

In 2018, Madagascar made a moderate advancement in efforts to eliminate the worst forms of child labor. The government adopted a new decree to make child labor legislation more comprehensive and approved the ratification of International Labor Organization Convention 189 on Domestic Workers and Protocol 29 of 2014 to the Forced Labor Convention. The government also partnered with outside organizations to increase awareness of child labor and strengthen child labor law enforcement in isolated regions. In addition, the government continued to participate in a number of programs targeting the worst forms of child labor, including expanding a cash transfer program to benefit 65,000 households in 7 regions of Madagascar. However, children in Madagascar engage in the worst forms of child labor, including in commercial sexual exploitation and mining. Children also perform dangerous tasks in agriculture, including in the production of vanilla. Although the government made meaningful efforts in all relevant areas during the reporting period, the government failed to impose penalties for violations related to the worst forms of child labor. In addition, limited resources for the enforcement of child labor laws may impede government efforts to protect children from the worst forms of child labor and social programs to combat child labor are insufficient to adequately address the extent of the problem.



I. PREVALENCE AND SECTORAL DISTRIBUTION OF CHILD LABOR

Children in Madagascar engage in the worst forms of child labor, including in commercial sexual exploitation and mining. (1-4) Children also perform dangerous tasks in agriculture, including in the production of vanilla. (5-9) Table 1 provides key indicators on children's work and education in Madagascar.

Table 1. Statistics on Children's Work and Education

Children	Age	Percent
Working (% and population)	5 to 14	22.1 (1,206,992)
Attending School (%)	5 to 14	69.1
Combining Work and School (%)	7 to 14	15.4
Primary Completion Rate (%)		67.6

Source for primary completion rate: Data from 2016, published by UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2019. (10)

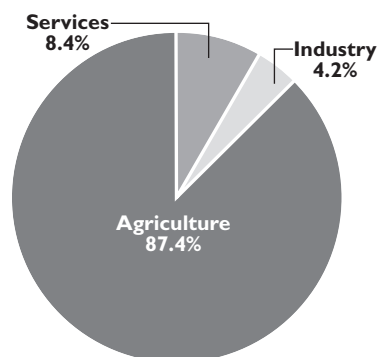
Source for all other data: International Labor Organization's analysis of statistics from the *Enquête Nationale sur le Travail des Enfants*, 2007. (11)

Based on a review of available information, Table 2 provides an overview of children's work by sector and activity.

Table 2. Overview of Children's Work by Sector and Activity

Sector/Industry	Activity
Agriculture	Production of vanilla, cloves, coconut, rice, and peanuts (6,7,9,12-16)
	Fishing and deep-sea diving,† including for lobster and shrimp (7,17,18)
	Herding cattle (16,19)
Industry	Mining† gold, sapphires, crystal, quartz, and tourmaline, and transporting† blocks and stones at mining sites (4,20-23)
	Quarrying† and crushing stone† and making gravel (6,16,20,24)
Services	Street work, including begging, washing cars, market vending, transporting goods by rickshaw, and scavenging garbage (7,17-20,25)
	Working in bars,† including as waitresses, maids, and masseuses (1,2,17,19,26)
	Domestic work† (1,7,14,17,18,20)

Figure 1. Working Children by Sector, Ages 5-14



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Table 2. Overview of Children's Work by Sector and Activity (cont)

Sector/Industry	Activity
Categorical Worst Forms of Child Labor†	Commercial sexual exploitation, sometimes as a result of human trafficking (1,2,7,20,27,28)
	Use in illicit activities such as selling drugs and vandalism (25,29)
	Forced labor in mining, quarrying, begging, and domestic work (1,2,7,17,20)

† Determined by national law or regulation as hazardous and, as such, relevant to Article 3(d) of ILO C. 182.

‡ Child labor understood as the worst forms of child labor *per se* under Article 3(a)–(c) of ILO C. 182.




