

Programs and Practices Review

Research on Children Working in the Carpet Industry in India, Nepal and Pakistan

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CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	4
PREFACE	5
ABSTRACT	6
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS	7
INTRODUCTION	8
REVIEW FRAMEWORK	10
CHILD LABOR IN THE CARPET INDUSTRY IN INDIA, NEPAL, AND PAKISTAN.....	11
2.1. CHILDREN IN INDIA, NEPAL, AND PAKISTAN	11
2.2. WORKING CHILDREN AND CHILD LABOR IN THE CARPET INDUSTRY	11
2.3. THE RELATIONSHIP OF EDUCATION AND CHILD LABOR.....	12
METHODOLOGY	14
3.1. TWO PHASES: DESK REVIEW AND FIELD STUDY	14
3.1.1. First Phase -- Literature Review	14
3.1.2. Increased Scope of the Review	15
3.1.3. Second Phase -- Field Study	15
3.2. CRITERIA FOR IDENTIFYING AND EVALUATING PROGRAMS.....	16
RESULTS.....	18
4.1. DIRECT AND INDIRECT INTERVENTIONS	18
4.2. THIRTEEN CARPET INDUSTRY-ORIENTED PROGRAMS AND INTERVENTIONS	19
4.2.1. ILO-IPEC Combating Child Labor in the Carpet Industry in Pakistan.....	20
4.2.2. Ergonomic Looms for Adult Weavers.....	23
4.2.3. Project Mala	24
4.2.4. Formation Carpets/Hoste Hainse.....	25
4.2.5. Obeetee Child Labor Monitoring	26
4.2.5.1. Field Study Notes	28
4.2.6. GoodWeave Nepal	29
4.2.6.1. Field Study Notes	32
4.2.7. Care & Fare Certification Program	35
4.2.8. STEP Monitoring and Certification Program	36
4.2.9. Carpet Export Promotion Council/Kaleen Label	36
4.2.10. Bal Mitra Gram (BMG)	37
4.2.10.1. Field Study Notes.....	39
4.2.11. Center for Rural Education and Development Action (CREDA)	41
4.2.11.1. Field Study Notes.....	43
4.2.12. Thardeep Rural Development Program (TRDP).....	45

4.2.13. Brighter Futures	47
DISCUSSION	49
5.1. INTERVENTIONS FOCUSED ON CHILD LABOR IN THE CARPET INDUSTRY	49
5.1.1. Non-Formal Education	49
5.1.2. Awareness Raising.....	49
5.1.3. Child Friendly Villages	50
5.1.4. Monitoring	51
5.1.5. Certification and Labeling	53
5.1.6. Income Generation Schemes	55
5.1.7. Raid, Rescue, Rehabilitation and Recovery.....	57
5.2. ALTERNATIVE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS	58
5.2.1. Decentralization	59
5.2.2. Formation of Local Partnerships	60
5.2.3. Improvement of Teaching Quality and Conditions	61
5.2.4. Flexible Enrollment Processes.....	62
5.2.5. Incentives	62
5.2.6. Educational Support Programs	63
5.3. STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS.....	65
5.3.1. Strengths	65
5.3.2. Limitations.....	65
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	66
6.1. SUMMARY	66
6.2. CONCLUSIONS	69
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	70
APPENDIX A – FIELD STUDY QUESTIONNAIRES AND FOCUS GROUP GUIDES.....	81
APPENDIX B – FIELD STUDY INTERVIEWS AND FOCUS GROUPS	101

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Demographic Characteristics of Children in India, Nepal, and Pakistan	11
Table 2. Examples of Hazards and Health Consequences of Children Working in the Carpet Industry	12
Table 3. Thirteen Interventions Focused on the Carpet Industry in India, Nepal, and Pakistan	19

PREFACE

In 2007, the Bureau of International Labor Affairs, United States Department of Labor (ILAB-USDOL) funded a cooperative agreement with Macro International (ICF) ^[1] entitled "Research on Children Working in the Carpet Industry of India, Nepal, and Pakistan" (Carpet Project). The Carpet Project's overall objective was to develop reliable and accurate data and information about the prevalence, working conditions, and demand for children's work and child labor in the production process of the handmade-carpet export industry in India, Nepal, and Pakistan. To accomplish its objectives, the Carpet Project designed and conducted six major quantitative research studies as well as semi-structured qualitative research activities. These included the following.

- Three Prevalence and Conditions (PC) Studies for India, Nepal and Pakistan. These were large-scale quantitative studies conducted to produce reliable, statistically sound, and nationally representative estimates of the prevalence of working children and child labor as well as detailed descriptions of children's working conditions in the production process of the national carpet industries.
- The Labor Demand (LD) Survey. This was a longitudinal panel study of establishments producing carpets in all three countries to understand the underlying causes of variation in management's decisions about employing children in the carpet industry.
- The Sending Areas (SA) Study in Nepal. This was a qualitative rapid assessment of child trafficking and bonded labor focused on rural children who migrated to work in the carpet factories in the Kathmandu valley.
- The Schooling Incentives Project Evaluation (SIPE) Study in Nepal. This was a randomized controlled trial to assess the impact of two educational interventions on children's attendance and success in school.
- The Programs and Practices Review (PPR). This was a qualitative meta-analysis of existing and documented programs and practices that targeted child labor in the carpet industry and broader educational interventions that indirectly impact child labor.

This Programs and Practice Review report was written by Wendy Blanpied and Benita O'Colmain on behalf of the ICF research team, which acknowledges the essential contribution made by Wendy Blanpied when she conducted the literature review and field study.

^[1] The company was Macro International when the Cooperative Agreement was signed with USDOL. The company was ICF International, hereafter referred to as ICF, when this report was written.

ABSTRACT

This was a review of existing programs and interventions that focused on eliminating, preventing, or curbing child labor in the carpet industry in India, Nepal, and Pakistan. The review consisted of a desk review of the literature followed by a field study of selected programs.

Prior to the desk review, a set of criteria was established to evaluate programs, projects, and interventions. The criteria included: made an effective impact, was sustainable, was capable of being replicated elsewhere, was innovative, was responsive to those children most in need of assistance, was conducted with ethical soundness, and was documented. During the review, the reviewer noted a serious limitation; many effective programs and interventions were never documented or the documentation was not readily available. Additionally, formal evaluations were lacking for many programs.

The original intent was to limit the review to programs that combated child labor in the carpet industry in the three countries. After reviewing the linkage between child labor and education, the scope was further expanded to include educational programs, even if they did not specifically mention child labor.

The review identified 13 programs that addressed, directly or indirectly, the problem of child labor in the carpet industry in the three targeted countries. A summary of the basic characteristics of these programs as well as the strategies and practices used to reduce or eliminate child labor is provided. The review also provides a discussion of a number of types of interventions, some focused on combating child labor and others focused on improving access to education, that were effective ways of addressing the interlinked problems of child labor and education for all.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BBA	Bachpan Bachao Andolan (Save the Childhood Movement)
BMG	Bal Mitra Gram (Child Friendly Village)
CBO	Community-Based Organization
CCT	Conditional Cash Transfer
CEPC	Carpet Export Promotion Council (India)
CLMS	Child Labor Monitoring System
CREDA	Center for Rural Education and Development
CSO	Civil Society Organization
EFA	Education for All
ICF	ICF International, Inc.
ILAB	Bureau of International Labor Affairs (USDOL)
ILO	International Labour Organization (United Nations)
IPEC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labor (ILO)
ISEAL	International Social and Environmental Accreditation and Labeling Alliance
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MVF	Mamidipudi Venkatarangaiya Foundation
NCLP	National Child Labor Project
NFE	Non-Formal Education
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
OCFT	Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor, and Human Trafficking (ILAB-USDOL)
PPR	Programs and Practices Review
SA	Social Accountability
SEC	School Education Committee
SSA	Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (Education for All)
SHG	Self-Help Group
TRDP	Thardeep Rural Development Program
UNCHR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USDOL	United States Department of Labor
WFCL	Worst Forms of Child Labor

INTRODUCTION

Child labor (when working children are exploited) is a global problem. In 2008, the ILO noted that more than half of the world's 215 million child laborers were located in the Asia and Pacific region (ILO, 2010). Child labor in the carpet industry in Asia had received a lot of international attention. A widely-circulated 1996 report noted:

The past few years have seen increasing public awareness...of the high incidence of child servitude in the carpet industry of South Asia. As a consequence, the international public has come to associate "child servitude" with the image of small children chained to carpet looms, slaving away over the thousands of tiny wool knots that will eventually become expensive carpets in the homes of the wealthy (Human Rights Watch, 1996:3).

The primary focus of this Programs and Practices Review was to identify and review documented existing practices and programs used to eliminate, prevent, and curb child labor in the carpet industry in India, Nepal, and Pakistan. This program review was relevant because it provides stakeholders with a synopsis and qualitative review of currently used approaches and interventions for reducing child labor in the carpet industries in the three countries. Additionally the results of this review were used to inform the selection of the educational interventions for the Schooling Incentives Project Evaluation (SIPE) Study in Nepal.

This review had one objective:

- Produce a list of existing documented practices and programs to eliminate, prevent, and curb child labor in the carpet industries of India, Nepal, and Pakistan.

One broad primary research question guided this review:

- What practices and programs have been used to combat child labor in the carpet industries of these three countries?

During the course of the review, access to education and educational programs emerged as major components (often the key components) of many existing anti-child labor programs aimed at the carpet industry. The broader literature also revealed that "Education for all and the elimination of child labor are increasingly seen as interconnected challenges" (ILO, 2010). This resulted in another broad research question that also guided this review:

- Which educational interventions appear to be most relevant to the search for practices and programs to combat child labor in the carpet industry in these three countries?

This review used a triangulation approach that combined a desk review of the literature and field visits to selected programs. The study began with an extensive literature review and the creation

of a set of criteria to evaluate programs and interventions. The findings from the literature review were analyzed based on those criteria, which produced a list of existing practices and programs in the three countries. The next step was a field study to observe and interview the staff and beneficiaries of four selected programs in India and Nepal to learn about the practices used and longer-term impact of those programs. Finally, the findings from the desk review and field study were integrated to produce a qualitative analysis and synthesis of the programs reviewed.

This review made the following contributions to the knowledge base about child labor in the carpet industry in India, Nepal, and Pakistan:

- (1) Identified and summarized existing programs and interventions that have been employed to combat child labor in the carpet industry in India, Nepal, and Pakistan.
- (2) Identified and summarized relevant educational interventions and practices that directly related to anti-child labor efforts.

The first section of this report is an introduction, and the second section notes the conventions that provided the internationally-accepted definitions and standards for this study. The third section provides background information on child labor and the carpet industry in India, Nepal, and Pakistan, and the fourth section describes the methodology used in this review. The fifth section describes the results from the literature review and the field visits. The sixth section discusses the qualitative analysis of child labor programs in the carpet industry and educational programs. The seventh section summarizes and concludes the report. That is followed by the bibliography and appendices.

REVIEW FRAMEWORK

The international framework for the review was the United Nations instruments that defined and regulated children's work, child labor, forced/bonded labor, and child trafficking.

- UN Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery (1956)
- ILO Convention 105 on the Abolition of Forced Labor (1957)
- ILO Convention 138 on Minimum Working Age (1973)
- UN International Convention on the Rights of a Child (UNCRC, 1990)
- ILO Convention 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labor (1999) as amended by Recommendation 190 (1999)
- UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the UN Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime, also known as the Palermo Protocol (2000)

CHILD LABOR IN THE CARPET INDUSTRY IN INDIA, NEPAL, AND PAKISTAN

2.1. CHILDREN IN INDIA, NEPAL, AND PAKISTAN

The three countries of India, Nepal, and Pakistan contained more than 1.3 billion people, and more than 35 percent of them were children under 15 years of age (see Table 1). Nearly 17.6 million of those children 5-14 years old were estimated to be economically active, and many of those were children in child labor.¹ Child labor in the region was not a recent phenomenon and resulted from poverty, illiteracy, inadequate education systems, discrimination against segments of the population including women and girls, and high rates of adult unemployment and underemployment. Despite the fact that it was prohibited by the laws of all three countries, all three countries still were reported to have children in hazardous work and bonded labor.

Table 1. Demographic Characteristics of Children in India, Nepal, and Pakistan

	India	Nepal	Pakistan
Total Population (in millions)	1,134 million	27 million	158 million
Population under 15 years, 2005 (%)	33	39	37.2
Youth literacy rate (aged 15-24), 2005 (%)	76.4 ²	70.1	65.1
Gross primary school enrollment rate Male: Female Ratio, 2000-2007	90:87	91:87	74:57
Children dropping out before grade 5 ³ (%)	48	56	50
Working Children (5-14 years) (in millions)	12.6 million	1.7 million	3.3 million
Total Child Population (5-14 years) (in millions)	253 million	6 million	40 million

A major alternative to child labor was schooling. Attendance rates in primary school were still low, especially for girls, despite the great push for universal education for all, and children continued to drop out in large numbers before reaching the fifth grade. The average literacy rate was approximately 70 percent for youth 15-24 years old in the three countries.

2.2. WORKING CHILDREN AND CHILD LABOR IN THE CARPET INDUSTRY

The number of children working in the handmade carpet industries of India, Nepal, and Pakistan increased with the rapid expansion of the industries that started in the 1970s. The industry and the number of children who were working in the industry continued to grow through the 1980s and 1990s. This project estimated that 57,451 children worked in the industry in India, Nepal,

¹ Children in child labour is a subset of working children (ILO, 2010).

² 2001 figure, *Human Development Report 2007 - 08*.

³ Pulse Report on Education, Pakistan.

and Pakistan during the period of the research (2009-2011). Pakistan’s industry employed the most (33,413), followed by India’s (13,131) and Nepal’s (10,907).

The exploitation of children in the industry started attracting international attention in the 1980s.⁴ The carpet loom owners admitted they preferred to hire child workers because they did not make demands, worked without complaint, and could easily endure the long hours of tedious work required of weavers (ILO, 1996).⁵ By loaning an advance payment to parents in need of cash, employers could further subjugate the children. In impoverished villages of India and Pakistan where families weaved carpets in their homes on borrowed looms, it became common for the parents and subsequently their children to be bonded laborers in their own homes, with high interest rates piled onto their advance payments. However, children working beside their parents in their own homes were less abused than the children who left their homes to work.

Migrant children, with no connection to the local populations where they worked, faced the worst abuses. In Nepal and India, children became bonded to contractors who recruited them from villages and sent them to work in carpet factories, usually advancing money to their parents in exchange for their children’s labor. Many trafficked migrant children became bonded laborers before they began their journey to the carpet looms because of the advanced loans to cover the costs of the travel and the housing and food at the factories, where the child laborers often slept on the floors, cooked their meals on makeshift fire-pits outside, and worked very long hours under hazardous unhealthy and unsafe conditions.⁶

Table 2. Examples of Hazards and Health Consequences of Children Working in the Carpet Industry

Hazards		Health Consequences
Inhalation of dust and biological agents from wool	⇒	Respiratory diseases and chemical poisoning
Awkward work postures: squatting or bending over for hours on end	⇒	Musculo-skeletal disorders, aching and swelling body parts, particularly in back, joints and muscles
Inadequate lighting	⇒	eye strain and defective vision
Use of hazardous chemicals (especially in dyeing yarn and washing carpets)	⇒	Chemical poisoning
Poor ventilation	⇒	Respiratory diseases

2.3. THE RELATIONSHIP OF EDUCATION AND CHILD LABOR

Researchers and practitioners have contended that poverty was the main reason for the existence of child labor. Although poverty was clearly one of the primary causes or indicators of child

⁴ The project produced reports on each country that described their situation in more detail.

⁵ The ILO (1960) report, *Eliminating Child Labour Through Community Mobilization*, looked at CREDA’s work in Mirzapur, India.

⁶ Human Rights Watch (1996); KC, Bal Kumar, et al. (2002); World Education (2009);

labor, it has become apparent that other factors also contribute to the child labor problem. Most researchers and practitioners have agreed that lack of education was another primary factor contributing to child labor and that improved access to affordable education for every child would directly impact and decrease the rates of child labor. “Education for all and the elimination of child labour are increasingly seen as interconnected challenges” (ILO, 2010). Some practitioners even used the term education within the very definition of child labor. For example, an Indian NGO (Mamidipudi Venkatarangaiya Foundation, or MVF) defined child labor as “any child not in school.”

The ILO stated that, “education is pivotal in eliminating and preventing child labor, to establish a skilled workforce, and to promoting development based on the principles of social justice and human rights” (ILO-IPEC, undatedb). With Education for All (EFA), the international community “agreed that education is the key to development and no country can realize its potential without investing in public education” (USAID, undated). Education-based interventions have become a common practice used by governments, international organizations, and civil society organizations (CSOs) to eliminate and reduce child labor.

METHODOLOGY

3.1. TWO PHASES: DESK REVIEW AND FIELD STUDY

There were two separate phases in the methodology for this review. The first phase was primarily the literature review that resulted in selecting the programs and interventions that were further reviewed. The second phase was a field study that focused on a few selected programs to validate the findings from the literature review.

3.1.1. First Phase -- Literature Review

The first phase consisted of three activities: developing evaluation criteria, reviewing the literature, and evaluating and selecting the most relevant programs and interventions. The first activity was to outline the criteria for evaluating programs and interventions.

The second activity was the literature review, which included:

- 1) Searching the internet for relevant websites that included organizations focused on child labor, government development programs, United Nations (UN) agencies, international and local non-governmental organizations (NGOs), the International Labor Organization (ILO) and their country programs, and research organizations and internet resources.
- 2) Reviewing reports and other documents and records about child labor in general, in South Asia, and in India, Nepal, and Pakistan and about strategies to combat child labor.
- 3) Reviewing documents about policies, programs, projects, methodologies, and best practices that sought to combat child labor in the carpet industry in India, Nepal, and Pakistan and evaluate the programs and interventions on the basis of the defined criteria.
- 4) Reviewing documents about policies, programs, projects, methodologies, and best practices that sought to improve access to quality educational programs in developing countries and evaluate the programs and interventions on the basis of the defined criteria.

Based on the evaluations and relevance, the third activity in the first phase was to identify a set of programs and interventions and then, from that set, select a subset to be visited during the field study phase. Each identified program or intervention was reviewed in the context of the defined criteria, and programs and interventions were selected for further analysis based on that evaluation and their relevance. Other factors that were considered when selecting interventions for further review were the breadth of information available, research available on the methodologies employed, and general findings about quality education and child labor interventions. In order to be included in this report and to be studied further in the field, the intervention needed to have some kind of evaluation of its effectiveness.

3.1.2. Increased Scope of the Review

Initially, the review was to remain focused on evaluating only those programs and interventions that addressed child labor in the carpet industry in the three countries. As the review continued and the importance of education became more apparent, the scope of the review was broadened even further to encompass access to education and educational programs (even if they never alluded to child labor).

3.1.3. Second Phase -- Field Study

Following the literature review, the second phase was a field study to evaluate four programs that were selected from the literature review. The purpose of the field study was to gather more information about the selected programs and validate their practices for reducing child labor. In keeping with the goal of reviewing both direct and indirect interventions, the field study included visits to two community-based programs in India and two programs focusing on ethical practices in carpet production, one in India and one in Nepal.⁷ The field visits were scheduled over a 10 day period from December 4 to December 14, 2009.

The two indirect community-based programs were long term programs run by Indian NGOs:

- 1) Center for Rural Education and Development (CREDA) in Mirzapur district, a core district of the Indian carpet belt in eastern Uttar Pradesh (UP) State.
- 2) Bachpan Bachao Andolan (BBA) in Delhi, which worked in several states in India, including rural Rajasthan State, where the use of child labor in the carpet industry is widespread

The two direct programs were production-based monitoring and labeling schemes. They were:

- 1) Obeetee, a carpet manufacturing and export company located in Mirzapur (UP State), India, that developed a self-monitoring program to combat child labor
- 2) GoodWeave Nepal, an NGO based in the Kathmandu Valley that used the certification or social labeling scheme.

A work plan was prepared prior to the trip that outlined the methods, processes and schedule for conducting the field study. The field study itself consisted of a series of interviews and focus groups with key individuals at each of the selected programs. Each program was notified in advance of the field study and its goals, and the program's participation was requested. Each NGO and Obeetee responded positively to the request and helped set up appropriate interviews and field visit appointments.

⁷ Due to security concerns at the time, a field study in Pakistan was not permitted.

3.2. CRITERIA FOR IDENTIFYING AND EVALUATING PROGRAMS

The following criteria were used to evaluate the programs, projects, and specific interventions that were found during the literature review. Other reviews have chosen other criteria. The criteria used in this review are listed in order of importance:

Impact: Impact addressed why and how an approach or intervention had been effective. It was the evidence needed to prove that the selected approach made a difference. An approach may have had an impact at many levels. Most importantly, the intervention must have had an impact that made a difference in the lives of the target group. It was also possible to show that there was an indirect impact to others. An intervention may have failed to achieve its original objectives, but still was able to impact some beneficiaries at another level.

Sustainability: It was critical that good interventions were able to complete the job they started. Unless the funded intervention was no longer needed because the problem had been solved or the issue resolved, then it was critical that the intervention had become a permanent facet of the communities that were served. All exemplary projects should have had a long-term plan in place to continue project activities once initial funding had ended. Sustainable interventions invested in human capital by building the skills and knowledge of the people served so that they were able to sustain the interventions after the external funding ended. Interventions that built social capital helped form strong communities that sometimes were able on their own to develop measures for economic sustainability.

Replicability: The ability to replicate a successful practice was critical to its being identified as a best practice that could be recommended. Replicate did not mean duplicate because adaptations may be necessary according to country, region, cultural differences, etc. One of the chief goals behind the evaluation and reporting of good practices should be to identify geographical areas and situations where a successful initiative may be replicated. In an ideal situation, replicating good practices in another region or country would be straightforward, but first there had to be a good understanding of what made the original project successful. Those criteria of success in the original project must transfer to the replicated project site.

Innovation: Until approaches are found that work everywhere for everyone, practitioners need to continue to think creatively to identify new techniques to combat child labor in the carpet industry. The term innovation suggested a practice that was creative and forward thinking. The criterion of innovation identified what it was about the practice that made it of potential interest to others. The methodologies chosen, such as non-formal education programs or micro-credit schemes, may not have been different, but how they were used or applied to other possible approaches or beneficiaries may have been innovative.

Responsiveness to those most in need: In this review, a best practice must have demonstrated that it was responsive to those most in need. Examples of that might be a sub-population of carpet children, such as girls, or children who worked 12 hours a day and had no schooling. In order to be considered a good practice, the approach must have proved that the implementer successfully responded to the most vulnerable members of the target group.

Ethically sound: The approach must have been completely ethical in its implementation. Ethical soundness included the proper use and acquisition of project funds, respect for the interests and desires of the participants and other indirect beneficiaries, conduct in a professional manner, and being in accordance with international ethical standards and the national laws of the country in question. Good practices needed to set a good example, which only occurred when approaches were implemented in a transparent, ethical manner.

Documentation: The practice had to be documented and the documentation made publicly available for the practice to be considered. The other criteria referred to characteristics of the intervention. This criterion was different. No matter how good an intervention was, it was of no use to other programs if there was no written and accessible documentation about the practice. Unfortunately, a number of successful projects implemented over the years, many times at the local level, remained undocumented and unknown by other practitioners. The reasons for the absence of documentation included the reluctance of programs to be evaluated and the lack of funds or the reluctance to devote scarce funds and time to evaluation and documentation. Many other programs were evaluated, but the funding agencies restricted the circulation of those evaluations.

RESULTS

This section starts by providing the results from the literature review of programs to combat child labor in the carpet industry. The literature review resulted in selecting 13 programs, and the characteristics of these programs are briefly summarized along with their strategies and practices employed to reduce or eliminate child labor. Notes from the field study as they relate to observed practices are included after the descriptions for the four programs that were visited. The field study interview questionnaires and focus group guides are provided in Appendix A. Detailed write-ups of the interviews and focus groups conducted during the field study are provided in Appendix B.

4.1. DIRECT AND INDIRECT INTERVENTIONS

The search for programs and practices yielded essentially two types of interventions: direct and indirect. Direct interventions targeted child labor in the carpet sector specifically. Direct interventions included micro-finance and business training for family or mothers of child weavers, raid and rescue services, rehabilitation and shelter programs, health or community improvement schemes, community mobilization, awareness raising, certification, social labeling, and monitoring programs.

Six specific certification, monitoring, and social labeling programs that directly address child labor in the carpet industry in India, Nepal, or Pakistan are described in this section. The general or more universal international framework and sponsors of certification and labeling is described in the Discussion section. The direct programs are unusual in that some of them are sponsored by NGOs, others by the carpet industry, and others by private companies and corporations.

Indirect interventions did not target child labor in the carpet sector specifically, but indirectly benefited children in the carpet industry. These programs were primarily educational programs or community-based programs that targeted child labor in general. Often they were implemented in areas where there was child labor in the carpet industry. Some indirect programs may have focused on child labor in the carpet industry as a subpopulation in specific geographic areas where the program was implemented, but the overall focus of the program was generally wider in scope.

Programs that acted directly with children usually had two interests: guarding children from child labor and assisting the children to have a better quality of life and develop into productive adults. The programs would usually address the first interest by trying to withdraw children from working in the carpet industry, prevent other high-risk children from becoming workers, and improve the working conditions for children who continued to work in the industry. The programs would usually address the second interest by establishing rehabilitation centers for

rescued child workers, establishing schools or facilitating access to school for the youngest children, and establishing schools or facilitating access to non-formal or transitional education and vocational education and skill training.

4.2. THIRTEEN CARPET INDUSTRY-ORIENTED PROGRAMS AND INTERVENTIONS

Few evaluations on child labor programs in the carpet industry existed. Those that did exist employed differing evaluation methodologies. Many of the evaluations were informal. Some evaluations were conducted by the organizations themselves, others by the ILO.

The search for evaluations of programs with interventions directly relevant to eliminating or reducing child labor in the carpet industry yielded twelve programs or activities. At least one informal, independent or internal evaluation was reviewed for each of the twelve interventions. Although some of the evaluations were dated, they were still reviewed in order to get a better idea of the potential changes in the industry since it first gained attention.

One additional program was identified that did not have an evaluation but was included in this review as worthy of further discussion. This was the program through the carpet company Formation Carpet in Nepal and its NGO partner Hoste Haines.

Table 3. Thirteen Interventions Focused on the Carpet Industry in India, Nepal, and Pakistan

Intervention Name	Country	Type	Dates
ILO-IPEC Combating Child Labor in the Carpet Industry	Pakistan	Direct	1999-2007
Ergonomic Looms for Adult Weavers	Pakistan	Direct	2000-2009
Project Mala	India	Direct	1989 - ongoing
Formation Carpet/Hoste Hainse	Nepal	Direct	1990 - ongoing
Obeetee Child Labor Monitoring*	India	Direct	1986 - ongoing
GoodWeave Nepal*	India, Nepal	Direct	1995 - ongoing
Care & Fare Certification Program	India, Pakistan, Nepal	Direct	1994 - ongoing
STEP Monitoring and Certification Program	India, Pakistan, Nepal	Direct	1995 - ongoing
Carpet Export Promotion Council/Kaleen Label	India	Direct	1982 - ongoing
Bal Mitra Gram (BMG) - Save the Children*	India	Indirect	1998 - ongoing
Center for Rural Education and Development (CREDA)*	India	Indirect	1982 - ongoing
Thardeep Rural Development Program (TRDP)	Pakistan	Indirect	1992 - ongoing
Brighter Futures Program	Nepal	Indirect	2002 - 2009

*Visited in the field study

There were nine direct programs identified of which the ILO-IPEC program in Pakistan was the largest intervention specifically targeting children in the carpet industry. Six of the direct

programs involved certification, monitoring and social labeling schemes. The four indirect programs were community-based, two in India, one in Pakistan and one in Nepal.

The following are summary descriptions of the characteristics of each selected program and their strategies for reducing or eliminating child labor in the carpet industry. Relevant results from evaluations of these programs are also provided. The nine direct programs are listed first, followed by the four indirect programs.

4.2.1. ILO-IPEC Combating Child Labor in the Carpet Industry in Pakistan

Program Name: Combating Child Labor in the Carpet Industry, Phase I and II

Implementing Entity: ILO-IPEC, funding through United States DOL and the Pakistan Carpet Manufacturers and Exporters Association

Implementation dates: Phase I: 1999-2002, extended to 2004, Phase II: 2002-2007

Implementation sites: throughout Pakistan; Phase I was implemented in three Punjab districts: Gujranwala, Sheikhpura and Hafizabad; Phase II expanded into three new Punjab districts: Toba Tek Singh, Faisalabad, and Multan.

Overall Objective: To contribute to the total elimination of child labor in the carpet industry in Pakistan.

Phase I Objectives:

- To identify and remove children from conditions of child labour in the manufacture of carpets and to provide them with educational and other opportunities;
- To implement prevention, monitoring, withdrawal and rehabilitation strategies;
- To assist carpet manufacturers who seek to prevent child labor from the manufacturing of hand-knotted carpets in Pakistan;
- To facilitate changes in community and family attitudes towards child labor, particularly in the carpet industry; and
- To encourage other industries to replicate similar strategies to prevent child labor in Pakistan.

