some regions. Possible lack of support from some local governments.	Include
Peru	Proyecto Semilla (Seed Project) Combating Exploitative Rural Child Labor in Peru	Strong project design. Strong implementation of livelihoods services components.	Access to data and stakeholders difficult because livelihood services have already ended.	Exclude
Rwanda	Rwanda Education Alternatives for Children in Tea-Growing Areas (REACH-T)	Livelihoods services differentiated from other components. Strong coordination among partners. Presence of a robust child labor monitoring system. Complements IMPAQ's current impact evaluation of the REACH-T training component Model Farm School.	Challenge of isolating the effects of livelihoods services from those of other services received by target group.	Include

Country	Project	Strengths	Weaknesses	Recommendation
Tanzania	WEKEZA: / INVEST: Supporting Livelihood and Developing Quality Education to Stop Child Labor	<p>Livelihoods services clearly differentiated from other components.</p> <p>Livelihoods services designed to be responsive to the local context.</p> <p>Large project with many participants and covering several regions.</p>	<p>Access to data and stakeholders difficult because livelihood services have already ended.</p>	Exclude
Uganda	African Youth Empowerment and Development Initiative	<p>Livelihoods services clearly differentiated from other components.</p> <p>Livelihoods services designed to be responsive to the local context.</p> <p>Large project covering many regions.</p> <p>Good data collection procedures in place.</p>	<p>Challenges with engagement in village savings and loan associations.</p>	Include

APPENDIX B: DATA ANALYSIS

B.1. QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

Using available project monitoring data, we produced descriptive and regression analyses of participant characteristics, project participation, and related outcomes. An overview of the quantitative data analysis approach is presented below. The analyses were produced separately for each project and therefore vary based on data availability. As discussed above, and in more detail in the individual project results in this report, there was variation across projects in data content. This variation affected our ability to perform some of the analyses described below and to make direct comparisons in outcomes across projects.

Participant Characteristics. Using information from the project intake data (all countries except Brazil) and administrative data (Brazil), we present descriptive analyses of participant household characteristics, including:

- Socioeconomic characteristics of the household's head (gender, age, education, etc.);
- Household size (total household size and number of children); and
- Living conditions (house structure, available amenities, etc.).

In addition, we examined the characteristics of children in participant households (all projects except IAP), including their gender, age, and education. Using the same data, we also examined household and child-level indicators at the time of project enrollment, as available, including household income, assets, and savings, and prevalence of child or forced labor.

Services Received. Project input data were used to examine the services received by project participants, service completion, and the length of project participation. In particular, we tabulated the proportions of participant households and their children that received each type of livelihood services and the mix of services received. We also examined, as available, service completion rates among participants and the time spent receiving project services.

Intermediate and Final Outcomes. Using available project outcomes data, we examined the intermediate and final outcomes of participants after project enrollment. Key intermediate

outcomes included whether participant households report an increase in income, savings, or assets. Final outcomes included whether participant children were engaged in child labor (My-PEC, AYEDI, and REACH-T) and whether participants were engaged in forced labor (IAP). However, as discussed above and in more detail in the individual project results sections later in this report, data availability limited our ability to perform analyses of some project indicators.

As a first step in our analysis, we present descriptive analyses of income and child and forced labor indicators at project enrollment (using project input data), and compare them with observed values after project enrollment (using project outcomes data). As noted in Section 2, changes in child labor prevalence are often associated with the types poverty reduction services received. Therefore, as a second step in our analysis, we examined whether outcomes are correlated with project services received using multivariate linear regression models to estimate each intermediate and final outcome based on household characteristics, individual characteristics, and project services, as feasible. These models take the following form for household-level outcomes:

$$Y = a + Serv \cdot b + HH \cdot c + u \quad [1]$$

The dependent variable in this model (Y) is the outcome of interest, measured using project outcomes data. Control variables include:

- A constant term (a);
- Indicators for project services received ($Serv$), measured using project input data;
- Household-level characteristics at project entry (HH), such as the household head's socioeconomic characteristics, household size, household location, and household income, measured using project intake data (Myanmar, Rwanda, and Uganda) or administrative data (Brazil);⁵⁸ and
- A zero-mean error term (u), capturing the influence of characteristics not included in the specification.

⁵⁸ It is anticipated that participant outcomes may be correlated with characteristics capturing the household head's human capital (education, age, etc.) and economic situation at program enrollment. For example, we would expect child labor to be higher for households with lower income, as captured by the head's low human capital and low income, or for households with more members under their care. Thus, it is important to include available household characteristics to capture outcomes variation that is not associated with the types of services received.

The estimated parameters of interest are: b , a vector of parameters measuring the correlation between the outcome of interest and project services received; and c , a vector of parameters measuring the correlation between the outcome of interest and household-level characteristics. These models and their associated parameters were estimated separately for each intermediate and final outcome. Estimated standard errors were used to construct t-tests to test the statistical significance of each parameter. Based on these analyses, we identified whether household-level outcomes were correlated with household characteristics or the types of services received from the project.

We also examined whether child-level outcomes (e.g., likelihood of engagement in child labor and likelihood of engagement in hazardous labor) were correlated with project services received. For this purpose, we used multivariate linear regression models of the following form:

$$Y = a + Serv \cdot b + HH \cdot c + CH \cdot d + u \quad [2]$$

The dependent variable in this model (Y) is the child-level outcome of interest, measured using project outcomes data. Similar to model (1), control variables include a constant term (a), indicators for project services received ($Serv$) and household-level characteristics (HH), and a zero-mean error term (u). These models also included children's characteristics (e.g., gender, age, education) and available information about engagement in child labor at project intake to account for and correlation with the outcome of interest.

The estimated parameters of interest are: b , a vector of parameters measuring the correlation of child-level outcomes with project services received; c , a vector of parameters measuring the correlation of child-level outcomes with household-level characteristics; and d , a vector of parameters measuring the correlation of child-level outcomes with children's characteristics. We estimated models separately for each outcome of interest and use t-tests to test the statistical significance of each parameter. These analyses helped us to identify whether child-level intermediate and final outcomes were correlated with household and children's characteristics and with the types of livelihoods services received.

Data Descriptions. For IAP, administrative data from the Government of Brazil provided information on characteristics and forced labor status for 698 project participants prior to

enrollment. The project implementers also provided input data on services received by these participants. Project outcomes data had two important limitations that affected our analyses. First, outcomes data were available for only 79 of 698 participants,⁵⁹ and thus analyses of participant outcomes may not be representative of the entire participant population. Second, outcomes data provided information on participant employment and income, but not on whether participants were engaged in forced labor after project enrollment.⁶⁰

The Myanmar My-PEC project provided project intake data for 669 participant households and their 1,284 children. The project also provided complete project input data, reporting the project services received by participant households and their children. Importantly, the project provided project outcomes data for 932 of the 1,284 participant children that were used to measure engagement in child labor at six months after project enrollment.

In Rwanda, Winrock International provided project intake data for 2,958 participant households and their 4,182 children. These data report child and household characteristics and whether children were involved in child or hazardous labor at project intake. Project input data provided information on the project services received by participant children. The project also provided five rounds of project outcomes data for participant households and their children, covering a period of up to 30 months after project enrollment. One issue with the project outcomes data is that the sample size varied across rounds, ranging from 96 to 2,183 participant households and from 1,278 to 2,481 participant children. Importantly, project outcomes data did not provide direct measures of child labor or hazardous labor after project enrollment. Instead, the data report whether children missed school because they were involved in paid work.

In Uganda, the implementers of AYEDI, World Education Inc., provided project intake data, which were used to analyze participant characteristics and child labor status at project entry. The data included 2,472 VSLA participants who were caregivers of adolescent youth and 4,789 adolescent youth participants who received livelihoods and training services. One data limitation is that there was no information to link the VSLA with the youth sample, so we cannot identify if

⁵⁹ IAP started operating in Brazil in 2008, but monitoring data was not systematically collected until ILO's involvement in 2012. Thus, ILO collected outcomes data only for participants that enrolled in the program after ILO's involvement.

⁶⁰ Collection of these data are not required in ILO's Comprehensive Monitoring and Evaluation Plan (CMEP).

the 4,789 adolescent youth were under the care of VSLA participants or if, in fact, they were VSLA participants themselves. World Education Inc. also provided project input data for the majority of youth participants and outcomes data on 746 of 2,742 VSLA participants and 4,053 of 4,789 youth participants. Project outcomes data contained information on participant outcomes at 12 months after project enrollment, including: (1) VSLA participants' savings and ability to care for their children, and (2) whether youth participants were employed, engaged in hazardous labor, engaged in other worst forms of child labor, and engaged in decent work.

