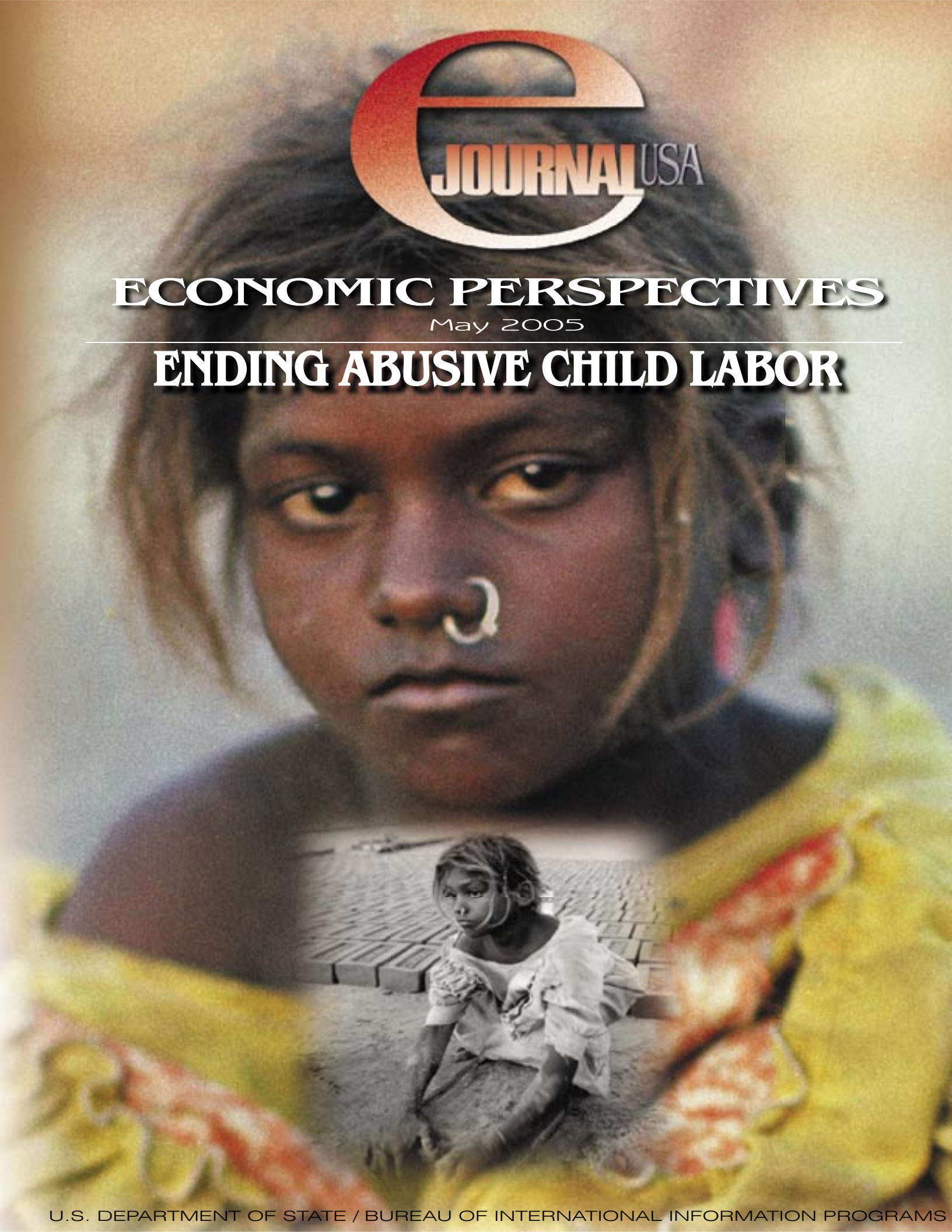

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May 2005

ENDING ABUSIVE CHILD LABOR

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ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVES

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ABOUT THIS ISSUE

Creating a safe and healthy world for our children is as important a task as any that exists. Yet millions of children around the world remain victims of poverty, illness, armed conflict, and exploitive and forced labor.

The child on our cover, photographed by writer/director/cameraman Robin Romano, is pounding clay into bricks in West Bengal, India. As part of a feature documentary called *Stolen Childhoods*, Romano portrays child labor in eight countries and reports on programs to remove child laborers from work. "Brick kilns and gravel quarries are a common sight in West Bengal, Orissa, and the surrounding states of India," Romano writes in a Web site, www.stolenchildhoods.org, describing his photos. "The children that work here are exploited 12-16 hours a day, seven days a week, 365 days a year. Their world consists only of these mud holes, drying fields, kilns, rock piles, and grinders. At night they sleep in the open or in makeshift shelter where sanitary conditions are nonexistent. There are no schools here, and for many there isn't even a family. Over one-third of the children working at this kiln and one-fourth of the children at the quarry have been shipped here from other areas, where their parents have been forced to either sell them into slavery or are dependent on the meager wages that these children can provide."

We examine this month some of the noteworthy initiatives under way to combat abusive child labor. The editors of *Economic Perspectives* wish to thank U.S. Secretary of Labor Elaine L. Chao, the staff of the department's International Child Labor Program, and the International Labor Organization (ILO) for their guidance and time in helping to produce this publication. We are also grateful to numerous groups that have provided input and insight on an issue that requires the commitment of a broad coalition working to rescue children from environments that are physically dangerous and psychologically damaging.

In her introduction, Secretary Chao notes that on June 12, 2005, countries around the world will observe World Day Against Child Labor to recognize the commitments being taken by governments, nongovernmental organizations, and industry to eradicate the worst forms of child labor. This year there will be a special emphasis on eliminating child labor in mining. Pilot projects developed by the International Labor Organization (ILO) have demonstrated how to eliminate child labor in mining and quarrying communities by helping these communities acquire legal rights, organize cooperatives or other productive units, improve the health and safety and productivity of adult workers, and secure such essential services as schools, clean water, and sanitation systems.

We hope that this issue of *Economic Perspectives,* published by the Department of State, helps our interactive and print audiences to understand more fully the plight faced by the young girl pictured on our cover and the many efforts under way to help her and the many thousands of children in situations like hers around the world.

The Editors

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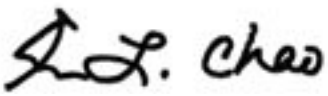
INTRODUCTION

June 12 marks the fourth annual World Day Against Child Labor. This special day has been set aside to help raise awareness of the millions of children around the world who are forced to go to work instead of go to school. This day also offers hope by highlighting the many programs and policies available to end the worst forms of child labor and send millions of child laborers back to the classroom.

As President George W. Bush has said: "All fathers and mothers, in all societies, want their children to be educated, and live free from poverty and violence." But too many children in the world are involved in work that is robbing them of their childhood and damaging their physical and mental development. This is especially true of children who are forced into armed conflict or abused for commercial sexual exploitation.

This year's World Day Against Child Labor will focus on a child labor problem that has not gotten enough attention: the estimated one million children who work in small-scale mining and quarrying around the world. These children face cruel exploitation, working long hours underground exposed to damaging particles in the air and dangerous toxins. Some youngsters are forced to handle explosives, a dangerous and daunting task that requires expert training and high skill levels for adults let alone children.

This publication explores a broad range of issues, from the causes of child labor to the actions being taken by governments to stop the trafficking of children. It highlights innovative approaches employed by countries in Latin America, Africa, and Asia to better the outlook for their children. We cannot give these children back what was taken from them. But we can work together to help rescue these children and create environments in which families can thrive without putting the youngest and most vulnerable members of society at risk.



U.S. Secretary of Labor

ENDING CHILD LABOR
A Global Priority

Steven J. Law

Millions of children worldwide are trapped in mind-numbing subsistence-level labor of little economic value but which saps the creativity and learning potential of entire communities of future workers. While removal of children from the worst forms of child labor is an immediate objective, further interventions are needed to ensure that families have meaningful, sustainable alternatives of support that keep children from returning to hazardous and exploitive labor situations.

The United States has been a leader in the international effort to combat exploitive child labor and promote education for former child laborers. The country is the largest donor to the International Labor Organization's International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor. Since 1995, the United States has provided approximately $255 million for technical assistance projects. Capacity building is essential to the long-term sustainability of child labor projects. By developing the capabilities of national and local leaders and institutions, national efforts to combat child labor will have a better chance of succeeding.

Steven J. Law *is deputy secretary of the U.S. Department of Labor.*

New York Times columnist Tom Friedman has written a compelling book entitled "The World is Flat," in which he argues that technological change, global supply chains, and labor "outsourcing" have flattened the modern world. This has dramatically reduced the cost of many goods and services, but it also puts a premium on workforce investment: ensuring that people obtain the education and training they need to compete in an increasingly sophisticated global economy.

Tragically, more than 200 million children today have no hope of benefiting from the dynamic worldwide economy because they are locked in a degrading, dead-end subculture of child labor. Many of these children, who are between the ages of five and 14 work under exploitive conditions including abduction by armed bands to serve as soldiers; being trafficked into commercial sexual exploitation; and being exposed to extreme workplace hazards and disease. Hundreds of millions of childhoods are wasted away in mind-numbing subsistence-level labor that produces minimal economic value while leaching away the creativity and learning potential of entire communities of future workers.

The U.S. Government Role

Efforts to combat child labor gained momentum in 1999 with the adoption of International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labor. The convention identifies the worst forms of child labor, which include bonded labor, drug trafficking, prostitution, and other work that poses serious

Pavel Rahman, AP/WWP

Bangladeshi children heat and mix rubber in a barrel at a balloon factory in Kamrangir Char, Bangladesh.

threats to children's health, safety, and well-being. The convention also requires that ratifying governments take immediate and effective measures to eliminate these forms of child labor in their countries. The U.S. government took an active role in promoting the passage of the convention, and as of March 2005, 153 countries had ratified it, making it the fastest ratified convention in the ILO's 82-year history.

Even before passage of Convention 182, the United States had begun taking important steps to eradicate child labor. The U.S. Department of Labor's (USDOL) International Child Labor Program (ICLP) was created in 1993 to investigate and report on child labor around the world. Over the years, ICLP's expertise in global child labor issues has expanded, and its portfolio of activities has increased exponentially. Research and reporting on international child labor, in support of U.S. foreign policy, trade policy, and development efforts, remain the ICLP's core functions. Awareness-raising within the United States about global child labor has also become an important part of the program. For example, in May 2003 Secretary of Labor Elaine L. Chao hosted representatives of the world community at "Children in the Crossfire: Prevention and Reintegration of Child Soldiers," a conference that highlighted the scandal of child soldiers in armed conflicts.

Perhaps the most dramatic results have been achieved through the USDOL's International Technical Assistance Projects. Since 1995, ICLP has funded more that $400 million in technical assistance projects in some 70 countries to rescue and rehabilitate children from the worst forms of child labor and provide them educational opportunities.

