UNITED STATES POLICIES TO ADDRESS CHILD LABOR GLOBALLY

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I. INTRODUCTION

This report provides an overview of United States government policies to address child labor globally. The document represents a snapshot of publicly known policies and programs, and does not purport to be a comprehensive or intensive study of all U.S. government programs or policies that may affect the central issue of child labor, directly or indirectly. Rather, it is meant to provide a layman’s guide to U.S. policies in this area.

Since the mid 1990s, the United States has demonstrated global leadership on the important human rights challenge of ending child labor worldwide. In the 1990s, the public became increasingly sensitized to the problem of child labor, galvanized by media reports on child labor in garment factories in Central America and Bangladesh, soccer ball production in Pakistan, and other exposés. Rising to the challenge, the Clinton administration undertook a comprehensive study of child labor around the world, and the U.S. Department of Labor published a multivolume set of reports titled By the Sweat and Toil of Children.¹ U.S. government leadership on both policy and programmatic fronts contributed greatly to the adoption and widespread ratification in 1999 of International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention No. 182, on the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour, and to the expansion of the ILO’s International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour. Also, as described in this review, new resources and legislative mandates for action on this topic through various government agencies were initiated in the 1990s.

As illustrated in this paper, numerous government departments and agencies have a role to play in combating child labor and promoting access to education globally. The approaches range from policies affecting trade and regulating importation of goods, to programmatic and development approaches that support eliminating child labor and ensuring access to basic education.

In its most recent global report (May 2010), Accelerating Action against Child Labor, the ILO specifically recommended the need to strengthen coherence between a programmatic approach and a policy approach to addressing child labor. “The challenge is ensuring the coherence and impact of the programme when the majority of funding is provided for direct services projects. … Opportunities to have an impact on global policymaking … have enormous potential which needs to be capitalized.”² The overview provided in this paper suggests that the U.S. government may benefit from a close examination of whether policy coherence between programmatic and policy approaches exists in the overall U.S. government approach to child labor.

In keeping with the spirit of the ILO recommendation, the AFT and the International Labor Rights Forum present this review to encourage a more thorough and in-depth analysis and assessment by the U.S. government of its overall approach to the important global developments and human rights problem of child labor, with a view to developing a more cohesive and comprehensive government framework in addressing child labor.

² Ibid. p. 64.
II. ENDING CHILD LABOR: A CRITICAL NEED

Child labor is defined globally by two key ILO conventions. Convention No. 138, adopted in 1973, addresses the minimum age for employment. Specifically, ILO 138 calls on countries to establish a minimum age for employment and to progressively raise the minimum age to a level consistent with the physical and mental development of young people.

ILO Convention No. 182, the Worst Forms of Child Labor Convention, was adopted by the ILO in 1999 and defines a child as “all persons under the age of 18.” ILO 182 defines “the worst forms of child labor” as follows:

a.) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom, and forced or compulsory labor, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;

b.) the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances;

c.) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties;

d.) work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children.

Child labor remains epidemic in the world today. The most recent ILO global report, released in May 2010, estimates that there are currently 215 million child laborers worldwide, and 306 million children in the broader category of “children in employment.” Although these figures represent some progress from a decade ago, there is no question that the overall numbers remain unconscionably high.

The ILO has identified agriculture as the most predominant sector in which child labor is found globally, and has identified sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia and West Asia as priority regions. The reality for most of these children is a far cry from the picture of a child helping on the family farm. An increasing number of children are working in hazardous conditions in commercial agriculture, producing global commodities such as cotton, bananas, rubber, tobacco, cocoa, tea and coffee. They toil long hours, are exposed to harmful pesticides, and suffer extensive workplace injuries as a result of handling dangerous tools and equipment. Many of them are trafficked or in debt bondage to their employers. Most of them have no access to even a basic education.

There are numerous cultural, economic and social explanations for the widespread problem of child labor. Born to parents who themselves were uneducated child workers, many child workers are forced to continue a tradition that leaves them chained to a life of poverty. Furthermore, child workers tend to come from social classes or castes that have very limited influence within their societies, with few advocates in the political system.

“Child labor persists even where it has been declared illegal, and is frequently surrounded by a wall of silence, indifference, and apathy.”