B.2. QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

Analyses of the qualitative data gathered during the site visits allowed us to understand the perspectives and experiences of project stakeholders. Based on the respondents' words and observed behavior, we developed an in-depth understanding of their perceptions about project inputs and outcomes and whether and how livelihoods services were associated with changes in income and participation in child and forced labor.

To analyze the qualitative data, we relied on both content and thematic analysis. Content analysis involves reading through the text data and coding words, phrases, or sections of text as they pertain to specific subject matter topics. Thematic analysis involves grouping data into themes, that is, common ideas, experiences, and opinions that appear repeatedly in interview and focus group data. These topics included both those that derive from the theory of change and emergent themes that evolved over the course of the evaluation, allowing us to identify perceived processes that were not explicitly hypothesized in the theory of change.

As a first step in the data analysis process, we developed a coding structure to apply to the interview and focus group transcripts. The purpose of the coding structure was to organize the content of the interviews and focus group discussions. We developed a single coding structure for all four projects in order to cover the range of themes that might arise related to each project's theory of change and the process of implementing an OCFT-funded project of livelihoods services. Coding according to this common structure enabled us to look at the data across the four projects and to examine similarities and differences in responses from each project. We then used an inductive data coding strategy to identify emergent themes and adapt the coding structure as variations in themes became apparent. This was done iteratively throughout the coding process.

Throughout the qualitative analysis process, we compared emergent themes across each type of stakeholder within the project, including participants, project implementers, and community stakeholders. We also examined how different groups of respondents described similar topics, such as if and how specific services were perceived to influence household income. We then compared findings across implementation sites within each project to identify how local dynamics or conditions were correlated with the findings. In finalizing the key themes or content categories that emerged in the data from each project, we focused particularly on those that related to the theory of change or directly addressed the research questions.

The final stage of analysis entailed comparing themes across projects. For example, we examined whether there was a perceived relationship between livelihoods services and income, how direct this relationship was believed to be, and whether it was consistent across projects. We used this information to highlight any contextual factors that may influence how livelihoods services do or do not translate into intermediate and final outcomes, as perceived by stakeholders and participants.

APPENDIX C: PROJECT LOGIC MODELS

Exhibit C.1: IAP Results Framework (Brazil)

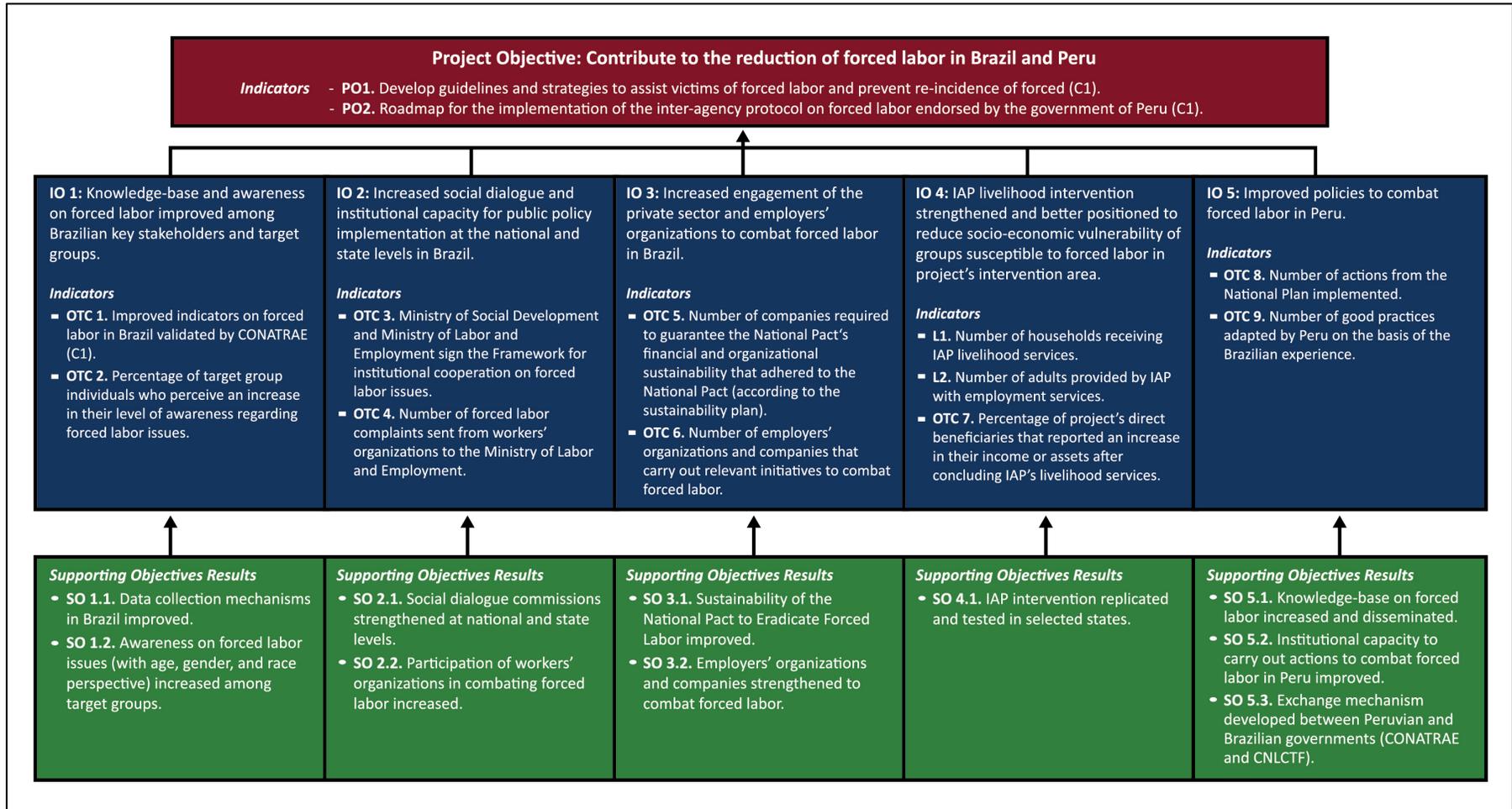


Exhibit C.2: My-PEC Results Framework (Myanmar)