Effective Interventions Needed

Overcoming child labor requires an in-depth understanding of the factors that force children into inappropriate forms of work, as well as effective interventions suited to each unique socio-cultural and economic environment. Because the problem of child labor is complex, most USDOL projects employ multiple interventions that are integrated with one another. Of course, at the heart of each project is the removal of children from the worst forms of child labor, but further interventions are needed to ensure that children and their families have meaningful, sustainable alternatives that keep children from returning to hazardous and exploitive labor situations.

The experience of the USDOL confirms that only holistic approaches to combating child labor can hope to achieve meaningful, long-term results. And the foundation of every successful intervention is solid research. That is why ICLP funds several projects to determine the incidence and nature of child labor worldwide. These projects provide governments, international organizations, and the public with reliable quantitative and qualitative data on the nature and extent of child labor and its relationship to education, gender, and other factors. Data collection also provides a foundation upon which to target, design, and

EDUCATION INITIATIVE (EI) GRANTS

Since fiscal year 2001, USDOL has awarded about $148 million in EI grants to promote education as a means of combating child labor. Grants are awarded through an open, competitive bidding process to a variety of local and international organizations.

EI projects are aimed at increasing access to basic education for child laborers and at-risk children, as well as improving the quality and relevance of education. Many countries with a high incidence of child labor also face resource constraints that impact educational access and quality. Not only are many families in such countries unable to afford school uniforms or books for their children, but certain regions also suffer from a lack of schools in remote areas, high student-to-teacher ratios, a high percentage of unqualified or under-qualified teachers, and a poor physical environment at schools. EI projects support improvements in educational access and quality by funding school meals, teacher training, school materials, vocational education, and other needs.

© Marcelo Salinas

A young girl works in a brick kiln on the outskirts of Bogota, Colombia.

WINROCK INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION INITIATIVE IN PERU

One of ICLP's largest Education Initiative grants funds the U.S.-based nongovernmental organization Winrock International to implement its Community-based Innovations to Reduce Child Labor Through Education (CIRCLE) project. Through the CIRCLE project, Winrock works with local organizations that propose innovative strategies aimed at preventing or eliminating child labor through education. In Cajamarca, Peru, CIRCLE collaborates with the Asociación Mujer Familia (AMF, Woman Family Association), a nonprofit institution that advocates for the rights of women and children.

With support from CIRCLE, AMF is implementing the Reduccion del Trabajo Infantil Domestico (Reducing Child Domestic Work) Project, which aims to eliminate the incidence of children working as household domestics. In Cajamarca, child domestic workers often labor for more than 14 hours a day, seven days a week, in exchange for food and shelter or a minimal salary. These children are vulnerable to abuse and rarely attend school.

The AMF project employs several interventions in order to achieve its objectives, including public awareness activities to educate the community about child domestic work; workshops for teachers and school staff to improve the quality of education; vocational training and tutoring; and monitoring systems in schools and communities to keep children out of domestic work.

The project's public awareness activities are particularly innovative. For example, to inform authorities, parents, employers, and other community members about the hazards of child labor and the advantages of educating children, the project broadcasts a radio program twice a week. The program allows children to speak for themselves about their experiences and perspectives on domestic work. After the program began to air, the project noted a large increase in community members' concerns over child domestic work.

evaluate the effectiveness of other interventions.

Another important component of child labor eradication programs is the inclusion of community awareness-raising activities in project design. For example, a public awareness campaign to educate parents, local organizations, community leaders, and the media about hazards

U.S. Department of Labor

Deputy Secretary Law meets with students at a DOL-supported transitional school for former child laborers in Kanchipuram, India. Most of the children were working in silk production in home-based workshops.

associated with child labor and its detrimental long-term effects on the local economy can help bring community members on board and pave the way for a project's success.

Clearly, one of the most effective interventions is the provision of quality education. Once children have been removed from labor situations, basic education offers a meaningful alternative and equips them with the skills and knowledge to obtain safe, better-paying jobs in the future. USDOL project staff work with children to determine their educational needs, which can include formal education, non-formal education, or vocational training. Such options are important: while some former child laborers are ready to enter formal schools, others may need to spend time in a non-formal, transitional educational setting before becoming part of the formal system. Regardless of the type of intervention, projects track children's enrollment in, and completion of educational programs. Many projects focus not only on children's participation in education, but also on the quality of education. Interventions to improve educational quality include teacher training, development of classroom materials, and alternative methods of material distribution.

Looking Beyond Education

In addition to education, many children are in need of rehabilitative services such as healthcare, nutritional support, and counseling following their removal from labor situations. Depending on the needs of particular beneficiaries, projects may provide rehabilitative services through family visits or establish residential centers where

CHILD LABOR IN THE PHILIPPINE FISHING INDUSTRY

In the Philippines, which has more than 7,000 islands, fishing is a very important part of the country's economic activity. With poverty and population rates high, hazardous child labor in the fishing industry is common. Some children work up to eight hours at night, diving to chase fish into nets, while others work on six- to 10-month deep-sea fishing expeditions where they dive as deep as 15 meters without protective gear. These child laborers are at risk of ear damage, injuries from falls, shark attacks, snake bites, and drowning, among other hazards.

Through its Timebound Program, ILO-IPEC is working to remove children from fishing crews and provide them with healthcare, counseling, and educational support such as basic literacy training, non-formal education, and school supplies. A major focus of the project is to implement sustainable child-labor monitoring systems. The project has formed monitoring teams composed of IPEC project staff and personnel from Philippines government agencies, such as the Bureau of Fisheries and Aquative Resources, the Coast Guard, and the Department of Labor and Employment. The teams have conducted random inspections on fishing vessels and in communities where children are typically recruited for work.

Municipalities have been encouraged to take responsibility for providing law enforcement protection to ex-child laborers and for monitoring activities. Project staff have successfully transferred monitoring responsibilities to local agencies, and the project has developed standard screening procedures for boat crew members that can be used by local authorities.

children can live and receive care while in transition.

Another crucial feature of many USDOL projects is the establishment of a child labor monitoring system. The gravitational pull of poverty and culture often draw children back into exploitive labor, and effective monitoring can help alert project managers to the need for further intervention.

Typically, the need for additional family income is a common cause of child labor, and removing children from the workforce means that families must have other ways to meet their sustenance needs. For that reason, USDOL-supported technical assistance looks at family needs, rather than just at the needs of the working child, and attempts to address those needs through some form of alternative income generation, such as skills training for family members or micro-finance opportunities that enable families to generate income through business activities.

Another intervention focuses on changing hazardous production methods that may be widespread in a particular industry that utilizes child labor. For example, "homework"—the practice of giving employees tasks such as sewing or project assembly done in the home—is common in poor communities. Homework sometimes promotes hazardous child labor because working in the home increases the likelihood that children are working alongside their parents, and that makes health and safety monitoring nearly impossible. Particularly hazardous types of homework include the manufacture of products using dangerous chemicals or explosive materials, such as fireworks. To combat this practice, USDOL-supported projects may dedicate funding to the construction of safe workshops or work to educate community stakeholders on the long-term advantages of building and maintaining safe workplaces.

A final strategy that is essential to the long-term sustainability of child labor projects is capacity building. By developing the capabilities of national and local leaders and institutions, we can increase the likelihood that efforts to combat child labor will continue without outside assistance. As part of capacity building, some projects work closely with national governments to develop a national child labor policy, help design national child labor strategies and action plans, and help incorporate the issue of child labor into other national policies, such as those dealing with poverty reduction, education, and disaster relief.

A Strategic Partnership

In its global efforts to eradicate the worst forms of child labor, USDOL frequently partners with, and is the largest donor to, the ILO International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (ILO-IPEC), providing approximately $255 million in funding for technical assistance projects since 1995. Launched in 1991, IPEC works toward the progressive elimination of child labor by strengthening the ability of countries to address the problem and by creating a worldwide movement to combat it. IPEC projects focus on children in hazardous work conditions and on particularly vulnerable groups such as girls and children under age 12. Because of its status as an international organization affiliated with the United Nations, ILO-IPEC

often can work with both national governments and the international employer community.

ILO-IPEC helps implement USDOL child labor technical assistance projects using several models. Country Programs provide technical assistance to countries that are committed to making the elimination of child labor a national policy. Sector Programs actively target specific hazardous occupations and troubled regions that warrant urgent attention and dedicated resources. Timebound Programs aim to incorporate child labor into national strategies for poverty reduction and education, and eliminate some of the worst forms of child labor within a committed time from of five to 10 years. Many ILO-IPEC projects include technical assistance to help countries develop Child Labor Action Plans and other national policies that affect working children. In all cases, ILO-IPEC collaborates with indigenous organizations that are familiar with local realities.

Toward A Better Future

The USDOL has built a considerable foundation of research, best practices, international partnerships and multilateral campaigns aimed at eliminating the worst forms of child labor. Our implementing partners, including ILO-IPEC, nongovernmental organizations, and faith-based groups, have developed innovative, effective, and sustainable strategies to combat child labor. Together, we are giving children and their families hope for a better future, and helping to equip nations and communities with a workforce that is better prepared to meet the challenges of today's dynamic global economy.■

ELIMINATING CHILD LABOR
A Moral Cause and a Development Challenge

Juan Somavia

In recent years there has been a dramatic change in attitudes about child labor. Denial and indifference have given way to acknowledgement, outrage, and a readiness to tackle the problem effectively. Ridding the world of child labor will require a significant commitment of resources by the international community. Yet, globally, over two decades the economic benefits of eliminating child labor would exceed the costs by nearly seven times. Eliminating child labor is unquestionably a sound financial investment.

Juan Somavia *is director-general of the International Labor Organization*

Child labor is a pervasive problem in today's world, but it is not a hopeless one.

The evidence is clear that when individuals make a commitment, when communities mobilize, when societies come together and decide that child labor is no longer acceptable, great progress can be made toward the goal of ensuring that children are not denied a childhood and a better future. However, it's tough going.

Building consensus—and bringing real change—remains an immense challenge internationally, nationally and in the families and communities where child labor exists. The common sense objective is to provide kids the opportunity of a sound education and parents a fair chance at a decent job. This is an economic issue for countries and families—but it is also an ethical one. The fight against child labor is ultimately a battle to expand the frontiers of human dignity and freedom.

One out of six children in the world—an estimated 246 million children—are involved in child labor. Think about it. The number of child laborers is roughly equal to the entire population of the United States!

These children are not doing odd jobs or light work. Their work is a matter of survival for them and their families. They are girls and boys who are engaged in work that is damaging to their mental, physical, and emotional development.