—ILO, 2005

In addition to an international commitment to eradicate child labor, the international community also agrees that education is a basic right for all children. This is expressed in the United Nations’ Convention on the Rights of the Child, the ILO conventions No. 138 and No. 182, and the Millennium Development Goals aimed at providing basic education for all children by the year 2015.

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Currently, more than 72 million children do not have access to a quality basic education; more than half are girls. These children are some of the most socially and economically disadvantaged children in the world, leaving them vulnerable to child labor. As the recent ILO global report, *Accelerating Action against Child Labor*, stated, “Education is not the sole solution, but when it is free, full time, compulsory and of quality, it is the most important part of the sum.” The global movement for education FOR ALL CHILDREN (Global Campaign for Education, GCE) has set a goal of ensuring that by 2015 all children have access to completely free and compulsory primary education. United States support for concrete resources and commitment to achieving these targets is an important aspect of the fight against child labor.

III. OVERVIEW OF U.S. GOVERNMENT AGENCY APPROACHES TO ENDING CHILD LABOR

A. U.S. Department of Labor

The U.S. Department of Labor has the most prominent and direct role among federal government agencies in addressing child labor globally. The department’s Bureau of International Labor Affairs has as part of its mission statement: “To support the President’s and the Secretary of Labor’s labor and foreign policy objectives, meet congressional mandates, perform public outreach by promoting the elimination of the worst forms of child labor, and increase knowledge and information on child labor, forced labor, and human trafficking.” This function is housed within the Office of Child, Forced and Trafficked Labor (OCFT). OCFT was created in 1993 as a response to a congressional request to investigate and report on child labor around the world. Its activities include research on international child labor, forced labor and trafficking; funding and overseeing cooperative agreements and contracts of organizations engaged in efforts to eliminate child labor around the world; and assisting in the development and implementation of U.S. policy on international child labor. In fiscal year 2009, the Bureau of International Labor Affairs/OCFT implemented its mission through $59 million in grants and cooperative agreements to combat child labor through direct service, collection and analysis of data, and through development and implementation of national action plans on child labor. Since the office was established in 1993, OCFT claims to have “rescued approximately 1.3 million children from exploitative child labor.”

OCFT plays an important role in providing expert analysis to enable other agencies to fulfill legislative mandates related to child labor. In 2002, OCFT initiated reporting mandated by the Trade and Development Act, signed into law on May 18, 2000, which established a new eligibility criterion requiring efforts to eliminate the worst forms of child labor in order to trade benefits under the Generalized System of Preferences, Caribbean Basin Initiative, Andean Trade Preference Act, and African Growth and Opportunities Act.

The Department of Labor was mandated as part of the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act, which passed with near unanimous support in Congress, “to develop and make available to the public a list of goods from countries that the Bureau of International Labor Affairs (ILAB) has reason to believe are produced by forced labor or child labor in violation of international standards.” On Sept. 10, 2009, the Department of Labor released its initial "list of goods from countries." The list was released as part of a larger report detailing the methodology, scope and limitations of the underlying research.

Another example of OCFT’s role with respect to other agencies relates to the Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008 (known as the Farm Bill), which is further described below, in the section on the U.S. Department of Agriculture. The law assigns specific duties to the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Labor in implementing this mandate. The Deputy Undersecretary for International Labor Affairs represents the Labor Department on the consultative group created under the Farm Bill, and the Labor Department is assigned to determine the public interest representatives for the group.

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10 22 U.S.C §7112(b)(2)(C)
B. U.S. Department of State

1. Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor

The State Department’s Office of International Labor and Corporate Social Responsibility, part of the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor (DRL), promotes labor rights, including elimination of child labor, in partnership with the private sector, trade unions, non-governmental organizations, intergovernmental organizations, international organizations, and other U.S. federal agencies. According to the office’s public materials, key priority areas include partnering with social partners, including worker’s organizations and the private sector to protect human rights—including workers’ rights—and combating child labor, forced labor and trafficking in persons.

The State Department supports projects that promote these goals, primarily through DRL’s Human Rights and Democracy Fund. DRL currently has a portfolio of over $20 million in programs to promote workers rights, build the capacity of social partners, increase social dialogue, strengthen supply-chain engagement on worker rights, and promote better livelihoods to prevent child labor and assist former child soldiers.