Phase I Strategy:

ILO-IPEC devised a two-pronged approach which included a prevention and monitoring program and a social protection program for carpet weaver children and their families. The prevention and monitoring program aimed to recruit those carpet manufacturers and exporters who would voluntarily commit to establish an internal monitoring system which would clearly identify contractors, carpet weavers, and their locations. ILO-IPEC assumed the responsibility to conduct third party verification of the internal monitoring information and to identify carpet weaver children and to place them in the proposed social protection program. The Social Protection Program included the following four interventions:

1. Establishing non-formal primary education centers for carpet weaver children;
2. Provision of alternative sources of income for carpet weaver families through credit and saving program;
3. Provision of economically viable skills to children who wish to opt for other occupations;
4. Building capacity of local community.

Phase I Results:

Prevention and Monitoring Component

- Outputs:
 - A functioning Internal Monitoring system was established.
 - A functioning External Monitoring system was established.
 - External Monitoring has been carried out throughout the duration of the Program. 20 external monitors carried out 2,167 monitoring visits to NFE centers and 2,767 visits to carpet weaving production facilities (houses of carpet weaver families, and small factory type units).
- Relevance: The monitoring component accurately documented the production structure and labor market of the carpet industry in the Sheikupura and Gujranwala districts.
- Effectiveness: The implementing organization effectively used the monitoring component for the identification of locations of carpet weaving, carpet weaver children and their families. The component also provided accurate information about the instances of child labor in the carpet sector of Shiekupura and Gujranwala. The monitoring, however, did not prevent children from entering in carpet weaving occupations.
- Sustainability: Both internal monitoring and external monitoring programs were unsustainable. Both were capital and labor intensive and could not survive in the absence of competent organizational set up.

Social Protection Component

- Output:
 - 306 Non Formal Education (NFE) centers were established under the Project and completed their NFE cycle on 31 August 2003.
 - 10,261 children (8,681 carpet-weavers and 1,580 younger siblings) graduated from the NFE centers.
 - 1,560 children from NFE centers were mainstreamed into the formal education system, thus completely withdrawn from carpet weaving.
 - Working hours of children were reduced by four to five hours daily (on average).
 - Income-generating programs targeting about 516 adults were arranged to provide relevant skills to adults, in particular mothers, of the families of working children.
 - Pre-vocational training was provided to 1000-1500 children
 - Capacity of the implementing agencies was strengthened in the area of project management and technical skills required in addressing child labor in the carpet industry.

- A community support system was established to support and sustain action against child labor in the program areas.
- Relevance: The Social Protection component of the project addressed the educational and training needs of the identified carpet weaver children. It also addressed the economic needs of the selected carpet weaver families.
- Effectiveness: This component contributed to the reduction of child labor in two different ways; it reduced the number of working hours and helped families to withdraw their children from carpet weaving. The component, however, failed to eliminate child labor; children were still weaving carpets and were thus exposed to health hazards.
- Sustainability: The implementing organizations made significant efforts to figure out community driven methods of sustaining the social protection program, however the program is essentially unsustainable due to heavy reliance on external support- finances, management and monitoring.

Phase II Objectives:

- Reduce child labor in the carpet sector in Sheikhpura, Gujranwala, Hafizabad, Multan, Faisalabad and Toba Tek Singh through workplace monitoring and the provision of education alternatives to children withdrawn from child labor;
- Increase stakeholder and partner capacity to combat child labor; and
- Establish and implement a plan for the expansion of the program into the rest of Pakistan.

Phase II Strategies:

Phase II continued the two pronged approach established during Phase I. The following six intervention strategies were employed during Phase II:

- 1) Internal and external monitoring systems
- 2) Non-formal education and pre-vocational education
- 3) Income generation and micro credit
- 4) Awareness raising
- 5) Capacity building
- 6) Research and surveys

Phase II Results:⁸

- 7,840 children (6,623 carpet-weavers consisting of 5,614 girls and 1,009 boys; and 1,217 younger siblings consisting of 959 girls and 258 boys) have graduated from 240 centers for Education and Support Services (ESS);
- A total of 6,308 children (5,235 girls and 1,073 boys) have been mainstreamed into formal schools (77 percent of total). Out of these 80 percent are girls, which reflects the level of awareness raised in the parents about the importance of their children's education, especially of girls;

⁸ <http://pclu.ciwce.org.pk/portfolio/elimination-of-child-labour-from-carpet-industry>

- 150 VEFs (Village Education Fund) established in the project areas with the community contribution of Rupees 231,980 to benefit 186 ESS centers in 113 villages.
- Micro-Credit of around Rupees 22,174,000 (USD 369,667) was disbursed to 1958 adult female members of the families of children enrolled in the NFE centers.
- 340 new family enterprises, such as small grocery shops, cow milking, bangle selling, embroidery etc., were established.
- 1,567 families were provided with income generation skill training.
- 123 PVE centers were established in the selected areas of Sheikhpura, Faisalabad, Toba Tek Singh and Multan districts, in which 3,161 children were enrolled.
- Training in four basic trades i.e. tailoring, embroidery, tie & dye, and carpet designing was provided.
- Networking with Pre-Vocational Education providers such as Sanat Zar in the relevant districts, were establish for the possible mainstreaming of the trained children to formal systems.

4.2.2. Ergonomic Looms for Adult Weavers

Program Name: Ergonomic Carpet Looms for Adult Weavers

Implementing entity: Centre for Improvement of Working Conditions and Environment (CIWC&E), Directorate of Labour Welfare, Government of the Punjab

Implementation sites: Punjab Province in Pakistan

Implementation dates: 2000-2009

Overall Objective: To contribute towards elimination of exploitive and hazardous forms of child labor and bonded labor by enhancing productivity and improving health of adult carpet weavers through ergonomic looms and better health and safety measures at workplaces.

Strategy:

The Centre for the Improvement of Working Conditions & Environment within the Labour & Human Resource Department in Punjab designed an ergonomic carpet-weaving loom that significantly reduced health hazards. The loom was initially designed in partnership with the ILO-IPEC project and was successfully tested in 30 sites. All the families who were provided the new ergonomic carpet looms sent their children below the age of 14 to ILO-IPEC non-formal education centers. After two years, child labor at the sites was reduced from 60% to 10%. Weavers reported fewer health problems, increased productivity and almost 60% of the home-based workers improved their incomes as well. The ergonomic carpet looms along with the strategy to provide education and training to children and youth helped reduce child labor and improve productivity and working conditions in this sector in Pakistan.

Additionally the Government of Punjab initiated a 4 year \$12 million project for subsidized financing of ergonomic looms to 3000 families in 12 districts.⁹ These families were those identified by various NGOs who either rely on children's work or are indebted to carpet manufacturers. The project aims to become a model for gradual elimination of hazardous child labour from carpet weaving by replacing it with adult workforces and empowering carpet weavers, especially women workers, through promotion of ergonomic looms and OSH measures in the workplace.

4.2.3. Project Mala

Program Name: Project Mala

Implementing entity: Project Mala Charitable Trust of the United Kingdom (PMCT-UK) and the Children's Emancipation Society (CES)

Implementation dates: 1989- ongoing

Implementation sites: Mujehra, Hasra, Patehra, Amoi and Turkahan in Mirzapur District and Guria in Varanasi.

Overall Objective: To provide former child workers in rural Uttar Pradesh with an accelerated non-formal education program of quality.

Primary Objectives:

- Facilitating personal growth through education and rehabilitation training
- Providing physical improvement through healthcare and nutrition
- Mainstreaming the children into formal education system
- Poorest and physically disabled are given priority
- No discrimination between boys and girls

Strategy:

Project Mala was one of the first entities to respond to the problem of child labor in the carpet industry by starting their own schools that provide NFE that is at least as good, if not better, than formal education provided by the government. The project beneficiaries are both children who work in the carpet industry and those at risk of becoming involved in work in the industry. Their three year primary school curriculum covers five years of education at the government schools. They are governed by the National Open School that provides certification to students who pass grade five and eight, allowing them to proceed to take the state secondary exam.

In addition to the traditional academic curriculum, the program also provides skills training such as sewing and gardening in order to ensure the recipients' ability to earn a living for themselves

⁹ <http://www.pndpunjab.gov.pk/page.asp?id=438>

and help their families, serves daily nutritional meals of at least 1100 calories per child, and a comprehensive medical care and immunization for all children.

4.2.4. Formation Carpets/Hoste Hainse

Program Name: Various programs for children of carpet weavers

Implementing Entity: Formation Carpets and Hoste Haines

Implementation dates: Formation Carpets, 1990 - ongoing; Hoste Hainse, 1990 - ongoing

Implementation sites: Nepal, Kathmandu

Overall Objective: "elimination of child labor through education"¹⁰

Primary Objectives:

- To educate needy children
- To eliminate child labor through education
- To sustain educational programs
- Advancement and protection of rights of employees, especially women.
- Maintain health and environmental awareness programs
- Support and facilitate eligible children of weavers to secure employment
- Provide counseling and guidance to children to select their subjects/faculty in accordance with their interest and competence.

Strategy:

Formation Carpets is a carpet production company started by Sulo Shrestha-Sha, who later became the first Director of RugMark Nepal in 1995. Through Formation Carpets, Mrs. Shrestha-Sha started the NGO Hoste Hainse to carry out social programs for those involved directly or indirectly in the carpet sector in communities throughout Nepal and in Kathmandu, the central company site. The merging of Formation Carpets's business model and HH's social model succeeded in giving the issue of child labor elimination and education as much importance as the production of carpets. Formation Carpet offered a child labor free business model and HH provided alternative education opportunities for the children of carpet manufacturers.

Formation Carpets believes in high productivity of employees through freedom of work and in free competition of the employees irrespective of sex, cast, age, and religion; however, during employee recruitment, for women empowerment purposes, in a male-dominant society, it gives high priority to women and disadvantaged groups. There is no discrimination in benefits, compensation, access to training, promotions, termination or retirement based on race, caste, national origin, religion, age, disability or gender. Some other labor standards are as follows:

¹⁰ www.hostehainse.org

- The company is a licensee of GoodWeave Nepal, i.e., all carpets obtain the Goodweave label to certify that the carpet was produced free of child labor.
- Age bar (minimum age – 18 years) in the recruitment of employees.
- It is compulsory for employees to send their school-aged children to school.
- Sponsorship/Scholarships are provided to the employee’s children.
- Pre-School children have access to a well-equipped Day Care Centre.
- School children have access to Coaching Classes.
- Counseling Services are provided for children matriculating from high school.
- Employees and their children are provided with complimentary health insurance.
- All employees are informed of company policies. The process of dissemination is through quarterly meetings and interaction programs.
- Sanitation training programs are provided for factory employees.
- Human Rights orientation/information sessions including Corporate Social Responsibility and Business Ethics.

One way that Formation Carpets assured compliance with RugMark’s standards for no child labor was through keeping the operations centralized and avoiding the use of any contractors or subcontractors. Most of the production and manufacturing of the carpets occurred on site in Kathmandu or at plants that were directly accountable to Mrs. Shrestha Shah. She employed people in the village of Banipur to conduct the carding, spinning, washing and drying of yarn, and then the dyeing of the yarn went to another factory, but some of the dyeing was also done onsite. The weaving and post weaving activities were done at Formation Carpets.

Programs

HH implemented five education reform programs outside of Kathmandu with the overall goal to eliminate child labor through sustainable educational programs. Many of the non-formal education initiatives were very innovative, especially in Nepal. Children of carpet weavers who were previously unable to attend school gained access to quality education through the programs.

The Company provides scholarship support through Hoste Hainse to the children of weavers in various boarding and government schools of Kathmandu. Currently over 200 children of weavers are receiving scholarships, and 45 children are benefiting from coaching class facilities. Over 60 children have completed their high school exams.¹¹

4.2.5. Obeetee Child Labor Monitoring

Program Name/Intervention: Obeetee Child Labor Monitoring

Implementing Entity: Obeetee

¹¹ http://www.unglobalcompact.org/system/attachments/11718/original/FC_COP_2011.pdf?1314217642

Implementation dates: 1986 to present

Implementation sites: Uttar Pradesh, India

Overall Objective: To keep all child labor out of the production of their carpets.

Strategy:

Obeetee pioneered a carpet monitoring and standards system following the passage of the Child Labor Act in 1986. They set up a system to self-monitor their manufacturers, suppliers and producers. In the beginning, they developed new policies stipulating that no children under 15 could be employed at their manufacturers' looms and that failure to abide by this rule could result in termination of contract. Obeetee's weavers and supporting manufacturers were amongst the best paid in the industry and received superior benefits, which resulted in exceptionally high employee retention rates and compliance with Obeetee's social accountability system.

Through a network of 24 satellite depots, Obeetee employed over 75 full-time executives and supervisors whose sole purpose was to inspect all looms and tufting frames over an area of nearly 60,000 square miles. Every loom was inspected at least once every 15 days with additional surprise inspections from the head office at least once every 60 days. Obeetee's inspection system was random, frequent, and thoroughly documented. Obeetee was conferred with the prestigious SA 8000 Certification from Social Accountability International.

Obeetee dealt with child labor along the supply-chain by centralizing much of the post weaving process to one space, where activity could be closely monitored. Another way of minimizing the risk of child labor was to eliminate the intermediary in-between the manufacture and the loom owners. Loom owners report directly to Obeetee and are accountable to them.

Their child labor policy sought to build accountability through a clear list of responsibilities for all staff, and the creation of a clear and easy to use child labor monitoring system.¹² Initially, loom owners were weary of the new policies and due to the vast number of villages their weavers worked, many believed, they could get away with breaking the rules. It took surprise inspections and strict penalties to get the loom owners to understand how serious Obeetee took the use of child labor.¹³

Because of the huge weaving area in which Obeetee carpets were woven, it was not practically possible for Obeetee either to ensure the welfare of each child worker removed from the looms or to ensure that the child did not go to another carpet loom, or to worse forms of employment. Given that reality, Obeetee began making substantial contributions to the child welfare fund of the Carpet Export Promotion Council of India (CEPC) and to the Children Emancipation

¹²International Finance Corporation/World Bank Group. (June 2002). Good Practice Note: Addressing Child Labor in the Workplace and Supply Chain.

¹³ <http://www.obeetee.com/AboutusContainer.aspx?section=IFCSpeech&del=>

Society, a leading NGO. Both those organisations ran significant child welfare programs, including schools that provided free education, monthly stipends, mid-day meals, vocational training, and health care to children.

The Obeetee child labor monitoring program was very successful in eliminating child labor from the 10,000 looms owned and operated in 1,000 villages over a 60,000 square mile area where Obeetee carpets were woven. In the past decade, they had not found a single instance of child labor during their inspections.

4.2.5.1. Field Study Notes

Date of Visit: December 7, 2009

Location: Mirzapur district in Uttar Pradesh State, India

Interview: Mithilesh Kumar, current President of Obeetee

Obeetee implemented its child labor policy sometime after the passage of the Child Labour Law in 1986. At the time, they gave the loom owners a matter of months to withdraw children from the carpet looms, at which point they began taking punitive action against loom owners with child laborers. Initially, they lost about 40 percent of their business.

Obeetee controls for child labor by carrying out as much as they can on site, in the factory. The weaving, which was a cottage industry in India, was monitored through a strict process that was developed by Obeetee in the late 1980s. Their child labor monitoring, or social accountability system, appeared to go above and beyond what was required by law. In fact, although the minimum age for a weaver was 14 years in India, they began by requiring all to be at least 15 years old, and today they had raised the minimum age to 16 years. In addition, they had their own set of minimum wages based on their assessment of the standards of living, and Obeetee's wages were above those of the Indian government.

Factory Visit

Mr. Kumar facilitated a tour of the factory to observe its operations. Of relevance was the Social Accountability (SA) Department, which was responsible for the child labor monitoring system. Obeetee maintained detailed information on all of its weavers, including that of their family members so that families could not falsely claim someone as their child. Obeetee also kept a database of all of their weavers, who had identification codes and photographs. In addition to the inspections by the depot staff for compliance, progress and quality, the SA department sent out their own inspectors to conduct surprise checks on the looms.

Field Visits to Loom Owners

Visits were made to the sites of two loom owners – both owned several looms and appeared to be quite well off and from upper castes. They were both employed by Obeetee for ten years or more and felt it was a good company to work for.

Summary

Obeetee clearly had a very successful child labor monitoring system that seemed to account for everything, not allowing for any slippage. However, Obeetee was a large, well-established and wealthy carpet company that could afford to invest in the best and latest equipment for their carpet production, alternative energy devices, and a large staff that accounted for every process in the carpet making procedure. They had full time staff solely devoted to assuring that there was no child labor and that all of their social accountability practices were followed and upheld to the highest degree possible. It seemed very unlikely that any of their clients would dare hire a child because of their holistic system. However, from the looks of things, their clients did not seem to need to hire children, as they were much better off than many of the impoverished villagers from far away areas. Mr. Milesh stated himself that Obeetee could afford such a system that maintained high working standards for all of its staff, even those contracted to weave their carpets, but small exporters were unable to afford such a system, much less the staffing and equipment that went along with it. Smaller exporters squeezed by companies in Europe and the US were more likely to cut prices and corners among their contractors, who in turn cut the wages of their weavers, which was where the exploitation occurred.

While it was hard not to be awed by Obeetee’s system of social accountability and good business practices, there was no evidence of a strong community presence. There did not appear to be any corporate social schemes for funding marginalized local groups or providing space or funds to set up schools, tutoring programs or even vocational training centers. The Obeetee model worked well, but the model required significant financial resources to fund its high costs. The model focused mainly on the elimination of child labor throughout the supply chain and did not focus on the children, families, or communities where they operated.

4.2.6. GoodWeave Nepal

Program Name/Intervention: GoodWeave social labeling and certification

Implementing Entity: Nepal RugMark Foundation (in process of legally becoming GoodWeave)

Implementation dates: Nepal 1995-ongoing

Implementation sites: The Nepal organization implements its monitoring-supported social labeling program in the Kathmandu valley, Nepal. An associated GoodWeave organization in India implements a similar program in three states and a Union Territory (Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, Haryana, and Rajasthan). Associated GoodWeave organizations in Germany, the United States, and the United Kingdom support the India and Nepal field programs.

Overall Objective: To end illegal child labor in the handmade rug industry and to offer educational opportunities to children in Nepal and India.

Objectives:

- To organize individuals and companies in the carpet industry to stop using child labor;
- To establish an independent, professional and internationally credible monitoring and certification system for carpets manufactured without child labor; and
- To provide social welfare and education facilities for former child labor; and to provide social welfare and education facilities for former child laborers in the carpet industry

Institutional History:

RugMark India, which started in 1994-95, was the pioneer. RugMark Nepal started in 1995-96. At one time there also was a RugMark in Pakistan. Each national organization, including those in Europe and the U.S., was independent but associated. In 1998, negotiations with RugMark programs in Germany, Nepal, India, and the U.S. resulted in the formal creation of RugMark International. In 2009, Rugmark International re-branded the certification program and introduced the GoodWeave label. The international, German, U.S., and Nepalese RugMark organizations all agreed to convert themselves into GoodWeave, but RugMark India refused. The Nepal RugMark Foundation is in the slow legal process of reconstituting itself as GoodWeave Nepal. Now GoodWeave has established itself in India, so India has both RugMark India and GoodWeave India.

Early Strategy:

RugMark India pioneered the independent third party certification and monitoring program of handmade carpets in the early 1990s, which stemmed from a demand from western consumers for carpets that were not produced by child labor. Carpet manufacturers and exporters and NGOs in India collaborated with carpet importers, trade organizations, and NGOs in Europe and with UNICEF and the German Government's Indo-German Export Promotion Council to develop the RugMark program to combat child labor in the industry. RugMark established a certification program, reinforced by an inspection and monitoring system, that allowed companies that passed inspection to attach a logo to each of their carpets certifying that their product was made without child labor. Carpet manufacturers voluntarily cooperated by allowing inspections and monitoring, and the manufacturers paid for RugMark by paying a fee for each carpet that was produced and certified.

RugMark was founded on the belief that if enough people decided to buy *one rug over another* because it was made without child labor, then retailers and importers would demand only child-labor-free rugs from their manufacturers in producing countries. This was RugMark's theory of change. There would be a snowball effect, a "tipping point" in the market: businesses would sign with the RugMark certification program because they needed to stay competitive and because

they recognized the need to address child labor. RugMark would reduce the demand for rugs made with child labor and replace it with demand for certified child-labor-free rugs.

In addition to reassuring consumers that they could purchase carpets that were certified to have been produced by adult workers and not child labor, the RugMark program provided for the rehabilitation of children who were rescued from child labor in the industry. The program believed that children who illegally worked on the looms should not only be liberated, but also be supported and rehabilitated by appropriate social welfare and educational facilities so that the children could develop a healthy attitude towards society and life.

Current Strategy:

GoodWeave works by signing up registered carpet weaving factories who agree to adhere to their voluntary code of conduct. Both licensing and certification to GoodWeave are voluntary. Like other certification programs, they monitor their licensees through habitual site inspections. Children found working on looms are removed and sent to GoodWeave's rehabilitation center where they have time to recuperate and go to school. If possible, GoodWeave reunites children with their families.

In order to acquire a GoodWeave license, manufacturers must submit a list of all of their looms and their location. Each loom receives its own identification number used to keep track of its activity. The licensees submit each of their purchase orders to GoodWeave, which in turn assigns each carpet its own serial number.

GoodWeave is set up as a self-financing model with the belief that ultimately the industry should pay for its own regulation. Licensed exporters and manufacturers paid a fee of 0.25 percent of their carpet's sale price, which was used to finance inspections and monitoring. Firms licensed to import and sell labeled carpets paid an additional fee of one percent of the sale price, which was contributed to a child welfare fund to support former child weavers.¹⁴

Although GoodWeave (then RugMark) spent over a decade providing independent certification of factories, they recently revisited their past work to look for where they could improve. One of the results of their changes includes for the first time joining an internationally credible standards setting agency. Today, GoodWeave is an associate member of the ISEAL Alliance (see the Discussion section).

The new GoodWeave label has more international credibility because it has the assurance, backed up by ISEAL, that no child labor was used in the production of their carpets. Carpet

¹⁴ National Academies (2009). *Approaches to Reducing the Use of Forced or Child Labor: Summary of a Workshop on Assessing Practice*. P. 93.

exporters are required to be licensed under the GoodWeave certification program. They sign a contract adhering to the following:

1. The no-child-labor standard and not to employ any person under age 14
2. Allow unannounced random inspections by local inspectors
3. Endeavor to pay fair wages to adult workers
4. Pay a licensing fee that helps support GoodWeave's monitoring, inspections and education programs¹⁵

Compliance with GoodWeave is similar to the earlier RugMark program of making unannounced inspections of all looms. Children found working get the opportunity to go to school rather than remain employed, and violators lose their status with GoodWeave.

Impact in Nepal:

To date, GoodWeave (formerly RugMark) has freed more than 3,600 children from weaving looms and prevented thousands more from ending up there. The GoodWeave Foundation in Nepal has rescued 2,092 child laborers from carpet factories. Various rehabilitation and preventive programs of GoodWeave Nepal have supported 1,998 children so far. Child labor in the carpet industry in Nepal dropped from 11 percent of the workforce to less than two percent since the GoodWeave (formerly RugMark) labeling and certification program was introduced.¹⁶

4.2.6.1. Field Study Notes

Date: December 12-14, 2009

Location: near Kathmandu, Nepal

Interview: Program Officer, Ghanshyam Shrestha

GoodWeave's policy was to support children until they turned 18 years old, or until they found work and became self-sufficient. For those needing assistance after 18 years, GoodWeave attempted to find individual sponsorships. Such sponsorships might include fees to attend university, for example. GoodWeave worked with several NGOs through their rehabilitation center and pre-school. They had not received any government support for their work. Children returning to their villages must guarantee they will go back to school. If a family needed support for their child to attend school, GoodWeave provided them with 1,000 Nepali rupees (13 USD)¹⁷ a month to pay for school books, uniforms, etc. The stipend was paid directly to the parents, and

¹⁵ <http://www.goodweave.net/>

¹⁶ Charlé, S. (2003). Children of the Looms: Rescuing the carpet kids of Nepal, India and Pakistan. *Children, Youth and Environments*, 13(2).

¹⁷The exchange rate for the Nepalese rupee fluctuated during the period of research (December 2008 to July 2009) from 1:76 to 1:82 (Nepalese Rupees to 1 US Dollar). This report used the average exchange rate (1:79) for that period. The amount in USD is rounded to the nearest dollar.

GoodWeave required receipts showing exactly how the money was spent. GoodWeave's program monitor periodically visited the children returned to their villages to assure they were actually attending school. Some of the children did not complete their entire education and opted to become involved in vocational trades, such as carpentry. Many in the trades earned good wages, such as 12,000 Nepali rupees (152 USD) monthly.

There was no formal training for the parents of child laborers. However, all of the adult weavers in GoodWeave-monitored factories received NFE, awareness programs, health services, and information on children's rights.

Interview: GoodWeave Inspectors

Child labor was discovered in the factories about 10 percent of the time. Labor contractors recruited the majority of children working in factories. There were more likely higher numbers of children working in the unregistered factories than in the factories monitored by GoodWeave.

The factories that employed children were not reported to the police. GoodWeave maintained that their program was voluntary and did not want to become a punitive or policing agency. The employers were asked to remove the children from work, but did not get kicked off the label program for noncompliance. The policy to deal with children in a factory included a verbal warning for the first offence, a written warning for the second, and reporting to the exporter for a third offence. The exporters were more cooperative in seeing the removal of children working in factories than suppliers (the exporters were less affected by it directly).

In addition to inspections, inspectors were also involved in arranging social programs, the mobile health clinics, and sponsored education programs. They were the face that the factory owners and workers knew, so they received many requests and complaints. They also helped solve problems at rehabilitation centers and had been involved in finding guardians for the children.

The interviewed inspectors believed there should be more awareness raising on child labor in the source areas (origin of the migrants) of the country rather than in the (destination) urban areas. The majority of the workers were migrants, and they could use information on the realities of child labor and the industry before they decided to migrate. The industry might benefit from moving more to areas where the migrants originated.

Factory Visits

Visits were made to three GoodWeave factory licensees. Two were older licensees, and a third had recently joined GoodWeave. The majority of the weavers were found to be women, and all said their children were in school. At the first site in Patan, many of the women were migrants from other districts who came to Kathmandu with their families, sometimes with and sometimes without the husband. Children worked here in the past, but no longer. At this site, GoodWeave

had provided six children with education (children of workers), including their school fees and health care. GoodWeave funded the supplier at the second site to start a child center, but it had closed as the number of children had significantly declined. All three sites appeared to be running significantly below their capacity, with many looms idle.

Visit to GoodWeave's Children's Programs

GoodWeave's basic strategy to assisting children was comprised of programs for the young children of the carpet workers to assure that they did not work, provision of assistance to attend school for the older carpet children, rehabilitation and NFE education for children found working in their registered factories, and educational assistance or enrollment into one of two boarding schools in Kathmandu where GoodWeave had an agreement.

The first visit was to the early childhood education center for children of carpet workers between the ages of two and six years. GoodWeave partnered with a local NGO -- Education, Protection and Help for Children (EPHC) -- in running the preschool. The school was free of charge for all of the children of carpet weavers, and the children also received free lunches. Children were only allowed to attend preschool as long as their parents were working for a GoodWeave licensed factory.

The teachers were all qualified to teach through their university education. They were also provided with periodic training. GoodWeave itself had no education specialist. The coordinator and teachers did monitor the attendance of the children and went to the parents when the child was not attending school to find out the reasons and to get the children back into school. Sometimes the parents and children just left the factory.

The parents of these children were targeted for awareness raising programs on gender, health and sanitation and HIV/AIDS. They also had access to literacy classes. The health specialist conducted periodic visits to the program. Most of the parents of the preschool children were illiterate and were not too concerned about their children's education. Many times GoodWeave had to convince the parents to send their child to the program rather than the parents keeping the child in the factory with them while they worked. The majority of the families were migrants who came to Kathmandu for better opportunities.

The second visit was to the NFE rehabilitation center, which was only for children rescued from GoodWeave licensed factories. The majority of the children were boys. The majority of girls went into other forms of child labor, such as domestic work or acting as caretakers, and sometimes they were trafficked.

The center was a school for the children and a living facility where there was dancing, meditation, computer training (without internet), arts and play. The process of entering into the

rehabilitation center after rescue included arrival at the facility and counseling for as long as it took for the child to be ready to begin classes. The caretaker said that, at first, some children tried to run away or to return to working in the carpet factory.

Upon completion of the NFE program at the rehabilitation center, children may choose between three paths: 1) return to their village, pledging to attend school, and GoodWeave would provide a minimum of school fees; 2) enroll into one of the English prep schools (LAB school or Little Angels school); or 3) enroll into a vocational training program.

The third visit was to the LAB school, a prestigious English preparatory school on the outskirts of Kathmandu. The school went from 4th to 12th grade, but the GoodWeave children only went through 10th grade, at which point they were reunited with their parents.