Alexander Zemlianichenko, AP/WWP

Ahmad, 10, right; Omed, 7, center; and Hamed Sarwar, 9, behind, weave a carpet in a small workshop on the outskirts of Mazar-e-Sharif, Afghanistan. It's estimated that more than 2,000 children in the city work, producing income considered vital to the economic survival of their families.

Three-quarters of these children are exploited in what the International Labor Organization (ILO) calls the worst forms of child labor. They work in stifling factories, unsafe plantations, death trap mines, and other hazardous sites. Some have been sold and trafficked into slave-like conditions. Others are forced into the living nightmare of prostitution or sent to the bloody frontlines of war.

Since its foundation, the ILO has stood against the scourge of child labor. In recent years, through our work and collaboration with many committed individuals and institutions, we have seen a sea change in attitudes toward child labor. Denial and indifference have given way to acknowledgement, outrage, and a readiness to act. A growing popular movement against abusive labor practices in general has been accompanied by a new understanding of ways in which the problem of child labor can be tackled effectively and sustainably.

Joel Grimes, U.S. Department of Labor

ILO-IPEC is working to withdraw and protect children from difficult labor by providing free schooling.

The approach of the ILO's constituents—governments, employers, and workers—has been to work on the basis of partnership and trust at the community and production levels to build within countries the commitment to sustainable action for the elimination of child labor.

In 1999, we approved a key instrument in this struggle, Convention 182, which commits countries to take immediate action to prohibit and eliminate the worst forms of child labor. Over the past six years, 153 countries have ratified it, making it a national commitment and now the most rapidly and widely ratified convention in ILO history.

During the same period, there has been an impressive increase in ratifications of Convention 138, the minimum age convention that was adopted in 1973. This convention states that the minimum age for work should not be less than the age for completing compulsory schooling and sets a number of minimum ages depending on the type of employment or work. Ratification, however, is just the beginning.

A growing number of countries have sought the ILO's help to take effective action against child labor. The ILO's International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC), which was founded in 1992 with six participating countries and major funding from Germany, has now expanded to include operations in 80 countries funded by 30 donors including employers' and workers' organizations.

The generous support and committed engagement of the United States Congress and executive branch have helped the ILO dramatically expand its efforts to end child labor.

We have given priority to the worst forms of child labor with the goal of the eventual elimination of all forms.

Joel Grimes, U.S. Department of Labor

In Bangladesh, families including the youngest children spend their days breaking rocks into gravel.

Support is offered for developing and implementing measures aimed at prevention, withdrawing children from hazardous work, preparing them for schooling, and providing alternative income sources for parents. Our work includes efforts to combat child trafficking in West Africa, to rehabilitate street children in Eastern Europe, to remove children from mines and stone quarries in Latin America, and to provide a better future for children who were weaving carpets or stitching soccer balls in South Asia.

A Growing Sense To Act

Around the world, people are joining a growing community of conscience to act. A genuine worldwide movement against child labor has emerged. Child laborers themselves are making their voices heard, for example, through grassroots movements such as the Global March against Child Labor. Young students are mobilizing in solidarity.

New alliances are emerging among employers' and workers' organizations, government agencies, and civil society organizations. These alliances have taken sector-specific action in several multinational industries—such as tobacco and cocoa growing, and the manufacture of sporting goods—in which the strengths and advantages of ILO's tripartite partners and civil society reinforce global efforts to combat child labor.

In addition, 19 countries are now involved in programs to end child labor within a specified period. These are

Dado Galdieri, AP/WWP

Feliberto, 9, helps his father making bricks in Cochabamba, Bolivia. Working a 10-hour shift on average, the children often end up leaving school.

foundations on which to build but much more needs to be done across the board.

We need to match national and international decisions with greater development cooperation targeting the reduction of child labor. We must sustain the international and national debates and awareness-raising efforts; identify and map hazardous child labor in different sectors and situations; build institutional capacity to deal with child labor at all levels; and put in place effective, independent and credible inspection and monitoring systems.

The problem of child labor cannot be solved in isolation. Projects alone are not enough. Where poverty breaks up families, economic and social policies must come together to help protect the dignity of family life.

For example, free, compulsory quality education up to the "minimum age"—which varies depending on the country and nature of the work—for entering into employment is a key element in the prevention of child labor. But, with budget restrictions everywhere, many countries can't afford to do so.

The international community must back the efforts of countries willing to take comprehensive steps through development cooperation programs, access to markets and policy advice that they receive from international organizations.

Of course ridding the world of child labor will take a significant commitment of resources. A recent study by the ILO estimates that eliminating child labor over two decades would yield an estimated US $5.1 trillion in benefits for both developing and transitional economies where most child laborers are found. Globally, benefits would exceed costs by nearly seven times. Each extra year of schooling stemming from universal education to the age of 14 results in an additional 11 per cent of future earnings per year for a young student who stays in school.

Eliminating child labor is unquestionably a sound financial investment.

Eliminating Child Labor Integral To ILO Agenda

Eradicating child labor is an integral part of the ILO's agenda for the world of work called the Decent Work Agenda, which seeks to promote opportunities for all women and men to obtain decent and productive work, in conditions of freedom, equity, security and human dignity. This development framework is centered on stimulating the investments that create the opportunities for productive work; with standards and rights at work, social security, health protection and safety nets and voice and representation for working people. The effective abolition of child labor is one of the principles at the heart of our agenda. We promote decent work because when you ignore the quality of work for parents, you open the door to child labor.

Every country in its own circumstances can define a reasonable threshold below which no family should fall. Decent work is not a universal standard, not a minimum wage. ILO conventions, which are ratified voluntarily by each country, constitute a sound social floor for working life.

We can take heart that already there has been a great deal of progress achieved in knowledge and experience, as well as an impressive worldwide movement to combat child labor.

The global challenge remains daunting, but I believe that, working together, we can meet our common goals: decent work for parents, quality education for children, and real opportunity for young people.

Eradicating child labor truly is a moral cause and a societal challenge. If we summon the will to do it, we can bring hope to children all over the world and affirm the inalienable right of every child to have a childhood.

The opinions expressed in this article do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the U.S. government.

A LOAD TOO HEAVY
CHILDREN IN MINING AND QUARRYING

An estimated one million children work in small-scale mining and quarrying around the world. These children work in some of the worst conditions imaginable, where they face serious risk of injury, chronic illness, or death.

In surface and underground mines, children work long hours, carry heavy loads, set explosives, sieve sand and dirt, crawl through narrow tunnels, inhale harmful dust, and work in water—often in the presence of dangerous toxins such as lead and mercury. Children mine diamonds, gold, and precious metals in Africa; gems and rock in Asia; and gold, coal, emeralds, and tin in South America.

In rock quarries located in many parts of the world, children face safety and health risks from pulling and carrying heavy loads, inhaling hazardous dust and particles, and using dangerous tools and crushing equipment.

Pilot projects of the International Labor Organization (ILO) have demonstrated that it is possible to eliminate child labor by helping mining and quarrying communities organize cooperatives or other productive units; improve the health, safety, and productivity of adult workers; and secure essential services such as schools, clean water, and sanitation systems. The remote community of Santa Filomena, Peru, which in 2004 declared itself child labor free in its small-scale gold mining industry, provides just one example.

The Santa Filomena community was part of the ILO's International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC) in mining in South America, which covers Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru. An estimated 200,000 children in these countries are involved in mining.

The mining community in Santa Filomena organized itself into a community-based mineworker's association in order to improve working conditions.

IPEC helped the community install an electric winch in a mine to haul minerals up the mine shaft. The winch eliminated the need for children to carry heavy loads from up to 200 meters below the surface.

Through this association and the nongovernmental organization CooperAcción, and with the cooperation of Peruvian authorities and support from the U.S. Department of Labor, IPEC in 2000 started its project to eliminate child labor in mining in Santa Filomena. It drew on the ILO model of preventing and eliminating child labor based on an integrated approach to sustainable development in the communities and families.

The Santa Filomena project also supported alternative income-generating activities. For instance, the project bought kneading machines and ovens for a local women's group, trained members of the group to use the machines, and helped them start a bakery. As a result, the members of the group prepare bread daily, supplementing their families' diets and, at the same time, increasing their incomes, thus having to rely less on income from their children.

In addition, the IPEC project organized awareness-raising activities in schools. Children in primary school painted pictures about the types of work they had done. The project also supported a photography exhibit dedicated to child labor issues and the health risks that children encounter in mines. These efforts were intended to raise community awareness about the dangers of child labor and the benefits of having children attend school.

Strengthening organizational capacities, improving social protections, creating income opportunities for women so their children don't have to mine, raising awareness of the social and economic benefits and costs of child labor, and developing better nutrition and health services enabled hundreds of boys and girls to leave the mines in Santa Filomena.

The removal of all child workers from small-scale mines and quarries is an achievable goal. On June 12, 2005, the fourth World Day Against Child Labor will be dedicated to finding a way to make it a reality. ■

Sources: ILO, U.S. Department of Labor.

STEMMING THE INTERNATIONAL TRAFFICKING OF CHILDREN

Ambassador John R. Miller

A camel race in an unidentified Middle Eastern country. Children are often enslaved as jockeys.

Arthur Thevenart, CORBIS

Each year 600,000 to 800,000 people—half of them children—are forced from their homes and their countries to work in other countries. These children are being used as soldiers, camel jockeys, and forced laborers, or engaged in commercial sexual exploitation. The U.S. government, working directly with governments and through nongovernmental organizations, is committed to stopping child traffickers, rehabilitating child victims, and reunifying them with their families. "We must fight government corruption, which allows trafficking to flourish and destabilizes economies," says Ambassador John Miller, the State Department's top official in the effort to stem human trafficking. "We must step up law enforcement to rescue child slaves and deter traffickers. And we must improve our prevention efforts so children are not vulnerable to this terrible crime."

***Ambassador John R. Miller** is senior advisor to Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and director of the State Department's Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons.*

Since all countries have outlawed slavery, many people think the practice is a thing of the past. Unfortunately, the crime of trafficking in persons, or modern-day slavery, is thriving in 2005, and it is having a particular impact on children around the globe.

When we talk about trafficking in persons, we are talking about victims who are forced, defrauded, or coerced into labor or sexual exploitation. The U.S. government estimates that 600,000 to 800,000 men, women, and children are trafficked across international borders each year. Shockingly, up to half of all trafficking victims may be children, who are used as soldiers, camel jockeys, and forced laborers, or engaged in prostitution. The forced labor takes many forms, from backbreaking work in stone quarries, to domestic servitude, to factory and fieldwork.

In response to this egregious offense, the U.S. Congress passed the Trafficking Victims Protection Act in 2000. The law mandates a yearly State Department report that reviews foreign government actions to prevent trafficking, protect the victims, including children, and prosecute the traffickers. It must report on U.S. efforts in these areas. In 2004, the U.S. government gave more than $96 million in funding for anti-trafficking programs abroad, and we are aggressively working to raise public awareness to the plight of children trapped in lives of bondage.