Children in Madagascar, predominantly girls, are lured by peers, family members, and pimps to engage in commercial sexual exploitation, particularly in tourist locations and mining areas. (1,2,17,23) Children as young as age 10 are also involved in mining gold, stones, and sapphires in the regions of Analamanga, Anosy, Ilakaka, and Vakinankaratra. Children in the mining sector suffer from respiratory problems and diseases such as diarrhea and malaria, and are also at risk of injury from collapsing mines. (4,7,16,17,20,21,23) In addition, children working in the production of vanilla in Madagascar are exposed to toxic substances and extreme temperatures; they transport heavy loads, and work for long hours. There are reports that children are increasingly recruited by adults to engage in vanilla theft because they are less likely to be searched by security forces or subjected to mob retaliation. (5,8,14,15,18,30)

Although the Constitution guarantees free compulsory education, access to education is impeded due to a lack of school infrastructure and qualified teachers, limited transportation services in rural areas with long distances to schools, the cost of school fees and supplies, and reported school violence, leaving children vulnerable to the worst forms of child labor. (14,16,17,31–34) During the reporting period, Madagascar was hit by 2 tropical storms, affecting school attendance for an estimated 50,000 children, which, coupled with the suspension of other social services, increased children's vulnerability to human trafficking and labor exploitation. (35)

II. LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR CHILD LABOR

Madagascar has ratified all key international conventions concerning child labor (Table 3).

Table 3. Ratification of International Conventions on Child Labor

Convention	Ratification
 ILO C. 138, Minimum Age	✓
ILO C. 182, Worst Forms of Child Labor	✓
 UN CRC	✓
UN CRC Optional Protocol on Armed Conflict	✓
UN CRC Optional Protocol on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography	✓
 Palermo Protocol on Trafficking in Persons	✓

The government's laws and regulations are in line with relevant international standards (Table 4).

Table 4. Laws and Regulations on Child Labor

Standard	Meets International Standards	Age	Legislation
Minimum Age for Work	Yes	16	Article 24 of the Constitution; Article 100 of the Labor Code; Article 39 of Law 2008-011; Article 2 of Decree 2018-009 (33,36,37,38)
Minimum Age for Hazardous Work	Yes	18	Article 101 of the Labor Code; Article 10 of Decree 2007-563 (36,39)
Identification of Hazardous Occupations or Activities Prohibited for Children	Yes		Article 101 of the Labor Code; Articles 10, 12, and 16–22 of Decree 2007-563; Article 19 of Decree 2018-009 (36-39)

Table 4. Laws and Regulations on Child Labor (Cont.)

Standard	Meets International Standards	Age	Legislation
Prohibition of Forced Labor	Yes		Article 4 of the Labor Code; Articles 1, 8, and 18 of Law 2014-040; Article 15 of Decree 2007-563; Articles 333 and 335 of Law 2007-038; Article 10 of Decree 2018-009 (36-40)
Prohibition of Child Trafficking	Yes		Article 15 of Decree 2007-563; Articles 333 and 335 of Law 2007-038; Articles 1, 6, 8, 13, and 22 of Law 2014-040 (39-41)
Prohibition of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children	Yes		Article 13 of Decree 2007-563; Article 335 of Law 2007-038; Article 1 of Law 2014-040 (39-41)
Prohibition of Using Children in Illicit Activities	Yes		Articles 11 and 14 of Decree 2007-563 (39)
Minimum Age for Voluntary State Military Recruitment	Yes	18	Article 11 of Ordinance No. 78-002 (42)
Prohibition of Compulsory Recruitment of Children by (State) Military	N/A*		
Prohibition of Military Recruitment by Non-state Armed Groups	Yes		Article 15 of Decree 2007-563 (39)
Compulsory Education Age	Yes	16‡	Article 24 of the Constitution; Article 39 of Law 2008-011 (33,38)
Free Public Education	Yes		Article 24 of the Constitution (33)

* No conscription

‡ Age calculated based on available information (38)

In 2018, the government adopted a decree that expands the list of occupations or activities prohibited for children under age 18 to include underwater and underground work, work in night clubs and massage parlors, and work in agriculture that exceeds their strength. (18,37,39,43)

In addition, during the reporting period, the Malagasy Parliament approved the ratification of the ILO Convention 189 on Domestic Workers and ILO Protocol 29 on Forced Labor. Workshops to draft bills to comply with these conventions are planned in 2019, pending the president's signature of the instruments of ratification and their delivery to the ILO. (18,44,45)

Madagascar's Labor Code sets the minimum age for work as 15. However, the Labor Code also states that the minimum age cannot be less than the age of completion of compulsory education. In 2008, Madagascar amended its education law to raise the age of compulsory education to 16, effectively raising the minimum age for work to 16 as well. (33,36,38)

III. ENFORCEMENT OF LAWS ON CHILD LABOR

The government has established institutional mechanisms for the enforcement of laws and regulations on child labor (Table 5). However, gaps exist within the authority of the Ministry of Civil Services and Labor Division for the Prevention, Abolition, and Monitoring of Child Labor (PACTE) that may hinder adequate enforcement of their child labor laws.