In 2006, GoodWeave entered into an agreement with the LAB school where the school would accept some of the RugMark children for a reduced cost, which GoodWeave covered. The teacher we spoke with reported that the GoodWeave children were always very good students and high achievers. They had never caused any problems, and there was no problem with discrimination. The children did still get counseling on occasion, and some of the children were more fragile than the others.

Summary

GoodWeave's social labeling program accompanied by its direct interventions in Nepal appeared to have been effective in removing child labor from the sites that were visited. The children's programs appeared to be effective in providing the needed educational support to children and parents and in keeping the children out of the factories and in school.

4.2.7. Care & Fair Certification Program

Program Name/Intervention: Care & Fair Certification Program

Implementing Entity: Care & Fair

Implementation dates: 1994- ongoing

Implementation sites: Care & Fair works in India, Nepal and Pakistan and have offices in Germany, the United States, Holland and Switzerland.

Primary Objectives¹⁸:

- To develop better living conditions and training possibilities to adults and children workers in the hand-knotted carpet sector in production countries;
- To convince carpet manufacturers that western buyers are unwilling to accept products made from child labor or any other socially unacceptable mode of production;

¹⁸ http://www.care-fair.org/en_US/About_us.html

- To serve as an example within trade and industry sectors that social responsibility serves everyone's well-being.

Strategy:

Care & Fair runs a certification program for companies involved in the production of carpets. They do not monitor the carpet production itself, but rely on the moral commitment of its members. Care & Fair/Europe has around 600 members, including carpet retailers, importers and wholesalers.

Care & Fair addresses the working conditions among carpet workers in production countries and develop mechanisms to rectify problematic situations, such as the presence of illegal child labor. Their child labor strategy is preventative through the implementation of poverty alleviation and education schemes among populations in heavy carpet production areas. Care & Fair supports adult weavers and their families through education programs for children of carpet weavers, health programs for both children and adults and adult education programs. In addition, they have been involved in advocating for the end of child labor in the carpet industry. They receive one percent of the carpet value from importers of their licensees' carpets from India, Nepal and Pakistan. The majority of these funds go back into their social programs.

4.2.8. STEP Monitoring and Certification Program

Program Name/Intervention: STEP Monitoring and Certification Program

Implementing Entity: STEP

Implementation dates: 1995- ongoing

Implementation sites: STEP operates in all major carpet-producing countries including Afghanistan, India, Iran, Kyrgyzstan, Morocco, Nepal, Pakistan and Turkey.

Overall Objective: To provide fair conditions in carpet production and trade, progressive elimination of child labor and standard working and health conditions for the carpet workers.

Strategy:

STEP monitors the production site of its licensees and their suppliers and takes measures to ensure fair working conditions through a certification program. STEP funds health and education programs for carpet workers and their families and women's empowerment, small business promotion and strengthening of self-help group programs.

4.2.9. Carpet Export Promotion Council/Kaleen Label

Program Name/Intervention: Kaleen Label

Implementing Entity: Carpet Export Promotion Council (CEPC)

Implementation dates: 1982 - ongoing

Implementation sites: India

Overall Objective: To completely eradicate child labor in the carpet sector, to enhance the livelihood of the weaver community, and to provide education for children in weaver communities including mid-day meals, free healthcare, vocational training and a stipend.

Established in 1982 by the Government of India's Ministry of Textiles, India's Carpet Export Promotion Council (CEPC) promotes the export of hand-knotted carpets and other floor coverings. As an expert agency in exports and foreign buyers, CEPC advises the Indian government on measures to promote export and to troubleshoot problems within the exporter community. It also serves to identify markets, provide financial assistance and to sponsor participation in carpet fairs and exhibits.

All companies that export carpets, rugs or dhurries from India are required to obtain their export licenses from and become a member of the CEPC. All members must register all of their looms with the CEPC. The CEPC has a Code of Conduct prohibiting the use of child labor with which all exporters must comply in order to maintain their right to export. Violators of the code can be deregistered, which could end their career exporting carpets from India.¹⁹ In addition, members must agree to purchase and sell carpets to and from other council or associate members, which would exclude any carpets that were made with child labor.

In order to tackle the child labor problem in the carpet industry, CEPC adopted its own label known as Kaleen. The label demonstrates the Indian carpet industry's commitment to eradicate child labor. The Kaleen label is awarded by CEPC to its members who agree to obey the Code of Conduct. Toward that end, The CEPC established a system to monitor the looms of its member to ensure that there was no child labor. The annual loom inspections are conducted by an independent agency (the Academy of Management Studies), which monitors annually 15 to 30 percent of all looms registered with the CEPC by CEPC members.

All CEPC members with Kaleen labels are required to contribute a quarter percent of sales to its Child Welfare Fund, which funds the operation of NFE schools and rehabilitation programs for children removed from carpet weaving. The CEPC also managed a Weavers Welfare Fund (WWF) for children in carpet weaving villages.

4.2.10. Bal Mitra Gram (BMG)

Program Name: Bal Mitra Gram (Child Friendly Villages)

Implementation Entity: Bachpan Bachao Andolan (BBA) (Save the Childhood Movement)

Implementation dates: 1998- ongoing. Each BMG is carried out over a 12 month period.

¹⁹ www.indiancarpets.com/node/4

Implementation sites: Over 208 villages throughout five states of India. For the purposes of the study, the focus is on carpet weaving villages in Jaipur, Rajasthan.

Overall Objective: The overall objective of the BMG program is to promote and facilitate the development of villages free of child labor and child exploitation. In this model, every child attends school, participates in shaping their own community, has time for play, and access to health facilities.

Primary Objectives:

- Withdrawal of all children from work;
- Enrollment of all children in school;
- Formation of children's assembly (Bal Panchayat) in every school
- Recognition of the Bal Panchayat by the Gram Panchayat (elected village council)

Strategy:

Bachpan Bachao Andolan (BBA) (Save the Childhood Movement) developed the BMG strategy in 1998 as a way to promote education for all and as a way to eliminate child labor through a holistic approach that combats its causes at each juncture along the cycle. The BMG method prevents and protects children from child labor while minimizing their vulnerability to future threats of exploitation. The first step is to approach the elected village council to seek their support and cooperation for any future work. One of the program's backbones includes the formation of children's elected parliaments at each village level.

Intensive effort is placed on enrolling all children into school through social mobilization by the children parliament members and BBA social mobilizers who visit the homes of out of school children to create awareness about the importance of education and the harms of child labor. Once children are enrolled in school, the children's parliament is instrumental in demanding needed resources for the schools to help improve their quality, such as hiring and training more teachers. Many of the villages have also assisted women in the formation of SHGs, which in turn has increased their involvement in the villages and their children's well-being.

The child friendly village model enlists the collaboration of children and adults in the decision-making process and involves the entire community. The community driven nature of the program needs little in the way of financial resources. It relies more on human capital by activating local government structures and schools. Bal Panchayats (children's Panchayats) were formed and linked with the village Panchayats to assure the voices of the children were heard.

Impact

- 60 ongoing BMG programs and over 208 villages already transformed into BMGs since the program's inception.

- Total number of children enrolled in school in 2008 by the BMG program was 1,511 (735 boys and 776 girls)
- The collaboration of children and adults in decision-making had been successful in most villages, leading to improved school infrastructure and an increase in the number of classrooms, toilets and drinking water facilities
- Behavior change among girls

Sustainability

The 2002 evaluation by Dr. Zutshi and Ms. Gacek found that sustainability of the BMG model was achieved through tireless efforts of BBA mobilizers, who continuously worked with parents to encourage them to send their children to school, especially female children. The later evaluations determined that the program made a real effort to assure sustainability by encouraging community ownership over the program. The program developed human capital among community members, including adults, youth and child leaders through capacity building and training exercises. An important aspect to the program's sustainability was the buy-in of the village Panchayats and local government.

Replicability

BMG had been successfully replicated across many districts and states within India and had been adopted by NGOs, such as World Vision and BASE (Nepal), and government departments. The program built around already existing governance structures in villages and linked to district and state level governments through the Gram Panchayat and the Village Network Committee. In addition, the program created strong partnerships with other CSOs in order to facilitate outreach and replicability of its methodology. The model was easily adaptable for any village.

4.2.10.1. Field Study Notes

Date: December 9-10, 2009

Location: near Delhi, Rajasthan State, India

Interview: Manager at Bal Ashram

Bal Ashram was established in 1997, and the Child Friendly Village program (BMG) began in 1999. BMG began in Rajasthan when the raid and rescues found that many children who originated from areas reasonably close to Bal Ashram were working far away (after migrating). Bal Ashram staff became interested in convincing parents about the work hazards experienced by children who migrated. They began by conducting awareness raising campaigns locally on the consequences of migration and the danger of illiteracy. The main goal of the BMG program was to empower children.

Keys to the success of the program:

- Before infiltrating the villages, they get support from the head of the local government.
- A local activist, hired by BBA, went to the designated villages to mobilize for education for all children and removal from work. He/she went door to door to talk to the families until all children were removed. This all occurred once they had received permission from the village head.
- Each child friendly village had a children's parliament, and then there was a children's parliament for all of India. Elections for both were on an annual basis. The responsibility of the president was to focus on issues of importance within the villages.

Field Visit to Paladi Village

Paladi is a BMG village where BBA worked from 2005 to 2007. Today it was self-sustainable. BBA rescued 29 children from child labor here in 2005. Twenty worked alongside of their parents in agriculture, and nine weaved carpets. No children worked in the village today. As a result of the BBA intervention, books were now free, tuition was free, and lunches were provided for all of the children. The children's community group was still running, and there was a new group of children in the parliament this year. The women had a self-help group.

Field Visit to Tikaria Village

BBA program began here in 2008 and ended in August 2011: 33 children had been rescued from child labor and enrolled in school by the BBA. Some were in the government school, but eight were in the private school. Prior to going to school, most of those children were either raising cattle and goats or working in the field. There were some dropouts originally, but the children's congress went to talk to the parents to get the children to come back to school, and they did.

Field Visit to Third Village

BBA began intervention in 2007, and this was now a self-sustained child friendly village. This village did have carpet looms. The team visited a household where an 18-year old girl who never went to school was working on the loom. Out of this family of eight girls and one boy, the oldest two did not go to school, but the others did attend school. The mother said that the oldest were needed to help work and support the family. The second oldest started school for the first time recently. All of the children (mostly girls, around 10 of them, varying in age, but mostly older than 10) claimed to enjoy going to school, and they enjoyed their meals and games the best. They also said they went to school every day and that the teachers also went every day.

Summary

Bal Ashram in Rajasthan was doing good service to reduce child labor using the BMG approach. The strategy and methodology for creating Child Friendly Villages (BMGs) in the rural areas was unique. With the core approach of rights-based child participation and community

mobilization, the methodologies and activities for creation of child friendly villages varied from one village to another.

The field visits to the BMG villages demonstrated ample change in attitude and practice among the people in addressing children's issues, especially 'education for all.' The BMG approach appeared to have worked well, and the villages were all self-sustained.

4.2.11. Center for Rural Education and Development Action (CREDA)

Program Name: Numerous prevention and NFE programs

Implementing Entity: CREDA

Implementation dates: 1982 to present

Implementation sites: Rural villages of Mirzapur and Bhadohi, Uttar Pradesh, India

Overall Objective: "Working towards the development and empowerment of socially and economically backward communities through community participation and program intervention, child being in the center stage."²⁰

CREDA was among the first organizations to run special schools for former child workers from the carpet sector through the government's National Child Labor Fund in 1988. Working in Mirzapur, CREDA removed children from the carpet looms and enrolled them into special bridge school programs to attain five years of primary school education in three years. After their completion of the bridge school program, CREDA facilitated the mainstreaming of the former child laborers into government schools.

Strategy:

Their strategy focuses heavily on building trust among local rural communities before moving in to mobilize and raise awareness among community members for the abolition of child labor, education of children, the end of bonded labor, enhancement of women's rights and giving communities a voice. Their key strategies include:

- Call for total elimination of child labor, as a non-negotiable agenda item; all children out of school seen as working children
- Use of a holistic multilevel approach to the elimination of child labor that includes education improvement, child rights awareness, extracurricular activities, nutrition programs, and income generation activities
- Community empowerment through continuous education and awareness raising of all members of society, even among possible adversaries (employers)
- Rehabilitation and education of children removed from child labor, chiefly from the carpet industry, through enrollment into community based NFE schools

²⁰http://www.credaindia.org/01_about/history.htm. Obtained on February 25, 2010.

- Use of community members to monitor for child labor through activities such as the Child Labor Vigilance Committee
- Creation of partnerships with the government, local stakeholders, including their perceived rivalries
- Collaboration among and training and small financial support of local grassroots NGOs

CREDA has adopted certain innovative approaches such as opening of health centers with medical checkups, arranging vocational training and organizing self-help groups through savings and credit. These helped CREDA gain a firm foothold in the villages to mount a campaign of social awareness to safeguard the children from exploitation.

Impact

CREDA has been working in the Mirzapur district for over 20 years and has focused in particular on the withdrawal of child labor from the carpet industry. As a result of its efforts, 25 villages in Mirzapur do not have any children working in the carpet industry. The program is credited with removing children from working full-time on the carpet looms and mainstreaming them into school. It ceased running due to the lack of need. CREDA later began to focus on other types of child labor once it became evident that child labor on the carpet looms was curbed. Approximately 38,750 children (in the age group of 6-14 years) had been removed from all kinds of work in project villages and put into Government schools, community schools, and local initiative schools and retained in primary schools.

Under the ILO-IPEC program, Eliminating Child Labor through Community Mobilization, CREDA successfully changed the mentality of the communities in which they worked. Among their biggest accomplishments was the mobilization of actual loom owners to free children working their looms and to declare the looms “child labor free.” In the same program, it was revealed that 96 percent of program recipients had changed their attitude in favor of education over working as a result of CREDA’s awareness raising activities. Some of their community awareness raising activities included community meetings, rallies, street plays and marches.

Notable achievements by CREDA in the 1992 ILO-IPEC program included:

- Encouragement of village heads to help create “child labor free” villages
- Encouragement of parents through personal meetings to withdraw children from work
- Opening of dialogue among NGO members, government officials, school teachers, and village Panchayat members about the harms of child labor
- Establishment of centers for citizens to report cases of bonded child labor

Sustainability

Evidence from the evaluated reports suggested that CREDA had effectively changed the attitudes of community members through long-term dedication to create change.

Replicability

CREDA's community mobilization method was difficult to replicate through traditional U.S. government funded programs as they tended to last five years at the most, which was not enough time to truly create behavioral change in a community. However, among local organizations with time and commitment to communities, the model had been replicated by some of CREDA's partner grassroots organizations. In addition, similar techniques had also been met with positive results in other parts of India, namely through the MV Foundation in Andhra Pradesh.

4.2.11.1. Field Study Notes

Date of Visit: December 4-6, 2009

Location: Mirzapur district in Uttar Pradesh State, India

Interview: Mr. Shanshad Khan, founder of CREDA

Mr. Khan described the evolution of the carpet industry in Uttar Pradesh and the history of his organization. He explained that CREDA strategies employed to eliminate child labor were based on behavioral change. Social awareness campaigns and changing attitudes towards education were key strategies for success.

Awareness raising interventions targeted three groups for change:

- 1) the government, to convince them they needed to respond to the needs of the children;
- 2) the kids and their parents, to convince them of what they deserved;
- 3) the landowners and loom owners, to convince them that children should be in school and not working on the looms.

Mr. Khan explained that the process of getting children to accept education occurred in three different stages:

- 1) Teaching children how to learn;
- 2) Enrolling children in government schools;
- 3) Opening CREDA-run NFE programs in communities where there was a need.

CREDA no longer focused on eliminating children labor in the carpet sector because, for the most part, the exploitive child labor in that sector had been eliminated in the areas where CREDA worked. Mr. Khan believed the key to changing behavior was through social mobilization and community participation. He believed the following were best practices to eliminate child labor:

- 1) Creation of a village vigilante group (motivated, educated and concerned about child labor) for every village to monitor for child labor
- 2) Formation of mother's committee to keep watch on the employment of children and their school attendance.
- 3) Regular collection of village level statistics on the number and ages of children, the number of children in school, etc.
- 4) Monitoring for child labor on the agenda of government from the Panchayat level to the block and district levels.
- 5) More focus on the girl child to understand why they still did not go to school. A special education center should be set up for the girls.
- 6) Funds were less important than commitment.
- 7) Documentation.
- 8) Spread the knowledge and the methodologies.

Field visit to village of Mahuarua

CREDA began working in Mahuarua in 1999 on social mobilization, education awareness raising, and the formation of women's groups. In this village, 100 children had been withdrawn from child labor and put through the National Child Labor Project (NCLP), implemented by CREDA. Today, the NCLP no longer ran in the village as it had already mainstreamed all children who were out of school and working. According to one of the older youth (19 years today) who went through the program, there were only 3-4 children working in the village today out of approximately 200 children.

Field visit to village of Sujani Pur-Lakhraon

The second field visit was further away from Mirzapur, in Bhadohi, the heart of the carpet belt, in a village named Sujani Pur-Lakhraon. CREDA had not actually conducted any intervention in that village, but had provided capacity building training and funding to a local NGO that was working on child labor issues. Most recently, they provided 85,000 Indian rupees (1,848 USD)²¹ and in kind support through supplies. The village had 50 looms that employed three to four weavers per loom, totaling around 200 persons. The children in the school had all worked alongside their parents instead of going to school until last year, when the NFE program started in their village with funding support from the Carpet Export Promotion Council (CEPC). In total, 82 children were released from working last year, and now they were all attending school.

Summary

The impact of CREDA's work in the villages was evident. Most children were not working and enrolled in school. The CREDA program in Mahuarua appeared to be effective and the results

²¹ During 2010, the rate for exchanging U.S. dollars (USD) with Indian rupees fluctuated between 1:44 and 1:47 (rounded). By the end of 2011, the rate was fluctuating between 1:46 and 1:54. The project decided to fix a standard rate (1:46) to use throughout the project's reports. USD amounts in this report were rounded to the nearest dollar.

sustained. It was difficult to determine whether the impact observed today was purely due to the intervention of CREDA or whether there were other factors that contributed to the change. However, prior evaluations documented CREDA's success, and the field visit validated the findings from those evaluations. In the village of Sujani Pur-Lakhraon, it was too early to assess whether the program's effectiveness would be sustained over time.

4.2.12. Thardeep Rural Development Program (TRDP)

Program Name: Thardeep Rural Development Program (TRDP)

Implementing entity: TRDP

Implementation dates: 1999-2003 TRDP continues to operate.

Implementation sites: Thara Desert, Pakistan

Overall Objective: The program sought to improve the conditions of children working on the looms (not necessarily to remove them from work) and to improve the income generated by their families, taking some of the income earning pressure off of their children so they could attend school.

Strategy:

TRDPs approach to reducing and preventing child labor includes:

- Mobilizing communities and their children on child rights and education in order to alter their attitudes and behavior;
- Implementing measures to improve quality of education, proving to parents the worth of sending their children to school; and
- Economically and socially empowering families through relief of their debt to contractors and implementation of micro-credit schemes

Early in the program, TRDP got full support from the Executive District Office of Education (EDO), who agreed to endorse the professional development training of primary school teachers to improve education quality. The demand was brought about after children left the looms and began attending the government schools. Once the partnership with the local education office was developed, it was easier to get buy-in on further school enhancement activities, such as the community managed education fund started by community members to implement more enhanced quality measures in their schools. In addition to collaborating with the education office, TRDP also formed partnerships and sought buy-in from other key stakeholders.

Impact

By 2003, 653 boys and 364 girls had been rescued from fulltime carpet work, and 548 boys and 294 girls had already been enrolled in primary schools. TRDP's innovative approach to eliminating bonded labor, reducing child labor and providing education to children worked in the Thar region. Their strategy of removing families from bondage, eliminating the middle-man,

providing micro-credit and business skills training had put an end to the target families' dependence on others and increased their standard of living. Furthermore, once the Thar people owned their own looms, their income earning possibilities and future choices greatly increased.

TDRP provided credit to over 2,100 poor and highly indebted families in more than 150 villages of the project area who were engaged in carpet weaving and illegally employing their children full-time. Not only had TRDP helped remove children from carpet weaving, but they had offered the villagers a much better economic alternative, altering the lives of entire families.

Sustainability

More than ten years after the program was first initiated, the carpet weaving families had a higher standard of living, greater control over their carpet weaving and selling activities, had a voice in their communities, and sent their children to school. The skills learned stayed with them and, more importantly, the community members and children had undergone a change in attitude and behavior. The cooperatives helped keep the work sustainable today that TRDP began with funding in 2002. A fundamental behavior change had occurred among community members as they had learned how to maintain a higher standard of living. Today, the workers provided their own designs and materials and were directly involved in exporting the carpets they produced. TRDP stayed involved by helping communities solve problems and setting up monthly stakeholder meetings within the communities.

TRDP still exists as a major Pakistani NGO that focuses on the Thar region. It no longer has a program that focuses on the carpet industry because the NGO thinks that problem has been addressed. Now TRDP focuses on other local problems.

Replicability

TRDP's program on reducing child labor in the carpet region of Thar was an exemplary model that had been replicated for other forms of child labor. TDRP began working on child labor in the carpet industry, as it was the predominant form of labor in the region. Today they have increased their activity level and project scope to other forms of child labor by replicating the successes from the carpet program.

Documentation

From the beginning, the TRDP project staff took measures to document their work in order to prove that their rights-based approach to child labor interventions provided better outcomes than other interventions. They videotaped events, documented all of the terms of partnerships between their organization and other stakeholders, documented important conferences, and developed newsletters illustrating their approaches and success.

4.2.13. Brighter Futures

Program Name: Brighter Futures Program

Implementing entity: World Education, funding from the United States Department of Labor

Implementation dates: 2002-2009 Phase I was 2002-2005. Phase II was 2005-2009.

Implementation sites: Phase II reached 28 districts of Nepal

Overall Objective: The program sought to withdraw and prevent children from engaging in exploitative child labor in Nepal by expanding access to basic education and improving the quality of the basic education that was available.

Strategy:

The strategy was to work both directly and indirectly with educational interventions for children who were in child labor, especially in the worst forms of child labor (WFCL). The direct interventions were withdrawing children from child labor and entering them into three types of educational programs: nonformal education (NFE), formal (mainstream) education, and vocational education. The indirect interventions were working with parents, communities, teachers and schools, and the government to improve the quality of education and to strengthen the capacity of local NGOs and CBOs across the country to deal with child labor.

The program prioritized child labor in nine sectors, one of which was the carpet industry. The other sectors included domestic workers, porters, mining, brick factories, sexually exploitative adult entertainment industry, recycling, transportation, and armed groups. Another category (children at risk) was added to the priority sectors. The program had other NGOs conduct annual surveys in all sectors to identify the children in the worst forms of child labor.

Results:

The second phase succeeded in withdrawing 19,634 children from the WFCL, prevented another 14,585 children at risk from becoming engaged in the WFCL, and provided services to 72,241 indirect beneficiaries. The program succeeded in providing specialized education and training interventions for children that allowed them to later mainstream into the formal school system. The NFE used a flexible modular approach that allowed the teachers to adapt the material to the needs of different children. The program also provided vocational education interventions for older children who were not suited to enter mainstream schooling. This vocational approach was strengthened by also offering opportunities for those students to become self-employed.

The indirect approach was also successful. The program worked with the government and UNICEF to improve the quality of education through teacher training, to increase enrollment through public campaigns, and to improve educational planning and school governance. The Welcome to School campaign, including community awareness materials, became an annual

school enrollment campaign. The Quality Education Resource Packages were teacher training materials that were well-suited for teachers who had little or no formal training as teachers.

Working to strengthen local Parent-Teacher Associations was an effective approach with the potential to promote sustainability in terms of school enrollment and active community and parental support for education. Some of the PTAs also had income-generating activities that would help parents keep their children in school.

The carpet sector was only one of the targets for this program. Before this program started, the ILO estimated that approximately 4,000 children were working in the carpet factories in the Kathmandu valley. The program devised educational strategies for these children, and, during the years of the program, many of those children participated in one or more of the program's offerings. Approximately 53 percent of those children attended NFE classes; 27 percent received vocational training; and 19 percent were assisted to enter mainstream schooling. A total of 3,235 children (2,343 girls and 892 boys) who were working in Nepal's carpet industry received one or more educational services from this program.

DISCUSSION

In addition to specific programs, the review also identified different types of interventions that were relevant. This section starts by discussing some interventions that explicitly focused on combating child labor in the carpet industry. After that, this section discusses other interventions that focused on education and sometimes did not even mention the possible effects on child labor or the carpet industry.

5.1. INTERVENTIONS FOCUSED ON CHILD LABOR IN THE CARPET INDUSTRY

5.1.1. Non-Formal Education

The term Non-Formal Education (NFE) referred to any education that fell outside of the periphery of formally organized state schools. NFE programs differed from formal education programs because they were not state-supported and operated. A more detailed description of specific types of NFE programs is provided in Section 5.2.6.

NFE was a widely used approach to assist children coming out of child labor, at-risk of entering into child labor or for those who work. The need for NFE came about from a demand for education for those children freed from child labor situations and other traditionally non-school going populations. NFE programs made up for inadequate government schools, which did not reach all children. NFE was a way to get children otherwise not reached by formal schools (because of physical inaccessibility, school hours, discrimination, etc.) into an education program. The programs often supplemented government based formal programs. NFE programs varied from a curriculum similar to that in formal schools teaching literacy and numeracy skills to special programs designed for children working in a certain industry that accommodated to their working hours. Budgetary constraints in developing countries had opened the doors to donor funded and NGO led NFE programs. The Brighter Futures Program in Nepal used NFE with success as one of its educational offerings.

5.1.2. Awareness Raising

One of the most cost effective prevention methods of creating attitudinal changes towards accepted society norms included activities surrounding awareness raising. Whether small and targeted or large and general, awareness raising was an effective first step in educating a population about a problem and about ways to eliminate the problem. Awareness raising was about communicating information through education and training. In the realm of child labor, awareness raising had been effective at local levels and on a more widespread regional level. In an attempt to eliminate child labor from the carpet industry, awareness raising was often used as a first step. The most effective approach was to target all stakeholders in society, such as

community members, families, teachers, civil society, businesses, employers of children and adults, the government and any others. Even those seen as adversaries in eliminating child labor must be targeted. This approach may help lead the way to attitudinal and behavior change.

Employers, parents, children and communities alike are not always aware of the potential long-term physical and emotional health impacts of child labor or that jobs an adult performs may be more harmful for a child to perform. Parents often lack information on the importance of education as they too were denied the opportunity to attend school, and many are fearful of the strict enrollment procedures. Awareness-raising can serve to enable community members, such as parents, to take the appropriate steps to ensure a brighter future for their children. It is helpful to get the buy-in from as many community members as possible as they create new norms that eventually take root in the entire community. Influential members of community can often create the greatest impact by making changes as people look up to these community members. These awareness raising interventions have the potential to strengthen the sustainability of other school related and child labor related interventions.

The following are examples of awareness based activities:

- Media campaigns through radio and television (wide reaching)
- Celebrity involvement in cause
- Street theater groups traveling to different villages
- Public campaigns creating awareness through posters, flyers, information bulletins stickers, etc.
- Information workshops
- Community forums
- Training workshops for stakeholders
- Children's groups, camps, shelters, etc.
- Public demonstrations

5.1.3. Child Friendly Villages

The “Save the Children Movement” by BBA developed a methodology to combat child labor known as “child friendly village” (Bal Mita Gram, or BMG). The chief goal of the BMG is to prevent and protect children from child labor and exploitation, minimize the children's vulnerability, and build and strengthen the support systems in a community. BBA has successfully implemented child friendly villages (BMGs) in several locations in India. The following is the definition of a child friendly village:

BMG is a village where there is no child labor, where all children receive compulsory, good quality education and the voice and opinion of children are heard and accepted by the adults as the children's panchayat (assembly) is given recognition by the Gram

Panchayat.²²

The success of BMGs depends on the full commitment of the villages to end child labor and towards a future where all children are educated and play an active role in their community. This methodology addresses the root causes of child labor, including poverty and the absence of education, and eventually stems the demand for child labor. The strategy works holistically at the entire community level, focusing most on the disadvantaged children.

The BMG approach is child-centric, which ensures children's participation in community decision making. The program targets not only children to prevent child labor and remove them from work, but also their families and communities, recruiters, traffickers and exploiters, government officials and society. The BMG method prevents and protects children from child labor while minimizing their vulnerability to future threats of exploitation. In addition, the program strengthens the entire community by helping it enhance its support system, enabling the community to assume responsibility for their children's well-being as well as that of the adults.²³

Although each BMG differs, the essential elements incorporated in all include:

- Eliminating child labor from a village
- Enrolling all children into school
- Establishing a children's parliament in every school in the village
- Making their voices heard in the adult Panchayat

5.1.4. Monitoring

The basic definition of child labor monitoring involves the regular observation of children to assure they are not working. The methodologies employed to monitor children differ in size and sophistication and depend a great deal on the type of child labor that is being monitored. Monitoring for child labor can apply to observing children's activities in the home, at school, within their communities, different work sectors, and any other place where children could be present. Many entities implementing child labor programs develop or adapt a child labor monitoring program in order to quantify children's involvement in different activities.