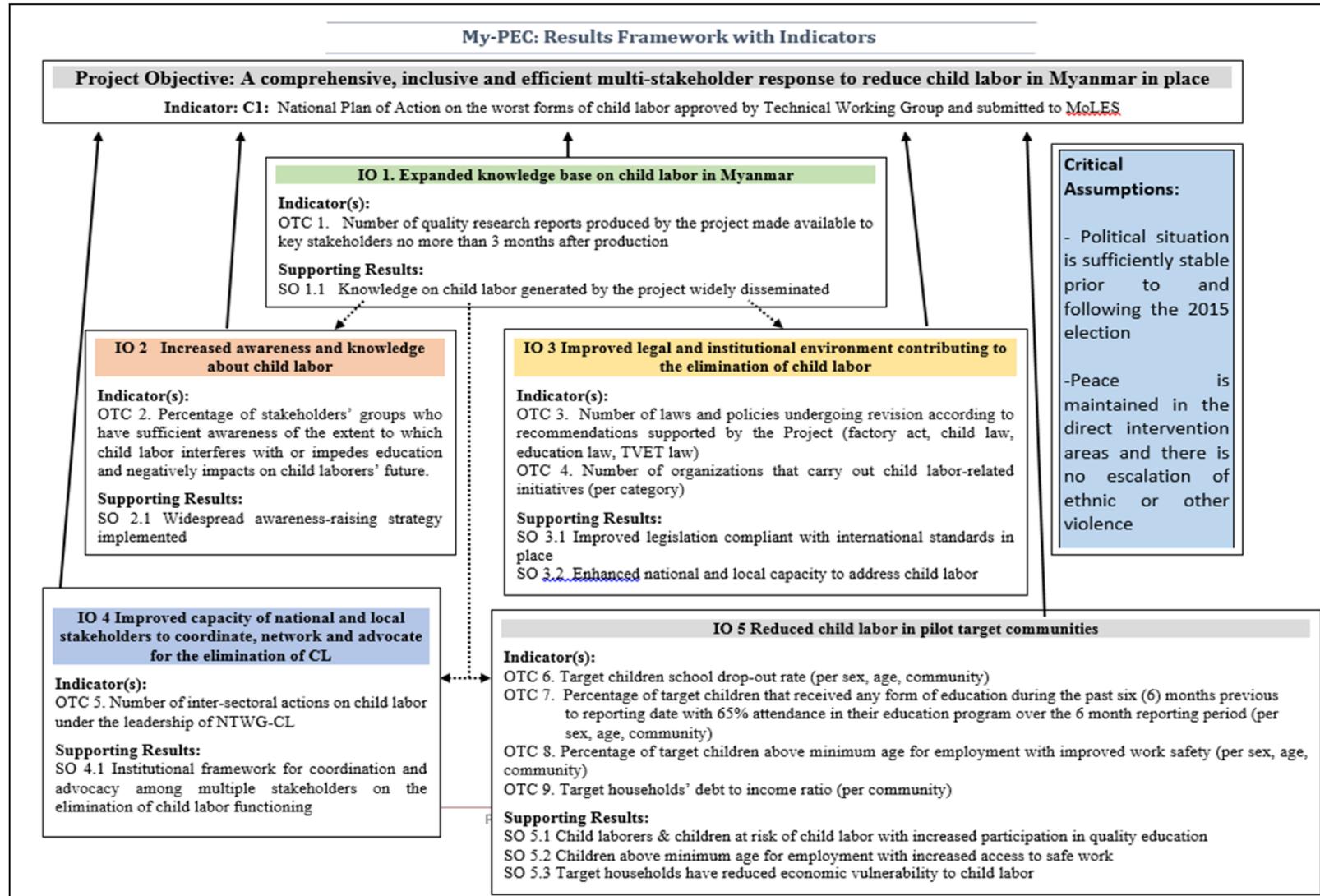


Exhibit C.3: REACH-T Results Framework (Rwanda)

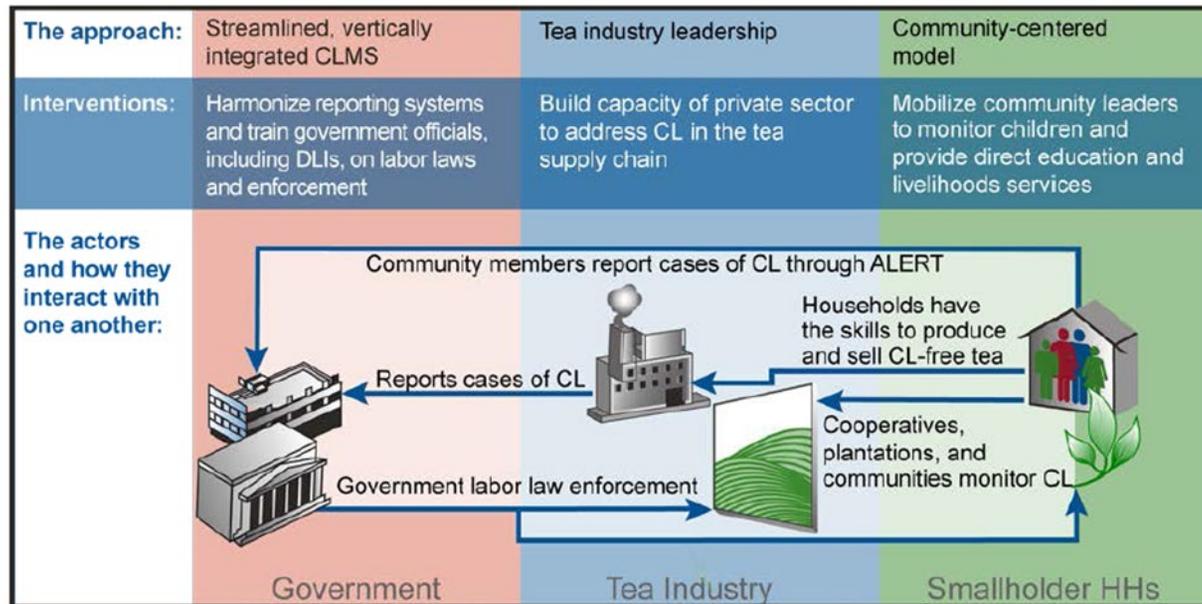
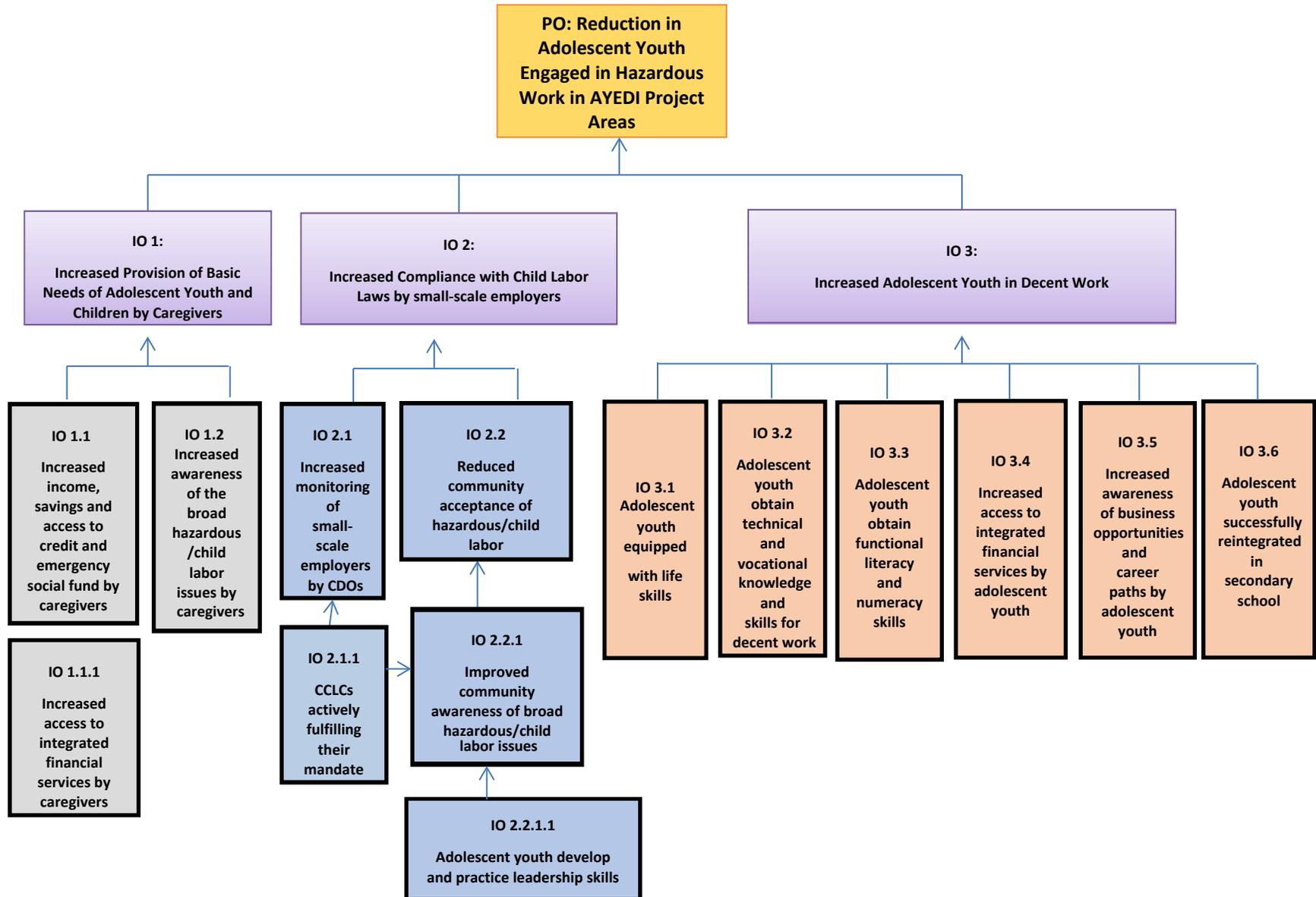


Exhibit C.4: AYEDI Logic Model



APPENDIX D: CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS WITH PROJECT OUTCOMES DATA

There were notable differences in characteristics between the 79 participants with follow-up data and the entire sample of 698 participants. As seen in Exhibit D.1, the 79 participants with follow-up data were less likely than the average participant to be 18 to 24 years old, a rescued worker, and reside in an urban location. These differences suggest that the 79 participants with follow-up data may not be representative of all participants served by the program during the study period.

