April 2004

Child Labor and Cultural Relativism: From 19th Century America to 21st Century Nepal

Michele D'Avolio
ARTICLES

CHILD LABOR AND CULTURAL RELATIVISM: FROM 19TH CENTURY AMERICA TO 21ST CENTURY NEPAL

Michele D'Avolio*

Table of Contents

I. Introduction ....................................... 109
II. Nineteenth Century America ...................... 114
   a. A Snapshot of Nineteenth Century Labor: ..... 114
   b. The Origin of Child Labor: ................... 115
   c. The Progressive Movement: .................. 117
   d. Causes For the Decline in Child Labor in the U.S.: ........................................... 121
   e. The Role of International Human Rights Law: .................................................. 123
   f. The U.S. Child Labor Situation Today: ....... 124
III. Twenty-first Century Nepal ..................... 125
   b. Cultural Relativism: .......................... 131
   c. Role of International Law: .................... 133
   d. Why Do Children Work?: ...................... 136
   e. How to Stop Child Labor: ...................... 140
IV. Conclusion........................................ 144

I. INTRODUCTION

In 1994, the World Trade Organization (WTO) was created at the conclusion of the Uruguay Round of international trade negotiations. Its aspirations include “raising standards of liv-


1 See Kristen Weldon, Piercing the Silence or Lulling You to Sleep: The Sounds of Child Labor, 7-SPG WIDENER L. SYMP. J. 227, 233 (Spring 2001).
ing, ensuring full employment and a large and steady growing volume of real income . . . and expanding the production of and trade in goods and services . . ."2 Today, the WTO, with a membership of 138 sovereign nations, is a stark symbol of the ever-increasing trend of economic globalization.3 Its membership includes countries from every region, culture, and stage of economic development.4 WTO member states have agreed to limit their national sovereignty in exchange for the privilege of participating in and reaping the benefits of the global economy.5 Along with this trend towards economic globalization, there has also been a trend towards political and cultural globalization. This aspect of worldwide globalization is reflected in the plethora of international human rights instruments that have been drafted since World War II.6 These include the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Convention Against Torture, the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the International Labor Organization’s Minimum Age Convention, and the Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labor.7

Unlike the many international human rights conventions, WTO trade agreements are negotiated on a reciprocal basis.8 Thus, what a nation gives up in import tariff reductions, it theoretically gains in reciprocal tariff reductions on its exports.9 These agreements are enforced via a dispute mechanism procedure, which provides sanctions for non-compliance, giving member states a real economic incentive to comply.10 Given that WTO agreements are binding and enforceable, many believe

---

5 See LOWENFELD, supra note 3, at 54-60.
6 See LINDA A. MALONE, INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS 19 (Black Letter Series, West Group 2003).
7 See id.
8 See LOWENFELD, supra note 3, at 54-60.
9 See id.
10 See id.
that incorporating a labor reform clause into the WTO rules or multilateral trade agreements will ensure that all member states raise their labor standards accordingly.\textsuperscript{11} "Such a clause would lay down minimum standards of corporate behavior as a condition of doing business globally."\textsuperscript{12} This is not necessarily so, however.

At the WTO's first ministerial conference in Singapore in December 1996, some member states proposed adding a core labor standards provision to WTO agreements.\textsuperscript{13} This idea was quickly squelched. The Ministers, while affirming their commitment to internationally recognized core labor standards concluded nonetheless that the role of establishing core labor standards is more properly left with the International Labor Organization (ILO) than with the WTO.\textsuperscript{14} Likewise, at the WTO's third ministerial conference in Seattle, the idea was again raised.\textsuperscript{15} That conference ended in failure, however, partly due to President Clinton's statements that the WTO should use sanctions to enforce core labor rights throughout the world.\textsuperscript{16}

Why would such seemingly humanitarian and progressive efforts to regulate core labor rights be doomed to failure? The answer: cultural relativism. The developing world views the western world's desire to use the WTO to enforce international labor standards as just another form of cultural imperialism.\textsuperscript{17} By imposing its 'superior' and 'enlightened' human rights' ideology on the rest of the world, developing countries fear that the West will effectively undermine the developing world's process of economic development and thereby further marginalize al-


\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{12} Bellamy, supra note 11, at 69-70.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{13} See Weldon, supra note 1, at 236.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{14} See id.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{15} See, e.g., Sam Howe Verhovek, Trade Talks Start in Seattle Despite a Few Disruptions, N.Y. Times, Nov. 30, 1999, at A1.}


\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{17} See Weldon, supra note 1, at 239-41.}
ready disenfranchised peoples. Thus, the West's children's rights' discourse is perceived by the developing world as really just a thinly veiled form of protectionism. The developing world is able to compete in the global market because it has the 'advantage' of cheap labor. By linking trade agreements to minimum labor standards these countries worry that they will be robbed of their comparative advantage. The result, they claim, will be the protection of western economic interests at the expense of developing countries' economic growth. In fact, they argue that their use of child labor is no different than the West's use of child labor in its early stages of development throughout the nineteenth century.

For these reasons, the developing world vociferously opposes western attempts to impose labor standards on them, claiming that once it has reached a desired stage of economic development, it will address its domestic labor concerns internally. It is not within the purview of the WTO for the West to force its labor standards on them, particularly when those standards are detrimental to their economic growth and development. These arguments lead us to question whether their development plan is compatible with long term sustainable economic growth. And more particularly, is their use of child labor detrimental to their goals of industrialization and technological advancement?

Studies have demonstrated that economic prosperity, industrialization, and technological development are intricately linked to educational attainment. These studies seem to suggest that while a developing country's use of child labor may enhance its short-term economic condition, the practice is nonetheless antithetical to long-term sustainable economic development. This is so because employing children to work in

---

18 See id.
19 See Bellamy, supra note 11, at 70; Basu, supra note 11, at 1112.
20 See Bellamy, supra note 11, at 70.
21 See Basu, supra note 11, at 1112.
23 See Weldon, supra note 1, at 240.
24 See Bellamy, supra note 11, at 70.
factories or agriculture necessarily detracts from their educational attainment, ensuring these young victims a life full of menial labor and poverty. That being said, it is equally true that most developed countries reached their economic pinnacles on the heels of their histories of exploiting children. Thus, developing countries are understandably resistant to what they view as the West’s arrogant and hypocritical human rights discourse. Although their outrage at the West’s hypocrisy may be reasonable, it does not provide a sufficient justification for allowing exploitative child labor practices to continue, especially where there is both increased awareness of the harm that the practice can cause and there are international resources that can be deployed to address and ideally eradicate this practice.

This leads us to question whether it is realistic to expect that the West can simultaneously respect the developing world’s autonomy, assist in its economic development, and aid it in eradicating abusive child labor practices. To help answer this question, I first explore the history of child labor practices in the United States and the factors that led to its demise. I then consider the prevalence of child labor throughout the developing world with a particular emphasis on the situation as it currently exists in Nepal. Against this background, I have tried to juxtapose the debates, approaches, needs, and concerns of nineteenth century America with those of the developing world, while keeping in mind the developing world’s specific concerns with regard to economic advancement and its cultural attitudes both towards children’s rights and child labor. Finally, I attempt to provide a normative framework by which we can consider not only the causes of child labor, but the role that international organizations and international human rights standards, such as those set forth in the ILO conventions and in

---


27 See Trattner, supra note 22, at 22-23.
the Convention on the Rights of the Child, can play to help eliminate child labor practices throughout the world.28

II. NINETEENTH CENTURY AMERICA

a. A Snapshot of Nineteenth Century Labor:

Throughout the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, child labor was quite common in the United States.29 In the 1860's, children were employed in hazardous agricultural work, in the 1890's, they worked long hours on mechanical looms, and well into the 1920's, they were making and packaging cigars.30 Most children were employed in agriculture and manufacturing work, but they were also employed in mines.31 Regardless of the industry in which they worked, these children were paid low wages and worked under terrible conditions.32 They often worked long hours in buildings that were dangerous firetraps with inadequate ventilation and unsafe equipment.33 Employers sometimes used barbed wires or locked the doors to keep children at work.34