School-based child labor monitoring:

Some systems monitor for child labor through school attendance, due to the correlation between absence from school and work. In this case, teachers and other education specialists might be involved in keeping attendance records and following up on children once they miss a certain

²² Ribhu, B. (2007). *Building Child Friendly Villages: Using Village Strengths to Combat Child Labor and Other Exploitive Practices*. The Center for Victims of Torture, New Tactics in Human Rights Project.

²³ Ribhu, B. (2007). *Building Child Friendly Villages: Using Village Strengths to Combat Child Labor and Other Exploitive Practices*. The Center for Victims of Torture, New Tactics in Human Rights Project.

number of days of school. School monitoring systems also look at children's performance levels to determine if there is something going on outside of school hampering their ability to study.

Community vigilance committees:

Other less formal monitoring systems include community vigilance groups that volunteer to keep track of the actions of certain children and to follow up with those who miss school or become involved in child labor again. The follow-up process could involve visits to the homes of children to talk directly to parents or children.

In over 50 villages, the Bal Vikram Ashram, started by the NGO, Free the Slaves, supports community vigilance committees. These committees look for women and children at risk of trafficking and alert the police when potential traffickers are seen around the villages. They act as a check to assure that the police conduct their job of cracking down on trafficking and have educated villagers about what to look for in cases of trafficking. Community vigilance committees help keep the important community functions such as the police and schools accountable. Some of the children returned from potential trafficking situations have become community activists who insist the community children attend school.

ILO-IPEC's Child Labor Monitoring System (CLMS)

The ILO-IPEC developed a child labor monitoring system designed to prevent child labor through systematic observations of school and both registered and non-registered workplaces. Their system surveys, identifies and acts upon discovered acts of child labor.

The ILO's monitoring tool in the workplace works with the knowledge that most child labor does occur in the informal sector among unregistered entities where official monitors rarely reach. ILO creates partnerships with NGOs and the police and exchange information to better allow them to infiltrate these unregistered spaces. ILO now has a more sophisticated monitoring system called the Child Labor Monitoring Systems (CLMS), which adapts to different working modalities to fit the industry in question, the location and the culture²⁴.

The information generated through monitoring is used to document found cases of child labor, to report on trends, to conduct rescues of children, and to shut down illegal child labor operations.

School Education Committee

In Andhra Pradesh, every school is mandated to have a School Education Committee (SEC). SEC's play important roles in monitoring for child dropouts and returns to child labor. Their role in assisting to combat child labor includes:

- facilitating the admission of children, including older children rejoining school

²⁴ http://www.wotclef.org/documents/fs_monitoring_0303.pdf

- identifying school dropouts and irregular school-going children and contacting their parents to encourage them to return to school
- helping children with prolonged absences due to a health issue in the family re-enroll without the need for a health certificate
- facilitating school issued and transfer certificates to children²⁵

SECs can play a more proactive role in their community school and ease school bureaucracy by constantly monitoring the retention of children and then helping them rejoin school.

5.1.5. Certification and Labeling

This general approach is very different because it is business-based and market-oriented. Certification programs are non-legislative measures introduced as a way to curb harmful social and environmental practices through a guarantee to all consumers that businesses take certain efforts to assure their products are manufactured in an ethical manner, which differs according to the code of conduct mandate. Child labor is only one of the practices that may be targeted in the certification program. Some certification programs offer labels for their companies to attach to their products to witness that they have been certified by the monitoring body in question.

The previous section noted many programs combating child labor in the carpet industry that were based on certification and labeling. RugMark, GoodWeave, Care & Fare, and STEP all involve a partnership between NGOs and businesses. They vary on whether they monitor production to verify that no child labor is involved and whether they label the entire business or individual carpets. Foundation Carpet in Nepal and Obeetee in India are individual businesses that are very concerned about child labor and monitor themselves (self-certification). The Kaleen label is issued by the Indian Government's CEPC to its member exporters, and the CEPC contracts an independent third party to randomly monitor the looms of its members.

Chakrabarty determined that social labeling schemes had decreased the prevalence of child labor in the carpet industry and increased the number of children attending school through three different field studies and econometric analyses. His chief findings concluded that:

- Social labeling schemes in the carpet industry decreased the prevalence of child labor when adults' income increased and when the head of the household was educated.²⁶
- The prevalence of child labor decreased among households with knowledge of labeling NGOs and their program efforts.²⁷

²⁵ Reddy, R.V. (2006). Strategies for Universalization of Elementary Education. p. 269 in Saytarthi, K., Zutshi, B. Globalization, Development and Child Rights.

²⁶ Chakrabarty, S., Grote, U. and Lüchters, G. (February 2006). *The Trade-Off Between Child Labor and Schooling: Influence of Social Labeling NGOs in Nepal*. ZEF – Discussion Papers on Development Policy No. 102, Center for Development Research, Bonn, February 2006, pp. 35.

- In Nepal, the risk of child labor was at least 49 percent higher for children working in factories not monitored by the label programs.²⁸
- Labeling NGOs effectively reduced the prevalence of child labor in the households that were above-subsistence (nutritional status as dictated by India). However, the labeling scheme had no significant impact on a child's working status in below-subsistence level households.²⁹
- NGO failure to get children into school was 4.47 times higher for those with no monitoring versus those with monitoring systems in place.³⁰

The certification strategy is effective as long as the consumer cares about how, by whom, with what, and under what conditions products are manufactured. There is an increasing trend for exporting countries to pay attention to public opinion among their consumers about social and environmental issues. Media plays a role today in exposing harmful practices to the public, and it may take a long time for a company to recover from negative exposure. It is also becoming more frequent that companies have further incentives to maintain ethical manufacturing standards, since the incentives may include official sanctions. The growth of the certification movement has encouraged collaboration among organizations with similar interests in creating systems to monitor and certify companies with good social and environmental standards.

ISEAL Alliance -- Social and Environmental Standards System

The International Social and Environmental Accreditation and Labeling (ISEAL) Alliance is a relatively new (formed in 2002) global social and environmental standards system whose founders include certification organizations interested in collaborating in their goal of creating a demand for businesses that observe sustainable environmental and social standards. The ISEAL Alliance works from the premise that voluntary standards and certification systems that are both credible and accessible can be effective tools businesses can use to make positive change. The Alliance has developed a Code of Good Practice for Setting Social and Environmental Standards. Standard setting bodies that use this code are ensured positive results in the application of their standards, while it serves as a bar against which to measure the credibility of voluntary standards. The ISEAL Alliance assists their members with internal assessments of compliance in standard setting and to effectively follow the Code of Good Practice.

- GoodWeave is an associate member of this Alliance.

²⁷ Chakrabarty, S. and Grote, U. May 2007. *Impact of Social Labeling on Child Labor in the Indian Carpet Industry*. Leibniz Universität Hannover, Faculty of Economics and Management. Discussion Paper No. 366.

²⁸ Chakrabarty, S. 2006. *Does 'Social Labeling' Displace Child Labor and Increase Child Schooling?: Evidence from Nepal*. International Labour Organization (ILO), Geneva.

²⁹ Chakrabarty, S. and Grote, U. May 2007. *Impact of Social Labeling on Child Labor in the Indian Carpet Industry*. Leibniz Universität Hannover, Faculty of Economics and Management. Discussion Paper No. 366.

³⁰ Chakrabarty, S. 2006. *Does 'Social Labeling' Displace Child Labor and Increase Child Schooling?: Evidence from Nepal*. International Labour Organization (ILO), Geneva.

The Social Accountability (SA) 8000 Standard

Social Accountability International is a member of the ISEAL Alliance and is an association that was created to develop a universal code of practice for labor conditions in manufacturing industries.³¹ This would allow consumers in developed countries to be confident that the goods they were buying had been produced in accordance with recognized set of standards. Many businesses had already begun to recognize the commercial advantages of adopting an ethical dimension in their employment practices, and were operating their own codes of conduct. However, there was no consensus on what exactly constituted a socially responsible policy. As a result, the myriad codes were inconsistent and poorly audited.

Social Accountability (SA) 8000 is a standard to govern employees' working conditions. The process to become an SA8000 applicant is thorough, requiring the company to contact an accredited auditor and demonstrate compliance with SA8000's regulations. If the auditors are satisfied with the results of their final assessment, the company gets an SA8000 certificate, valid for three years.³²

The SA8000 Standard is applicable to the export-oriented handmade carpet industry. Currently, there are 16 companies based in India involved in the carpet industry, through manufacturing or elsewhere on the supply chain, that have the SA8000 label. The SA8000 program offers two routes for companies interested in demonstrating their commitment to social responsibility through this program.

- Membership is for retailers who must commit to conduct business only with socially responsible suppliers. In the carpet industry, this would include exporters, importers, and retailers.
- Certification is for suppliers and manufacturers. In the carpet industry, this would mean the processors and carpet manufacturers.

5.1.6. Income Generation Schemes

Income generation schemes are important interventions in the elimination and prevention of child labor because a major factor pushing children into the labor market is the inability of their parents or guardians to adequately provide for their families.

Microfinance is defined as “the provision of sustainable financial services to low income people.” In this definition, sustainable refers to services that can be accessed over a long period of time, if and when the target group needs them. The ILO points to several instances when micro financial schemes are an appropriate intervention against child labor:

³¹ SAI can be contacted at 220 East 23rd Street, Suite 605, New York NY 10010. Telephone: (212) 684-1414. E-mail: info@sa-intl.org. Website: <http://www.sa-intl.org>

³² http://www.bsddglobal.com/tools/systems_sa.asp

- 1) To earn supplemental income for the household to help cope with economic shock or the perpetual state of poverty;
- 2) To earn income to allow family to send their children to school and pay for fees; and
- 3) To pay for child care services

On the other hand, micro financial schemes are not appropriate as an intervention for a child to earn an income or for families that choose not to send their children to school when the family has adequate funds to provide for the family and send the children to school.

5.1.6.1. Microcredit

Defined as very small short-term loans provided to the impoverished or low income earning adults, historically unable to meet qualifications of banks, to start or boost an enterprise, micro credit is an indirect intervention employed for the prevention and elimination of child labor. The popularity of microcredit programs over the last decade has reached the mainstream through the successful attainment of the Nobel Peace Prize in 2006 to the Grameen Bank and its founder, Muhammad Yunis. In Bangladesh, the birthplace of the Grameen Bank, microcredit schemes have reached more than 20 million borrowers, accounting for nearly 60 percent of the country's poor rural households.³³ Today, microcredit is widely used among the UN, international donors, lending agencies and national governments as a means of reducing poverty. Micro credit loans are most commonly employed by women and have very high rates of loan repayment.

When used in child labor programming, it is an intervention to assist parents or guardians in accessing a viable means of self-employment through a loan to replace income previously earned by the child. In theory, micro-credit loans protect the family from decreases in household income when the child leaves the labor sector. Most commonly, micro-credit schemes provide parents or guardians of children the means to start an income earning activity, commonly a business. Micro-credit loans have been used as an incentive to enroll and keep children in school by making the loan conditional to the child's attendance.

5.1.6.2. Self-Help Groups

The micro finance scheme known as self-help groups (SHG) is a group focused income generation intervention, generally comprised of between 10-15 members, predominantly women. The SHG model has been employed for many years to intervene in shock situations such as food scarcity. The example of grain banks in India was used to protect against times of scarcity or economic shock. Through this scheme, the community all donated some of their grain to a community supply that could be accessed in time of greater need.

³³ http://mpr.ub.uni-muenchen.de/16842/1/schooling-child_work_Bangladesh_Asad.pdf

The SHG intervention to prevent and eliminate child labor works the same way. In this approach, all members work together as a team to earn money. By forming a group, they are able to lower the investment cost per person and the risk of default. SHGs provide stability, which allows families the option to send their children to school rather than work. They also function to provide a little more for those members who experience a family economic shock. Commonly, children drop out of school to help the family in times of shock, but the SHG provides the padding needed to sustain the family and get them back on their feet.

In addition to the already mentioned financial benefits of SHGs, they also have important implications for a community's social structure. SHGs not only provide alternative income for the family, which in itself is empowering for the women, but they also provide a forum for members to share stories and experiences and advice with one another. The sense of confidence gained from the SHGs also extends to household decision-making, such as sending children to school and the provision of nutritious meals. Women learn many new skills through the SHG, such as bookkeeping, business and negotiating skills. Many find their voice and develop natural leadership roles through such meetings. The success of SHGs provides them with legitimacy and can allow them to apply for formal assistance from banks to expand their lending capacities. Women have proven to be the most reliable in terms of repayment of loans to banks.

5.1.7. Raid, Rescue, Rehabilitation and Recovery

National police, other state bodies, and some community-based organizations (CBO) go about rescuing children involved in the worst forms of child labor through an approach called raid and rescue. This technique is generally used in cases with high levels of exploitation and criminal behavior, such as bonded labor and trafficking in persons, and when other more diplomatic approaches have proven to be ineffective. Proponents of the raid and rescue approach believe that there is no other way to bring the exploitation out into the open and that criminals will only be brought to justice if they are caught with children in their factories.

Raid and rescue operations are surprise attacks by CBOs and local authorities on the child labor violators, often factory owners. Because of the risk of exposure, factory owners holding children or adults in exploitive labor situations are usually well hidden. However, even in cases where factories are well hidden, children are taught to either lie about their age, to hide close to the premises or to flee out of another door should a raid occur or anyone out of the ordinary stop by to ask any questions.

Some CBOs, such as the Uttar Pradesh based Bal Vikas Ashram (BVA), contact the local police when they learn of a situation where a child is being held against their will and pressure them to join the raid and rescue effort. BVA rescues children trafficked or held in situations of bonded labor in the carpet and brick factories and the stone quarries. BVA claims that the majority of the

children they have rescued had been trafficked from the impoverished state of Bihar.³⁴ In 2007, BVA rescued 278 children.

The Indian NGO Save the Childhood Movement (BBA) has a comprehensive raid, rescue, rehabilitation and recovery program for child laborers, which includes partnerships with legal and judicial authorities in order to assure that the perpetrators get the appropriate punishment for their actions.

Throughout the raid, rescue, rehabilitation and recovery process it is essential that children affected are kept away from their exploiters. The reasons are both legal and psychological. Trafficked children or slaves may have been purchased, so the employer feels their property was taken from them (despite the illegality of bonded labor). Families and their child victims must be kept far away from the perpetrators of the violation as there is the occasion when the violator gets to the children and intimidates them to drop any charges or to simply remain quiet.

5.2. ALTERNATIVE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

This addresses the other broad research question that emerged during this review:

- Which educational interventions appear to be most relevant to the search for practices and programs to combat child labor in the carpet industry in these three countries?

This section describes in more detail some of the practices employed in documented education interventions that strive to increase enrollment of currently underserved children. These alternative educational approaches include decentralization models that bring education to the local government level, formation of local partnerships, improving teaching quality and conditions, flexibility in enrollment, the use of stronger quality-based incentives, and different types of educational support programs.

The use of education-based interventions to eliminate and reduce child labor has become an increasingly common practice for governments and international organizations. In terms of reducing child labor, the majority of the education-based studies and interventions reviewed directly impacted child labor but did not explicitly mention or address child labor.

Public education in all three research countries continues to be a significant problem although there have been improvements. The chief problem with government schools is that they are failing their surrounding communities in several ways. The problem is not the lack of infrastructure for schools, per se, but the continued poor quality of government education resulting from overcrowding of classes, insufficient number of teachers, and instruction based on fear rather than on actual will and desire to learn. Additional issues include irrelevant curricula,

³⁴ http://www.callandresponse.com/giving_project_0809_fts.html

the lack of basic services or supplies for students, and the distance between schools and children's homes.

In an attempt to improve public education, international organizations, such as the World Bank and the UN, and CSOs have intervened to improve enrollment and quality through alternative education programs that strive to provide greater access to education through an equitable system with clear learning outcomes and indicators of success. Alternative models are demonstrating ways to increase access, completion and learning achievements.

Many alternative education programs focus on improving the rates of literate and numerate children. An outcome-focused approach towards achieving this goal begins at the desired end -- literacy, numeracy, and computation skills -- and works backwards to determine the steps needed to get there. This is a break from the original EFA goal of providing universal access. As the report "Reaching the Underserved" claims, alternative models of education that are outcome focused "use whoever is available as teachers, create systems of support as needed, and focus the curriculum, calendar, and instruction on children learning." This is a shift from a centrally managed education delivery system that has a standard set of inputs with the objective of achieving certain enrollment targets.

5.2.1. Decentralization

The decentralization of national education systems may be an effective means to hand off more control and decision-making power to the state, regional and local government levels; they may more effectively deliver relevant education models to the population in question. In centralized systems, it is hard to get schools in rural, hard to reach areas and it is especially hard to get teachers to these areas. The results are areas with few schools and schools with very high teacher to student ratios and often teachers who are of lesser quality. Decisions made at the central government level for all communities throughout a country with differences in language, culture, tradition, social practices, socioeconomic status, etc. miss the mark on meeting the different needs throughout the country in question. In addition to the difficulties in reaching the needs of all children in the country, a centralized system can also miss problems at local levels, especially if they have weak monitoring systems. On the other hand, decentralized education models permit effective schooling that better targets the needs of children, as they know the needs of the children and community. Decentralized models bring initiatives, management and decision-making to the local level. Management at the local level that knows the population it works with ends up being more accountable to the communities through their increased accessibility. Decentralized systems can help break down the bureaucracy found at the national level. The first answer to meeting local needs, especially those still not reached by government schools, is the creation of a more decentralized education system by handing over more administration responsibilities to the local and state governments.

5.2.2. Formation of Local Partnerships

The creation of partnerships between local government and civil society organizations has worked to effectively increase school enrollment and quality in Pakistan and India. Successful programs have shifted away from education policies where the government acts as the manager of public education towards one that enables it to work in partnership with a number of local stakeholders, chiefly CSOs, towards an education system that works for the community in question. A model of success is one where CSOs provide mediation between communities and the government. CSOs that serve as mediators between governments and communities can effectively bring the needs, concerns and priorities of each to the table. Acting as intermediaries, CSOs act in the interest and needs of the local community and its children. Each entity with a stake plays an important role. Strong education models need a committed, trustworthy, influential, persuasive and effective CSO at their helm. The most effective CSO is one that has a history working with the community in question on other community programmatic needs and has earned the community's trust through past work. The CSO acts as the community voice in their negotiations with the government for approval of plans, curriculum, requests for resources, etc. They need to be ready and able to lobby on behalf of the community. Of course, success also depends upon the effectiveness and responsiveness of the local government and the community, but the CSOs are really the driving force that has gotten results. CSOs need to be good listeners and understand the real needs of the community. They need to convince the 'powers that be' that there needs to be a primary school in a community, that it needs to be taught in the local language, that local teachers need to be trained and paid, and that relevant material for the community needs to be included in the curriculum. Other stakeholders the CSOs may work with include development agencies or donors. While governments have responded to the need for funding alternative education programs, the programs often need alternative funding sources. Whether it is the donor approaching the community and the CSO or vice versa, CSOs often manage funds donors put into the education programs and need to be able to demonstrate impact in order to qualify for further funds. The CSOs serve as the negotiator and the glue that binds the donors, development agencies, communities and the government together. It is imperative that they are committed for the long-run with the community and that they are well organized.³⁵

While CSOs might be the glue holding relationships between stakeholders in place, long-term success ultimately starts and ends with the community. Whether the impetus for change comes

³⁵ Since donors are generally unable to fund more than a few years, the long-run commitment seems to be the most problematic of the qualities CSOs need to possess to achieve successful alternative basic education programs. The donor communities tend to shift interest depending on which government is in charge, funding availability, popular interests, the perceived needs of the communities they serve, and the results of their programs. Government donors have many competing interests they need to contend with and, due to strong rules and regulations, programs are rarely funded longer than a few years. There are other donors, such as foundation donors, who generally have a vested interest in seeing long-term success. Even the continued funding from foundations is contingent upon meeting a series of requirements, including financial and programmatic progress.

from the community or the CSO, the community must be receptive to the idea and jump on board to see to its success.³⁶ Success is contingent in part by the commitment of community members to their children's education. This is not always as easy as it may seem.

Many communities reached by alternative education programs had no previous history of education, as it is likely that adult members were denied a formal education. The alternative education programs and the population it serves are foreign to a community that has never seen a school or has always worked beside their children. In this sense, it is important for the community to be receptive to change. These societies are the most vulnerable to failure as it is all too easy to go back to what they know: a life without school. Learning to let children go to school is a process for a community's adults and children. It is very understandable for community members to be suspicious or even distrustful of education initiatives, especially when they have never been served before by an education alternative. Nonetheless, it is up to community members to assure their children attend school every day, for the entire day and that they get time to do homework and remain out of the working sphere. While CSOs are good at acting in their best interest by being a communities' spokesperson, it is up to the community members to monitor new programs and efforts and to learn from CSOs. Members of communities act as monitors when they take an active role in its interests, such as its children's right to and access to quality education.

5.2.3. Improvement of Teaching Quality and Conditions

Teachers play an important role in the successful learning outcomes of their students. One element of successful alternative educational programs points to the use of the local pool of talent, which is a shift from the traditional practice of hiring teachers. Local teachers have a stake in the communities they serve as they come from the communities, share the languages, ethnic group identity, etc. Glewee et al. (2008) argue that, with ongoing professional training and support, locally trained teachers have been as or more effective than traditional teachers with better qualifications and pay. In fact, they argue that reducing barriers to entering the teaching profession does not necessarily compromise quality and, in fact, may serve to improve the quality of teaching, while saving costs. Evidence suggests that teachers hired on a contract basis had better attendance rates and that their students seemed to perform better. This may be due to the lack of security of their job in comparison with their counterpart civil servant teachers who rarely are dismissed for poor behavior. In addition, contractually hired teachers are paid much lower wages in comparison to civil servants.³⁷ A policy of first hiring teachers on a contractual basis, and only awarding civil status to those who succeed, may be politically viable because it offers the opportunity to expand the ranks of teachers in response to rising enrollment at modest

³⁶ As mentioned in the section on the CSOs, many successful alternative education programs have CSOs with a history of trust in the communities they serve.

³⁷ Glewee, P., Holla, A., and Kremer, M. (September 2008). Teacher Incentives in the Developing World.

cost. Contract teachers who are not required to earn the teacher certificate, but rather earn a full-time position based on their performance, may help solve the problem of poor performance of teachers and increase the pool of potential teachers.

Evidence shows that teachers improve their efforts in the classroom when they are exposed to better working conditions.³⁸ This includes a supportive working environment in addition to better physical working conditions. A USAID EQUIP 2 program highlighted that teachers perform better when managers and supervisors have the best interests of the teachers and students in mind. The current system in many countries, such as India, lacks monitoring of schools or support of teachers, leading to low levels of motivation and performance. Improved management should depend on the outcome of providing the best possible learning environment for children. The involvement of communities in the quality of their teachers could be an important factor maintaining higher quality teachers. Communities that are empowered and care about their schools are more likely to assure their maintenance and to monitor the teachers better. Empowering local communities to hire teachers on a contract basis can also have a significant impact on improving the quality of teachers and on their delivery of education. Local CBOs and NGOs can better identify, recruit, train and support teachers. Teachers come with little to no experience and are trained to become facilitators of children's learning rather than machines dispensing information. They receive ongoing support and training.³⁹

5.2.4. Flexible Enrollment Processes

For those children who are newly enrolling into school, school management flexibility and sensitivity are critical for overcoming difficulties during the process. Confusing and time-consuming school enrollment policies can create barriers to families attempting to newly enroll their children. Policies need to be further simplified and children need to be welcomed into school. Although the government of India now requires schools to accept children withdrawn from work and seeking to enroll in school at any point during the year, implementation of this policy has not reached the entire population.

5.2.5. Incentives

In an effort to ease the burden on parents and increase student enrollment, incentives, both monetary and non-monetary, attempt to make education a viable option for families. As a practice to reduce child labor, incentives attempt to change the behavior of families, enticing them to enroll and keep their children in school. The various types of incentives include:

³⁸ Ibid

³⁹ Reaching the Underserved. USAID, EQUIP 2.

- Conditional Cash Transfers (CCT) programs seek to reduce poverty by making finances conditional upon the receivers' actions. The entity supplying the CCT, most often the government, only transfers the money to persons who meet certain criteria. These criteria may include enrolling children into public schools, getting regular check-ups at the doctor's office, receiving vaccinations, etc.⁴⁰
- Scholarships can take on many forms, fitting into what is most appropriate for the target audience. They are characteristically awards, based on various criteria reflecting values and needs of the recipients or values of the donor, allowing access to an institution for a student to further their education.
- In-kind Support incentives pay for indirect costs of attending school, such as uniforms, books, supplies, enrollment or transportation. They can be given either directly to the family or to the child.
- School feeding programs that offer children supplemental nutritional meals during the school day have successfully increased enrolment in many settings. In addition to getting children to school, the nutritious meals could enhance learning, although there has been little research to support this claim.
- School health care - There is evidence that poor health limits children's participation in school. School health care services provide students with basic services through their school. A school clinic could have a doctor who comes periodically. Some of these programs also provide vaccinations.

5.2.6. Educational Support Programs

In addition to incentives, there have been other educational support programs that have shown success (see 5.1.1). These include:

5.2.6.1. Pre-Vocational and Vocational Training

Pre-vocational and Vocational training activities target underage children (up to 13 years) in a vocation they could utilize once old enough. These activities teach children about different vocation options and the materials, skills and tools needed. The hope with pre-vocational training is to acquaint children early to possible career paths which they can engage in once old enough. In formal schools, pre-vocational training programs include woodcutting, cooking and sewing⁴¹. The IPEC program waits until children are old enough to work (14 years) before providing vocational skills training. Vocational training programs for youth offer more choice in work future than the previous status quo. The ability to choose a new vocation empowers youth as it helps them overcome previous discrimination or social exclusion.

⁴⁰ The carpet project conducted another program (Schooling Incentives Impact Evaluation) that assessed the impact of scholarships and stipends. The stipend was essentially a conditional cash transfer, except paid in food rather than money.

⁴¹ ILO. Combating child labor through education.

5.2.6.2. Pre-School Enrollment

Research shows that early childhood care and education (ECCE) programs ranging from childcare for infants up to two years old (ages 0-2) to pre-school for children aged 2-6 years ease children's entry into primary school and are associated with higher literacy rates. The benefits of ECCEs extend beyond the young children, as they allow older siblings, who in the research countries traditionally take care of their younger siblings, to attend school too. The Indian NGO, Pratham has a pre-school program (known as Balwadis) targeting children from low-income families. Educating children from an early age in the Balwadis program has succeeded in creating higher enrollment and attendance rates, and increased academic performance in primary schools. These schools play a very important role for the children early in life and instill the culture of education in them, a culture that otherwise would be missing as most of the parents are illiterate.

5.2.6.3. Transitional Education

Transitional Education (TE) programs seek to assist former and current working children and other vulnerable populations of children denied education in the formal school system in meeting their special educational needs in order to attain higher enrollment levels and lessen drop-out rates. TE programs are based on the premise that child laborers are ill prepared to reenter the formal school system due to their absence of basic literacy and numeracy skills, their insufficient educational attainment level for their age group, and different life experiences. Physical and psychosocial problems linked with child labor, such as stunted growth, injury, disease, anti-social behavior, low self-esteem, and attention deficit disorder have a negative impact on the new students' ability to learn and succeed in a classroom. Effective TE programs are critical for child laborers' reintegration into schools. The programs should be seen as a springboard the children need in order to reach the formal school system with their peers. Once children are enrolled in TE programs, it is important that they receive the support they need to succeed and make it into formal schools. Their experiences make them especially vulnerable to dropping out of school and back into the work place. The three most common forms of TE programs include bridge schooling, remedial education and flexible schooling.

5.2.6.4. Bridge Schooling

Bridge Schooling is an approach that gradually acquaints or reacquaints children into the school environment through the provision of a specialized curriculum outside of formal schools.

5.2.6.5. Remedial Education

Remedial Education programs provide children returning to school after working with remedial support in regular classrooms next to their peers. This approach mainstreams children back into the education system quicker than other programs. RE students receive special support from teachers in order to adapt them to school and provide them with the skills they are lacking for their age group. Research suggests that these programs are best suited for younger children who have not missed out on too much school, but that children who have missed years of traditional education need more attention. As remedial education programs are run out of schools, their costs are considerably lower than other programs for children returning from work.

5.2.6.6. Flexible Schooling

Flexible Schooling programs reach out to child workers through the provision of specialized programs that allow them to complete their work and go to school at the same time. Based on the premise that some children have to work to help their families survive or want to work, FS programs aims to increase enrollment of hard to reach populations and reduce drop-out rates, but does not seek to remove children from work. FS programs tend to be less threatening to families fearful of losing the income or labor of their child.

5.3. STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS

5.3.1. Strengths

This review provides a summary of existing documented programs that have developed successful strategies to reduce or eliminate child labor in the carpet industry. This review incorporated in its search a wider range of educational interventions that did not specifically mention child labor but have much to offer anti-child labor programs.