Exhibit D.1: Characteristics of Participants, Brazil IAP

	Participants with Outcomes Data	All Participants
Total Number	79	698
Race		
White	12 (15.2%)	135 (19.3%)
Pardo (multi-race)	33 (41.8%)	279 (40.0%)
African-Brazilian	22 (27.9%)	92 (13.2%)
Other	0 (0.0%)	10 (1.4%)
Missing	12 (15.2%)	182 (26.1%)
Gender		
Male	53 (81.0%)	494 (70.8%)
Female	15 (19.0%)	204 (29.2%)
Age		
0 to 24 years old	21 (26.6%)	111 (15.9%)
25 to 34 years old	24 (30.4%)	278 (39.8%)
35 to 44 years old	18 (22.8%)	160 (22.9%)
45 to 55 years old	12 (15.2%)	101 (14.5%)
55 years old or older	3 (3.8%)	42 (6.0%)
Missing	1 (1.3%)	6 (0.9%)
Marital status		
Single	46 (58.2%)	339 (48.6%)
Married	22 (27.9%)	219 (31.4%)
Missing	11 (13.9%)	140 (20.1%)
Condition		
Rescued	26 (32.9%)	141 (20.2%)
Vulnerable	53 (67.1%)	557 (79.8%)
Household Size		
Total household size	4.0 (1.9)	4.2 (1.9)
House location area		
Rural	17 (21.5%)	220 (31.5%)
Urban	62 (78.5%)	447 (64.0%)
Missing	0 (0.0%)	31 (4.4%)
Type of Housing		
House	68 (86.1%)	568 (81.4%)
Other	5 (6.3%)	36 (5.2%)
Missing	6 (7.6%)	94 (13.5%)
Water access		
Pipe	64 (81.0%)	550 (78.8%)
Other	9 (11.4%)	54 (7.7%)
Missing	6 (7.6%)	94 (13.5%)
Energy Access		
Electricity	68 (86.1%)	494 (70.8%)
Other	5 (6.3%)	110 (15.8%)
Missing	6 (7.6%)	94 (13.5%)
Sanitation system		
Complete	57 (72.2%)	458 (65.6%)
Tank	16 (20.3%)	141 (20.2%)
None	--	5 (0.7%)
Missing	6 (7.6%)	94 (13.5%)

Note: Reported is the number of participants with sample proportion in parentheses.

In Myanmar, the characteristics of the 492 participant households in the program outcomes data were generally similar to the characteristics of all 669 participant households (Exhibit D.2). Similarly, the characteristics of the 932 participant children in the program outcomes data were similar to the characteristics of all 1,284 participant children (Exhibit D.3). This suggests that child labor indicators based on program outcomes data were representative of the indicators for the entire participant population.

Exhibit D.2: Characteristics of Participant Households, Myanmar My-PEC

	Participant Households with Outcomes Data	All Participant Households
Number of Households	492	669
Household Size		
1-2 members	91 (18.50%)	108 (16.1%)
3-4 members	164 (33.33%)	201 (30.0%)
5-6 members	133 (27.03%)	201 (30.0%)
7 or more members	8 (1.63%)	10 (1.5%)
Missing	96 (19.51%)	149 (22.3%)
Household head gender		
Male	370 (75.20%)	504 (75.3%)
Female	116 (23.58%)	154 (23.0%)
Missing	6 (1.22%)	11 (1.6%)
Household head age		
18-24 years old	4 (0.81%)	5 (0.8%)
25-34 years old	38 (7.72%)	63 (9.4%)
35-44 years old	185 (37.60%)	252 (37.7%)
45-54 years old	151 (30.69%)	203 (30.3%)
55-64 years old	75 (15.24%)	96 (14.4%)
> 65 years old	33 (6.71%)	39 (5.8%)
Missing	6 (1.22%)	11 (1.6%)
Household head's level of education		
Primary or less	330 (67.07%)	463 (69.0%)
Middle school	108 (21.95%)	139 (20.8%)
High school	28 (5.69%)	30 (4.5%)
Missing	0 (0%)	37 (5.5%)
Township		
Ye	55 (11.18%)	199 (29.8%)
Labutta	278 (56.50%)	300 (44.8%)
Dagon Seikkan	159 (32.32%)	170 (25.4%)
Missing	0 (0%)	0 (0.0%)

Note: Reported is the number of participant households with sample proportion in parentheses.

Exhibit D.3: Characteristics of Participant Children, Myanmar My-PEC

	Participant Children with Outcomes Data	All Participant Children
Number of Children	932	1,284
Gender		
Male	691 (53.8%)	488 (52.4%)
Female	593 (46.2%)	444 (47.6%)
Household head gender		
Male	370 (75.20%)	504 (75.3%)
Female	116 (23.58%)	154 (23.0%)
Missing	6 (1.22%)	11 (1.6%)
Age		
5 to 11 years old	633 (49.3%)	456 (48.9%)
12 to 13 years old	284 (22.1%)	206 (22.1%)
14 to 15 years old	203 (15.8%)	154 (16.5%)
16 to 17 years old	164 (12.8%)	116 (12.5%)
Education		
Primary or less	599 (46.7%)	419 (45.0%)
Middle school	235 (18.3%)	186 (20.0%)
High school	41 (3.1%)	30 (3.2%)
Missing	409 (31.9%)	297 (31.9%)
Currently enrolled in school		
Yes	876 (68.2%)	636 (68.24%)
No	378 (29.4%)	292 (31.33%)
Missing	30 (2.3%)	4 (0.43%)

Note: Reported is the number of participant children with sample proportion in parentheses.

In Rwanda, the characteristics of participant households with program outcomes data in each round were generally similar to the characteristics of all 2,958 participant households (Exhibit D.4). This suggests that post-enrollment outcomes based on program outcomes data were representative of the outcomes for the entire participant population.

Exhibit D.4: Characteristics of Participant Households, Rwanda REACH-T

	All Participant Households	Participant Households with Outcomes Data				
		Round 1	Round 2	Round 3	Round 4	Round 5
Total	2,958	96	679	2,183	1,962	1,275
District						
Burera	44 (1.5%)	1 (1.0%)	10 (1.5%)	42 (1.9%)	37 (1.9%)	21 (1.7%)
Gicumbi	236 (8.0%)	3 (3.1%)	67 (9.9%)	214 (9.8%)	183 (9.3%)	124 (9.7%)
Karongi	313 (10.6%)	14 (14.6%)	72 (10.6%)	98 (4.5%)	124 (6.3%)	62 (4.9%)
Ngororero	276 (9.3%)	22 (22.9%)	35 (5.2%)	200 (9.2%)	167 (8.5%)	140 (11.0%)
Nyabihu	52 (1.8%)	0 (0.0%)	51 (7.5%)	48 (2.2%)	31 (1.6%)	0 (0.0%)
Nyamagabe	305 (10.3%)	1 (1.0%)	24 (3.5%)	224 (10.3%)	188 (9.6%)	128 (10.0%)
Nyamasheke	239 (8.1%)	2 (2.1%)	39 (5.7%)	195 (8.9%)	212 (10.8%)	180 (14.1%)
Nyaruguru	331 (11.2%)	10 (10.4%)	79 (11.6%)	261 (12.0%)	211 (10.8%)	113 (8.9%)
Rubavu	255 (8.6%)	22 (22.9%)	63 (9.3%)	171 (7.8%)	208 (10.6%)	128 (10.0%)
Rulindo	89 (3.0%)	0 (0%)	65 (9.6%)	75 (3.4%)	56 (2.9%)	0 (0.0%)
Rusizi	564 (19.1%)	11 (11.5%)	153 (22.4%)	484 (22.2%)	350 (17.8%)	203 (15.9%)
Rutsiro	254 (8.6%)	10 (10.4%)	22 (3.2%)	171 (7.8%)	195 (9.9%)	176 (13.8%)
Household head's marital status						
Single	977 (33.0%)	37 (38.5%)	187 (27.5%)	754 (34.5%)	712 (36.3%)	499 (39.1%)
Married	1,849 (62.5%)	57 (59.4%)	462 (68.0%)	1,359 (62.3%)	1,168 (59.5%)	732 (57.4%)
Missing	132 (4.5%)	2 (2.1%)	30 (4.4%)	70 (3.2%)	82 (4.2%)	44 (3.5%)
Household head's level of education						
No formal education	1,209 (40.9%)	37 (38.5%)	236 (34.8%)	917 (42.0%)	843 (43.0%)	624 (48.9%)
Some formal education	1,611 (54.5%)	56 (58.3%)	408 (60.1%)	1,188 (54.4%)	1,028 (52.4%)	603 (47.3%)
Missing	138 (4.7%)	3 (3.1%)	35 (5.2%)	78 (3.6%)	91 (4.6%)	48 (3.76%)
Number of workers in the household						
None	266 (9.0%)	8 (8.3%)	71 (10.5%)	203 (9.3%)	180 (9.17%)	95 (7.5%)
1-3 workers	2,422 (81.9%)	81 (84.4%)	542 (79.8%)	1,790 (82.0%)	1,629 (83.03%)	1,107 (86.8%)
4 or more workers	186 (6.3%)	5 (5.2%)	49 (7.2%)	149 (6.8%)	105 (5.35%)	45 (3.5%)
Missing	84 (2.8%)	2 (2.1%)	17 (2.5%)	41 (1.9%)	48 (2.45%)	28 (2.2%)
Number of non-workers in the household						
None	129 (4.4%)	1 (1.0%)	32 (4.7%)	88 (4.0%)	87 (4.4%)	48 (3.8%)
1-3 non-workers	1,064 (36.0%)	38 (39.6%)	202 (29.8%)	778 (35.6%)	716 (36.5%)	492 (38.6%)
4 or more non-workers	1,679 (56.8%)	55 (57.3%)	426 (62.7%)	1,274 (58.4%)	1,110 (56.6%)	707 (55.5%)
Missing	86 (2.9%)	2 (2.1%)	19 (2.8%)	43 (2.0%)	49 (2.5%)	28 (2.2%)

