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International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour

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Thematic evaluation

CHILD DOMESTIC WORKERS

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Glossary of Acronyms and Abbreviations

- AIDS – Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
- ANPPCAN – African Network for Protection and Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect
- AP – Action Programme
- CBOs – Community Based Organisations
- CDW – Child Domestic Work(ers)
- CHODAWU – Conservation, Hotels, Domestic and Allied Workers Union
- CLCs – Child Labour Committees
- CLU – Child Labour Unit
- CNSPM – Children in Need of Special Protection Measures
- COTU – Central Organisation of Trade Unions
- CTN – City Television Network
- CWSK – Child Welfare Society of Kenya
- CWWD – The Council for the Welfare of Women and Children, Philippines
- DCACs – District Children’s Advisory Committees
- DCC – District Development Committee
- DFID – Department For International Development
- DOHSS – Department of Occupational Health, Safety and Security
- DOLE – Department of Labour and Employment, Philippines
- DWSD – Department of Social Welfare and Development, Philippines
- FONIC – Forum for NGOs in Kariobangi
- HIV – Human Immune-deficiency Virus
- ILO – International Labour Organisation
- IPEC – International Programme on the Elimination of Child labour
- KBC – Kenya Broadcasting Corporation
- KIWOHEDE – Kimanga Women’s Health and Development organisation
- KUDHEIHA – Kenya Union of Domestic, Hotels, Educational Institutions, Hospitals
- MCDWAC – Ministry of Community Development, Women Affairs and Children
- MOE – Ministry of Education
- MOHA – Ministry of Home Affairs
- MOL – Ministry of Labour– Ministry of Labour
- MWD – Ministry of Women’s Development, Pakistan
- NGOs – Non-Governmental Organisations
- NPM – National Programme Manager
- NSC – National steering Committee
- OHS – Occupational Health and Safety
- OTTU – Organisation of Tanzania Trade Unions
- PTAs – Parents-Teacher Associations
- SACH – Struggle for Change, Pakistan
- SC – Save the Children
- SIMPOC – Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour
- SS – Social Security, Philippines
- STOP – Stop trafficking of Filipinos Foundation, Philippines
- TACOSODE – Tanzania Council for Social Development

- TAMWA – Tanzania Media Women’s Association
- TASWA – Tanzania Social Workers’ Association
- TFTU – Tanzania federation of Trade Unions
- UNICEF – Fund United Nations’ Children
- UPE – Universal Primary Education
- VF – Visayan Forum, Philippines
- WWA – Working Women Association, Pakistan

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1 Introduction

Between July and September 2000 a Thematic Evaluation was carried out on:

“IPEC interventions: **CHILD DOMESTIC WORKERS**”

The specific purpose of the evaluation, as part of the development of an IPEC product line on action against Child Domestic Work (CDW), was to:

- Provide a synthesis of IPEC work in this area, including identifying possible strategies and models of intervention;
- Document achievements, lessons learned and knowledge generated in relevant strategic areas within the theme; and
- Suggest possible orientations for future work based on existing experience and viewed from the field.

Issues of relevance, effectiveness and sustainability of all interventions and activities were to be addressed¹.

1.1 Method

Formulation of the evaluation was finalised during meetings in IPEC Offices in Geneva at the end of July. Four countries were selected by IPEC, Geneva, for the review. Although IPEC has had past involvement in CDW in other countries, e.g. Turkey, and is planning involvement in, for instance, Haiti, it was felt the four countries selected would give a reasonable geographical spread and would provide examples of the different types of approaches that IPEC has employed.

During the Geneva visits, the two external consultants were able to talk with IPEC staff and to draw up procedures for evaluation in the field. This ensured that there would be standardisation of approach in all four countries visited. A series of guideline questions were devised for meetings with in-country IPEC staff, other related organisations, implementing organisations, government etc. A format for focus group meetings between implementing and other relevant organisations was also identified and outlines sent to the field offices². In Geneva, a structure for the Country Annexes was also drawn up, following the same format that was used as a checklist for questions in the field. This proved very helpful and also facilitated the writing up process.

Because of time constraints, the field-work was carried out first in Kenya and Tanzania. This meant that experiences could be shared prior to the visits to the Philippines and Pakistan, and refinements made to the evaluation formats. Only minor changes were necessary.

Evaluation visits took place in:

Kenya;
Tanzania;
Philippines; and
Pakistan.

¹ Full ToRs are attached

² See Annexe 5 for outline questions used with different groups of stakeholders.

As well as intensive visits to projects in the field, information and understanding was also gained from a review of literature held in field offices, and the wider IPEC documentation on Child Domestic Workers. This review was carried out throughout the evaluation period.

The findings, conclusions and recommendations that are put forward in this report were drawn up in full consultation with stakeholders in all four countries. In the Philippines, full participatory methods were used and IPEC partners, stakeholders and staff of Visayan Forum interventions, made the appraisal. In Pakistan, ILO staff, the IPEC NPM and the staff and primary stakeholders of the Working Women's Organisation all participated. In Kenya, IPEC staff and those from the implementing agencies were consulted. In Tanzania, IPEC and implementing agencies joined in, and primary stakeholders also participated directly. Nevertheless, the final report, and its annexes, remains the responsibility of the authors.

2 Background

This thematic evaluation came at an important point in the development of approaches to combating child labour. Convention 182, on The Worst Forms of Child Labour, would shortly come into force and, in efforts to support countries as they move towards implementation of the Convention, greater emphasis will be placed on identifying children's work in the informal sector and building partnerships and strategies to deal with it.

As this evaluation report shows, the issue of Child Domestic Work (CDW³) is a vital area for intervention. Worldwide, there are likely to be many more tens of thousands of Child Domestic Workers than are formally recognised. Many of these children are in conditions that make their work a Worst Form of Child Labour. Others, especially those who have benefited from the most effective IPEC backed interventions, are still working but in conditions that may be evaluated as tolerable and, even, beneficial. As this report will show, the ability of interventions to "turn round" the circumstances of CDW so that they become acceptable, is likely to be crucial in continuing efforts to offer children not only protection in their work, but also to prevent their involvement in more, hazardous and exploitative forms of labour, such as prostitution, other commercial sexual exploitation, or illicit activity.

To date, IPEC interventions on CDW have taken the form either of:

- specific Action Programmes (APs) on CDW within a country Programme; and/or
- defined components on CDW or affecting CDW from an AP covering related areas of work.

Some CDWs are also indirectly affected by IPEC interventions, which tackle the situation of child labour in general. For example, through the establishment of the National Steering Committees, strengthening of labour inspection and social work etc.

The nature of CDW as a particularly hidden form of employment, which takes place within the privacy of the home, means that the impact of the broader, policy level interventions which are not specifically geared to CDW, is slow, and, in most places, minimal. As we will show, however, bringing CDW into the open, and to the forefront of the policy agenda, as is happening in the Philippines, can change all that and point towards the potential benefits of focusing our attention on CDW as a major part of the IPEC programme.

³ In the literature, this type of work is referred to as child domestic work rather than labour: we have retained this nomenclature even though we have a high number of CDWs who are, in fact, a Worst Form of Child Labour

3 Structure of the Report

The synthesis in this report is provided in the following way: in the next section, we give a brief analysis of the problems of CDW, and look at the similarities and differences in the root causes of CDW, and the circumstances of the work, in the four countries under review. In Section 5, we give a broad outline of the types of responses in which IPEC has invested, using examples from the four countries. This is followed by an assessment of the impact that might be expected, and what has actually been achieved. We then go on to analyse the strengths and constraints of the IPEC approaches and identify some common themes: some which have caused problems in all four countries and some which seem always to be met with success. Finally, we list the major findings of the evaluation and give a 10-point plan of future recommendations.

The main report is followed by more detailed annexes for each of the countries visited, and by annexes giving further details on some of the approaches discussed.

4 The Problem of CDW

The purpose of the evaluation was to assess IPEC interventions on CDW, and not to evaluate the CDW situation itself in the four countries. However, it is impossible to understand IPEC's response to the problem without some analysis of the CDW issue. What follows is a very brief outline on some of the main issues that make CDW a problem.

There are certain, very important, characteristics of CDW that spread across the four countries studied, and through other places in the world. There are also many differences. Similarities include:

- Poverty is a major root cause of CDW, and the major push factor. Other factors – such as cultural attitudes to child labour and to CDW in particular, and traditions of fostering also come into play. Particularly, in the Philippines the increasing need for both men and women in the household to go outside the home to work, means that an increasing number of CDWs are pulled into the workforce;
- The real scope and scale of the CDW problem is not known because CDW is hidden work and to find out about it may infringe laws on, and notions of, household privacy. Furthermore, until relatively recently, CDW was not readily acknowledged by all governments as a phenomenon or a problem. This means that, despite surveys, all figures given are “guesstimates”. In the Philippines there may be c. one million CDWs. In Pakistan, maybe hundreds of thousands. Numbers in Kenya and Tanzania are growing rapidly. Recent reports from the IPEC timebound programme in Tanzania suggest c. 600,000 in Tanzania, but no figures in any country can be taken as accurate. Unfortunately, SIMPOC, whilst an excellent tool for data collection in many instances, is unsuitable for disclosing information on hidden work, such as CDW;
- Most CDWs are girls (though the proportions of girls and boys vary from place to place). Figures on gender breakdown were not available at the time of the mission. However, there may well be twice as many girls as boys involved in CDW;
- Most CDWs come from poor and disadvantaged rural areas and find employment in lower and middle class families in towns. Some also come from poor urban areas, and some work for upper middle class families. High education levels, religious observance etc., amongst employers does not guarantee that children will be well treated. For instance, in the Philippines, much work has been done through the church to change the behaviour and attitudes of employers who are regular church-goers and devout Christians;
- Most CDWs live away from their immediate families (though some work for relatives) and get little, or no, chance to go home. However, in Pakistan it may be the adults in the family who are employed for domestic work, but the children who carry it out. In Africa, a growing number of children end up in CDW because they no longer have any adult immediate family members to care for them (because of HIV disease);
- In the prevailing circumstances, CDW is usually a Worst Form of Child Labour. It infringes children's rights, leaves them open to all kinds of abuse including physical, sexual and emotional abuse and usually deprives children of education opportunities. For many, NGO reports suggest that abuse, especially sexual abuse, is seen as “part of the job”. Children are constantly “on call”, are deprived of sleep, do not get adequate food, and may do hazardous jobs for which they are not prepared;

- However, CDWs, and their families, usually start out by seeing CDW as an “easy” form of labour (easier than agricultural work, for example);
- Parents usually believe that children will be “better off” working in CDW in the cities, rather than remaining at home; and
- Children who “fall out” of domestic work, either because they are thrown out by their employers, or because they run away run a very high risk of ending up in prostitution or other forms of commercial sexual exploitation.

Despite these similarities, there are also important differences:

- In some countries, e.g. Pakistan, CDWs may be as young as five or six years old (see Country Annexe 4). In others, e.g. Philippines, they tend not to be younger than ten or eleven. This is because children do not usually go into domestic work in the Philippines until they have completed primary school. Many go to towns to enter domestic work in the hope that this will give them a chance to go to secondary school, since there are few secondary school opportunities in the rural areas, and they must work to meet the costs (see Country Annexe 3). In some places, e.g. Kenya, children, from c. eight years of age, may go straight from the rural areas to the big towns to seek domestic employment. In the Philippines, however, they may go through “staging posts” stopping off in regional towns en route to the big cities and Metro Manila;
- Different attitudes to education in the four countries studied point to important differences in possible entry points in tackling the problem of CDW. In all four countries, employers were unlikely to think education important for CDWs (at least, this is the attitude before extension and advocacy takes place). However, in the Philippines, society as a whole values education highly and, as stated, many children are in CDW *because* they want to get an education. In Pakistan, securing education for girls, whether in CDW or out of it is still a major problem;
- HIV and AIDS are beginning to impact heavily on CDW. Estimates for the number of children in Africa who will be affected⁴ by 2015 range up to 90 million. There is already evidence to show that AIDS related orphans are being cared for by relatives and are likely to be more disadvantaged than their co-resident “siblings” and will fulfil the role of CDWs (see Country Annexes 1 and 2). This seems negative, but may have a positive outcome if the situation can be “turned round” and the circumstances of the work improved. The alternatives to CDW may not be good: a recent newspaper report suggested that the trade of children to South Africa, for the use in the commercial sex industry, is growing because of the numbers, and proportions of children orphaned;
- In some countries, the greater part of the work done by CDWs is inside the house. In others, e.g. Tanzania, CDWs are expected to help with work in the fields, markets etc; and
- Whereas, most CDWs live away from their families, in Pakistan they make work as part of a “family package” . Living with their parents in the household compound and getting free accommodation in return for work. In some cases, this may mean that they work *instead* of their parents.

⁴ Which means that they may have the virus or have family members who do, or who are ill or have died with AIDS etc.

As stated, the differences in the nature of CDW in the four countries, and the different country social contexts, have led to variations in IPECs response. The types of response are examined in the next section.

5 IPEC Responses to the Issue of CDW

Details of the initiatives supported in each of the countries are given in the Country Annexes. The examples given here are used to demonstrate aspects of good practice, and also types of intervention, which might be avoided in future unless supported by a wider framework of action on CDW.

IPECs response to the issue of CDW has been embedded within its country programmes to combat child labour. As such, all interventions on CDW have come under the responsibility of the National Programme Manager (NPM) and are initially put forward for approval through the National Steering Committee.

5.1 Synthesis of Approaches Taken

- 1) IPEC investment in CDW has largely been on an *ad hoc* basis. This means that, although interventions fit within the broad goals and strategies of IPEC as a whole, there has been *no real strategic, goal-orientated purpose defined by IPEC offices on CDW*. IPEC approaches in other labour sectors have also been implemented, at times, without planned, strategic approaches.
- 2) This means that, since the real scale and scope of the sector of CDW is not known, partner agency approaches were initially planned on immediately observed, or felt, need not on a sound analysis of needs or priorities. To a large extent, this was unavoidable. Several agencies carried out surveys or appraisals in the initial stages of intervention in order to find out more about their primary stakeholders. However, since the sector was not, in most cases, high profile, or considered a priority by government, this small-scale approach to “finding out” was not backed up by a wider demographic analysis. So, knowledge and understanding on CDW remains patchy. (The example of the Visayan Forum experience, given below shows how successes have been gained in turning this difficult situation around).
- 3) In the main, IPEC-supported interventions for CDW are not projects *per se* despite the fact that they all come under the title of “Action Programmes”. This is because support has been to an *approach* rather than to a infinite set of activities with a fully recognisable endpoint. Even where projects have focused on, for example, creation of a centre of “refuge” – the “project” cannot end, because the centre is not self-sustaining. In the most unfortunate instance, the WWA in Pakistan, IPEC funding has been used to support the running of the NGO – since all its activities are based around CDW. Furthermore, whilst in most of the APs on CDW, outputs are set, end-points are not envisaged. Targets may be reachable but, since reaching the target doesn’t solve the problem, the project must continue.
- 4) The aim, initially, as in other IPEC sectors, was that if the approach was successful, government would take over responsibility for promoting it, once the initial project stage (i.e. targets after two years) had been achieved. This has not happened (see Section 8 below). Many of the approaches taken by partner agencies have expanded, a few, with lack of continuing support, are collapsing. The “take-over” has yet to be achieved, though in the Philippines and Tanzania particularly, government is now “joined into” the process.

Interventions on CDW have been carried out using the following approaches:

- Prevention
- Protection
- Withdrawal
- Integration (which includes rehabilitation measures, such as education).

However, most implementing agencies would say that, in most projects, the emphasis has been on protection, withdrawal and integration, and far less has been achieved in *direct prevention* methods. A distinction is being made here between prevention measures, such as advocacy, which attempt to raise people's awareness of the hazards of CDW, and direct prevention measures which tackle the root causes of CDW (poverty etc.)

Although most agencies are involved in prevention in some way or another through advocacy and campaigning work, networking etc., few are actively involved in the community development and empowerment which might actually prevent children entering domestic labour. There are several reasons for this:

- 1) Direct prevention measures imply working at the community level to tackle the root causes of CDW. This has not, generally, been the focus of intervention. However, there have been notable exceptions (see below). Furthermore, direct prevention measures address the root causes of child labour *in general*, not CDW in particular;
- 2) Interventions on CDW generally came about in order to "do something immediately" to alleviate the observed suffering of CDWs. It was, therefore, necessary to tackle the *symptoms* of CDW rather than moving directly to the *causes*. This was a necessary approach, and one which has helped to bring the issues of CDW into the public arena, though government and public willingness to address the issues still varies enormously;
- 3) Many of the partner agencies chosen by IPEC were located in the urban areas and worked specifically with the urban situation. They were not initially geared up to work at rural, community levels, and IPEC did not encourage partnership between implementing organisations (at, say, the rural and the urban levels);
- 4) Focus of attention was often on helping children in the worst case scenarios of CDW: withdrawing them from abusive labour situations and providing a place of safe refuge and some basic education or skills training;
- 5) Several agencies are now working more strongly on direct prevention and community-based measures. They have moved more towards these as experience has grown and shown that greater returns are likely from this type of investment (e.g. Tanzania and Philippines); and
- 6) This means that, in rare instances, individual agencies are now able to address the whole *process of CDW*, from prevention through to social integration of workers either in the return of CDWs to their communities, or in improved circumstances in the workplace. It is the feeling of many agencies that return of CDWs to their families, whilst desirable in theory, may be inappropriate in practice. This is either because those families may no longer exist (Kenya, Tanzania) or because there is

no benefit if the difficult economic circumstances, which pushed children into CDW in the first place are not alleviated (all four countries).

Most agencies are now fully aware that the “sticking plaster” approach, which treats the symptoms without tackling the root causes, only ever has a limited effect. They are looking for ways to expand their work. It is notable, however, that IPEC is not always willing to fund this wider, community-based work. In the Philippines, for instance, community-based work in the Barangays (neighbourhoods: politically recognised entities with governing committees) is funded by Caritas, not by IPEC.

5.2 When Does Prevention Stop?

There is another way of looking at the types of approach taken towards CDW. This perspective would see *all* interventions as preventive – since all action taken helps to prevent children falling into even worse circumstances. This was recognised by the Visayan Forum in relation to its own work.

5.3 Types of Activities Carried Out

The Country Annexes give Summary Matrix Tables for each country, showing the focus and activities of all partner agencies consulted during the evaluation. In the table, which follows here, activities for CDW are given by country and by category. Only the initiatives of partners working directly for CDW are considered. In all areas where survival strategies that people use include sending children into domestic work, any community development is likely to have some positive effect in preventing some children going into CDW. To consider all this work is beyond the remit of the current evaluation.

Types of CDW Intervention by Country

	Direct Prevention	Prevention	Protection	Withdrawal	Integration
Kenya	Income generation (school-based)	Social appraisal	Counselling Skills and literacy Referral and treatment Labour Inspect. Advocacy inc. employers	Rescue and Refuge	
Tanzania	Income generation	Community mobilisation Capacity-building Training			
Philippines	Credit and savings schemes in the Barangays (not supported by IPEC, but part of the VF project).	Social appraisal Community work in Barangays New Legislation	Govt. schooling (extra times) Counselling Skills Referral and treatment Community and national advocacy, inc. employers	Rescue and Refuge	New Legislation for Domestic Workers SUMAPI: CDW Union
Pakistan		Forthcoming in national statistics? Forthcoming govt. co-ordination?	Schooling Health checks Advocacy		

All types of strategy are necessary if we are to have impact on the issue of CDW.

What is noticeable so far is that only in the Philippines have all types of strategy knitted together into a real framework. And it is in the Philippines that major achievements seem to have been achieved. In contrast, the one small-scale intervention in Pakistan has not demonstrated a sustainable strategy. Examples in Africa fall in between these two extremes. Work is developing there, but strategies are not, as yet, integrated.

What follows here are examples of noteworthy work in each of the five strategies. It is not always possible to point to the impact of these strategies, as some are newly operational. They are given as examples of types of work, which will be necessary in a future IPEC product-line strategy on CDW.

5.4 Direct Prevention

As stated above, there has been relatively little direct prevention work specifically targeted at CDW sending communities.

- *The work of the Visayan Forum in Philippines provides one example of good practice, but it is not a component of the project funded by IPEC and so is discussed under “integration”, below.*

The following example is from an IPEC AP in Kenya:

African Network for the Protection and Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect (ANPPCAN)

ANPPCAN has been an IPEC implementing agency since 1992. It is involved in raising awareness and mobilising selected communities in four districts of Kenya. In 1997, a component on school-based income generation was initiated in forty seven schools in the four districts in an attempt to find practical ways to prevent children dropping out of school and entering child labour.

Based on district profiles, which identified local resources, ANPPCAN staff designed interventions with the primary stakeholders, using for example mobile theatre units to pass on messages and initiate discussions in community meetings. Design of interventions and modes of implementation of the project were used to help mobilise the communities on the issue of child labour, including child domestic work.

- *The initiation of school-based income generation in 1997 was a direct response to wishes in the communities and was not envisaged by ANPPCAN when the AP was first proposed. This is an example of how an implementing agency can respond positively and flexibly when participatory approaches are employed.*

The prime target group is children at risk of dropping out of school to enter child labour, their families and communities. In two of the four districts this particularly concerns girls who are at risk of entering CDW.

The focus throughout has been on preventing child labour through mobilising the communities in recruitment areas. A strong priority has been given to ensuring local ownership of activities. In all participating communities, Child Labour Committees (CLCs) have been set up as sub-committees to the, government required, District Child Advisory Committees (DCACs). Members of the CLCs include representatives of local

NGOs and CBOs, religious organisations, the district offices for education, labour, agriculture, livestock, fisheries and home affairs (Children's Department). The CLCs have it in their mandate to raise awareness and to oversee the implementation of project activities in the participating schools. This includes managing funds for initiation of income generation activities. In all four districts, CLC bank accounts have been opened. The CLCs give monthly reports to ANPPCAN and ANPPCAN provides support to the CLCs, though follow-up visits take place less frequently than wished from both CLCs and ANPPCAN staff. This is mainly due to the long distance – and therefore the high travel costs - from the ANPPCAN offices in the Nairobi to the four districts.

The actual selection of preferred income generation activities in schools was done by school teachers, students and parents, mainly through Parents-Teacher Associations (PTAs) in the schools, with the support of the CLCs. Technical advice and training is given by the District Extension Officers. According to ANPPCAN staff, making the Officers take on additional work has not proved particularly difficult as they are (or one of their colleagues is) represented on the CLCs. This has made them very committed to the project. Once the school projects initiated have begun to generate income the use of funds is decided locally with support from the CLCs and ANPPCAN. Three different approaches to supporting children have been employed, depending on local circumstances:

- 1) In some schools teachers and PTAs identified children at risk of dropping out of schools and provided them with direct support;
- 2) In other schools priority was given to creating a school environment more conducive to learning -- through improving the buildings (roofing, constructing pit latrines etc.); and
- 3) The third strategy was to relieve all children of some of the levies normally charged.

The two latter strategies were introduced to avoid stigmatisation of directly supported children and to avoid withdrawal of community support for the project. It was realised in many schools that selecting the most needy children in very poor communities was almost impossible. The number of children in need of support is simply greater than the funds generated can cover if all expenses are to be paid. Singling out those in need proved very difficult as the differences between the needy children and the *most* needy children are marginal. To avoid antagonism between supported and non-supported families it was decided to spend the income on improving conditions for all school children. Whilst this means that it is almost impossible to measure impact on the *most* needy – rather than on all children, there have been benefits and parents and children seem to consider education in the improved schools a more attractive option (see Next Section on Impact).

All the participating schools seem to have derived an income through the AP. In many cases the income has been modest though and has not at all covered the need for additional income in the communities

The most important achievement of the AP seems to be the high level of local commitment and ownership generated. The importance of local ownership was tested during 1998 –1999 when IPEC funding ceased due to delays in programming. During the two-year funding gap, activities were sustained in all participating schools and the CLCs continued their monitoring and reporting activities. There seems to be some

indication, too, that the number of children dropping out of school to enter labour is diminishing.

5.5 Prevention: Capacity-building and Advocacy

In all four countries, considerable emphasis has been placed on bringing the issue of CDW into public awareness. This is both in terms of raising consciousness among parents and employers of workers, and promoting action on the issue at the institutional and government level. In the Philippines, work with the employers has been very successful in “turning round” the working conditions for numerous CDWs. This type of advocacy has involved direct contact with the employers, discussion and consultation. Other organisations have also had wide success in advocacy. For example:

The Tanzania Media Women’s Association

The NGO TAMWA has been an IPEC implementing agency since 1994. The organisation has been raising awareness on CDW since 1994 through a series of APs, all fitted into the TAMWA core programme aimed at fighting violence against women and children.

As it is particularly concerned with girls, TAMWA chose from the beginning to focus on the types of child labour where girls are the majority: commercial sex work and CDW. Since 1994, they have conducted surveys to gain knowledge on who the CDWs are, their age, background, conditions, remuneration etc.. The methods used for the studies were a combination of traditional structured interviews and community meetings with role plays and discussions and group discussions. Despite this, design of the project has not been participatory. Target groups include the general public, policy makers, community leaders, parents, employers and child domestic workers themselves. This is unfortunate – but a common occurrence: when organisations invest in initial participatory appraisal with stakeholders, but then miss opportunities to encourage wider ownership of the programme by including stakeholders in the design, monitoring and evaluation of interventions

The targeted campaign consisted of a series of workshops for selected audiences: journalists, policy makers, government officials, local leaders, members of relevant NGOs etc. The workshops have been followed by the formation of Community Task Forces in the recruitment areas. Members of the community task forces include social workers, health workers, teachers, the District Labour Officer, Counsellors etc. The Task Forces are expected to carry on sensitisation and awareness raising locally, and to mobilise resources and initiate activities to curb the recruitment of child domestic workers.

The media campaign was produced by journalists, participating in the workshops, and by TAMWA staff. Several media were used: radio and TV, print media, posters, pamphlets etc. During the 1998-99 AP the media campaign was designed as a so-called bang-style campaign, i.e. a campaign bringing forth the same message in several media at the same time. The media campaign was planned to take place simultaneously with outreach work /workshops in selected recruitment areas.

CDW is now firmly on the national agenda, and is discussed in the media and in parliament. TAMWA is often cited by other organisations as a national resource centre on CDW and is widely used by, for example, journalists to source information. Girl CDWs in distress occasionally report to the TAMWA crisis centre for battered women in

Dar es Salaam, though TAMWA has not deliberately worked to provide direct services to CDWs.

The creation of awareness was facilitated greatly by the creation of an extensive network of organisations integrating CDW an issue of concern into their regular activities. Although no formal ratings figures were taken, it is likely that the broadcasts reached more CDWs when they were moved from the original prime evening time to an afternoon slot – at a time when CDWs are more likely to have a break.

5.6 Protection

A number of the projects contain elements targeted specifically at protection for CDWs. All projects are, of course, aware of the protection issues involved in CDW, but not all of them tackle protection in the same way. In the Philippines and Kenya, projects with a component providing shelter for abused CDWs have been supported. In Kenya, at the SINAGA centre, the aim is specifically to “rehabilitate” the children and provide them with skills which may lead them to other employment. In the Philippines, the Visayan Forum is called out to “rescue” children in need, and also to house referrals from other services. The VF also now runs a hostel in the port area of Manila as a “safe base” for children arriving from the provinces without a workplace or employers to collect them. In both Kenya and the Philippines, these protection elements are part of a wider framework of work. In Pakistan, however, where input into CDW has been much more limited, less emphasis is put on protection in the here-and-now, and more on the protection that education can offer for the future:

Pakistan Working Women’s Association

The WWA, which has been involved in provision of schooling to CDW, also offers protection in the form of medical check-ups and referrals. However, compared with other projects, the WWA takes a very “stoical” attitude to the abuse which children suffer in their work. For instance, when girls report that they have been beaten by their fathers for trying to attend school, the staff may advise the girl to put up with the beating, go to school, and think of the rewards of education. In part, this attitude stems from the fact that many CDWs in Pakistan live with their own families in the employer’s residence. Whilst tackling employers on the issue of physical abuse may be culturally acceptable, it remains next to impossible to tackle beatings within the family (though organisations such as SACH, in Rawalpindi, are making progress on issues of domestic violence).

The WWA has done invaluable rescue-and-development work for the girls it has touched. But, without external funding, the approach is unsustainable and it relies on a stoicism of attitude, which can only succeed with certain girls, rather than a wide scale effort to change social and cultural values.

SINAGA Centre, Kenya

The SINAGA Centre was established, with IPEC support, in 1995 with the aim of improving conditions and future perspectives for child domestic worker. It aims to do this through provision of basic literacy classes and skills training, awareness raising campaigns and withdrawal and rehabilitation of girl child domestic workers, working and living in particularly abusive conditions.

The initial activity of the Centre was to conduct a baseline survey to determine the key factors behind CDW and its major characteristics. The findings of this study were used

to design the programme. SINAGA has carried out several studies since 1995, including the baseline, an evaluation of the employment potential of SINAGA graduates, three case studies supported by OXFAM.

The SINAGA primary target group is girl CDWs below fifteen years of age, who receive direct support from the Centre. Girls below fifteen years of age are targeted to comply with general IPEC priorities to reach the youngest and most vulnerable children first, as the priorities were formulated at the initiation of IPEC. Moreover, the fifteen years age limit complies with current Kenyan labour legislation, which stipulates fifteen as the general minimum age for admission to employment, in line with Convention 138 (ratified by Kenya).