Table 5. Agencies Responsible for Child Labor Law Enforcement

Organization/Agency	Role
Ministry of Civil Services and Labor Division for the Prevention, Abolition, and Monitoring of Child Labor (PACTE)	Enforces child labor laws and coordinates, trains, and evaluates all activities toward the elimination of child labor. (31,32,46)
Ministry of Justice	Enforces laws pertaining to violence against children, including human trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation. (2,46) Works with Department-level courts to prosecute child labor cases. (17,47)
National Civil Police Force Morals and Minors Brigade	Investigates criminal cases involving minors, including issues pertaining to human trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation, mainly in urban areas. Housed under the Ministry of Public Security. (2,7,17,46)

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Table 5. Agencies Responsible for Child Labor Law Enforcement (Cont.)

Organization/Agency	Role
National Gendarmerie Child Protective Services	Investigates criminal cases involving children, including those related to the worst forms of child labor, mainly in rural areas. Housed under the Ministry of National Defense. (17,29,46,48)
Ministry of Population, Social Protection and the Promotion of Women	Develops and implements programs to protect vulnerable children, including victims of the worst forms of child labor. (17) In collaboration with UNICEF, manages 780 child protection networks to protect children from abuse and exploitation in all 22 regions of Madagascar. (2,17,49,50)

Labor Law Enforcement

In 2018, labor law enforcement agencies in Madagascar took actions to combat child labor (Table 6). However, gaps exist within the authority of PACTE that may hinder adequate labor law enforcement, including penalty assessment authorization.

Table 6. Labor Law Enforcement Efforts Related to Child Labor

Overview of Labor Law Enforcement	2017	2018
Labor Inspectorate Funding	\$41,000 (17,46)	Unknown (18)
Number of Labor Inspectors	130 (17)	145 (18)
Inspectorate Authorized to Assess Penalties	No (17)	No (18)
Initial Training for New Labor Inspectors	Yes (17,46)	Yes (18)
Training on New Laws Related to Child Labor	N/A (17)	No (18)
Refresher Courses Provided	No (17,46)	No (18)
Number of Labor Inspections Conducted	Unknown (17,46)	Unknown (18)
Number Conducted at Worksite	Unknown (17,46)	Unknown (18)
Number of Child Labor Violations Found	Unknown (17,46)	Unknown (18)
Number of Child Labor Violations for Which Penalties Were Imposed	Unknown (17,46)	Unknown (18)
Number of Child Labor Penalties Imposed that Were Collected	Unknown (17,46)	Unknown (18)
Routine Inspections Conducted	Yes (17,46)	Yes (18)
Routine Inspections Targeted	Yes (17,46)	Yes (18)
Unannounced Inspections Permitted	Yes (17,46)	Yes (18)
Unannounced Inspections Conducted	Yes (17,46)	Yes (18)
Complaint Mechanism Exists	Yes (17,46)	Yes (18)
Reciprocal Referral Mechanism Exists Between Labor Authorities and Social Services	Yes (17,46)	Yes (18)

The number of labor inspectors is likely insufficient for the size of Madagascar's workforce, which includes more than 13.4 million workers. According to the ILO's technical advice of 1 inspector for every 40,000 workers in less developed economies, Madagascar would employ about 335 labor inspectors. (51-53) In addition, the concentration of labor inspectors in the capital hampers the government's capacity to enforce child labor laws in rural areas, especially in the agricultural sector. (3,7,17,31,46) During the reporting period, officials from the Ministry of Civil Services and Labor reported that labor inspectors have not received training on the new child labor decree, but they have carried out an information exchange on the decree. (18) In addition, the new law expanding the list of hazardous occupations has not been disseminated and lacks any real enforcement. (18)

In 2018, the Government of Madagascar reported that 25 labor inspectors were in training, with an additional 50 new recruits registered for training beginning in 2019. (18) Government officials have indicated that this amount was insufficient to carry out its mandate during the reporting period. In addition, reports indicate that PACTE lacked trained staff, equipment, and funding to manage existing child labor databases and conduct adequate child labor inspections. (7,17,46,54) During the reporting period the government allocated approximately \$490,000 to the Directorate of Labor and Social Laws, which includes the labor inspectorate, but research could not confirm what amount was disbursed to the inspectorate. (54)

Criminal Law Enforcement

In 2018, criminal law enforcement agencies in Madagascar took actions to combat child labor (Table 7). However, gaps exist within the operations of the criminal enforcement agencies that may hinder adequate criminal law enforcement, including financial and human resources.