In the nineteenth century, there were no laws that prohibited children from using dangerous machinery at work and accidents were common.35 The accident rates of children were believed to be at least twice as high as those of adults, partly due to the fact that children were more easily distracted and quicker to tire from the long workdays.36 An 1870 report from the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor noted the conditions of children night workers: “the children were drowsy and sleepy; have

---

28 See generally BELLAMY, supra note 11, at 9-22.
30 See id.
32 See Weiner, supra note 29, at 370.
33 See id.
36 See Trinkley, supra note 34, at 70.
known them to fall asleep standing up at their work."\(^{37}\) For children who did not comply, punishment was routine. "A witness described to us an instrument for whipping children at a factory in Rhode Island, consisting of a leather strap, eighteen inches long, with tacks driven through the striking end."\(^{38}\)

b. The Origin of Child Labor:

Although today there seems to be a consensus in the United States that child labor is exploitative and should be prohibited, this was not always the prevailing view.\(^{39}\) The average person in Colonial America believed that child labor was good for the family and the community.\(^{40}\) This belief derived in part from the English custom of requiring pauper children to work for their keep,\(^{41}\) and in part because the harshness of frontier life meant everyone, children included, had to help to clear the land and build the first settlements.\(^{42}\) The belief in child labor was also a natural extension of the Puritan and Quaker religious tenets that preached the virtue of industry and the vice of idleness.\(^{43}\) Work, it was thought, was in the best interest of the child because it would help cultivate wholesome values and good moral development.\(^{44}\)

The practice was such an accepted part of the culture that various methods were devised to perpetuate it. For instance, in the 1600's, to prevent hundreds of English orphans from becoming public charges, they were shipped from England to Virginia and bound out as laborers.\(^{45}\) A letter from 1627 discloses "there are many ships going to Virginia and with them fourteen or fifteen hundred children."\(^{46}\) Under the Colonial poor laws, these and other poor children were bound out as apprentices and required to work for a master in exchange for being taught a trade.\(^{47}\) The reality of this indentured system, however, was

---

\(^{37}\) Abbott, supra note 35, at 34 n.78.

\(^{38}\) Abbott, supra note 35, at 34.

\(^{39}\) See Basu, supra note 11, at 1089.

\(^{40}\) See Trattner, supra note 22, at 23.

\(^{41}\) See id. at 24.

\(^{42}\) See id. at 23.

\(^{43}\) See id. at 22-25; see also Abbott, supra note 35, at 15-17.

\(^{44}\) See Trattner, supra note 22, at 22; Abbott, supra note 35, at 19.

\(^{45}\) See id. at 22, 25; Abbott, supra note 35, at 20.

\(^{46}\) Abbott, supra note 35, at 20.

\(^{47}\) See Trattner, supra note 22, at 24.
that children were not always taught a trade but they were nonetheless required to faithfully serve their master. 48

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the onset of the industrial revolution and the introduction of machinery increased the demand for child labor dramatically. 49 This dramatically unprecedented industrial growth created a host of unskilled jobs, which could be done by children who employers preferred over their higher paid adult counterparts. 50 There was also a fear that if businesses had to hire adults at higher wages, they would not be able to survive, which is a belief that is also widely accepted in developing countries today. 51

Another common justification, which is also widely held throughout the developing world, is a belief that unskilled labor is better suited to children. 52 Given a choice, most employers preferred to hire children to their adult counterparts. 53 After all, "they were cheaper . . . more tractable, reliable, and industrious, quicker, neater, and more careful, and, as labor unions developed, less likely to strike." 54 "Their nimble little fingers, it was said, enabled them to do hand stitching or rolling cigars." 55

Finally, similar to the living conditions of many families in developing countries today, nineteenth century American families relied on child labor to help meet the family’s basic needs. 56 The large growth in immigration during that period further contributed to the child labor problem. 57 Most of the immigrants were unskilled laborers who relied upon the labor of their children to survive. 58 Arguably, however, child labor actu-

---

48 See id.
49 See Trinkley, supra note 34, at 67; Trattner, supra note 22, at 32.
50 See Trattner, supra note 22, at 23, 25-26, 31; see also Weiner supra note 29, at 370; Zehra F. Arat, Analyzing Child Labor as a Human Rights Issue: Its Causes, Aggravating Policies, and Alternative Proposals, 24 Hum. RTS. Q. 177, 184 (2002) (Historical studies indicate that between 16-19 percent of the ten to fifteen year olds in the United States worked in the period from 1880 to 1910).
51 See Weiner, supra note 29, at 370.
52 See id.
53 See Trattner, supra note 22, at 27.
54 Id.
55 Weiner, supra note 29, at 370.
57 See Trattner, supra note 22, at 32.
58 See id.
ally exacerbated this problem by creating a large supply of cheap child labor that had a downward effect on adult male wages.\(^59\)

Although the practice of using children as laborers was not new to the industrial revolution, with the onset of the industrial revolution, there was a marked deterioration in the conditions under which children worked.\(^60\) "In the cotton, silk, hat, and ribbon trades, for example, children five, six, or seven years old, deprived of all opportunity for an education, were crowded into airless factories and forced to work all day, or sometimes all night, under tortuous conditions for a tiny wage."\(^61\) "Chained, belted, harnessed like dogs in a go-cart, black, saturated with wet, and more than half-naked - - crawling upon their hands and feet, and dragging their heavy loads behind them - [the children] ... present an appearance indescribably disgusting and unnatural."\(^62\) Rather than simply keeping children busy and cultivating good values, child labor produced sick persons with limited education who were greatly dependent on society.\(^63\)

c. The Progressive Movement:

As more children entered the workforce and working conditions continued to deteriorate, opposition movements began to emerge both in the United States and England.\(^64\) Unlike the opposition that was taking place in England, which was centered upon the appalling conditions under which children worked,\(^65\) the initial opposition in the United States was centered, not on working conditions, but on the lack of opportunity for education.\(^66\) These concerns led many states initially to draft legislation compelling school attendance.\(^67\) Later, in an attempt to garner support for passage of laws actually regulat-

---

\(^59\) See id. at 27; see also Abbott, supra note 35, at 36.
\(^60\) See Trattner, supra note 22, at 22.
\(^61\) Id. at 22-23.
\(^62\) Id. at 23 (quoting John L. & Barbara B. Hammond, The Town Laborer 174 (New York, 1917)).
\(^63\) See id. at 49.
\(^64\) See Trattner, supra note 22, at 28-29.
\(^65\) See id. at 28.
\(^66\) See id. at 28-29.
\(^67\) See Moehling, supra note 31, at 74.
ing the practices of child labor, the opposition movement contended that the practice had a downward effect on adult wages. This contention prompted newly formed labor unions to join the campaign for child labor reform legislation.\textsuperscript{68} The unions pushed for legislation limiting the hours that children could work and for laws setting minimum age requirements.\textsuperscript{69} Unfortunately, however, many of the laws enacted before 1880 had no enforcement provisions\textsuperscript{70} and those that did were still widely violated and rarely enforced.\textsuperscript{71} By 1899, forty-four states had some form of child labor legislation, although there were wide variations in the laws.\textsuperscript{72}

Overall, reform proceeded slowly, partly because there was very little data on child labor in the early 1800's, leaving the public largely unaware of the extent of the problem.\textsuperscript{73} It was not until census data was published in 1870, 1880, and 1890 that the general public was informed of the breadth of child labor and the extent to which it was increasing.\textsuperscript{74} Public awareness was again raised with the publication of the 1900 census, which showed that with rapid industrialization the employment rate of children was again on the rise.\textsuperscript{75} This heightened public awareness led, in the early 1900's, to the emergence of well-organized child labor reform movements.\textsuperscript{76} These movements were linked to the more general socio-economic reform campaigns of the Progressive Movement.\textsuperscript{77}

The child labor reform movement found strong allies in national organized labor movements such as the American Federation of Labor and in women's rights organizations, such as the

\textsuperscript{68} See Trattner, supra note 22, at 30.