The second target group for SINAGA is the employers of CDW who are targeted for awareness creation and support towards protecting the girls and providing them with access to education and training. Also, the communities that provide and employ CDWs and, in particular, community leaders (chiefs, teachers, religious leaders etc.) have been targeted for substantial awareness creation and sensitisation. The aim has been to anchor the activities of SINAGA in the communities and to generate the support of the communities in protecting child domestic workers and identifying the girls living and working in abusive conditions.

SINAGA's approach revolves around three key strategies: i) the provision of direct services, basic education/skills training and counselling to girl child domestic workers to improve their living and working conditions as well as their future prospects for employment other than domestic service. This includes withdrawing a limited number of girls from domestic work and rehabilitating them. ii) Mobilisation of employers and communities to protect and support the working girls and, iii) raising awareness in general.

The provision of direct services takes place in the SINAGA Centre, which is located in a low-income area of Nairobi. The Centre draws girls from several low-income neighbourhoods, some of them more than an hour's walking time away from the Centre. The Centre offers so-called ABC-classes to non-literate girls and skills training to older, (semi-) literate girls. ABC classes focus on basic literacy (in Kiswahili and English), basic arithmetic and "general", which includes a range of issues as diverse as geography and personal hygiene. Skills training is offered in cooking and baking, tailoring and basic type writing. Classes are given in two shifts: morning and afternoon to allow the girls to fit in classes with their work. Skills training classes last approximately 6 months and graduates receive a SINAGA certificate though this is not officially recognised as a certificate of vocational training. ABC-classes can be attended as long as needed. The aim is to enrol as many girls as possible in formal primary school though this has only happened in very few cases yet. All girls attending classes at the Centre are offered counselling on personal, medical and legal matters as needed. This includes information on for example reproductive health and HIV/AIDS.

The vast majority of girls receiving support through SINAGA continue to live and work with their employers but the Centre can provide emergency shelter for girls suffering severe abuse and girls being dismissed by employers, for example when becoming pregnant. SINAGA works closely with the Child Welfare Society of Kenya (CWSK), another IPEC partner agency withdrawing and rehabilitating street and working children, to provide withdrawn girl child domestic workers with shelter, counselling, medical and other services towards their rehabilitation.

In terms of reaching girls with direct services only a modest number of girls have been reached. According to the report on a strategic planning workshop held in September 1999 SINAGA had reached 600 girls since 1995. Of these 240 girls had graduated. Figures quoted in IPEC Progress and Final Reports give slightly different figures. At the time of visiting SINAGA (July 2000) the record of the Centre indicated that a total of 665 girls had been reached since 1995. The differences may be due to cases of drop-out and re-enrolment. However, regardless of the figures used the total number of girls reached is low and the number of girls actually completing a course cycle is even lower. This is due to a number of factors, most notably the Centre has no capacity to take on more girls. Providing training and protection to the girls is a time consuming process. With staff consisting of one Co-ordinator, one Field Officer, one Programme Officer, three teachers and a varying number of volunteers, SINAGA will only be able to reach a limited number of children.

- *According to SINAGA staff the number of children reached could increase through increased linking with other organisations and with more participation from communities. SINAGA has thus started to explore the possibilities for placing girls in vocational training with local crafts people.*

This is seen as a possible way to increase the number of children reached and as a way to improve the quality and relevance of the skills developed by the girls.

5.7 Integration

In relation to CDW and, indeed, in relation to all child labour, tackling the issue of integration implies action and intervention at a number of different levels. Integration is not simply a matter of integrating CDWs into the “mainstream” society after having removed them from labour. During the first phase of intervention for CDW, this seems to have been the goal: to remove children from labour and integrate them into mainstream services of education, preferably after their return to their families. As discussed earlier in this report, this approach was soon seen to be unrealistic; the numbers of CDWs are simply too high, and the need for them to work too great, to allow for them to be removed from work prior to integration.

The *process of integration* must, therefore, be taken to mean something different in relation to CDW. It is much broader, and involves the following components:

- Mainstreaming the issues of CDW into the national agenda at policy and practice levels
- Tackling the root causes of CDW
- Where children need to continue working: improving their working conditions, securing a safe working environment and national recognition of their work status
- Assisting CDWs to become organised
- Widening the opportunities for CDWs to increase their education and skills, preferably through mainstream education services.
- Providing special protection where necessary and moving CDWs swiftly through special protection services.

When integration is looked at in this way, we can see that to achieve it, there is need for:

- Identification of common national, district and local level goals on CDW
- Strong, working partnerships between a number of different organisations working for, and connected with the issues of CDW
- Integration of services
- Integration of all types of strategic approach (prevention, protection etc.)

The work of the Visayan Forum in the Philippines provides the only example of integrated services. Here, there is scope for greater integration, but the process of integration continues. Not all aspects of the integrated approach are supported by IPEC (everything except the community-based sustainable livelihoods, and the refuge, have received some IPEC funding)

Visayan Forum, Philippines

The Visayan Forum (VF) is an NGO formed in 1991 to give direct assistance to migrant workers from the Visayas. Its programmes now target child domestic workers, working street children, migrant poor communities and children in marginal fishing communities. VF has offices in Metro Manila, Bacolod City, Batangas City and Davao City.. It works with a number of funding partners: Caritas, Switzerland; ICCO-Netherlands; Save the Children – Japan; Terre des Hommes – Germany and Anti-Slavery International. ILO-IPEC has been a funding partner since 1996.

Initially, the VF set out to provide protection measures for children from the Visayas travelling to Manila to work in CDW. IN 1996 they conducted a survey of CDW in the Metro Manila area. They later expanded their work into the other three cities where they now have offices. VF now targets both source and destination areas and operates a growing programme in all four cities. It facilitates:

- Emotional and material support, by giving providing direct services coupled with telephone hotlines, peer counselling, and actual intervention in workplaces;
- Organisation of child domestic workers through the SUMAPI (Samahan at Ugnayan ng mga Manggagawang Pantahanan sa Pilipinas) Union for Kasambahay (household companions); through core group formation in parks, schools, source communities and churches;
- Support to formal education, and conducting flexible filed trainings on CRC, workers' rights etc., to account for infrequent days-off. The SUMAPI is also active in organisation CDWs in schools and providing support and training. VF and SUMAPI also liaise strongly with teachers to improve efforts to meet the particular education needs of CDWs;
- Advocacy and network-building including newsletters for domestics, training of a pool of CDW speakers, and a sustained multi-media campaign; and
- Co-operative and livelihood training to enhance life skills and supplement meagre income.

In all aspects of work, records are kept of the number of CDWs contacted and joining in project activities, joining the union etc. (see figures under “ The Impact”, below).

IPEC has given funding for the outreach work and advocacy, and for direct assistance to school students. It does not fund the community-based work, education provision etc.

VF has also recently started a new programme of outreach in Manila port. CDW, arriving and not met by employers, are contacted, either by project staff or by the port officials, and are taken to a new shelter. There, they can be assessed and have a safe place to stay for a few days, until they either contact their employers or choose to return home. This new venture has led to surprisingly strong relations with the port authorities. It is particularly valuable since children arriving unprotected in the port are highly vulnerable to exploitation. It also represents an example of how protection measures are also preventative when they prevent children falling into worse circumstances.

In new areas, VF has not started by working with the employers or the communities, but with the children themselves. In hindsight, staff said that they wished that they had aimed for a more integrated approach from the start, but that they had been working within the limits of the capacity and capabilities. Now that the work has expanded, it is easy to see the benefits of operating holistically. The growth of the Union (SUMAPI), and its autonomy from VF, has also shown the benefits that can be gained from encouraging the CDW to organise. CDW themselves are involved in the management processes and training aspects of the Union.

In education, the government and church-school backing for provision of special services for CDW has been vital. The success of the secondary schools visited is undoubted and it is to be hoped that the government of the Philippines will be able to continue, and expand, provision of these services.

Perhaps the most significant achievement of the VF is the manner in which CDW has been brought into the national agenda and is now being taken up in the proposed new law, the “magna carta” for kasambahay. This law proposed by a Senator and now with the backing of forty congressmen, is in process through parliament. Whilst the law may not be passed quickly, the mere fact that it has been drafted and achieved national attention is very important. These measures are giving weight and validity to the direct services and prevention measures offered through the VF. In the development of a linked system: where communities through to the central level are involved in co-ordinated efforts in support of CDWs, sustainable systems for protection and support of CDWs are being built up.

The VF provides an excellent example of how efforts in support of CDW may be taken to scale. As VF point out, however, timing has to be right: the political and popular will to address the issues have to be present, as do means to reach CDWs on a wide-scale (in this case, through, schools, outreach and advocacy). Nevertheless, VF also suggest that the issues cannot wait for the right time, the time has to be created. And, although VF itself started on a small-scale, with direct outreach to CDW, they would now, generally, advocate a more holistic approach from the start.

VF have learned, through experience, how to approach the issue of CDW in an integrated way. Integration is now their strategy. IPEC has supported the development of this approach, but it seems to have been an equal partner in “learning from experience”, rather than instrumental in encouraging the approach. IPEC funding has been crucial in allowing the approach to develop.

6 Findings

6.1 Lack of data on numbers reached

None of the projects visited has fully developed means by which to measure the impact of their work. It is not even always possible to say with any accuracy how many CDW have been reached directly by a project. However, generally speaking the numbers are low, and concern hundreds, rather than thousands, of children.

In Pakistan, for instance, c. 400 girls have been directly affected through the project run by the Working Women's Association. In Tanzania, twenty girls have been withdrawn from labour through the CHODAWU project, and 200 are targeted for withdrawal through TASWA. In Kenya, under the ANPPCAN project, no register of supported children has been kept, so it is not possible to assess how many children have been reached. Now, in the consolidation phase, a register has been included, giving details of individually supported children and assessing the number for whom the general support mechanisms make a substantial difference for their school attendance. The target figure for the consolidation phase is 2000 children.

In the Philippines, through the work of the Visayan Forum, many more children have been reached directly. This is partly because the VF has been running for a number of years and has built up a widely effective way of working, and partly because, using funding from different donors, it is now able to employ an integrated approach to CDW. In the combination of different types of intervention (prevention, protection, withdrawal and integration), and through working in a number of regional towns as well as in Metro Manila, VF have been able to reach much greater numbers of CDWs, both directly and indirectly. They are also able to have greater impact on policy and advocacy levels.

6.2 Numbers reached by VF:

Around 8000 CDWs have regularly participated in park, port and school outreach nation-wide, through the Kasambahay programme. These include:

- 4000 in five parks during their weekend day off
- More than 3000 in seven alternative schools nation-wide (evening and weekend schools)
- More than 1000 in the ports on their way from the provinces to find work

5000 have become formal members of seventeen SUMAPI (the Union) core groups. Through SUMAPI, around 2500 individuals have been empowered through counselling and workplace monitoring, to make direct changes in their working situation. This includes securing wages, reducing abuse, getting permission to go to school, etc.

Other institutions have referred around seventy cases to the Kasambahay programme for shelter, legal assistance, family reintegration etc. The programme has also successfully enrolled more than 300 CDWs to the Social Security System and, with direct assistance prevented around 200 from dropping out of school.

6.3 Real Impact of VF

The numbers of CDWs reached by VF work is impressive. However, the real impact of the VF approach is much wider.

- Sustained media advocacy over the last three years has put domestic work fully into the national consciousness. Even the change in terminology – where by CDWs are now referred to as Kasambahay – house companions – has been universal. Television and other media have fully joined in with efforts to raise awareness on CDW's rights and needs.
- The establishment of the SUMAPI union moves the whole intervention for CDW onto a different level. CDW are seen increasingly as a major workforce.
- This is underpinned by the efforts being made to pass new legislation on Domestic Work. Some 40 congressmen are co-authors of a landmark Magna Carta known as Batas Kasambahay. Various sectors from civil society groups, law enforcement, the justice system, government, the academe and people's organisations are giving their support to the introduction of this law.

Work done at community levels (funded by CARITAS) in the Barangays, through community mobilisation, savings and credit, reaches further large numbers of people. New community groups within the Barangays constantly ask to join the programme. Whilst it is impossible to estimate the numbers of children prevented from entering CDW, or protected in their work, by these community efforts, there can be no doubt of the positive impact.

Overall, the approach taken by VF can be said to have high impact and effectiveness, and to be broadly efficient.

6.4 Advocacy and awareness-raising

In general, advocacy work in all projects has had some impact. And this impact spreads beyond the area, and country, of activity. People in many places of the world are now much more aware of the issue of CDW than they were a decade ago. The work which IPEC has supported has contributed to this growing global awareness.

Nevertheless, looked at holistically, the nature of IPEC involvement: generally through small-scale, low-budget action projects, has meant that impact is unlikely to be high. Awareness is raised, some children are reached, but numbers remain restricted. Review of the various approaches employed by IPEC partners on CDW issues, and consideration of the impact achieved, points to several strengths in the IPEC approach, but also to constraints. These strengths and constraints, identified with partners, are outlined below.

7 Strengths

7.1 Going to Scale

Some of the approaches employed contain the possibility of taking the work to scale. This is particularly true of the integrated approach employed by the Visayan Forum.

7.2 Impact of Community-based Work

Work in direct prevention at the community level would seem to suggest that greatest impact will be gained through working at this level. But, community-based work is time and resource demanding. It also requires particular skills and follow-up. But in, e.g. Kenya and the Philippines, has been shown to be successful.

Mobilising Employers and Communities

In the Philippines, it was seen that, whilst it is possible to concentrate solely on contact with CDWs, real impact cannot be gained until employers and communities are reached. This is, however, time-consuming and involves courage as well as particular skills. The VF is now very successful in this work as it is nationally (and internationally) known and has considerable backing within government and local authorities. In other places, viz. Pakistan, it is considered too threatening to “challenge” the employers, so little has been done on this level.

Skills Training

Although in all the projects visited, the market-worth of the skills training on offer was debatable, there is no doubt that *any* training opportunities increase CDWs sense of self-worth and lead to a reduction in exploitation.

School Education

Only in the Philippines does the type of school education supported go beyond the primary level. The social attitude to education, and the level of government education provision reached, means that the context is different from that in other countries. Nevertheless, there is much in the Philippines experience that could be pursued in other places. In the Philippines, government has financially supported the provision of special schools (in evenings or on Sundays) for CDWs, and thousands of CDWs attend these. The most successful are those staffed by teachers employed especially for these schools (rather than teachers on overtime). The schools provide an exceptional focus for rights and legal education and to encourage CDWs to join the national SUMAPI union. In some places, the involvement of employers in assessing the CDWs (for home economics) has strengthened the rapport between school and “home”.

Including CDW in Labour Reporting

There has been mixed success in getting CDW recorded as part of the general reporting on child labour. To a certain extent, the organisations which IPEC has supported have had some success in this. But there is a long way to go before reporting is complete. Largely this is due to the prevailing unwillingness of governments and employers to recognise CDW as “real work”. In Kenya, MOHA has a good system for reporting cases of abuse, and the DCACs operate a kind of “watchdog” system for child labour. Most success has been gained in the Philippines – with increasing recognition of Kasambahay as professionals, and support for their unionisation. The need for full reporting is absolute. Without an adequate knowledge base, it is

impossible to plan properly – with government and the private sector – for intervention in support of CDWs.

Given that the issue of CDW is still so “hidden”, and that concentration of support for CDWs is relatively recent, the achievements to date are, at times, impressive. Most has been achieved in the Philippines, where a number of circumstances have combined to enable the work to develop. Least has been done in Pakistan. This is partly because of the direction taken, and the minimal input made so far by IPEC, and partly because of the prevailing political, social and cultural circumstances.

8 Constraints

Despite the achievements, there are considerable constraints, which have had impact on IPEC partners in their attempts to support CDWs. Some of these constraints can be attributed to the approaches chosen by the partner organisations. Others relate to the difficulties faced by partners in dealing with IPEC structures. To that extent, they might be said not to relate *directly* to CDW. However, since *all* implementing agencies drew attention to the same kinds of difficulties, and indeed, these were also mentioned by IPEC staff in country evaluation of interventions for CDW cannot be complete without taking them into consideration.

8.1 Lack of Strategic IPEC approach to CDW

Work in support of CDW seems to have been taken up by IPEC in an *ad hoc* fashion. In none of the countries visited was CDW work truly embedded in a strategic IPEC approach to child labour. There were no clear goals for what IPEC wants to achieve, no targets set, and no real planning framework. Only in Kenya is there, now, a strategic framework for intervention on support of CDWs, though this does not appear to be fully developed.

It was not clear in any of the countries on what basis decisions to support CDW were made. And it was impossible to ascertain how funding decisions were made. So, for instance, it was not clear whether priority areas for action in relation to child labour had been set, budgets sought and proportions of budgets allocated accordingly, or whether initiatives got funded simply if there was money available.

Without clear goals and logical planning, it is very difficult to assess the real worth of IPEC input to date. Successes can be measured against that which funded partners hoped to achieve (where *they* set targets) but not against what IPEC hoped to achieve: since no indicators were set.

In part, this very serious lack might be attributable to the lack of reliable data on CDW in the four countries. However, the lack of strategic approach can be seen in IPEC more broadly, not simply in its CDW work, and seems to stem more from the way in which IPEC operates with small-funding to Action Programmes which, supposedly, act as pilots, but which are rarely taken on by governments and scaled-up after the two to four year pilot⁵

8.2 Difficulties of Funding Delays and Approval Procedures

Many of the implementing agencies said that they had experienced funding delays with IPEC. Some agencies said that they had learned from this that it is better to secure funding from more than one source, so as to be able to bridge gaps. Apart from the obvious and serious implementation difficulties to which funding delays can lead, there are other, less visible, implications. It is very hard to keep the morale of staff and primary stakeholders when funding is delayed, and often momentum is lost. It is also

⁵ This is an issue with which IPEC has been struggling, and its willingness to address the problem is seen in the increasingly strategic approaches detailed in IPEC country programme documents. The benefit of change can be seen in, for example, the Mekong Sub-Region Project to Combat Trafficking in Children and Women.

hard for NGOs to maintain “face” with government and with employers when their activities are interrupted.

In the Philippines, the Visayan Forum acknowledged that some funding delays were caused by them: they were slow in submitting accounts. However, in Pakistan, it seems that delays were also caused by the complexities of IPEC management systems (see below). In Kenya, APPEAN and SINAGA have managed to overcome funding delays through the way in which they promote community ownership of their projects, so that communities are fully involved in keeping activities going. Nevertheless, funding delays need to be avoided wherever possible. In both the Philippines and Pakistan, organisations visited stated that one of the criteria for choosing which donor organisations to ask for support is the ability of the organisation to make timely funding payments.

Added to these difficulties is the general perception of how time- and resource-consuming IPEC approval procedures are. Organisations felt ill-prepared to complete the many protocols demanded and were also aware that procedures which necessitate approval for all expenditure through the Geneva office are time-consuming.

8.3 Restrictions of IPEC Planning Bienniums

The work of all organisations involved with CDW, not simply those funded by IPEC, shows that to make an impact on the problems of CDW takes time and skilled resources. Very little can be achieved in a two-year span. The issue of focusing on two-year, project-based activities is discussed below. There can be no doubt that work in support of CDW is constrained by the IPEC requirement to think in two-year planning cycles, after which time, a project should be “finished”. Although there are differences between the organisations visited, and different reasons why two year planning was unsuitable to the efforts they were making, all were subject to constraints. This is exacerbated when applications, or granting of funding, fall in mid planning cycle, so the time available is even shorter.

8.4 Working with Government

The IPEC system of working through NSC is well established. Nevertheless, in the Philippines and Pakistan, partners and other organisations consulted stated that CDW work would benefit if IPEC could work more closely with government. In the Philippines, this is, perhaps, less of an immediate issue because the Visayan Forum has such a high profile and is clearly recognised by government as *the* main player in relation to CDW. In Pakistan, however, where there has been far less input in the sector (by any organisation) the need to expand work to the governmental level is crucial. A proposal for an AP which would involve co-operation between NGOs and the Ministry of Women’s Affairs was put forward. Questions were raised because the proposal indicated that the Ministry would be instrumental in selecting partner NGOs, and this was not felt appropriate. It would seem, however, that this would provide a good opportunity for government and NGOs to work together, and for government to become more involved in the CDW issue.

In Kenya and Tanzania there has been more direct working through government and in Tanzania this has been beneficial. For future, strategic approaches, the ability to blend government and NGO / civil society partnership will be crucial.

8.5 Inadequate Emphasis on Prevention: inappropriate skills training

As has been stated, there has been relatively little emphasis on direct prevention work. Integrated prevention measures are crucial if the situation of CDW is to be improved. This includes prevention at all stages of the CDW process, that is, preventing children involved in CDW from getting into worse circumstances and preventing the cycle from continuing by offering new opportunities for skills development to CDWs. At present, none of the skills training offered is market-based. There is no economic logic to the skills chosen. Skills training should fit into a wider, local, regional or national framework and be based on market predictions for saleable skills now, and in five and ten years time. Despite the benefits, mentioned above, of offering *any* type of training, there will be little chance for sustainability of achievements if skills developed do not lead to long-term job opportunities. In Kenya, for instance, it was found that although girls are trained in new skills, they do not use these in their work (see Country Annexe 1).

8.6 Lack of Lesson Sharing

The evaluation found that IPEC has not placed any emphasis on sharing the lessons learned between projects and organisations working in the same sector (though this evaluation will contribute to lesson sharing). This is true not only globally, which might be expected, but also within countries. This is a shame. There is a general lack in co-ordination between organisations working in the field of CDW and IPEC could play an important role in developing means by which lessons learned are documented and regularly shared with other partners, and other interested organisations. During the evaluation visits, organisations stated that they would very much like to have regular information on what is happening in CDW interventions in other countries.

9 Conclusions

A contribution has been made to addressing CDW, but with limitations:

In general, IPEC interventions in support of CDW to date have made an important contribution to bringing the issue of CDW on to national and global agendas. However, the limitations of working in *ad hoc* approaches, through small-scale action programmes has severely limited the worth of the work so far, and has restricted the impact on CDW. The reason for the lack of strategic approach is considered to be partly because of the traditional IPEC ways of working and partly because, to date, not enough is known about the CDW sector. There is a great need for concerted and co-ordinated research and data collection, by governments, international organisations and NGOs to build up a wider understanding of CDW in all four countries. This process will, necessarily, form a first step in building a strategic approach to CDW.

Only in the Philippines has the approach become integrated:

Only in the Philippines has the work successfully moved to the “next level” of interventions: CDW interventions are being approached holistically and are being mainstreamed into the national legal framework and a holistic approach to the problems is being taken. The successes of working at all levels, from community through to the central government, and of placing emphasis on getting CDW recognised as a form of work in which workers have proper rights and can be organised, has been invaluable. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that the opportunities for increasing awareness and action in support of CDW have come about because of the strength of the implementing agency, and its relationship with the IPEC office, and IPEC staff, not because of a particular IPEC strategy. There is no developed IPEC strategy on CDW, and it does not support the whole process of work; it is not involved in the direct prevention and community activities.

Work in Africa has shown the benefit of community participation from the outset of intervention:

Work in the Philippines and in Tanzania has shown the fundamental value of involving the communities from the start of interventions, and of working in direct prevention. IPEC will maximise its potential to impact on CDW, if it develops a strategic approach to CDW and opts either to support work at the community level or to develop strong partnerships with other major organisations and donors which do work at community level. UNICEF and the Save the Children Alliance are potential partners, and in Kenya, partnership with UNICEF has already been established. Working at the community level, and in participatory ways, takes time and skilled resources, but demonstrably has great impact.

IPEC has a greater role to play in networking and strengthening links between organisations:

Beyond partnerships to support a holistic, strategic approach to CDW, the evaluation also found that broadening and strengthening links between implementing agencies would be beneficial. Organisations stated that the stakeholder meetings, held during the evaluation, were very helpful and that they needed to meet to share information and understanding on a more regular basis. IPEC might also consider giving more support to organisations such as TACOSADE in Tanzania, which acts as an umbrella organisation for NGOs and trade Unions.

IPEC has a greater role to play in supporting partners in bringing CDW onto the national agenda and supporting legislative change:

In the development of holistic processes for CDW, IPEC is well-placed to support interventions which bring CDW into formal recognition under national laws. How this is done, will differ from context to context. For instance, in Kenya CDW is not excluded from existing laws, and it may be possible simply to make the issue more explicit. In the Philippines, efforts to bring CDW into the law are, in themselves, strengthening all interventions for CDW and attention is also being given to proving that CDW makes an important contribution to the productive economy (because of the large numbers of workers – far greater, for instance than migrating workers – and because CDW frees women employers to enter the job market).

Prevention measures can best start at the community level:

One of the issues for all organisations working for CDW is where, and how, to contact child workers. The argument is that if contacts are restricted to the public arena, in parks or streets (Philippines and Tanzania) or in schools (Philippines) then the most vulnerable children will be missed. Community visits to employers may also miss these children. Numbers of extremely vulnerable children may be low – in comparison to the large numbers of CDWs in general – but they still need to be reached and to be protected. It is difficult to find the balance between reaching the widest possible numbers and also providing services for the most needy. It is partly for this reason that emphasis might be placed on prevention at the community level.

It is better to work to improve the conditions of CDW than to try to eliminate it:

There will continue to be a need for CDW, and children will continue to work as CDWs for the foreseeable future. For this reason, it is **not** advisable to encourage governments, in support of Convention 182, to recognise CDW as a worst form of child labour *per se*. It will be better, rather, to encourage them to develop and enforce regulations on the conditions in which CDW is carried out.

Income generation schemes and work for sustainable livelihoods is crucial:

In Kenya, there has been some success in the Ministry of Education projects to introduce school-based income generation. Making skills development part of the national curriculum is an attractive option which needs further examination. In Kenya, skills development is linked with schools-based income generation, and there is some evidence to show that fewer children are dropping out of school. However, globally, not enough is known about the full effects of income generation schemes on children's work-loads. Before it would be possible to recommend that the Kenya example be adopted more widely, a full evaluation of children's work in relation to increased income is necessary. At first sight, however, this would seem to be a good example of how income generation can work and to counter the current "fashion" of dropping income generation interventions.

The effect of HIV on increasing the potential numbers of CDW must be taken into account:

The number of children being affected by HIV and AIDS in Africa is growing rapidly. The evaluation found that CDW is likely to be one of the coping strategies by which AIDS-affected children can survive. Further research on this is necessary, but if it is so, then efforts must be turned towards making CDW a fair, acceptable and protected life choice – one which will open a range of future livelihood strategy opportunities for CDWs. This means that, aside from ensuring that the conditions of CDW work are acceptable, education and skills development opportunities must be made available.

Attempts to re-unite CDWs with their families are not always advisable:

The example of AIDS-affected children above fully demonstrates the conclusion that great care is necessary in assessing the appropriateness of any interventions which seek to re-unite CDWs with their families. Children leave home and go to work elsewhere for a variety of reasons – but, if the situation at home were tenable, they would not leave. Poverty has been identified as the main push factor but others are also important. The search for education is one. In the Barangays in Manila, children may need to leave home to work partly because there is literally no room for them to live with their families once they pass a certain age. Other children leave abuse at home, to enter abuse in work. Whatever the reasons, there is no point in trying to return children to their families, unless the situation at home has improved. This is another reason why community-based direct prevention work is vital. More research is necessary to develop understanding of what happens to children who are returned home. Current research on this subject, by SC-UK in Haiti with Restaveks (CDWs) on this subject may be illuminating. The research is particularly important as it is being carried out by the CDWs themselves.

10 Lessons Learned

Lessons specific to each country are contained in the Country Annexes. What follows here is a synthesis of the major lessons learned which can point the way forward in developing this product line. Lessons learned were discussed with implementing partners in all four countries.

- All interventions should be based on sound information and understanding about the scope, scale and situation of CDW in countries. Without this, response cannot hope to be fully appropriate, and there is no way to monitor or evaluate the effectiveness of interventions.
- Taking a participatory approach from the outset, and throughout programme design monitoring and evaluation will lead to increased stakeholder ownership and commitment. This is true for all development interventions. For CDW the advantages have been shown in Tanzania, and in the Philippines. In both countries, people's participation has led to a flexible and effective response to needs. It has also enhanced development of the enabling environment, awareness raising and sustainability of achievements. Participation has also led to increasing self-sufficiency for instance in the development of the workers' association in the Philippines.
- Without a strategic approach, interventions will continue to be piecemeal. Return on investment will be limited and there will be less likelihood that lessons learned are shared. Individual children will be "saved" but there will be little real impact on the situation of CDW, as whole (cf. Pakistan).
- A strategy for CDW needs to take an *integrated* approach: working for prevention, protection and social integration of CDWs. Whilst it is not essential that IPEC fund into all aspects, it would be beneficial if it did so – since the integrated approach is still a novel idea and replicable models need to be built up.
- IPEC has a large role to play in promoting integration between partners at all levels: government, civil society, community. It has the structures (eg. the NSC) to do this, and organisations look to IPEC to fulfill this role.
- IPEC needs also to play a strong role in supporting partners working for legislative change, and to ensure that, where necessary and appropriate, CDW is discussed within the C.182 agenda.
- It will take a lot of support for governments and organisations to build up adequate systems for monitoring and evaluation of CDW and IPEC can assist organisations with this.
- There needs to be more global sharing of experiences around CDW. IPEC is involved in this and can continue to be so, particularly in using the new Information Technology.

11 Recommendations

The following points represent a 10-point plan for possible action, and ways that IPEC can take forward its work in the CDW sector. Recommendations were developed during the field visits with implementing agency, IPEC and government staff.