Victor R. Caivano, AP/WWP

Nine-year old Carlos cleans shrimp in the fishing village of Guapinol, Honduras.

Cooperative Efforts

As a result of our work and that of others, progress is being made to combat the problem on every front. Since 2003, there have been nearly 3,000 convictions of traffickers, and 40 countries have passed comprehensive anti-trafficking laws. There are a number of efforts to warn vulnerable people of trafficking schemes so that slavery can be prevented before it begins. And partnerships between government and nongovernmental organizations have led to successful initiatives that are improving children's lives by freeing them from forced labor and other forms of slavery.

For example, the International Rescue Committee (IRC) is using U.S. funding to rehabilitate children who were abducted and trafficked to the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) bases in southern Sudan and northern Uganda. Many of these children were forced to kill friends and family members as a result of their conscription. IRC also works to support children who flee Ugandan villages for towns every night for fear of abduction by the rebel LRA group.

To combat the enslavement of children used as camel jockeys, in December 2004 the Ansar Burney Welfare Trust opened a shelter in the United Arab Emirates to care for trafficking victims. The shelter serves many boys who have been trampled by the camels they were forced to ride. As of March 2005, this shelter had rescued and cared for as many as 50 children, at least 16 of whom have been repatriated.

The International Organization for Migration, in partnership with the Department of State, relevant Ghanaian government ministries, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), and local nongovernmental organizations, works to identify and provide documentation to children who have been trafficked to Ghana's Lake Volta region to work in the fishing industry. To help stop the trafficking of children in this region, this program provides counseling for the child victims, family reunification, and activities to help reintegrate children into daily life. Togbega Hadjor, paramount chief of Ghana's Bakpa Traditional Area, was honored as a hero in the State Department's 2004 Trafficking in Persons Report for his work with this project and his efforts to raise awareness in the region.

We are also working with Free the Slaves to shut down fishing villages in the Bay of Bengal region of Bangladesh that use child slaves. Since October 2004, Bangladeshi police and coast guard have rescued 129 children.

As part of President Bush's initiative to combat all forms of human trafficking, Catholic Relief Services is working with Brazilian law enforcement to identify the routes traffickers use to exploit their victims. They are also working to improve coordination between law enforcement and labor inspectors in order to detect and investigate these activities so that more children can be free.

"No One Deserves To Be A Slave"

Even with all of the efforts under way, we know that hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of children remain enslaved, and this is a challenge we must face fully and without delay. We must fight government corruption, which allows trafficking to flourish and destabilizes economies. We must step up law enforcement to rescue child slaves and deter traffickers. And we must improve our prevention efforts so that children are not vulnerable to this terrible crime.

Aaron Favila, AP/WWP

A social worker counsels a tearful victim of child trafficking who has just arrived in Manila from a central province of the Philippines.

The movement to forever abolish the trafficking and enslavement of children continues, and I am proud the United States has taken a leading role to create a world, as President Bush said in his 2005 inaugural address, where "no one is fit to be a master and no one deserves to be a slave." ■

SANCTIONS AGAINST HUMAN TRAFFICKERS

Each year, the State Department's Trafficking in Persons Report identifies countries whose governments do not fully comply with the minimum standards in U.S. law for prohibiting severe forms of trafficking in persons and do not make significant efforts to do so. The 2004 report identified Bangladesh, Burma, Cuba, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Guyana, North Korea, Sierra Leone, Sudan, and Venezuela in this "Tier 3" category. Under U.S. law, the United States can impose on such nations sanctions that include:

• withholding non-humanitarian, non-trade-related assistance;

• withholding funding for participation in educational and cultural exchange programs, when the country does not receive other assistance;

• opposing loans and grants—except for humanitarian, trade-related, and certain development-related assistance—from the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and other international financial institutions. For example, in 2004 the United States voted against IMF and World Bank loans to Venezuela as a result of Tier 3 placement.

U.S. law allows the president some discretion in waiving these sanctions, particularly if he feels that the waiver would be in the U.S. national interest or would avoid a significant adverse effect on vulnerable populations such as women and children, or if he finds that a government has come into compliance with the minimum standards after the report was issued. Waivers were granted in 2004 for Bangladesh, because of its increasing efforts to prosecute traffickers and rescue victims; for Guyana, because of its new action plan to provide more resources for victims and its new public awareness efforts; for Sierra Leone, for training police officers on trafficking prevention and enforcement and for designating a high government official as the coordinator for trafficking in persons; and for Ecuador, for increasing police raids on traffickers and for raising public awareness. [see http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/prsrl/36127.htm for the full presidential determination.]

Sanctions are a last resort and one of only many tools used to stimulate foreign government action on behalf of victims and potential victims of modern-day slavery. Other U.S. efforts in 2004 included providing more than $96 million in anti-trafficking funding abroad, participating in extensive bilateral discussions and partnerships, undertaking numerous anti-trafficking activities in cooperation with international organizations, and staging far-reaching public awareness and outreach programs. ■

U.S. LEGISLATIVE INITIATIVES TO STOP ABUSIVE CHILD LABOR

Senator Tom Harkin

After a tobacco harvest in Laos, a child prepares the leaves for drying.

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It is a moral imperative that all countries act now to stop abusive child labor practices. Such practices not only are evil, the author says, but are bad economic policy and impede development goals. The U.S. Congress has taken both legislative and nonlegislative actions to penalize countries that engage in the worst forms of child labor and to rehabilitate the child victims of such practices. Senator Harkin plans shortly to introduce legislation that calls for even stronger measures, including a ban on imports of products produced by abusive child labor.

Tom Harkin *is a U.S. senator from the state of Iowa. A member of the Congress since 1975, Harkin is currently ranking Democrat on the Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education Appropriations subcommittee and a long-time leader in the fight to end abusive child labor.*

Abusive child labor is a profound moral evil. It is also bad economic policy, and it undermines the development goals of emerging nations. When a child is exploited for the economic gain of others, the child loses, the family loses, the country loses, and the world loses. Nations that engage in abusive child labor make bad trading partners. A nation cannot achieve prosperity on the backs of its children. There simply is no place in the global economy for the slave labor of children.

During my three decades in the U.S. Congress, I have witnessed firsthand the horrors of abusive child labor in many countries. Once you see children toiling in fields and factories, children who are beaten and starved, children who live without love or even basic care, you can't help but be passionately committed to ending this scourge.

Congressional Actions

To reduce child labor internationally, Congress has developed a wide range of tools, both legislative and nonlegislative, to combat abusive child labor practices. For example, Section 1307 of the Tariff Act of 1930 forbids the importation of goods made with forced or indentured labor. In 2000, this act was amended to ensure that the

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Children work along the salt flats in Kampot province, Cambodia.

statute also applied to goods made with forced or indentured *child* labor.

The Trade and Development Act of 2000 was a great step forward in the fight against abusive child labor in the developing world. Under this act, countries eligible to receive trade preferences under the Generalized System of Preferences are obliged to implement their commitments on abusive child labor. The Office of the United States Trade Representative is required by law to conduct a yearly review of countries receiving these benefits to determine, among other things, whether they are implementing their commitments under International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention 182 to eliminate the worst forms of child labor.

Under Convention 182, for the first time, countries reached agreement on the definition of the worst forms of child labor. This definition includes all forms of slavery, the trafficking of children, debt bondage, and recruiting children for prostitution, pornography, and the production of or trafficking in drugs. Also included in the definition is work that by its very nature is likely to harm the health, safety, or morals of children. Convention 182 was negotiated in 1999. As of April 2005, 153 of the 178 ILO member countries, including the United States, had ratified the convention. In ratifying the convention, these nations, including many developing countries, have agreed to eliminate abusive child labor as an "urgent" matter.

In the Trade Act of 2002, the law that contains the trade promotion authority for U.S. trade negotiators, I attempted to include a requirement that the elimination of the worst forms of child and slave labor be a principal negotiating objective in all U.S. trade negotiations. Regrettably, in the final form of the 2002 act, this objective was seriously weakened, stating only that U.S. negotiators may raise the issue of abusive child labor with trading partners.

In 1999, I introduced the Child Labor Deterrence Act. I will soon reintroduce this bill, which instructs the president to work with our trading partners to secure an international ban on trade in products made with abusive child labor. If passed, such legislation would prohibit the importation of manufactured and mined goods that are produced by abusive child labor into the United States. It also would require the development and maintenance of a list of foreign industries that use abusive child labor. Companies violating the prohibition against importing these products would be subject to stiff penalties. Although this legislation stalled in 1999, I was able to amend the Trade Act of 2000 to ensure that the statute also applied to goods made with forced or indentured child labor.

The Harkin-Engel Protocol

Parallel with these legislative initiatives, I have pursued voluntary, nonlegislative approaches—most prominently, the Harkin-Engel Protocol to eliminate abusive child labor and slave labor in the chocolate industry.

In 2001, Representative Eliot Engel, from the state of New York, joined me in crafting an initiative to eliminate abusive child and slave labor in the chocolate industry in West Africa. The Harkin-Engel Protocol prescribes a comprehensive, six-point, problem-solving approach, along with a time-bound process for credibly eliminating the use of abusive child and slave labor in the production of cocoa beans and derivative cocoa products in the countries of West Africa. The protocol specifically provides for the development of global industry-wide standards and independent monitoring, reporting, and public certification. Industry has agreed to certify that cocoa used in chocolate or related products has been grown and processed in West Africa without abusive child labor.

Through the Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education Appropriations Subcommittee, I secured funding for an ILO program to monitor and rehabilitate child labor in West African cocoa fields. Rehabilitation consists of removing children from abusive work and providing them with education or vocational training. The ILO program is called the West Africa Cocoa and Commercial Agriculture Project (WACAP), which combines awareness-raising of families and communities with a child labor monitoring and feedback system that produces accurate and credible reports on child labor in West African cocoa production. Through the WACAP program, the ILO will monitor and assist approximately 80,000

children. While WACAP has provided the necessary resources, the chocolate industry ultimately bears the social, moral, and financial responsibility for fully implementing the protocol.

The Harkin-Engel Protocol ensures that organized labor and other non-industry stakeholders, along with experts on the ground in cocoa-producing countries, play an active role in working with the industry to monitor child labor practices. Representatives of the ILO; the International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco, and Allied Workers' Association; Free the Slaves; the National Consumers League; and the Child Labor Coalition are all part of an advisory group to help implement the terms of the protocol.

Finally, a key commitment under the protocol calls for the implementation of an industry-wide certification system by July 1, 2005.

The Challenge Ahead

In sum, the U.S. Congress has helped to develop a number of effective national and international legal and voluntary tools to combat and finally eliminate abusive and slave child labor. The challenge today is for nations, international organizations, nongovernmental groups, and industry to use these tools robustly and aggressively.