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	All Participant Households	Participant Households with Outcomes Data				
		Round 1	Round 2	Round 3	Round 4	Round 5
Total	2,958	96	679	2,183	1,962	1,275
Household head's employment status						
Employed	2,468 (82.5%)	80 (83.3%)	563 (82.9%)	1,826 (83.6%)	1,617 (81.4%)	1,059 (83.1%)
Unemployed	353 (11.9%)	13 (13.5%)	71 (10.5%)	256 (11.7%)	235 (12.0%)	160 (12.6%)
Missing	167 (5.7%)	3 (3.1%)	45 (6.6%)	101 (4.6%)	110 (5.6%)	56 (4.4%)
Household head's monthly income (in Rwandan francs)						
Average income	8,020 (6,304)	7,921 (6,942)	7,798 (5,368)	8,198 (6,496)	7,799 (6,279)	7,530 (6,123)
Sources of household income						
Tea-related activities	1,451 (49.1%)	41 (42.7%)	312 (46.0%)	1,025 (47.0%)	951 (48.5%)	641 (50.3%)
Agriculture and farming	1,999 (67.6%)	65 (67.7%)	426 (62.7%)	1,478 (67.7%)	1,243 (63.4%)	799 (62.7%)
Other	875 (29.6%)	31 (32.3%)	170 (25.0%)	649 (29.7%)	568 (29.0%)	404 (31.7%)
Number of meals children have per day						
1 meal	2,313 (78.2%)	73 (76.0%)	507 (74.7%)	1,730 (79.3%)	1,637 (83.4%)	1,125 (88.2%)
2 meals	476 (16.1%)	12 (12.5%)	119 (17.5%)	346 (15.9%)	224 (11.4%)	112 (8.8%)
3 or more meals	11 (0.4%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	6 (0.3%)	7 (0.4%)	4 (0.3%)
Missing	158 (5.3%)	11 (11.5%)	53 (7.8%)	101 (4.6%)	94 (4.8%)	34 (2.7%)
Household has savings						
Yes	1,294 (43.8%)	45 (46.9%)	334 (49.2%)	989 (45.3%)	864 (44.0%)	542 (42.5%)
No	1,247 (42.2%)	35 (36.5%)	237 (34.9%)	884 (40.5%)	783 (39.9%)	527 (41.3%)
Missing	417 (14.1%)	16 (16.7%)	108 (15.9%)	310 (14.2%)	315 (16.1%)	206 (16.2%)
Type of savings (for households with savings)						
Bank account	406 (31.4%)	20 (44.4%)	106 (31.7%)	286 (28.9%)	265 (30.7%)	139 (25.7%)
Box at home	44 (3.4%)	1 (2.2%)	8 (2.4%)	39 (3.9%)	26 (3.0%)	17 (3.1%)
Cooperative bank / VSLA	549 (42.4%)	10 (22.2%)	146 (43.7%)	439 (44.4%)	370 (42.8%)	240 (44.3%)
Other	189 (14.6%)	10 (22.2%)	46 (13.8%)	135 (13.7%)	138 (16.0%)	105 (19.4%)
Missing	106 (8.2%)	4 (8.9%)	28 (8.4%)	90 (9.1%)	65 (7.5%)	41 (7.6%)

Note: Reported is the number of participant households with sample proportion in parentheses.

In Uganda, the characteristics of the 746 VSLA participants with program outcomes data were similar with the characteristics of all 2,742 VSLA participants, except that participants in Budhaya were overrepresented and participants in Paicho and Unyama were underrepresented in the outcomes data (Exhibit D.5). The 4,053 youth participants in the outcomes data were similar in terms of their observed characteristics with all 4,789 youth participants served by the program (Exhibit D.6). Thus, analyses of child labor outcomes based on outcomes data were representative of the entire youth participant population.

Exhibit D.5: Characteristics of VSLA Participants, Uganda AYEDI

	VSLA Participants with Outcomes Data	All VSLA Participants
Total Number of Participants	746	2,742
Sub-county, District		
Budhaya, Bugiri	165 (22.1%)	301 (11.0%)
Paicho, Gulu	37 (5.0%)	236 (8.6%)
Unyama, Gulu	151 (20.2%)	672 (24.5%)
Buyanga, Iganga	138 (18.5%)	559 (20.4%)
Adekokwok, Lira	218 (29.2%)	799 (29.1%)
Buwuanga, Masaka	37 (5.0%)	175 (6.4%)
Gender		
Male	179 (24.0%)	722 (26.3%)
Female	567 (76.0%)	2,020 (73.7%)
Main reason for joining VSLA		
Take care of children under my responsibility	23 (3.1%)	74 (2.7%)
Save to start a business	495 (66.4%)	1,908 (69.6%)
Take care of myself	177 (23.7%)	580 (21.2%)
Financial literacy education	28 (3.8%)	111 (4.1%)
Social networking	7 (0.9%)	25 (0.9%)
Business management training	16 (2.1%)	32 (1.2%)
Missing	--	12 (0.4%)
All adolescent youth under your care have:		
at least two meals a day	590 (79.1%)	2,157 (78.7%)
a blanket	394 (52.8%)	1,329 (48.5%)
at least two sets of clothes	565 (75.7%)	1,973 (72.0%)
at least one pair of shoes	416 (55.8%)	1,300 (47.4%)
All adolescent youth under your care have:		
access to education	433 (58.0%)	1,569 (57.2%)
access to health care	605 (81.1%)	2,036 (74.3%)

Note: Reported is the number of participants with sample proportion in parentheses.