Increasing Investment within the Sector: CDW is a growing and major issue of concern, globally. IPEC as a whole needs to commit funds to CDW. Even without a sound database, it is possible to state, with full assurance, that there is need *now* for much greater investment within the sector. Based on minimum “guess-timates” the numbers of CDWs in countries are large – and are very likely to grow. CDW is a major work sector, of huge current and future significance. It cannot be tackled through small-scale Direct Action Programmes alone.

Developing an IPEC-wide strategic approach to CDW: The product line needs an overall strategy, and strategies for countries of operation. ILO-IPEC could develop stronger policies and strategies for its work in the field of CDW. At present, initiatives are not properly rooted within an organisation-wide approach to CDW, and are also not firmly rooted within overall IPEC country strategies. In most cases, IPEC investment work in CDW has been an ad hoc reaction to estimated needs, rather than a calculated response to identified priority areas for action. IPEC is uniquely placed, as the only organisation with a specific labour mandate, to promote co-ordinated strategies on CDW amongst development partners. Promotion of greater linkages all round, and all through IPEC strategies will be very beneficial.

Forming national partnerships to improve the database: With its links to ministries of labour and statistics, IPEC is well placed to promote an integrated approach to building national databases on CDW. If government partners work together with IPEC and with organisations more experienced in participatory research methods – such as Save the Children and UNICEF – a much clearer picture of the situation of CDW could be built up. This is vital for further planning and targeting of interventions. Without greater knowledge and a more reliable database, governments cannot be persuaded to bring CDW fully into the legal framework, nor can they be expected to take CDW issues fully on board. In line with the Recommendations (190) to Convention 182, it is imperative that the database includes not only a statistical analysis, but also qualitative understanding developed with working children and their families. The scope and scale of the problem of CDW is considerably different between the countries -- in the ages and backgrounds of the children working in domestic situations. This emphasises the need for context-related responses within carefully elaborated strategies based on sound data and understanding.

Increasing Participatory Approaches for CDW interventions throughout IPEC: The evaluation considers that the chances of successful implementation of the recommendations will be increased if IPEC gives continuing emphasis to the development of participatory development processes for CDW, and in IPEC in general. The level of participation achieved by implementing organisations varies. The Visayan Forum now works participatorily in most of its work. However, monitoring and evaluation, where they exist, tend not to be participatory – neither in the implementing agencies, nor in IPEC itself. There is considerable scope for the development of more participatory approaches in IPEC, and to do so would increase the chances of realistic planning and the setting of realisable indicators of achievement. Without participation,

CDWs will always be seen as victims whereas, in numerous cases, they are capable of making positive life choices for themselves, and in support of their families.

Refining IPEC procedures and protocols: The evaluation has noted that, in a number of instances, IPEC field offices have felt that their ability to develop the work in CDW (and all other sectors) is hampered by the procedures and lengthy bureaucracy demanded by ILO-IPEC Geneva. It was stated that procedures are too centralised and that more responsibilities could be channelled through ILO country offices. Changes are happening in IPEC financial management systems and, if work in the CDW sector is to be scaled-up, procedures will need to ensure not only transparency and accountability, but also the ability of implementing agencies to work efficiently within the system. The type of implementing partner available in the CDW sector may mean that there is an even greater need than normal for capacity building.

Developing relations with government for CDW interventions: In some instances (eg. Visayan Forum) implementing agencies have their own, excellent relations with government – independent of IPEC. Several organisations stated that the work would now benefit from integrating civil society and government action., and that IPEC should be ready to support this. IPEC is obviously in a unique position to do this, and to support implementing agencies, which do not always have the “weight” to encourage governments to move further on the CDW issue.

Bringing CDW intervention to scale: A fundamental problem in IPEC work in CDW (and other areas) has been that whilst approaches piloted through DAPs have had some success, they have not been taken up and brought to scale by government. There are a number of reasons for this:

- 1) The investment in DAPs was, in the main, too small to encourage government and nation-wide commitment to solving the problems addressed;
- 2) Meant that, in general, activities were focused and at the community level only;
- 3) Were not part of a wider strategy, and did not fit under specific policies;
- 4) And were, therefore, part of a “scatter-gun” approach to child labour; and
- 5) The recommendation, therefore, is that the strategy for CDW to be developed moves beyond an extension and increase in direct action programmes and works directly with governments and NGOs to development and promote holistic, national approaches to CDW. It is recommended that IPEC concentrate its efforts in the CDW sector to pilots in countries where this holistic approach is possible.

Recognising the need for time and capacity building: In tandem with development of the enabling, legal framework and adoption of CDW in the national agenda, community- based approaches to prevention and protection for CDWs, appear to be good practice, and are advocated by this evaluation, . However, such approaches require a long-term strategy and considerable resources on the part of the implementing agencies. Skilled staff are particularly necessary. Skills in participatory development work are also necessary. IPEC could invest more in building partnerships with other agencies and INGOs to ensure that there is added value and a comprehensive perspective to community-based approaches, but needs to acknowledge the time investment necessary to increase the chances of sustainable achievements. It also

needs to be willing to invest in relevant types of capacity building with implementing agencies.

Improving the Conditions of CDW in line with C. 182: *In the right circumstances*, CDW could be an important and acceptable form of child work which might, at times, offer children better chances of protection than they might have without this work. However, it is fully acknowledged that, even where CDW presently improves children's education opportunities, it also leaves the vast majority open to exploitation and abuse. CDW can only be tolerated where this abuse and exploitation is stopped. An example of where there may be a need to invest in CDW as a acceptable livelihood strategy is in East Africa, where the need to secure care and protection for increasing numbers of orphans (predictions on the number of children who will be orphaned by AIDS in coming years range between 10 and 90 million). IPEC can provide excellent support to governments, seeking to implement C. 182, in defining the legal framework, which might permit certain types of CDW whilst protecting children from the worst forms of it.

Promoting intra- and inter-country learning: It was felt, by implementing partners, that the evaluation provided an excellent beginning to the possibilities for sharing information and understanding between countries, and all countries welcomed the opportunity to learn from each other's experiences. On the smaller scale, the evaluation noted that, in countries, linking and networking had worked well where applied – particularly in awareness raising and in providing good quality direct assistance (for example, in vocational training for children or technical support for income generation). IPEC might expand its role in promoting lesson-learning and sharing exercises and, through its web site and through workshops, encourage sharing and co-ordination of information and experience.

ANNEXES

- 1) Experiences from IPEC – Kenya
- 2) Experiences from IPEC – Tanzania
- 3) Experiences from IPEC – Philippines
- 4) Experiences from IPEC – Pakistan

Annex 1. Experience from IPEC-Kenya

Thematic Evaluation

IPEC INTERVENTIONS ON CHILD DOMESTIC WORK

1 Introduction

Kenya is an IPEC “first generation country” having implemented Action Programmes (APs) since IPEC’s initiation in 1992. Partners include Government Ministries (MOL, MOE, MOHA), Government structures at district level, workers’ and employers’ organisations and various NGOs.

The focus of IPEC Kenya up to this year has to a large extent been on child labour in commercial agriculture, quarrying, hotel and tourism and domestic service. Along with fishery on Lake Victoria and in the coast area and commercial sex work these sectors seem to be the major employers of (young) children and children in the worst forms of child labour. Accurate data is lacking, however, on the distribution of child labourers among the sectors, their age, social background etc. A SIMPOC survey was carried out as part of the overall household survey under the Central Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Finance and Planning, in 1999. Still, data has to be analysed and the report produced. As of now, available information stems from various smaller studies and assessments carried out by IPEC partners and other organisation, such as UNICEF.

Field work for the current evaluation of interventions on child domestic work (CDW) was carried out in Nairobi from 13 to 19 July, 2000. It involved in-depth discussions with representatives of selected IPEC partner agencies, the IPEC Team and representatives of other organisations with activities in the field of child protection/child rights, as well as informal interviews with girls in the SINAGA Centre. An IPEC partner workshop on the issue of CDW was held initially to share general information on CDW in Kenya in general and to discuss the strategies that have been or could be employed in the country.

2 Background on CDW in Kenya

2.1 Scope and Scale

As stated above, no accurate data on the scale and scope of child labour in Kenya exist. Notably, data on CDW are scattered, as doing research with child domestic workers is extremely difficult. Some studies have been carried out, mainly by the SINAGA Centre (for a detailed description of the SINAGA Centre and its activities see 6.1. below) These studies suggest that CDW is one of the major employers of children in Kenya, possibly along with commercial agriculture. As the domestic service sector is dominated by girls (an unofficial estimate by IPEC partners working in the field says 80% of child domestic workers are girls) CDW may well be the largest single employment category for girls in Kenya. Whether an employer prefers to recruit a boy or girl child domestic worker depends mostly on the nature of the work that is to be performed. In Kenya domestic work in many cases include traditional household chores, such cleaning, cooking and caring for children, along with “out of the home activities” such as assisting the employer in petty business (vending of vegetables, prepared food etc.) for part of the day. Experience suggests that the preference for boys grows with the number of outside tasks to be performed. For the purpose of this evaluation, both

children performing only traditional household chores as well as children performing a combination of these and out of the home chores, such as vending, are considered child domestic workers. The child domestic workers are different from children working in the informal sector in that children in the informal sector are employed only to perform the out of the home tasks and do normally not live with their employers, as the child domestic workers do.

2.2 Who does Child Domestic Work

Most child domestic workers enter work when they are between 9 and 15 years of age. Whereas the younger children are often primary school drop-outs or have never enrolled, the older children will, in many cases, have completed primary school. The older children often enter CDW when secondary school is not affordable or not available. A study by SINAGA in 1997⁶ found that approximately 35% of the sampled child domestic workers could be considered literate having finished primary education or (part of) secondary education. 44% were found to be semi-literate having discontinued schooling in upper primary school. 21% were considered illiterate having dropped out of school in lower primary or never enrolled.

The children mainly work in Nairobi, and other major cities, in low to middle income households. Most of the children come from rural areas in Western, Nyanza and Coast Provinces, from where they are recruited through (distant) relatives or, less frequently, by other child domestic workers or agents.

2.3 Pay and Exploitation

Children in domestic service in Kenya usually receive pay in cash or in kind, though the pay tends to be very low and rather infrequent. As the children usually live with their employers they are always on call through and have long working days and rare days off. They face a whole range of exploitation and abuse common to CDW and are often invisible and isolated in spite of tasks performed out of the home (such as fetching water), as they have very little time to rest and socialise.

2.4 Reasons for CDW

Among the reasons for CDW in Kenya IPEC partners stressed the persistent poverty at household level as the major cause. Other causes for CDW are seen to be the costs of primary and secondary education, coupled with the poor quality of the education received; Cultural customs and perceptions, particularly those relating to gender roles and stereo types, leading to low priority given to girls education; The HIV/AIDS epidemic leaving children orphaned and without access to traditional social safety and protection measures through the extended family and the break-up of families due to migration and HIV/AIDS. These are all considered push factors, leading to a continuous supply of potential child domestic workers. On the demand side women's increased participation in wage employment is seen to have increased the need for domestic service. To low income households, child domestic workers are more affordable than adult domestic workers.

2.5 Official Status of CDW

Though not explicitly mentioned in the Employment Act, CDW is considered employment by the MOL and the interpretation therefore is that child domestic workers are covered by the same protective measures that applies to other child workers. That is, employment below the age of fourteen is prohibited unless it takes place under

⁶ Ogwindo, Walter O.: "Evaluation of the Employment Potential of the Graduates of SINAGA", SINAGA, 1997

protected conditions, for a limited number of hours per day and only when it is not interfering with primary education. Kenya is currently reviewing its labour legislation with ILO support in order to harmonise the legislation and bring this into line with the ILO core conventions and other conventions ratified by Kenya. Along side this, the MOL is working to draft a child labour policy and have it adapted. The child labour policy will be harmonised with the Children's Bill 2000 and the related legislation (under review). It is foreseen that the Child Labour Policy will make explicit reference to girls' employment though it is uncertain whether CDW will be singled out as an employment category. The CLU does expect, though, that the Policy will fully cover the area of CDW.

3 IPEC CDW goals

CDW has been an integral part of the IPEC country programme since 1992. According to the IPEC NPM there was no explicit, written strategy or goal setting for IPEC-Kenya, including the domestic service sector, until early 2000 when a Country Programme Management Review was carried out. This exercise explicitly identified CDW, children in prostitution and children living and working in the street as priority target groups for IPEC in Kenya. A total of 5000-7000 children within the three groups are targeted for withdrawal or preventive support over the 2000-2001 biennium. The number of child domestic workers targeted for direct support by the SINAGA Centre is 1000. The comparatively small number of child domestic workers targeted is a consequence of the realisation that these children are invisible and therefore more difficult to reach than children in prostitution or children living and working in the streets. Moreover, direct action is perceived as comparatively expensive. Thus, direct action will be complemented by indirect interventions, for example awareness raising, for which an AP with the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) has been designed.

4 IPEC Partners in CDW

4.1 Major Partners

The major IPEC partner in CDW by far is the SINAGA Centre which focuses all activities around CDW and which was established with IPEC support in 1995. Recently, also the sector trade union for workers in domestic service and the hotel and tourism sectors, KUDHEIHA, has become an IPEC partner on CDW. The direct IPEC funding for KUDHEIHA activities follows APs to build the capacity of the Central Organisation of Trade Unions (COTU) to combat child labour. KUDHEIHA is affiliated to COTU. KUDHEIHA targets its intervention specifically at CDW and children in the hotel and tourism industry, though the organisation has only recently started implementing its first AP.

A number of partners, MOHA, MOE, MOL and ANPPCAN have all included CDW as a component in general APs and/or in APs aimed at child labour in several sectors. APs implemented by all the above partners will be described and analysed in section 6 below.

Apart from agencies including an explicit component on CDW some agencies work to raise awareness on child labour in general. Their activities may have an effect on the working conditions of other partner agencies, dealing more directly with CDW. As such

APs do not explicitly address CDW, they are not included in this evaluation with separate descriptions.

4.2 District Children’s Advisory Committees

For many of the implementing agencies an important partner in CDW is the District Children’s Advisory Committees (DCACs). The DCACs are sub-committees to the District Development Committees (DCCs) and are charged with monitoring matters relating to children’s welfare at district levels and they report to, and advise, the DCC. The DCACs may also take concrete measures and refer cases of child abuse to the Children’s Department in the MOHA. At least in theory all districts in Kenya have a DCAC, though their level of activity and commitment vary considerably.

At an overall level several of the partner agencies working in CDW are represented on the NSC. These include the MOL (chairing), MOHA and ANPPCAN.

4.3 Ad Hoc Collaboration and Information Sharing

So far, IPEC-Kenya has had only limited *ad hoc* collaboration with other international organisations working in child rights and child protection. There is some degree of information sharing with UNICEF though the relationship has been somewhat unstable. Presently, efforts are under way to improve collaboration between the two organisations. UNICEF, at present, does not have a large degree of involvement with CDW though the organisation has funded some equipment for the SINAGA Centre. Instead UNICEF-Kenya is focussing activities in commercial agriculture, tea and coffee in particular. In 1998 IPEC and the British Council, in collaboration, organised an exhibition on child labour, including CDW. This however, has not been taken to a longer term formal relationship.

4.4 Other Organisations

Other international organisations with activities relating to CDW include CARE-Kenya. CARE-Kenya operates *The Girl Child Programme* aiming at facilitating initiatives to promote the rights of the girl child. This includes supporting research and advocacy and organisational/institutional development in NGOs/CBOs. The SINAGA Centre is among the NGOs supported under the Girl Child Programme. So far, IPEC and CARE have not had any formal collaboration or information sharing. Possibilities for establishing a “girl child donor network”, which could include IPEC, are currently being explored by CARE. Such a network could also include other donors to SINAGA, such as OXFAM, with whom IPEC has had no collaboration in the past.

4.5 Networks

There are already a number of relevant networks in which IPEC partner agencies are active participants. These include, most notably, the CARE initiated *Girl Child Network* that brings together various organisations working to promote girls’ rights. The main focus of the network is information sharing and co-ordination of activities. So far, IPEC has only been involved with the network through its implementing agencies. IPEC partners in CDW are thus mainly Government Departments concerned with children’s welfare and primary education, NGOs (SINAGA) and recently the sector union for domestic and hotel and tourism workers. Networking and collaboration with other organisations not implementing IPEC APs has taken place only to a very limited extent.

5 IPEC CDW strategies

5.1 Types of Strategy

IPEC strategies to tackle CDW in Kenya so far have included prevention, protection and withdrawal to a limited extent. Some APs have employed only one of these strategies others have combined them. There has been no explicit weighting of the strategies, though protection and withdrawal interventions seem to have a higher profile when it comes to documenting achievements. This is particularly so as SINAGA has become increasingly visible and well known through newsletters, IPEC presentations etc.

5.2 Awareness raising and Income Generation for Prevention

Interventions to prevent children from entering CDW have focussed mainly on two key areas: awareness raising in the recruitment areas and support to school based income generation aimed at generating income for keeping children in school. Where income generation activities have been established in primary schools they have served two purposes: Firstly, to generate funds to make education more affordable to poor children and secondly, to make the teaching more relevant to the children and more skills oriented. Many families have taken a keen interest in the income generating activities and have accepted using the children's new skills at home.

Awareness raising activities have been an integrated part of other activities, i.e. to prepare the ground for direct action interventions such as income generation support. Also protection and withdrawal activities have included general awareness raising activities that may have had a preventive effect.

5.3 Protection

Protection of child domestic workers has been provided through the SINAGA Centre. Focus has been on giving girl child domestic workers access to basic literacy or skills training along with psycho-social counselling and sensitisation of employers to ensure decent minimum conditions.

Withdrawal of child domestic workers has also been done through the SINAGA Centre in collaboration with other NGOs, through the Children's Department in MOHA and, to a very limited extent through the Labour Inspectorate.

6 Analysis of IPEC interventions

Below, individual APs are analysed, starting with those focusing explicitly on CDW and then moving to APs, which included CDW as one of more sectors or as an explicit component under a general intervention.

6.1 The SINAGA Centre

The SINAGA Centre was established with IPEC support in 1995. The Centre aims at improving conditions and future perspectives for child domestic workers, through provision of basic literacy classes and skills training, awareness raising campaigns and withdrawal and rehabilitation of girl child domestic workers, working and living in particularly abusive conditions. When SINAGA was established CDW was a "non-issue" in Kenya and no organisation had any substantial expertise in the field. Consequently, the need was felt to equip an organisation to become the driving force in the field.

Finding out. The initial activity of the Centre was to conduct a baseline survey to determine the key factors behind CDW and its major characteristics. The findings of this study were used to design the programme. The programme approach and activities have since then been adjusted based on consultations with the stakeholders and the findings of subsequent studies. SINAGA has carried out several studies since 1995, including the baseline, an evaluation of the employment potential of SINAGA graduates, three case studies supported by OXFAM (of which two are yet to be published) and a tracer study of former SINAGA students (forthcoming)⁷. All studies have employed both quantitative and qualitative research methods, mainly formal questionnaires combined with semi-structured or informal interviews. Participatory research methods have not been employed though the SINAGA staff considers such methods valuable. The need for training on doing participatory research, particularly with children, was expressed.

Design. The design of the first AP, including out-lining the approach that all subsequent activities have followed, was done by the SINAGA Programme Co-ordinator and other staff, based on the findings of the base-line. The design did take into account the views of primary stakeholders (child domestic workers and their employers) to the extent this was possible. As SINAGA had not yet established itself in the communities employing child domestic workers, access to, and relations with, the girls and their employers had to be established as part of the first AP itself. Subsequently, the activities and approach of the Centre has therefore been adjusted based on the on-going dialogue with the girls, their employers and the concerned communities at large, as well as with SINAGA's donors. Also, the studies carried out have to some extent fed into changing activities and strategies.

Target groups. The SINAGA primary target group is the girl child domestic workers below 15 years of age who receive direct support from the Centre. Girls below 15 years of age are targeted to comply with general IPEC priorities to reach the youngest and most vulnerable children first, as the priorities were formulated at the initiation of IPEC. Moreover, the 15 years age limit complies with current Kenyan labour legislation, which stipulates 15 as the general minimum age for admission to employment, in line with C138 (ratified by Kenya).

The second target group for SINAGA is the employers of CDW who are targeted for awareness creation and support towards protecting the girls and allowing them access to education and training. Also the communities that harbour CDW at large, and in particular community leaders (chiefs, teachers, religious leaders etc.) have been targeted for substantial awareness creation and sensitisation. The aim has been to anchor the activities of SINAGA with the communities and to generate the support of the communities in protecting child domestic workers and identifying the girls living and working in abusive conditions.

Through awareness raising activities of a more general nature, such as radio broadcasts, SINAGA has targeted the general public to bring the issue of CDW "on the agenda".

Approach and implementation: SINAGA's approach revolves around three key strategies: i) the provision of direct services, basic education/skills training and counselling, to girl child domestic workers to improve their living and working conditions as well as their future prospects for other employment than domestic service. This

⁷ Please, refer to the attached list of documentation

includes withdrawing a limited number of girls from domestic work and rehabilitating them. ii) Mobilisation of employers and communities to protect and support the working girls and iii) raising awareness in general.

The provision of direct services take place in the SINAGA Centre, which is located in a low income area of Nairobi, but draws girls from several low income neighbourhoods, some of them more than an hour's walking time away from the Centre. The Centre offers so-called ABC-classes to non-literate girls and skills training to older, (semi-)literate girls. ABC classes focus on basic literacy (in Kiswahili and English), basic arithmetic and "general", which include a range of issues as diverse as geography and personal hygiene. Skills' training is offered in cooking and baking, tailoring and basic type-writing. Classes are given in two shifts: morning and afternoon to allow the girls to fit in classes with their work. Skills training classes last approximately 6 months and graduates receive a SINAGA certificate though this is not officially recognised as a certificate of vocational training. ABC-classes can be attended as long as needed. The aim is to enrol as many girls as possible in formal primary school though this has only happened in very few cases as yet. All girls attending classes at the Centre are offered counselling on personal, medical and legal matters as needed. This includes information on for example reproductive health and HIV/AIDS.

The vast majority of girls receiving support through SINAGA continue to live and work with their employers but the Centre can provide emergency shelter for girls suffering severe abuse and girls being dismissed by employers, for example when becoming pregnant. SINAGA works closely with the Child Welfare Society of Kenya (CWSK), another IPEC partner agency withdrawing and rehabilitating street and working children, to provide withdrawn girl child domestic workers with shelter, counselling, medical and other services towards their rehabilitation.

Mobilisation of employers takes place mainly through home visits once a girl has joined the Centre or intends to do so. Girls who join SINAGA either identify themselves by coming to the Centre after learning about it from friends or neighbours or are identified by SINAGA field workers visiting public areas, such as water collection points, where child domestic workers come during the day. Girls who wish to join SINAGA are interviewed and their general living and working conditions are assessed to focus services to girls most in need of these. This includes a visit to the girl's employer. This visit also serves to establish the initial contact with the employer, to introduce SINAGA and gain the confidence of the employer, needed for her/him to release the girl for training at the Centre. During these visits the SINAGA staff usually stress not just the rights of the employed child to but also the benefit the employer may reap from employing a house girl with more skills. According to SINAGA staff and girls (interviewed for example in case study 1, 1997) employers usually receive this message well. Though a small minority of employers completely dismiss SINAGA as undue interference most employers perceive the services of the Centre as beneficial to both the girls and themselves. Numerous employers who are away from home during the day are pleased to leave their girl child domestic worker in SINAGA care for some hours a day to keep her away from "bad company". Once a girl has been enrolled with SINAGA her employers are invited to attend regular meetings at the Centre to be kept informed of the Centre's activities and progress. These meetings serve as a forum for continued mobilisation and awareness raising in that also "broader topics", such as children's rights in general or HIV/AIDS, are introduced to employers. Home visits are continued to monitor the conditions of the enrolled girls.

To mobilise the support of the concerned communities SINAGA also holds community meetings and workshops on CDW and related issues. This is done to make community members, and particularly community leaders, aware of the problems that the girls face and to make communities active participants in the monitoring of the girls' situation.

Based on the experiences gained through running the centre and sustaining a dialogue with the employers and the communities, SINAGA has carried out wider awareness raising activities. The most prominent activity being the publishing of a quarterly newsletter with discussions on topics relating to CDW as well as news from the Centre itself and its partners. The newsletter is distributed quite widely among organisations working with child labour, girls, child rights etc. It seems to serve as a major source of information among other organisations in Nairobi and was frequently referred to by other organisations met during the evaluation. Also the studies carried out by SINAGA, particularly the OXFAM funded case study, have served as an awareness raising tool. The case study has been distributed quite widely among SINAGA partners. In collaboration with the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) SINAGA has aired a number of radio and TV programmes aimed at raising awareness in the society in general, including policy makers.

In implementing activities SINAGA works extensively with other organisations. At the formal level SINAGA is an active member of the Girl Child Network and other national and local networks. These include for example the Forum for NGOs in Kariobangi (FONIC) which co-ordinates activities and organises joint activities for NGOs working in the Kariobangi area where SINAGA is located. Additionally SINAGA has more or less formal relations with a number of other organisations working with girl child and child labourers. This includes formal and structured collaboration with for example ANPPCAN – Kenya Chapter to provide legal counselling to child domestic workers as well as informal sharing of information with a large number of organisations both through IPEC and outside.

Achievements and constraints. Among the major SINAGA achievements is placing CDW on the national agenda. Though there is still a long way to go before CDW is generally recognised as an often exploitative form of child labour, the SINAGA awareness raising initiatives at local and national level have contributed substantially to the issue being increasingly recognised. Prior to its establishment, no organisation seems to have concerned itself with the issue of CDW and SINAGA is generally acknowledged as the “centre of expertise” when it comes to CDW. Many people interviewed during the mission gave SINAGA publications and personal contacts as their major source of information on CDW. SINAGA should thus be credited for introducing the issue to the national social development agenda through its documentation and information dissemination and awareness raising efforts.

In terms of reaching girls with direct services only a modest number of girls have been reached. According to the report on a strategic planning workshop held in September 1999 SINAGA had reached 600 girls since 1995. Of these 240 girls had graduated. Figures quoted in IPEC Progress and Final Reports give slightly different figures. At the time of visiting SINAGA (July 2000) the record of the Centre indicated that a total of 665 girls had been reached since 1995. The differences may be due to cases of drop-out and re-enrolment. However, regardless of the figures used, the total number of girls reached is low and the number of girls actually completing a course cycle is even lower. It must be noted however, that an unqualified number of girls have received limited ad hoc services, for example psycho-social counselling alone. Thus, the total number of

CDWs who have been in touch with the SINAGA centre is somewhat higher than what is recorded at the Centre.

The relatively low number of CDWs having received full scale support is due to a number of factors, most notably to capacity of the Centre to take on more girls. Providing training and protection to the girls is a time consuming process. With a staff of one Co-ordinator, one Field Officer, one Programme Officer, three teachers and a varying number of volunteers, SINAGA will only be able to reach a certain number of children. According to SINAGA staff, the number of children reached could increase through increased linking with other organisations and with more participation from communities. SINAGA has thus started to explore the possibilities for placing girls in vocational training with local crafts people. This is seen as a possible way to increase the number of children reached and as a way to improve the quality and relevance of the skills developed by the girls.

Experience, as well as the 1997 evaluation of the employment potential of SINAGA graduates, suggests that most of the SINAGA graduates continue as child domestic workers, not actually employing the skills gained. A forthcoming tracer study on former graduates of SINAGA is expected to provide more insights on this issue. It is however evident that offering only three types of skills training will limit the employment potential of SINAGA graduates, especially when graduates are not awarded officially recognised certificates. It seems the selection of cookery/baking, tailoring and type-writing was not done based on an assessment of labour market demands, but solely on the wishes expressed by the initial primary stakeholders, and the SINAGA staff involved in designing the programme. According to the 1997 evaluation, employment is especially difficult for girls who have done type writing as they are competing with business college graduates who have diplomas at more advanced levels. The best prospects for employment seem to be for girls participating in cooking/baking classes. An indication to this is also the fact that the SINAGA Centre is actually able to sell the products from the classes, especially the baking classes, in the local market. At present income from selling products produced in the skills training classes covers approximately 4 per cent of the centres running costs.

In spite of the seemingly limited application of the skills taught in the Centre, skills training, as well as ABC classes, seem to have a positive effect on the girls' self esteem. Individual girls in the SINAGA Centre have indicated in various interviews that participating in the skills training, along with the counselling received and the opportunity provided to make new friends and share concerns with girls in the same situation, has greatly improved their well being and self esteem. Many interviewed girls claim that the SINAGA initiative has meant that though they stay in domestic service, their terms and conditions have improved. This is both due to their own increased assertiveness and to the sensitisation of their employers who start considering the rights of child domestic workers an important issue following contact with SINAGA.⁸

The major achievements of SINAGA must thus be considered to be: 1) the placing of the issue of CDW on the national agenda and 2) the facilitation of improved conditions for a number of child domestic workers. The major problems can be summed up as: a lack of capacity to reach a substantial number of children and not providing them with high quality, relevant skills training.

⁸ No gross figures or statistically valid information was available at the time of writing. The information stems solely from interviews with individual girls.