DRL coordinates the State Department’s labor diplomacy function which involves Foreign Service Officers at the U.S. embassies in promoting worker rights, including advancing the policies to end child labor globally. Labor Officers undertake a broad range of activities, including advocacy, investigation, reporting and diplomacy. In countries where the United States has a presence and where there is no Labor Officer, a Foreign Service Officer is usually designated as the Labor Reporting Officer, normally after arriving at post. Labor Reporting Officers contribute to the State Department’s annual “Human Rights Report,” which includes a section on workers’ rights, including child labor, in each country.

The Special Representative for International Labor Affairs, a position established by the Secretary in 1999, is the highest level State Department official handling labor issues. Responsibilities of the Special Representative and the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor are to: develop and implement policies with regard to international labor affairs; work through the interagency process to coordinate international labor work with other agencies in the federal government; and act as the central liaison between labor officers in the field and Washington, D.C., including both the State Department and other agencies with a need for labor information and labor diplomacy.

Elsewhere in the State Department, one officer in the International Organization Affairs Bureau spends the major part of his or her time following United States participation in the International Labor Organization. The Economic and Business Affairs Bureau is the State Department’s formal liaison with the U.S. Trade Representative, the U.S. Department of Commerce and the U.S. Treasury Department. The IOA Bureau has one officer who covers labor and trade issues.

2. Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons

Efforts directed toward addressing the trafficking in persons globally are highly relevant to efforts to end the worst forms of child labor. The most recent ILO global report noted the particular need for attention to children in migration, noting that about one-third of all migrants from developing countries are children and youth between the ages of 12 and 24. The State Department’s Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons engages in diplomatic efforts, research and programs aimed at the prevention of trafficking, the protection of victims and the prosecution of human traffickers. The office is responsible for producing the State Department’s annual “Trafficking in Persons Report.”

C. U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID)

USAID is the lead agency in funding U.S. support for basic education around the world. The President Obama’s budget for FY 2011 includes a decreased amount of funding for USAID, at $840 million, reduced from $925 million in FY 2010. As of last year, just over one-quarter of all U.S. funding for basic education was directed toward sub-Saharan Africa. More than half of U.S. basic education resources are currently sent to only four countries in the Middle East and South Asia: Egypt, Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan.

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

The Office of the U.S. Trade Representative (USTR) includes an Assistant USTR for Labor Affairs and several staff dedicated to the review of labor provisions in U.S. trade agreements. Numerous U.S. trade agreements contain language on workers’ rights, including language on child labor. In principle, this language obligates trade partners to take steps to ensure the elimination of child labor as a condition of continued access to U.S. markets. USTR is then obligated to ensure that trade partners continue to meet these obligations.

The first labor clause of this type was that added to the Generalized System of Preferences Act, which grants developing countries duty-free status on many exports to the United States conditioned on compliance with “internationally recognized worker rights.” The worker rights conditionality was added to the act in 1986. As envisioned by Congress, the purpose of the Generalized System of Preferences program is to “promote the notion that trade ... is a more effective ... way of promoting broad-based sustained economic development.” In essence, the labor rights linkage in this unilateral access program for developing countries was intended to ensure that trade and development benefits went hand in hand with improving labor standards. When awarding preferences, the U.S. Trade Representative is obligated to conduct an assessment of labor rights, and on an ongoing basis, to review compliance with this clause.

Numerous subsequent U.S. trade agreements incorporate the five-factor definition of “internationally recognized worker rights” from the Generalized System of Preferences Act, as amended in the Trade and Development Act of 2000:

(A) the right of association; (B) the right to organize and bargain collectively; (C) a prohibition on the use of any form of forced or compulsory labor; (D) a minimum age for the employment of children; and (E) acceptable conditions of work with respect to minimum wages, hours of work, and occupational safety and health.

USTR typically initiates an interagency review process, when a petition is filed by an outside petitioner requesting suspension of benefits to a particular developing country on the basis of ongoing violations of one or more of the “internationally recognized worker rights.” At present, USTR has an ongoing review of benefits to Uzbekistan, on the basis of a petition filed by the International Labor Rights Forum on widespread use of forced child labor, and to Bangladesh, on the basis of a petition filed by the AFL-CIO on numerous labor rights violations, including information on child labor in the shrimp industry. USTR has rarely revoked trade benefits on labor rights grounds.