Another strength of this review was that it managed to uncover many papers and reports that were never published and were available only online or as grey literature. These are difficult or sometimes impossible to access.

5.3.2. Limitations

One of the limitations of any desk review of the literature is that so many useful programs and interventions have never been documented or the documentation has never been made readily available. Also, the lack of formal evaluations makes it difficult to assess the true impact of these programs on reducing and eliminating child labor in the carpet industry.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1. SUMMARY

Many organizations, public and private, have sponsored programs that combat child labor in the carpet industry in India, Nepal, and Pakistan.

- Some organizations were specifically focused on child labor in the carpet industry and designed programs that were specific for children working in the carpet industry. Examples would include GoodWeave and other organizations that focused on carpet labeling and certification programs in India and Nepal.
- Some organizations ran programs that were designed to combat child labor in more than one industry, addressing multiple sectors simultaneously or in sequence. An example would be the Center for Rural Education and Development Action (CREDA) in India; its program focused on child labor in the carpet industry for several years and then, believing that the problem had been greatly reduced, shifted its focus to other sectors.
- Other organizations were not designed to combat child labor but added a program that addressed child labor in the carpet industry. An example would be the Thardeep Rural Development Program in Pakistan that started working on regional (Tharparkar District) emergency relief and rehabilitation and then added a program to combat child labor in the carpet industry.
- Other organizations and programs (frequently education-oriented) never focused on or directly addressed child labor in the carpet industry, but significantly impacted the context of child labor. Examples would include programs that improved access to regular schools, non-formal education, and vocational education.

The organizations and programs have used a variety of strategies and interventions (or practices). The general features of those strategies and interventions were not unique to the carpet industry. Instead, the organizations utilized strategies and practices that had been successful elsewhere and adapted them to use with their programs to combat child labor in the carpet industry. The carpet labeling programs are an example since there are broader certification programs.

In general terms, the programs have utilized one or more of the following strategies:

- Direct action with children.
- Family support interventions.
- Partnerships with schools.
- Community awareness campaigns.
- Institutional alliance-building.
- Workplace inspection and monitoring.
- Rescue and rehabilitation.

This study reviewed types of interventions and educational programs used to reduce child labor and beyond. Among the most successful were those that managed to create behavior and attitudinal change towards school by both parents and their children alike, often through community based efforts. In many cases, it was the absence of governmental schools or programs of value that was keeping children from schools. In India, there had been a growing movement towards low cost private schools and non-formal education because of the lack or poor quality of the government schools. If possible, parents generally wanted their children to have an education, but the key was to bring quality and accountability to government schools.

The majority of programs and interventions studied began and/or currently worked with or for children from the export-oriented carpet industry. Many of those were specific projects funded or started chiefly for the purpose of tackling child labor in the carpet industry; those included the ILO-IPEC programs in Pakistan and the UNICEF-IKEA program. All of the monitoring and labeling programs began as a response to the need for an intervention to curb child labor in the carpet sector; those included Obeetee, RugMark, Care & Fair, Kaleen, STEP, Project Mala and Formation Carpets.

The large number of organizations or programs started and funded exclusively to deal with children working in the carpet sectors emphasized the concern for the problem among the local and international communities. Three of the programs identified were factory based: (1) Obeetee, which began its child labor monitoring program after a factory law passed in India; (2) Project Mala, started and funded by a local factory in Uttar Pradesh following the Indian law's passage; and (3) Formation Carpet, whose founder became the first president of RugMark/Nepal. Those factory-based programs were all examples of the industry's efforts to implement fairer and more transparent labor standards. The organizations RugMark, STEP, Kaleen and Care & Fair started for the industry and consumers. Once the movement for fair labor standards and legitimacy began in the carpet sector, those organizations provided their own certification and monitoring for the companies that were interested. Some companies, such as Obeetee, opted to develop their own monitoring programs.

Social programs for children of carpet workers, carpet workers themselves and those at-risk of joining the industry had been operating for at least twenty years. So, in theory, if the programs had been successful in reaching out to carpet populations, the need for assistance should have decreased. Both CREDA and TRDP worked early on with children in the carpet sector, but had moved on to work with children from other forms of child labor. Evidence suggested that there had been improvements in the lives of both adults and children from the industry in the areas reached by those organizations.

Both TRDP and CREDA were examples of programs or interventions that began by working with children largely from the carpet industry, but were not founded with the idea of focusing

exclusively on child labor in the carpet sector. Those organizations initially spent a lot of time and effort working to eliminate child labor in the carpet sector because it was the most predominant form of child labor in their surrounding areas, but then moved on to work on other forms of child labor and other issues because the need for carpet industry interventions had lessened.

Another organization that fit into this category was BBA, which took the child friendly village model and applied it to regions where there was need. Their work in the carpet sector was located close to one of the child rehabilitation centers in Rajasthan. The BBA model was designed to be self-sustaining, and field trip visits to BBA villages validated their sustainability.

Prevention vs. Intervention

Worldwide consensus among development practitioners was that the best place for all children was in school, and the majority of prevention strategies directed at children aimed to get them into and keep them in meaningful education programs until the children were old enough to work or to make their own decisions regarding their future. While children ultimately benefited either directly or indirectly from prevention interventions, the real target needed to focus on those who made decisions regarding their children's future, most notably the parents. As adults were responsible for the care of children until they turned 18 years, child labor prevention practices concerned the involvement and buy-in by parents. Prevention activities worked to alter the future decision-making process of adults by convincing them that the education of their children would benefit the family more than the children's immediate labor.

Characteristics of prevention activities included:

- Prevention activities were able to reach more children with fewer resources than direct intervention programs for already working children.
- Prevention program often aspired to change behavior.
- Prevention programs sought to improve or offer new alternatives to work.
- Prevention activities focused on long-term impacts on the educational, economic, health and well-being of the target group.

As there were vast differences among working children, there were also major differences among intervention approaches. Like the prevention approaches, some direct interventions for children working with their families also attempted to convince parents of the many benefits of sending their children to school rather than work, while other programs appealed to their parents to combine work and school. Interventions for children working under the worst forms and slave-like conditions started with rescuing them from their exploitive situation and then servicing them with rehabilitative measures. The psychological and mental implication of slave and bonded labor left many wounds that might take a lifetime to heal. Most interventions began with the

healing before targeting the children for more conventional strategies, such as school enrollment or vocational training.

Characteristics of child labor intervention activities included:

- Child labor intervention activities tended to be more costly per recipient.
- Child labor interventions were more individualistic, responding according to the child's individual needs.
- Child labor interventions for children from the worst forms of child labor usually contained a psychosocial program.
- Some child labor interventions were short term in their delivery and were considered emergency measures.

6.2. CONCLUSIONS

All of the programs that were reviewed had their own merits and strengths. Interventions found to be effective in preventing, reducing, or eliminating child labor in the carpet industry included some of the following practices:

- Increased access to basic education for all. More education facilities needed to reach out to distant rural areas where schools did not exist and most likely a culture of schooling was nonexistent. As the number of school going children in India, Nepal and Pakistan continue to grow, the number of quality school and teachers needed to keep up with the growth.
- Vocational training. Vocational education programs were useful in providing increased skills to youth for their future employment, but those programs needed to have the possibility of future employment.
- Focus on behavioral change and empowerment of children and parents.
- Income generation among adults.
- Monitoring of child labor and community children not in school, dropout rates, and prolonged absences.
- Monitoring along the entire carpet supply and production chain.
- Community partnerships and awareness campaigns

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Interview Questionnaires

Prior to the trip, questionnaires were developed for the heads of the programs or entities visited. As some of the programs differed in nature, it was necessary to design several different interview forms. Questionnaires were developed for the following:

- 1) CREDA Director/Project Manager Interview Questionnaire
- 2) BBA Director/Project Manager Interview Questionnaire
- 3) Obeetee Manager Questionnaire
- 4) Obeetee Loom Owners Questionnaire
- 5) RugMark Manager Questionnaire
- 6) RugMark Inspector Questionnaire
- 7) RugMark Factory Owner Questionnaire

1) CREDA DIRECTOR/PROJECT MANAGER QUESTIONNAIRE

GENERAL INFORMATION ON INITIATION, BENEFICIARIES AND FUNDING

- ✓ WHY WAS THIS PROGRAM INITIATED?
- ✓ WHO ARE THE PROGRAMS BENEFICIARIES AND HOW MANY ARE THERE?
INDIRECT:

DIRECT:
- ✓ HOW OLD ARE THE BENEFICIARIES?
- ✓ WHERE ARE THE BENEFICIARIES FROM?
- ✓ WHAT GENDER ARE THEY?
- ✓ WHO ARE THE YOUTH WHO ATTEND THE PROGRAM? ARE THEY LABORERS?
- ✓ WHY WERE THESE BENEFICIARIES CHOSEN? WERE THEY THE MOST VULNERABLE?
- ✓ How much does program cost to run for how long?
- ✓ HOW IS/WAS THE PROGRAM FUNDED?

PROGRAM GOALS, OUTCOMES

- ✓ WHAT WERE THE INITIAL GOALS OF THE PROGRAM?
- ✓ IS/DID THIS PROGRAM AIMED AT PREVENTING, ELIMINATING OR REDUCING CHILD LABOR IN THE CARPET INDUSTRY?
- ✓ IF THE PROGRAM WORKED TO ELIMINATE OR REDUCE CHILD LABOR IN THE CARPET INDUSTRY, WHAT WERE THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THE CHILDREN WORKED?
- ✓ HOW SUCCESSFUL IS/WAS IT IN ACHIEVING ITS GOALS?
- ✓ HAVE THE PROGRAM OUTCOMES DIFFERED FROM THE ORIGINAL PROGRAM GOALS? IS SO, HOW?
- ✓ WHAT HAS THE PROGRAM ACHIEVED?
- ✓ HAS IT REMOVED CHILDREN FROM THE WORKPLACE (DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY) OR LESSENERED THE HAZARDS OF THOSE OLD ENOUGH TO WORK?
- ✓ DOES THE PROGRAM WORK WITH CHILD WORKERS OR FORMER CHILD WORKERS?
- ✓ HAS THE PROGRAM HAD ANY UNINTENTIONAL POSITIVE OUTCOMES? SUCH AS?
- ✓ HAS THE PROGRAM UNINTENTIONALLY (OR INTENTIONALLY) NEGATIVELY IMPACTED ANYONE?
- ✓ IF SO, HOW AND WHAT HAS BEEN DONE TO CORRECT THE PROBLEM

LARGER COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT AND INDIRECT BENEFICIARIES

7. HOW ACTIVE HAS THE PROGRAM ENGAGED THE COMMUNITY?
8. HOW HAS COMMUNITY ENGAGED IN PROGRAM?
9. HAS THE COMMUNITY BOUGHT INTO THE PROGRAM?

PARTNERSHIPS

- ✓ DID THIS PROGRAM FORM PARTNERSHIPS OR ELICIT THE SUPPORT OR BUY IN OF OTHER GROUPS?
- ✓ HOW?
- ✓ WHICH GROUPS HAVE BEEN INVOLVED?

- ✓ HOW HAS THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BEEN INVOLVED?

SUSTANABILITY

- ✓ IS THE PROGRAM SUSTAINABLE FINANCIALLY? HOW?
- ✓ WHAT MEASURES HAVE BEEN PUT INTO PLACE TO SEE THAT IT IS SUSTAINED?
- ✓ ARE THERE LONG TERM MEASURES IN PLACE?
- ✓ HOW LONG DO YOU ENVISION THIS PROGRAM WILL RUN?

SUCCESS and CHANGES RESULTING FROM PROGRAM

- ✓ WOULD YOU CONSIDER PROGRAM A SUCCESS? WHY? WHAT IS THE BIGGEST SUCCESS OF THE PROGRAM?
- ✓ WHAT WOULD YOU DO DIFFERENTLY, IF YOU COULD?
- ✓ WHAT ARE THE BIGGEST GAPS?
- ✓ HAS THE PROGRAM BEEN SUCCESSFULLY **REPLICATED**?
- ✓ IS/WAS THIS PROGRAM **INNOVATIVE**? HOW?

CARPET SPECIFIC

- ✓ HAVE CHILDREN WORKING IN THE CARPET INDUSTRY BEEN REMOVED AS A RESULT OF THIS PROGRAM? HOW MANY?
- ✓ ARE YOU INVOLVED IN PROGRAMS THAT ARE WORKING WITH CHILDREN IN OTHER KINDS OF CHILD LABOR?
- ✓ IF YES, WHICH FORMS OF CHILD LABOR?
- ✓ ARE YOUR INTERVENTIONS FOR CHILDREN WORKING IN THE CARPET FACTORY DIFFERENT THAN THOSE OF CHILDREN WORKING IN OTHER INDUSTRIES? IF YES, HOW SO?
- ✓ WHAT MAKES THIS PROGRAM'S ACTIVITIES UNIQUE TO CARPET CHILDREN?
- ✓ WHAT NEEDS TO CHILDREN WHO WORKED IN THE CARPET INDUSTRY HAVE THAT OTHERS DON'T?
- ✓ WHAT IS THERE TO KEEP IN MIND WHEN WORKING WITH CARPET CHILDREN OR POTENTIAL CARPET CHILDREN?

MONITORING

- ✓ DID THIS PROGRAM HAVE A MONITORING PLAN? (IS THERE SOMETHING TO SEE)IF SO, HOW WAS IT MONITORED?
- ✓ WHAT HAPPENS WHEN BENEFICIARIES FINISH THE PROGRAM? WHERE DO THEY GO?
- ✓ IS THERE LONG TERM MONITORING?
- ✓ IF SO, WHERE ARE THE OLD BENEFICIARIES TODAY? WHAT ARE THEY DOING?
- ✓ ARE THEY BETTER OFF NOW THAN THEY WERE BEFORE?

VILLAGE CHILDREN IN NFE SCHOOL

- ✓ WHAT DO THE STUDENTS THEMSELVES THINK OF THE PROGRAM?
- ✓ Are they better off than they would have been otherwise?
- ✓ ARE THERE CHILDREN IN THE PROGRAM THAT WERE NOT CHILD LABORERS? IF NOT, WHAT DID THEY DO?
- ✓ ARE THEY ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT GOING TO SCHOOL?
- ✓ DO THEY STILL WORK WHILE ATTENDING SCHOOL?
- ✓ HOW SUPPORTIVE ARE THEIR FAMILIES AND THEIR EMPLOYERS?
- ✓ ARE THEY ABLE TO GET THEIR HOMEWORK DONE?
- ✓ ARE THEY TIRED AT SCHOOL?

- ✓ IS SCHOOL EASILY ACCESSIBLE TO THEM?

ATTENDANCE RECORDS

- ✓ WHAT ARE THE ATTENDANCE RECORDS AMONG THE VILLAGE?
- ✓ HOW IS POOR ATTENDANCE DEALT WITH?
- ✓ AT THE VILLAGE LEVEL, HOW MANY CHILDREN ARE IN SCHOOL?
- ✓ IS THERE A PUSH TO GET OTHER CHILDREN ENROLLED IN SCHOOL?
- ✓ HOW IS DROPOUT RATE?
- ✓ WHAT HAPPENS TO CHILDREN WHO DROP OUT?
- ✓ IF THEY ARE DROPPING OUT, WHY?
- ✓ IF THEY DO, WHY DO CHILDREN CONTINUE TO DROP OUT?

VILLAGE CHILDREN OUT OF SCHOOL

- ✓ WHAT ARE OTHER CHILDREN IN THEIR VILLAGE DOING WHO DID NOT ATTEND THIS PROGRAM?
- ✓ ARE ANY OF THEM DROP OUTS FROM SCHOOL?
- ✓ WHY DON'T THEY GO TO SCHOOL?

YOUTH GRADUATED FROM SCHOOL

- ✓ WHAT ARE THE FORMER STUDENTS DOING NOW?
- ✓ ONCE STREAMLINED INTO GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS, HOW WELL DID THEY DO?
- ✓ HOW WERE THERE ATTENDANCE RATES
- ✓ DID THEY GRADUATE?
- ✓ HOW DID THEY ADJUST TO THE NEW ENVIRONMENT, FIT IN?
- ✓ DO THEY CONSIDER THE PROGRAM TO BE A SUCCESS?
- ✓ IF SO, WHY?
- ✓ WERE THERE ANY UNINTENDED NEGATIVE IMPACTS?

WHAT ARE THEIR LIVES LIKE TODAY COMPARED WITH THE LIVES OF OTHERS OF SIMILAR MEANS IN THE VILLAGE?

EDUCATION SPECIFIC

- ✓ ACCESS TO EDUCATION: ARE THOSE MOST IN NEED OF EDUCATION AND PREVIOUSLY UNABLE TO ACCESS SCHOOLS NOW GOING TO SCHOOL?
- ✓ ARE THE CHILDREN RECEIVING ANY KIND OF INCENTIVES TO ATTEND PROGRAM? DO THEIR PARENTS?
- ✓ IF YES, HOW DO YOU AVOID PARENTS WHO SEND THEIR CHILDREN TO WORK SO THAT THEY CAN ENROLL IN THE PROGRAM AS A FORMER CHILD LABORER?
- ✓ IF NO, DO PARENTS FEEL PRESSURE FROM THE REMOVAL OF THEIR CHILD FROM WORK?
- ✓ HOW DID YOU DETERMINE THE METHODOLOGY OF PROVIDING INCENTIVES? (REWORD)
- ✓ WAS THERE AN ATTEMPT TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF THE EDUCATION? HOW?
- ✓ WHAT, IF ANY, BARRIERS CONTINUE TO EXIST FOR CHILDREN TO EDUCATION ACHIEVEMENT?
- ✓ WHAT ARE THE DROP-OUT RATES? WHO DROPS OUT?
- ✓ WHAT ARE THE TEACHERS DOING ABOUT CHILDREN DROPPING OUT?

- ✓ HOW WELL ARE CHILDREN MONITORED FOR SCHOOL ATTENDANCE?

2) BBA DIRECTOR/PROJECT MANAGER QUESTIONNAIRE

GENERAL INFORMATION ON INITIATION, BENEFICIARIES AND FUNDING

- ✓ WHY WAS THIS PROGRAM INITIATED?
- ✓ WHO ARE THE PROGRAMS BENEFICIARIES AND HOW MANY ARE THERE?
INDIRECT:
- ✓ HOW OLD ARE THE BENEFICIARIES?
- ✓ WHERE ARE THE BENEFICIARIES FROM?
- ✓ HOW MUCH DOES PROGRAM COST TO RUN FOR HOW LONG?
- ✓ HOW IS/WAS THE PROGRAM FUNDED?

PROGRAM GOALS, OUTCOMES

- ✓ WHAT WERE THE INITIAL GOALS OF THE PROGRAM?
- ✓ IF THE PROGRAM WORKED TO ELIMINATE OR REDUCE CHILD LABOR IN THE CARPET INDUSTRY, WHAT WERE THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THE CHILDREN WORKED?
- ✓ WHAT HAS THE PROGRAM ACHIEVED?
- ✓ HAS THE PROGRAM UNINTENTIONALLY (OR INTENTIONALLY) NEGATIVELY IMPACTED ANYONE?
- ✓ IF SO, HOW AND WHAT HAS BEEN DONE TO CORRECT THE PROBLEM

LARGER COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT AND INDIRECT BENEFICIARIES

10. HOW ACTIVE HAS THE PROGRAM ENGAGED THE COMMUNITY?
11. HOW HAS COMMUNITY ENGAGED IN PROGRAM?
12. HAS THE COMMUNITY BOUGHT INTO THE PROGRAM?

PARTNERSHIPS

- ✓ DID THIS PROGRAM FORM PARTNERSHIPS OR ELICIT THE SUPPORT OR BUY IN OF OTHER GROUPS?
- ✓ HOW HAS THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BEEN INVOLVED?

SUSTANABILITY

- ✓ IS THE PROGRAM SUSTAINABLE FINANCIALLY? HOW?
- ✓ WHAT MEASURES HAVE BEEN PUT INTO PLACE TO SEE THAT IT IS SUSTAINED?
- ✓ ARE THERE LONG TERM MEASURES IN PLACE?
- ✓ HOW LONG DO YOU ENVISION THIS PROGRAM WILL RUN?

SUCCESS and CHANGES RESULTING FROM PROGRAM

- ✓ WOULD YOU CONSIDER PROGRAM A SUCCESS? WHY? WHAT IS THE BIGGEST SUCCESS OF THE PROGRAM?
- ✓ WHAT WOULD YOU DO DIFFERENTLY, IF YOU COULD?
- ✓ WHAT ARE THE BIGGEST GAPS?
- ✓ HAS THE PROGRAM BEEN SUCCESSFULLY **REPLICATED**?

CARPET SPECIFIC

- ✓ HAVE CHILDREN WORKING IN THE CARPET INDUSTRY BEEN REMOVED AS A RESULT OF THIS PROGRAM? HOW MANY?
- ✓ ARE YOU INVOLVED IN PROGRAMS THAT ARE WORKING WITH CHILDREN IN OTHER KINDS OF CHILD LABOR?
- ✓ IF YES, WHICH FORMS OF CHILD LABOR?
- ✓ ARE YOUR INTERVENTIONS FOR CHILDREN WORKING IN THE CARPET FACTORY DIFFERENT THAN THOSE OF CHILDREN WORKING IN OTHER INDUSTRIES? IF YES, HOW SO?
- ✓ WHAT MAKES THIS PROGRAM'S ACTIVITIES UNIQUE TO CARPET CHILDREN?
- ✓ WHAT NEEDS TO CHILDREN WHO WORKED IN THE CARPET INDUSTRY HAVE THAT OTHERS DON'T?
- ✓ WHAT IS THERE TO KEEP IN MIND WHEN WORKING WITH CARPET CHILDREN OR POTENTIAL CARPET CHILDREN?

MONITORING

- ✓ DID THIS PROGRAM HAVE A MONITORING PLAN? (IS THERE SOMETHING TO SEE)IF SO, HOW WAS IT MONITORED?
- ✓ WHAT HAPPENS WHEN BENEFICIARIES FINISH THE PROGRAM? WHERE DO THEY GO?
- ✓ IS THERE LONG TERM MONITORING?
- ✓ IF SO, WHERE ARE THE OLD BENEFICIARIES TODAY? WHAT ARE THEY DOING?
- ✓ ARE THEY BETTER OFF NOW THAN THEY WERE BEFORE?

VILLAGE CHILDREN IN NFE SCHOOL

- ✓ WHAT DO THE STUDENTS THEMSELVES THINK OF THE PROGRAM?
- ✓ ARE THEY BETTER OFF THAN THEY WOULD HAVE BEEN OTHERWISE?
- ✓ ARE THERE CHILDREN IN THE PROGRAM THAT WERE NOT CHILD LABORERS? IF NOT, WHAT DID THEY DO?
- ✓ ARE THEY ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT GOING TO SCHOOL?
- ✓ DO THEY STILL WORK WHILE ATTENDING SCHOOL?
- ✓ HOW SUPPORTIVE ARE THEIR FAMILIES AND THEIR EMPLOYERS?
- ✓ ARE THEY ABLE TO GET THEIR HOMEWORK DONE?
- ✓ ARE THEY TIRED AT SCHOOL?
- ✓ IS SCHOOL EASILY ACCESSIBLE TO THEM?

ATTENDANCE RECORDS

- ✓ WHAT ARE THE ATTENDANCE RECORDS AMONG THE VILLAGE?
- ✓ HOW IS POOR ATTENDANCE DEALT WITH?
- ✓ AT THE VILLAGE LEVEL, HOW MANY CHILDREN ARE IN SCHOOL?
- ✓ IS THERE A PUSH TO GET OTHER CHILDREN ENROLLED IN SCHOOL?
- ✓ HOW IS DROPOUT RATE?
- ✓ WHAT HAPPENS TO CHILDREN WHO DROP OUT?
- ✓ IF THEY ARE DROPPING OUT, WHY?
- ✓ IF THEY DO, WHY DO CHILDREN CONTINUE TO DROP OUT?

VILLAGE CHILDREN OUT OF SCHOOL

- ✓ WHAT ARE OTHER CHILDREN IN THEIR VILLAGE DOING WHO DID NOT ATTEND THIS PROGRAM?
- ✓ ARE ANY OF THEM DROP OUTS FROM SCHOOL?
- ✓ WHY DON'T THEY GO TO SCHOOL?

YOUTH GRADUATED FROM SCHOOL

- ✓ WHAT ARE THE FORMER STUDENTS DOING NOW?
- ✓ ONCE STREAMLINED INTO GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS, HOW WELL DID THEY DO?
- ✓ HOW WERE THERE ATTENDANCE RATES?
- ✓ DID THEY GRADUATE?
- ✓ HOW DID THEY ADJUST TO THE NEW ENVIRONMENT, FIT IN?
- ✓ DO THEY CONSIDER THE PROGRAM TO BE A SUCCESS?
- ✓ IF SO, WHY?
- ✓ WERE THERE ANY UNINTENDED NEGATIVE IMPACTS?
- ✓ WHAT ARE THEIR LIVES LIKE TODAY COMPARED WITH THE LIVES OF OTHERS OF SIMILAR MEANS IN THE VILLAGE?

EDUCATION SPECIFIC

- ✓ ARE THE CHILDREN RECEIVING ANY KIND OF INCENTIVES TO ATTEND PROGRAM? DO THEIR PARENTS?
- ✓ WAS THERE AN ATTEMPT TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF THE EDUCATION? HOW?
- ✓ WHAT, IF ANY, BARRIERS CONTINUE TO EXIST FOR CHILDREN TO EDUCATION ACHIEVEMENT?
- ✓ WHAT ARE THE DROP-OUT RATES? WHO DROPS OUT?
- ✓ WHAT ARE THE TEACHERS DOING ABOUT CHILDREN DROPPING OUT?
- ✓ HOW WELL ARE CHILDREN MONITORED FOR SCHOOL ATTENDANCE?

3) OBEETEE MANAGER QUESTIONNAIRE

STRATEGY

- ✓ PLEASE DESCRIBE OBEETEE'S CURRENT STRATEGY TOWARDS ASSURING THERE IS NO CHILD LABOR INVOLVED IN THE MANUFACTURING OF THEIR CARPETS.
- ✓ WHAT HAS CHANGED SINCE WHEN YOU BEGAN IMPLEMENTING YOUR NO-CHILD LABOR POLICY?
- ✓ WHAT HAS BEEN MOST EFFECTIVE IN YOUR EFFORTS TO ASSURE NO CHILD LABOR?
- ✓ DO YOU STILL CONDUCT TRAININGS FOR STAFF OR AWARENESS RAISING, OR HAVE ALL OF THE VILLAGES BEEN SATURATED BY THESE MESSAGES ALREADY?
- ✓ DO YOU WORK WITH OR HAVE SUPPORT FROM OTHER SECTORS, SUCH AS GOVERNMENT OR NGOS? WHAT KIND OF SUPPORT?
- ✓ HOW IS WORKING FOR OBEETEE AS A WEAVER DIFFERENT THAN WORKING FOR ANOTHER MANUFACTURING/EXPORT FIRM?
- ✓ DOES YOUR MANUFACTURING DIFFER FROM OTHERS? HOW?
- ✓ DO YOU REPORT CHILD LABOR TO THE GOVERNMENT?
- ✓ HOW POPULAR IS YOUR STRATEGY IN THE BUSINESS WORLD?
- ✓ IS YOUR STRATEGY SUSTAINABLE? HOW
- ✓ HOW DO YOU FUND YOUR INITIATIVES?

MONITORING SPECIFIC

- ✓ HOW DO YOU DEAL WITH CHILD LABOR WHEN IT IS FOUND?
- ✓ WHAT WAS THE LAST TIME YOU FOUND CHILD LABOR IN YOUR WORK?
- ✓ HOW DO YOU ASSURE THAT YOUR WORK IS NOT SUBCONTRACTED OUT?
- ✓ HOW FREQUENT ARE INSPECTIONS?
- ✓ WHAT IS CONSIDERED CHILD LABOR?

CERTIFICATION

- ✓ PLEASE DESCRIBE HOW YOU BECAME INVOLVED WITH THE SA8000 CERTIFICATION SCHEME?
- ✓ HOW DOES YOUR INVOLVEMENT CHANGE YOUR STRATEGY? WHAT NEW REQUIREMENTS DO YOU HAVE TO MEET IN ORDER TO REMAIN CERTIFIED?
- ✓ ARE YOU INVOLVED IN ANY OTHER CERTIFICATION SCHEMES?

CHILD LABOR

- ✓ DO YOU STILL EVER NOTICE PROBLEMS WITH CHILD LABOR IN THE CARPET INDUSTRY?
- ✓ WHY DO THESE PROBLEMS PERSIST?
- ✓ HOW SUPPORTIVE ARE EMPLOYERS TO THE CAUSE OF CHILD LABOR AND TO YOUR PROGRAMS?
- ✓ WHAT IS THE LIFE OF A WEAVER LIKE? WHAT CAN HE/SHE AFFORD OR NOT AFFORD?