Lessons learned

Involve a range of stakeholders

A major lesson that can be drawn from the SINAGA experience is that it is important to not only target the child domestic workers themselves when working to protect them and improve their future prospects. It is absolutely crucial also to involve not only their employers but also the communities in which the children live and work in a broader sense. It is obvious that the support of employers is necessary to have access to the child domestic workers at all. SINAGA experience shows that it is indeed possible to build positive relations with employers if a subtle approach is used. If employers are approached from a perspective of assisting the girl, as well as the employer in her role as the de facto guardian of the child domestic worker, most employers are willing to release the child and support the activities of the Centre. Interestingly, the 1997 evaluation of employment potentials indicated that a majority of employers interviewed, whose child domestic worker attended classes at SINAGA, would be willing to contribute a modest amount of money towards these classes. In order to build and sustain good relations with employers it is important to provide constant follow-up and sensitisation, as is done in SINAGA through home visits and the employer and community meetings in the Centre. Mobilising the support of the wider community serves two important purposes. Firstly, community leaders are serving as a link to employers and child domestic workers, identifying girls who could benefit from SINAGA support and sensitising employers. Additionally, mobilising the wider communities builds in a monitoring mechanism for the children staying in domestic service. Though no firm figures exist, SINAGA staff report that neighbours and community leaders are increasingly reporting cases of severe abuse to the Centre, who will then refer to the Children's Department or other NGOs.

Have links with emergency and crisis centres: offering a package

This makes apparent another lesson from SINAGA experience: When working to protect and support child domestic workers an organisation is bound to come across cases of severe abuse and exploitation of children. It is crucial then to have access to emergency/crisis facilities, such as shelters, to be able to withdraw the child immediately. In SINAGA emergency shelter is available in the Centre. A withdrawn child may stay here with a member of staff for a limited period of time until a long-term solution is identified. For long term rehabilitation SINAGA refers cases to other NGOs (mainly the CWSK) and the Children's Department in MOHA. This arrangement seems to be working smoothly, also in terms of sustaining the costs of withdrawing and rehabilitating the girls. In the case of CWSK this may be because the organisation has also received IPEC funding, thus being able to cover the costs under this funding. In fact, SINAGA may in this way have contributed to CWSK withdrawing and rehabilitating a certain number of working girls as stipulated in its agreements with IPEC. Being the government department responsible for children's welfare the Children's Department has access to government facilities, such as orphanages. Though resources are limited children referred from SINAGA, and elsewhere, can be supported. Making use of existing facilities to provide support to severely abused children, who must be withdrawn from CDW immediately, provides the needed emergency support without straining the resources in SINAGA unnecessarily. This model also ensures that, the withdrawn children are cared for by professionals, with experience in counselling and supporting ex-child labourers and abused children.

As is evident from the above, the SINAGA Centre has managed to provide the full support package only to a very limited number of child domestic workers since 1995.

Seen in this perspective the cost-effectiveness of the Centre's direct support activities can probably not be assessed as very high⁹. The low number of girls reached may be due mainly to the difficult nature of the task of establishing contact with the girls and their employers and keeping the girls in the classes. As is seen, not even half the girls supported by SINAGA have graduated from their classes, indicating a high drop-out rate from the Centre. This is explained by the Centre as attributable to the low "morale" of the girls, who are no longer used to attending school, coupled with their low self-esteem. Considering the circumstances under which the child domestic workers attend education (fitting in classes with long working hours and resulting fatigue), and the psycho-social problems that many girls face it is highly unlikely that running a centre like SINAGA will ever be cost-effective. Running costs are very likely to be high compared to the number of girls being supported when a centre-based approach is applied in that all costs are to be covered through the Centre. Particularly staff costs may add up as every service provided necessitates the employment of specialised staff, for example for provision of various forms of skills training. This also impacts at the operational sustainability of a Centre. With high running costs and a target group with very few resources it is highly unlikely that the running of the centre will ever be economically self-sustainable.

Multiple sources of funding

Realising the apparent need for centres like the SINAGA Centre strategies to attract external funding from a diversified resource base must therefore be built into the activities of a centre. The SINAGA experience clearly shows that relying on one donor (IPEC) only is risky in that delays in disbursements of funds or funding gaps affect the activities in the centre negatively. SINAGA is now employing a two-pronged strategy to minimise the dependency on IPEC. Firstly, other external donors are mobilised through dissemination of information on the Centre and organising donor meetings/visits to the Centre. Secondly, SINAGA is generating income from selling the produce of the skills training classes. This allows the Centre a minimum safety provision, independent of donor contributions.

Additionally, SINAGA is also exploring possibilities for increased linking with other organisations and local crafts people, particularly for the provision of vocational skills training. This will serve both to control costs (notably the costs of hiring additional staff to teach new subjects) and to improve the quality of instructions. Considering the low employability of SINAGA graduates described above, it must be stressed that when providing skills training it is of utmost importance that the quality of instruction and not the least the relevance of the skills taught are considered very carefully. If the market for a certain product is already saturated, or if the graduates of a centre face stiff competition from graduates of other institutions in a field, providing skills training in these field is likely to yield only marginal benefits to the graduates in terms of improving their prospects for future employment outside domestic service.

It should not be overlooked however, that even if the child domestic workers trained in the SINAGA Centre do not take up (self)employment based on the skills training they have received many girls interviewed actually indicate that they benefit from the training as it contributes to making them feel worth more and more secure. For the girls who stay in domestic service having additional skills make them more assertive and less likely to put up with severely abusive and exploitative conditions as many do feel that they have an alternative to CDW. Combining this with the psycho-social counselling and

⁹ In total SINAGA has received funding from IPEC of USD 140,256 from 1994 –99.

the social network that the girls establish in the Centre the effect on the life situation and the self perception of the girls can be considerable.

Summary: To sum up, the effects of attending classes and receiving psycho-social support at the SINAGA centre seem to have had a positive effect on the life situation of the girls involved, even if the kind of training given does not automatically lead to new, and better, employment opportunities. The apparent advantage of establishing a centre to support child domestic workers is the provision of a social network for the girls attending classes in the Centre. Additionally, the centre can become a mobilising factor and a natural focal point for reporting in the local community. Moreover, a Centre can establish itself as a very visible centre of excellence, setting the national agenda and influencing policy making, as SINAGA has done to a very large extent. This must be viewed against the high costs of operating a centre.

Mobilising the employers and the wider communities greatly facilitated SINAGA's work in that employers with a positive attitude are more likely to release the girls for training and less likely to severely exploit and abuse the children. Communities with some degree of awareness on the problems related to CDW seem to be more inclined to apply social control mechanisms to monitor and control the conditions of child domestic workers in their neighbourhood and to report cases of abuse.

It must be realised that working directly with child domestic workers, their employers and communities is an extremely time demanding process that take constant follow-up on the part of the implementing agency.

6.2 KUDHEIHA

KUDHEIHA has recently (end-June 2000) started implementing the AP "Prevention, Withdrawal, Rehabilitation and Reintegration of Child Domestic Workers and Children Working in the Tourism Industry through Education and Training". As can be seen from the title the AP focuses specifically on child domestic workers. Given the recent start of the AP it would be premature, however, to attempt an evaluation. A meeting was held with members of the KUDHEIHA implementation team, however, to explore the process of designing the AP. According to members of the implementation team organising adult domestic workers made KUDHEIHA staff aware of the existence of CDW. Knowledge and information on CDW has been obtained prior to designing the AP from two main sources: the SINAGA Centre and KUDHEIHA's sister organisation in Tanzania, CHODAWU (please, refer to Annex II). Prior to designing the AP, members of the KUDHEIHA implementation team went on an IPEC supported study tour to visit CHODAWU interventions. Therefore, the KUDHEIHA AP is an attempt to replicate the CHODAWU approach in Kenya. The first activity, being carried out at the time of writing, is conducting a survey on CDW and child labour in the hotel and tourism industry in 6 provinces. The survey will be carried out using conventional research instruments (structured questionnaires and individual interviews) and is expected to provide the basis for adjusting activities further.

With time it would be interesting to assess the KUDHEIHA AP in detail to obtain further knowledge of the opportunities and constraints related to replicating a successful IPEC AP approach in a new environment.

6.3 Ministry of Home Affairs, Children's Department

Since 1993 MOHA has kept a so-called case register on all reports of child abuse received and handled by MOHA, either through the Central Crisis Desk in the Children's

Department in Nairobi or through the DCACs operating in each of Kenya's 67 districts. According to MOHA approximately 300 cases are registered in each district every month. Initially only the type of abuse was recorded in the case register. This did not include classification of the circumstances that abused children live in. In 1999 the format for the case register has been revised with IPEC support to include registration if an abused child is a child labourer or belongs to another CNSPM category. The registration includes specification of the type of employment the child is found in. The realisation of the need for registering the work situation of abused children has come about through experience with registering, particularly after the DCACs were trained on child labour through a previous IPEC AP with MOHA. The revised case register has been in use only since early 2000 and it is thus too early to evaluate the impact of revising the register. Experience till now does indicate though that using the case register may prove a useful way of learning more about the abuses that children in different occupations face. Thus, most of the child domestic workers referred so far have been referred to the DCACs/MOHA as battered or sexually abused children. It is also clear that it is often more difficult to determine if an abused child is a domestic worker than is the case for other, more visible, occupations. MOHA officials therefore caution that the number of child domestic workers may actually be under-reported. Nevertheless, the case register appears as an easy to handle, low cost way of generating information, on a larger scale and over time, on the abuse faced by child domestic workers and other child labourers.

The Case Register

The case register and the services available through the DCACs/MOHA have been advertised through media and workshops in selected areas, with IPEC support. Child domestic workers were included as one group of children needing special attention, being susceptible to abuse. Following the campaign, MOHA experienced a doubling in the number of registered cases concerning child domestic workers. Most cases were reported by people living in the same neighbourhood as the abused child.

MOHA hopes that the case register will become a tool for analysing the initiatives in the Children's Department, a source of information for IPEC partners and others working on child protection/child rights as well as a lobbying tool for those advocating for increased political commitment – including allocation of resources – for protection of vulnerable children. By documenting the types of abuse and frequency with which they occur, among various groups of children, MOHA hopes that attention will be directed to the most vulnerable groups of children. So far, the register seems to indicate that child domestic workers are among the most vulnerable children as the abuses reported are severe and most often committed against young children. Most cases reported concern child domestic workers between the ages of 9 to 13 years of age.

Lessons learned.

Mainstream reporting on CDW

Mainstreaming reporting on child labour with related reporting systems in a simple manner thus points to an easy, low-cost way of increasing the knowledge base. This approach is especially interesting when it comes to forms of child labour, such as CDW, which are difficult to research using traditional statistical methods, such as household surveys. Thus, the case register is potentially a good practise for obtaining valuable, hard-to-get information. Therefore, a systematic assessment of experiences is recommended once the revised case register has been operational for a substantial period of time.

6.4 The Ministry of Labour

In the MOL inspectors from both the Labour Inspectorate and the Department of Occupational Safety and Health (DOHSS) have been trained on how to include inspection and monitoring of child labour with their regular inspections. This has included information on CDW, as CDW is not excluded from coverage under the Kenyan labour legislation. As no register on the occupation of children identified during monitoring is kept, it is not possible to detail the number of child domestic workers identified by labour inspectors/OHS inspectors. According to officials in the MOL, however, the number of child domestic workers is likely to be low compared to other categories of child labourers, as inspection in private homes is difficult. To actually carry out an inspection in a private household an inspector must have very strong reason to believe that a child domestic worker in the household is severely exploited. If this is not the case the inspection will violate the right to privacy. Adding to this the fact that inspections in homes usually only benefit one child whereas inspections in for example business or manufacturing premises are likely to benefit more children, inspectors seem to prefer to inspect the latter premises. This is especially so, as resources are scarce with inspectors lacking fuel for vehicles to be able to move around etc. Therefore, Inspectors tend to only carry out inspections on CDW when requested to do so by neighbours, KUDHEIHA staff or others.

Lessons learned

May be little benefit from training Inspectors

Training Inspectors on CDW, therefore, does not seem likely to benefit a large number of children. It must be kept in mind though that the Inspectorates are the guardians of labour legislation and that their active involvement may make it easier to facilitate access to legal recourse for exploited child domestic workers.

6.5 The Ministry of Education

Finding out. The MOE has implemented activities to prevent children from dropping out of schools to enter child labour, with five schools in five districts since 1996. The MOE AP is thus not focussed directly on CDW only but CDW has been included as one type of hazardous child labour to be prevented under the AP.

A baseline survey, using a mixture of traditional survey methodology and more participatory methods, such as focus group discussions, was carried out in areas with high drop-out rates¹⁰. Based on the findings, five districts in Western Kenya were selected for intervention. At the time of selection CDW seems not to have been considered a category of work targeted for prevention through the AP, though the area is known as a recruitment area for child domestic workers in Nairobi. According to MOE officials however, CDW has since been included, in that the AP does not only support children at risk of entering the originally identified occupations.¹¹

Design. It has not been possible for the evaluation to obtain accurate information on the process of designing the AP as the former Project Co-ordinator has retired from the

¹⁰ It is very likely that the high drop-out rates in the five districts is to a large extent related to the high HIV/AIDS infection rates in the districts, leading to a large number of orphaned children

¹¹ The occupations identified in the base line study were limited to more visible kinds of occupations, such as work in commercial agriculture or cross border trading with Uganda.

MOE. According to members of the current MOE implementation team the design of the AP seems to have been handled almost exclusively in the Ministry Co-ordination Unit without any significant involvement from other Ministry Departments or from the primary stakeholders.

Target group. The target group is children at risk of dropping out of school to enter labour, their families and the surrounding communities.

Approach and implementation. The overall approach of the AP is to try to prevent children from entering child labour through supporting their retention in school. This is done through establishing income generation schemes in the selected primary schools. The income generated goes towards supporting poor families to cover the costs of primary education. At the beginning of the AP a needs assessment was carried out for each school to determine which income generating activities would be relevant and viable for each of the involved communities. Schools were then given seed money to start the income generating activities. Technical support was provided through the District Agricultural Offices, responsible for agricultural extension services.¹² General monitoring and follow-up was provided by the MOE. Throughout, support for income generating activities was coupled with awareness raising activities, such as workshops, aimed at parents, teachers, District Education Officers and others. This way the AP has been able to build strong networks at local levels. At national level MOE is part of the group of IPEC implementing agencies, but apart from this networking does not seem to have been very prevalent in the activities of the Ministry.

Achievements and constraints. It is rather difficult to measure the concrete impact of the AP as no records were kept on the children supported. The MOE is currently undertaking an impact assessment to determine whether the children supported under the project are still in school. The assessment is expected to be ready later this year and will be used to adjust the AP approach before an expected replication of the AP in another 100 schools.

The Final report of the AP (1998) does mention that the supported schools have seen an increase in enrolment from 1995 to 1997. It is however uncertain whether this is due to the MOE AP or other factors, for example larger cohorts of school age children. At district level, enrolment figures remain very low, probably due to HIV/AIDS in particular. This could point to some effect of the AP, with supported schools being able to reverse the general enrolment trends.

The five participating schools have been able to generate an income, even if modest. The income has been used to support individual children. Perhaps just as important, the income generating projects have served to introduce skills training in the schools, perceived to be of high relevance by the students and their parent. In some cases school children have passed on their new skills within their families, who have taken up new income generating activities. This may be an indication of the value attached in rural communities to teaching “employable skills”. Making schooling increasingly relevant to families and children, may in itself have contributed to increasing enrolment.

Lessons learned

Negative attitudes to education can be changed if training is relevant

¹² All schools selected agriculturally based activities, such as vegetable growing or pig rearing.

The major lesson learned may be that negative attitudes towards education can be changed through making training in relevant, employable skills part of the curriculum. This in itself may prevent non-enrolment and possibly drop-out. As the costs of education is also a factor when a poor household decides on whether or not to send a child to school, giving direct economic support to children will certainly have a preventive effect. Generating funds for such support through school based income generation will very likely yield more operational sustainability than providing the support directly from the implementing agency to the child, as support does not automatically dry up at the end of the AP. It must be noted, however, that establishing profitable income generation schemes is rather time demanding and that quick result in the form of direct support cannot be expected. It is therefore very important that the primary stakeholders are closely involved in the process, support the activities and take ownership – also to ensure the continuation of activities after ceasing of the AP. Judging from progress reports and the final report, close dialogue and follow-up with the involved communities seem to be crucial to the mobilisation and participation of communities.

6.6 ANPPCAN

ANPPCAN has been an IPEC implementing agency since 1992, raising awareness and mobilising selected communities in four districts. Since 1997 a component on school based income generation was initiated in 47 schools in the 4 districts, making the approach to preventing child labour rather similar to the approach employed by the MOE.

Finding out. ANPPCAN was formed in the mid-80ties as a pan-African NGO to fight child abuse and neglect. Child labour has been the concern of the organisation throughout and ANPPCAN was involved in some of the earliest studies on child labour in Kenya. Information from these studies fed into selecting the areas of intervention for the first IPEC funded AP. Based particularly on studies of child labour, including CDW, in Nairobi, two of the four districts for intervention were selected as they were considered recruitment areas for child domestic workers to Nairobi. This was confirmed through district profiles, worked out as the first activity under the AP.

Design. Based on the district profiles, which identified local resources, ANPPCAN staff designed the interventions with the primary stakeholders, using for example mobile theatre units to pass on messages and initiate discussions in community meetings. This process of designing actual interventions was incorporated into the first phases of the AP. Thus, the design of interventions and setting modalities of implementation was actually used as a basis for mobilisation of communities. The initiation of school based income generation in 1997 was a direct response to wishes in the communities and was not envisaged by ANPPCAN when the AP was initiated.

Target Group. The prime target group is children at risk of dropping out of school to enter child labour, their families and communities. In two of the four districts this particularly concerns girls who are at risk of entering CDW.

Approach and implementation. The focus through out has been on preventing child labour through mobilising the communities in recruitment areas. A strong priority has been given to ensuring local ownership of activities. In all participating communities Child Labour Committees (CLCs) have been set up as sub-committees to the DCACs. Members of the CLCs include representatives of local NGOs and CBOs, religious

organisations, the district offices for education, labour, agriculture, livestock, fisheries and home affairs (Children's Department). The CLCs have in their mandate to raise awareness and to oversee the implementation of project activities in the participating schools. This includes managing funds for initiation of income generation activities. In all four districts CLC bank accounts have been opened. The CLCs give monthly reports to ANPPCAN and ANPPCAN provides support to the CLCs, though follow-up visits take place less frequently than wished from both CLCs and ANPPCAN staff. This is mainly due to the long distance – and therefore the high travel costs - from the ANPPCAN offices in the Nairobi to the four districts.

The actual selection of preferred income generation activities in schools were done by school teachers, students and parents, mainly through Parents-Teacher Associations (PTAs) in the schools, with the support of the CLCs. Technical advice and training is given by the District Extension Officers. According to ANPPCAN staff, making the Officers take on additional work has not proved particularly difficult as they (or one of their colleagues) are represented in the CLCs. This has made them very committed to the project. Once the school projects initiated have begun to generate income, the use of funds is decided locally with support from the CLCs and ANPPCAN. Three different approaches to supporting children have been employed, depending on local circumstances. In some schools teachers and PTAs identified children at risk of dropping out of schools and provided them with direct support. In other schools priority was given to creating an environment more conducive to learning through improving the buildings (roofing, constructing pit latrines etc.). The third strategy was to collectively relieve children of some of the levies normally charged. The two last strategies were introduced to avoid stigmatisation of directly supported children and to avoid withdrawal of community support for the project. It was realised in many schools that selecting the most needy children in very poor communities was almost impossible. The number of children in need of support is simply greater than the funds generated can cover if all expenses are to be paid. Singling out those in need proved very difficult as the differences between the needy children and the *most* needy children are marginal. To avoid antagonism between supported and non-supported families it was decided to spend the income on improving conditions for all school children. The drawback of this kind of support obviously is that a number of children not in direct need of support may actually be supported on equal terms with those who need it. Additionally, it makes it more difficult to determine the impact of the intervention on the life situation of the individual child. An obvious benefit is the increased community support and commitment that general improvements in the school environment seem to have generated. With better schools, education is simply considered more attractive.

Achievements and constraints. As in the MOE AP all the participating schools seem to have derived an income through the AP. In many cases the income has been modest though and has not at all covered the need for additional income in the communities, as described above.

As no register on supported children has been kept it is not possible to assess achievements in terms of number of children reached. In the current phase, which is considered a consolidation phase, a register has been included, giving details of individually supported children and assessing the number for whom the general support mechanisms make a substantial difference for their school attendance. The target figure for the consolidation phase is 2000 children supported. The figure has not been reached yet but is expected to be reached by the end of the AP around the end of the year 2000.

However, this target figure is not sufficiently high to cover all children who need support. This is mainly due to the increasing number of AIDS orphans in the four districts.

The most important achievement of the AP seems to be the high level of local commitment and ownership generated. Activities have been mainstreamed into the regular tasks of local institutions, mainly through the efforts of the CLCs and local ownership has been assumed, both on the part of schools, parents, pupils and local institutions. The importance of local ownership was tested during 1998 –1999 when IPEC funding ceased due to delays in programming. During the two year funding gap activities were sustained in all participating schools and the CLCs continued their monitoring and reporting activities.

Lessons learned

Community ownership is vital

The sustaining of activities during the two years funding gap points to community ownership, through active participation and assuming of responsibility, as a key to sustaining activities of an AP. It must be noted that using a community-based approach is a very time demanding venture with no easy shortcuts to quick short term results. It did take ANPPCAN and the communities almost 6 years to have CLCs and income generating activities in place. In addition a one-year consolidation phase, focussing on building monitoring capacities of the CLCs and preparing communities for ANPPCAN withdrawal, has now been added. There are strong indications though, that the long process will yield sustainable impact.

As is evident from the analysis of both the SINAGA and MOE APs, direct involvement of the IPEC partner agency in the implementation of activities tend to put considerable strain on the resources of the agency, leaving the number of children supported at very low levels. ANPPCAN on the other hand has been able to reach a larger number of schools and children, via implementation through the local CLCs, though still fairly modest¹³. Perhaps the key to this lies with the CLCs. Leaving the responsibility for day to day implementation of activities to the schools and CLCs not only built local commitment. It also made it possible for ANPPCAN staff to concentrate on more general support at a higher level, thereby making it possible to work with more communities. It is important to note though, that the direct involvement if IPEC partner agencies in implementation may serve a very important capacity building function. Particularly young organisations and organisations that need to gather concrete evidence and knowledge about a certain type of child labour (in this case CDW), such as SINAGA, may benefit from implementing direct action activities.

It must be noted also that ANPPCAN is a relatively large and well-consolidated NGO compared to SINAGA. The difference in availability and capacity may have played a role also. ANPPCAN was formed almost a decade earlier than SINAGA, meaning ANPPCAN has had a longer period of time to consolidate itself and generate experiences before taking on direct action in a field as complex as CDW. Moreover, ANPPCAN-Kenya Chapter is part of the ANPPCAN pan-African network, supplying the organisation with more resources in terms of back-up knowledge, manpower, access to policy makers etc. This means that whereas SINAGA has had to work on making CDW a visible problem, and target communities and children alongside consolidating itself as an organisation, ANPPCAN was already well consolidated and well known when

¹³ As indicated above no firm figures on the numbers of children supported are available

initiating direct action interventions, possibly leaving more resources for the direct action.

All in all, the ANPPCAN AP has employed what is potentially a good practise approach to community-based prevention of CDW as well as other forms of child labour.

7 Conclusions and recommendations

The major experiences in combating CDW in Kenya lie within prevention and protection. Looking at what has facilitated the creation of an impact for both strategies the importance of actively involving the concerned communities, ensuring the local ownership of projects is evident.

The relevance of activities is ensured when communities are involved in setting priorities and modalities for implementation. This way community participation seems to increase impact sustainability, though conclusions are difficult to draw due to a general lack of monitoring within APs included in the evaluation. It can be concluded though, that community ownership has a positive effect in operational sustainability. Particularly the ANPPCAN experience, where communities kept improving education through income generation during a two year funding gap points to this.

When working with a community based approach initial awareness raising has been applied in all cases, as CDW was often not recognised as a problem. It is therefore very difficult to separate awareness raising from direct support. That is, without a certain measure of awareness raising it would probably not have been possible to provide direct support.

In terms of preventive measures both income generation support directly targeted at poor families and general improvements of the school environment seem to contribute to keeping children in school, and thereby preventing their recruitment into CDW.

Given however, that both the MOE and ANPPCAN have faced difficulties providing sufficient preventive support, particularly as the AIDS crisis worsens, **protective measures must be considered a realistic option.** The SINAGA experience clearly indicates that it is possible to provide child domestic workers with adequate protection to avoid severe abuse and exploitation. This clearly takes the active involvement of not only the children themselves, but also their employers and the surrounding communities. Communities can be mobilised to play a key role in monitoring the conditions of child domestic workers.

- *It is therefore recommended that community based prevention and protection measures could be scaled up and developed further.*

To date, some awareness has been created in the society at large on CDW. The Government also recognises CDW as a worst form of child labour. There is still a long way to go though before the recognition is accompanied by allocation of resources. General acceptance of CDW in its worst forms as unacceptable is also far away.

- *It is therefore recommended that awareness raising and advocacy are still to be considered priority areas.*

As mentioned above, assessing the impact of various interventions is very difficult due to lack of monitoring. The introduction of the case register in MOHA may serve as a future monitoring tool at the overall level.

- *At individual AP level it is recommended that IPEC support implementing agencies in devising appropriate monitoring and recording systems.*

Related to the lack of monitoring capacity in partner agencies is probably also the lack of capacity to do participatory research. Most of the studies carried out so far have used only conventional research methodologies, which may sometimes be difficult to apply in a CDW setting. At any rate a mixture of methodologies will often give a more accurate picture. **IPEC could thus play a major role strengthening the capacities of partner agencies in doing participatory research with children.**

- ***IPEC could also play a larger role in facilitation of links/networking among partner agencies.*** *Some degree of linking already exists among agencies working with CDW. In all cases partner agencies assessed such linking positively, saying it contributed to offering better services to the target groups. This evaluation also clearly point to networking, at local and national levels alike, as enhancing effectiveness and efficiency of interventions. Through building/using an extensive local network centring round the CLCs ANPPCAN has been able to reach a comparatively large number of children. This is opposed to the SINAGA experience where centre based model, attempting to provide most services directly by the centre, has proven very resource demanding. Additionally, SINAGA has actually had positive experiences linking with the CWSK for withdrawal of child domestic workers, pointing again to linking and making use different agencies respective specialisation as useful when trying to scale up direct support interventions. Moreover, the networking that has taken place around SINAGA as a centre of excellence seems to have been instrumental in placing CDW on the national political agenda. It is therefore recommended that priority should be given to facilitating linking and building alliances and joint interventions.*

It appears thus that the major lessons to be learned include the following:

- When providing direct support for prevention of CDW or protection and withdrawal of child domestic workers it is absolutely crucial to work with community based approaches to ensure the relevance and sustainability of interventions
- Linking among organisations, making use of respective specialisation in the organisations, can enhance efficiency considerably. Community based approaches and creation of local network often go hand in hand.
- Given the attitudes widely connected to CDW provision of direct support to child domestic workers and their families cannot happen without substantial awareness raising initiatives.
- Given the scale of poverty and, increasingly, the impact of AIDS on the social organisation of society and the livelihood strategies available to poor households it is not realistic to expect prevention and withdrawal activities to eliminate CDW within a foreseeable future. Protection of child domestic workers must therefore be considered an acceptable strategy, provided emergency measures are in place to withdraw children who cannot be protect.

Summay Matrix for CDW APs in KENYA

Name of agency	Geographical location	Primary Stakeholders	Type of intervention	Main components	Main partners	Assessment of participation/ ownership	Assessment of impact
SINAGA Centre	Nairobi	Child domestic workers, employers	Protection, improving future prospects	Psycho-social counselling, skills training, basic literacy classes	Child welfare Society of Kenya, other NGOs/CBOs, local leaders	middle - high	middle – good, but not very wide
KUDHEIHA	Nairobi, Western Kenya, Coast	Child domestic workers, communities in recruitment areas	Study, thereafter prevention and withdrawal	Study, income generation	Community leaders, SINAGA	Too early to assess	Too early to assess
MOHA, Children's Department	Nairobi with nation wide representation through District Officials	MOHA and District Officials and the abused children they reach	Capacity building	Registration and referral for treatment	Police, courts, government institutions such as schools, children's home, remand homes etc., NGOs, religious institutions	-	A bit too early to assess but indications significant contributions to knowledge base
MOL	Nairobi with nation wide district representation	Labour and OHS Inspectors	Capacity building	Training inspectors on child labour and producing inspection manuals	MOHA, District Officials, trade unions	-	Low, especially with regard to CDW. Mainly due to limited use of knowledge gained through training
MOE	Nairobi and five rural communities (primary schools)	Potential child labourers, teachers, parents, community leaders	Prevention	School based income generation, improvement of access to education	Parents-Teacher Associations, District Officials	Middle - high	Middle – good, but not very wide
ANPPCAN	Nairobi and selected communities in four districts in Western Kenya	Potential child labourers in general and potential CDWs in particular in two districts, teachers, parents, community leaders	Prevention	School based income generation, improvement of access to education, improvement of schooling environment and relevance of education, community mobilisation	Local leaders, District Officials, DCACs, CLCs, other NGOs	High	Good – but not very wide

List of persons met

Mr. Mwadime, Labour Commissioner, MOL
Mr. D.H. Onyango, Director, (DOHSS), MOL
Ms. B. Mwai, Project Manager, Child Labour Unit, MOL
Ms. M. Kezzah, Project Officer, Department of Labour, MOL
Mr. Kahumbi, Senior OSH Officer, DOHSS, MOL
Mr. E.W. Barasa, Senior Education Officer, MOE
Ms. J. Nzomo, Senior Economist, MOE
Ms. M. Basigwa, Project Co-ordinator, MOHA
Mr. E. Ouma, Children's Officer, MOHA
Ms. M. Mbuga, Children's Officer, MOHA
Mr. T. Odour, KUDHEIHA
Mr. M. Ndolo, KUDHEIHA
Mr. D. Mugo, KUDHEIHA
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Ms. M. A. Raiho, Programme Co-ordinator, SINAGA
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Ms. S. Kiragu-Muhoro, Project Officer, Girl Child project, CARE-Kenya

Annex 2. Experience from IPEC – Tanzania

Thematic Evaluation

IPEC INTERVENTIONS ON CHILD DOMESTIC WORK

1 Introduction

IPEC was established in Tanzania in 1994 with implementation of action programmes (APs) starting in 1995. IPEC partners include government ministries at central, regional and district levels: MOL, MOE, MCDWAC, workers' and employers' organisations and various NGOs and CBOs.