E. U.S. Treasury Department

The U.S. Treasury Department is also legislatively mandated to promote worker rights, including elimination of child labor, by governments who are recipients of U.S. assistance via the international financial institutions (IFIs). The 1994 Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act provides that “the Secretary of Treasury shall direct the United States Executive Directors of the International Financial Institutions ... to use the voice and vote of the United States to urge the respective institution ... to adopt policies to encourage borrowing countries to guarantee internationally recognized worker rights;” and is obliged to use its “voice and vote” to make sure loans through IFIs do not undermine labor rights, including ensuring they do not exacerbate child labor.
The International Monetary Fund has been critiqued for constraining fiscal space as part of its macroeconomic formula of “creditworthiness.” Reports by non-governmental organizations suggest this has led to caps on teachers’ salaries, wage freezes and pro-cyclical policies that require massive cuts in public sector spending.\textsuperscript{23} Many nations have implemented education budgets that have necessitated the institution of school fees,\textsuperscript{24} which have provided an additional barrier to accessing education, especially for the poor children who are most at risk of child labor. Treasury plays a large role in determining the United States’ contribution to the International Monetary Fund.

The Education for All—Fast-Track Initiative (FTI) was formed in 2002 as a global partnership to provide support to developing countries in meeting the Millennium Development Goal of universal primary education by 2015. Although the FTI\textsuperscript{25} is housed at the World Bank, the Treasury Department has not been actively involved in recent years, and the United States has not yet made a direct contribution to the FTI except for a $1 million contribution to its evaluation. USAID represents the United States at the FTI meetings.

\textbf{F. U.S. Department of Homeland Security}

The Department of Homeland Security, through the Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement and the Bureau of Customs and Border Protection, has a role to play in regulating the importation of goods that may be produced with child labor. The Tariff Act of 1930 was subsequently amended in 1997 to include a ban on goods made by forced child labor. Following this change, the Treasury Department created an Advisory Committee on International Child Labor Enforcement. The committee is charged with making recommendations to address child labor both from a preventive and rehabilitative standpoint, as well as from the perspective of U.S. law enforcement. The advisory group is intended to meet regularly to be briefed on Customs Service enforcement activities and to propose other measures that could enhance the U.S. government’s efforts against child labor.

\textbf{G. U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA)}

In 2008, the USDA was legislatively mandated to play a role in oversight of imported agricultural goods that may be produced with child labor. The 2008 Food and Energy Security Act, also known as the Farm Bill, directed the establishment within the USDA of a voluntary, independent, third-party monitoring and verification program that would certify whether an agricultural product imported or sold in the United States is produced by forced labor or child labor. Section 3205 of the Farm Bill, which contains language related to child labor, was developed to facilitate implementation of the directives of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act. The act, which passed with near unanimous support in the Congress, directed the Department of Labor “to develop and make available to the public a list of goods from countries that the Bureau of International Labor Affairs (ILAB) has reason to believe are produced by forced labor or child labor in violation of international standards.” This list was issued by the Labor Department in September 2009. The Trafficking Victims Protection Act further directs the U.S. government to work with industries involved in the production, importation and sale of those products identified by the Bureau of International Labor Affairs to develop a “standard set of practices” that will “reduce the likelihood” that their products are produced with forced labor or child labor, with the ultimate goal of ending the importation of goods into the United States that are produced with forced labor or child labor.\textsuperscript{26}

The USDA created a Consultative Group to provide recommendations for this purpose in September 2009. The group is scheduled to present its recommendations to the USDA in June 2010.

\textbf{H. U.S. Department of Education}

The programs within the U.S. Department of Education related to international relations are almost exclusively focused on student exchange programs.

\textsuperscript{25} More information about Education for All—Fast-Track Initiative is available online: http://www.educationfasttrack.org.
\textsuperscript{26} 22 U.S.C §7112(b)(2)(D) & (E)
I. Millennium Challenge Corporation

The Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) is an independent U.S. foreign aid agency that was created by Congress in January 2004. The MCC provides qualified countries with grants to fund projects aimed at alleviating poverty and stimulating sustainable economic growth. So far, the MCC has approved over $7.4 billion of funding for a range of projects. The MCC reports that about 7 percent of its spending in compact countries (i.e., countries that meet MCC’s eligibility criteria) focused on health, education and community services.27

The Millennium Challenge Act passed by Congress required that any country wishing to negotiate with the MCC for grants must demonstrate a commitment to 12 core criteria listed in Section 607 of the statute that are necessary preconditions to ensure MCC aid will promote sustainable and equitable economic development. One of the 12 criteria Congress mandated is that a country must promote “economic freedom, including a demonstrated commitment to economic policies that respect worker rights, including the right to form labor unions.”