Table 7. Criminal Law Enforcement Efforts Related to Child Labor

Overview of Criminal Law Enforcement	2017	2018
Initial Training for New Criminal Investigators	Unknown (17)	Yes (18)
Training on New Laws Related to the Worst Forms of Child Labor	N/A (17)	Unknown (18)
Refresher Courses Provided	N/A (17)	Yes (18)
Number of Investigations	778 (55)	559 (18)
Number of Violations Found	78 (55)	35 (18)
Number of Prosecutions Initiated	Unknown (17)	Unknown (18)
Number of Convictions	Unknown (17)	Unknown (18)
Imposed Penalties for Violations Related to The Worst Forms of Child Labor	Unknown (17)	Unknown (18)
Reciprocal Referral Mechanism Exists Between Criminal Authorities and Social Services	Yes (24,56)	Yes (18)

During the reporting period, the National Civil Police Force Morals and Minors Brigade (PMPM) investigated an estimated 596 complaints of crimes against children, such as rape and violence. Of these cases, 35 were for child labor and 15 for child trafficking. (18) It is unclear, however, how many prosecutions were initiated from these complaints and whether these cases led to convictions. (18)

The Ministry of Justice, with support from international donors, provided training on anti-trafficking legislation to law enforcement actors, including the PMPM and the National Gendarmerie Child Protective Services. (18) Despite these efforts, reports indicate a lack of trained staff, equipment, and transportation to adequately conduct criminal law enforcement efforts related to the worst forms of child labor. (7,18,57,58)

In 2018, a new anti-corruption court was established to handle trafficking cases. A second court is expected to be operational in Toamasina in 2019. (18,44,59) During the reporting period, law enforcement officials received training from the National Bureau to Combat Human Trafficking on trafficking in persons victim identification and referral. (18,44) In addition, the Ministry of Population, with support from the International Organization for Migration and Nippon Foundation, inaugurated a new shelter for human trafficking victims in Antananarivo. (18,60)

IV. COORDINATION OF GOVERNMENT EFFORTS ON CHILD LABOR

The government has established mechanisms to coordinate its efforts to address child labor (Table 8). However, gaps exist that hinder the effective coordination of efforts to address child labor, including funding.

Table 8. Key Mechanisms to Coordinate Government Efforts on Child Labor

Coordinating Body	Role & Description
National Committee on the Fight Against Child Labor (CNLTE)	Coordinates programs, advises on child labor legislation and regulations, and implements the National Action Plan to Eliminate the Worst Forms of Child Labor. Led by the Ministry of Civil Services and Labor. (3,17,61,62) In 2018, implemented awareness-raising campaigns on child labor. (18)
Regional Child Labor Committees (CRLTE)	Coordinate, monitor, and evaluate all regional activities relating to the elimination of child labor. The 10 regional committees identify activities to promote the elimination of child labor and compile, analyze, and report child labor data to PACTE. (46,61,63) In 2018, the Sava regional committee carried out trainings for child protection network actors on the child protection system international and national legal framework. The Sava regional committee also validated a regional social convention that includes specific provisions on child labor cases. (18) During the reporting period, an additional 20 local child labor committees were established to improve monitoring of child labor cases and victim referrals. (18)

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Table 8. Key Mechanisms to Coordinate Government Efforts on Child Labor (Cont.)