RATE YOUR OWN WORK

- ✓ WHAT HAS WORKED WELL?
- ✓ WHAT HAS NOT WORKED SO WELL?
- ✓ TO WHAT DO YOU ATTRIBUTE YOUR PROBLEMS?
- ✓ TO WHAT DO YOU ATTRIBUTE YOUR SUCCESS?
- ✓ AS FAR AS YOU KNOW, HAVE OTHERS FOLLOWED YOUR MODEL? WHO?

INDUSTRY SPECIFIC

- ✓ HOW SUCCESSFUL IS OBEETEE? HOW HAVE YOU BEEN AFFECTED BY THE INDUSTRY'S DOWNTURN?
- ✓ WHAT ARE RECENT TRENDS OR CHANGES IN THE BUSINESS OR PROCESS, IN GENERAL?
- ✓ WHAT CHANGES ARE OCCURRING AND HOW WILL THE INDUSTRY STAND UP TO THOSE CHANGES?

SPECIAL VILLAGE QUESTIONS

- ✓ HOW SUPPORTIVE ARE EMPLOYERS TO THE CAUSE OF CHILD LABOR AND TO YOUR PROGRAMS?
- ✓ AS FAR AS YOU KNOW, HAVE OTHERS FOLLOWED YOUR MODEL?

SPECIFIC MONITORING QUESTIONS

- ✓ HOW DO YOU ASSURE WORK IS NOT SUBCONTRACTED OUT?
- ✓ FREQUENCY OF INSPECTIONS
- ✓ FREQUENCY OF CHILD LABOR FOUND
- ✓ HOW CHILD LABOR IS DETERMINED? I.E. IS A CHILD SITTING WITH MOTHER ON LOOM CALLED CHILD LABORERS
- ✓ MONITORING PROGRAM
- ✓ REPERCUSSIONS OF CHILD LABOR
- ✓ WHAT HAPPENS TO CHILDREN FOUND AT A FACTORY?
- ✓ HOW WELL BUSINESS IS GOING- LOOK AT THE LAST 10 YEARS
- ✓ ARE THERE ANY CHANGING TRENDS IN THE BUSINESS?
- ✓ IS GOVERNMENT SUPPORTIVE OF OBEETEE?
- ✓ WHAT DOES THE FUTURE OF OBEETEE LOOK LIKE?

4) OBEETEE LOOM OWNERS QUESTIONNAIRE

- ✓ DESCRIBE THEIR WORK? CONDITIONS, HOURS, PAYMENT, FREQUENCY OF WORK, EMPLOYMENT OF OTHERS.
- ✓ HOW LONG HAVE THEY BEEN WORKING WITH OBEETEE?
- ✓ HOW DID THEY COME TO WORK WITH OBEETEE AND HOW HAS WORKING WITH OBEETEE CHANGED THEIR WORK OR BUSINESS PRACTICE?
- ✓ HAVE THEY EVER EMPLOYED CHILDREN ON THEIR LOOMS?
- ✓ DO THEY KNOW OTHERS WHO DO?
- ✓ WHAT IS THE FREQUENCY NOW COMPARED WITH TEN YEARS AGO?
- ✓ DO YOU ENJOY WEAVING?
- ✓ WHAT DO THE CHILDREN IN YOUR VILLAGE DO? YOUR CHILDREN?
- ✓ HOW SUCCESSFUL IS OBEETEE?
- ✓ IS THIS PROCESS SUSTAINABLE?
- ✓ OTHER?
- ✓ WHAT STANDARDS DO YOU HOLD AT YOUR FACTORY?
- ✓ HOW IS THE INDUSTRY FARING?
- ✓ WHAT IS YOUR OPINION OF CHILD LABOR?

5) RUGMARK MANAGER QUESTIONNAIRE

STRATEGY

- ✓ PLEASE DESCRIBE RUGMARK'S CURRENT STRATEGY TOWARDS ASSURING THERE IS NO CHILD LABOR INVOLVED IN THE MANUFACTURING OF THEIR CARPETS.
- ✓ WHAT HAS CHANGED SINCE THE NEW GOODWEAVE SCHEME BEGAN?
- ✓ WHAT HAS BEEN MOST EFFECTIVE IN YOUR EFFORTS TO ASSURE NO CHILD LABOR?
- ✓ DO YOU WORK WITH OR HAVE SUPPORT FROM OTHER SECTORS, SUCH AS GOVERNMENT OR NGOS? WHAT KIND OF SUPPORT?
- ✓ HOW ARE YOU FINANCED?
- ✓ HOW IS WORKING UNDER A GOODWEAVE LABEL AS A WEAVER DIFFERENT THAN WORKING FOR A NON GOODWEAVE LABEL?
- ✓ DO YOU REPORT CHILD LABOR TO THE GOVERNMENT?
- ✓ HOW POPULAR IS YOUR STRATEGY IN THE BUSINESS WORLD?
- ✓ IS YOUR STRATEGY SUSTAINABLE? HOW?

MONITORING SPECIFIC

- ✓ HOW DO YOU DEAL WITH CHILD LABOR WHEN IT IS FOUND?
- ✓ WHAT WAS THE LAST TIME YOU FOUND CHILD LABOR IN YOUR WORK?
- ✓ HOW DO YOU ACCOUNT FOR WORK THAT IS SUBCONTRACTED OUT?
- ✓ HOW FREQUENT ARE INSPECTIONS AND WHAT DO THEY ENTAIL?
- ✓ WHAT IS CONSIDERED CHILD LABOR?
- ✓ ARE CHILDREN ALLOWED ON THE PREMISE?
- ✓ IF SO, HOW YOU ASSURE THEY ARE NOT WORKING?

CERTIFICATION

- ✓ PLEASE DESCRIBE HOW YOU BECAME INVOLVED WITH THE ISEAL CERTIFICATION SCHEME?
- ✓ WHAT DOES THIS MEAN TO YOU AND WHY DID YOU JOIN?
- ✓ HOW DOES YOUR INVOLVEMENT CHANGE YOUR STRATEGY? WHAT NEW REQUIREMENTS DO YOU HAVE TO MEET IN ORDER TO REMAIN CERTIFIED?
- ✓ ARE YOU INVOLVED IN ANY OTHER CERTIFICATION SCHEMES?

CHILD LABOR

- ✓ DO YOU STILL EVER NOTICE PROBLEMS WITH CHILD LABOR IN THE CARPET INDUSTRY?
- ✓ WHY DO THESE PROBLEMS PERSIST?
- ✓ HOW SUPPORTIVE ARE EMPLOYERS TO THE CAUSE OF CHILD LABOR AND TO YOUR PROGRAMS?
- ✓ WHAT IS THE LIFE OF A WEAVER LIKE? WHAT CAN HE/SHE AFFORD OR NOT AFFORD?

RATE YOUR OWN WORK

- ✓ WHAT HAS WORKED WELL?
- ✓ WHAT HAS NOT WORKED SO WELL?
- ✓ TO WHAT DO YOU ATTRIBUTE YOUR PROBLEMS?
- ✓ TO WHAT DO YOU ATTRIBUTE YOUR SUCCESS?
- ✓ AS FAR AS YOU KNOW, HAVE OTHERS FOLLOWED YOUR MODEL? WHO?

INDUSTRY SPECIFIC

- ✓ HOW SUCCESSFUL IS RUGMARK? HOW HAVE YOU BEEN AFFECTED BY THE INDUSTRY'S DOWNTURN?
- ✓ WHAT ARE RECENT TRENDS OR CHANGES IN THE BUSINESS OR PROCESS, IN GENERAL?
- ✓ WHAT CHANGES ARE OCCURRING AND HOW WILL THE INDUSTRY STAND UP TO THOSE CHANGES?

6) RUGMARK INSPECTORS QUESTIONNAIRE

- ✓ WHAT IS YOUR EVALUATION PROCESS AND HOW DOES IT WORK TO ASSURE NO CHILD LABOR?
- ✓ HOW OFTEN DO YOU CHECK FOR CL?
- ✓ IS IT JUST YOU WHO CHECKS CERTAIN FACTORIES OR DO OTHERS?
- ✓ WHAT DOES YOUR REPORTING MECHANISM INVOLVE?
- ✓ WHAT HAPPENS TO THE INFORMATION THAT YOU COLLECT?
- ✓ HOW MANY PEOPLE ARE INVOLVED IN JUST THE MONITORING FOR CHILD LABOR?
- ✓ WHAT ELSE DO YOU CHECK FOR?
- ✓ HAS YOU HAD ANY PROBLEMS OR INCIDENCES OF CHILD LABOR FOUND?
- ✓ HOW HAVE YOU DEALT WITH IT?
- ✓ DO YOU ALERT THE AUTHORITIES?
- ✓ DO YOU THINK YOUR EFFORTS ARE EFFECTIVE OR IS THERE SLIPPAGE?
- ✓ HOW HAS YOUR INSPECTION PROCESS CHANGED OR IMPROVED OVER TIME?

7) RUGMARK LICENSEES FACTORY OWNER OR MANAGER (NEPAL)

- ✓ HAVE THEY ENCOUNTERED ANY LABOR PROBLEMS AS A RESULT OF THE MAOIST MOVEMENT OR OTHER CIVIL UNREST? WHAT AND HOW? (OWNER)
- ✓ HOW LONG HAVE THEY BEEN IN THE BUSINESS?
- ✓ HOW DID THEY GET IN TO THE BUSINESS?
- ✓ HOW SUCCESSFUL ARE THEY?
- ✓ WHY DID THEY JOIN GOODWEAVE?
- ✓ HOW MANY LOOMS DO THEY OWN?
- ✓ HOW HAVE THINGS CHANGED OVER THE YEARS?
- ✓ HAVE THEY BENEFITED IN ANY WAY UNDER RUGMARK?
- ✓ HAVE THEY EVER EMPLOYED CHILDREN ON THEIR LOOMS, PERHAPS BEFORE RUGMARK?
- ✓ ARE THEY WORKING UNDER ANY OTHER CERTIFICATION SCHEMES?
- ✓ WHAT MEASURES DO THEY TAKE TO ASSURE THERE IS NO CHILD LABOR OR FOUL PRACTICES IN THEIR ESTABLISHMENT?

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDES

These focus group instruments helped guide the direction of the discussion and helped to clarify and elaborate on the issues to be covered. The village settings varied a good deal and the amount of time and patience the interviewees had was limited. Focus group questions were developed for the following four groups:

- 1) Village Adult Focus Group Discussions (parents)
- 2) Village Children and Youth Focus Group Discussions
- 3) Licensed RugMark Factories' Focus Group Discussions
- 4) RugMark Children's Focus Group Discussions

1) ADULT FOCUS GROUP (PARENTS OF FORMER CHILD LABORERS)

EDUCATION

- ✓ HOW DO THE PARENTS FEEL ABOUT THE EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES AVAILABLE NOW, AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE PROGRAM?
- ✓ WHAT WERE THE OPTIONS BEFORE?
- ✓ WERE THEIR CHILDREN IN SCHOOL BEFORE?
- ✓ HOW WAS IT?
- ✓ WHAT HAS IMPROVED?
 - ACCESS:
 - DISCRIMINATION
 - GENDER
 - CURRICULUM
 - QUALITY
 - SCHOOL CLOSURES
 - RESOURCES
 - OTHER

- ✓ DO PARENTS FEEL WORSE OFF FROM THEIR CHILDREN'S INVOLVEMENT IN SCHOOL, BEING TAKEN OUT OF WORK?
- ✓ WHAT IS THE CURRENT AVAILABILITY OF SCHOOLS?
- ✓ ARE THERE STILL EDUCATIONAL NEEDS NOT MET?
- ✓ WHAT ARE THE COSTS?
- ✓ WHAT ARE THE BENEFITS?
- ✓ ARE THE CHILDREN LEARNING WELL?
- ✓ IS TIME IN SCHOOL WELL-SPENT?
- ✓ ARE THERE ANY NEGATIVE OUTCOMES FROM THE PROGRAM?
- ✓ HOW HAS IT IMPACTED THE FAMILY?

INCOME GENERATION

- ✓ WHAT HAS THE PROGRAM PROVIDED FOR YOU, IF ANYTHING?
- ✓ HAS IT BEEN USEFUL?

COMMUNITY GROUPS/INVOLVEMENT

- ✓ HOW INVOLVED HAVE YOU BEEN IN THE PROGRAM?
- ✓ WERE YOU INVITED TO PARTICIPATE IN ANY WAY OR TO MAKE ANY DECISIONS?
- ✓ WHAT WERE THEY?
- ✓ DO YOU AGREE WITH HOW PROJECT HAS INFILTRATED THE VILLAGE?
- ✓ DO YOU BELIEVE IN THIS CAUSE?

- ✓ DO YOU KNOW WHAT OTHER PARTNERS ARE?

OPEN DISCUSSION

- ✓ DID YOU WORK AS A CHILD?
- ✓ WHAT DID YOU DO?
- ✓ DID YOU GET TO ATTEND SCHOOL?
- ✓ WHY DIDN'T YOU?
- ✓ WHAT IS YOUR OPINION OF CHILD LABOR?
- ✓ WHAT IS YOUR OPINION OF EDUCATING THE VILLAGE CHILDREN?
- ✓ ARE YOU HAPPY WITH THE RESULTS OF THE PROGRAM?
- ✓ WHAT HAS BEEN MISSED?
- ✓ WHAT CHANGES HAVE OCCURRED IN THE COMMUNITY AS A RESULT OF THIS PROGRAM?
- ✓ HAS THERE BEEN BEHAVIOR/ATTITUDINAL CHANGE?
- ✓ ARE THERE REMAINING VULNERABILITIES TO LOOK OUT FOR THAT HAVE NOT BEEN ADDRESSED?

2) VILLAGE CHILDREN AND YOUTH FOCUS GROUP

FORMER WORKERS

- ✓ DID YOU WORK IN THE CARPET FACTORY?
- ✓ FOR HOW LONG, HOW MANY YEARS?
- ✓ HOW OFTEN PER WEEK AND PER DAY?
- ✓ HOW DID YOU ENJOY IT?
- ✓ DO YOU STILL WORK ON WEAVING AT ALL?
- ✓ HOW OFTEN?
- ✓ FOR WHO?
- ✓ HOW DID YOU GET OUT OF WORKING IN THE CONDITIONS YOU DID?
- ✓ WERE YOU HAPPY ABOUT BEING REMOVED?
- ✓ WERE YOU INVOLVED IN ANY TYPE OF REHABILITATION EFFORTS?
- ✓ HOW DID YOU CONVINCED YOUR FAMILY NOT TO WORK?
- ✓ ARE YOU SUPPORTIVE OF THE PROGRAM EFFORTS?
- ✓ WHAT HAS THE PROGRAM DONE FOR YOU?
- ✓ WHAT DO YOU WANT TO DO WHEN YOU GROW UP?

PROGRAM

- ✓ HOW DID YOU BECOME INVOLVED IN THIS PROGRAM?
- ✓ WHAT DID THE PROGRAM OFFER YOU?
- ✓ WERE ALL OF YOUR NEEDS MET?

EDUCATION

- ✓ HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THE EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES AVAILABLE TO YOU NOW?
- ✓ DID YOU GO TO SCHOOL BEFORE IN THIS VILLAGE? WHERE? WHEN?
- ✓ WHAT WAS THE QUALITY LIKE?
- ✓ HAVE YOU EVER DROPPED OUT OF SCHOOL?
- ✓ HAVE YOU EVER EXPERIENCED PROLONGED ABSENCES?
- ✓ HOW COMFORTABLE DO YOU FEEL WITH SCHOOL?
- ✓ WHAT HAS IMPROVED?
 - ACCESS:
 - DISCRIMINATION
 - GENDER
 - CURRICULUM
 - QUALITY
 - SCHOOL CLOSURES
 - RESOURCES
 - OTHER
- ✓ WHAT ARE THE BENEFITS OF AN EDUCATION?

- ✓ IS TIME IN SCHOOL WELL-SPENT?
- ✓ WHAT OPPORTUNITIES DO YOU HAVE AFTER PRIMARY SCHOOL? IS THERE A SECONDARY SCHOOL NEAR BY? DO YOU PLAN ON ATTENDING SECONDARY SCHOOL? WHY OR WHY NOT?

NEEDS

- ✓ ARE ALL OF YOUR NEEDS CURRENTLY BEING MET?
- ✓ WHAT IS MISSING?
- ✓ WHAT OTHER AFFECTS HAS THE PROGRAM HAD FOR YOU?
- ✓ ARE THERE ANY NEGATIVE OUTCOMES FROM THE PROGRAM?
- ✓ HOW HAS IT IMPACTED THE FAMILY?

OPEN DISCUSSION

- ✓ DID YOU WORK AS A CHILD?
- ✓ WHAT DID YOU DO?
- ✓ DID YOU GET TO ATTEND SCHOOL?
- ✓ WHY DIDN'T YOU?
- ✓ WHAT IS YOUR OPINION OF CHILD LABOR?
- ✓ WHAT IS YOUR OPINION OF EDUCATING THE VILLAGE CHILDREN?
- ✓ ARE YOU HAPPY WITH THE RESULTS OF THE PROGRAM?
- ✓ WHAT HAS BEEN MISSED?
- ✓ WHAT CHANGES HAVE OCCURRED IN THE COMMUNITY AS A RESULT OF THIS PROGRAM?
- ✓ HAS THERE BEEN BEHAVIOR/ATTITUDINAL CHANGE?
- ✓ ARE THERE REMAINING VULNERABILITIES TO LOOK OUT FOR THAT HAVE NOT BEEN ADDRESSED?

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

- ✓ WHAT KIND OF ROLE DO YOU PLAY IN YOUR COMMUNITY?
- ✓ HOW DID YOU GET TO PLAY SUCH A ROLE?
- ✓ HOW MUCH DID THE PROGRAM INCLUDE COMMUNITY MEMBERS FROM THE START AND SEEK THEIR INPUT AND OPINIONS?
- ✓ DO YOU FEEL THAT YOU ARE HEARD BY YOUR ELDERS?
- ✓ HOW ARE YOU ABLE TO VOICE YOUR OPINIONS AND NEEDS AND GET LISTENED TO?
- ✓ WERE YOU INVITED TO PARTICIPATE IN ANY WAY OR TO MAKE ANY DECISIONS?
- ✓ WHAT WERE THEY?
- ✓ DO YOU AGREE WITH HOW PROJECT HAS INFILTRATED THE VILLAGE?

3) LICENSED RUGMARK FACTORIES' EMPLOYEE FOCUS GROUP

LOOM WEAVERS AND BALLERS

- ✓ HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN WORKING IN THIS CARPET FACTORY?
- ✓ HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN WORKING IN THE INDUSTRY?
- ✓ ARE YOU FROM KATHMANDU? IF NOT, WHERE ARE YOU FROM AND WHEN DID YOU ARRIVE IN KATHMANDU?
- ✓ DID YOU LEAVE ANYBODY BEHIND IN YOUR VILLAGE? WHO?
- ✓ IF YOU HAVE CHILDREN, ARE THEY IN SCHOOL?
- ✓ WHERE?
- ✓ DID YOUR CHILDREN EVERY WORK?
- ✓ HOW CAN YOU AFFORD TO SEND YOUR CHILD TO SCHOOL? DO YOU GET HELP FROM THE FACTORY?
- ✓ HOW MANY HOURS A DAY DO YOU WORK?
- ✓ HOW MUCH DO YOU EARN?
- ✓ WHAT IS THE FREQUENCY OF CHILD LABOR HERE?
- ✓ DO YOU ENJOY WORKING HERE?
- ✓ DO YOU HAVE A FAMILY HERE? WHO ARE THEY?
- ✓ WHERE DO YOU LIVE? WERE YOUR LIVING QUARTERS PROVIDED TO YOU BY THE FACOTRY?
- ✓ HAVE YOU HEARD OF THE RUGMARK OR GOODWEAVE PROGRAM?
- ✓ WHAT DO YOU KNOW ABOUT IT?
- ✓ OTHER?

4) RUGMARK CHILDREN'S FOCUS GROUP

FORMER WORKERS

- ✓ DID YOU WORK IN THE CARPET FACTORY?
- ✓ FOR HOW LONG, HOW MANY YEARS?
- ✓ HOW OFTEN PER WEEK AND PER DAY?
- ✓ HOW DID YOU ENJOY IT?
- ✓ DO YOU STILL WORK ON WEAVING AT ALL?
- ✓ HAVE YOU EVER WORKED IN ANY OTHER SECTOR? WHICH?
- ✓ HOW OFTEN?
- ✓ FOR WHO?
- ✓ WHAT IS YOUR OPINION OF CHILD LABOR?
- ✓ HOW DID YOU GET OUT OF WORKING IN THE CONDITIONS YOU DID?
- ✓ WERE YOU HAPPY ABOUT BEING REMOVED?
- ✓ WERE YOU INVOLVED IN ANY TYPE OF REHABILITATION EFFORTS?
- ✓ WHAT WAS THE NATURE OF THE REHABILITATION PROGRAM?
- ✓ HOW LONG DID IT LAST?
- ✓ HOW DID YOU ENJOY IT?
- ✓ ANY PROBLEMS WITH IT?
- ✓ WERE ALL OF YOUR NEEDS MET?
- ✓ WERE YOU IN CONTACT WITH YOUR FAMILY OR ARE YOU IN CONTACT WITH THEM?
- ✓ HOW WERE THEY CONTACTED AND BY WHOM?
- ✓ DID YOUR PARENTS GO TO SCHOOL?

EDUCATION

- ✓ DID YOU GET TO ATTEND SCHOOL WHEN YOU LIVED WITH YOUR FAMILY? WHERE? WHEN?
- ✓ HOW DID YOU LIKE SCHOOL BEFORE?
- ✓ WHY OR WHY NOT?
- ✓ HAVE YOU GONE TO SCHOOL AND SUBSEQUENTLY DROP OUT?
- ✓ HAVE YOU EXPERIENCED PROLONGED ABSENCES?
- ✓ DID YOUR TEACHERS COME TO SCHOOL DAILY?
- ✓ DID YOU LEARN HOW TO READ AND WRITE?
- ✓ HOW DO YOU LIKE YOUR EDUCATION PROGRAM NOW?
- ✓ WHAT DO YOU LIKE? DISLIKE?
- ✓ DO YOU GET ANY OTHER BENEFITS FROM THIS PROGRAM, SUCH AS FREE MEALS OR SCHOOL SUPPLIES?
- ✓ ARE THE TEACHERS NICE OR DO THEY DISCIPLINE TOO HARD IF YOU DON'T DO WORK OR MISBEHAVE?
- ✓ DO TEACHERS COME TO SCHOOL EVERY DAY?
- ✓ IF APPLICABLE, HOW IS THIS SCHOOL PROGRAM DIFFERENT FROM YOUR LAST?
- ✓ WHAT ARE THE BENEFITS OF AN EDUCATION?
- ✓ WHAT OPPORTUNITIES DO YOU HAVE AFTER FINISHING THIS SCHOOL? IS THERE ANOTHER SCHOOL NEAR BY? DO YOU PLAN ON ATTENDING SECONDARY SCHOOL? WHY OR WHY NOT?

APPENDIX B – FIELD STUDY INTERVIEWS AND FOCUS GROUPS

I. CREDA

A: Interview with Shanshad Khan

Mr. Khan started CREDA in 1985 in response to the hardship he saw in his native Mirzapur and he felt a desire to improve the lives of the poor and bonded. The chief economic activity derived from agriculture, but carpet weaving had also become a common scene in the rural areas. At the time, education for lower caste land workers or carpet weavers was uncommon. Education was reserved for the landowner children.

Mr. Khan began to fight against child labor and bondage in Mirzapur because he saw it as one of the chief issues keeping the poor and uneducated from getting ahead in life. He started to study and understand the links between education, bondage and child labor.

CREDA found that the reasons for lack of education among the poor included problems with access, the high caste members not allowing the poor to sit with them in schools, and the lack of opportunities education brought their children. In the early 1980's low-caste children in rural Mirzapur did not go to school, nor did they or their parents expect it of them. Everyone knew that school was for those from higher castes. Those low caste members that tried to go to school either faced discrimination from teachers or ended up doing chores. One child, Mr. Khan recalls, had to give his teacher massages.

In order to infiltrate the community and to work effectively, CREDA sought to become a part of it by encouraging community members to speak out about their grievances. One of CREDA's earliest efforts was to change the prevailing attitudes and to convince low caste parents that their children had every right to go to school like the higher caste children. In addition, villagers learned the landlords were cheating them out of wages and food security. CREDA began by challenging the system. They sought to become the voice of the poor and demanded changes with them and on their behalf. They conducted awareness raising interventions through targeting three groups for change:

- 4) the government, to convince them they needed to respond to the needs of the children
- 5) the kids and their parents, to convince them of what they deserved
- 6) the landowners and loom owners, to convince them that children should be in school and not working on the looms.

Creda's Strategy:

Social Awareness Campaigns

CREDA worked with the community for change and considered themselves part of the community. From the beginning, CREDA engaged and trained community youths as change agents. The messages of change began to come from the community members themselves. CREDA and the community activists worked hard very early on at raising social awareness through campaigns targeting the three aforementioned target groups.

Changing the prevailing attitudes in the community took time. Lower caste workers were afraid to challenge the system, lest they lose their jobs and the landlords and loom owners benefiting from cheap labor were outraged when CREDA began telling their workers they deserved more pay and rights. One of the first schools CREDA opened was burned down by locals. In addition to attempting to sabotage the schools themselves, landlords and loom owners scared of losing their workforce attempted to discredit CREDA's work by telling parents that CREDA planned on sending their children abroad if they went to school. This and other rumors flying around instilled suspicion among parents, especially the mothers.

Education

In response to the dearth of public schools in rural Mirzapur coupled with the irrelevant curriculum to the lives of many rural children, CREDA started NFE programs. The new programs had teachers trained locally and a curriculum designed for the beneficiaries themselves, which was more suitable to the lives of the community children. The curriculum also attempted to make learning fun through games based on real life community scenarios.

The first students had to learn about the culture of going to school, as it was a new phenomenon among the low caste children. Most of their parents did not have much or any formal schooling. Mr. Khan explained that the process of getting children to accept education occurred in three different stages:

- 1) Teaching children how to learn;
- 2) Enrolling children in government schools
- 3) Opening CREDA run NFE programs in communities where there was a need

Once children began going to school, CREDA put pressure on the local government to open more public schools. In the region, this was the first time the government cooperated with an organization to start schools.

Although CREDA succeeded in getting children into school, dropout rates remained high. Upon assessment of the situation, they found teachers in the public schools continued to discriminate against lower caste children by punishment. In addition, the increase in attendance was not met with an increase in teachers.

In order to account for the higher number of teacher student ratio and in an attempt to quell the dropout rates, CREDA introduced a system in the public schools called Para Teaching. Para teachers assisted the head teacher in the classroom. Most of the Para teachers came from local villages and received special training.

Background: The evolution of child labor and the carpet industry in Mirzapur

When Mr. Khan began efforts to combat child labor in the carpet industry in Mirzapur's it was not unusual to see seven and eight year old children weaving carpets. Young children could be seen working on a loom to pay off a loan taken by their parents. Mr. Khan contends that local children rarely worked in bonded labor situations. Those children held in bondage to pay off debts came from surrounding regions and migrated to the carpet belt alone, or more often with an agent. The agents scoured the poorer areas of the UP, Bihar and Orissa for families desperate enough to exchange their children's labor for loans. Once away from their families or anyone looking out for their well-being, it was no uncommon for the migrant children to work from 3AM through 10PM. Although this practice was

prevalent in the 1980s and 1990s, by 2000 and beyond, the situation began to improve. According to Mr. Khan, at its peak, in the early 1990s, the ratio of local children working the looms to migrant children in bondage was 75/25. However, after the boom, looms began moving to areas where children migrated from, such as Bihar and Orissa.

The demand for hand-knotted carpets increased through the 1980s through the 1990s and began to fall at the end of the decade and into the 2000s. The sector in Mirzapur took a hit from the fall in demand and as explained above, many loom owners moved their looms to other more rural or poorer areas in order to pay lower wages to make up for the loss of sales. While the hand-knotted carpet industry experienced a decrease in demand, the hand-tufted carpets experienced an increase. Hand-tufted carpets are much less labor intensive and subsequently are much less costly. Tufting looms began to take the place of hand-knotted looms. Unlike hand-knotting, children are generally not strong enough to operate a tufting machine. Thus, the new technology in carpet making helped eliminate child labor from the weaving of carpets in Mirzapur.

Today there is still a lot less carpet weaving in the region than previously. The more recent employment trend has been towards non-carpet work, such as agriculture. In fact, in 2005 the government introduced a measure to provide agriculture jobs through the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA). This measure provides guaranteed employment of 100 rupees per day/per household for 100 days to every household whose adult members volunteer to do unskilled manual work⁴².

CREDA's Current Efforts:

CREDA no longer focuses on eliminating children labor in the carpet sector because for the most part, the exploitive child labor in this sector has been eliminated in the areas they work. Currently, they are engaged in the following activities:

- training of NGOs in Bihar and UP through sharing their success and building their capacity.
- they have developed a para teacher training module for the UP
- training women in carpet weaving, helping them develop self-help groups, and training adolescent girls. Mr. Khan claims that there are opportunities that have come out of these women's efforts.