Exhibit D.6: Characteristics of Youth Participants, Uganda AYEDI

	Youth Participants with Outcomes Data	All Youth Participants
Total Number of Participants	4,053	4,789
Sub-county, District		
Budhaya, Bugiri	185 (4.6%)	185 (3.9%)
Paicho, Gulu	391 (9.7%)	503 (10.5%)
Unyama, Gulu	570 (14.1%)	713 (14.9%)
Buyanga, Iganga	939 (23.2%)	1,051 (22.2%)
Adekokwok, Lira	1,021 (25.2%)	1,168 (24.4%)
Buwuanga, Masaka	947 (23.4%)	1,073 (22.4%)
Missing	-	96 (2.0%)
Gender		
Male	2,129 (52.5%)	2,373 (49.5%)
Female	1,924 (47.5%)	2,416 (50.5%)
Age		
15 years old	1,126 (27.8%)	1,312 (27.4%)
16 years old	1,486 (36.7%)	1,757 (36.7%)
17 years old	1,441 (35.6%)	1,720 (35.9%)
Level of Education		
Never enrolled in primary school	189 (4.7%)	199 (4.2%)
Did not complete primary school	2,562 (63.2%)	2,910 (60.8%)
Completed primary school	416 (10.3%)	461 (9.6%)
Dropped out of secondary school	790 (19.5%)	862 (18.0%)
Enrolled in secondary school	44 (1.1%)	298 (6.2%)
Dropped out of vocational training	39 (1.0%)	41 (0.9%)
Missing	13 (0.3%)	18 (0.4%)
Can read/write?		
Yes	2,283 (56.3%)	2,775 (58.0%)
No	1,770 (43.7%)	2,014 (42.1%)
Currently enrolled in school/vocational training?		
Yes	63 (1.6%)	301 (6.3%)
No	3,990 (98.5%)	4,488 (93.7%)
When did you drop out of school?		
Never enrolled	91 (2.3%)	96 (2.0%)
Last year	1,983 (48.9%)	2,179 (45.5%)
2-3 years ago	1,417 (35.0%)	1,621 (33.9%)
4+ years ago	369 (9.1%)	419 (8.8%)
Missing	193 (4.8%)	474 (9.9%)
Why did you drop out of school?		
Non-monetary barriers	94 (2.3%)	107 (2.3%)
Monetary barriers	3,369 (83.1%)	3,773 (78.8%)
Lack of interest in schooling	241 (6.0%)	274 (5.7%)
Missing	230 (5.7%)	514 (10.7%)
Are you interested in going back to school/vocational training?		
Yes, to school	186 (4.6%)	195 (4.1%)
Yes, to vocational training	3,468 (85.6%)	3,901 (81.5%)
Neither school nor vocational training	399 (10.1%)	708 (14.8%)

Note: Reported is the number of participants with sample proportion in parentheses.

APPENDIX E: PARTICIPANT CHARACTERISTICS AT ENROLLMENT

E.1 CHARACTERISTICS OF PROJECT PARTICIPANTS – IAP BRAZIL

To improve the livelihoods of rescued and vulnerable workers and prevent engagement in forced labor, IAP provided participants with the training and awareness services described previously. Exhibit E.1 presents descriptive analyses of the characteristics of the 698 project participants for which data was available, prior to project entry.

Exhibit E.1: Participant Characteristics

Number of Participants	Participants
	698
Condition	
Rescued	141 (20.2%)
Vulnerable	557 (79.8%)
Gender	
Male	494 (70.8%)
Female	204 (29.2%)
Age	
18 to 24 years old	111 (15.9%)
25 to 34 years old	278 (39.8%)
35 to 44 years old	160 (22.9%)
45 to 55 years old	101 (14.5%)
55+ years old	42 (6.0%)
Missing	6 (0.9%)
Race	
White	135 (19.3%)
Pardo (multi-race)	279 (40.0%)
Black	92 (13.2%)
Other	10 (1.4%)
Missing	182 (26.1%)
Education	
Did not complete primary	350 (50.1%)
Primary school	163 (23.4%)
High school	114 (16.3%)
College	3 (0.4%)
Missing	68 (9.7%)
Employment status	
Employed	198 (28.4%)
Not employed	324 (46.4%)
Missing	176 (25.2%)

Note: Reported is the number of participants with sample proportion in parentheses.

Source: Administrative data.

About 20.2 percent of participants were previously victims of forced labor (rescued), while the remaining 79.8 percent had not been exposed to forced labor but were at risk (vulnerable). About

70.8 percent of participants were male, and the majority were either 25 to 34 years old (39.8 percent) or 35 to 44 years old (22.9 percent). Many participants reported they were multi-race or “pardo” (40.0 percent), and that they did not complete primary education (50.1 percent). About 28.4 percent of participants were employed and 46.4 percent were not employed; however, employment information was not available for 25.2 percent of cases.

Exhibit E.2 presents the household characteristics and living conditions of project participants. About 31.4 percent of participants were married and 48.6 percent were single; marital status was missing for 20.1 percent of cases. On average, participants had 1.3 children and 4.2 household members. Nearly two-thirds of participants (60.2 percent) reported living in an urban area.

Exhibit E.2: Household Characteristics and Living Conditions of Project Participants

Number of Participants	Participants
	698
Marital status	
Single	339 (48.6%)
Married	219 (31.4%)
Missing	140 (20.1%)
Household Size	
Number of children	1.3 (1.5)
Total household size	4.2 (2.1)
House location area	
Rural	614 (36.8%)
Urban	1,005 (60.2%)
Missing	50 (3.0%)
Type of Housing	
House	1,414 (84.7%)
Other	125 (7.5%)
Missing	130 (7.8%)
Water access	
Pipe	1,270 (76.1%)
Other	269 (16.1%)
Missing	130 (7.8%)
Energy Access	
Electricity	1,307 (78.3%)
Other	232 (13.9%)
Missing	130 (7.8%)
Sanitation system	
Complete	1,070 (64.1%)
Tank	414 (24.8%)
None	55 (3.3%)
Missing	130 (7.8%)

Note: Reported is the number of participants with sample proportion in parentheses; for household size variables, reported is the sample mean with standard deviation in parentheses.

Source: Administrative data.

E.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF PROJECT PARTICIPANTS – MY-PEC

E.2.1. Characteristics of Participant Households

Exhibit E.3 presents the characteristics of the 669 My-PEC participant households based on project intake data. The majority of participant households included in the data were located in the remote Labutta Township (44.8 percent) while 29.8 percent are located in Ye and 25.4 percent were in Dagon Seikkan. The exhibit also presents descriptive analyses of the household head’s gender, age, and education. The majority of participant household heads were male (75.3 percent), were 35 to 54 years old (68.0 percent), and had no more than a primary education (69.0 percent).

Exhibit E.3: Participant Household Characteristics

Number of Households	Participant Households
	669
Household size	
1-2 members	108 (16.1%)
3-4 members	201 (30.0%)
5-6 members	201 (30.0%)
7 or more members	10 (1.5%)
Missing	149 (22.3%)
Household head gender	
Male	504 (75.3%)
Female	154 (23.0%)
Missing	11 (1.6%)
Household head age	
18-24 years old	5 (0.8%)
25-34 years old	63 (9.4%)
35-44 years old	252 (37.7%)
45-54 years old	203 (30.3%)
55-64 years old	96 (14.4%)
> 65 years old	39 (5.8%)
Missing	11 (1.6%)
Household head’s level of education	
Primary or less	463 (69.0%)
Middle school	139 (20.8%)
High school	30 (4.5%)
Missing	37 (5.5%)
Township	
Ye	199 (29.8%)
Labutta	300 (44.8%)
Dagon Seikkan	170 (25.4%)
Missing	0 (0.0%)

Note: Reported is the number of participant households with sample proportion in parentheses.

Source: Project intake data.

Exhibit E.4 presents information on participant households' income and living conditions. More than three-quarters of participant households (77.6 percent) had an annual household income of 200,000 kyats (approximately 150 USD) or less. About 6.7 percent had a household income of more than 200,000 to 400,000 kyats (300 USD), while only 1.5 percent had a household income of more than 400,000 kyats. By comparison, the per capita income for Myanmar in 2017 was about 1,290 USD according to the World Bank.⁶¹

Exhibit E.4: Participant Household Income, Living Conditions, and non-My-PEC Services

	Participant Households
Number of Households	669
Monthly household income (in kyats)	
Less than 200,000 kyats	519 (77.6%)
200,001 – 400,000 kyats	45 (6.7%)
More than 400,000	10 (1.5%)
Missing	95 (14.2%)
Main source of household income	
Farming activities	42 (6.3%)
Fishing	129 (19.3%)
Factory work	19 (2.8%)
Shops, restaurants, bars	30 (4.5%)
Construction work	7 (1.1%)
Casual jobs	229 (34.2%)
Other	135 (20.2%)
Missing	78 (11.7%)
Received services from organizations other than My-PEC	
Yes	168 (25.1%)
No	351 (52.5%)
Missing	150 (22.4%)
House material	
Brick and/or cement	15 (2.2%)
Finished wood and/or mud	59 (8.8%)
Other materials	531 (79.4%)
Missing	64 (9.6%)

Note: Reported is the number of participant households with sample proportion in parentheses.

Source: Project intake data.