\textsuperscript{69} See id.

\textsuperscript{70} See id.; see also Moehling, supra note 31, at 74.

\textsuperscript{71} See Trattner, supra note 22, at 30; see also Abbott, supra note 35, at 32-33.

\textsuperscript{72} See Moehling, supra note 31, at 75.

\textsuperscript{73} See Trattner, supra note 22, at 31.

\textsuperscript{74} See id. at 32-36; see also John J. Tierney, The World of Child Labor, The World & I, Aug. 1, 2000, vol. 15, Issue 8, at 54 ("The 1870 census, the first to report [statistics on the employment of children in the United States], found there to be 750,000 workers 15 and under, not including those in family businesses").

\textsuperscript{75} See Moehling, supra note 29, at 75; Trattner, supra note 38, at 41.


\textsuperscript{77} See Trattner, supra note 38, at 45.
Women's Christian Temperance Union. While the early child labor reformers did not call for the eradication of all child labor, they did oppose employment that interfered with the child's physical, mental, or moral growth, such as when children were employed at very young ages, worked long hours, worked in unhealthy conditions, or when work interfered with their schooling.

The child labor reform movement was led by the National Child Labor Committee (NCLC), which was established in 1904. Its goal was to gather data about the extent of child labor, the conditions under which children labored, and the effect such labor had on children. Armed with this data, the NCLC aimed to garner public sentiment in support of child labor reform and to push for legislation regulating child labor, education, and health. In pursuit of its goals, the NCLC pioneered the techniques of mass political action, including the widespread use of photography, pamphlets, leaflets, mass mailings, and sophisticated lobbying efforts. In particular, the NCLC mastered the use of photojournalism designed to increase public awareness and change public perceptions of child labor. This feat was accomplished largely due to the work of Lewis Hine, a photographer and social reformer hired by the NCLC to document child laborers. Owen Lovejoy, the general Secretary of NCLC, wrote that Hine's photographs were "more responsible than any or all other efforts to bring the facts or conditions of child labor employment to public attention."

The NCLC directed its efforts at lobbying for state child labor legislation and the creation of a federal agency to collect and disseminate information on the needs of children. By 1912,

---

78 See id. at 51-56; see also Moehling, supra note 31, at 74-75.
79 See Trattner, supra note 22, at 49.
81 See Trattner, supra note 22, at 58-60.
82 See Trattner, supra note 22, at 58-60.
83 See id. at 69-79; see also Yellowitz, supra note 80.
85 Pace, supra note 84, at 324.
86 See Trattner, supra note 22, at 95-99.
the NCLC had garnered sufficient public support to pressure thirty-four state governments to either pass new child labor laws or to amend their existing state statutes. The new child labor laws included legislation for compulsory schooling, grade completion requirements, and regulated the age, hours, and type of work children could perform. Although by that time, most states had passed some form of child labor regulations, the regulations were largely ineffective because they contained relatively weak and inconsistent provisions. To further complicate matters, these laws were also met with fierce resistance from manufacturers, particularly in southern states where child labor was still relied upon to gain a competitive advantage. When it became apparent that the powerful influence of manufacturers limited the progress that could be made at the state level, the NCLC began lobbying for federal child labor legislation.

The NCLC's efforts were realized in 1916 when, relying on the Commerce Clause, Congress passed legislation prohibiting the interstate transport of articles that were produced in violation of a federal child labor law that restricted the age and working hours of child laborers. These efforts were soon to be defeated, however, when in July 1918, the Supreme Court declared the legislation unconstitutional. In its decision in *Hammer v. Dagenhart*, the Court held that the legislation exceeded Congress' authority under the Commerce Clause and was an interference with states' rights. This led the NCLC to push for a constitutional amendment giving Congress the power to regulate child labor. The southern textile industry and the

---

87 See id. at 98-99; see also Moehling, *supra* note 31, at 74-75.
89 See Traittner, *supra* note 22, at 115-16; see also Moehling, *supra* note 31, at 75-78.
90 See Traittner, *supra* note 22, at 115-16; see also Moehling, *supra* note 31, at 75-78.
91 See Traittner, *supra* note 22, at 125-26; see also Moehling, *supra* note 31, at 75-78.
92 See Traittner, *supra* note 22, at 131; see also Moehling, *supra* note 31, at 78.
94 See id. at 276; see also Traittner, *supra* note 22, at 136.
95 See Traittner, *supra* note 22, at 164.
National Association of Manufacturers both lobbied successfully against the proposed amendment.\(^96\) Consequently, it was not until the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) was passed in 1938 that Congress finally succeeded in passing federal legislation regulating child labor.\(^97\) The passage of the FLSA was largely due to the new political climate in the aftermath of the Great Depression.\(^98\) The prevailing view at that time was that government intervention in the economy was necessary to improve both economic and working conditions.\(^99\) The FLSA set minimum wages, maximum hours, and minimum age requirements for workers whose goods were shipped in interstate commerce.\(^100\) The Act exempted agricultural workers from its protections, however.\(^101\) This exemption was largely due to the pressure from southern states where it was widely believed that legislation regulating child agricultural workers would hinder the southern economy, which was largely dependent on agricultural production.\(^102\)

d. Causes For the Decline in Child Labor in the U.S.:

Between 1880 and 1930, the occupation rate of children between the ages of ten and fifteen fell by over seventy-five percent.\(^103\) The dramatic decline in the child labor occupation rate was arguably the result of a confluence of factors. One factor undoubtedly was the child labor reform movement's successful efforts to increase public awareness and modify public perceptions of child labor.\(^104\) The general public's heightened awareness of and increasing dismay with child labor practices was reflected in the passage of many state child labor laws.\(^105\) These laws took two forms: legislation that made primary education compulsory and legislation that regulated child labor.\(^106\) Although the passage of such laws did help by creating a new

---

\(^96\) See id. at 166-76.
\(^97\) See id. at 204.
\(^98\) See Corlett, supra note 76, at 716-17.
\(^99\) See Corlett, supra note 76, at 716-17.
\(^100\) See Trattner, supra note 22, at 203-04.
\(^101\) See id. at 205.
\(^102\) See id. at 207.
\(^103\) See Moehling, supra note 31, at 72.
\(^104\) See id. at 74-75.
\(^105\) See id. at 75.
\(^106\) See id. at 78.
normative discourse in opposition to child labor, it is questiona-
ble whether these laws actually led to either an increase in edu-
cational attainment or a decrease in child labor practices.

A study published in the Journal of Law and Economics ex-
amined the effect that compulsory school attendance laws had on educational attainment from 1914 to 1939.\textsuperscript{107} During that time, the percentage of young adults with high school degrees increased by a factor of five.\textsuperscript{108} The study concluded that re-
quiring a child to attend school for one additional year led to an in-
crease in educational attainment by only about five per-
cent.\textsuperscript{109} On this basis, the author concluded that while these
laws were somewhat effective in their goal of increasing educa-
tional attainment, the actual increases could not be attributed
wholly to compulsory school attendance laws and were, there-
fore, presumably due to a multitude of factors.\textsuperscript{110}

Likewise, there does not appear to be a significant link be-
tween the passage of child labor reform laws and the dramatic
decline in the incidence of child labor. In fact, by the time the
most salient child labor legislation, the FLSA, was passed, the
employment rate of ten to fifteen year-old child laborers had al-
ready fallen to below five percent.\textsuperscript{111} Ostensibly, it appears
from these statistics that rather than generating social change,
child labor reform legislation seems to have been a response to
changes that were already occurring in the socio-economic envi-
ronment. In other words, changes in socio-economic conditions
created a decline in the demand for child labor and a corre-
sponding increase in public opposition to its practice.\textsuperscript{112} The
confluence of these two factors weakened the opposition to child
labor reform laws, essentially ensuring their passage.\textsuperscript{113}