KEY TO CREDA's SUCCESS

Mr. Khan believes the key to changing behavior is through social mobilization and community participation. Mr. Khan believes the following are best practices that should be following to successfully eliminate child labor:

- 9) Creation of a village vigilante group (motivated, educated and concerned about child labor) for every village to monitor for child labor
- 10) formation of mother's committee to keep watch on the employment of children and their school attendance
- 11) Regular collection of village level statistics on the number and ages of children, the number of children in school, etc.

⁴² For more information, go to: http://india.gov.in/sectors/rural/national_rural.php

- 12) Monitoring for child labor on the agenda of government from the Panchayat level to the block and district levels.
- 13) more focus on the girl child to 1) understand why they still do not go to school. a special education center should be set up for the girls.
- 14) funds are less important than commitment.
- 15) documentation!
- 16) spread the knowledge and the methodologies

B: CREDA Field Visits

Village 1: MAHUARIA

The first field visit was to Mahuarua, a village CREDA began working with in 1999 on social mobilization, education awareness raising, and the formation of women's groups.

BACKGROUND:

In this village, 100 children have been withdrawn from child labor and put through the NCLP, implemented by CREDA. Today, the NCLP no longer runs in the village as it has already mainstreamed all children who were out of school and working. According to one of the older youth (19 years today) who went through the program, there are only 3-4 children working in the village today out of approximately 200 children.

The researcher arrived in the village and villagers with the help of CREDA activists recruited both adults and children the village center for a focus group discussion. The crowd was much larger than expected and many of the children seemed too intimidated to speak, but time was limited and the researcher decided to make efforts to make everyone feel comfortable. Mr Khan served as the translator.

Approximately 30 different boys and girls from age 4 to 18 years formed the focus group.

DEORAJ

The researcher had the chance to talk to several different children about their work situations. The first was Deoraj, a 12- 14-year-old boy (approximate as many do not know their actual age) in the 8th standard in school. Deoraj admitted to working on a carpet loom at his home with his father before and after school. He contended he worked no more than two hours daily and still had plenty of time for homework and other activities. He does work an entire day on Sunday's, the day off of school. He began weaving when he was around eight years old because his parents wanted him to learn the trade.

Deoraj claimed he enjoyed working on the loom and seemed to take great pride in his work. In fact, he wants to become a carpet weaver upon graduation from school, which he intends on attending through the end of high school (12th standard).

VILLAGE GIRL

The second respondent was a 12-year-old girl in the 8th standard class. She is in the 8th Standard today and also claims to be 12 years old. Throughout her life, she has been involved in three different types of work, including separating wool, grazing cattle, cutting grass, and tailoring. She began working on

separating wool when she was around 8 years old. Today, she helps her family by grazing the cattle and cutting grass before and after school. She has missed school at times because of work, but did not seem to mind. She began working because her family wanted her to and she claims that she enjoys working because she is contributing to her household's well being.

In terms of her education, she receives average grades and has not had to repeat any grades or drop out of school. Today she is in the government school, located about one kilometer away, which she walks. Her favorite subject is English and she also enjoys the games they play in school. She goes to school daily and is pleased with her teachers. However, when asked how many teachers work in the school, she claimed there were three, when in actuality there should be five. Other children added that the other two teachers the girl could not recall only show up for school when they want to, which is not often. It is also revealed that there are a total of 750 registered children in the school. Nobody knows for sure the official attendance rates of those registered.

SEEMA

The researcher only managed to find one girl who went through the original NCLP in 1999 present in the focus group setting. Today, Seema is 19 years old, has graduated from high school, and is currently in her first year of an extension Bachelors degree program.

She wants to be a teacher when she graduates from college. She studies education, Hindi language and social sciences.

Like many in her village, she began working when she was 8 years old, but claims she only worked two hours a day. Seema claimed she worked in order to help her family earn increased wages. Her parents are landless laborers who today benefit from the government of India's NREGA program.

When the NCLP came to her village, she was withdrawn from work and went to school for the first time. She went through the basic program, completing five years of education in three, and subsequently attended a government school from her 6th standard. In the government school, her favorite activities included sports and games. Her class size contained about 50 children in a school with 600 children and 5 teachers. The school was located two kilometers from her village.

When asked to compare the education she received at the NCLP versus that of the public school she stated that the public education was not good. In fact, she went as far as to claim she learned nothing at the public school. She also complained of the lack of recreation activities at the public schools. She found the NCLP much more fun and that she learned during her years in the program. When asked what has changed since she began going to school, she said that today her parents want their children in school and that most in the village now attend school. According to Seema, today 10 children work on carpet looms in her village, but they also go to school.

FOCUS GROUP OF CHILDREN

After talking with Seema, I held a focus group with about ten children, eight girls and two boys. They all were in primary school between first and fifth standards. They all walk to school, which is about a kilometer away from their village. They go to school every day, but sometimes they may miss a day or so when their parents need their help at home (this came from the girls). At school they study English, Sanskrit, Hindi, math and painting. They all said they enjoy the games they play at school the most and all claimed to enjoy going to school. They all have their own school materials provided by the school.

Discrimination does not seem to be an issue among these children. They claimed there are many different castes that attend their school, but that they get along with everyone. They also said they liked their teachers, who treated them fairly; they were never physically disciplined or asked to do chores. However, when one adult spoke up to claim that the teacher comes in the room with a large stick and places it against the desk for all the students to hear, they all turn quiet. They said that their teacher scared them.

FOCUS GROUP OF ADULTS

Next, I held a focus group discussion with several men (7); interestingly, no women were present during our visit with the villages, except to peek around the corner at times, usually with her face covered by her sari. The males all worked in either construction or carpet weaving. A few of the men owned their own looms in the village, but the majority were owned by middlemen. Carpet work no longer pays well and the men worry about making ends meet. They only earn around 60 rupees a day working on the loom (7-8 hours), while they can earn 80-100 a day on construction. They all work as wage laborers. The women also work. They are all very proud of their children for attending school, but worry about sending them to school in the future because of the expenses. In the focus group with the children in primary school, all of them claimed to only be interested in completing primary school.

OTHER OBSERVATIONS

Other village activity aside from interviews:

A dalit male, clearly upset, began discussing with Shamshad about the injustices they face in the village. They feel that the government has cheated them on their share of poverty scheme efforts. They are entitled to BBL schemes. They claim it is caused by the corruption among the local government officials who take the money for themselves instead of dispersing it among the villagers.

The adult males also complained that they were the majority in their Panchayat, but that they are lacking strong leadership and cohesion. The Panchayat is not a Dalit, like they are. They may worry that they are not properly represented and as a result, do not get their needs met.

After the focus group discussions were over, it was quite dark, but one of the loom owners offered to take us to his home to show me his loom. We went to see his loom and the carpet he was currently weaving. He is one of the few in the villages that do own their own looms. The carpet he was weaving was 100 knots per square inch. Following the loom visit, we walked back to the village center and because the electricity was out, villages had a fire going and we stood all around it. At this point I took out my camera and began taking photos, which some of the older children became amused by.

Village 2: SUJANI PUR-LAKHRAON

The second field visit was further away from Mirzapur, in Bhodoi, the heard of the carpet belt, in a village named Sujani Pur-Lakhraon.

CREDA has not actually conducted any intervention in this village, but has provided capacity building training and funding to a local NGO that is working on child labor issues. Most recently, they provided

85,000 IR and in kind support through supplies. In Hindi, the NGO is called People's Participation Committee (PPC) and was founded in 2004.

Mr. Khan discusses how they do a lot of capacity building for smaller NGOs, such as the one visited and that the PPC is an excellent and committed NGO.

CREDA led a campaign in 14 districts in the UP called a "School Choice Campaign" which advocated for the access to quality education for all children. They sought the implementation of a voucher system where children could get their education paid for. The campaign was held between July 2007-Feb 2008. The voucher would include 10,000 IR annually, per child and includes the costs of meal, stationary, salary, electricity, and the school infrastructure. The reach was 10.4 million people. The PPC took the campaign to 250 villages.

Mr. Khan believes that his campaign was effective as the government has announced that they will begin a voucher system.

Village Situation:

When we arrived, around 20 children were waiting for us under a thatched roof structure with a blackboard, clearly a school. Several women and men were also waiting for us. The women were on the ground off to the side and the men were sitting on the typical netted seating structure.

The village has 50 looms that employ 3-4 people per loom, totaling around 200 persons. The children in the school had all worked alongside their parents instead of going to school until last year, when the NFE program started in their village with funding support from the Carpet Export Promotion Council (CEPC).

In general, the children worked for 4-5 hours daily, although some worked up to 8 hours. One boy, named Sunny, worked with a master weaver, but he was supportive of him going to school once the program opened in their village.

Today there are 48 children in the school in a mixed 2-3 standard course. CREDA developed the budget and the program for the program, which is government approved. It is an accelerated program. .01 percent of funds received by the CEPC go to such programs for former carpet weaving children. Mr. Khan suspects them of misusing funds.

The government primary school is 2 kilometers away from the village, which the children all walk. The villagers claim that there are no drop outs from the school, but I suspect they may not know for sure. Before the school opened up in the village there were many children working in the village, but mostly alongside their parents. In addition to those in the NFE program, 40 children enrolled into the government primary school.

In total, 82 children were released from working last year and now they are all attending school.

There is a primary school that a few children in the village attend, but it is two kilometers away. The local school has three teachers, two which are funded by the CEPC and one by the NGO in the village. One of the teachers working in the school was present, Mool Chandra Moorejau. He is from the village itself and has six years of teaching experience and also provides informal teaching in the form of tutoring. He has no formal education training. The teacher was a child carpet weaver himself and gradually he completed his education and bachelor's degree in geography.

Carpet Loom and Weaving Status:

There are both loom owners and middle men who own the looms within the village. Most of the men at the meeting are carpet weavers and the women conduct field labor. They claim to have steady work, but are only paid between 50-60 rupees a day.

Child Interviews:

Shivakanya, 12 years old

She was formerly employed separating wool and her dad was a carpet weaver. She would work for 6-7 hours a day. Today she goes to school, which she enjoys. Her father did not enroll her in school earlier because he told her he could not pay for the fees, but when the NFE School came to the village, he was convinced to let her attend school. She states that there are no problems at her house today and that the family is getting along fine without her working. She attends the school every day and enjoys reading. Her favorite book is called "happiness". She wants to eventually graduate from school and become a teacher.

Lavkush, 10 years old

He used to weave carpets with his parents. When asked why, he stated that he needed the money. He got out of weaving through awareness raising on the part of the local NGO. He wants to be a teacher too. When he weaved he suffered from poor eye sight, but today says he has no more vision problems. Rekha is either 8 or 9 years old and is in the 3rd standard. She wants to be a teacher. She goes to the government primary school and has never worked. She states that she and the teachers attend school daily.

Rahuel

Rahuel is around 13 years old and in the 7th standards. He too never has worked and goes to school daily. They would like to see improvements in their government school. Right now it is overcrowded. Children in class 6 get beaten for not remembering their lessons.

Although both Rahuel and Rekha can read and write, they think the quality of their school is poor. Parents complain that the teachers in the school are not committed to teaching. There is only one teacher for the children in the 1st through 5th standard. The teachers are always late and are not disciplined for it. There is no proper place for the children to sit, only mats on the floor. They complain of corruption; money for the schools is not there. If the parents complain to the teachers they tell them that they are paid by the government and do not need to listen to the villagers.

Women's Interview:

The women are proud of their children for being in school. There was one educated women in the group of 5, but the rest are uneducated. One woman has a son who never went to school until last year. One woman claimed her children, ages 8 and 11, worked in the fields prior to being placed in school. All of the women work in the fields, even the graduate. One woman has a loom that she works on with her husband.

Women all had to leave early at this point because they needed to get back to work. It was Sunday and all of the children were off of school and men were relaxing.

Have things changed? If so, how?

Today most children in the village are in school. Children are not migrating for work, nor are children migrating to their village. Parents are pressuring the primary school for improvement of standards. Today there are only 5 teachers for 700 children.

II. OBEETEE

Interview with Mithilesh Kumar

- Obeetee was founded in 1920 in Mirzapur, Uttar Pradesh, India.
- Mr. Kumar began working for Obeetee in 1976, at which time the carpet industry was the best paid industry in the region. The money earned from carpet weaving went right back into the rural economy. Today, the art of hand-knotted carpet weaving is dying. Loom owners are no longer training their sons to become weavers as it is not profitable and the push against child labor has put children into schools instead. Mr. Kumar says it is harder to find hand knotted weavers and that you do not see many young weavers anymore.
- Obeetee is a member of the Customs Trade Partnership Against Terrorism:
 - a voluntary supply chain security program led by U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) and focused on improving the security of private companies' supply chains with respect to terrorism. The program was launched in November 2001 with seven initial participants, all large U.S. companies. As of April 2005, there were more than 9000 companies participating, according to Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security Michael Chertoff [1].
- The Carpet Export Promotion Council (CEPC) has a certificate of compliance and a loom regulation certificate claiming that the owner will not employ any child and that he'll display the sign saying so in plain view.
- Traditionally, the weavers in the UP industry have been male. Women might help out when the loom is in a household and when she has time, but the male will work the majority of the time on the loom and works as a freelancer for other loom owners.
- Obeetee Motto: Compliance = incentive + code of conduct
- Obeetee has never taken any legal action or had any legal action on them. Mr. Kumar explains that he has avoided this process as it is lengthy and time consuming and has preferred to handle the situation internally.
- Mr. Kumar believes there should just be one compliance code for all exporters to follow and that it does not make sense for everyone to have a separate code with separate inspectors looking for the same thing. If there is a good blueprint to follow, why not follow it?

A. Obeetee Workers

There are three types of workers Obeetee works directly with:

1. Employees
2. Contractors
3. Supporting manufacturers or loom owners

The employees are all full time staff including all of the management staff and workers related to the manufacturing production process and monitoring processes. Obeetee currently has about 370 full-time staff members at their factory site, headquarters office in Mirzapur and their depot offices, of which there are currently seven or eight.

The second group of workers is the contractors, of which there are between 500 and 600. Law must register all contractors under Indian law to assure they receive fair wages and labor standards. The

contractors working for Obeetee participate in non-direct manufacturing activities, such as the movement of materials.

The third group Obeetee employs directly is the loom owners or what they refer to as supporting manufactures⁴³. Currently Obeetee has hired approximately 2500 carpet looms. They negotiate the number of carpets woven, including size, number of knots per square inch directly with the loom owners or supporting manufacturers. The payment includes the payment for the labor undertaken on the carpets, which is adjusted according to difficulty. The weavers themselves are known as independent freelancers, who typically move among many loom owners. There is no allegiance to one loom owner, especially when there is no relation between the owner and weaver. As an independent freelancer, the weaver is free to pick and choose who he works for and has more power to negotiate rates.

I questioned Mr. Kumar on the weavers bargaining power as complaints abound these days on the low wages among weavers, which has forced them to move to other industries, such as construction. Mr. Kumar acknowledged that the industry has declined since the 1990s and that perhaps wages have decreased among weavers. However, Obeetee does not set the wages of its weavers directly, that is up to the loom owner. Still, Obeetee does maintain minimum wages that they determined based on the cost of living, which the loom owners are required to abide by.

Among all of the weavers I met, those that worked with Obeetee's loom owners seemed the best off and to have the most negotiating power. The area surrounding Obeetee clearly is better off than the areas deeper in the interior. The weavers working with Obeetee's loom owners do have the option to pick and choose who they work for as there is clearly a good deal of manufacturing in the area. Most of them (all men) are locals themselves, although there are a small percentage of weavers from Assam and Orissa. The weavers working in far off villages, such as the one in Bhodohi I visited the other day, do not have the same bargaining power as their options among owners to choose from is lower.

B. Role of Exporters

Several variations of exporters exist and work in India. These include 1, those with ancestors engaged in carpet weaving, probably owning looms; 2, independent assorted goods sorters, those who produces popular types of carpets and attempts to sell them himself, without previous orders; and 3, and those like Obeetee. The wealth of the exporter seems to vary greatly, but it is clear that very few have the wealth, power and flexibility that Obeetee has.

Mr. Kumar explained that it has become very difficult for the exporter to survive in the current carpet export market. It is true that in the late 1990s the industry took a hit due to a confluence of causes, depending on who you ask. Mr. Kumar goes back to the high times of the 1970s and 1980s in order to answer the fall of the industry. He explains that in the 1970s and 80s Iran's carpet industry was nearly destroyed due to political strife and China's production of carpets decreased. While previously the vast majority of carpets exported from Iran went to Germany, this switched to India when Iran was cut off. German NGOs began the boycott against the Indian carpet industry in the 1990s following claims of bonded child labor on carpet looms.

⁴³ Mr. Kumar denies there are any carpet weaving factories in India instead calling one who owns several looms and employs outsiders, supporting manufacturers.

It seems the industry never really recovered from the boycott. While production did increase since the 1990s, things have changed. People's preference in Europe and the United States have changed; people no longer want to spend a lot of money on a carpet, maybe not realizing what goes into weaving hand knotted carpets. In addition, consumers in developed countries sought the quick delivery of their products, which is not possible with hand-knotted carpets. People did not seek to own carpets for life anymore as consumers became much more apt to use a carpet for a while and throw it out after a few years. Simultaneously, the market for tufted carpets began to increase. One of the supporting manufactures claimed that the market for the tufted carpet began nearly 15 years ago (1994). In recent years, the tufted carpet has taken over the hand-knotted carpet in popularity because it is much faster to produce and is much cheaper. Today, the vast majority of Obeetee's carpets manufactured are tufted, in terms of volume. In terms of costs, tufted carpets make up nearly 60 percent of their production cost. This is because hand-knotted carpets are much more expensive than tufted carpets.

Mr. Khan from CREDA cites the introduction of the tufted carpet in the Indian carpet industry as a saving grace for child labor in the industry. It is more difficult to weave tufted carpets, requiring much more strength and height to reach the top of the loom.

Despite the introduction of tufted carpets, the market is still quite a bit lower than it used to be. Mr. Kumar explains that it is a difficult time for exporters as many are being squeezed by their customers to lower prices. This pressure on exporters in turn puts pressure upon loom owners, supporting manufacturers, or middlemen. While Obeetee can afford to pay its loom owners and supporting manufacturers well, and do so, smaller exporters have been forced to lower their costs and have been accused of taking out many unfair deductions from the loom owners. He cited, although would not tell me the source), a recent article claiming child labor in the industry of Mirzapur through photos that misrepresent pictures of 15-16 year old boys, claiming they are children. He accuses the customer in the article of really squeezing the exporter for lower costs. In a time of lesser demand, the customer can afford to ask for lower prices, threatening to go to another exporter if one does not comply. Nonetheless, Mr. Kumar is optimistic that the industry will rebound and believes India is the best equipped at the moment to respond⁴⁴.

C. Middlemen

More exporters use middlemen than negotiate directly with loom owners or supporting manufactures. The middleman functions in one of two ways. First, he either takes orders, payment and materials from an exporter, proceeding to find workers to carry out the manufacturing of the carpet, or he carries out the entire process without the exporter until the very end, when he approaches the exporter with the finished product and offers them at a price.

Mr. Kumar explains that it is the use of the middleman that complicates matters and where there exporter loses track of who works on what. Any number of abuses, including child labor, can occur with the middleman in charge, especially in the case of the second scenario mentioned above. The continued complete informal nature of the carpet production process allows for abuses.

⁴⁴ Turkey is no longer a big player in the industry and Pakistan and Nepal's political problems have hampered production. The only other real contender he cites is China.

D. Obeetee's Child Labor Policy

Obeetee controls for child labor by carrying out as much as they can on site, in a factory. The weaving, which is uniquely found in the cottage industry of India, is monitored through a strict process developed by Obeetee in the late 1980s. Prior to the child labor monitoring system developed by Obeetee, they already had a strict compliance code, which their workers and weavers all had to comply. He explains that Obeetee's vision has always been one of strict safety, working and employer rights and protection standards. Their child labor monitoring, or social accountability system, appears to go above and beyond what is required by law. In fact, although the minimum age for a weaver is 14 years in India, they began by requiring all to be at least 15 years and today they have raised the minimum age to 16 years. In addition, they have their own set of minimum wages based on their assessment of the standards of living, which are above those of the Indian government.

Obeetee implemented its child labor policy sometime after the passage of the Child Labor Law passed in 1986. At the time, they gave the loom owners a matter of months to withdraw children from the carpet looms, at which point they would begin taking punitive action against loom owners found with children working. Initially, they lost about 40 percent of their business.

Obeetee carpets are more expensive than those of their competitors, but they acknowledge the higher costs stem from their higher wages, their systems of compliance and control and standards setting, their high number of management staff, etc. They have to compete with other exporters who do not meet compliance, which makes it difficult. However, times have begun to change as the consumer looks for companies who practice good business practices. The demand for compliance has increased. They consider themselves the industry leader on the issue of compliance and wages and they were the first in the industry to demand the elimination of child labor.

E. Wages

Their loom owners are paid a rate of number of knots per square yard, for tufted carpets, and square inch, for hand-knotted carpets. Their hand-knotted carpets vary between 13 and 400 knots per square inch and the tufted are between 25 to 81 tufts per square inch. The wages vary greatly depending on the quality and time knotted, but Mr. Kumar calculated that the average for a full day of work is somewhere between 100 to 120 rupees a day.

The government has not evaluated the minimum wages for the carpet industry since 1995. They have only increased wages by 5% annually to account for the increase in costs of living. However, Obeetee has its own minimum wage scale that they calculated on their own, which has wages higher than that of the government. They have been criticized for their high wages that other exporters claim they are unable to compete with.

Mr. Kumar acknowledges how difficult it is to regulate carpet weaving. Even their factory site is difficult to regulate. One way to regulate the weaving is to keep close track of all of the weavers through the development of a profile on the weaving that include their name, birth date, a photograph and thumb impression. Loom owners are required to report new loom weavers to inspectors.

Factory Tour

Orders and production control department

All orders from customers are input into the database system. Each carpet order is given an EDP number, which is an identity number which they keep through the life of the carpet. The only way the EDP number is removed from the carpet is at the request of the customer. This EDP number is able to track a carpet back from its beginning through its production, etc. The majority of the orders are for tufted carpets, which are considerably cheaper and faster to make.

An inspector from the production department checks on the progress of the carpets weaved to assure for 1) quality, 2) compliance, and 3) progress. For tufted carpeted, they are inspected once every three days and for hand-knotted carpets, it is once every 15 days.

In terms of quantity, fluctuations in tufted orders vary over time, but the general trend is for 100,000-150,000 square yards in production at a time. In the past, the number was at 150,000. Obeetee's sales figures ratio for tufted versus hand-knotted is around 60/40

Gassifier Plant

- supplies electricity for the factory
- The plant is eco-friendly and uses rice husk to power the factory. The remaining rice husk is reused for another process.
- Obeetee is registered with a UN body for their system and are able to sell carbon credits due to their low impact on the environment.
- their power is cheaper than it would be using tradition power methods.

Warehouse

Storage for Yarn, which goes to Obeetee's depots (7-8 today, used to be 12) to fulfill orders. Loom owners pick up yarn for weaving at the nearest depot.

Dye House

The old dye house was opened in 1973 with 63 machines and could dye up to 14,000 KG of yarn a day.

Chemical and Dye Department

A secure environment where the chemicals and dyes are stored until needed

Test Materials Department

All of the wool that the factory receives goes through a series of tests to assure they meet their quality standards at the testing department

Finishing

Tufted carpets go through a different finishing process than hand-knotted carpets. Since the backs of tufted carpets are seen as unattractive, the back is bound and received a cloth backing over latex.

Design Department

Trained designers develop the designs for the carpets, which are all computerized today. Prior to producing a design on computer and printing it to scale for weavers to use as their guide, the designs were all painted by hand.

Social Accountability (SA) Department

Obeetee began their social accountability program with the child labor cell in the late 1980s (1988-9) following the demand for the elimination of child labor in the carpet industry. They took detailed information of all of its weavers, including that of their family members so that families could not falsely claim someone as their child. They also keep a database of all of their weavers, who also have codes and their photographs.

In addition to the inspections by the depot staff for compliance, progress and quality, the SA department sends out their own inspectors to conduct surprise checks on the looms. The Carpet Export Promotion Council of India requires all to register their looms and to obtain a certificate of compliance. This certificate, which must be visible, states that the loom does not employ any illegal child labor. Obeetee employs 4 SA inspectors, but there used to be 8. There are two who go to verify the inspector's reports. The inspectors search for Quality, Compliance and Progress of the carpets and assure they all have their CEPC number.

Weavers have to adhere to more than controlling for child labor. They must comply with minimum wages, working hours and workplace safety. Obeetee requires high working standards of its customers. Every month, each loom must pass the test that verifies they have no child labor. This is in the form of a certificate. The production office from the depot closest to the loom turns in the certificates. If the depot finds a child employee, the owner is punished and held accountable. There is also an inspection report: Age certificates are kept for employees between the ages of 16-18 years.

The subcontractors are subject to the same inspections and the contractors. If Obeetee finds that the contractor has been lying about his subcontract work, they are dropped

Field Visits to Looms

Site 1

The first site was very close to Obeetee itself. The owner of the site had many looms, mostly tufted, but he had two workers weaving hand-knotted carpets. He also had three empty hand-knotted carpet looms. The owner stated the difficulty finding good weavers because they are all flocking to higher paid jobs. This owner was obviously well to do in the area and is from an upper caste.

The owner has worked for Obeetee for 13 years and states that they are a very good employers. He switched to work with another employer six years ago, but did not like the experience, so switched back to working with Obeetee. The reason for sticking with Obeetee? Money, they pay better.

He has never employed a child. His employees work an average of 6-7 hours a day and are paid weekly. His workers are independent freelancers and come and go as they please. In fact, one worker was absent from the loom when we visited as he never came back from lunch. As this owner has the means, he pays his weavers weekly; however, single loom owners may not have the means and is likely to pay his weavers at the end of the job.

Loom owner discusses how the business has changed and today it is harder to find weavers because they have taken higher paid jobs.

Site 2

This sight was also close to Obeetee and in a village that is obviously rural, but not one of extreme hardship. The grass looked green and the fields were full of cultivated crops and land. At the end of the village was a large enclosed property, where the owner had many tufted carpet looms, probably 20.

The owner comes from a higher caste and laughed when asked if he weaves carpets himself or had ever weaved carpets. Most of his weavers were local, although some were migrants. The migrants often travel in groups and come from Orissa and Assam.

He has been with Obeetee for 10 years. Previously, he worked for another local exporter, but the pay was not good and there was not regular work. He probably employed children before and claims that he never asked the ages of the workers.

Today he has regular work and has no problems getting orders. All of the tufting looms were full with carpets being woven. His workers work from 9am-1pm and then 2pm-6pm.

III. BAL MITRA GRAM

Interview with Manager at Bal Ashram on BMG program

Bal Ashram established in 1997 and the Child Friendly Village program (BMG) began in 1999. BMG began in Rajasthan when the raid and rescues conducted found many children who originated from areas reasonably close to Bal Ashram that were working far away (after migrating). Bal Ashram staff became interested in convincing parents about the work hazardous children who migrate face at their destination. They began by conducting awareness raising campaigns locally on the consequences of migration and the danger of illiteracy.

Goal: the main goal of the BMG program is to empower children

Components of BMG:

- Begins by gaining permission to operate in the village by the village panchayat
- Once permission is obtained (no problems reported gaining permission to date) the staff conduct a baseline assessment to determine the child labor and education situation of the village
- Meetings are first set up with the families to discuss program activities before any implementation begins
- Families found to have children working in place of going to school or in addition to going to school are targeted for awareness raising through door-to-door meetings, which are ongoing until parents agree to withdraw child from labor and to enroll them into school
- BMG assists in the formation of children's groups known as children's congress who are elected by other children in the village on an annual basis to represent their needs and concerns. The children's congress meets to discuss their concerns and then reports them to the panchayat. (there is also an India wide children's congress also elected by other members on an annual basis)
- BMG's have helped begin women's self-help groups (SHG)
- BMG has an information center at each village and has local activists (BMG employees) who regularly work with the villages on their initiatives
- Many activities are held at the Bal Ashram for the BMG children, such as social development classes, and recently computer training

BMG Strategy:

- Before infiltrating the villages, they get the support from the head of the local government.
- A local activist, hired by BBA, goes to his designated villages to mobilize for education for all children and removal from work. He goes door to door to talk to the families until all children are removed. This all occurs once they get permission from the village head.
- Each child friendly village has a children's parliament and then there is a children's parliament for all of India. Elections for both are on an annual basis. The responsibility of the president is focus on issues of importance within the villages.

Funding:

-UNICEF has funded BMGs in Bihar and Jarkaland. There has been money from the government of Holland and the Action Against Child Exploitation (Japan), Yusem (Indian NGO) and others.

Best Practice:

Winrock has implemented and funded some BMGs in India and in 2006 the model was recognized as a best practice.

Sustainability:

The programs are designed to be self-sustaining. The village receives assistance and funding for two years and after funding is over, they are visited by staff twice a month to monitor progress.