Coordinating Body	Role & Description
National Bureau to Combat Human Trafficking	Coordinates anti-human trafficking efforts in Madagascar and take responsibility for implementing the National Action Plan to Combat Trafficking in Persons. Chaired by the Office of the Prime Minister, includes representatives from the Ministries of Civil Services and Labor, Justice, and Population and Social Affairs. (2,3,40,64) In 2018, provided training to law enforcement actors on anti-trafficking legislation, investigation methods, and victim identification and referral. The Government of Madagascar did not allocate funding to the National Bureau to Combat Human Trafficking during the year, but did adopt a decree intended to give it more autonomy and facilitate budget allocation. (18,44)
National Child Protection Committee	Guides and coordinates national child protection policy and programs. Chaired by the Minister of Population and Social Affairs, comprises a steering committee and a technical commission of specialists. (46,65) In 2018, in collaboration with UNICEF released a study on violence against children, which included information on workplace violence affecting victims of child labor. (18,55,66)

In 2018, the National Committee on the Fight Against Child Labor, Regional Child Labor Committees, and the National Bureau to Combat Human Trafficking lacked sufficient funding to effectively operate and coordinate efforts to address child labor. (14,18,29,32,34,47)

V. GOVERNMENT POLICIES ON CHILD LABOR

The government has established policies related to child labor (Table 9). However, policy gaps exist that hinder efforts to address child labor, including funding and implementation.

Table 9. Key Policies Related to Child Labor

Policy	Description
National Action Plan to Eliminate the Worst Forms of Child Labor (2004–2019)	Aims to eliminate the worst forms of child labor by strengthening child labor laws, conducting awareness-raising campaigns, mobilizing funds for social programs, and updating databases on child labor. Led by the CNLTE. (7,56,61) In 2018, the PACTE division of the Ministry of Civil Services and Labor conducted sensitization on child labor in Antananarivo, and organized discussions with regional child labor committees to assess the implementation of the Plan in the regions of Vakinankaratra, Haute Matsiatra, and Amoron'i Mania. (18)
National Action Plan to Combat Trafficking in Persons (2015–2019)	Seeks to enhance the legal framework to prevent human trafficking, effectively implement human trafficking laws, and provide protection and care for victims. Overseen by the National Bureau to Combat Human Trafficking. (1,17,64,67) In 2018, inaugurated a new shelter for human trafficking victims in Antananarivo. (18,60) However, reports indicated that the government did not provide sufficient funding to implement the National Action Plan in 2018. (18,44)
Code of Conduct for the Protection of Children in the Tourism Industry	Aims to prevent commercial sexual exploitation of children in the tourism industry. Implemented by the Ministry of Tourism and supported by the ILO and UNICEF. (68-71) In 2018, monitored 178 operators who adhered to implementing the Code of Conduct. (18)
National Social Protection Policy	Aims to protect children from abuse, violence, and exploitation and promotes improved access to education and livelihood services for vulnerable children. Led by the Ministry of Population, Social Protection and the Promotion of Women and supported by international donors. (3,72-74) In 2018, published a study on violence against children that included information on violence experienced by victims of child labor. (18,55,66)
National Development Plan (2015–2019)	Aims to promote sustainable development and social equality. Overseen by the Ministry of Economy and Planning and supported by the ILO's Decent Work Country Program. (3,75,76) Includes a budget of \$83,000 to specifically combat commercial sexual exploitation of children and child labor in domestic work, mining, quarrying, and other hazardous sectors. (32,75-77) In 2018, conducted awareness-raising activities for World Day Against Child Labor. (78)
Education Sector Plan (2018–2022)	Aims to expand access to education and improve the quality of education. Overseen by the Ministry of Education. (9,17,46,79) In 2018, activities included training teachers on a new education program for grade 10 and reorganizing the academic calendar so that holidays coincide with the rainy season to avoid closing schools due to flooding or humanitarian crises. (18)

† The government had other policies that may have addressed child labor issues or had an impact on child labor. (76,80)

VI. SOCIAL PROGRAMS TO ADDRESS CHILD LABOR

In 2018, the government funded and participated in programs that include the goal of eliminating or preventing child labor (Table 10). However, gaps exist in these social programs, including adequacy of programs to address the problem in all sectors.