Carolyn Moehling, an economist at Ohio State University,
confirmed this theory in a study in which she examined the re-
lationship between child labor reform legislation and the de-
cline in the child labor force participation rate in the nineteenth

\textsuperscript{107} See Adriana Lleras-Muney, \textit{Were Compulsory Attendance and Child Labor
\textsuperscript{108} See id. at 401.
\textsuperscript{109} See id. at 427.
\textsuperscript{110} See id. at 401, 427.
\textsuperscript{111} See Moehling, \textit{supra} note 31, at 78.
\textsuperscript{112} See id. at 73
\textsuperscript{113} See id. at 74, 94-95; see also Basu, \textit{supra} note 11, at 1089-90.
The focus of her study was the effects of age restrictions in the manufacturing sector. On the basis of what she calls a "differences-in-differences-in-differences" test to isolate the effects of age restrictions on manufacturing employment, she determined that state child labor laws prescribing minimum age limits on manufacturing employment had "relatively little effect... on the dramatic decline in the occupational rates of children during that time period" and conclude[s] that "these restrictions contributed little to the long run decline in child labor."

All in all, it appears from historical studies that have tracked the decline in child labor that the most significant causative factor was neither moral outrage nor legal prohibitions, but rather an actual decrease in the need for child workers. This was the result of three main factors. One, technological advances essentially eliminated the importance of and demand for unskilled labor. "Many simple tasks done by children were mechanized and semiskilled adults became necessary to make the most efficient use of the equipment." Two, the increase in immigration during this period led to an influx of cheap unskilled adult workers, thereby reducing the importance of child labor. Three, as the economy developed, the overall standard of living rose and it was no longer necessary for families to send their children to work to meet their basic needs.

e. The Role of International Human Rights Law:

In the early 1900's, prior to the United States' domestic child labor reform movement, there were no international child labor standards. It was not until after the First World War that an international populist movement demanding workers rights

114 See Moehling, supra note 31, at 94-95.
115 See id. at 74.
116 Id. at 72.
117 See generally Basu, supra note 119, at 1089-91; see also Yellowitz, supra note 80.
118 See Moehling, supra note 29, at 73; Yellowitz, supra note 80.
119 Yellowitz, supra note 80.
120 See Lleras-Muney, supra note 107, at 401; Moehling, supra note 29, at 73.
121 See Lleras-Muney, supra note 107, at 401.
emerged.\textsuperscript{122} This reform movement cumulated in 1919 with the creation of the International Labor Organization (ILO), which has the power to draft and adopt conventions setting forth international labor standards.\textsuperscript{123} The ILO collaborates with workers, employers, and governments to establish universal core employment standards.\textsuperscript{124} Since 1919, the ILO has sought to limit the use of child labor by adopting standards setting the minimum age for employment and regulating the conditions under which children work.\textsuperscript{125}

At its first session, the ILO adopted convention number 5, which prohibited children under the age of fourteen from working in industry.\textsuperscript{126} Although child labor reformers pushed for American involvement in the ILO as a way to circumvent the Supreme Court decisions striking down national labor legislation, the United States did not join the ILO until 1934, well after child labor was on the decline.\textsuperscript{127} Therefore, it appears that the ILO convention had little, if any, impact on the decline in child labor in the United States.

f. The U.S. Child Labor Situation Today:

Despite the dramatic declines in child labor practices in the twentieth century, the practice, nonetheless, still persists. Hundreds of thousands of children and teens work each year in the agricultural industry, which is one of the least protected and most hazardous areas of employment in the United States.\textsuperscript{128} The FLSA exempts agricultural workers from mini-


\textsuperscript{123} See id. at 638-39.

\textsuperscript{124} See id.


\textsuperscript{126} See id.


mum age and maximum hour requirements and allows children to engage in hazardous work at the age of sixteen; whereas for all other occupations, the minimum age for hazardous work is eighteen.\textsuperscript{129} This is particularly troublesome given that child agricultural workers are routinely exposed to dangerous pesticides, commonly work twelve-hour days, six or seven days a week, and suffer high rates of injury from farm equipment.\textsuperscript{130} An estimated eighty-five \% of these children are racial minorities and only fifty-five \% of them will graduate from high school.\textsuperscript{131} There is little doubt that such practices violate the 1999 ILO Worst Forms of Child Labor Convention, which the U.S. ratified in December of 1999.\textsuperscript{132}

III. TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY NEPAL

a. Child Labor Situation Today:

Currently, it is estimated that approximately 250 million children work throughout the world and ninety-eight \% of them are found in developing countries.\textsuperscript{133} Nepal is certainly no exception. According to the International Labor Organization-International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (ILO-IPEC) 1996 child labor survey, approximately forty-two \% of Nepalese children between the ages of five and fourteen work.\textsuperscript{134} This percentage represents approximately 2.6 million children out of 6.2 million in that age group.\textsuperscript{135} Of the forty-two \% of working children, twenty-six \% attend school and work, while 16 \% only work.\textsuperscript{136} Approximately thirty-two \% of all children aged five to fourteen years old are not attending school at all.\textsuperscript{137}

\textsuperscript{129} See Abusive Child Labor, supra note 128.
\textsuperscript{130} See id.
\textsuperscript{131} See id.
\textsuperscript{135} See id.
\textsuperscript{136} See Suwal, supra note 133, ch. III, at 27.
\textsuperscript{137} See id. ch. III, at 28.
Of the 2.6 million working children in Nepal, it is estimated that 1.7 million are economically active, working in the market economy as opposed to doing work for their families in the home, such as caring for younger siblings. These children work in a myriad of areas including weaving, brick making, carpet making, garment manufacturing, domestic work, prostitution, and approximately 94.7% work in agriculture. Just as the industrial revolution led to an increase in child laborers in the United States, the child labor situation in Nepal also appears to be worsening as that country strives to expand its economy. The increase in the number of working children in Nepal is likely due to factors similar to those that led to the increase in child labor in nineteenth century America. These factors include poverty, which necessitates sending children into the workplace to assist in the family’s survival. Nepal is one of the poorest countries in the world with over half of the population living on less than one dollar a day. In 2000, Nepal ranked 144th out of 174 countries in the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Index, which measures socio-economic development in terms of life expectancy, educational attainment, and adjusted real income. Nepal’s adult illiteracy rate is exceptionally high at approximately sixty % of the adult population. Its low socio-economic development serves to perpetuate Nepal’s reliance on child labor by creating a class of unskilled, illiterate adult laborers who desperately rely on their children’s labor to survive. Of the total children working in Nepal, fifty-two % are children of illiterate parents.

Analogous to the United States’ experience in the nineteenth century, another factor which has contributed to Nepal’s

---

138 See id. ch. III, at 37.
139 See id. ch. I, at 2, ch. III, at 50; see also ILO/IPEC Country Profile: Nepal, supra note 134, at 1.
141 See id. ch. I, at 3.
reliance on child labor is a lack of investment in technology, keeping the country dependent upon unskilled labor.146 Lack of access to quality education is another major cause of child labor.147 Moreover, Nepal’s adherence to discriminatory social customs, such as the practice of bonded labor, also serves to perpetuate child labor.148 Under the Kamaiya system, poor farmers who borrow money from local landlords are required to work for the landlord until the debt is repaid.149 The system is so exploitive that once bonded, it is nearly impossible for the laborer to free himself.150 Instead of decreasing overtime, the loans increase and the bondage status is passed down over generations.151 Even more disturbing, the landlords have rights over the wife and children of the borrower, not just the borrower himself.152