During its first years in operation, IPEC focused on raising awareness in general and on building technical capacities of partner agencies to address child labour. The Programme is increasingly supporting direct interventions in selected sectors. These include commercial agriculture, domestic service, commercial sexual exploitation and, to some extent, mining and quarrying and the informal sector, including hotels and tourism. These sectors constitute the main employment areas for children, possibly along with fisheries on the coast and the Great Lakes.

Field work for the current evaluation on interventions against child domestic work (CDW) in Tanzania was carried out in Dar es Salaam and in two villages (Ilula Sokoni and Tanangozi) in Iringa region between 20 – 30 July 2000 by a team of two consultants.

2 Background on CDW in Tanzania

2.1 Scope and Scale

In Tanzania, data on CDW is scarce and inaccurate. Though CDW has been the subject of deliberate research, the nature of CDW and the conditions under which it takes place makes researching CDW extremely difficult. Much of the information on CDW therefore stems from experience obtained in IPEC implementing agencies. Additionally, the Tanzania Media Women's Association (TAMWA) and the Conservation, Hotels, Domestic and Allied Workers Union (CHODAWU) have carried out small scale studies on CDW in Dar es Salaam (receiving area) and Iringa and Dodoma (major recruitment areas). Currently, UNICEF – Tanzania is field testing the new IPEC Rapid Assessment methodology in an assessment of CDW. CDW has also been included in various larger studies and surveys as one mode of research. These include the UNICEF funded study on Children in Need of Special Protection Measures (CNSPM) carried out in 1998, the DFID funded baseline survey on child labour carried out in 1999 and the SIMPOC component to the National Labour Force survey currently being carried out.¹⁴ The SIMPOC survey has already highlighted one of the key problems associated with research on CDW: the under-reporting of the instance of CDW due to its invisibility. As it is difficult for a research team to determine which of the children in a household, if any, is a child domestic worker. Heads of households are asked to identify their child domestic worker if one is employed. Not all employers (i.e. heads of households) can be expected to do so. Therefore, under-reporting is very likely to occur.

¹⁴ Please, refer to the attached list of documentation for details on the studies.

Determining the scale and scope of CDW in Tanzania is thus difficult. Available data and experience suggest that CDW is one of the major employment categories. For girls, CDW is actually likely to be the single largest employment category, though it is not possible to give an estimate of the number of children involved in the sector.

2.2 Who Does Child Domestic Work

Most of the children working in domestic service are recruited in Iringa region in south-central Tanzania with other rural areas such as Dodoma and Ruvuma following. These recruitment areas are poor areas with few prospects for earning a living through agriculture. Moreover, girls and women, particularly from Iringa, are perceived to be hard working and honest and are therefore in demand. Finally, these communities, for various reasons, have come to accept that women migrate for work purposes. Most of the girls employed in Dar es Salaam are between 12 – 18 years of age. It seems that many of these girls have had a stopover with one or more families in smaller towns closer to their home en route to Dar es Salaam. Thus, many girls actually start work as domestic servants between the ages of 9 – 12.

2.3 Pay and Exploitation

The major problems faced by child domestic workers in Tanzania revolve around low, or lack of, payment, strenuous tasks performed for long hours, and the abuse faced by the children who are often dependent on the employer for survival. Many child domestic workers are orphans or have lost contact with their families after joining CDW. For the girls who live with their employers the problems are severely aggravated by the isolation they face, not being able to socialise with other children/child domestic workers.

2.4 Reasons for CDW

Among the major causes of CDW in Tanzania IPEC partners see poverty, as the single most important cause for CDW. Poverty in this context is defined not just as lack of financial and material resources and low income but also as low educational levels and lack of access to existing services (e.g. health care). Moreover, poverty at all levels must be considered. National poverty makes the government provision of social services inadequate. Poverty at household level makes families unable to access services and provide for basic needs; and poverty within households leaves vulnerable family members, such as girl children, with inadequate access to utilisation of family assets and resources and, consequently, with unfulfilled needs. Many girls in Tanzania are thus suffering from “triple poverty” which makes them highly vulnerable to take up CDW or other hazardous forms of child labour.

Also, CDW is seen as a consequence of ingrained cultural values and perceptions, most notably those relating to gender roles and stereotypes. Gender roles and relations are the driving force behind the low importance accorded to girl’s education in many communities, forcing girls to work prematurely rather than to pursue education. Additionally, traditional women’s tasks in the household are often not considered work. These are the tasks performed by child domestic workers and therefore, their contribution to the household is not always considered work, making them invisible and providing no reason for decent and adequate payment for the work performed. Added to this is the widespread perception that employing a child domestic worker is “charitable”.

Equally important is the lack of alternatives to CDW. In particular, families lack alternative sources of income to care for the child’s minimum requirements and the children lack alternatives to spending their time working, notably accessible, affordable, good quality education.

Family size and composition may be another factor pushing children into domestic work at premature age. This relates mainly to the high incidence of large families not being able to provide for basic needs, especially education, for all children in the family. It also relates to polygamous families, where lower priority is given to the children of less favoured wives. Increasingly, also the breakdown of families and the growing number of single parent, grandparent and child headed households, mainly due to HIV/AIDS, push children into labour, very often CDW. Also related to family composition is the practice of early marriage in some communities, prompting girls to run away and seek employment in the domestic sector rather than marrying early to an older man.

Finally, peer pressure from girls already in CDW may cause girls to leave rural villages in search of better lives.

On the demand side, the need for cheap labour among lowly paid working women is the obvious main reason. Also, the lack of enforcement of the legal framework protecting children contributes to sustained demand -- in that employers get away with breaking laws.

There is some evidence that recruitment agencies for CDW exist. Employers, interviewed in the UNICEF rapid assessment indicate that they have employed girls via agents, who are paid a fee to identify a maid, as well as the first salary of the girl employed. However, the majority of child domestic workers still seem to be recruited through the traditional networks of (distant) relatives or village mates. Regardless of the form of recruitment, it seems there is often an element of trafficking involved and migratory labour is certainly a widespread feature.

Moreover, the link between CDW and prostitution has been established with some clarity in Tanzania. TAMWA studies on child commercial sex work carried out in 1998 point to many child and adolescent prostitute girls being former child domestic workers who have either run away from domestic service or have been kicked out by employers. The KWETU Counselling Centre, working to withdraw child prostitutes, with support from IPEC among others, keeps a register of girls who seek long term refuge in their Dar es Salaam Centre. Every girl who stays with the Centre for a longer period of time is asked to tell her story. Between 1995 and 2000, 98 such case stories were recorded. Most of the girls having told their stories at KWETU are former child domestic workers. Many were kicked out by employers accusing them of theft or because they became pregnant. Some left of their own accord. In general the girls were around the age of 15 years when leaving CDW and entering prostitution. Increasingly, the girls at KWETU now enter prostitution straight away. In KWETU this is seen mainly as result of HIV/AIDS. As in most other countries in Southern Africa HIV/AIDS infection rates seem to rise uncontrollably. This leaves increasing numbers of children orphaned and put additional strain on scarce household resources, both via diminishing income as able-bodied adults fall ill and via increased expenses for treatment. This cycle seems to be a major push-factor for children entering prostitution, CDW etc. With children being increasingly desperate for cash-income prostitution may become more and more a favoured option in spite of taboos, risks and hazards etc.

2.5 Official Status of CDW

IPEC partners and staff see policies and the legal framework as fairly adequate in Tanzania. A Child Policy, adopted in 1996 and currently being revised, provides for protection of vulnerable children, including child labourers. The labour legislation stipulates a general minimum age for admission to employment (14 years, 18 years for

hazardous work) in line with ILO Convention 138.¹⁵ Under the labour legislation, working children between the ages of 15 and 18 are provided with minimum protection measures, such as a limited number of hours of work, supervision and preference for light tasks, as well as minimum wages. Additionally, the MOL is currently finalising a draft National Child Labour Policy, widely expected to be adopted. Enforcing policies and legislation, however, has proven difficult, mainly due to lack of resources. In the case of CDW, the invisibility of the children makes them difficult to reach with protective measures (see also below 6.4. MOL). This means, in reality, that even if the legislation is adequate the actual protection of children is not. Many CDWs, and other child labourers, are simply not reached, either due to their invisibility or due to the lack of resources, in terms of man power, means of transport etc., within the Labour Inspectorate.

3 IPEC CDW goals

There has been no explicit goal formulation for the area of CDW, nor for any other specific sector, in Tanzania. CDW and other sectors considered to harbour worst forms of child labour are addressed from the general IPEC goals, formulated as:

- To assist the Government and the social partners to design and implement specific action programmes aimed at the protection of working children and the elimination of child labour; and
- To bring about increased capacity of the social partners to identify child labour problems and to respond effectively to protect working children and to prevent child labour.¹⁶

4 IPEC partners in CDW

4.1 Major Partners

The main IPEC partners in CDW are TAMWA and CHODAWU. Both organisations have focussed specifically on child domestic workers, TAMWA through its core programme on fighting violence against women and children, and CHODAWU as part of its activities both to unionise in the domestic service sector and to fight child labour in general. Both organisations have been implementing IPEC APs since the start of IPEC in the Tanzania, CHODAWU to start with through the now defunct trade union umbrella organisation (OTTU/TFTU).

Other implementing agencies have included child domestic workers among their target groups. These include the Tanzania Social Workers' Association (TASWA), the Department of Information Services in the Prime Minister's Office, the MOL and the Tanzania Council for Social Development (TACOSODE) through one of its member CBOs.

For detailed descriptions and analysis of intervention of the partner agencies, please refer to part 6.

¹⁵ ILO Convention no. 138 was ratified by Tanzania in 1998

¹⁶ IPEC-Tanzania: "Towards Eliminating Child Labour in Tanzania", ILO-IPEC, 1999

The NSC includes several organisations with knowledge and experience on CDW, including the trade unions, TAMWA, the Department of Information Services and MOL (chairing). Thus, CDW is an issue to be taken into consideration repeatedly and awareness on CDW is high among NSC members, including those organisations not working with the issue.

4.2 Organisations other than IPEC Partners

In addition to the implementing agencies mentioned above a number of partners do not receive funding from IPEC. In CDW, UNICEF – Tanzania is the main partner. IPEC and UNICEF have implemented joint activities since 1998, focussing on building capacity to prevent child labour in general in selected districts in southern Tanzania. As mentioned above, UNICEF is currently finalising a rapid assessment on CDW. The findings of the assessment will feed into the development of a specific programme on CDW to be implemented under the general UNICEF CNSPM Programme. Given the positive collaboration experiences so far it is believed that this may increase the scope for cooperation on CDW specifically. Additionally, UNICEF is formulating a programme, also under its overall CNSPM Programme, to assist orphans. This programme is very likely to be closely linked with the CDW programme, given that being orphaned is one of the major causes of CDW. At the time of evaluation it is too early, however, to assess implications of IPEC-UNICEF cooperation specifically on CDW, as activities are in their very early beginning.

SC-UK is actively involved with CDW interventions. SC is funding an NGO, KIWOHEDE, to set up a centre for child domestic workers in Dar es Salaam. KIWOHEDE is also an IPEC implementing agency, working to withdraw child prostitutes in urban centres in Southern Tanzania. Interestingly, KIWOHEDE is using its experience from the IPEC AP and replicating its approach in the SC funded activities in Dar es Salaam¹⁷. So far, direct collaboration between IPEC and SC has been very limited. There has been sporadic exchange of information but representatives of the two organisations seem not to be very aware of the programmes and activities of the other organisation. SC expressed a keen interest in learning more about IPEC, for example to be able to co-ordinate funding.

There are no formal networks on CDW. During 1998 the Dutch Embassy initiated, and funded, a few activities for an NGO network on domestic service, including CDW. CHODAWU was chosen as co-ordinator for the network. However, lack of commitment and misuse of funds among some members of the network led to its disintegration after just about one year of existence.

4.3 Networks

IPEC does have an informal network with other organisations working in related areas. This includes NGOs, such as KULEANA, based in Mwanza on Lake Victoria, and usually considered very strong on advocating for children's rights, and the Tanzania Women Lawyers' Association (TAWLA), a Dar es Salaam based organisation for women lawyers, running a legal aid clinic for poor women and advocating for women's rights. The network also includes links with government departments, such as the Attorney General's Chambers. Links with these organisations are, in general, limited to sharing information on an ad hoc basis. It appears that the informal network is, to some

¹⁷ The approach, which is based on a high degree of community ownership, was developed by KIWOHEDE with IPEC support for an IPEC AP. KIWOHEDE is now replicating the approach at its own accord, without direct IPEC involvement.

degree, built on the networks of IPEC implementing agencies and that the IPEC country office actively uses its partner agencies to sustain these links. Such links greatly facilitates sharing of information, avoidance of overlaps and serves to root the issue of reducing child labour firmly within many branches of Tanzanian society.

Within the ILO, the newly established programme on Promoting Linkages between Women's Employment and a Reduction in Child Labour is likely to become an active IPEC partner on CDW. The Programme is in the preparatory phase and has not yet implemented activities. The first activity to be implemented will be a study on links between women's employment and various forms of child labour, including CDW. IPEC and its partners are involved in the preparatory work for the study and actual field work will be carried out by staff from CHODAWU, TAMWA and KIWOHEDE.

5 IPEC CDW strategies

5.1 Types of Strategies

Strategies on CDW have fallen within the general strategies for IPEC-Tanzania. During the first years of implementation (roughly 1995 to 1997-98) IPEC's main focus was on raising awareness on child labour issues in the general public and on building the capacities in partner agencies to address child labour. All along, awareness raising and capacity building on CDW has been part of the CP. These activities seem to have "prepared the ground" to a very large extent. General acknowledgement that child labour, including CDW, is an issue to be concerned with is now emerging. Moreover, a number of organisations have gained knowledge on child labour and skills to address the problem. An indication of this may be the increasing number of media reports, e.g. newspaper articles on child labour, produced without IPEC support. Therefore, IPEC in Tanzania is now gradually focussing more attention on direct interventions with children, their families and communities. Within the field of CDW, direct action is focussed mainly on prevention of CDW and, to a slightly lesser extent, on withdrawal of child domestic workers. It is the explicit aim of IPEC Tanzania to support testing of community based prevention and withdrawal approaches and to replicate the successful approaches.

Below, APs focussing on CDW, or addressing CDW as one form of child labour among others, are described and analysed. Interventions to raise awareness, build capacities and to provide direct support to (potential) child domestic workers are included. APs with a specific focus on CDW are presented first.

6 Analysis of IPEC interventions on CDW

6.1 CHODAWU

TFTU and its affiliates have been IPEC partners since the initiation of IPEC Tanzania. Initially, support was provided for capacity building in TFTU and in the sector unions through TFTU. Since 1998, however, support has been provided directly to sector unions, including CHODAWU. This evaluation is focussing on the AP "Integrated Programme to Fight Child Labour in Five Villages in Iringa Region", implemented from 1998 to 2000, as this AP has a direct focus on preventing CDW and withdrawing and repatriating child domestic workers.

Finding out. CDW was identified by TFTU/CHODAWU as a priority area through its IPEC supported capacity building exercises. As part of the capacity building a child labour situation analysis was carried out in selected sectors, including CDW, in 1995-96. Along with TAMWA's 1996 study on CDW, the situation assessment served to define the issue and set the scope for TFTU/CHODAWU interventions. Initially, focus was on awareness -raising in the recruitment areas (i.e. the Iringa area). The awareness raising campaign led to CHODAWU staff and local communities jointly defining the problem and identifying poverty as the main cause for the recruitment of girls for CDW. This in turn led to the identification of income generation as the communities' preferred type of intervention to prevent the recruitment. Further defining the problem and its solution a resource review, identifying feasible income generation ventures and locally available resources, was carried out as the first activity under the current AP.

Design. Based on the discussions with the concerned communities, CHODAWU staff did the actual design of the AP. The nucleus of the AP became the income generation support requested by the communities and the formation and consolidation of Child Labour Committees (CLCs) (see below), under the village government, in the five villages involved in the programme. The formation of CLCs, like the establishment of income generation support, was suggested by the communities. The CLCs were therefore accorded a central role in the implementation process. This includes setting of modalities for implementation and monitoring of progress.

Approach and implementation. The approach revolves around community mobilisation as the central element of the AP. The AP includes three major components: Support to formation and consolidation of CLCs, support to income generation activities in poor families, including the establishment of a revolving fund and the withdrawal, repatriation and rehabilitation of child domestic workers from Dar es Salaam and other major towns.

In all villages CLCs have been set up as sub-committees to the "Social Welfare and Self Reliance Committees" under the Village Government. Members of the Committees include elected chair person, secretary and three members plus available technical staff in the village, e.g. the community development officer, the head teacher etc. The CLCs refer to the village government on child labour matters in the village and advise the government on possible actions to be taken, e.g. the formulation and implementation of by-laws. Both CLCs and the village governments receive frequent back-up and monitoring from CHODAWU, either through the Regional Secretary, posted in Iringa Town or through the CHODAWU headquarters in Dar es Salaam. As CHODAWU has locally placed staff in Iringa frequent trips to the concerned villages can be undertaken at relatively low costs. The monitoring and back-up for the participating villages can therefore be considered quite close.

The CLCs are also responsible for local mobilisation of resources to prevent recruitment of child domestic workers and to withdraw children who have already entered domestic service. Typically, local resources are mobilised among parents, catholic missions and the District Council for improving schooling and training facilities. The mobilisation of resources through District Councils has been facilitated, to a very large extent, through CHODAWU's active involvement of district officials in the design and implementation of the AP. This has been used as a vehicle for sensitising district officials on CDW and lobby for allocation of resources to fight the problem.

In co-operation with the village government the CLCs are responsible for identifying poor families to benefit from the support for income generation, and for supporting families wishing to attempt repatriation of children who have left the village to become child domestic workers. This includes identifying schooling or training opportunities for the returned child.

Moreover, the CLCs monitor developments in the child labour situation in the concerned villages. This includes keeping a register of children withdrawn and repatriated from CDW and reporting to CHODAWU and the Village Government on initiatives against child labour implemented in the villages at quarterly intervals. Along with the monitoring the CLCs continue to disseminate information and raise awareness on child labour in the communities.

The establishment of a revolving fund and other support mechanisms for income generation aim at empowering poor families economically for them to sustain the costs of educating all children in the household, at least to primary level. The target is to support 200 families in two stages. At the time of evaluation 100 families have been supported during phase1. The identification of poor families is done by the CLCs and village governments based on a set of criteria developed with the communities. These criteria include the general household income level, the size of the family, the number of children in the household who have dropped out of school as well as a general assessment of the ability of the family to meet the costs of education. Participating households identify the types of income generating activity to engage in and assess the viability with village government leaders. Activities started include cultivating onions, tomatoes and maize for sale, tailoring, and cooking and selling food. Most families prioritise an agricultural activity. To ensure continuous income during agricultural low seasons families are encouraged to undertake two activities at the same time, one agricultural and one non-agricultural. Most families are happy with this mixture and seem to have the resources to undertake the two activities.

Participating families receive training and support on business administration and development through the TFTU. Two TFTU members of staff have graduated as business development consultants in the ILO developed "Start and Improve Your Business" methodology. The TFTU consultants provide initial training as well as monitoring and follow-up to the families. Technical support is provided through the district extension system, e.g. by the District Agricultural Officer or the District Community Development Officer. As CHODAWU has developed good relations with district officials, mobilising their support for the programme is considered fairly easy by CHODAWU staff.

Participating families are provided with an initial loan of Tshs 50,000 (approximately USD 60), which is considered a fairly large amount by Tanzania village standards. It was felt at the beginning of the programme that a substantial amount was needed both to ensure the kick off of activities and to demonstrate the sincerity of CHODAWU in supporting the villages. Demonstrating the sincerity of CHODAWU was considered important to actually mobilise whole communities and ensure local responsibility and ownership as villagers in Tanzania have often been promised support without receiving it. After a one year grace period the Tshs 50,000 must be paid back to the fund with a 5% interest. The 5% interest is used as an overhead by the CHODAWU Regional Office

to facilitate administration of the fund.¹⁸ Deciding how the money should be returned (size and frequency of instalments) is settled between the recipient and the village government. A contract between the recipient and the village government is signed to underline the responsibility of the recipient to repay the loan. The contract is signed with the village government rather than CHODAWU as the village government provides guarantee for the recipient. Repayment is going well and may be attributed to some extent to the peer pressure created through the village government guarantee. It is envisaged that the revolving funds will eventually develop into savings and credits unions managed by the village governments and overseen by the district administration. This should ideally make the initiative able to sustain itself without CHODAWU support, as well as increase the coverage of the fund to more households.

As a further demonstration of sincerity and to “kick off” the AP, direct support to school fees, uniforms, books etc. is provided to a number of children. The target is 800 children. Till now 445 children have been supported. This support is meant to cease as the income generation activities become profitable.

The withdrawal of working children is done through an extensive network involving the families, the CLCs, local education institutions and the district administration in Iringa, CHODAWU and different NGOs, notably TAMWA and KWETU, in Dar es Salaam and other towns. The CLCs assist families who want to try to repatriate one or more of their children. As mentioned, this assistance is primarily focussed on providing the child with alternative options such as return to primary school or enrolment in secondary education or vocational skills training. This includes identifying sources of funding for the education. The children themselves are identified, approached and given counselling by CHODAWU or one of its collaborating partners. When needed, children identified in Dar es Salaam can be withdrawn immediately and given shelter by either TAMWA or KWETU.

Achievements and constraints. The first major achievement of the programme is the establishment of well-functioning CLCs and the integration of child labour activities with tasks and responsibilities of the village governments and the district administration. This has generated local ownership to a very high degree. CLCs are willing to put in work to mobilise local resources and various local institutions, such as missions, vocational training centres and the district agricultural extension services actually contribute manpower, material and funds for initiatives to strengthen educational facilities locally. At the time of evaluation primary school attendance in the five villages has actually increased. In the two primary schools visited by the evaluation, attendance has risen from 65 – 70% of enrolled students to 75 – 80%. This is mainly due to the direct support provided to children and the increased income in the households supported under the programme. However, also the strict enforcement of local by-laws, punishing parents who keep their children out of primary school, may have played a role in increasing the attendance rates.

The CLCs have registered a decline in the number of children leaving the villages to seek employment in urban areas. In Ilula Sokoni village it was noted that before the intervention approximately 6 – 10 girls left the village every month to seek employment in domestic service. After the intervention the number has decreased to 2-3 children. In Tanangozi village the rate before the intervention was approximately 10 – 14 girls

¹⁸ Administration costs include, among others, keeping a local bank account for the funds used in the revolving fund and travel to the villages to disburse money and collect repayment.

leaving every month. This rate has now decreased to 3 – 4 children leaving monthly to take up CDW. In the villages the assessment is that bringing down the number of children leaving to enter CDW has been possible due to the good collaboration between the village government and the CLCs.

A small number of children have been withdrawn from CDW in urban centres. By November 1999 20 children, mostly girls, had been withdrawn from CDW in Iringa town and Dar es Salaam and repatriated to one of the five villages. The number of withdrawn children is comparatively small, as identifying and counselling the children is a time demanding process.

The mobilisation of local resources has started in the villages. This means that local institutions and individual community members (parents, craftsmen etc.) are contributing voluntarily to improving educational opportunities in the area. This may be through taking on apprentices, providing building materials or man power for improving primary school buildings etc.¹⁹

The AP is facing one major problem, which in the longer run may have negative consequences for local commitment and thereby for sustainability. Given the generally high levels of poverty in the five villages, supporting only selected families to start income generation activities will invariably lead to non-support of needy families. Though another 100 families will be supported under the AP this year, and the intention is to be able to support many more families through the revolving fund, this is a time demanding process. Therefore, the inherent risks are that families not being supported will continue to send their children for CDW and that the commitment built up in the communities may eventually decrease. This experience resembles the experiences of ANPPCAN in Kenya, where support to individual families generated tension in the communities and was therefore given up²⁰. So far, there is nothing that suggests tension is building in the five villages. This may be because the support has been directed to individual families from the beginning, as opposed the Kenyan experience where income generating activities are undertaken in primary schools. Moreover, the expected establishment of a revolving fund may make people more inclined to “wait for their turn”.

Another potential threat to the sustainability of activities and impact relates to the payment of educational expenses for individual children. Though such payment may be a “booster” to the intervention initially, the communities and CHODAWU face the problem of covering these expenses should the income generation activities not take off or not generate income at the levels expected. If this happens, some children may drop out of school once their expenses are no longer paid for through IPEC. Moreover, if such a situation occurs it may impact negatively on the commitment in the community.

Lessons learned.

The achievements have been facilitated by a number of factors.

- Good Awareness is important

¹⁹ It has not been possible for the evaluation to obtain exact documentation on the extent of local resource mobilisation in the form of book-keeping records or the like. Local resource mobilisation seems, so far, to have taken place mainly at an ad hoc basis when ever need arise.

²⁰ Please, refer to Country Annex I, part 6.6.

Firstly, there was a high degree of awareness on the negative effects of child labour in the five villages prior to the initiation of direct support interventions. This awareness has been built through earlier sensitisation efforts under the TFTU AP.

- Integration of activities is vital
Secondly, the integration of activities against child labour, into the existing village structures and activities has generated a high degree of local ownership, thus making community members very willing to participate actively in starting up and sustaining activities.
- High commitment by implementing organisations is important
Thirdly, it is the opinion in the two villages visited by the evaluation that the high level of commitment shown by CHODAWU, through frequent monitoring etc., has facilitated the building of commitment in the villages. This, again, points to community participation as key to creating a sustainable impact. It also underlines the importance of active facilitation and follow-up by the implementing agency in order to mobilise communities. Also, it seems a certain level of prior awareness will facilitate the mobilisation of community commitment.

The programme has now been in operation for almost two years, in addition to the sensitisation efforts under the previous AP. The actual number of families and children supported during these two years may not be considered particularly high. This may be associated both with the time demanding nature of the activities and with the capacity available in the implementing agency. As has been seen in other direct assistance interventions the time scales involved are long. For activities to take root and create a sustainable impact a substantial period of time is needed. Moreover, close follow-up from the implementing agency during this period is important.

Providing close follow-up and monitoring is resource demanding. CHODAWU has a regional network with field staff posted fairly close to the participating villages. This has to a great extent facilitated frequent follow-up visits. Adding to the difficulties however, CHODAWU is poorly equipped in terms of transport etc. For example, staff from both Iringa and Dar es Salaam is relying on public transport, hiring of bicycles and good relations with the district office for borrowing vehicles when travelling to the villages.

One AP can have only limited impact on the problem

Given the tremendous scope of the poverty problem in the recruitment areas for CDW one AP can only have a limited impact. The CHODAWU AP clearly demonstrates that behaviour can be changed in the concerned communities, but also that the effort to facilitate this is so time and resource demanding that it is difficult for one organisation to address the problem in isolation. Through establishing links with other organisations locally and in Dar es Salaam, CHODAWU has managed to increase its scale of operation and thereby the impact created. This points to the use of linking between different organisations to an even larger extent as a possible avenue towards creating a wider impact.

6.2 TAMWA

The NGO TAMWA has been an IPEC implementing agency since 1994. The organisation has been raising awareness on CDW since 1994 through a series of APs, all fitted into the TAMWA core programme aimed at fighting violence against women and children.

Finding out. Being particularly concerned with the girl child TAMWA chose from the beginning to focus on the types of child labour where girls are the majority: commercial sex work and CDW. A survey to gain knowledge on who are the child domestic workers, their age, background, conditions, remuneration etc. was carried out in 1994. The initial survey has been followed by situation assessments in 1996 and 1998. The methodology used for the studies was a combination of traditional structured interviews and community meetings with role plays and discussions and group discussions.

Design. The design of interventions took place in TAMWA. Based on the experience gained, new phases of the intervention were designed by TAMWA staff to build on previous phases. Inputs from assessments and out-reach campaigns were used as the basis for formulation but the design process can hardly be seen as strongly participatory. This may have contributed to the lack of sustainability of the AP component on direct community mobilisation. Conversely, the non-participatory design process seems not to have had major implications for the general awareness raising activities.

Target groups. The target groups include the general public, policy makers, community leaders, parents, employers and child domestic workers themselves.

Approach and implementation. TAMWA has employed a two pronged strategy to reach the various target groups: at the same time the organisation has carried out a targeted sensitisation campaign in the main recruitment and receiving areas as well as a generally targeted media awareness raising campaign with nation wide coverage.

The targeted campaign consisted of a series of workshops for selected audiences: journalists, policy makers, government officials, local leaders, members of relevant NGOs etc. The workshops have been followed by the formation of community task forces in the recruitment areas. Members of the community task forces include social workers, health workers, teachers, the District Labour Officer, Counsellors etc. The task forces are expected to carry on sensitisation and awareness raising locally and to mobilise resources and initiate activities to curb the recruitment of child domestic workers.