No one underestimates the scale and difficulty of the challenge ahead of us. But the moral imperative is obvious, and the economic and development arguments are compelling. It is our solemn duty—as nations, as organizations, and as human beings—to end, once and for all, the scourge of abusive child labor. It takes government, industry, and international organizations, all acting in concert, to implement these tools effectively. ■

COMBATING CHILD LABOR IN COCOA GROWING

In early 2002, a new international, public-private partnership—the International Cocoa Initiative (ICI)—estimated that 284,000 children were working in the cocoa cultivation and processing industry in West Africa. The ICI is a joint effort of the International Labor Oganization's International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (ILO-IPEC), the Chocolate Manufacturers Association, and the World Cocoa Foundation.

ICI found that many child laborers were from impoverished areas and were sold by their parents to cocoa growers in the belief that the children would find work and send their earnings home. However, once removed from their families, the children were forced to work in slave-like conditions and were beaten regularly. Only slightly more than one-third of children working on cocoa farms attended school while working, and another third of school-age laborers had never attended school.

These children often worked more than 12 hours a day. A majority of the 284,000 children used dangerous machetes to clear fields and other sharp objects to slice open cocoa pods. More than half applied pesticides without protective equipment. Sixty-four percent of these laborers were under the age of 14, and 40 percent were girls.

The following year, ILO-IPEC undertook a large-scale action plan to eliminate the use of child labor in cocoa production in the countries directly concerned: the producing countries of Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, and Nigeria; and the countries from which

Christine Nesbitt, AP/WWP

Amadou, 14, of Côte d'Ivoire, shows scars on his leg from his machete. Up to 15,000 children, many from other countries, are thought to be laboring on plantations across Côte d'Ivoire, producer of 40 percent of the world's cocoa and Africa's largest coffee exporter.

many of the children come, mainly Burkina Faso, Mali, and Togo.

The three-year effort combines raising awareness of the problem among families and communities; helping producers, inspectors, and workers build the capacity to address the problem; intervening to remove children from forced and unsafe farm work and facilitate their enrollment in school; introducing improvements in the income-generating capacities of families; and providing monitoring and feedback.

The program—known as the West Africa Cocoa and Commercial Agriculture Project to Combat Hazardous and Exploitive Child Labor (WACAP)—has received $5 million from the U.S. Department of Labor and an additional $1 million from the World Cocoa Foundation and the International Confectionary Association.

As of December 2004, WACAP could point to these accomplishments:

• It had organized awareness-building meetings and workshops using tailor-made training materials for more than 25,000 people. In so doing, it cooperated with the Sustainable Tree Crops Program in West Africa to use the farmer field schools network, and with other nongovernmental organizations, as well as with the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID).

• It had identified, counseled, and withdrawn from work more than 3,000 children below the age of 13. The program's goal is to reach 9,700 children by 2006.

• It had, in each cocoa production country, coordinated the establishment or reinforcement of mechanisms to combat child labor in cooperation with government agencies, trade unions, employers, civil society, and research and academic institutions.

Source: ILO-IPEC

UNDERSTANDING CHILD LABOR
Patterns, Types, and Causes

Eric V. Edmonds

Policymakers seeking to end child labor must address the poverty that is most often the cause of the problem. Although abusive child labor exists and must be eliminated, data show that the typical child laborer works alongside a parent and is helping his or her family meet its most basic needs. Data also show a clear correlation between declining poverty and fewer working children, and suggest that child labor is most prevalent when parents and children have no real alternative or live in areas that do not offer adequate or affordable schools for children. An effective policy for ending child labor can thus be crafted only within the context of a country's overall development strategy, and it must consider whether it eliminates the need for children to work and what children will do in the absence of work.

Eric V. Edmonds *is an assistant professor of economics at Dartmouth College and a faculty research fellow at the National Bureau of Economic Research, a U.S.-based private, nonprofit research organization. He has published widely on issues related to global child labor and has served as a consultant to such organizations as the World Bank, the International Labor Organization, and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.*

Tragic images of children chained in factories, forced into prostitution, or coerced into a country's military fortunately do not represent the conditions of most working children around the world. In fact, most working children are at their parents' sides, helping in the family farm or business. A 2000 UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund) project surveyed working children in 36 developing countries. The data represent more than 120 million children ages five to 14. While nearly 70 percent of children in these countries were engaged in some form of work, less than three percent worked in the formal wage labor market. Most of this wage employment, like most employment overall in the world's poorest economies, was in agriculture.

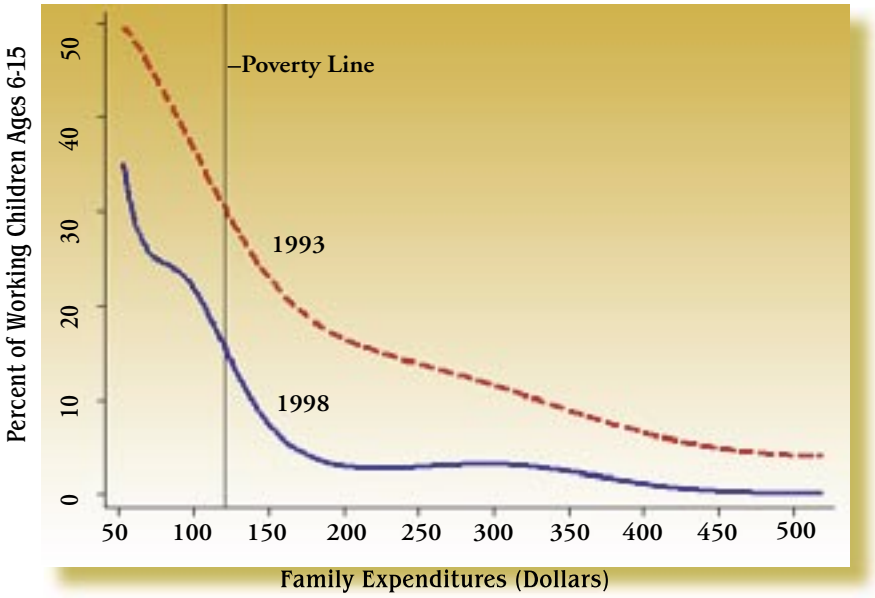
Hence, while the horrors about child labor that color Western newspapers are real and important, we must be careful not to extrapolate these conditions to the typical working child helping his or her family meet its basic needs.

Child Labor: A Facet Of Poverty

Poor parents in a developing country face a difficult decision. Children can make a productive economic contribution to their family by helping in the family farm or business, working in the formal labor market, or providing domestic services to their household. In these ways, children help feed, shelter, clothe, and otherwise support themselves, their siblings, and other family members. The family's need for the child's economic contribution must be weighed against their desire to invest in the child's future, hopefully breaking the hold that poverty has on their family. Often, schools are unavailable or are of such low quality that there are few options other than work for the child. However, even when other opportunities do exist, parents and children often need to make the sad choice to have the child work because the loss of his or her contribution to the household would worsen the family's poverty.

Evidence on the important role children play in helping their families cope with extreme poverty comes from both within and across countries. Some of the most compelling evidence is from Vietnam, which cut child labor nearly in half over a five-year period during its economic boom in the 1990s. Coincident with this boom, the Vietnamese government carried out a survey monitoring the activities of children in more than 4,000 households, as well as the households' per capita expenditures. Figure 1 plots the fraction of children working early in the boom (1993) and late in the boom (1998) against the family's per capita expenditures early in the boom (converted to 1998 U.S. dollars). Hence, for each point on the per capita expenditure distribution in 1993, economic activity rates are pictured for the same households in 1993 and 1998.

Figure One: Declines in Child Labor in Vietnam During 1990s



Source: Author's calculations from the 1993 and 1998 "Vietnam Living Standards Surveys," General Statistical Office of the Government of Vietnam.

The Vietnam data show that throughout the population child labor declined dramatically between 1993 and 1998. The declines were largest in the households living on less than $400 per person per year, but were not confined to the poor and near poor. Moreover, the rate of decline in child labor was steepest in the neighborhood of the poverty line. In fact, one study using these data observed that improvements in per capita expenditure could explain 80 percent of the decline in child labor in households exiting poverty between 1993 and 1998.

Other interesting points emerged from the Vietnam data; among them, that in relatively wealthy households, child labor did not change substantively with minor variation in family living standards. Child labor is an important outcome of poverty, but it is not driven exclusively by a family's need for income. Parents and children must weigh the value of a child's time in work against other things that the child might do. Sometimes, the other opportunities open to children are not attractive enough for families to forego a child's economic contribution to the household. However, the rapid declines in child labor in Vietnam apparent each year in the neighborhood of the poverty line suggest that, in valuing the child's time, few issues are more important than the desperate need for income that poverty creates. Moreover, in the Vietnam case, these declines in child labor were matched with rising school attendance, especially in lower secondary school.

The picture from Vietnam is likely not unique to that country. In fact, recent studies have documented similar patterns in countries as diverse as Pakistan and Peru. Moreover, a look across countries presents a similar image. Nearly three-fourths of the cross-country variation in child labor can be explained by income variation alone. The International Labor Organization's 2000 estimates of child labor by country against per capita gross domestic product (GDP) show that while child labor is endemic in the world's poorest countries such as Tanzania and Ethiopia, it is rare in countries richer than Gabon, with a per capita GDP of $8,400 per year. As in Vietnam, income is not the only factor that enters into the child labor decision. Nepal is wealthier than Zambia, but the fraction of children working in Nepal is estimated to be nearly three times higher. However, the strong overall association between income and child labor suggests that a family's need for the child's economic contribution is likely of first-order importance.

Other Aspects Of The Child's Economic Environment

Some of the most interesting evidence on the importance of poverty and the child's contribution to family living standards comes from examining how child labor

responds to trade growth in developing countries. Typically, while growing trade coincides with rising incomes, it also brings greater employment opportunities for children. Yet the evidence from both specific country cases and cross-country studies is very clear. While rising employment opportunities encourage more children to work, rising incomes can more than offset this. When the gains from trade are widespread so that the poorest benefit and

Ben Curtis, AP/WWP

Seven-year old Catherine, her face scarred in a cooking accident, carries a bucket of water at a refugee camp in western Côte d'Ivoire. She was forced to flee her home during fighting over land on which to grow cocoa.

experience growth in their incomes, they use this income to move children out of the labor force and often into schools.

Sometimes, other aspects of the child's environment force children to work, even when parents would choose to send children to school if that option were available. For example, when households cannot access credit, child labor decisions have to be made considering only short-term need, rather than what is best for the family over a longer time horizon. Some recent evidence from South Africa is telling.