E.2.2. Characteristics of Participant Children

Exhibit E.5 presents basic demographic characteristics of the 1,284 children in My-PEC participant households based on project intake data. About 53.8 percent of participant children for

⁶¹ <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD>.

which data were available were male and almost half (49.3 percent) were 5 to 11 years old. Information on the level of education was missing for 31.9 percent of participant children. About 46.7 percent of participant children had no more than a primary education, 18.3 percent completed middle school, and 3.1 percent finished high school. About 29.4 percent of children were not enrolled in school.

Exhibit E.5: Participant Children Characteristics

	Participant Children
Number of Children	1,284
Gender	
Male	691 (53.8%)
Female	593 (46.2%)
Age	
5 to 11 years old	633 (49.3%)
12 to 13 years old	284 (22.1%)
14 to 15 years old	203 (15.8%)
16 to 17 years old	164 (12.8%)
Level of Education	
Primary or less	599 (46.7%)
Middle school	235 (18.3%)
High school	41 (3.1%)
Missing	409 (31.9%)
Currently Enrolled in School	
Yes	876 (68.2%)
No	378 (29.4%)
Missing	30 (2.3%)

Note: Reported is the number of participant children with sample proportion in parentheses.
Source: Project intake data.

To measure whether children were engaged in child labor at the time of project intake, we rely on: (1) the international child labor definition;⁶² and (2) the My-PEC project definition.⁶³ The project input data provided information that could be used to measure both child labor indicators.⁶⁴

⁶² Following international standards established by the ILO, a child is engaged in child labor if he/she either is: (i) under the age of 18 and engaged in any hazardous work, or (ii) under the age of 15 and engaged in any form of economic activity (paid or unpaid).

⁶³ According to the ILO definition for the My-PEC program, child labor is defined as follows: (1) children 5-11 years old engaged in an economic activity for more than one hour a week; (2) children 12-13 years old engaged in household work with economic value for more than four hours a day or 24 hours per week, or in work between 6 p.m. to 6 a.m., or in one hour of any hazardous work activity; (3) children 14-15 years old engaged in economic activity for more than four hours a day or 24 hours per week, in work between 6 p.m. to 6 a.m., in work for one hour in any hazardous work activity; and (4) adolescents 16-17 years old engaged in economic activity for more than 44 hours per week, in work between 6 p.m. to 6 a.m., or work for one hour in any hazardous work activity.

⁶⁴ The following questions were included: Is the child currently working? Who does the child work for? Does the child receive any payment, allowance or incentives for his/her work? How would you characterize the child's work? Where does the child work? How many hours per day/days per week does the child work? What time does the child work? Do you feel that your work is safe for you?

Exhibit E.6 shows that the majority of participant children were engaged in child labor at project intake. Based on the international child labor definition, 66.0 percent of participant children were engaged in child labor; based on the My-PEC project definition, 59.0 percent of participant children were engaged in child labor. About 36.4 percent of participant children were engaged in hazardous work activities in the six months prior to collection of the project intake data.⁶⁵

Exhibit E.6: Child Labor in the Project’s Target Areas

Number of Children	Participant Children
	1,284
Engaged in child labor (international definition)	
Yes	847 (66.0%)
No	407 (31.7%)
Missing	30 (2.3%)
Engaged in child labor (My-PEC project definition)	
Yes	757 (59.0%)
No	468 (36.5%)
Missing	59 (4.6%)
Engaged in hazardous activity	
Yes	467 (36.4%)
No	480 (37.4%)
Missing	337 (26.3%)
Time of work	
Day (6 a.m.–6 p.m.)	793 (61.8%)
Night (6 p.m.–6 a.m.)	26 (2.0%)
Night and day	132 (10.3%)
Missing	333 (25.9%)

Note: Reported is the number of children with sample proportion in parentheses.

Source: Project intake data.

E.3 CHARACTERISTICS OF PROJECT PARTICIPANTS – REACH-T

E.3.1. Characteristics of Participant Households

Exhibit E.7 presents the characteristics of participant households based on available project intake data. The 2,958 participant households were located in 12 districts, with the highest concentration in the Rusizi district (19.1 percent). Eight of the remaining 11 districts each contained between 8.0 and 11.2 percent of participant households. Exhibit E.7 also shows that 56.8 percent of participant

In the last 6 months, has the child been exposed to any of these hazards at work [list provided]?

⁶⁵ Indicates whether, in the last 6 months, the child was exposed to any work hazards, including dust, fumes, fire, gas, flames, loud noise or vibration, extreme cold or heat, dangerous tools, work below ground, work at heights, very dark/confined workplace, insufficient ventilation, chemicals, explosives, lifting heavy weights, constantly shouted at or insulted, physically hurt/beaten, or got sick because of work.

households had at least four household members—many of them presumably children—who were not employed and thus relied on the household head and other working members of the household.

Exhibit E.7: Participant Household Characteristics

Number of Households	Participant Households
	2,958
District	
Burera	44 (1.5%)
Gicumbi	236 (8.0%)
Karongi	313 (10.6%)
Ngororero	276 (9.3%)
Nyabihu	52 (1.8%)
Nyamagabe	305 (10.3%)
Nyamasheke	239 (8.1%)
Nyaruguru	331 (11.2%)
Rubavu	255 (8.6%)
Rulindo	89 (3.0%)
Rusizi	564 (19.1%)
Rutsiro	254 (8.6%)
Household head's marital status	
Single	977 (33.0%)
Married	1,849 (62.5%)
Missing	132 (4.5%)
Household head's level of education	
No formal education	1,209 (40.9%)
Some formal education	1,611 (54.5%)
Missing	138 (4.7%)
Number of workers in the household	
None	266 (9.0%)
1-3 workers	2,422 (81.9%)
4 or more workers	186 (6.3%)
Missing	84 (2.8%)
Number of non-workers in the household	
None	129 (4.4%)
1-3 non-workers	1,064 (36.0%)
4 or more non-workers	1,679 (56.8%)
Missing	86 (2.9%)

Note: Reported is the number of participant households with sample proportion in parentheses.

Source: Project intake data.

Exhibit E.8 shows that most household heads were employed (82.5 percent) at the time of project enrollment. The average monthly income for all household heads was 8,020 Rwandan francs (less than 10 USD). In annual terms, the average participant household head earned 96,240 Rwandan francs (about 112 USD), which is lower than Rwanda's per capita GDP in 2017 (about 748 USD).⁶⁶

⁶⁶ See: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD>

About 49.1 percent of households earned income from tea-related activities, and 67.6 percent received income from other agricultural and farming activities.

Exhibit E.8: Household Income, Living Conditions, and Savings

	Participant Households
Number of Households	2,958
Household head's employment status	
Employed	2,468 (82.5%)
Unemployed	353 (11.9%)
Missing	167 (5.7%)
Household head's monthly income (in Rwandan francs)	
Average income	8,020 (6,304)
Sources of household income	
Tea-related activities	1,451 (49.1%)
Agriculture and farming (not tea-related)	1,999 (67.6%)
Other	875 (29.6%)
Number of meals children have per day	
1 meal	2,313 (78.2%)
2 meals	476 (16.1%)
3 or more meals	11 (0.4%)
Missing	158 (5.3%)
Household has savings	
Yes	1,294 (43.8%)
No	1,247 (42.2%)
Missing	417 (14.1%)
Type of savings (for households with savings)	
Bank account	406 (31.4%)
Box at home	44 (3.4%)
Cooperative bank / VSLA	549 (42.4%)
Other	189 (14.6%)
Missing	106 (8.2%)

Note: Reported is the number of participant households with sample proportion in parentheses; for average income, reported is the mean with the standard deviation in parentheses.

Source: Project intake data.

The ability of participant households to provide for basic needs was limited, as evidenced by the fact that a large majority of households (78.2 percent) provided only one meal per day for children under their care. This underscores the difficult decisions that parents have to make between basic subsistence needs and paying for schooling-related costs, as noted previously. Finally, 43.8 percent of participant households reported they had savings prior to project participation. The majority of them were saving their money in cooperative banks or VSLAs (42.4 percent) and in banks (31.4 percent).

E.3.2. Characteristics of Participant Children

Exhibit E.9 presents the characteristics of youth participants of REACH-T using project intake data. The majority of participant children were female (56.9 percent). About 39.7 percent of participant children were 16–17 years old and thus close to legal working age, while the remainder were about equally likely to be 5–11 years old (31.0 percent) or 12–15 years old (29.3 percent). Most children had not completed more than a primary education (80.3 percent), and many were either not enrolled in school (24.6 percent) or at risk of dropping out (23.3 percent).