The media campaign was produced by journalists, participating in the workshops, and by TAMWA staff. Several media were used: radio and TV, print media, posters, pamphlets etc. During the 1998 – 99 AP the media campaign was designed as a so-called bang-style campaign, i.e. a campaign bringing forth the same message in several media at the same time. The media campaign was planned to take place simultaneously with outreach work /workshops in selected recruitment areas.

Achievements and constraints. The on-going awareness-raising through media and outreach campaigns has clearly contributed to placing CDW as an issue on the national agenda. Moreover, TAMWA is often cited by other organisations as a national resource centre on CDW and is widely used by, for example, journalists to source information. The consolidation of TAMWA as a resource centre on CDW is also indicated by the fact that girl child domestic workers in distress occasionally report to the TAMWA crisis centre for battered women in Dar es Salaam, though TAMWA has not deliberately worked to provide direct services to child domestic workers.

It is also evident that TAMWA has become a focal point for an extensive informal network of organisations, mainly NGOs, concerned with child domestic work through their work on gender and violence, support for girl children, human rights and law etc. The network includes organisations such as the Legal and Human Rights Centre²¹, Tanzania Women Lawyers Association, the Women's Legal Aid Centre, KWETU, KULEANA and obviously CHODAWU. Through this network CDW has become an integral concern of several organisations not necessarily being supported directly by IPEC. This has contributed greatly to making CDW an increasingly recognised issue. TAMWA seems to have naturally assumed the role as centre of the network. This may be due to the organisations prior experiences with documentation and dissemination of information, as well as the TAMWA's existing position as a strong and well-functioning organisation at the Tanzanian NGO scene. Last, but not least, TAMWA was one of the first organisations to actually recognise CDW as an issue to be dealt with.

In spite of the increased awareness on CDW, the effects of the media campaign in 1998–99 did not live up to the expectations in TAMWA when it comes to reaching the girl domestic workers themselves and their employers. Though no viewer/listener ratings are available the relatively low number of child domestic workers and employers calling in to radio programmes can be taken as an indicator that few members of these target groups were reached. This, however, may also be an indication of the delicate nature of the issue, making the children and particularly the employers reluctant to participate openly in the debate. That fewer child domestic workers than expected listened to the radio programmes or viewed the TV programmes may be explained by the timing of the programmes. Initially, programmes were aired in early evening prime time. This, however, is precisely the time of the day when domestic workers are busy round the evening meal and therefore have no time to listen to radio programmes, let alone watch TV. A subsequent airing of radio programmes around 2 p.m., when domestic workers are often alone in the house and have time to rest or perform light activities, generated more responses from child domestic workers.

It is difficult to assess the impact of the formation of task forces as no systematic recording of activities undertaken by the task forces has been put in place. It seems that the level of activity varies greatly between the task forces in different locations, with some task forces being able to actually build local networks and identify and support child domestic workers to (re)-enter education etc. and other task forces being close to dormant. It is therefore very difficult to assess the impact of the task forces though scattered evidence seems to suggest that it is limited. There may be two explanations to this. Firstly, the task forces have only received limited follow-up by TAMWA. As task forces have been formed in several locations far from each other, and some quite far from Dar es Salaam, providing close follow-up and monitoring to all task forces has not been possible given constraints on TAMWA man-power and limited travel funds. Secondly, all task force initiatives are to be funded from resources mobilised locally. There have been no funds allocated within the IPEC support to assist the initiation of activities. While this approach may be reasonable to ensure long-term operational sustainability, it may make it somewhat difficult for task forces to "take off". Factors such as time and personal commitment and connections among task force members then become extremely important to the task force's viability.

²¹ An NGO concerned mainly with advocating for women's legal and human rights

Lessons learned.

Awareness raising takes time

The major lesson learned is that creation of awareness and bringing a delicate issue on the agenda is a time demanding process, which takes the use of various tools. In order to create wide awareness, activities must be directed at a number of different target groups and addressed through appropriate means. Particularly, the primary stakeholders are difficult to reach. The bang-style media campaign was not actually implemented bang style, though all out puts were produced, due to delays in funding and constraints on TAMWA staff. It is thus not possible to assess the impact of a bang-style media campaign as compared to other ways of using the media to create awareness.

The creation of awareness was facilitated greatly by the creation of an extensive network of organisations integrating CDW an issue of concern into their regular activities.

Support and follow-up are necessary

The experiences gained on formation of task forces seem to support the experiences gained by CHODAWU on the formation of the CLCs. The TAMWA experience seems to confirm the opposite way that community mobilisation is only feasible if close monitoring and follow-up is provided by the implementing agency over a substantial period of time.

6.3 The Information Services Department

The Department of Information Services has been a key IPEC partner in the general awareness raising campaign since 1994. With IPEC support the department has trained journalist all over the country on child labour issues, including CDW. Part of the training has been the production of feature articles on child labour. With the facilitation of the Department these articles have occurred in various newspapers. Additionally, the Department takes on an active role in the drive to ratify Convention 182, as it did in the campaigning for ratification of Convention 138.

In 1999 – 2000 the Department implemented an AP in collaboration with the privately owned TV station, CTN, to produce and air 6 TV programmes on the worst forms of child labour. Two of these programmes were specifically focussed on CDW.

Finding out. Through general media reports, the CTN had identified child labour as an area of social concern that the channel would like to focus on. CTN lacked the relevant expertise on child labour to produce the programmes and therefore requested the assistance of the Department of Information Services. This led to an AP based on a cost sharing arrangement where CTN bore the costs of airing the programmes while the Information Services Department provided the technical expertise with IPEC support. This made bringing the message across more affordable to IPEC.

Design. The actual design of the AP, including detailing contents and presentation in each TV programme, was done by the Department in collaboration with CTN staff and IPEC partners agencies with special knowledge on the particular kind of child labour being examined in a programme. Thus, TAMWA was closely involved in the design of programmes on CDW, as well as in their production.

Target groups. The target groups for all TV programmes were urban opinion leaders and the urban middle class. Additionally, employers were considered a particular target group for the programmes.

Approach and implementation. As CTN broadcasts only in major urban centres emphasis was given to urban forms of child labour. This was mainly done to target employers and their peers, as stated above. The TV programmes were seen as a unique chance to reach employers of domestic child workers, given the difficulties faced in approaching them.

To actually obtain footage and stories, TAMWA's previous experience was utilised. Collecting material for the programmes was done in areas previously researched by TAMWA, using TAMWA contacts in village governments and district offices to facilitate access to ex-child domestic workers and their parents willing to appear on TV.

TV programmes were broadcast in urban centres in early evening prime time. Additionally, all programmes were taken back to the research areas through a mobile cinema and shown in public places.

Impact and constraints. It is highly difficult to measure the direct impact of the TV programmes on the target groups. The only indication of the TV programmes having an immediate effect is a number of viewers calling the CTN after the broadcast of the programmes to express their opinion on the programmes. Apparently, more people than usual called the Station. Moreover, those calling had very positive comments on the quality of the programmes and the importance of the subjects.

Lessons learned.

Awareness raising cannot be “measured” in the short term

The major lesson from the present AP, again, is that the effects of awareness raising activities cannot be measured in the short run. Only in the longer run will attitudinal and behavioural changes become apparent. It will then be very difficult, if at all possible, to single out the effects of one particular intervention.

6.4 The Ministry of Labour

The MOL is an IPEC partner through the CLU. Apart from establishing the CLU the MOL in Tanzania has also participated in IPEC through the implementation of two APs aimed at building the capacity of the Labour Inspectorate to undertake child labour inspections. This has been done through a series of training workshops aimed at equipping inspectors to integrate child labour monitoring with their regular duties. The focus of the training provided to labour inspectors was on inspections in formal work places, such as commercial agriculture estates. However, as the informal sector is dominant in Tanzania training has also been provided on inspections in the informal sector, including domestic service to a limited extent.

Inspections of private homes are allowed under Tanzanian labour legislation as long as they do not violate the right to privacy. This in practical terms is usually taken to mean that labour inspectors will only carry out inspection in private homes if a case is reported to them. Thus, one labour inspector met in Dar es Salaam (which is the main employment area for child domestic workers) had only carried out three inspections on CDW between 1995 and 2000.

This is mainly owing to the interpretation of legislation and to the very scarce resources of the labour inspectorate, which is lacking means of transport, manpower etc.. It is therefore, highly unlikely that training of labour inspectors will contribute substantially to the protection of child domestic workers as long as the resources allocated to the inspectorate are grossly insufficient.

6.5 TACOSODE

TACOSODE is an umbrella organisation for NGOs and CBOs concerned with social development. Though far from representing all NGOs in Tanzania it has a membership of about 60 organisations, specifically concerned with social development. The member NGOs are spread all over the country.

Since 1997 IPEC has supported TACOSODE to train member organisations on child labour and to produce organisational action plans on how to integrate child labour concerns with other activities in the organisations. Since late 1999, selected organisations have been supported to implement direct action and awareness raising activities contained in the action plans²². Two member CBOs in Singida, which is considered a recruitment area, are being supported to counsel potential child domestic workers and their parents in an effort to prevent the recruitment of children. TACOSODE plans to start supporting the establishment of income generating activities with IPEC funding. As the direct action initiatives are only being established at the moment it is too early to evaluate the impact and efficiency of providing support to direct action activities through an umbrella organisation. The approach is potentially very interesting in that it saves IPEC the burden of administering support to numerous little NGOs and CBOs. It may also contribute to institutionalising support structures beyond IPEC. Finally, the umbrella organisation may facilitate a larger degree of co-ordination and collaboration between individual NGOs and CBOs and thereby possibly broaden the scope and impact of interventions.

6.6 TASWA

TASWA has been implementing an AP to withdraw vulnerable children in hazardous and exploitative work since mid-1998. The AP was being finalised at the time of the evaluation. The children withdrawn under the AP were employed in various occupations, including CDW.

Finding out TASWA is a professional association for social workers, employed in government service, NGOs and elsewhere. Therefore, the experience of individual TASWA members has been the main source of information for the organisation when defining child labour, including CDW, as an issue of concern. When embarking on the current AP, experiences from an IPEC mini-programme undertaken in the Magomeni Fish market in Dar es Salaam were also used. According to TASWA staff, a somewhat unusual procedure of not using information from other IPEC partner agencies was adopted for fear of “becoming biased”.

Design. This attitude seems also to have lead to a somewhat isolated design process where TASWA staff designed the AP without much consultation with other organisations or with primary stakeholders.

²² The selection was done by TACOSODE based on the quality of the action plans and on the perceived commitment of the organisations.

Target groups. The primary target group is 200 children in the four municipalities of Arusha, Tanga, Morogoro and Mbeya (i.e. 50 children from each municipality) to be withdrawn from labour. The secondary target group includes TASWA members, i.e. social workers in the four municipalities, parent/guardians of the children and municipal authorities.

Approach and implementation. The first step in implementation was the training of social workers in the four municipalities. Following the training the social workers worked out action plans for their municipalities with the support of TASWA.

The social workers identified children in their respective municipalities through outreach work in public places, such as water points. No attempts were made to identify children in their work places. Therefore, only child domestic workers allowed to leave the premises of their employer were identified. Prior to actually withdrawing the children and placing them in education, a number of counselling sessions were conducted with the children to identify their wishes. These sessions were also conducted in public places. If needed the children quite simply sneaked out from the employers premises or pretended to go to church etc. to attend. No attempts were made to involve employers, because it was thought that employers' involvement and presence would intimidate the children. Moreover, employers involvement was not considered necessary as all children would eventually be withdrawn from work.

Only identifying and counselling children in public places may raise a problem in relation to CDW. When only children with access to public assembly points are identified those children who are most invisible and isolated are very unlikely to be identified. This means that child domestic workers who are kept in isolation in their employers homes are unlikely to benefit from the assistance though they may actually be more vulnerable and living and working in more abusive and exploitative conditions than the child domestic workers withdrawn.

The children who were withdrawn under the AP have been provided with direct support in the form of payment of school fees, uniforms and book directly from TASWA. In addition TASWA has worked to start mobilisation of local resources through lobbying municipal authorities.

Achievements and constraints. Through the AP, TASWA managed to withdraw 243 children and place them in primary school or vocational training. At the end of the programme (coinciding with the evaluation), all children are still in school or training. Unfortunately, no consolidated break down of age, gender and occupational characteristics of the children supported was available. This was being compiled for the final report, at the time of evaluation.

The withdrawal process had lasted more than one year beyond what was initially planned for. This may be due to underestimation of the time scales involved when planning the programme, as the AP was originally only planned to last 10 months, which must be considered extremely short for withdrawing children from work. This way of planning was probably caused by the inability of IPEC to go beyond the limits of an ILO biennium when planning an intervention. As the TASWA AP was only initiated in mid-1998 a very limited time frame had to be adopted. Moreover, delays in reporting and release of funds caused activities to move slowly. At some point in time all the "TASWA children" in Arusha municipality were expelled from school as fees had not been paid

due to late disbursement. Though all children returned to school when funds were released and fees paid, the incident raises serious concerns about the sustainability of achievements of the action programme. The question must be raised: what will happen to the children once IPEC funding ceases? There is no guarantee that the withdrawn children will be able to stay in education and out of child labour (this is very similar to the situation of the Working Women Association AP in Pakistan). It also demonstrates the lack of co-operation on the part of school-teachers and authorities when not actively involved in the programme activities. As teachers were not mobilised to support activities from the beginning of the AP, they seem not to have felt any obligation or responsibility towards programme activities.

TASWA has since worked to counter the negative sustainability prospects through lobbying municipal authorities to mobilise local resources to cover the costs of educating the withdrawn children. It seems the organisation has been quite successful in that all municipalities have promised to exempt children, withdrawn by TASWA, from paying school fees. Covering the additional costs of education still remains an obstacle, however. In Arusha an education support fund, based on private voluntary contributions, has been initiated by the District Commissioner. In Tanga, the municipal authorities have linked up parent/guardians of withdrawn children with a credit scheme run by the NGO PRIDE- Africa. Despite these positive signs TASWA staff still feel there is need for a consolidation phase to provide support to income generation.

Lessons learned.

Measures to sustain achievements must be built into the programme better

If the Arusha experience is indicating the way the TASWA AP may fare after IPEC funding ceases the major lesson learned must be that measures to sustain activities and impact must be built into interventions to withdraw children from labour from the beginning. Moreover, delaying or avoiding mobilisation and active involvement of employers, teachers and other stakeholders will neither ease nor hurry implementation. Withdrawing children is a time demanding process. Working in relative isolation may create unforeseen obstacles when stakeholders turn out not to be co-operative towards the programme. The TASWA experience also points to the same fact the other way around, in that the municipal authorities actually did prove very positive and innovative in their support for the intervention, when actively brought into involvement.

It may be possible that some of the difficulties faced by TASWA could have been lessened had the organisation chosen to make use of existing experience from other IPEC partners when designing the programme. As it appears TASWA has, to some extent, been re-inventing the wheel through the AP. This points to a very important role for IPEC in facilitating the sharing of information and experience between partner organisations.

7 Conclusions and recommendations.

The conclusions and recommendations in the case of Tanzania relate to the prevention and withdrawal strategies, as protection of child domestic workers has not been undertaken by IPEC-Tanzania to any significant extent. **Given the increasing number of poor households and the vast increase in the number of orphans, mainly due**

to AIDS, protection of child domestic workers may be a strategy to explore in the future. It must be stressed though, that **protection should in no way be seen as mutually exclusive from prevention**, especially as the experiences with preventing recruitment of child domestic workers in Tanzania can be summed up as generally positive.

The experience clearly demonstrates that it is possible to prevent recruitment, and related trafficking, through targeting the recruitment areas. Targeting the recruitment areas for prevention takes a combination of interventions, notably awareness raising, community mobilisation and provision of alternatives.

For both prevention and withdrawal interventions it is clear that **a community based approach is the approach most likely to yield long term sustainable impact.** Both the positive lessons learned through the CHODAWU and TASWA APs, and the not so positive lessons learned through the TASWA and TAMWA APs, point to the active involvement of all stakeholders, from the very beginning of interventions, as key to creating sustainable impact. Continued use and development of community based strategies is therefore recommended, bearing in mind that such strategies are often time demanding and do not necessarily show quick results. On the other hand it may not be concluded that interventions, not emphasising community involvement, are not time demanding. The TASWA experience clearly shows that this is not the case. In spite of not involving a large number of stakeholders (for example employers) from the beginning, the implementation process was longer than expected. This indicates in fact that no matter which approach is chosen, withdrawal of child domestic workers will always be a time demanding process. This in turn has implications for the planning of IPEC. **Working with time frames of only two years is difficult for direct action interventions.** (Please, also refer to experiences of the SINAGA Centre in Kenya).

Moreover, it must be concluded that **community based prevention and withdrawal interventions demand a certain minimum of resources on the part of the implementing agency, not least in terms of staff.** This is so as experience suggests that frequent facilitation, follow-up and monitoring is crucial for activities to come off the ground and take root in local communities. This is demonstrated very clearly through the different experiences from establishing CLCs gained by CHODAWU and TAMWA respectively. It is therefore recommended that the capacities of the implementing agencies are assessed very closely and that continued capacity building is considered part of fighting CDW.

Clearly facilitating direct action intervention in Tanzania has been the awareness raising campaigns carried out during the first years of implementation. Raising awareness widely seems to have been the result of linking and building networks among a variety of organisations not directly funded by IPEC. The positive experiences from both TAMWA and the Department of Information Services indicate that building deliberate information and advocacy networks may spread the message to a wide audience.

- *It is therefore recommended that awareness raising and building networks of organisations with insights on CDW is given priority in spite of the difficulties associated with monitoring and assessing the impact of such activities. In “new countries” it may be worthwhile considering undertaking massive awareness raising campaigns prior to implementation of direct action at any larger scale.*

IPEC in Tanzania has, to quite a large extent, been instrumental in creating a national alliance on CDW also making active use of networking capacity in partner agencies and, to some extent, facilitating links between organisations. It is a question, however, whether the IPEC country office has exhausted potentials for building alliances with other international organisations/donors in the field of CDW. The increasingly close collaboration with UNICEF has proven very useful so far in terms of providing co-ordination of funding and activities and increasing the knowledge base.

- *It is therefore recommended that linking and networking for the IPEC country office, as such, is given increased attention.*

Increased linking with other organisations may provide new opportunities both for joint funding of larger activities, and for increased mainstreaming of CDW concerns into other programmes in e.g. poverty alleviation and education. Increased linking and networking, however, will obviously place increasing demands on IPEC resources.

The major lessons learned thus include the following:

- In the long run, community based approaches to preventing CDW and withdraw child domestic workers are more likely to yield sustainable impact
- Using community based approaches is time demanding and takes many resources on the part of the implementing agency to reach a substantial number of people. It may not be concluded, however, that non-participatory approaches are faster or less resource demanding.
- Establishment of CLCs appears to be a very viable way of integrating child labour concerns in communities, mobilising their resources and ensuring local ownership. To ensure the integration of CLCs with communities they must be tied up to existing structures, such as village governments.
- Moreover, close monitoring and follow-up must be given to the CLCs from the implementing agency to ensure their long-term survival. This takes resources and substantial capacity on the part of the implementing agencies. Capacity building must therefore be viewed as a continuous process.
- Substantial awareness raising activities create a fertile ground for direct action interventions. Moreover, the creation of networks of concerned local organisations is an efficient strategy for spreading messages to wider audiences.

Summary Matrix for CDW APs in Tanzania

Name of agency	Geographical location	Primary stakeholders	Type of intervention	Main components	Main partners	Assessment of participation/ ownership	Assessment of Impact
CHODAWU	Dar es Salaam and five villages in Iringa region	Child domestic workers, potential child domestic workers, parents, community leaders	Prevention and withdrawal	Community mobilisation, income generation, provision of educational alternatives, repatriation of child domestic workers	Village Governments, CLCs, District Authorities, schools and training institutions, NGOs in Iringa and Dar es Salaam	High	Good, but not very wide
TAMWA	Dar es Salaam and selected communities in recruitment areas for child domestic workers	Journalists, NGOs, community leaders	Prevention through awareness raising, network creation (mainly in Dar es Salaam) and, to some extent, community mobilisation in recruitment areas	media campaigns, workshops, formation of CLCs	NGOs, District Officials, trade unions, central government departments	Middle	Probably good for media campaign and network building among organisations. Low for community mobilisation
Department of Information Services	Dar es Salaam	Journalists (for training) Employers of child domestic workers, urban middle class and opinion leaders	Awareness raising, building capacities to undertake awareness raising activities	Training of journalists Awareness raising through media. Special attention on TV broadcast on CDW in this evaluation	NGOs, media institutions, trade unions	-	Probably middle – good, but very difficult to assess.
MOL	Dar es Salaam, with (few) Labour Inspectors in every district	Labour Inspectors	Capacity building	Training of Labour Inspectors	Trade unions, employers' organisation	-	low especially with regard to CDW, mainly due to limited application of knowledge from training

TACOSODE	Dar es Salaam	Member NGOs and CBOs	Capacity building	Training of staff from member organisations, facilitation of action plans in member organisations, support for implementation of action plans	Other NGOs, trade unions	-	Too early to assess
TASWA	Dar es salaam and four selected municipalities spread over the country	200 most vulnerable child labourers (including child domestic workers), members of TASWA (i.e. social workers)	Capacity building, withdrawal and rehabilitation	Training social workers, counselling children, placing in education and vocational skills training	Municipal authorities	Low	Probably low-middle, but still a bit early to assess

List of persons met

Dar es Salaam, 20-29 July, 2000

Ms. R. Lugembe, Labour Commissioner, MOL
Mr. F. B. Muzee, Programme Manager, CLU, MOL
Ms. E. Mangesho, Director of Gender Development, MCDWAC
Ms. L. Kibona, Women's Section, MCDWAC
Mr. E. Lwakatare, former Project Co-ordinator, MOE
Mr. C. Ndambalilo, Project Co-ordinator, Department of Information Services
Ms. V. Kanyoka, Project Co-ordinator, CHODAWU
Mr. B. Sanga, Zonal Secretary for Iringa, CHODAWU
Mr. P. Soko, Research Officer, CHODAWU
Ms. R. Haji, Project Co-ordinator, TAMWA
Mr. P. Wanzala, Programme Officer, TAMWA
Ms. P. Mathias, Programme Officer, TASWA
Ms. J. Mwaituka, Director, KIWOHEDE
Ms. F.P. Tesha, Project Co-ordinator, KWETU Counselling centre
Ms. T. Kapinga, Project Co-ordinator, TACOSODE
Mr. Karume, Acting Co-ordinator, Dogodogo Centre
Mr. J. Simon, Assistant IPEC Co-ordinator, Dogodogo Centre
Ms. M. Mcha, Project Officer, Jobs for Africa
Ms. F. Minja, NPC, Women's Employment and Reduction of Child Labour
Ms. S. Amerakunga, GENPROM, ILO
Mr. W. Mallya, NPM, IPEC
Mr. A. Rossi, Associate Expert, IPEC
Ms. S. Singh, Programme Officer, IPEC
Ms. L. Groves, DFID-IPEC APO
Ms. L. Bird, Project Officer for CNSPM, UNICEF-Tanzania
Mr. M. Ridout, Country Programme director, SCF(UK)
Ms. M. Msemwa, Programme Officer, SCF(UK)

Annex 3. Experiences from IPEC-Philippines

Thematic Evaluation

IPEC INTERVENTIONS ON CHILD DOMESTIC WORK

1 Introduction

1.1 Design of the evaluation

At the time of the evaluation, IPEC was in considerable flux in the Philippines. The new Programme Manager was not in place, and there was no one directly responsible for CDW issues. At the request of IPEC, the mission visit was largely designed and coordinated by the Visayan Forum, the principal IPEC partner on CDW and one of the foremost organisations, globally, on CDW issues. It is possible, therefore, to suggest that the mission cannot have been totally “objective” in its fact-finding. However, in the modern climate of participatory evaluation, and inclusion of stakeholders throughout the evaluation process, we suggest that the findings do represent an accurate picture of the importance of organisations involved in CDW in the Philippines.

The Philippines signed the Memorandum of Understanding with the ILO in 1994. From the outset, the IPEC programme in the Philippines has been broad-based, involving a wide range of partners. The aim has been to foster commitment on child labour issues from the grass-roots through to the policy levels.

Mobilisation for commitment has led to several major results: in 1998, ILO Convention no. 138 was ratified and, later, the ground was prepared for ratification of ILO 182 – with Task Force 182++, a multi-sectoral voluntary group of IPEC partners, facilitating the ratification campaign. The Department of Labour and Employment (DOLE) has issued a list of hazardous undertakings and activities for children under 18 years of age, in line with C. 182 and recommendation 190. IPEC has provided support in the completion and development of House Bill 8862 or the Batas Kasambahay (the Magna Carta on domestic labour).

In the five years following its inception, IPEC Philippines supported implementation of programmes worth over 2.1 million US dollars, of mainly German and US funds. This was through 45 Action programmes, 55 mini-programmes and an additional 36 external collaboration activities. Funding sources are now expanding and the exploratory work of the first four years, when priorities, principles and practice were identified, is now to be consolidated into a more programmatic approach²³.

Fieldwork for the current evaluation of interventions on child domestic work (CDW) was carried out in the Philippines between 19th and 30th August, 2000. Staff from the Visayan Forum (VF), the local IPEC partner for CDW issues, planned and facilitated the mission. In-depth individual consultations and focus group discussions were held with VF staff, with IPEC personnel, with VF partners and colleague-agencies, and with primary stakeholders, including in some places employers, in Manila, Batangas, Bacolod and Davao.

Information and understanding was also gained with other organisations working for the protection and security of children’s rights. During an initial partner workshop in Manila,

²³ Source: Country Programme Management Review (CPMR) March 2000

much valuable background understanding on the situation of CDW in the Philippines was gained. The mission was also very fortunate to have formal and informal talks with staff from the office of Congressman Jack Enrile, who has been at the forefront of bringing CDW onto the national legal agenda.

2 Background on CDW in the Philippines

2.1 Scope and Scale

As in all other countries, accurate data on the number of children involved in CDW do not exist. At best, figures given nationally are only “guess-timates” arrived at through the in-depth knowledge of organisations working in the sector. In the Philippines, this means the Visayan Forum, as it is the only organisation that gives full attention to the issue of CDW and looks at the problems holistically. In the Philippines, many IPEC partner organisations, such as Childhope, STOP, Kaugmaon and including the VF, have interventions reaching street- and port- working children. Some of these children are known to have been domestic workers who end up working on the streets for a variety of reasons. But organisations other than the VF do not, specifically, tackle the issue of CDW.

Although figures for CDWs are not known, the surveys carried out by the VF, and the attention now given by government, make it possible to say, with some confidence, that they are likely to be high. It is thought that there may be at least 1 million CDWs in the Philippines, possibly nearly this many in Metro Manila alone. This means that the sector is much larger, for instance, than that of recognised expatriate workers. It also means that CDWs make a major, if largely unrecognised, contribution to the national economy. CDWs contribute to the productivity of the household and, by their domestic labour, “allow” the women in households to seek employment outside the home. Since people say that most families in urban areas cannot make ends meet unless men and women both work outside the home, the work of CDWs is very important.

2.2 Who does Child Domestic Work

The situation of child domestic workers in the Philippines is somewhat different from that in other countries. As elsewhere, most of the children are girls and most come from the rural areas. Children leave their homes in the countryside to seek domestic work in nearby towns and in the capital city, Metro Manila. They may start by working in their regional town and later move to Manila itself. Most of the CDWs are in the secondary school age range and many enter employment in an attempt to further their education. Parents often condone CDW, as they were employed the same way themselves and because CDW is considered to be “easier” than agricultural work.

In a study undertaken by VF for the ILO in 1996, meetings with 166 respondents in the three cities of Batangas, Davao and Cebu showed that 77% of CDWs were from farming families. The level of education amongst them was mixed, but the vast majority said that they came from a poor background and had gone into work to help their families and relieve the burden on their parents. They also hoped to pursue their education. Most were facilitated into work by a known person. Some work only seasonally as CDWs, returning to the rural areas for the harvests²⁴.

²⁴ A Preliminary Study on the Profile and Working Coniditions of Children Household Service Workers in Batangas, Davao and Cebu Cities, Visayan Forum, ILO, Manila 1996

2.3 The high value placed on education

The value placed on education in the Philippines is very high. Even children living in the least adequate forms of housing (eg plywood-box basements without light or ventilation) in the urban Barangays (neighbourhoods / barrios), go to school. In the remote rural areas, there are few opportunities for secondary schooling, and many families cannot afford to meet the costs. Children leave home, therefore, to go into domestic service and hope to be given free time to continue their studies. Some children get their first domestic work with their teachers, or with members of their extended family already living in town.

Throughout the Philippines there are now thousands of children, employed in CDW, who are attending special evening or Sunday schools. Not all CDWs are allowed free time for study by their employers, and even when they are, CDWs are often too tired to study properly, and do not get time to complete homework. Nevertheless, where schooling is available, the results seem highly favourable (from school reports during the mission, based on national statistics). The special schools are run in mainstream schools, either by government, or by church organisations. The government has not been able to maintain this service in all areas. For instance, in Batangas, the government special schools have had to close from lack of funds, leaving students without any means to continue their study. In contrast, the government evening school in Batangas has over a thousand enrolled students and has a fixed and permanent staff specifically for the evening school. In all special schools, efforts are made to adapt the national syllabus to the needs of CDWs. It is also recognised that teachers need particular skills in teaching CDWs – who are at times too tired to concentrate and who also have different perceptions on the world from those held by children who are not in employed work.