The actual conditions under which Nepalese children work are as hazardous and oppressive as the conditions under which American children worked in the nineteenth century. Nepalese children who work in agriculture work as much as ten hours a day facing risk of injury from operating heavy farm machinery and wielding sharp tools, such as machetes.153 The risks these children face are enormous. “Children pick crops still dripping with pesticides or spray the chemicals themselves. They face poisonous snakes and insects and cut themselves on tough stems and on the tools they use. Rising early to work in the damp and cold, often barefoot and dressed in inadequate clothes, they develop chronic coughs and pneumonia.”154 In Nepal, children working on tea estates are paid so little that they must work fourteen-hour days to eke out a meager existence.155 Children as young as four years old work in brick-kiln opera-

146 See id. ch. I, at 3.
147 See id. ch. III, at 31; see also ILO/IPEC Country Profile: Nepal, supra note 134, at 3.
149 See id.
150 See id.
151 See id.
152 See id.
153 See BELLAMY, supra note 11, at 38-39.
154 Id. at 38.
155 See id. at 40.
tions, turning over row after row of bricks. Older children carry bricks on their heads from the brickfields to the loading trucks, earning just twenty-five cents for every 100 trips. Children employed in the hand-knotted carpet industry “often work in confined, dimly-lit workshops.” Many develop respiratory illnesses and suffer spinal deformities and retarded growth from long hours of work crouched in dust-filled rooms. Cuts and wounds from sharp tools are common. It is estimated that over 31,000 Nepalese children work as domestic servants. Young girls that work as domestic servants often suffer physical, mental, and sexual abuse. It is also estimated that thousands of young Nepalese girls are trafficked into India for prostitution every year. Children also work in the construction industry performing various tasks that include carrying heavy loads and breaking stones. These children face serious health and safety risks including “falls, exposure to dust, heat, and noise, and numerous accidents and injuries.” As porters, children carry up to 150 pounds, work as much as fourteen hours a day, and seldom earn more than $1.60 per day.

These conditions persist despite the fact that Nepal, like most countries, has laws that prescribe the minimum ages for certain work and regulate the conditions of that work. Again, this situation is analogous to the situation that existed in nineteenth century America when state laws regulating child labor were widely violated and rarely enforced. Shockingly, however, these conditions persist despite the fact that the Constitution of Nepal, unlike the United States Constitution, has provisions guaranteeing fundamental rights to children. Article 20 pro-

157 See BELLAMY, supra note 11, at 35.
158 BUREAU OF INT’L LABOR AFFAIRS, supra note 156, ch.II.
159 Id.
160 See id. at 21.
161 See id. at 20.
162 See id. at 22.
163 See BUREAU OF INT’L LABOR AFFAIRS, supra note 156, at 25.
164 Id. at 26.
165 See id. at 25.
166 See ILO/IPEC Country Profile: Nepal, supra note 134, at 3.
hibits traffic in human beings, slavery, serfdom, and all types of forced labor. That article also prohibits the employment of minors in factories, mines, and other hazardous worksites. In accordance with these constitutional provisions, Nepal enacted the Labour Act of 1992 and the Children's Act of 1992.169

In February of 1995, the government of Nepal signed a Memorandum of Understanding with ILO-IPEC agreeing to launch a national program to eliminate child labor. In pursuit of this goal, Nepal has developed partnerships with employers and workers organizations and domestic non-governmental organizations (NGO's). In May of 1997, Nepal ratified the ILO Minimum Age Convention and prescribed a minimum age for basic work of fourteen years and hazardous work of sixteen years. These minimums are consistent with Nepal's existing law under the Labour Act. The minimum age for basic work is subject to exemptions, however. For example, work in agriculture, where almost 95% of children work, and work in hazardous enterprises such as brick kilns is excluded. Nepal also has laws limiting the number of hours children can work to six per day.

Nepal's Ministry of Labor is responsible for enforcing the country's child labor laws. Currently, the Ministry is focusing its efforts on eradicating the worst forms of child labor. Working with ILO-IPEC, Nepal has initiated several programs to rehabilitate and provide educational opportunities for bonded children. Additionally, in an effort to increase school enrollment and attendance in Nepal, the World Food Program (WFP) and IPEC are providing school children with meals and their

---

167 See id.
168 See id.
169 See id.
170 See id. at 1.
172 See BUREAU OF INT'L LABOR AFFAIRS, supra note 156, ch.III, at tbl.III-1.
173 See id.
174 See id. at 6.
175 See id. at 8.
176 See id. at 12
177 See ILO/IPEC Country Profile: Nepal, supra note 134, at 3.
178 See BUREAU OF INT'L LABOR AFFAIRS, supra note 156, ch.V.
mothers are given a food contribution. Also in conjunction with ILO-IPEC, the National Society for the Protection of the Environment and Children has established a rehabilitation program for children working in Nepal’s carpet industry. ILO-IPEC is also working with the Nepalese Ministry of Women and Social Affairs “to eliminate trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation of children.” In July of 2000, the government outlawed the practice of bonded labor or Kamaiyas and in January 2002, Nepal ratified the ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labor. Unlike the experience of child labor reformers in nineteenth century America, who were somewhat isolated in their endeavors, the Nepalese government has sought to integrate its efforts to reform child labor with those of employers, workers, domestic NGO’s, and the international community.

Disappointingly however, Nepal has no compulsory educational laws, either mandating that children attend school until they reach a minimum age or attend school for a minimum number of years. “While there is no compulsory schooling, primary education is free for all children between the ages of six and twelve.” That being said, however, there are many obstacles to school attendance including discrimination. In some places in Nepal where discriminatory attitudes are pervasive, minorities and lower-caste children are not permitted to attend the same schools as upper-caste children. The obstacles to school attendance are evidenced by the fact that even with free primary education, the primary school enrollment rate is only about seventy %, and of those children who do attend school, approximately fifty-two % leave school before reaching the fifth grade. This is so despite the fact that Nepal’s national expenditure on education is 3.1% of its gross national product and fourteen % of its total government

180 See BUREAU OF INT’L LABOR AFFAIRS, supra note 156, ch.V.
181 Id. at 17.
183 See BUREAU OF INT’L LABOR AFFAIRS, supra note 156, ch.IV tbl.IV-1.
184 Id. at 4.
185 See id. at 17.
186 See id.
187 See id. at 7-9.
expenditures. Of that amount, Nepal dedicates forty-five % to primary education. The low levels of educational enrollment and attainment, however, lead one to question both the accessibility and quality of Nepal's primary educational system.

b. Cultural Relativism:

Although child labor continues in both developing and industrialized nations, the vast majority of child labor is concentrated in developing countries. The ILO estimates that approximately 211 million children between the ages of five and fourteen are employed in developing countries. Of these children, approximately sixty-one % are employed in Asia, thirty-two % in Africa, and seven % in Latin America. The participation work rate of children between the ages of five and fourteen is about forty-one % in Africa, twenty-two % in Asia, and seventeen % in Latin America. In Nepal, approximately forty-three % of children ages ten to fourteen years old are employed.

Child laborers often work in hazardous conditions where they are exposed to toxic substances and solvents that endanger their health and safety. According to IPEC, there were approximately 186 million children below the age of fifteen working in 2000. About 110 million of these were below the age of twelve. Moreover, of the 246 million child laborers aged five

---

188 See Bureau of Int'l Labor Affairs, supra note 156, at 9 tbl.IV-3 (Nepal's educational expenditures have improved over time, for instance in the period from 1985-87, the corresponding figures were 2.2% and 10.4%, respectively. Corresponding figures for the United States during the 1995-97 period were 5.4% of GNP and 14.4% of total government expenditures).
189 See id. (the corresponding figure for the 1985-86 period was 35.7%); see also Bellamy, supra note 11, at 90 tbl.6: Economic Indicators (by contrast Nepal dedicates approximately 6% of its total government expenditures towards its military budget).
190 See Bullard, supra note 26, at 141.
192 See id. at 11, 31; see also Arat, supra note 51, at 181 tbl.1.
193 See Arat, supra note 50, at 181 tbl.1.
195 See Bullard, supra note 26, at 151-53.
197 See id.
to seventeen, approximately 171 million were working in hazardous conditions. These children are frequently both physically and mentally abused by their employers. Shockingly, of the 171 million children working in hazardous conditions, it is estimated that approximately 8.4 million were involved in the unconventional worst forms of child labor that are listed in Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) Convention No. 182, Article 3, including forced and bonded labor, armed conflict, prostitution, and pornography. Although most countries have laws that regulate child labor similar to the laws that were enacted in nineteenth century America, most of these laws are limited in scope and rarely enforced.