Exhibit E.9: Characteristics of Participant Children

Number of Children	Participant Children
	4,182
District	
Burera	61 (1.5%)
Gicumbi	374 (8.9%)
Karongi	414 (9.9%)
Ngororero	469 (11.2%)
Nyabihu	51 (1.2%)
Nyamagabe	379 (9.1%)
Nyamasheke	399 (9.5%)
Nyaruguru	420 (10.0%)
Rubavu	357 (8.5%)
Rulindo	89 (2.1%)
Rusizi	785 (18.8%)
Rutsiro	384 (9.2%)
Gender	
Male	1,803 (43.1%)
Female	2,379 (56.9%)
Age	
5 to 11 years old	1,297 (31.0%)
12 to 15 years old	1,224 (29.3%)
16 to 17 years old	1,661 (39.7%)
Level of education	
Primary grade	3,356 (80.3%)
Secondary grade	334 (8.0%)
Vocational training	237 (5.7%)
Missing	255 (6.1%)
Education enrollment status	
In school	2,020 (48.3%)
At risk of dropping out	976 (23.3%)
Out of school	1,027 (24.6%)
Missing	159 (3.8%)
Parents' living status	
One/both parents not present	1,266 (30.3%)
Both parents are present	2,812 (67.2%)
Missing	104 (2.5%)

Note: Reported is the number of participant children with sample proportion in parentheses.

Source: Project intake data.

Exhibit E.10 presents child labor indicators for participant children at project enrollment. About 52.1 percent of participant children were engaged in child labor at project enrollment and many of these children were involved in hazardous labor activities (45.8 percent). Among participant children who were engaged in child labor, the majority reported work in tea-related activities (68.2 percent). The second most frequent type of work was non-tea-related agriculture (37.4 percent), followed by other work types (23.2 percent), and domestic work/family business (16.5 percent).

Exhibit E.10: Child Labor Indicators for Participant Children

Number of Children	Participant Children 4,182
Is the child self-supporting?	
Yes	770 (18.4%)
No	1,167 (27.9%)
Missing	2,245 (53.7%)
Engaged in child labor?	
Yes	2,179 (52.1%)
No	2,003 (47.9%)
Engaged in hazardous child labor?	
Yes	1,915 (45.8%)
No	564 (6.3%)
Not working	2,003 (47.9%)
Type of work (if engaged in child labor)	
Tea-related activities	2,846 (68.2%)
Domestic work, family business	689 (16.5%)
Agriculture (not tea-related)	1,564 (37.4%)
Other	970 (23.2%)

Note: Reported is the number of participant children with sample proportion in parentheses. The figures add to more than 100 percent because children may be engaged in multiple types of work activities.

Source: Project intake data.

E.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF PROJECT PARTICIPANTS - AYEDI

E.4.1. Characteristics of VSLA Participants

Exhibit E.11 shows that VSLA participants resided in six sub-counties in five districts. About one-third of VSLA participants lived in Gulu district (8.6 percent in Paicho and 24.5 percent in Unyama sub-county). Large percentages of participants resided in Buyanga sub-county in Iganga district (20.4 percent) and in Adekokwok sub-county in Lira district (29.1 percent). Three-quarters of the youth caregivers participating in VSLAs were women (73.7 percent). The data also reported the two main reasons cited by participants for joining a VSLA: to take care of children under their care (69.6 percent) or to save to start a business (21.2 percent).

Exhibit E.11: VSLA Participant Characteristics

Total Number of Participants	VSLA Participants
	2,742
Sub-county, District	
Budhaya, Bugiri	301 (11.0%)
Paicho, Gulu	236 (8.6%)
Unyama, Gulu	672 (24.5%)
Buyanga, Iganga	559 (20.4%)
Adekokwok, Lira	799 (29.1%)
Buwuanga, Masaka	175 (6.4%)
Gender	
Male	722 (26.3%)
Female	2,020 (73.7%)
Main reason for joining VSLA	
Take care of children under my responsibility	1,908 (69.6%)
Save to start a business	580 (21.2%)
Take care of myself	111 (4.1%)
Financial literacy education	74 (2.7%)
Social networking	32 (1.2%)
Business management training	25 (0.9%)
Missing	12 (0.4%)

Note: Reported is the number of participants with sample proportion in parentheses.

Source: Project intake data.

Exhibit E.12 presents information on the living conditions of adolescent youth under the care of VSLA participants. About one in four youth (22.3 percent) did not have access to at least two meals a day and many did not have access to basic goods, such as blankets (51.5 percent), clothing (28.0 percent), and shoes (52.6 percent). It is also evident that many of these youth lacked access to basic services; only 57.2 and 74.3 percent had access to education and health care services, respectively.

Exhibit E.12: Living Conditions of Youth under the Care of VSLA Participants

Total Number of Participants	VSLA Participants
	2,742
All adolescent youth under your care have:	
at least two meals a day	2,157 (78.7%)
a blanket	1,329 (48.5%)
at least two sets of clothes	1,973 (72.0%)
at least one pair of shoes	1,300 (47.4%)
All adolescent youth under your care have:	
access to education	1,569 (57.2%)
access to health care	2,036 (74.3%)

Note: Reported is the number of participants (sample proportion).

Source: Project intake data.

E.4.2. Characteristics of Youth Participants

Exhibit E.13 presents the characteristics of youth participants at project enrollment. Males and females were represented about equally. About 27.4 percent of participants were 15 years old, 36.7 percent were 16 years old, and 35.9 percent were 17 years old. The project intake data included detailed information about youth participants' education. Nearly two-thirds of youth participants did not complete primary school (60.8 percent) or had never enrolled in primary school (4.2 percent). Approximately 42.1 percent of youth participant reported that they could not read or write.

The vast majority of youth participants (93.7 percent) reported that they were not enrolled in school or vocational training at the time of AYEDI enrollment. In a follow-up question, 45.5 percent responded that they had dropped out within the past year, 33.9 percent had dropped out two to three years earlier, and 8.8 percent had dropped out four or more years earlier. Monetary barriers were the most frequently cited reason for dropping out of school (78.8 percent). These barriers included helping with household chores, working in a family business or work for pay, or lack of money to pay for school fees. Some participants cited non-monetary barriers (2.3 percent), such as the family not permitting schooling, or the school being too far away or unsafe. It is important to note, however, that 85.6 percent of youth participants expressed an interest in returning to school or vocational training.

Exhibit E.13: Youth Participant Characteristics

Total Number of Participants	Youth Participants 4,789
Sub-county, District	
Budhaya, Bugiri	185 (3.9%)
Paicho, Gulu	503 (10.5%)
Unyama, Gulu	713 (14.9%)
Buyanga, Iganga	1,051 (22.2%)
Adekokwok, Lira	1,168 (24.4%)
Buwuanga, Masaka	1,073 (22.4%)
Missing	96 (2.0%)
Gender	
Male	2,373 (49.5%)
Female	2,416 (50.5%)
Age	
15 years old	1,312 (27.4%)
16 years old	1,757 (36.7%)
17 years old	1,720 (35.9%)
Level of Education	
Never enrolled in primary school	199 (4.2%)

Total Number of Participants	Youth Participants 4,789
Did not complete primary school	2,910 (60.8%)
Completed primary school	461 (9.6%)
Dropped out of secondary school	862 (18.0%)
Enrolled in secondary school	298 (6.2%)
Dropped out of vocational training	41 (0.9%)
Missing	18 (0.4%)
Can read/write?	
Yes	2,775 (58.0%)
No	2,014 (42.1%)
Currently enrolled in school/vocational training?	
Yes	301 (6.3%)
No	4,488 (93.7%)
When did you drop out of school?	
Never enrolled	96 (2.0%)
Last year	2,179 (45.5%)
2-3 years ago	1,621 (33.9%)
4+ years ago	419 (8.8%)
Missing	474 (9.9%)
Why did you drop out of school?	
Non-monetary barriers	107 (2.3%)
Monetary barriers	3,773 (78.8%)
Lack of interest in schooling	274 (5.7%)
Missing	514 (10.7%)
Are you interested in going back to school/vocational training?	
Yes, to school	195 (4.1%)
Yes, to vocational training	3,901 (81.5%)
Neither school nor vocational training	708 (14.8%)

Note: Reported is the number of participants with sample proportion in parentheses.

Source: Project intake data.