In rural South Africa, black children often reside with their extended family, including their grandparents. The South African government provides large social pensions to elder blacks. A recent study considers whether the allocation of a child's time between work and school is influenced by the timing of pension income. With functioning credit markets, a household whose grandparent is about to receive a pension should be making similar decisions about whether a child should work or should attend school as would a household that has just received pension income. The timing of fully anticipatable income should not be a consideration.

In fact, the data reveal declines in child labor and in total hours worked, and large increases in school attendance, when households receive the fully anticipatable pension income, since this income can be used to pay school fees and other schooling expenses. Thus, even though families should be able to borrow against their future income and thereby be able to send a child to school, their inability to access credit forces them to have children work even when they do not want them to work. Hence, in this South African case, an inability to afford schooling seems to have been more important in explaining why children did not attend school than the child's direct economic contribution to the household.

Assessing Alternatives To Work

The first question in any discussion of child labor policy must be this: What will children do if they are not working? Visions of a school- and play-filled utopia color the popular imagination on this question. Such images are incorrect.

We need to consider whether the policies aimed at ending child labor also work to eliminate the family's need for the child's income. Many popular policies aim to force children out of certain types of employment. But if these policies do not address why children are working, then attacks on a type of job or a particular industry will do nothing more than shift the child's time to an activity that, by virtue of the child's employment choices, may be less preferable than the job he or she is losing.

Anecdotes abound about children being forced out of garment industry jobs because of international pressure, but into stone quarry work or even prostitution as the alternative. Moreover, if such actions suppress employment opportunities open to children, they may perversely cause more children to work, because many children support the schooling of their siblings. We have no idea about the scale of such diversions as they result from existing policy.

For this reason, we should be careful to examine whether our actions eliminate the need for children to work or simply move them into less desirable or even more dangerous jobs.

If policy is effective in keeping children from working, what will nonworking children do? Schooling is the hope of most advocates. However, working children often live in places where the schooling infrastructure is of low quality. A recent study in rural India found that teachers lack teaching kits in 67 percent of rural primary schools, that 89 percent of rural primary schools do not have a toilet, and that 25 percent of teachers were not in school when they were supposed to be teaching. That same study estimated that if all children who were supposed to be in primary schools actually attended, there would be 113 pupils per classroom on average in rural areas. India is not unusual among developing countries for its poor schooling infrastructure. So before we take steps to move children out of employment, we need to make sure they have somewhere to go.

Thinking about child labor outside the context of the poverty that creates it can make for very dangerous policy. In attacking child labor by limiting employment options open to children, we threaten to do nothing more than punish the most destitute for the crime of being poor.

Policy Options

What then can policy do? Rather than punish children for working, we should reward the behaviors we want to encourage. Several countries are now paying students for attending school. Progresa (*Programa Nacional de Educación, Salud y Alimentacion*), now *Oportunidades* in Mexico is one such program, and it has helped as many as five million families. It pays students a stipend for attending school, and the stipend increases with the child's age. Programs such as this should be viewed as anti-child labor, because they both lower the relative return to work and mitigate the family's need for the child's economic contribution. Of course, paying children to attend low-quality schools seems like a poor use of funds, which is why it is so important for such programs to be embedded in a country's overall development agenda.

That said, ignoring child labor would be a serious cause for concern. Working at a young age may interfere with schooling, affect children's health and development, and influence the types of occupations available to children as they grow. Hence, the ramifications of child labor for the child's future may extend well beyond some other aspects of poverty. In fact, there is compelling evidence from Brazil that child labor may play an important role in the intergenerational transmission of poverty.

Moreover, although the vast majority of working children are spending their work time by their parents' sides, there are children enslaved, coerced into prostitution, forced into the armed forces, and relegated to other appalling forms of child labor. What would these children do if they were not working? In these situations, the question seems close to irrelevant. However, scientific evidence on why and how children enter into these situations is rare.

The limited data we have come from interviews of children in these activities, but it is difficult to learn why some children are involved in drug trafficking, for example, only from talking to children in drug trafficking. In order to understand why children enter these worst forms, we have to know why children in similar circumstances do not get involved in such activities. Moreover, there has been little effort to formally evaluate different policy tools that can be used to help children engaged in the worst forms of labor transition back to a healthier childhood. Policy toward these children is currently being formed in a knowledge vacuum that desperately needs to be filled. ■

The opinions expressed in this article do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the U.S. government.

CHILDREN AND ARMED CONFLICT

Key Facts And Issues

The following is excerpted from the *Child Soldiers Global Report 2004,* issued by the Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers.

• The majority of the world's child soldiers are involved in a variety of armed political groups. These include government-backed paramilitary groups, militias, and self-defense units operating with government support in many conflict zones. Others include armed groups opposed to central government rule; groups composed of ethnic, religious, and other minorities; and clan-based or factional groups fighting governments and each other to defend territory and resources.

• The use of children in hostilities by official government armed forces has declined since 2001 but continues in some countries. Government forces also continue to use children informally as spies and messengers and to run errands, exposing them to injury and death, as well as reprisals by opposing forces. Some government forces target children for suspected membership in armed political groups. Such children have been arrested, detained, tortured, and killed.

• Many child soldiers are between 14 and 18 years old and enlist voluntarily. However, research shows that such adolescents see few alternatives to involvement in armed conflict. War itself, lack of education or work, and a desire to escape domestic servitude, violence, or sexual exploitation are among the factors involved. Many also join to avenge violence inflicted on family members during armed conflict.

• Forcible recruitment and abductions continue unabated in some countries. Children as young as nine years old have been abducted.

• Demobilization, disarmament, and reintegration (DDR) programs specifically aimed at child soldiers have been established in many countries, both during and after armed conflict. Such programs have assisted former child soldiers to acquire new skills and return to their communities. However, the programs lack funds and adequate resources. Sustained long-term investment is needed if they are to be effective.

• Despite growing recognition of girls' involvement in armed conflict, girls are often deliberately or inadvertently excluded from DDR programs. Girl soldiers are frequently subjected to rape and other forms of sexual violence, as well as being involved in combat and other roles. In some cases they are stigmatized by their home communities when they return. DDR programs should be sensitively constructed and designed to respond to the needs of girl soldiers.

• A series of international legal mechanisms provide for the protection of children from involvement in

Apichart Weerawong, AP/WWP

Than, a 13-year old Karen soldier, guards his jungle camp in Burma, near the Thai border.

armed conflict. They include the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the involvement of children in armed conflict, which prohibits the direct use of children under the age of 18 in hostilities, the compulsory recruitment of under-18s by governments, and any recruitment of under-18s by nongovernment armed groups. The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court defines the recruitment of children under age 15 as a war crime and provides for the prosecution and punishment of offenders. International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention 182 defines the forced or compulsory recruitment of any person under age 18 for use in armed conflict as one of the worst forms of child labor.

• The U.N. Security Council has repeatedly called for action to stop the use of child soldiers. Proposed measures include dialogue with parties to armed conflict aimed at the immediate demobilization of children, and sanctions on those who continue to use children in hostilities.

• Despite near-universal condemnation of child soldiering and a solid legal and policy framework, lack of political will is an obstacle to achieving concrete improvements and effective child protection on the ground. ■

Source: The Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers.
Note: The full *Child Soldiers Global Report 2004*, issued on November 17, 2004, may be accessed via the World Wide Web at http://www.child-soldiers.org/resources/global-reports. The Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers was formed in May 1998 by leading international human rights and humanitarian organizations. The coalition's member organizations include Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, the International Federation Terre des Hommes, the International Save the Children Alliance, the Jesuit Refugee Service, the Quaker United Nations Office-Geneva, and World Vision International.

Adam Butler, AP/WWP

A 14-year old soldier for the Sierra Leone Army holds a rifle while on patrol.

CHILD LABOR IN BRAZIL
The Government Commitment

Patrick Del Veccio

Brazil's government and industry, with the support of international and nongovernmental organizations, are committed to eradicating child labor in the country. One particular effort provides stipends to families to encourage them to keep their children who are at-risk for child labor in school. Other efforts include inspection and enforcement at the state level directed at child labor, as well as programs targeted at specific sectors of the Brazilian economy and at specific industries.

Patrick Del Veccio *is the U.S. Department of State labor officer in São Paulo, Brazil.*

The bad news about child labor in Brazil is that it remains an unfortunate fact of life. Roughly four million children between the ages of five and 17 work in Brazil. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) estimated that as of 2003, some seven percent of Brazilian children between the ages of five and 14 worked.

But the very good news about child labor in Brazil is that, during the past 11 years, a large-scale effort by the national government, the International Labor Organization (ILO), local businesses and corporations, and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) has cut the number of children at work by 50 percent.

Federal Government Initiatives

Since the 1990s, Brazil has made a concerted effort to eradicate child labor. Shortly after his inauguration in January 1995, former president Fernando Henrique Cardoso declared child labor to be an abhorrent practice and an abuse of human rights. He said the goal of his government would be to do everything possible to wipe out child labor, and he made it clear that Brazil would neither excuse nor justify the practice.

In 1996, the Cardoso government took an important step: it instituted the Bolsa-Escola ("bolsa"), or school stipend. Designed to help keep at-risk children in school, the program supplies poor families with a small stipend for each school-age child. A family continues to receive the stipend only if the school certifies the child's attendance record. The program is administered by local governments within Brazil's 27 states.

President Luis Inacio "Lula" da Silva, upon taking office in 2003, continued the bolsa program, along with other welfare payments to needy families.

Another important effort of the federal government has been to increase labor inspections aimed at discovering child labor. Brazil's Ministry of Labor has mandated that every regional office have a unit and inspectors responsible for child labor. In addition, the ministry is creating a special task force to combat child labor that will involve a dedicated corps of inspectors to pursue with child labor complaints.

The National Forum for the Prevention of Child Labor (FNPETI) represents yet another part of the government's effort to combat child labor. Founded in November of 1994, the forum constructed in 1999 a National Network to Eradicate Child Labor, and individual forums within each of Brazil's 27 states. FNPETI is made up of these 27 bodies, plus 48 other entities that include commercial and business associations, trade unions, the ILO, the various bodies that enforce child labor statutes and prosecute child labor violations, and nongovernmental organizations that work to combat child labor.

FNPETI's accomplishments include the following:

• It has developed strategies for intervention in situations where child labor exists. First implemented to remove children from the dangerous and unhealthy work of producing charcoal in the state of Mato Grosso do Sul, forum practices have become the pattern for programs throughout the country. For example, Mato Grosso do Sul's extended day program has successfully kept children in school and involved in other activities, and away from producing charcoal.

• It assisted in the development of the government's Program for the Eradication of Child Labor (PETI).

• It lobbied successfully for Brazil's ratification of ILO

Convention 138, concerning minimum working age, and Convention 182, concerning the worst forms of child labor.