The international community, led by western nations, has recently sought to mandate both higher child labor standards and more effective monitoring and enforcement mechanisms throughout the world. One way in which the West sought to do this was by linking social causes, such as child labor reform to trade agreements negotiated under the auspices of the WTO. Much like the United States’ child labor reform movement was met with fierce resistance from southern states, the WTO social clause agenda has been met with fierce resistance from the developing world. These countries contend that the West’s sudden interest in children’s rights is not really driven by noble humanitarian aspirations, but rather by self-serving economic motives to protect western trade from the competition of lower priced goods produced in developing countries.

In support of their position, the developing world advances an argument similar to the one advanced by southern states during the United States’ child labor reform movement. That is, they contend that mandating higher labor standards will increase their costs of production, thereby robbing them of their

---

198 See id.
199 See Bullard, supra note 26, at 150-53.
201 See Bullard, supra note 26, at 142-43.
203 See Basu, supra note 11, at 1111-12; see also Weldon, supra note 1, at 237-40.
204 See Weldon, supra note 1, at 240-41.
205 See id.
comparative advantage and hindering their economic development.\textsuperscript{206} Also, just as the proponents of child labor in nineteenth century America justified that practice as an economic necessity, developing countries argue that child labor is indispensable for poor families to meet their basic needs; leaving these families with no alternative to child labor short of hunger, homelessness, and possibly starvation.\textsuperscript{207} This is especially so where schooling is either inaccessible, of poor quality, or simply viewed as irrelevant to the reality of their lives.\textsuperscript{208}

c. Role of International Law:

Given the developing world’s concerns regarding the perceived inverse relationship between child labor and economic development, it is crucial that the international community does not simply take the position that all child labor must be eradicated. Two of the three main international conventions that seek to regulate child labor are, in fact, cognizant of developing countries’ concerns and seek to address them.\textsuperscript{209} Briefly, the three main international conventions that address child labor are the ILO Minimum Age Convention (No. 138), the ILO Worst Forms of Child Labor Convention (No. 182), and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC).\textsuperscript{210} Both the Worst Forms of Child Labor Convention and the CRC seek to address the developing world’s concerns by calling on states to eliminate only exploitative child labor practices.\textsuperscript{211}

In 1973, the ILO adopted convention number 138, a comprehensive convention on the subject of minimum age for employment.\textsuperscript{212} This convention, which applies to all economic

\textsuperscript{206} See id.
\textsuperscript{207} See id.
\textsuperscript{208} See Weiner, supra note 29, at 370.
\textsuperscript{211} See Convention on the Rights of the Child, supra note 209, art. 32, at 167; Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention 182, supra note 212, art. 3.
\textsuperscript{212} See generally Minimum Age Convention 138, supra note 209.
sectors, provides for a general minimum age of fifteen years for light work and eighteen years for hazardous work, but allows flexibility to vary the minimum age depending upon the stage of development of a particular country.\textsuperscript{213} As of December 31, 2002, 120 member states have ratified the Minimum Age Convention.\textsuperscript{214}

In 1992, the ILO established the International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC), which was designed to mobilize international action in support of national child labor reform programs.\textsuperscript{215} Recognizing that the causes of child labor are complex and deeply rooted in poverty, and that not all types of child labor are harmful to children, the ILO changed its approach from an outright ban on all types of work done by children under the minimum age to a more nuanced approach.\textsuperscript{216} This led to a change in focus to one of giving priority to eliminating only the worst forms of child labor.\textsuperscript{217} Thus, in 1999, the ILO adopted the Worst Forms of Child Labor Convention (No. 182).\textsuperscript{218} This convention requires ratifying states to "take immediate and effective measures to prohibit and eliminate the worst forms of child labour as a matter of urgency."\textsuperscript{219} It applies to all persons under the age of eighteen and includes definitions of the worst forms of child labor.\textsuperscript{220} The definition includes all forms of slavery, debt bondage, prostitution, pornography, drug trafficking, and any work which "is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children . . . ."\textsuperscript{221} As of December 31, 2002, 132 member states have ratified this Convention.\textsuperscript{222}

In the past decade, the issues of children's rights and child labor, in particular, have attracted much international attention. The adoption of the Convention on the Rights of the Child

\textsuperscript{213} See id. arts. 2(3), 3(1), 5(1).
\textsuperscript{214} See Action against Child Labour: Highlights 2002, supra note 191, at 21.
\textsuperscript{216} See generally Minimum Age Convention 138, supra note 209, arts. 2(4), 5(1).
\textsuperscript{217} See Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention 182, supra note 210, art. 3.
\textsuperscript{218} See id. pmbl.
\textsuperscript{219} Id. art. 1.
\textsuperscript{220} See id. arts. 2, 3.
\textsuperscript{221} Id. art. 3(d).
\textsuperscript{222} See Action against Child Labour: Highlights 2002, supra note 191, at 21.
(CRC) by the United Nations General Assembly, and its almost universal acceptance, are illustrative of this trend.\textsuperscript{223} The CRC, established in September 1990, was ratified by 191 states by December 1999.\textsuperscript{224} Only the United States and Somalia have failed to ratify it.\textsuperscript{225} The CRC established an international monitoring committee where state parties are required to submit reports on their implementation of its provisions.\textsuperscript{226} Article 32 of the CRC specifically addresses the issue of child labor.\textsuperscript{227} That provision does not ban all child work, but it "recognize[s] the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or interfere with the child’s education, or to be harmful to the child’s health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral, or social development."\textsuperscript{228} As is evident from this provision, the CRC, unlike the Minimum Age Convention, simply sets forth broad objectives and principles.\textsuperscript{229} The actual interpretation and implementation of these objectives and principles are left to the state party’s discretion.\textsuperscript{230} Other articles of the CRC relevant to the child labor issue include Articles 28 and 29, which guarantee all children the right to an education, Article 31, which guarantees the right to rest and leisure, and Article 3, which provides that "in all actions concerning children . . . the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration."\textsuperscript{231}

What is apparent from even a cursory review of these international child labor conventions is that twenty-first century Nepal, unlike nineteenth century America, has a plethora of international guidance and assistance at its service. The international conventions and organizations can provide support by helping Nepal to increase public awareness regarding the extent and conditions of child labor, to modify public perceptions.


\textsuperscript{225} See id.

\textsuperscript{226} See id.

\textsuperscript{227} See Convention on the Rights of the Child, supra note 209, art. 32, at 167.

\textsuperscript{228} Id.

\textsuperscript{229} See Myers, supra note 202, at 48.

\textsuperscript{230} See id.

\textsuperscript{231} Convention on the Rights of the Child, supra note 209, art. 3.
concerning the acceptability of the practice, and to overcome opposition to child labor reform.

d. Why Do Children Work?:

Numerous factors contribute to worldwide child labor practices. The most pervasive of these reasons is the least likely to be remedied, poverty. Children work because they have no choice but to work. According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), in 1999, twenty-three % of the world’s population was living in extreme poverty. The pervasive poverty found in some parts of the developing world, such as Africa, makes the decision whether to send a child to school or to work “simply a question of survival.” Likewise in Nepal, thirty-eight % of people live on less than one dollar a day and forty-two % live below the national poverty line. Without the added income from child labor, many families in developing countries would be unable to meet their basic needs. Given their dire economic situation, many parents in the developing world understandably view their children as economic assets, as parents in nineteenth century America did. In fact, families in developing countries have many children so they can increase the family’s income by sending the children to work. In other words, “the large family is a conscious, rational decision.”