Abuse in work is so prevalent as to be considered “part of the job” by most CDWs. Abuse ranges from being forced to work long hours, being constantly on-call, not being given adequate food, being shouted at etc., to physical and psychological punishment and sexual abuse. Children who run away from their employers because of abuse, are particularly vulnerable. So too are children arriving in towns, especially in the port cities, and being left stranded – not met by their prospective employers. These children are especially likely to be exploited, and many are pulled into prostitution.

CDWs may, or may not, receive wages. A large number do get cash wages, of about 500p. (around US\$ 9.5), every month – though this may be withheld or paid late. The recent advocacy around CDW and the work of VF and the domestic workers’ association, SUMAPI (see below) have improved the wage situation for many workers. Children who work with relatives are less likely to get paid, swapping their work for housing and a chance (which may not be forthcoming) to get education.

Ironically, many employers of CDWs are devout, church-going Christians from educated middle-class families. Although, unfortunately, this does not mean that CDWs in their employ are necessarily treated well, it does mean that there is a good forum, the church, through which to advocate and press for change. VF is making good use of this channel, and has formed important partnerships with the church.

2.4 Research on CDW as employment

If the real situation of CDWs in the Philippines is to be understood, there is great need for co-ordinated research involving a number of governmental and non-governmental organisations. CDW needs to be looked at as a specific form of employment by the

national bureau of statistics, and work statistics dis-aggregated by gender and age. Under the law, employment below the age of 14 is prohibited. However, enforcement of the law is impractical. In the Philippines, it is generally accepted that CDW is a necessary form of work and that children under 14 will also be involved in it. The general feeling seems to be more towards making the conditions of the work acceptable rather than trying to eradicate CDW altogether. The efforts of the domestic workers association, and the attempts to introduce a new law – a “magna carta” for domestic workers, point to this practical approach (see below, section 6).

3 IPEC CDW goals

CDW has been an integral part of the IPEC country programme since 1994 / 5. Decision to focus on CDW was arrived at by the National Programme Manager (NPM) in discussion with the National Steering Committee (NSC), though it is not clear on what basis the decision was made. At the time of the evaluation, IPEC was without a programme manager – the previous (original) NPM having left to take up a post in Bangkok, and the new incumbent not yet being in post. This may have added to the impression gained by the mission that decision to focus on CDW was largely *ad hoc*, reacting to a perceived need, rather than based on set goals or strategies. ILO staff also suggested that, whilst the NSC was strong in some ways, early decisions had largely been guided by IPEC.

However it came about, the decision to focus on CDW was fortunate. IPEC has been involved with a high profile approach to CDW, which has gained wide international acclaim and which is at the forefront of bringing CDW issues into the national, and international, agenda. Whilst a direct goal-orientated and strategic approach to CDW by IPEC cannot be identified, the excellent relations between the previous IPEC NPM and the implementing agency, VF, have allowed for the gradual development of a strategic approach. To capitalise on this, and the undoubted successes to date, IPEC needs now to set goals and targets for CDW and to build CDW interventions properly into its national strategies, linking with other projects wherever possible.

Part of the success of the IPEC “strategy” for CDW lies in the fact that investment in the sector has grown beyond that of the “normal”, small, direct action programme (DAP) format of around 20,000 to 50,000 \$. Total IPEC investment to August 2000 in the VF is \$352,360. This wider investment in a single organisation, co-ordinating interventions on several different levels, and with a considerable institutional capacity, has allowed for development of an appropriate response to CDW, rather than just piecemeal “pockets of influence”. It is fortunate; also, that VF has a wider circle of donors, funding related work (see below, section 6) that has also stimulated greater return on IPEC investment.

4 IPEC Partners in CDW

4.1 One Main Partner: The Visayan Forum

As stated above, IPEC really only has one, major partner in the Philippines in relation to CDW – the Visayan Forum. The work of the Visayan Forum is discussed in detail in section 6, below, but it is basically the organisation dealing with child domestic work in the Philippines. IPEC “partnerships” for CDW are handled through the VF. The previous NPM stated that IPEC had pressed the VF to adopt a focus on CDW, since no

other organisation had such a focus, and it appeared that the VF was well-placed to tackle the subject.

4.2 Other Partners

Other IPEC partners, such as the Department of Labour and Employment (DOLE), Department of Social Welfare and Development; Council for the Welfare of Children; ADNET; ERDA; STOP; Kamalayam and Kaugamon all work in some ways which involve CDW issues (working with victims of abuse, prostitution etc.) but now only the VF has CDW as part of its mandate and receives IPEC funding specifically for this work.

The Department of Education has now included CDW as a topic in the school curriculum and, as described above, makes special education provisions for CDWs. Although IPEC has not been involved in this move, it obviously benefits IPEC-funded work. The major unions have not become involved in the issue – but this has been overcome by the formation of a new association for domestic workers (SUMAPI, see below). Employers organisations are not involved, since CDW employers are, as yet, part of the informal system.

IPEC has good relations with UNICEF, and there has been close collaboration in development of programmes for children in difficult circumstances and in need of special protection. However, CDW is a new concern as far as UNICEF is concerned and is not included within the remit of children in need of special protection, except where former CDWs have been pulled into prostitution. UNICEF works in some of the sending areas for CDW, so there is some connection between its work and the VF. The work which UNICEF is doing in setting up village councils for the protection of children, and the manual they are producing for Barangay (neighbourhoods / political population area of a municipality) will all fit with the work of the VF (see below, section 6, for other connections).

On advocacy levels, IPEC also has partnership with the Philippines Children's Television Foundation, and a series on 10 film features in the lives of working children have been made with IPEC support. Television and other media are important partners for work on CDW. The work of Bantay Bata TV is described in section 6, below.

To date, IPEC has not fully developed relations with other international agencies such as Save the Children UK. During the evaluation, SC-UK expressed willingness to co-ordinate with IPEC and the VF – particularly in work in Davao. SC-UK are doing work to revitalise Barangay Councils for the protection of children, and this work would fit well with IPEC prevention strategies on CDW. SC-UK has endorsed the new bill for Kasam Bahay (household companions = domestic workers).

4.3 Networks

There are a number of networks, such as the National Child Labour Committee, and the National Anti-Poverty Committee (on which children also sit), where more could be made of the CDW issue. However, as will be shown in section 6, compared with other countries, CDW is already a high profile issue in the Philippines.

5 IPEC CDW strategies

5.1 Types of Strategy

In the Philippines, IPEC has financially supported protection, withdrawal and, to a limited extent, integration strategies, for CDW. All these strategies have been supported through the one IPEC-funded implementing agency, the Visayan Forum. Some research by the Council for Women and Children has also been financed.

Protection strategies have included outreach work in parks and schools. Withdrawal has included rescue of children in extremely abusive situations and legal and protective custody of CDWs. These children are sometimes assisted in finding alternative employers. Integration has been supported through the, limited, provision of skills training and the publication of an informal newsletter. Children are also referred to the VF by other NGOs and by government agencies.

The formation of a workers' union has also promoted the integration of CDW into mainstream society. Through the Union, and through introduction of the domestic workers' bill to parliament, IPEC, via VF, have become involved in widescale advocacy which aims at mainstream integration of the CDW issue.

To date, IPEC has not financially supported direct prevention measures in the Philippines. IPEC is involved in preventative measures: through awareness raising and advocacy, and through protection measures which prevent CDW being pulled into even worse circumstances, but it does not financially support community-based interventions for direct prevention (through community empowerment and the search for alternative sustainable livelihood strategies). IPEC support has focused more directly on children once they are working as CDW, and on the "enabling" environment which will offer CDW protection through worker organisation and a sound legal framework. However, the IPEC implementing agency, the VF, is now involved in direct prevention, to a certain degree, and also carries out other interventions in CDW which make up their strategic approach. These interventions are funded by other donors.

6 Analysis of IPEC interventions

Below, the work of the Visayan Forum and SUMAPI is described in detail. All interventions, which make up the VF approach, are outlined although, as stated above, IPEC does not fund all of them. The work of other organisations that are partners to the VF, or who complement the work done by VF, is then outlined. It must be noted, however, that IPEC does not, now, fund the work of these organisations in relation to CDW, though they may be present or past IPEC partners for interventions on CDW and other topics. The work of these organisations is included here to give a more realistic picture of intervention in the Philippines which touches on CDW, and to show the ways in which a more strategic approach to CDW might be developed by IPEC – through encouraging co-ordinated partnerships and joint planning.

6.1 The Visayan Forum

According to the previous NPM, the VF began to focus attention on CDW at the specific request of IPEC – because there was no other organisation in the Philippines working in

specifically on this topic. IPEC's partnership with the VF has been particularly productive. The work of the VF provides a model from which many lessons can be learned, and which can provide appropriate encouragement for the development of work on CDW in many other countries. However, the success of the model comes from the holistic approach now taken by VF. This has developed over time, and not all aspects of the approach are funded by IPEC. If IPEC is to learn from the model and to use aspects of the approach in other countries, then it will most benefit by expanding its thinking and investing more programmatically rather than along traditional IPEC, DAP lines.

Finding Out and Goals: The Visayan Forum was officially founded in 1991, though core members had been working together since 1989. The original aim was to support people migrating to the city from the Visayas. A survey, involving a questionnaire and researchers living amongst the people, was conducted by student volunteers and showed that 60% of migrants came from the Visayas. In 1990, there were almost 4 million migrants, including people from Mindanao.

In 1992, 8000 people were killed during a typhoon in the Visayas. Following the relief operation, the VF conducted another piece of research, funded by CIDA, into the socio-economic circumstances of 20 communities in the Metro Manila area. They discovered that more and more children were migrating into the city area, so decided to focus their work on children and younger people. For instance, a locally generated school scholarship fund was established and child-to-child extension work was carried out. Cases of domestic workers became very apparent. Swiss Caritas began to support VF's work with street-working children, and now over 3000 children are supported through this part of VF.

VF now describes itself as: a non-governmental organisation with direct programmes for child labourers, especially in the invisible, informal and migrant sectors. The vision of the VF is that: marginalised migrants from the poor regions shall fully develop their capacity to help build a free, humane, democratic and sovereign society that is able to protect its children and sustain their rights and provide basic needs such as food, clothing, shelter and education. The work and influence of VF spread far beyond the Philippines. For instance, the President of the VF, Ma. Cecilia Flores-Oebanda, is chair of Child Workers in Asia, and the VF has been hugely instrumental in the Global March and the regional working group on child labour.

VF has the following goals:

- To address both the root causes and symptomatic effects of migration forced upon children, their families and communities.
- To provide direct services, organisational support and lobbies, for children working in households, streets, fishing industry and other informal settings.
- To ensure sustainability through organised partnership with community-based people's organisations and child labour groups.

To date, IPEC has been most involved in providing support for the symptomatic effects of migration and provision of direct services, all in relation to CDW.

Design: The President of VF was involved in the first IPEC planning meetings and encouraged IPEC to become involved in trafficking issues.

VF conducts a major planning exercise for all its work every year with all staff, and with stakeholders' representatives. Wherever possible, interventions are based on research findings. The national annual plan is based on a two-yearly strategic plan. Increasingly, primary stakeholders' management committees are involved in the planning process, and these involve children. Action plans are based on SWOT analyses of the issues. Most communities are literate, and are comfortable with written planning tools. Stakeholders are also involved in the mid-year reviews of work.

The general direction of all work is set by the people's organisations (formation and implementation funded by Caritas) and, increasingly, decision-making power is being transferred to the people. However, the extent to which this is possible depends on the length of time working in a given area, the political and security situation. This means that, whilst people's organisations are now greatly involved in Manila – with 1000 families in 6 communities participating, and 3 communities are participating in Negros, there are as yet no community organisations in Davao.

Approach and Implementation: Increasingly, the VF takes a **holistic approach** to the issue of CDW. This means that they are involved in prevention, protection, withdrawal and integration. In line with their objectives, this means that they are tackling the issue of CDW right from the root causes in the communities – by working with community organisation, through to mainstream integration of the CDW issue in enabling measures such as national legislation and the workers' organisation. To be involved at all these levels runs the danger of spreading resources too thinly – but, in fact, VF seems to avoid this pitfall and to have brought great added value in developing a replicable and holistic model.

It needs to be noted that this holistic approach has developed only over time: in the first instance, efforts were concentrated on protection and withdrawal. Only with experience, and with growing national awareness, has the wider approach become possible. The work of the VF is still divisible into separate components. For its work directly in relation to CDW, VF has the following immediate objectives:

- Reduced exploitation of child domestic workers through provision of direct social services encompassing outreach, empowerment, legal and educational assistance etc. to over 5000 domestic workers;
- Self-help and support organisations of CDWs and their advocates in four cities strengthened and able to engage in awareness raising, self organisation and provision of peer services to other CDWs; and
- National recognition of the situation and difficulties of CDWs reflected in the development and adoption of needed legislation and installation of national and sectoral programmes for CDWs

To meet these objectives, the programme targets both source and destination areas and operates in Manila, Batangas, Bacolod and Davao. By working in the cities, VF reaches children who come from the Barangays and also who have migrated into the towns specifically for work. It does not have the resources to operate at the rural, village level. The programme involves:

- Emotional and material support for CDW through direct support services, telephone counselling, peer counselling and actual intervention in the workplaces. Employers are contacted and encouraged to treat CDWs better. Whilst gentle advocacy with

employers is used in the first instance, pressure can be applied with reference to national laws and international conventions;

- Child domestic workers are organised in the union: SUMAPI (Samahan at Ugnayan ng mga Manggagawang Pantahana sa Pilipinas) through outreach work in parks, schools, source communities, churches and ports. The union helps to fight for the rights of the workers, involves them in learning about the CRC, convention 182 and their basic human rights, represents them in disputes with their employers etc;
- Support has also been given to a limited number of children to allow them to go to school (provision of financial support, books, etc.) Flexible field trainings, to account for infrequent days off, are also conducted on rights issues, basic electrical appliances, safety in the home, etc;
- Advocacy and networking, including newsletters for CDWs, training of a pool of speakers on CDW and a sustained tri-media campaign are also carried out;
- There is also small-scale training on work skills and livelihoods for children resident in the temporary shelter;
- Social Security registration is arranged. This is an important new venture in the project approach as it provides an opportunity to document worker profiles, introduce entry into work contracts and advise employers of the legal implications of employing domestic workers.

As part of its preventive and protective strategies, VF has recently established, in a joint move with the Ports Authorities, a shelter in the port area of Manila. During outreach work, members of the Union, SUMAPI monitor children arriving by boat from the provinces and collect those who are stranded: not met by prospective employees. These children are then given up to five days shelter at the hostel, are referred to relevant authorities if necessary, and may be helped to return home. The port authorities are being very helpful in this, and boat captains, too, sometimes return children home.

VF has integration strategies at various levels: Relatively little effort goes into returning children to their families, since it is recognised that many left for good reasons and are unlikely to stay at home if there is no change in the home economy. However, the holistic nature of the work undertaken by VF is, in itself, integration. A vital part of VF's approach has been the organisation of workers and the continuing efforts to change the legal framework around CDW. In this way, the issues of CDW are being fully integrated into mainstream society. It is doubtful that there is any country in the world as aware of CDW issues as the Philippines. This is largely due to VF's approach and, to a certain extent, IPEC support. VF has worked hard to bring CDW to mainstream attention and, with the support of IPEC, has succeeded in building a strong profile on the issue. In a sense, the possibilities are enhanced by the scale of the issue: with so many known CDWs working. Personnel from VF have gained national and international respect for their work on CDW and other issues and this, added to the commitment of certain politicians, has given greater weight to awareness-raising activities. This is a definite example of how national political will can support advocacy by non-governmental organisations.

VF is also involved in a large amount of local, national and international advocacy, to raise awareness generally on KASAMBAHAY and to gain popular support for the proposed new legislation.

Lessons Learned (see below, next section)

6.2 SUMAPI

The workers' organisation SUMAPI was formed in 1997, through the VF, and supported by IPEC. SUMAPI has been supported through the outreach work done as part of VF's programme²⁵. Although now separate, it is still firmly embedded within the VF approach. SUMAPI works to raise awareness of core groups of CDWs, especially through the schools. Young members are trained in leadership and organisational skills and members are registered with the social security system. The organisations become a key point for CDWs to report abuse and other difficulties, and the Union helps them in negotiations with employers. There are branches in all four cities covered by VF.

The organisation also works to ensure that its members are fully aware of the existing legal framework surrounding CDW, and mobilises support for the new legislation going through parliament.

Achievements and Constraints VF and SUMAPI: As stated, a major achievement of the Visayan Forum / SUMAPI approach has been the way that CDW has become a major issue on the political agenda, and that workers have organised to struggle for their rights. In terms of numbers reached by direct, and indirect services, VF give the following information:

Around 8000 CDWs have regularly participated in park, port and school outreach nation-wide, through the Kasambahay programme. These include:

4000 in five parks during their weekend day off

More than 3000 in 7 alternative schools nation-wide (evening and weekend schools)

More than 1000 in the ports on their way from the provinces to find work

5000 have become formal members of 17 SUMAPI (the Union) core groups.

Through SUMAPI, around 2500 individuals have been empowered – through counselling and workplace monitoring, to make direct changes in their working situation. This includes securing wages, reducing abuse, getting permission to go to school, etc.

Other institutions have referred around 70 cases to the Kasambahay programme for shelter, legal assistance, family reintegration etc..

The programme has also successfully enrolled more than 300 CDWs to the Social Security System and, with direct assistance prevented around 200 from dropping out of school.

Around 40 congressmen are now concerned with the new legislation and committed to seeing the new law passed.

Undoubtedly, and most importantly, the approach has changed the way that CDW is seen in the Philippines. The integration that has been achieved provides many models for other countries to follow and adapt. VF has been able to build good partnership with local organisations and government, so that the range of services available to CDWs has been expanded (eg. Social Security).

Constraints to the approach lie in the fact that provision of direct services is resource heavy. These programmes are not being taken up by government or other mainstream services, as yet. However, partnerships with, eg., the Ports Authority, are highly

²⁵ SUMAPI was not a separate AP, but a component which grew out of VF's work.

productive. A further possible constraint lies in the fact that VF is, to all extents and purposes, the only agency dealing specifically with the issue of CDW. This places a lot of pressure on the organisation.

A further constraint lies in the difficulty which VF has faced in keeping funding phased properly —since IPEC have not been open to funding community-based work and community organisation which has been seen as "beyond" the issue of CDW. In this way VF sees the partnership as highly limited. VF also note that IPEC reporting systems are extremely complex – far more so than those of other donor agencies²⁶. For NGOs, time spent on what is, at times, seen as unnecessary bureaucracy, is time away from real work.

Lessons Learned

At the beginning of operations, VF addressed CDW through protection means only. In consultations with the regional offices, staff said that, with hindsight, they wish they had taken a more integrated approach from the beginning.

However, it was also pointed out that, moving the issue to the national agenda has to come at the "right time" – when there is sufficient political and public will to take up the cause. To a certain extent, though, the right time has to be created – organisations cannot wait for the "will" but must engage in public advocacy and lobbying so as to promote it. This needs caution, in some areas, such as Davao, the (post)-conflict situation means that there is considerable political distrust, and people are not so ready to join in with integrated approaches. The ability to implement work in an integrated manner also depends on the capacity of local staff to work with communities – or to build partnerships with other organisations which are able to do so.

VF stresses that a very important reason for success has been the ability to take on a community-based approach. They recognise that this would be further strengthened by developing active partners for community work with other organisations.

Basing Work on Good Data

Although VF would be the first to point out that there are serious lacks in information on CDWs, the fact that they have been involved since the outset in collection information and building understanding has meant that the programme approach has been based on a sound understanding of the issues.

Holistic Approaches

VF have learned how to approach CDW over time. The decision to focus on CDW came gradually, from a recognition of the seriousness of the problem. The evolution of the response, alongside VF's other work, has also ensured a holistic approach – which has been shown to be very beneficial. CDW is not a simple issue, and needs a many-pronged approach for success.

Community-based approaches

VF have seen that community-based approaches are those which can really raise awareness on CDW issues and can also tackle the root causes of CDW. Unless sustainable livelihoods can be built up in the communities, then it will not be possible to counter the trend towards CDW.

²⁶ The good thing about IPEC financial reporting is that it is highly transparent and accountable. The bad thing is that the forms are complex and organisations in many countries find them difficult to fill in.

The Importance of tackling the demand side and working with teachers

VF's work also shows that it is important to raise awareness amongst employers and to involve all stakeholders in working for improvement on the conditions of CDW. VF now say that if they had realised the advantages of working with employers and teachers sooner, they would have done so from the start. The fact that they have been able to get good support from employers and teachers in schools is very encouraging.

Improvement not elimination

VF works with full understanding of the reality of the social and economic circumstances which give rise to CDW. A judgement has been made that it is not wise to try to eliminate CDW. If the circumstances of CDW can be improved, then working in this way may offer positive opportunities to some children and young people who would otherwise miss out of education.

Gradual build-up of the enabling environment

The good work that VF has done has meant that it has gradually been able to bring CDW to the highest agenda and to begin to make changes in national legislation. Workers, too, have become organised. However, it is unlikely that these ventures would have been successful had they been attempted at the start of interventions. Raising awareness on the issue was necessary, and action to protect CDW and draw attention to their difficulties. As awareness, both of CDW and of VF's work, grew, the issue could be brought to the policy agenda.

The need for considerable financial investment

The VF experience shows that there are high returns on making a significant investment (of funds, and over time) to the CDW issue. In the Philippines, this has been through one major organisation (VF), but could also come through co-ordinated efforts between several organisations in partnership. The contrast with the approach in Pakistan – where relatively little has been achieved and successes are now being lost (see Annexe 4) is extreme.

Future Strategies: VF's future strategies are based on pursuing an integrated approach and building partnerships with other organisations so as to be able to maximise the integration. It is also a high priority of their work to continue to lobby for the new legislation, to get proper recognition for the economically productive role of CDWs and to see that new legislation is properly implemented.

Other Organisations: *At present, IPEC does not support other organisations on CDW issues. However, the following discussion is included as it points to the range of approaches and activities which support VF's work. The point is that, without this range, it is unlikely that VF's work could have been so successful.*

In the Philippines, IPEC has some other partners whose work touches on the CDW issue. However, IPEC is not supporting these partners specifically on the CDW side to their work, though has supported some of them in the past (except the Department of Labour Survey, which it now supports). VF has working partnerships with some of these agencies – and with some others which receive no IPEC support at all. What follows, are brief descriptions of the most important of these partners. These organisations are not evaluated in full – since they do not, now, receive IPEC funding on CDW. But they are organisations which collaborate with VF and support its work.

6.3 Department of Labour and Employment (DOLE)

The DOLE is IPEC's major government partner, and this includes activity on CDW. DOLE chairs the National Steering Committee on Child Labour. IPEC has supported a number of different projects within DOLE, including one which deals specifically with CDW:

Finding Out: The Bureau of Young Women Workers, Project on the Working and Living Conditions of Young Domestic Workers. "The project established a database on domestic helpers 5 – 17 years of age. The records showed their socio-economic profile, previous work experience, present employment situation, and aspirations and plans for the future. The project also identified issues and problems associated with children in domestic service and recommended policies and programmes that promote a sense of well-being among domestic helpers"²⁷. The survey, done in 1995 (and with collaboration of VF) suggested that there were 776,000 young domestic workers in the Metro Manila area. This number has, undoubtedly, grown.

Design: Beyond the survey, DOLE is not, at present, designing any direct intervention into CDW.

Approach and Implementation: In the partner's meetings and consultations, DOLE defined its input to CDW in the following way:

- Developing and strengthening government policies and programmes on child labour, which includes CDW. Input also given on protection and welfare laws;
- Advocacy through the development and dissemination of IEC materials with Regional Officers and Partner Agencies. This includes popular materials, such as comics, posters etc. and also a primer on the rights of domestic workers;
- Research and action programmes (the 1995 survey);
- Institutionalisation and networking for the protection of Child Labourers: including the organisations Saguip Batang Manggagawa, and CLPMT.

Achievements and Constraints: DOLE's role in the collection of information and understanding on CDW has been fundamental. VF worked closely with the ministry to achieve the baseline. However, there is now need to update and expand information and DOLE could play a crucial role in co-ordinating new research into CDW throughout the country.

6.4 Social Security (SSS)

SSS do not deal with individual cases of CDW abuse. They work, however, with VF to increase social security coverage. Children are now part of the system and should get SS coverage. Child workers are entitled to benefits.

Approach and Implementation:

- To provide protection to child workers in the form of benefits and privileges.
- To extend SS coverage to CDW
- To educate employers on the importance of providing SS coverage and protection for CDW.
- To follow-up on employers who violate the SS law – in terms of reporting and remitting contributions.

²⁷ Directory of IPEC Partners, ILO, Philippines

- To conduct an information campaign and establish co-ordination with other relevant government agencies.

6.5 Department of Social Welfare and Development

The DSWD is responsible for the welfare of all children. They are involved in:

Approach and Implementation:

- Protective custody, rehabilitation and skills training for children rescued for domestic work abuse.
- Co-ordination of line agencies working with CDWs.
- Assisting CDWs in returning to their families.
- Financial benefits to particularly needy families.

Under the DSWD, the “Back to the Provinces” Project aims to reunite children with their families. However, it has not really been successful (according to partners during the consultation meeting) as it does not tackle the root causes that led children to leave their families in the first place. Many children returned home go back to the cities again.

6.6 Bantay Bata

Bantay Bata is part of the ABS-CBN Foundation. It is the children’s television arm and, under the directorship of Tina Monzon-Palma, runs a programme of activities that deal with the rights and needs of children in difficulties.

Approach and Implementation:

- Bantay Bata run 24-hour telephone hotline throughout the whole country. There have been instances that deal specifically with CDW abuse. They receive 6000 – 7000 calls per day, of which 30% are “real” calls.
- They have increased media exposure of the issue through a series of TV programmes on child labour issues.
- They run a community programme with medical and dental camps, at which time advocacy on children’s rights etc. is carried out (have reached 27000 people through these).
- Run scholarship programmes for children
- Conduct family therapy.
- Assist in rescue and referral
- Are raising funding for a Children’s Village.

At present, Bantay Bata and ABS-CBN do not have programmes which are specifically for CDW.

6.7 Stop Trafficking of Pilipinos Foundation (STOP)

STOP is committed to promoting the rights and welfare of women and children. It works through advocacy and institutionalised networking. IPEC has supported STOP in a project: “Strengthening the Environment of National Legislation and Prosecution through Advocacy Seminars in the Justice System”. This project consisted of a series of educational seminars on Philippine laws relevant to child protection, with emphasis on trafficking, bonded labour and child prostitution.

STOP consider their work to relate specifically to CDW in:

Approach and Implementation:

- Livelihood training for adults (to improve family income and therefore lessen the need to send children into labour).
- Networking for micro-finance for families.
- Networking for education possibilities for children removed from the worst forms of child labour.

6.8 The Council for the Welfare of Women and Children

The Council is an established IPEC partner through the project: “Advocacy Training for Youth Leaders in the Campaign Against Child Labour and Protection of Working Children”. Children in areas of high child labour were trained in advocacy to lead to the creation of Barangay Councils for the Protection of Children in several municipalities in the pilot areas.

Approach and Implementation: The work of the Council relates to CDW in the following ways:

- They are the responsible agency for monitoring and co-ordinating all activity on behalf of children.
- They are responsible for policy formation.

The organisation has not yet set up its own co-ordination and monitoring system but is in the process of doing so. By early 2001, child-based indicators should have been set, alongside a 25yr plan for children. They will be responsible for identifying “best practice” in relation to children. It was not made clear how indicators were to be drawn up – but no suggestion was made that this would be done in a participatory manner with children, families or other organisations.

6.9 Philippines General Hospital, Social Services Department

This department handles referrals of children abused during work. It then liaises with the DSWD and VF to provide shelter for children in need.

Approach and Implementation:

- Abused children are assessed and given medical assistance and counselling where appropriate.
- Cases are referred to DSWD and the police department, as necessary.

6.10 ERDA

ERDA is an NGO offering direct educational assistance to children in need. It has supported some referred CDWs. ERDA has received some IPEC finding in the past.

During consultations in the provinces, regional government partners, and local NGOs etc. also participated in consultations and added to general understanding on the issues. From this it became apparent that **The Police Department** has strong ties with VF and works closely with them to provide protection for CDW. Other government departments are, at times, hampered by the fact that they do not have operational budgets to allow them to implement all the activities which they would like to.

7 Conclusions and recommendations

In overview, the investment that IPEC has made into the issue of CDW in the Philippines has shown high returns. IPEC has played a strong role in promoting response to the issue and has maintained close working relationships with its major partners, the Visayan Forum.

IPEC has followed a strategy of continuing to support the VF in the expansion of its work and strategies in support of CDWs. This has greatly supported the development of the integrated approach to CDW. However, IPEC has not financially supported the community-based approaches adopted by VF, nor assisted VF in developing partnerships in this line of work. Community-based activities are funded by other donors.