• It drafted the "Parameters for the Formulation of a National Policy to Combat Child Labor," which became the basis for national policy.

• It participated in the creation of the National Plan for the Eradication of Child Labor and Protection of the Adolescent Worker as a founding member of the National Commission for the Eradication of Child Labor (CONAETI).

In September of 2002, the federal government issued a decree creating CONAETI. The organization's function is to ensure Brazil's compliance with ILO Conventions 138 and 182 and to develop a national plan for the eradication of child labor. The commission includes representatives of the relevant government ministries, the ILO and UNICEF, leading labor groups, and the leading industrial, commercial, and agricultural producers' associations. The commission had its first meeting in March 2003, and it has had regular meetings since then.

The commission drafted a far-reaching plan and is implementing it. The plan touches on all aspects of child labor, including health, combating the use of drugs, training, education, and public awareness. CONAETI has the wide-ranging membership needed to successfully implement these programs.

The ILO Role

Partnering with various Brazilian agencies and NGOs, the International Labor Organization has been on the cutting edge of the effort to eliminate child labor in Brazil. During the 1990s, the ILO implemented various projects under the auspices of its International Program to Eliminate Child Labor (IPEC), many of which were funded by the U.S. Department of Labor.

The ILO program has included projects in Rio Grande do Sul to combat child labor in the shoe industry, the aforementioned efforts in Mato Grosso do Sul to take children out of charcoal production, and projects in various agricultural sectors.

In 2001, the ILO worked with the Brazilian Institute for Statistics and Geography to produce the first household survey of child labor in Brazil. Based on a survey of 100,000 households, this project utilized the ILO-developed methodology SIMPOC (Statistical Information and Monitoring Program on Child Labor) for measuring the extent of child labor.

In conjunction with this, the ILO partnered with Brazil's Ministry of Labor and others in a U.S. Department of Labor-funded program to reduce child labor in domestic work. This program has also been very successful in reducing the overall incidence of child labor in Brazil.

The NGO Role

Many nongovernmental organizations have contributed to Brazil's success stories. ABRINQ Foundation, representing the toy manufacturers, has worked successfully to implement industry codes of conduct in various key Brazilian industries, including car manufacturing, steel, shoes, citrus, and sugar. A company that complies with the codes has the privilege of using the ABRINQ seal stating that no child labor was used in the making of its product.

ABRINQ has been particularly effective in encouraging Brazilian manufacturers to accept responsibility for their entire chain of production. Companies not only ensure that they use no child labor, but they require that their suppliers not use any either. The emphasis on voluntary compliance has worked well in convincing industries to police themselves.

One outstanding example of this is found in the town of Franca, in the northern part of the state of São Paulo. Franca has long been a center of Brazil's shoe manufacturing industry. Although the town's shoe factories, which have produced shoes for major American companies, employ no child labor, some of the parts suppliers for the shoes were using children to glue the parts. The shoe manufacturers mobilized the entire town and created a Pro-Child Institute, which sponsored extended programs to keep children out of work. Now, children in Franca not only attend school, but they benefit from various cultural, musical, and sports programs in the after-school hours.

In sum, although Brazil has not eradicated child labor, it has made significant progress in its battle to do so. Further, as a society, Brazil is committed to continuing to fight the battle. ■

KIDS IN NEED
An NGO Solution

Christopher Wakiraza

Kids in Need (KIN) is a nongovernmental organization in Uganda that targets children living on the streets and working in the worst forms of child labor. Through district centers in Kampala, Mbale, and Wakiso, Kids in Need provides street children with shelter, counseling, education, medical care, and basic needs, and reintegrates them into society. Kids in Need can point with pride to some 800 once-suffering children that it has taken off the streets and helped to become productive members of their communities.

***Christopher Wakiraza** founded Kids in Need in 1996, and he continues as its director.*

The International Labor Organization (ILO) estimates that there are more than 246 million children engaged in labor in the world. Close to 80 million of them are found in sub-Saharan Africa, including my home country of Uganda. Here, children are found working on plantations and in the informal sector, including the commercial sex trade. For the most part, the child laborers in Uganda's informal sector live on the streets.

Professor Mike Munene of Makerere University in Kampala has estimated that in 1995 Uganda had 10,000 street children. Since then, that number has multiplied owing to such social and economic problems in the country as HIV/AIDS, poverty, and internal strife.

Ali and Ssembi

Street children are the worst victims of child labor in Uganda. I did not fully understand this until some time in 1996. I was fresh from college and preparing myself to become a college professor. While I was in Kampala City that year, something dramatic happened.

I saw two shabby young boys throwing stones at a car near a well-known car park. This interested me so much that I decided to trail the children. Not very long after, they stopped under a huge mango tree in the city square where idlers spend time dreaming. In a friendly way, I approached them with a greeting to which one responded and the other angrily turned away.

The friendly boy gently told me that he was called Ali and that the other boy was Ssembi. Both were street children who worked for most of the day and night, only resting when there was no threat on their lives. Their usual day started at 3:00 a.m. and ended several minutes after midnight. Ali sold pineapples for a vendor while Ssembi assisted at a shoeshine stall on one of the streets. The two children met in prison, where they had been many times.

Courtesy of Kids in Need, Uganda

Street children are the worst victims of child labor. These children pick scrap for survival. At times they get none at all.

Joel Grimes, U.S. Department of Labor

Raising awareness of child labor issues in Kampala, Uganda.

Life on the streets has always been unstable for children. With the little money they make, the street children cannot afford one decent meal a day. That is why they are very often involved in crime. And this earns them mob beatings or a jail term. Not surprisingly, Ali and Ssembi had numerous scars as well as fresh wounds on their bodies.

I left the two children, promising to see them some other time.

Little did I know at that time that Ali and Ssembi would lead to the founding of a program for combating child labor among street children. I was deeply troubled to know that some human beings, especially children, were living a life worse than wild beasts. I kept trying to convince myself to forget about the whole scenario, but to no avail. Some aspirations are deeply rooted in the very heart of the human spirit. I could not escape the demanding obligation.

A few days later, when I came to Kampala for personal business, a taxi driver told me there were two dirty children who came every day to the park looking for a man from Entebbe. According to their description, the driver was convinced it was me they were trying to find. So I told him to tell the children that I would meet them on Friday of that week. Since I had a lot of things to do, I left and kept myself busy. It was when I went to have a meal at midday that my worst nightmare came.

The Life of a Street Child

I started to make the comparison between my meal and the garbage the two hard-working children would be reduced to eating. Two very distinct worlds appeared to me on that day. I immediately decided to look for the boys at their work places. I found that Ssembi had gone back to prison, and Ali had moved in with a dangerous gang to sell drugs and aviation fuel for sniffing. He had become thin, sick, and very miserable.

To survive, each child in the gang had to work very hard. Some provided sex to adults for food or a pittance; others carried heavy loads, sold drugs, or participated in organized crime.

A child living on the streets is in many ways threatened with death. Many such children develop physical complications related to their dangerous work. They are stunted, have rotten limbs, develop tuberculosis, and get frightening ulcerous wounds as well as such common problems as headaches. As a result, they become apathetic. The worst experience of a street child is to fall sick. There is no care, yet he or she has to survive.

Most street children are unable to communicate properly because of drugs. All of them say they cannot do what they do without the influence of drugs. One of them once told me that, tired, he had carried a heavy load five kilometers for a lady who did not pay. Very hungry and desperate that night, he ate human waste, which he found in a bag in a garbage container.

The difficult experiences of Ali and Ssembi led me to investigate the life of street children in Kampala and to live with them. In the following months, with the help of Ali, I started little by little to make the acquaintance of many other children working on the streets. I discovered that each gang had a specific characteristic and location, called a "depot." Many children in the depots did not want to sleep out in the cold, eat garbage, and do painful and hard work. They were frustrated.

With help from the Jesuit fathers in Kampala, a house for 10 street children was rented. Ten children moved into the house with the paper boxes that they had been sleeping on and the polyethylene bags they had used for covering and warmth while on the streets. And thus was born Kids in Need.

Kids in Need

Kids in Need targets children living and working in the streets in Uganda. The program identifies children actively involved in the worst forms of child labor and those who are very likely to become entrapped. Kids in Need today runs three district centers—in Kampala, Mbale, and Wakiso—to provide street children with counseling, formal and non-formal education, medical care, and basic needs. We also carry out advocacy programs aimed at eliminating the worst forms of child labor as a preventive measure. And we have developed and disseminated

Joel Grimes, U.S. Department of Labor

Boys learn carpentry skills in a transition program for street children.

posters, t-shirts, booklets, games, and brochures while sensitizing the community in our target areas through training and local mobilization.

Children removed from dangerous forms of child labor are placed temporarily in one of the centers for rehabilitation. Then they become involved in gainful activities before they can be reintegrated into society.

Reintegration can take one of three forms. A child who is very young (age 12 and younger) is often returned to live with his or her family if it is still intact. A child who is older or who cannot stay with his family will most often be placed in foster care with his extended family or with a friend. The last form of reintegration is having a child live on his or her own. In this type of reintegration, a child who is 15 years or older and who has learned a skill is given help in acquiring a job and a simple house—often only one room.

Most of the support for reintegration has come from the International Labor Organization's (ILO) International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC), under funding from the U.S. Department of Labor. Other support for food, school fees, medical care, and salaries is provided by the child-focused Terre des Hommes Holland and the development cooperation agency DKA Austria.

In its almost 10 years of existence, Kids in Need has benefited more than 800 suffering Ugandan children, who have gone on to become productive members of their communities. These 800 represent a happy ending to the Kids in Need story. But with thousands of children living and working on Uganda's streets, much of that story is still to be written. ■

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ADDRESSING CHILD LABOR
An Industry Approach

Andre Gorgemans

Helping to stop international child labor is not just an issue for governments—industry must also take an active role. A decade ago the World Federation of the Sporting Goods Industry initiated efforts to stop child labor in all processes involved in making sporting goods, including monitoring subcontractors. The federation followed up by providing educational opportunities for children phased out of employment, along with social and financial support for their families. For example, as a result of these programs 6,000 Pakistani children have been phased out of production of soccer balls for export and are back in school. Similar programs are being implemented in India.

Andre Gorgemans *is secretary general of the World Federation of the Sporting Goods Industry.*

The child labor problem has been a key concern of the World Federation of the Sporting Goods Industry (WFSGI) for the past decade. The WFSGI, which is based in Verbier, Switzerland, is an independent association formed in 1978 by sports industry suppliers, national manufacturers' associations, and well-known brands such as Nike, Adidas, Reebok, New Balance, Puma, and others. As such, it plays a strategic role in the support and promotion of the sporting goods industry and provides a forum in which the countries of Europe, Asia, North and South America, and Oceania cooperate in promoting free and fair trade and ethics, and work to improve the well-being of mankind through sports.