Table 10. Key Social Programs to Address Child Labor

Program	Description
Project Supporting Sustainable and Child Labor Free Vanilla-Growing Communities in Sava (2016–2020)	USDOL-funded \$4 million project implemented by the ILO that aims to reduce child labor in the vanilla-producing areas of the Sava Region. (3,81,82) In 2018, organized workshops to integrate Madagascar as a pathfinder country in Alliance 8.7 to tackle forced and child labor and support the implementation of the Anti-Child Labor Code of Conduct of Vanilla Producers. During the reporting period also supported CRLTEs in finalizing child labor inspection templates. (18,83,84) Additional information is available on the USDOL website.
UNICEF Country Program (2015–2019)	UNICEF-funded \$288,000 program that supports the government's efforts to improve education, health, nutrition, and protection for children in Madagascar. (18,85) In 2018, activities included training child protection network actors on the legal framework of the child protection system, providing economic support to families living in mining communities, and providing assistance to 300 street children. Also implemented a program to combat commercial sexual exploitation of children in the regions of Diana, Nosy Be, Atsimo-Andrefana, Toliara, and Mangily. (18,86)
Social Support and Reintegration Centers†	Government program that provides social and reintegration services for victims of child labor. Includes the <i>Manjary Soa</i> Center and the <i>Vonjy</i> Centers in Antananarivo, Toamasina, Nosy Be and Mahajanga. (2,17,87) In 2018, the <i>Mitsinjo</i> Center for human trafficking victims was opened with support from the IOM and Nippon Foundation. (18,60)
Public Investment Program for Social Action†	Ministry of Civil Services and Labor \$34,700 program that supports school enrollment and training for street children. (20,46,56) In 2018, provided services for 296 street children. (88)
Cash Transfer Program (2017–2019)†	Ministry of Population, Social Protection and the Promotion of Women \$35 million program, supported by the World Bank and UNICEF, that aims to provide cash assistance for families with school-age children, conditioned on children's school attendance. In 2018, expanded program to benefit 65,000 households in the south of Madagascar. (17,18,45,89,90)
Education for All Programs (2015–2019)	Government of Norway and World Bank-funded projects that aim to improve the quality of and access to primary education, and provide school feeding programs in the southern regions of Androy, Anosy, and Atsimo-Andrefana. Led by the Ministry of Education. (56,91,92) In 2018, provided trainings on a new grade 10 educational program for teachers in several regions. (18)

† Program is funded by the Government of Madagascar.

‡ The government had other social programs that may have included the goal of eliminating or preventing child labor. (86,93-95)

Research found that basic health and social services available to victims of the worst forms of child labor are not adequate to meet current needs. (2,7,14,17,46) Although Madagascar has programs that target child labor, the scope of these programs is insufficient to address the extent of the problem, particularly in agriculture, commercial sexual exploitation, domestic work, begging, and mining. (7,20,34,56)

VII. SUGGESTED GOVERNMENT ACTIONS TO ELIMINATE CHILD LABOR

Based on the reporting above, suggested actions are identified that would advance the elimination of child labor in Madagascar (Table 11).

Table 11. Suggested Government Actions to Eliminate Child Labor

Area	Suggested Action	Year(s) Suggested
Enforcement	Ensure that the number of labor inspectors conforms to the ILO's technical advice.	2015 – 2018
	Authorize the labor inspectorate to assess penalties.	2017 – 2018
	Ensure that labor and criminal law enforcement officials receive adequate funding and training to enforce child labor laws adequately, including in rural areas.	2009 – 2018
	Publish enforcement information related to child labor, including labor inspectorate funding, the number of labor inspections conducted, violations found, penalties imposed, the criminal law enforcement prosecutions initiated, and the number of convictions.	2013 – 2018
	Ensure that existing databases function to gather enforcement data on child labor, including by providing adequate funding.	2009 – 2018
	Disseminate and enforce the new decree expanding the list of hazardous occupations for children.	2018
Coordination	Ensure that the National Committee on the Fight Against Child Labor, the Regional Child Labor Committees, and the National Bureau to Combat Human Trafficking receive adequate funding to effectively operate and coordinate to fulfill their missions.	2014 – 2018
Government Policies	Ensure that appropriate funding exists to effectively implement the National Action Plan to Combat Trafficking in Persons.	2016 – 2018

Table 11. Suggested Government Actions to Eliminate Child Labor (Cont.)

Area	Suggested Action	Year(s) Suggested
Social Programs	Enhance efforts to eliminate barriers and make education accessible for all children, including those in rural communities, by removing fees for supplies and school-related costs, increasing school infrastructure and transportation services, hiring sufficiently qualified teachers, and ensuring children's safety in schools.	2011 – 2018
	Ensure that social protection systems have adequate funding and staff to provide appropriate services to victims of the worst forms of child labor.	2014 – 2018
	Expand the scope of programs to address child labor in agriculture and the worst forms of child labor in agriculture, commercial sexual exploitation, domestic work, and mining.	2014 – 2018

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