Inadequate health care services and lack of access to basic preventive health care education are additional factors that have led to increased child labor. Many children have been orphaned by the death of one or more of their parents from the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Global statistics indicate that 13 mil-

233 Human Development Report 2002, supra note 143, at 13, 18 tbl.1.2 (extreme poverty is defined as income of less than $1 a day).
237 See id.; see also Basu & Van, supra note 56, at 425.
238 Basu & Van, supra note 56, at 425.
239 See Action against Child Labour: Highlights 2002, supra note 191, at 58.
lion children under age fifteen are AIDS orphans. Many of these children will be forced to drop out of school and look for work in order to survive.

Structural adjustment policies have also contributed to the increase in child labor. The conditions that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank set for lending often require draconian cuts in government spending. These cuts are generally in social expenditures such as health and education, which have a disproportionately large impact on the poor, especially poor women and children. These cuts reinforce the child’s role in the workplace by increasing economic dependency on children while decreasing the accessibility and quality of education.

Added to these difficulties is the fact that in most countries, primary education is not free, nor is it available for all children. The World Bank reported that “in some poor countries most people from the poorest families have no schooling at all.” According to that report, in Bangladesh, India, Morocco, Pakistan, and eight countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, more than half the fifteen to nineteen year-olds in the poorest forty % of households had zero years of schooling. Likewise, the primary, secondary, and tertiary gross enrollment ratio in Nepal is only sixty %. Where schooling is available, the poor quality of education and the lack of relevance of the curriculum to their daily lives create the perception that the benefits of education are not sufficient to justify forgoing the extra income that impoverished families will gain by sending their children to work. According to the UNDP, of 680 million children of pri-

---

240 See id.
241 See id.
242 See Arat, supra note 50, at 190; see also Bellamy, supra note 11, at 28.
243 See Arat, supra note 50, at 190.
244 See id. at 191; see also Bellamy, supra note 11, at 28, 48.
245 See Myrstad, supra note 26, at 2; see generally Siddiqi & Patrinos, supra note 232, at 4-5.
246 World Development Report, supra note 25, at 27.
247 See id.
248 See Human Development Report, supra note 143, at 149-52 tbl.I (the rate in most developed countries is in the mid-to-high nineties).
249 See Myrstad, supra note 26, at 2; see also Siddiqi & Patrinos, supra note 232, at 6.
mary school age, 113 million are not enrolled in school. Of these children, ninety-seven % live in developing countries.

The inadequacy of the educational system is reflected by the low literacy rates found in most developing countries. For example, in Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia, and the Arab States, adult literacy rates are approximately sixty %, whereas developed countries' literacy rates are close to one hundred %. By comparison, the adult literacy rate in Nepal is forty-two %. Adults who are illiterate and unskilled are forced to depend on their children to survive, thus creating a cycle of poverty by breeding children who will also grow into illiterate and unskilled adults.

An even more pervasive problem, which also serves to perpetuate child labor practices are the traditional, and often times discriminatory cultural beliefs that many societies still hold. These cultural beliefs fall into three main categories. First, not all countries share the West's paternalistic view of the child. Second, within countries there is often a social hierarchy that dictates who will be educated and who will work. Third, many societies believe that there is simply no point in educating their female children.

Overall, the western world adheres to concepts of childhood that differ from those held in many developing societies. In the West, we view childhood and adulthood as having a clear demarcation, with children being protected and kept dependent through adolescence. Most people in developing countries, on the other hand, stress the family unit and believe that all family members are responsible for the family's survival. This is similar to the way the family unit was perceived within the United States prior to the industrial revolution.


See id.

See id. at 22, 149-52 tbl.I.

See id.


See id. at 7.

See id.

See Myers, supra note 202, at 40.

See id.

See id.
Another factor that has perpetuated child labor practices is that many societies have deeply imbedded religious and social structures that sanction discriminatory treatment of different ethnicities and social classes. "Experience shows that governments tend to use the system of education as a means to systematically discriminate against ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities as well as other vulnerable groups, such as women or blacks."\(^{260}\) For example, in the Indian caste system it is believed that everyone has a predetermined role in life, and because the role of the lower castes is as unskilled manual laborers no one, including the lower castes, believes that there is any value in educating lower caste children.\(^ {261}\) A similar social hierarchy exists in Nepal where children in the lower castes frequently do not attend school.\(^ {262}\) This leads to dramatic differences in the literacy rates among different ethnicities.\(^ {263}\) For example, literacy rates range from approximately sixty-four % in the Siraha District of Nepal to about four % among the Musahars to zero among the Dom.\(^ {264}\)

Another factor that has a tendency to affect the incidence of child labor is gender discrimination. In patriarchal societies where discrimination against women is systemic, traditional gender roles are accepted without question, creating an environment where parents fail to see any point in educating their female children.\(^ {265}\) Rather than educate female children, they are sent to work, frequently in domestic services.\(^ {266}\) For example, in Nepal, only forty-one % of girls were enrolled in primary school in 1995, while the corresponding figure for boys was approximately eighty %.\(^ {267}\) The disparity in educational enrollment is reflected in an adult literacy rate for females of fourteen % versus forty-one % for males.\(^ {268}\)


\(^ {261}\) See Weiner, supra note 29, at 370.

\(^ {262}\) See BUREAU OF INT'L LABOR AFFAIRS, supra note 156, ch.IV, at 11.

\(^ {263}\) See id.

\(^ {264}\) See id.

\(^ {265}\) See id. at 16; see also Siddiqi & Patrinos, supra note 232, at 7; see generally Child Labour and Education, supra note 179, at 4.

\(^ {266}\) See BELLAMY, supra note 11, at 44-45.

\(^ {267}\) See id. at 44 tbl.4.

\(^ {268}\) See id.
e. How to Stop Child Labor:

To the extent that a child is engaged in work that either interferes with his or her education or is hazardous or harmful to his or her health and development, it is neither in the best interests of that child, nor is it in the best interests of society, for that work to continue. Child labor is not only detrimental to children, but it inhibits the nation's socio-economic growth, breeding hundreds of thousands of illiterate and unskilled adults, ultimately creating a cycle of poverty. In addition, because children are paid significantly less than adults, child labor has the effect of displacing adult workers and depressing adult wages.

Given these facts, there is little doubt that exploitative child labor must be eliminated. Unlike the United States' experience, however, ending exploitative child labor does not and should not have to wait until the developing countries are fully industrialized. Although the United States eradicated child labor only after it achieved economic prosperity, this experience does not have to be repeated. We now live in an interconnected and interdependent world. Extensive information and data regarding the extent and conditions of child labor is readily available and new research is forthcoming. Further, the international community is committed to eliminating exploitative child labor practices. This heightened international scrutiny can serve as the impetus for change if the international effort is directed not only towards supporting national child labor reform efforts, but also towards pressuring governments to comply with international norms.

Although there may be disagreement over what is the most effective approach to the child labor problem, no one doubts that the proposed solution must be sensitive to both the complexity of the underlying causes of child labor and the developing world's concerns for their own economic development. With these considerations in mind, the solution should incorporate

---

269 See id. at 27-28; Bullard, supra note 26, at 148-49.
270 See Bullard, supra note 26, at 149.
271 See BELLAMY, supra note 11, at 27.
272 See Basu, supra note 11, at 1093.
273 See generally id.; see also Arat, supra note 50, at 203.
274 See Basu, supra note 11, at 1083.
three strategies. First, national projects must seek to increase awareness of the dangers of child labor and to modify discriminatory cultural beliefs that serve to perpetuate child labor practices. These programs should be directed towards those who are most affected by the child labor problem: the poor, minorities, and those people at the margins of society. second, the strategy must include national efforts to enact new child labor laws and to improve enforcement mechanisms on existing laws. Although history has shown that simply changing laws without changing attitudes may not lead to a decrease in child labor practices, we should not discount the transformative effect that law can have on our social conscience. In other words, we should use the law to seek to change the normative discourse by making a clear statement as to what practices will not be tolerated. Third, humanitarian and foreign aid should be directed towards national projects that are designed to decrease the poor family's reliance on child labor and towards national projects that seek to create adequate educational opportunities for all children.