IPEC has been very fortunate in its well-judged choice of partner for CDW. However, whilst the partnership has been extremely productive, VF (and other organisations) drew attention to some difficulties:

- The work of VF provides an excellent model for addressing the CDW issue. It is also a welcome example of good participatory planning. The model would need adaptation for use in other places, but could form a good basis for the development of strategic approaches on CDW.
- In general, ILO – IPEC has few real connections to the communities. VF saw the current evaluation as a positive point – whereby an ILO-IPEC representative could gain direct experience of work at the community level.
- At times, and although IPEC operates through the NSC, links to government do not seem to be strong. IPEC generally works with non-governmental partners. This is productive, but it was felt that work would be improved if ILO-IPEC used its “weight” to link between the NGO and government sectors.
- The approach of IPEC is seen as “specialised” in that it has taken a sectoral approach to labour issue and has largely stressed protection and rehabilitation issues. There is a recognised need either to expand this to more community-based approaches or, to build up real and active partnerships with other international organisations (such as Save the Children, Caritas, UNICEF etc.) to integrate these approaches into CDW strategies. This would require all involved agencies to be willing to plan jointly.
- IPEC does not support the community organisation component in VF’s work. VF now see this work as a fundamental prerequisite for successful work in CDW.

The following recommendations for building a strategy on CDW in the Philippines is given. Many of these suggestions might be replicable in other countries.

- *IPEC might develop a strategy for CDW and draw up a logical framework – setting objectives, outputs and indicators for its work in the sector.*
- *IPEC might consider expanding its support to relevant research – under the conditions of Recommendation 190 TO c. 182. This would need to involve quantitative and qualitative research with working children and their families.*

- *IPEC could support a workshop with relevant organisations to explore the development of the required strategy and secure a co-ordinated and multi-pronged approach to research.*
- *Greater emphasis needs to be placed on all aspects of prevention, particularly direct prevention, and to recognise that prevention also involves preventing CDWs being pulled into worse circumstances (such as homelessness and prostitution). More support should be given for community-based approaches.*
- *IPEC needs to develop its ability to use participatory approaches: in planning, monitoring and evaluation.*
- *IPEC would benefit from continuing its support to direct services – whilst also supporting wider, legal changes and advocacy, and building the enabling environment.*
- *The ILO should have a wider plan for domestic work in general: and should be pursuing domestic work issues in relation to Core Labour Standards, Decent Work etc.. under their gender policies they should be pushing for recognition of domestic work as productive work, with a real impact on the national economy.*
- *IPEC needs to be sure that it is adequately supporting partners in becoming self-sufficient in their work: for instance through support for effective and efficient resource mobilisation.*

In relation to their own strategies, VF offer the following overall comments:

All work is, in fact based on prevention and integration – since activities take place to prevent children becoming CDWs, to prevent them getting into worse circumstances once they are CDWs, and to integrate them into mainstream education and security systems, and into organised work.

To maximise impact, it is necessary to operate in direct prevention in the following ways:

- Change the perception of domestic work throughout society
- Organise the communities
- Mobilise the communities to, themselves, prevent children going into hazardous circumstances
- Promote the importance of education
- Influence local policies at Barangay level
- Assist communities to gain greater access to government services
- Build partnerships with organisations that can promote alternative sustainable livelihoods in the communities.

Work in the Philippines has been successful because it tackles the issue of CDW holistically. The prevailing political will to tackle the issue has been most helpful. But, this will has come about, in part, because of the determination of the organisation, the Visayan Forum, to bring the issue to national attention. All parties involved with CDW are convinced that it would not be possible to meet with success if the holistic, and community-based approach was not employed.

So far, IPEC Philippines has very limited active partnership directly in relation to CDW.

- *IPEC partnerships for CDW could well be expanded*

The main partnership formation and networking is left to the implementing agency, VF. This has not severely hampered work in relation to CDW, but it would be beneficial if IPEC took a more active role. Not all NGOs have the social capital or power to influence

government without full support from an agency such as IPEC. IPEC could also make more effort to involve government departments in the Philippines in the CDW issue, and to form partnerships with government specifically for CDW.

If IPEC wishes to continue its support to CDW in the Philippines, it needs to look outside the confines of its approach to date and to see the issue more broadly.

- If IPEC feels that it cannot, by itself, add value to the community-based approaches necessary, then it must actively seek partnerships with other donors so as to be able to do so.
- Whilst the role of IPEC is to support partner agencies – IPEC could play a more active role in promoting the participatory approaches which are proving to be most effective. Capacity building in partners may be necessary, and IPEC can also act as a conduit for dissemination of ideas and understanding.

IPEC might benefit from an ability to be more flexible in its planning and implementation protocols, and to devolve greater management responsibility to the (Philippines) field level.

Summary Matrix for CDW Interventions in Philippines

Name of Agency	Geographical Location	Primary Stakeholders	Type of Intervention	Main Components	Main Partners	Assessment of Participation	Assessment of Impact
Visayan Forum	Metro Manila, Batangas, Bacolod and Davao	CDWs in work and schools, employers	Prevention Protection (Withdrawal) Integration	Pressing for legal reform Organisation of workers Rights education Shelter (Community based work not funded by IPEC)	IPEC Caritas – Switzerland Also work closely with government agencies and NGOs and through the Congressman's office	High and effective through community-based work and strategy of planning	High: national and international level.
SUMAPI	As above	CDWs	Integration and Protection	Organisation of Workers, Accessing SS benefits, Rights education, Pressing for legal reform,	VF and as above, Ports Authority	High, particularly in schools.	High, and at national level.
DOLE	National	Own staff, CDWs ultimately	Protection and Prevention	National policy and advocacy, research and action programmes	NSC, VF	Low	Medium, hampered by lack of operational budgets
Social Security	National	Domestic workers including children (in this case)	Protection	Registration of workers and provision of benefits. Pursuing employers	VF, DOLE, Police and welfare	Low	High
DSWD	National	Children in need of protection	Protection	Identification of children in need, referral, repatriation	All relevant govt. agencies, VF	Low	Low / medium
Bantay Bata	National	Child workers	Protection, prevention	TV programmes, hotline, children's village	All relevant departments. VF	Medium	High
STOP	Mostly Metro Manila	Women and children in danger of trafficking	Protection, Prevention,	Livelihood training for adults Networking for micro-finance Networking for education, National advocacy	All relevant depts. Inc. justice, VF	Low	Medium / High

CWWC	National	All women and children	Protection	Research, co-ordination, monitoring of all activities for women and children	Govt. IPEC (in past)	None	Low
Gen. Hosptial, Social Services	Metro Manila	Abused Children	Protection	Treatment and referral	Govt. services, VF	None	High in specialised instances.
ERDA	National	Children in need of support in education	Protection	Educational materials and financial support to children for schooling	???	Low	Very limited numbers reached.

List of persons met

Mr. Werner Blenk, ILO Representative

Ms. Anh Ly, IPEC AP

Ms. Maria Lourdes Aranzanso, IPEC

Ms. Margarita Simon, IPEC

Mr. Tomo Poutainen

Ms. Diane Respall, ILO

Ms. Cecilia Flores-Oebanda and all staff at Visayan Forum, Manila, Batangas, Bacolod and Davao

Central and local level representatives of: DOLE, DSWD, UP-PGH, STOP, Bantay Bata, ERDA, FFW, SSS

Ms. Rowena Cordero and colleagues, SC-UK

Ms. Tina Monzon-Palma, Bantay Bata

Ms Lolit Catral, VF, Batangas

Msgr. Boy Oriondo, Batangas

Mr. Sonny Marin, Office of Congressman Jack Enrile

Juan Ramon C. Garcia, Senior VP, Jaka Group

Other colleagues in the Congressman's office

Ms. Gigilyn Getape, VF, Negros

Ms. Joy Valdez, Vice Mayor, Bacolod

Ms. Nilda Monge, School Principal, Bacolod

Mr. Eduardo Celia, Kasambahay Advisor, NOHS, Bacolod

Ms. Nene Panes, VF Davao

Mr. Joel Fabro's representatives, Rizal Memorial College

And many patrons, family and friends of VF and SUMAPI, including several hundred school-going CDWs in the provinces, and many members of the communities in Manila.

Annex 4. Experience from IPEC-Pakistan

Thematic Evaluation

IPEC INTERVENTIONS ON CHILD DOMESTIC WORK

1 Introduction

At the time of the mission, IPEC was in a process of prolonged transition to a new NPM. This appears to have had some effect on the development of the interventions for CDW and other sectors – possibly meaning that work was slowed.

Pakistan signed the Memorandum of Understanding with the ILO on June 21st, 1994. The ILO-IPEC Action Plan in Pakistan formalised the Government of Pakistan's expressed commitment to tackling child labour. Previously, awareness of the problem of child labour, had led the government to enact the Employment of Children Act, 1991. This was followed by a number of administrative and other initiatives to address the issue of child labour effectively.

The issue gained further impetus when Pakistan's trade privileges were adversely affected by the filing of cases against the country, before the United States Trade Representative, and, subsequently, before the European Commission by AFL-CIO, in 1993 and 1995 respectively, on the allegation of widespread incidence of child labour and bonded labour²⁸.

ILO-IPEC has assisted the Government of Pakistan, and Pakistan's industries in action to meet the requirements of the international market. Notable amongst its endeavours has been its role in the Sialkot Child Labour Project. This project, in the football production industry, is based on the Atlanta partnership agreement between Industry and three, major international donors (IPEC, Save the Children UK and UNICEF) to eliminate child labour from soccer ball stitching. This project is now nearing the end of its second phase and, after March 2001 will move more towards capacitating the Sialkot Chamber of Commerce and Industry to take over research and monitoring operations in a now, largely, child labour-free industry. IPEC is also involved in a new project in Sialkot, where children are employed in the surgical instruments industry. The partnership with the Atlanta organisations will continue in Sialkot, and be expanded to include more input from communities, government and worker's organisations in the decision-making processes of the project.

IPEC is also active in the carpet industry in the Punjab and in leather-making and tanneries. In the informal sector, there have been projects with working children in agriculture, automobile workshops, brick kilns, child domestic work (CDW) etc.. There have also been initiatives on national level advocacy and enabling measures, such as input into the National Policy and Plan of Action to Combat Child Labour.

Pakistan supported the adoption of C. 182 in Geneva in 1999. It has yet to ratify the convention.

²⁸ Information from: the National Policy and Action Plan to Combat Child Labour, Child Labour Unit, GoP, Min. Labour, Manpower and Overseas Pakistanis, Islamabad, 2000.

Fieldwork for the current evaluation of interventions on child domestic work (CDW) was carried out in Pakistan between 31st August and 6th September 2000. Staff from the ILO office in Islamabad planned and facilitated the mission. During the mission, it was possible to meet the IPEC partner organisation on CDW, to visit them in their offices in Islamabad, and also to make a visit to a few other organisations. A focus group discussion, with relevant agencies, was also held at the ILO offices.

2 Background on CDW in the Philippines

Of all the countries included in the evaluation, Pakistan has had least involvement with the CDW issue. In all countries, little is actually known about the real situation of CDWs. But, in Pakistan, formal knowledge, data and understanding are negligible.

2.1 Scope and Scale

CDW is not seen as an “issue” by the Pakistan government – whose commitment to child labour does not seem to have stretched fully to all government sectors, or all geographical areas. Although there has been a national seminar on CDW, in 1998, (with the Working Women’s Association, not IPEC funded) there is no major advocacy nor, it seems, much real interest – either from government or communities.

The Employment of Children Act does not cover informal and domestic labour – so there has been no need to include CDW in national reporting to date. In the regular national survey, conducted in 1996 by the National Bureau of Statistics, house-based work was included – but only work that was recognised as economically productive, so CDW did not appear as a separate, acknowledged category.

Judging the numbers of CDWs in Pakistan is also difficult because of the ways that children become involved in CDW. Some may be sent from rural areas, specifically to work for a family in town. But others come as part of a “package” with their parents and siblings. Middle and upper class families hire servants as a family package and, in return for work, may provide living in the servant quarters in the courtyard. Children are expected to “help out” adult workers – though in many instances, adults may not do the work, but leave children to do it all. In other instances, for instance in Islamabad, CDWs come from families in the D-class military housing and work on a daily basis in houses in town. Still other children are taken along with parents to work in more than one house a day – children “helping” in this way will, at least, be provided with some food.

2.2 Reasons for CDW

The situation is further complicated by the systems of patronage, tribal affiliation, fostering and feudalism. Better off people consider that they are supporting the poor by providing work and housing. Poor rural people may expressly use clan ties to request work in towns. Families are likely to send their children to town on this basis, and the child then may become bonded. Children who are “fostered” (in Islam, adoption, as it is known in non-Islamic countries, is not possible, but fostering usually implies a long-term arrangement and may involve children from the extended family or clan) may be put to work in the household as domestic workers or as ayahs, or companions, for the family’s own children.

CDWs are present throughout the country, but are thought to be particularly numerous in the larger cities: Islamabad, Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar, Faizalabad, Sialkot etc.. As

well as Pakistani children, Afghani refugees and children from Bihar (where poverty is extreme) are also involved. The majority of CDWs are girls. But boys also work. There is absolutely no real knowledge on the number of children who might be involved. However, during the consultation meeting with partners, a guessing exercise arrived at a figure in the hundreds of thousands, rather than tens of thousands. How accurate this is, is, at present, really anybody's guess.

For most organisations encountered during the mission, the practical reality is that CDW will not be eradicated in the foreseeable future. This is because people are poor, and child work is necessary for survival. Organisations tended to agree that CDW need not necessarily be a worst form of child labour – if the conditions of work are fair. However, all agreed that this is not the case at present in Pakistan.

2.3 How other organisations view the issue

During the mission, a focus group consultation was held with WWA, UNICEF, Save the Children UK (SC), the Ministry for Women's Development (MWD) and the Ministry of Labour (MoL). None of these organisations are, at present, directly involved with the issue of CDW. However, all are established IPEC partners and all deal, in some way, with the issue of child labour.

The consultation drew attention to how minimal is the information and understanding on CDW in Pakistan.

In 1993 WWA, with MWD, conducted a small scale survey on CDW in which it was estimated that one in every six households in the capital had child domestic work. SC works through a rights-based approach and has the intention to shift its work on child labour away from the formal sector and to concentrate more on household-based labour. Until now, it had not thought to include CDW as a particular category – but was interested to join with other partners in finding out more about this sector. UNICEF considers its main thrust in relation to child labour to be the development of the rights-based approach and support to Universal Primary Education (UPE). The Ministry of Labour is at present involved in trying to support ratification of C. 182, but is meeting opposition from employers' organisations.

The recommendations that arose from the consultations are given in section 7, below.

3 IPEC CDW goals

IPEC does not appear to have had any specific goals or developed strategies for CDW other than to bring the issue to some kind of national attention. Investment in the sector has been minimal and has taken the form of sporadic support to the one organisation which seems to have concerned itself specifically with CDWs.

To date, therefore, IPEC's work on CDW has been restricted to a very small-scale action programme providing protection and education to girl CDWs in Islamabad, and support to the one national conference on the issue. The mission was not given any clear indication why the issue of CDW was chosen for action. It appears that the WWA identified that issue from their own work and was successful in lobbying for funds.

Now, IPEC has been trying to expand its involvement in the sector. Recognising that one DAP through and small NGO could do nothing to tackle the issue structurally, a

proposal was put forward for a project through the Ministry of Women Development, Social Development and Welfare. This would represent a new strategy for work in the sector and is discussed in section 5, below.

4 IPEC Partners in CDW

4.1 One Partner

As stated above, IPEC has, to date, really only had one real partner in the field of CDW – the Working Women Association of Pakistan. The work of this organisation is discussed in section 6, below. Influence has been restricted largely to Islamabad, though the national conference was held in Karachi. It is not surprising that partnership is so limited – other international organisations are not working in the sector, and neither, it appears, are other NGOs concentrating on CDW. There is little institutional base on which to work. Other organisations undoubtedly reach children who, at some time, have been involved in CDW and who have been pulled into worse circumstances, but to describe these organisations as partners would be seriously to over-stretch the point.

5 IPEC CDW strategies

It follows, therefore, that IPEC has not taken a strategic approach to CDW – or to any work in the informal sector. However, the proposal to work through the Ministry of Women Development, Social Welfare and Special Education was an attempt to overcome this.

The proposal is to: Provide social protection to domestic workers and rehabilitation through education, skills enhancement, group formation and networking, in five major cities (Islamabad, Lahore, Karachi, Peshawar and Quetta). The total IPEC contribution requested is 120,000\$ US. The attempt is to work with NGOs through the Ministry and to bring a more co-ordinated approach to CDW. However, the proposal needs much work and is not based on any sound understanding of the scope and scale of the problem (understanding which, as yet, does not exist in the country).

The project would be piloted through local offices of the Ministry, in close collaboration with Provincial Departments of Labour, Employers and Worker's Organisations and NGOs. Beneficiaries would be chosen through rapid survey in each area, and restricted to a target number of beneficiaries per selected site. NFE and skills training would be offered – to children and to adults. Micro-credit funding would also be introduced.

The proposal represents a considerable leap forward from previous interventions and has merits. Not least amongst these is the way that it seeks to link the government, employment and NGO sectors in a strategic approach towards the issue of CDW. However, aside from the crucial lack of baseline information and understanding there are problems:

- It is unclear whether the organisation to be involved truly have the capacities to plan, monitor and implement such a project
- In which case, it would be necessary to facilitate capacity building – which would require a higher budget
- To start in five cities is extremely ambitious: three would make more sense

- Most seriously: there is the need to balance doing something useful and immediate about the CDW issue against taking time to find out exactly what the issue is. Rapid survey will provide a basis for planning – but it is not sure that the basis will be wide enough. As is discussed below, relevant international agencies agree that there is great need for wide-scale, co-ordinated quantitative and qualitative research into CDW before planning can be realistic. This kind of research goes beyond the normal IPEC surveys on hazardous work.
- If skills training and credit facilities are to be offered, they must be market oriented and correctly targeted. There is nothing in the proposal to suggest that this would really be the case. To date, skills training has not been widely successful in Pakistan (there are few places where it has been, Cambodia and Zambia being examples of good practice) and far more attention needs to be given to future market projections in relation to useable skills.

Nevertheless, the time is certainly right for IPEC-Pakistan to move to a more strategic approach. Suggestions as to how this might be taken forward are given at the end of this annex.

6 Analysis of IPEC interventions

Since there has, basically, only been one intervention on CDW so far, what follows is an analysis of the approach taken by the Working Women Association. After this, some findings from the consultation meetings and the organisations' focus group discussion on CDW are outlined.

6.1 The Working Women Association

The Working Women's Association (WWA) was originally established by a woman who had returned to Pakistan from living abroad and who saw that working women needed a great deal of support in a hostile market place. WWA does not have the capacity or resources to operate as a fully-fledged development NGO. It's work is largely based on a welfare philosophy, which it carries very well.

Finding Out and Goals: The work of the WWA began on an *ad hoc* basis, and in response to an observed need. It is not based on full research on the sector. Now, WWA state the following objectives for work with CDWs:

- To provide basic education and skill enhancement for underage domestic workers, especially girls.
- To develop the confidence and self-esteem of working children.
- To give education on health, hygiene, food and nutrition.
- To teach better moral standards and inculcate a love for life, country and fellow workers.
- To target female participation and retention in basic education by providing a safe, healthy environment for education.
- To encourage girls' attendance by arranging transport facilities for the girls' education and safety.
- To ensure community participation to facilitate the education process and help solve the problems of learning while working.

Approach and Implementation: In 1992 WWA turned its attention to CDWs. At first, 60 boys were selected as the target group. They were given two months readiness

preparation for schooling, with attention to manners and hygiene. Then all of them got into schools.

Since 1996, the organisation has been funded by IPEC “off and on” (two planning cycles). The focus is now on girls’ education. Attention had already moved away from boys, but girls had to be prioritised under IPEC.

IPEC funding has now come to an end, and the organisation is severely stretched. Owing to lack of funds, one school centre has had to be closed – and the girls from there will be unable to finish their education.

In the last funded-phase, 150 children were reached through primary education and skills development. These children were contacted through house to house calling and brought to NFE centres for education. Overall, since the beginning of interventions, some 400 children have been reached.

To secure permission for the girls to attend education, considerable time has to be given to consulting employers and parents and winning them over to the benefits of education. Many of the girls are to be married very young, and parents do not see the benefits of schooling. However, some success has been gained. The WWA uses the Allama Iqbal Open University adult educational syllabus which allows five years of primary schooling to be completed in three years. This syllabus is also used to cover health, hygiene food and nutrition etc. Graduates are encouraged, wherever possible to continue into mainstream secondary education. Some have acted as voluntary teachers for the action programme.

In skills training girls are taught to make soap, Vim, and washing powder, and to do dress designing and flower making. All of these can, at least, cut down on home expenditure.

Medical checks and educational trips are also part of the programme.

WWA has participated in several national fora aimed at bringing CDW onto the wider agenda. They are currently also researching ways to enable CDW families to get access to government housing schemes.

WWA have had to overcome considerable opposition to their work from employers. They take a stoic line, however, and encourage the same in their girl students, urging them to put up with beatings and punishment if it means they will be able to continue their schooling.

In 1998, WWA hosted a seminar / conference on CDW (not funded by IPEC)

Achievements and Constraints: There is no doubt that the programme has made an enormous, and positive, difference to the lives of the individual children it has touched. However, the approach is not developmental enough, or wide enough, to attract government to take on the issue of CDW. As a protection response to a pocket of CDW problems, the welfare approach can be said to work. But it does nothing to affect the problem structurally. Furthermore, with IPEC funding, WWA has become particularly focused on the CDW issue. But what this has meant is that IPEC has basically funded the organisation as a whole, rather than a project within it. Now that IPEC funding has

finished, the organisation is finding it hard to function – and its capacities have not really built up in a way which allows it to seek solutions to this problem.

Lessons Learned:

WWA does not have the capacity to encourage community participation or organisation – it can operate best as a service provider. But without more “developmental” skills, it will find it increasingly hard to secure funding. IPEC might bear this dilemma in mind: if NGOs without full development potential are chosen as partners, it would be best if this was on the understanding that building capacity of the organisation has to be part of the programme.

The end of IPEC funding has meant that many students are likely to be disappointed. NFE centres will close if no funding is found, and the girls will not be able even to complete their primary education. Whilst it is the responsibility of the organisation to ensure that it has adequate funding to continue its programmes, it is reasonable to suggest that IPEC could have been aware of the situation that would arise and looked for solutions with the WWA. If the programme collapses now, then IPEC has been party to creating an inequitable situation.

Need to check that it is a project, not an organisation that is being funded

Basically, all the activities of the WWA have been funded by IPEC since the AP began. WWA does receive other funds and donations, but it has been largely dependent on IPEC for all its operational costs. In many ways, the lack of capacity in the WWA – as a development organisation rather than a welfare one – suggest that it was not a suitable IPEC partner. However, there was no other potential partner available working on CDW issues.

Future Strategies: It was obvious that WWA saw the evaluation as a chance to get continued funding from IPEC. It seems, however, that some girls, at least, are highly likely to be disappointed and to lose out on the chances that they had thought within their grasp.

6.2 Other organisations

IPEC does not support any other organisations which are concerned with CDW. And, indeed, it is not a topic which has received much attention in Pakistan. These organisations are included here to give some understanding of where potential partner organisations might be found.

6.3 SACH

SACH, Struggle for Change is an NGO based in Rawalpindi. It works for the rehabilitation and reintegration of survivors of organised violence and torture. It was established in 1994.

SACH is particularly concerned with issues of domestic violence. It is internationally funded, but has no partnership with ILO.

Finding Out and Goals: The objectives of SACH are:

- To initiate work for the elimination of all forms of institutionalised Human Right Abuses.
- To raise consciousness on torture, violence, cruel treatment and punishment.
- To train professionals to work with victims of torture.

- To provide feedback to the government on policy implications regarding all forms of institutionalised and traumatic human rights abuses.
- To work as a multi-disciplinary team to provide services to survivors.
- To co-ordinate with other national, and international, human rights groups.
- To organise public meetings and seminars for advocacy.
- To reach survivors in prisons.

Approach and Implementation: SACH runs a full service of physical and psycho-social support to victims and their families. As such, it reaches some children who are, or have been, CDWs. Recently SACH has been involved in research on child sexual abuse. SACH also runs education centres for 500 children from survivor families, and is very active on lobbying and advocating on behalf of abused women and children.

6.4 National Bureau of Statistic

The Bureau is an IPEC partner. It is planned that more attention should be given to CDW in the next labour survey. However, the Bureau was not keen to enter into any partnership with organisations which might be involved in participatory studies for qualitative data on the subject. It did, nevertheless, see the possibilities of combining the quantitative data which the bureau can produce with the results of qualitative surveys conducted by other organisations.

6.5 SPARC

SPARC is a Human Rights Organisation. It has conducted a survey of child labour in Islamabad. As an organisation, SPARC is more concerned with the issues of child labour in general, rather than with CDW in particular.

The philosophy of the organisation is that all child labour should stop and that the country has the legal framework and institutional resources to do so, but does not act upon them.

7 Conclusions and recommendations

To date, IPEC has invested little in the sector of CDW, and there have been similarly few returns on the investment. Experiences to date do not really provide a good basis on which to build future action. The work of WWA is worthy and has had had some positive impact on a very restricted number of children's lives. The experiment is likely to end badly – since end of IPEC funding is likely to lead to collapse of some of WWA's interventions.

The strategy that IPEC is now considering – with support through the Ministry for Women Development -- holds some promise. However, following from the analysis derived from consultation with the organisations, it might well be best to take a step back from direct action and to gain a firmer footing on which to plan.

Ultimately, little structural effect will be gained unless it is possible to bring government on board and actually gain real institutional commitment to changing the nature of CDW and increasing life opportunities for children doing this type of work. This will not be achieved until the issue is given much more attention and more is known about the numbers of children involved and the circumstances in which they are living. To follow from the example in the Philippines: at present there is little political or public will to deal

with the issue. However, we cannot simply wait for the will to appear. The issue is important enough, in Pakistan and globally, to require us to push until the will is created.

Small-scale, piecemeal approaches can do little

The WWA experience has provided few positive lessons and pointed to few possible strategies for future involvement. Whilst the actual work done by the organisation has benefited the few children involved, there is no scope for replication or scaling-up.

All work should be based on sound understanding and on some assessment of the scope and scale of the problem

There is an urgent need to develop qualitative and quantitative information and understanding on CDW in Pakistan. This could best be done in collaboration with a number of other agencies – such as the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), Save the Children UK, UNICEF etc.. However, the NBS has expressed some reservations on working in this manner.

The following interventions are recommended, and were arrived at during the focus group meeting, of which the WWA was a part.

- *Encourage other organisations to become involved in the issue, and increase active co-ordination through support for a co-planned and implemented research strategy. This should aim to dovetail with the data from the National Bureau of Statistics by providing qualitative data and understanding to complement their quantitative surveys.*
- *Make use of good practice in other countries to draw up an holistic and strategic approach to CDW, based on a sound understanding of the issue.*
- *Link all interventions into mainstream services for children – such as UPE*
- *Invest in wide-scale advocacy, with all sectors of society and particularly with employers.*
- *Support organisations able to lobby for better implementation of labour laws, and to for eventual inclusion of CDW in the law.*
- *Develop a process for involving the community in planning, monitoring and evaluating intervention from the earliest opportunity.*

Without this type of approach, it is unlikely that there will be any real and sustainable impact on the lives of CDWs. Where IPEC feels it cannot add value by intervening itself, then it must encourage other partners to act and to “cover” areas where IPEC lacks expertise. IPEC needs to be careful to choose implementing partners with adequate capacity. Where these do not exist, the problem might be overcome by creating links between organisations working in the sector (e.g. Between the Visayan Forum in the Philippines and organisations in Pakistan and Tanzania).

Much effort will be necessary in Pakistan if an integrated approach to CDW is to be developed.

Summary Matrix for CDW Interventions in Pakistan							
WWA	Islamabad	Girl CDWs	Protection	Provision of education opportunities, Skills training, Medical care and hygiene	IPEC	None	Very limited: not more than 400 children reached, c. 150 in last programme
SC, UNICEF	National	Working children	Prevention, Withdrawal, Protection	UNICEF: UPE, Sialkot, Research, Credit,	IPEC, Govt., NGOs	SC: High UNICEF: ??	High impact on certain aspects on child labour. None at all on CDW as yet.
MWD	National	Women and girls	Prevention / Protection	Survey on CDW	(IPEC) Govt.	None	Low
SACH	National, but based in Rawalpindi	Survivors of violence, partic. Women and girls	Protection, integration	Legal pressure Support, medical services and counselling, co-ordination of rights groups	SC and others (no connection with IPEC)	High	High, but limited target group and not specifically CDW
Nat. Bureau of Statistics	National	Workers	Prevention / Protection	National Censuses	Govt. (and IPEC support)	None	NO impact on CDW
SPARC	National, but based in Islamabad	Children in need of Protection (and others)	Prevention/ Protection	Reports on child labour (Islamabad) HR pressure group	???	???	???

List of Persons Met in Pakistan

Mr. Lokollo, ILO representative
Mr. Shengjie Li, ILO
Ms. Khadija Khan, IPEC NPM
Ms. Khalida Salimi, SACH
Ms. Samina Syed, WWA
Ms. Iftakhar N. Hassan, WWA
Mr. Steve Ashby, SC-UK
Mr. Mannan Rana, UNICEF
Mr. Umar Ali, Ministry of Labour
Ms. Nahed Kausar, MWDSW
Mr. Annes Jilani, SPARC
Mr. National Bureau of Statistics
And girls and mothers at the WWA afternoon school.

Annex 5. STAFF MET AT ILO-IPEC, GENEVA

Mr. Ng Gek Boo
Mr. Peter Wichmand
Ms. Boonpalla
Mr. Guy Thijs
Ms. Sherin Khan

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