Internally, the WFSGI functions within committees, which meet regularly throughout the world. One of these committees—the Committee on Ethics and Fair Trade (CEFT)—was created in 1995 by then WFSGI chairman Stephen Rubin to address some of the more complex issues coming to light around ethical business practices and to establish a venue for the industry to understand, analyze, and act upon a wide range of issues of corporate social responsibility.

The committee's first major accomplishment was to convene a groundbreaking international conference in Verbier in November 1995 to discuss child labor. The conference was unique in that it attracted a wide array of international sporting goods industry brands and national governments, international agencies, and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). Participants in this initial gathering included the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the International Labor Organization (ILO), Save the Children, Anti-Slavery International, the Fair Trade Foundation, the Clean Clothes Campaign, and the international NGO Terre Des Hommes.

The 1995 conference represented the first time that the global sporting goods industry had formally sat down with most of these organizations, some of which had been openly critical of industry practices and individual companies. That first conference opened the door for dialogue and began the process of establishing a trust that would later translate into tangible, successful programs.

Meeting The Challenges

The ethics committee's biggest challenge was to mobilize the industry to address very serious allegations of child labor in the production of soccer balls [footballs] in South Asia, initially in Pakistan. Several global brands and national federation representatives traveled to the region to meet with local industry executives, government officials, and NGO officials. The task force commissioned independent observers to conduct an in-depth analysis of the problem, including recommendations for resolution.

It was a long, sometimes difficult, learning process. Many industry critics resorted to mistruths and fabrications to exploit the international concern about child labor. And our own independent studies showed that some child labor was being utilized in soccer ball production.

Much of the problem was directly related to subcontracting, where stitching was done far from the manufacturers' factory locations, which suggested that the industry

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Young girls in Pakistan sew soccer balls.

did not track all production processes. Over time, it became evident that monitoring of facilities and stitching locations would be required for the industry to be able to show the world that it was not using child labor.

A second challenge facing CEFT was to determine the scope of our effort. Our original mission was to ensure no children would be employed in the production of hand-stitched soccer balls. Once engaged, CEFT came to understand that simply eliminating the use of children in all soccer ball production might solve our immediate problem, but that it ultimately might adversely affect the children, who would be pushed into other more dangerous and exploitive work such as prostitution or brick making.

In response, the industry decided to commit to a social protection program and to provide educational opportunities for children phased out of employment, along with social and financial support for their families.

The Atlanta Agreement

This commitment came to fruition with the historic Atlanta Agreement to Eliminate Child Labor in the Soccer Ball Industry in Pakistan, which was announced in February 1997 at the Sports Super Show in Atlanta, Georgia. Thirty-one companies, representing more than 80 percent of export production, and 55 international brands, representing virtually the entire global branded market, initially agreed to participate in the program. The international brands pledged to purchase soccer balls in Pakistan exclusively from companies in good standing with the program.

A critical component of the Atlanta Agreement was its reliance on partnerships. CEFT embarked on an ambitious effort to develop alliances with outside organizations, and the ILO joined the project to develop a workplace monitoring system.

The ILO created a protocol of surprise inspections, using well-trained and well-compensated inspectors to visit villages where stitching was done. Save the Children agreed to participate, focusing on protecting the interests of children in the process. UNICEF conducted outreach to children and families, and local NGOs were engaged to provide transitional schooling for displaced children and micro-credit loans for communities and families.

The Fédération International de Football Association (FIFA) has been a stalwart partner in several CEFT initiatives. FIFA was an original supporter of the Atlanta Agreement and has provided substantial financial support to projects to eliminate child labor in Pakistan and India for several years. FIFA support for CEFT includes providing the unique venue of the World Cup championships to publicize our collective efforts to promote ethical business practices. Sepp Blatter, president of FIFA, has said: "Sport, and the industry that helps sustain and improve it, has much to be proud of, and the Atlanta Agreement is one such example."

The success of the Atlanta Agreement was recognized in June 1997 when the WFSGI received the Pioneer Award in Global Ethics at the 11th Annual Corporate Conscience Awards ceremony in New York. Selected by an independent panel of judges and presented by the Council on Economic Priorities, the awards draw public attention to corporations and organizations that demonstrate social responsibility at the highest level. This program received ever greater visibility in 1999 when it was cited by then

U.S. president Bill Clinton, in an address to the ILO, as a successful model of industry, government, and NGO collaboration.

The Results

The Pakistan program has a wonderful record of tangible accomplishment. Some 90 manufacturers from Sialkot, Pakistan, are now enrolled in the program, and more than 95 percent of export production is regularly monitored and certified child-free. More than 6,000 working children have been phased out of production and put back on the education track. The program's Universal Primary Education component focuses on all children ages five to seven to prevent the entry of new children into the labor market.

Leaders of the India Sports Manufacturer and Exporters Association and the Sports Goods Foundation of India have adapted the Pakistan model to fit their unique circumstances. Still based on the two-pronged concept of workplace monitoring and social protection, the Indian initiative illustrates how visionary local leaders ultimately determine what can and should be done. International bodies like WFSGI can facilitate collaboration, but we have no illusions that our industry's national leaders are the backbone of any successful program.

Beyond Child Labor

CEFT's concern for ethics and fair trade has not been limited to its programs to combat child labor. After consultation with its constituent federations and other members and ongoing dialogue with representatives of international agencies, CEFT developed in 1997 a code of conduct to assist companies in the sporting goods industry in ensuring that their operations satisfy the highest ethical standards in the global marketplace. The code is based on the international labor standards outlined in relevant ILO conventions. Many member companies have since introduced their own codes and are monitoring compliance.

CETF—now renamed the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) committee—in early 2005 organized a meeting on CSR awareness in Shanghai, China. This meeting was intended to help our Chinese colleagues understand the complexities of CSR issues and to provide them with the tools to deal with the expected criticisms from civil society and NGO communities in the phase-in period to the 2008 Olympic Games in Beijing. The meeting was attended by approximately 55 participants representing global sports brands and sports retailers, major Chinese manufacturers of sports goods, the Chinese Manufacturers Association, the ILO, and the Fair Labor Association.

Manish Swarup, AP/WWP

Former Child workers participate in a demonstration in New Delhi, India, May 31, 2002, against the use of child labor in the manufacturing of soccer balls.

Through such initiatives, the sporting goods industry has proven that corporate social responsibility can be addressed globally and responsibly. ■

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INTERNET RESOURCES

Online sources for information about child labor

U.S. GOVERNMENT

U.S. Department of Labor (DOL)
Bureau of International Labor Affairs (ILAB)
International Child Labor Program
http://www.dol.gov/ilab/programs/iclp/main.htm

U.S. Department of State
Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons
http://www.state.gov/g/tip

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

United Nations
International Labor Organization (ILO)
International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC)
http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/ipec/index.htm

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)
http://www.unicef.org/protection/index.html

UNICEF
***State of the World's Children 2005* Report**
http://unicef.org/publications/index_24432.html

UNICEF
Childhood Under Threat: The State of the World's Children (video)
http://www.unicef.org/sowc05/english/povertyfeat_romania.html

World Bank
Global Child Labor Program
http://www1.worldbank.org/sp/childlabor/index.asp

NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO)
Children in the Global Economy
http://www.aflcio.org/issuespolitics/globaleconomy/children.cfm

Amnesty International
Child Soldiers
http://web.amnesty.org/pages/childsoldiers-index-eng

Child Labor Coalition
http://www.stopchildlabor.org/

***Stolen Childhoods:* A Feature-Length Documentary on Child Labor**
http://www.stolenchildhoods.org/mt/index.php

Child Workers in Asia
http://www.cwa.tnet.co.th/

Chocolate Manufacturers Association
International Protocol/Global Chocolate Industry Plan to Combat Child Labor
http://www.chocolateandcocoa.org/Labour/Child/Protocol/default.asp

Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers
http://www.child-soldiers.org/

Daywalka Foundation
http://www.daywalka.org

End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography, and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes (ECPAT)
http://www.ecpat.net/eng/index.asp

Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA)
Stop Child Labor Program
http://www.fifa.com/en/fairplay/humanitariansection/0,1261,3,00.html

Global March Against Child Labor
http://globalmarch.org/index.php

Human Rights Watch
http://www.hrw.org/children/labor.htm

South Asian Coalition on Child Servitude
http://www.cridoc.net/saccs.php

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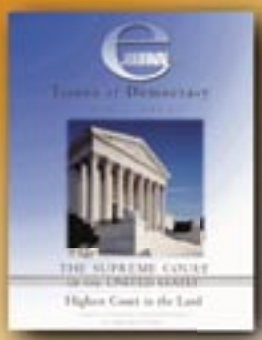

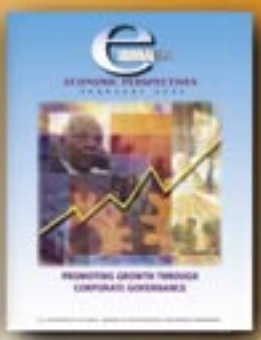

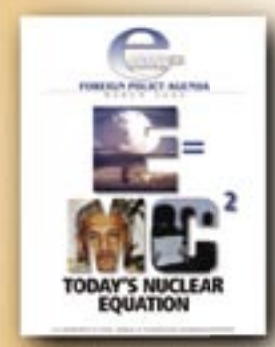

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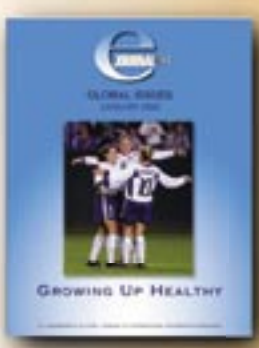

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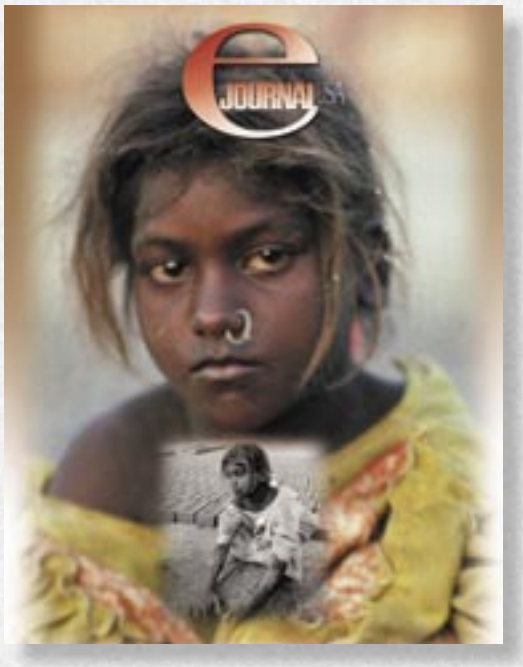
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