Developing countries have the benefit of being part of a world where there are many international organizations, international conventions, and international NGO's whose sole purpose is to raise awareness and mobilize resources in pursuit of eradicating exploitative child labor practices. For example, both ILO-IPEC and United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) have developed a myriad of methods to assist governments in their national child labor reform plans. This multifaceted international attention can serve to pressure nations to take their obligations and responsibilities regarding their children seriously.

Domestic governments can use international standards as guidelines when drafting national child labor legislation. International standards can be a useful tool for the developing world, but as the United States experience has shown, simply enacting legislation banning child labor in the absence of any other re-

275 See Bureau of Int'l Labor Affairs, supra note 156, ch.V.
276 See Bellamy, supra note 11, at 58-61.
277 See id. at 48; see also Bureau of Int'l Labor Affairs, supra note 156, ch.V.
278 See Bellamy, supra note 11, at 63.
279 See generally id. at 46-73.
form mechanisms will not be an effective strategy. Such a strategy not only fails to address the underlying causes of child labor, but it will likely result in unintended consequences: children working illegally, possibly starving, and living on the streets.  

Moreover, just as child labor legislation was largely ignored in the early United States, it is likely that legislation in the developing world will also be ignored unless those laws are perceived as legitimate. Perceived legitimacy can only be accomplished by creating a forum in which all members of the community—elected officials, educators, employers, children, and families—can participate. In the absence of such a democratic process of compromise and negotiation, it is likely that those most affected by child labor laws will simply not perceive those laws as a legitimate form of legislation, and without legitimacy, it is not likely that the laws will be respected.

Changes in the law can also be useful where developing countries seek to modify cultural views. "[A] country's legal code makes an important statement about what society considers to be acceptable behaviour [sic] ... providing another benchmark from which the attitudes of society could spring."  

Another way for a domestic government to modify cultural views is by integrating the media into its national child labor reform plan. The media can galvanize public support because it has the ability to widely disseminate information on the atrocities of child labor. Over time, this increased awareness will serve to decrease cultural acceptance of child labor. If you believe that "much of what we consider moral or immoral depends on what we are used to... then one way to remove child labor is to try and make it customary for children not to work."  

Significantly however, a strategy that seeks to modify cultural views cannot be effective by simply imposing western concepts of human rights upon the developing world. Rather, the impetus for change must emanate from within the develop-

---

280 See Arat, supra note 50, at 197-99; Basu, supra note 11, at 1115.
281 Bellamy, supra note 11, at 58.
282 See id. at 65.
283 See generally Bellamy, supra note 11, at 63; see also Bureau of Int'l Labor Affairs, supra note 156, ch.V.
284 Basu and Van, supra note 56, at 422.
285 See Myers, supra note 202, at 53.
ing nation with the international community providing informational, educational, financial, and technical assistance. Moreover, modifying cultural beliefs and ultimately changing child labor practices requires developing broad coalitions among domestic governments, international institutions, NGO's, domestic labor unions, community groups, the child laborers themselves, and their families.  

Cultural values that need to be examined to determine what, if any, impact they have on the incidence of child labor include views with respect to education, gender, ethnicity, and social class, along with cultural perceptions of the proper role of the child in society and in the family unit. Along these lines, societies must be prepared "to address the powerlessness that often results from class, caste or gender discrimination against a social group." One way to reduce this powerlessness and equalize all people is by mandating compulsory, free, accessible primary education for all children irrespective of gender, ethnicity, or social class.  

In this way, the educational system can also be used to divert children from the workplace. This strategy will only be effective, however, if schooling and associated expenses such as school uniforms, lunch, and books are free. Additionally, the quality of education must be improved and "the curriculum must be of direct relevance to the child's social, cultural, environmental and economic context and to his or her present and future needs . . . ." Moreover, a nation's educational plan must be linked to its socio-economic development policy, so that education leads to work that is appropriate to the level of education attained. Creating these conditions is imperative in order for parents, children, and teachers to view education as a meaningful investment of their time.  

286 See generally Bellamy, supra note 11, at 63-67; see also Bureau of Int'l Labor Affairs, supra note 156, ch.V.  
288 Bellamy, supra note 11, at 61.  
289 See generally id. at 51-54; see also Bureau of Int'l Labor Affairs, supra note 156, conclusion.  
290 See Arat, supra note 50, at 200; see also Bellamy, supra note 11, at 53.  
293 See id. at 5.
tional plan of this nature will require a multi-sectoral approach involving the government, teachers' organizations, employers' organizations, international organizations, and NGO's.\textsuperscript{294} Humanitarian aid should also be linked directly to domestic education expenditures that encourage and support those efforts.\textsuperscript{295}

Another way to address the underlying causes of child labor is by enacting core national labor standards such as minimum wage requirements, so that adults are paid an adequate wage.\textsuperscript{296} Government provisions for adult education, training opportunities, and basic health care are also indispensable to alleviate the root causes of child labor.\textsuperscript{297}

IV. CONCLUSION

From nineteenth century America to twenty-first century Nepal, the underlying causes and conditions of child labor are remarkably similar. With regard to eradicating child labor there is one significant difference, however, in that, twenty-first century Nepal, unlike nineteenth century America, has the benefit of a sophisticated international community mobilized to address these issues.

Nonetheless, a meaningful, effective plan to eliminate the root causes of child labor requires more than just support. It requires national governments to spend a lot of money that they claim they simply do not have. So the issue becomes, where does the money come from? There are two main sources that can be used to help fund this endeavor. First, the resources could come from the governments themselves if they simply re-prioritize national expenditures, placing education and poverty reduction programs at the top of the list.\textsuperscript{298} Second, foreign and international aid can be directed towards eliminating the root causes of child labor.

\textsuperscript{294} See id. at 10-11.
\textsuperscript{295} See Arat, supra note 50, at 201.
\textsuperscript{296} See generally id. at 202.
\textsuperscript{297} See Bureau of Int'l Labor Affairs, supra note 156, conclusion.
\textsuperscript{298} See, e.g. Human Development Report, supra note 143, tbl.17, Priorities in Public Spending, at 207-10 (listing by country public expenditures on education as a percentage of GDP for 1995-1998 and public expenditures on the military for 2000 and noting that some countries such as Turkey, Pakistan, the Sudan, and Sri Lanka spent more public monies as a percentage of GDP on the military than on education).
According to UNICEF, educating all of the world's children would cost an additional 6.9 billion dollars per year.\textsuperscript{299} This money is available if governments spend less on other government programs, such as the military, and more on educating their children. In those situations where a country is allocating as much of its resources as is feasible towards eradicating the root causes of child labor but still needs additional funds, then it may be possible to garner the balance of the necessary funds from the international community. This task can be accomplished by linking foreign and humanitarian aid to national child labor and education reform efforts.\textsuperscript{300} Foreign and humanitarian aid is a great potential source of funding that was simply not available in nineteenth century America when the child labor reform movement was ongoing. It is infinitely clear that in the absence of prioritizing expenditures and linking foreign aid to social reform programs, child labor will continue to be a fundamental evolutionary stage in economic and social development. What is equally clear, however, is that it needn't be.

\textsuperscript{299} Action Against Child Labour: Highlights 2002, supra note 193, at 7 (citing UNICEF, The State of the World's Children, 1999); see also Bellamy, supra note 11, at 54-55 (stating that in 1997 "it would cost an estimated $6 billion a year, on top of what is already spent, to put every child in school by the year 2000." That amount is "less than 1 percent of what the world spends every year on weapons.")

\textsuperscript{300} See Arat, supra note 50, at 201, 203.