Only one of the 17 indicators used by the MCC includes an evaluation of a country’s respect for workers’ core labor rights, the Civil Liberties indicator. Within the Civil Liberties indicator itself, though, workers’ rights is only one of 15 different criteria used to examine civil liberties protections, and its limited focus is restricted only to the right to freedom of association.

J. The Role of Public Procurement

In June 1999, President Clinton issued Executive Order 13126 on the Prohibition of Acquisition of Products Produced by Forced or Indentured Child Labor. Pursuant to Section 3 of the executive order, the Federal Acquisition Regulatory Council published a final rule in the Federal Register on Jan. 18, 2001, providing, among other requirements, that federal contractors that supply products appearing on the list issued by the Department of Labor must certify to the contracting officer that the contractor (or a responsible official of an incorporated contractor) has made a good faith effort to determine whether forced or indentured child labor was used to mine, produce or manufacture any product furnished under the contract, and that, on the basis of those efforts, the contractor is unaware of any such use of child labor. The U.S. General Services Administration has noted that no contractor has ever been barred under this provision.

To date, nine states, 40 cities, 15 counties and 118 school districts have also adopted “sweatfree” procurement policies to ensure that state and local tax dollars are not spent on goods produced in violation of core labor rights, including, in all cases, clauses stipulating that goods not be produced with child labor.28 State and local government agencies that share a commitment to labor compliance in purchasing-supply chains are forming a consortium to pool resources, share information and coordinate labor standards enforcement.

IV. NEED FOR AN INTEGRATED APPROACH TO ENDING CHILD LABOR

The AFT and the International Labor Rights Forum note the possible relevance of this paper to a U.S. government-sponsored conference on June 8, titled “Working Together to Combat Child Labor: It’s Time to Stop the Exploitation of Children.” The conference is co-hosted by the U.S. departments of State and Labor, as well as the AFT, ILRF and the No Limits Foundation. According to the organizers, the purpose of the conference is to focus on U.S. government international policy and programming. The AFT and ILRF intends that this review might contribute to more a comprehensive U.S. government review and integrated approach to the challenges in combating child labor as we go forward toward 2016.

The paper takes note of a policy document recently issued by the European Commission titled “Commission Staff Working Document: Combating Child Labor.”29 The report was issued following stakeholder roundtables convened by the European Union (EU) Parliament in December 2009. The report provides an overview of exist-


28 SweatFree Communities: http://www.sweatfree.org/about_us.

ing EU measures to address child labor. These include chapters on development policy, education, human rights dialogues, enlargement policy, trade policy and the EU Generalized System of Preferences program, public procurement and support for public-private partnerships.\textsuperscript{30} This paper is intended to be an independent, but similar, review of U.S. policy approaches to ending child labor globally.

In addition, the ILO calls for global action to be backed by solid research, “particularly regarding the relationship between child labour and other relevant aspects of the development process.”\textsuperscript{31} The most recent ILO global report suggests the importance of “linking action against child labor to national development efforts, particularly in the area of poverty reduction and free, compulsory and universal education.”\textsuperscript{32} This recommendation is directed both to the developing countries where child labor is prevalent as well as to donor countries seeking to develop appropriate overall development strategies.

This review was conducted jointly by the American Federation of Teachers and the International Labor Rights Forum and solely represents their views. This is not a U.S. government analysis.

The American Federation of Teachers is a U.S. trade union representing more than 1.4 million members and an affiliate of the AFL-CIO. As a leader in Education International and co-chair of the U.S. Child Labor Coalition, the AFT promotes policies and programs that eradicate the worst forms of child labor globally, and puts children in the classroom, where they are afforded the opportunity to become full participants in the social and economic development of their communities.

The International Labor Rights Forum is a nonprofit organization advocating for just and humane treatment for workers worldwide, including an end to child labor, forced labor, discrimination in the workplace and obstacles to the right to organize. It promotes enforcement of labor rights internationally through public education and mobilization, research, litigation, legislation, and collaboration with labor, government and business groups.

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\textsuperscript{30} Ibid.


\textsuperscript{32} Ibid.