Problems:

One community exhibited some aggression towards the activists who wanted to visit families to raise their awareness on child labor

Impact:

-behavior change among girls

-in some settings there were difficulties of acceptance of the lower caste members by the upper castes, but the program overcame this obstacle through seeking the support of sympathetic upper caste members

Schools:

- The quality of education in the government school of India continue to be poor
- The student to teacher ratio is high
- Corporal punishment exists
- Children have to cover long distances to reach schools
- Some children have no access to higher levels of secondary school
- Most government schools have no furniture in their classrooms and sit on the floor
- Lighting is scarce
- Two villages have recently received funding for furniture and blackboards by the Dutch government; the school I visited had some desks for the upper classes
- The corruption of the government impedes much progress or funds getting to the schools as they should be
- Bal Ashram has been involved in campaigning for better education assistance in Rajasthan's public schools
- Kailash is part of the World Bank's board concerning funding for India; WB has funded mid-day meals for government schools and has put funds towards the improvement of girls education

BMG Field Visits**A. Child Friendly Village 1: Paladi, Jaipur District, Rajasthan**

The village is in a rural setting close to Bal Ashram and not too far from the city Virat Nagar. Apparently, the villages in this area are not as badly off as villages further in the interior. In general, areas close to urban areas are thought to be better off as they have working roads and access to markets and goods that villages in the interior might not have. The majority of the

women work in agriculture here, raising buffalo or cultivating crops. However, I wonder how crop cultivation has been as they have received little rain and even a close by lake has dried up. In addition, to carpet weaving, many work in stone quarries. The majority of the child workers are girls.

Paladi is a BMG village that BBA worked with between 2005 and 2007. Today it is self-sustainable. When we arrived in the village there was a group of women meeting who were part of the self-help group formed during the program. We were met by the head of this group and visited a home of a loom owner. We saw many children lurking around due to the fact that it was exam day in Rajasthan. All of the children had English exams this day.

The first owner we met had three looms of his own and only one was functioning. A woman was weaving on the loom. The other two were empty. The owner also weaves and he hires people from the village or surrounding areas to work on the loom when he gets the work. The salary is 50 IR per day. The owner works through a middle-man and has been in the industry for the last 10 years. When asked why he works in the industry he says that there are no other opportunities available. He also said that unemployment was high among men.

His earnings are meager: he earns between 2000 and 3000 IR per month, 1500 of which goes to the workers.

I asked him how things have changed since BBA intervened in his village and he said that no kids work in his village today and he sends his kids to school, private school. Many have also taken advantage of the rural employment scheme. AS a result of BBA intervention (according to BBA), books are now free, tuition is free and lunches are provided for all of the children.

BBA rescued 29 children from child labor here in 2005. Twenty worked alongside of their parents in agriculture and 9 weaved carpets.

Removal of child from work's affect on family? Nobody complained of suffering more because child now attends school.

The man said he sends his children to the private school because the public school only goes up to the 8th standard. When asked about the quality, nobody complained. They claim that the school is close by, than nobody has dropped out and that they have not had any problems with teacher attendance.

Why did the kids work before? Children used to work because parents were uneducated and unaware of the importance of an education. BBA's strategy was to rescue all of the children and then go door to door to the families to discuss the importance of education and the harms of child labor. They keep on going back to the families until they understand the importance of education.

After talking to the loom owner we went to the home of a wealthier family in the village. The father of the family was an engineer working in the Gulf and the mother was a laborer. All of the children were educated, one was in college and the girl was in the 11th standard. The girl we met was the daughter of the family, is 16 years old and intends to go to university after high school to become an engineer. She was also the president of the children's congress for her village and for all of India. She focused on the education of girls in her village. She helped the

girls enroll in school and also tutored them. The girls who enrolled in school for the first time were former child laborers who never went to school.

It is complicated enrolling 13-14 year old kids in the 1st standard with 6 year olds. I assumed it was difficult to go to straight into school without ever having been in school and then going into a class with children much younger. For this reason, some children are actually placed in higher grades than they qualify for and attempt to catch up, sometimes through extra tutoring on the side. she claims that today all of the girls are in their correct grade level.

Private school: The private school costs 17,000 annually.

The children's community group is still running and there is a new group of kids in the parliament this year.

Women (discussion of head of self-help group):

Situation: The mothers had several infants with them. The women looks well groomed, etc., but the infants did look a little dirty, but this could be the result of infants crawling around and the floors being dirt. They all seemed to take good care of the kids and were willing to give me the time to discuss their situation with me. They said they do not lack anything or want anything more than what they have.

The women have a self-help group. They put money in the bank regularly and have monthly meetings to discuss needs, etc. They have had income generation projects, including purchasing buffalo, sewing machines or books for their children. They claim that their husbands are supportive and happy with their financial growth.⁴⁵ They want to put the money they earn towards their children's education.

B. Village 2: Tikaria (pop 2600) – program began in 2008 and goes through August

33 children rescued from child labor

1 child was not working, but not going to school either, she was idle. She used to follow her parents around before being enrolled in school.

THIRTY-THREE children have been enrolled in school by the BBA. Some are in the government school but eight are in the private school. Prior to going to school, most of these children were either raising cattle, goats or working in the field. The local activist was responsible for going to the homes and talking to families about the value of school and the problems associated with children working.

⁴⁵ After this meeting I asked Sanoj about the possibility of women being abused by husbands because of their new found financial situation. He stated that in some cases the men stopped working all together and the women did all of the work. In this area it was apparent that women worked harder than men. Many men were seen sitting around playing games, talking, taking tea, etc. The women are the ones conducting the agriculture work. I noted the strength of these women (good abs). They also take care of the family. One concern is that the women take on everything now and the men nothing. Should there not be awareness raising for the men? Women need help from the men too. Although they are more empowered and the women I met did not cover their faces like others we drove past, they seem to have taken on the entire family burden. However, they did not complain, to me at least.

The children like being in school, playing with their friends and playing school games. They all said they want to be teachers when they grow up (but many just copied what others said out of shyness- this was a rather shy group of kids, especially the girls)

We met with several children (10). Two very young kids (7 or so) and the rest older- 4 boys and 6 girls. The girls were shy and the little children did not want to talk either. The boys were more talkative. This seems to be the trend. There were at least three members of the children's parliament present, including the former president and the new president, who was just elected two weeks ago. When elected, the congress members have to take an oath to serve their community children's needs.

The former leader of the child parliament, a boy in the 8th standard, discussed the problems they sought solutions to through the local government:

- ✓ shortage of teachers- they requested two additional teachers
- ✓ a hand-pump for water at school
- ✓ boundary walls at school
- ✓ clean playground

In addition to the new teacher and water pump, the classrooms now have blackboards and a few even have tables and chairs (most schools do not have tables and chairs, only two schools do that were funded by the Dutch).

In all, they were successful in obtaining one extra teacher and a hand-pump for the school. They would still like another teacher. Currently there are six teachers for 200 children in the school. Their grades 1 and 2 are combined, taught by one teacher. Most of the teachers are locals, or regional.

I tried to find out what happens to them when they misbehave, how they are disciplined, but I don't think they understood what I was asking.

There were some drop outs originally, but the children's congress went to talk to the parents to get the children to come back to school, which they did. When asked why these children left, I was told they were punished too much for not completing their work. Perhaps they were hit, but I couldn't get this out of them.

The congress leader reported that all children are in school now and that they all either walk or take a bike to school, which is 3 KM away. The only new complaint that they would like to bring up is that their school only goes up to the 8th standard and they want to study until the 12th. The closest school that goes up to the 12th standard is another 3 kilometers away. At this school they all get a free mid-day meal and free admission.

Some children still do help out their parents by working a bit after school, especially with the buffalos, cutting grass or taking care of younger siblings. Many of the children have taught their parents how to write their names for the first time. Most parents are uneducated, although two girls have educated fathers, but they are both working beyond the village. (not much work for an educated in such a village)

C. Village 3: Began intervention in 2007 and is now a self-sustained child friendly village

This village does have carpet looms. The household we visited had an 18-YEAR-OLD girl working on the loom who never went to school. She claims to have begun when she was 16 years, but I am not sure if this is true since she never went to school in order to stay behind and help her family. Out of this family of 8 girls and 1 boy, the oldest two didn't get to go to school, but the others do attend school. The mother tells that the oldest were needed to help work and support the family. The second oldest started school for the first time recently. I tried to interview her, but she was painfully shy. Her name is Lelita and she is in the 3rd standard this year and can now write her name and read. She used to work in the stone quarries and then work on the family's carpet loom up to 12 hours combined. She worked at the quarries during the day and then would help out on the loom after work. They own the loom, but go through a middle-man for orders. Working the entire day on the loom (8 hours) earns them 50 IR.

Regarding school, all of the children (mostly girls, around 10 of them varying in age, but mostly older than 10) claim to enjoy going to school and enjoy their meals and games the best. They also said they go to school every day and that the teachers do to.

Their needs? One girl spoke of the need for uniforms and pencils. She wants uniforms because they are poor and don't have nice clothes. She also has heard about these computers and wants to learn. There are no computers in this area, which is direly needed for these children. If only they could have a small computer center for the children to learn from. Apparently, the Bal Ashram does offer courses for their children and a course for village children over the weekend. Hopefully there will be more like this in order to bridge the digital divide, otherwise, challenges and differences among the poor will fail to improve very much.

IV. RugMark/Goodweave Nepal

Interview with Program Officer, Ghanshyam Shrestha

What has GoodWeave changed?

Not much so far. In fact, the only real change is to the certification label, which is now larger and called GoodWeave. Although there is a new standard that staff and licensees are knowledgeable of, it has not been implemented in Nepal among the manufactures. All stakeholders have learned of the new standards and should anticipate their implementation in the future.

The reason for non-implementation of the new standard is due to the poor economic situation in Nepal and among the carpet industry. There is a lot of hesitation in implementing the program and fear of resistance.

Rugmark inspectors will be trained on the new GoodWeave inspection standard and they will need to hire new people knowledgeable of some of the new compliance issues.

Funding?

.25% of the funds for programs come from labels and from importing countries. In addition, there are some individual sponsors and sponsors at the factory level too.

RugMark's policy is to support a child until they turn 18 years old or earlier should they find work and become self-sufficient. For those needing assistance after 18 years, RugMark attempts to find individual sponsorships. Such sponsorships might include fees to attend university, for example.

What do the former RugMark children do today?

More than 15 of the RugMark children have attended university. One is a banker, one is in the United States studying in university.

Some of the children do not complete their entire education and opt to become involved in vocational trades, such as carpentry. Many in the trades earn good money, such as 12,000 NP monthly.

What happens to children who leave RugMark centers to go home to their parents and villages?

Children returning to their villages must guarantee they will go back to school. If a family needs support for their child to attend school, Rugmark provides them with 1000NR a month to pay for school books, uniforms, etc. The stipend is paid directly to the parents and RugMark requires receipts showing exactly what money was spent for. Rugmark's program monitor periodically visits the children returned to their villages to assure they are actually attending school.

Is there training for parents on how to be better prepared for raising their children under financial stress or in ways to improve their livelihoods?

There is no formal training for the parents of child laborers. However, all of the adult weavers in RugMark factories receive NFE, awareness programs, health services, and information on children's rights.

Ideas:

- As discussed by one of the inspectors, RugMark wants to get funds for a program in a source area where they could support children to attend school locally, thus reducing the urge and need to migrate to Kathmandu. Further, the program would provide small income generation for families to help them earn a better livelihood. RugMark would support the children for one year and thereafter the parents would be expected to support their child. To do this, they would work with the local NGOs in the district (no mention of working with the local government).

Who else does Rugmark work with?

Rugmark works with several NGOs through their rehabilitation center and pre-school. They have not received any government support for their work.

Sustainable? How?

Yes, their programs are sustainable as long as they are able to have licensees. They have lost income over the last few years as people have had to drop the label or close down factories.

Demand?

Yes, there is still a demand for the label in the US and UK, but no longer in Germany. According to GTZ, the new generation of consumers is not interested in keeping carpets for life. Younger generation is unknowledgeable of the work that goes into hand-knotted carpets and has no appreciation for them.

Problems?

The political situation in Nepal has made it difficult for both suppliers/exporters and RugMark to continue operation. The Maoists and unions have offered up further demands. Maoists tell factory workers they should be paid better and ask them to strike out. They have instilled fear in the workers, which accounts for their success. Before the peace accords in 2006, there was not a problem with the unions and Maoists in Kathmandu.

Interview with RugMark Inspectors

The majority of the Good Weave licensees are scattered throughout Kathmandu Valley, with only a handful outside of the Valley.

There are three inspectors employed by Rugmark. They have divided the Valley into three sections and each takes turns visiting the different sections so that each factory periodically sees all three of the inspectors.

Under the GoodWeave label there are currently 70 exporters and 350 suppliers; 99% of them are located in Kathmandu Valley. Prior to the downturn of the carpet industry, there were many large factories outside of the Valley. Only 10% of the total exporters in Nepal are under the RugMark (now GoodWeave) label.

Inspectors conduct inspections from 7AM through 8PM six days a week and work from 10AM through 1PM on Sundays. They visit 25% of the factories in the morning, 25% in the evening, and 50% during the daytime hours. The possibility of finding child labor is highest during the evening and morning hours, accounting for the long stretch of work hours.

On an average day the inspector will visit 8 factories, unless there are important meetings or other needs to attend to, which might limit their inspections to three or four. Each factory receives at least one visit a month from one of the three inspectors. Visits are always surprises and if child labor is discovered, they will conduct more frequent visits.

At its peak in 2000-2001 there were four RugMark inspectors that covered 500 facilities. At the time, more workers furnished the factories in addition to more children.

During the visits, if there are children working, they often attempt to escape out of back or side doors. In order to attack this problem, sometimes more than one inspector will go to a sight and enter through the different entry points.

Workers have threatened the inspectors for making their lives so difficult. They claim that it is better that their children work than die from hunger or steal. They are not concerned with laws as laws do not provide them with food.

Frequency of Child Labor:

Child labor is only discovered at the factories about 10% of the time. A contractor recruited the majority of children working in factories. There are more likely higher numbers of children working in the unregistered factories than in RugMark's.

The factories that employ children are not reported to the police. RugMark maintains that their program is voluntary and does not want to become a punitive or policing agency. They are asked to remove the children from work, but do not get kicked off of the label for noncompliance. The policy to deal with children in a factory includes a verbal warning for the first offence, a written warning for the second, and reporting to the exporter for a third offence. The exporters are more cooperative in seeing the removal of children working in factories than suppliers (they are less affected by it directly).

Child Education:

Some factories sponsor the children of carpet weavers so that they can attend school. Annually it costs between \$60-80 for a child to attend school.

Weavers:

Ninety percent of the weavers are Tamang from Markanpur, Surlai and Synduli.

Other functions of the inspectors:

In addition to inspections, they are also involved in arranging social programs, the mobile health clinics, and sponsored education programs. They are the face that the factory owners and workers know, so they receive many requests and complaints. They help solve problems at rehab centers too and have been involved in finding guardians for the children.

Once children are discovered they need to be convinced to come to the rehabilitation center, which is not always an easy sell initially. Contractors have been known to give RugMark a difficult time about taking away the children that they paid for. In terms of the cooperation among the exporters themselves, some are cooperative and willing to help the cause, but some do try to skirt the system.

Funding:

Most of the funding for Rugmark programs comes from the sale of carpets: .25%. Among the importers, those in the US pay 1.75% of sales profit to Rugmark and Europeans pay 1%.

Management:

The inspectors discussed the difficulty the owners have managing the factory and necessary work to get carpets ready for export. Today there are fewer workers than before due to the downturn in the economy and Maoist difficulties.

Most of the exporters are Tibetan and lack knowledge of qualification to run factories, especially amongst the changing environment. They fail to keep good records of the business transactions, production or employment. They lack solutions to problems that arise and have little in the way of contingency plans should problems arise.

The exporters are lowering prices because all of the rates are lower.

Many managers blame RugMark for some of their current woes with their employees and for not allowing them to hire children to conduct the work.

Market:

The price of carpets has not decreased, but orders have. Because of the Maoist revolts, some weavers' prices have increased. However, the work they get in production is irregular. Exporters are stocking carpets. Many exporters only exist for profit (of course, no?). Big suppliers are closing because of lack of orders from the exporters.

Ideas:

- 1) The interviewed inspectors believe there should be more awareness raising on child labor in the source areas of the country rather than at the urban areas. The majority of the workers are migrants and they could use information on the realities of child labor and the industry before they decide to migrate. The industry might benefit from moving more to areas where the migrants originate.
 - 2) Improve managerial skills among owners and managers of factories through special trainings.
 - 3) The inspectors claim that it is time to consider the changing climate around the carpet sector. Due to the difficulty the industry is currently facing, RugMark should think of helping the carpet industry get back on its feet and offering the children more alternatives for viable and healthy lives.
- Inspectors worry about the future of RugMark.

Factory Visits: RugMark Licensees

A. Patan Kanali Carpets, Patan

This licensee is a manufacturer and exporter located in a decent part of Patan. There are a total of 105 weavers, one man and 104 women. The factory has more than sixty looms. Many of the women are migrants from other districts who came to Kathmandu with their families, sometimes with and sometimes without the husband. There were some children in the factory playing around, but not too

many. The youngest was probably only 3 years old or so. The manager there was drunk. In addition to the carpet weaving, there were also women in the other room who were balling wool. A couple of the women were older women, too old to weave.

None of the woven carpets were traditional Nepali or Tibetan design. They were all modern designs; some were one color or used synthetic silks. The exporter followed the customers preferences by manufacturing carpets for costumers in the United States, Australia, Portugal, and other European countries.

Focus Group:

I first met with a group of around 5 women who were working at one loom. The first women had been weaving carpets for 10 years out of the valley (Eastern Nepal, Jhapa?). She came to Kathmandu to earn better money. They work around 8 to 9 hours daily and earn around 3200 NR a month. They earn 2000 NR per square meter. The manager told me that depending on the design and knottage, they earn between 850-3200 per square meter. The woman I met lives in Kathmandu with her husband and child. Her husband is a laborer in a factory. All of the women said their children were in school.

Some of the women are locals from Kathmandu. Two of the women I spoke with were not married and one was in school, earning her bachelor's degree. Among the women interviewed, some said they lived at the factory premises and others lived outside with their families.

The balling women were balling both silk and wool. They are paid more depending on the material they weave. The payment is 10-24 NR per kg. The situation of the balling women was similar. They are married with children. I sensed that more of them were locals though. One woman was married to a police man.

Next I spoke with the factory manager, who told me that there was not a problem finding women to weave. He said they no longer weave Tibetan carpets and that the demand is for American and German designs now. He told me things have changed over the years. Today there are less orders and there are union problems. They used to employ children, but not anymore. There was a Maoist Union slogan hanging up on the wall.

Another manager (the drunk one) told me that they do get more orders now as a result of Rugmark certification. Rugmark has provided six children with education (children of workers), including their school fees and health care.

The women said they didn't mind weaving and that they do it for survival. They are paid every 15 days. I asked them if they had heard of GoodWeave and they said they had not.

B. Supplier based in Lalitpur

The second location was one we saw two years ago on our original trip to Nepal. They had a RugMark sign out front, but it was barely visible as it was so old and worn out. There were some children milling around, but not many, less than two years ago. The looms were not full. The factory was dark, dank and a bit dirty, but electricity may have been cut off.

In the second site there were women weaving more traditional carpets. The manager said there were many worker problems because of constant strikes and demand for more wages and benefits. The

wages are lower than before because there are less orders than before. As in India, I'm sure they are being squeezed by the importers, who are not paying the prices they once did for carpets. Almost all of the workers were migrants and they were all living here with their families. Some lived on location and others lived off of the site.

Supplier has 40 weavers and 36 looms. Not all of the looms were occupied with carpets. The wages are 800 NR per square meter for a 60 knot carpet. They actually have 100 looms (but most were taken down and all that was visible were remnants of the looms). They do not weave Tibetan design, only European designs.

Regarding child labor: 15 years ago children did work in the factory. Previously, Rugmark gave the supplier 30,000 NR for them to make a child center for the children, but it has since closed down as the number of children significantly declined.

Ballers: Upstairs in the factory were ballers, most of whom were migrants. One woman I met was from Makwanpur in the Terai and Ramechhap. One woman has a husband who lives in Saudi Arabia and she has been working in the loom for the last 4 years. Another woman's husband was a driver and still another worked at the factory alongside his wife. Among the women there were both literate and illiterate workers. They generally work 12 hour days. The women working there for a long time know of Rugmark and the inspector.

C. Sunni Carpet, Manufacturer

This manufacturer is a recent member of Rugmark. They joined Rugmark on the request of one of their Australian customers. The manufacturer had been in business for 20 years. When we arrived, there were only two women weaving, but they were weaving sample carpets. There were remnants of looms in a large warehouse setting. The manager explained that their orders were low and that they had been having continuous problems with the Maoist labor movement and no longer hired weavers. They preferred to subcontract their work out to others these days.

I talked to one weaver who had been working in the factory for 5-6 years. She was from Makwanpur district. The wages were 2500-6000 sq meter depending on the design and knots. The woman worked between 10-12 hours a day and lives outside of the premise with her husband. Some others live in the factory. There was one school girl there who said she lived in the factory and went to school, but it wasn't too close. It took her 30 minutes to walk to school. She wants to be a teacher when she is older. Her husband is a laborer. The girl is in class 6 and the husband is in Dolga. The woman and her daughter have been in Kathmandu for 7 years.

The orders they get are for Tifton wool (synthetic) and Australian design.

Visit to RugMark Children's Programs

A. Background

RugMark's basic strategy to assisting children is comprised of programs for the young children of the carpet workers, to assure they do not work, provision of assistance to attend school for the older carpet children, rehabilitation and NFE education for children found working in their registered factories, educational assistance or enrollment into one of two boarding schools in Kathmandu they

have an agreement with. RugMark pledges to support the rescued children until they are 18 years old or until they graduate from high school.

The boarding schools they work with are the Lab School and the Little Angels School, both English preparatory schools close to Kathmandu. Upon completion of the NFE program at the rehabilitation center, children may choose between three paths: 1) to return to their village, pledging to attend school, which RugMark provides a minimum of school fees; 2) enrollment into one of the English prep schools; or 3) enrollment into a vocational training program.

The children who return to their village do so after their parents agree to send them to school. There is a program monitor who periodically checks to assure the children are in school and they are required to show receipts for their purchases with the stipend money (if they qualify for it). Currently, Rugmark supports 82 children through community development programs in their own villages.

Some children do not want to continue their education and choose to start a vocational training program, which Rugmark supports. Upon completion of the program, Rugmark works to help the children find jobs, which they have done successfully. In fact, Ganga stated that the children who are working now are doing better than the other children. They are earning good salaries.

B. Early Childhood Education Center

On 12/14/2009 we visited the early childhood education center for the children of carpet workers between the ages of 2 and 6 years. Rugmark partners with a local NGO; Education, Protection and Help for Children (EPHC) in running the preschool, which is located in a three story building. The school is free of charge for all of the children of carpet weavers and runs from 10AM to 4PM. The children also receive free lunches. In Nepal neither preschool nor primary school are free. Although primary school is technically free, parents pay many costs.

The preschool has four classrooms and a play area outside on the cement ground. The only thing they have to play on is two swings, which were not functioning. The school has the capacity to hold 100 children; at the time of my visit there were 101 children in attendance. The classrooms were all in decent shape, with desks (except for the 2-3 year old room and the 3-4 year old room had tables), paintings on the wall, blackboards and a decent size window on one side to let in the light. The school had three teachers, one caretaker and one program coordinator. There was a separate boys and girls bathroom, which stank when we walked by. In fact, the smell traveled to one of the classrooms that was next to it. Upon arrival the children became very excited to see us and ran up to me saying "namaste". They crowded close to me and enjoyed having their pictures taken. They were cute, some looked rather dirty with snotty noses, but others looked healthy and decently dressed. There were both boys and girls in the program and looked pretty even.

The first level upon entry into the daycare at 2 years is the 2-3 year old class room, which is more of a play time for the children. In the classroom they had many stuffed animals and games and posters on the wall. All of the children sit on a rug placed in the middle of the room, with their shoes off.

The 3-4 year old room is next to the 2-3 year olds. Their room was also nice and spacious. The children were practicing their alphabet when I came to visit. They had long tables that they shared.

The 4-5 year old class room had desks in rows for instruction and books. They start learning to read and write when they are 3 years old and continue instruction in the 4-5 year old room. There were also paintings on the wall in this room.

The 5-6 year old classroom also had desks and a blackboard and paintings on the wall. Their desks formed a semi-circle; they were practicing their dance routine for Rugmark's cultural show on the 12/24 and were rather good.

Interview with Coordinator and Counselor

I did not interview any of the children because they were quite young. I did however, interview the program coordinator and speak with Ganga as well, who is the counselor. Children in the childcare center are technically qualified for enrollment every April (the start of the school year). At this time the older class leaves the school for a primary school and new kids can come in, between 20-25. Children who go to primary school qualify for assistance to attend primary school, if needed. The children seemed like normal, happy children and the coordinator did not recall any severe emotional problems with any of the children.

children are only allowed to attend the preschool as long as their parents are working for a Rugmark licensed factory. As the lifetime of a worker in a factory varies greatly, so does the longevity of the children in school. When asked how long children stay I was told that it varies greatly: from two months to two years. The NGO EPHC started the program in 2001 and Rugmark signed on as a partner later.

The teachers are all qualified through their university education to teach. They are also provided with periodic trainings. Rugmark itself has no education specialist.

The coordinator and teachers do monitor the attendance of the children and go to the parents when the child is not attending school to find out the reasons and to get them back into school. Sometimes the parents and kids just leave the factory.

They receive funding through the carpet labels and have received funds from ILO and UNICEF and individual sponsors. Sometimes the factory owners provide assistance in kind or financially.

The parents of these children are targeted for awareness raising programs on gender, health and sanitation and HIV/AIDS. They also have access to literacy classes. The health specialist conducts periodic visits to the program.

Most of the parents of the preschool children are illiterate and according to Ganga, are not too concerned about their children's education. Many times Rugmark has to convince the parents to send their child to the program rather than keeping them in the factory with them while they work. Parents also neglect their children sometimes, due to their own problems (drinking, living alone with husband in the Gulf, remarriage). The majority of the families are migrants who came to Kathmandu for better opportunities.

C. NFE Rehabilitation Center

The rehabilitation center is only for children rescued from Rugmark licensed factories. The majority of the children are boys. When I visited there were 33 kids present and only 6 of them were girls. They are supposed to have 41 children, but several failed to return from Diwari. they will be

removed from the roster if they do not return by the end of December. The center is both a school for the children and a living facility where they conduct dancing, meditation, computer training (without internet), arts and play. The children were between the ages of 12 and 16 years.

When I asked about the girls I was told that the majority of the girls go into other forms of child labor such as domestic work, they are trafficked, or act as caretakers. This is interesting as most of the weavers are women.

The process of entering into the rehabilitation facility after rescue includes arrival at the facility and counseling for as long as it takes for the child to be ready to begin classes. Ganga told me it depends on the child, but can be one week or two weeks before they are ready for learning. This is surprising, if true, because the majority of these children never went to school, migrated to Kathmandu without their parents and are suddenly rescued and thrown into this new life. The caretaker said that at first some children try to run away or to return to working in the carpet factory.

Classes:

All of the children, whether they previously went to school or not, begin at the intro level class. The intro level teaches basic skills. Children with high academic achievement at this level are moved to their appropriate class level.

The next level is KG, meaning kindergarden, then there is a 1 and 2nd grade. All of the classes run for 6 months, half the amount of time than a standard curriculum in public schools. This qualifies the school as an accelerated learning program. Interestingly, the children focus on learning English. The curriculum used is one from private schools.

Child Interviews:

I interviewed a couple of the girls. The first girl was named Sunny and she is 13 years old. She is from Murwanapur and worked in the carpet factory for one year. She migrated to Kathmandu with her aunt to earn some money. Back home her parents could not support her. Prior to migrating to Kathmandu she worked in agriculture, raising cattle and tending land. She never went to school until she arrived at the rehabilitation center. When working in the carpet factory she sent money home to her parents. Sonny said she is happy now at school and enjoys her friends and the good food. She wants to become a teacher when she grows up.

The second girl I interviewed was sold to a contractor by her father. She came from Danusa district and worked as a domestic worker in her village before being sold to the contractor. She worked for one year in the carpet factory before being rescued by Rugmark. Since her arrival at the rehabilitation center the staff has had problems with the contractor, who continued to return to take her back, claiming that he owned her now. Rugmark does not report these criminals to the police, but threatened to do so if he did not stop harassing her. She enjoys studying and said she wanted to marry a wealthy man when she grows up.

The next was a boy, 12 years from Mulkanpur. He migrated to Kathmandu with his parents and worked beside them for one year. His parents are still in Kathmandu, near the Bodanah. The money he earned went straight to his parents.

Another region where children migrate from is Surlai. Many of the children worked in factories for a short period of time, one or two months, which is considered a training period when they do not

earn money. One boy worked on carpet weaving in Kathmandu factories for three years. Some of the children work in unregistered looms before moving to work in a Rugmark factory. The normal working hours were between 4AM to 10PM daily, with no time off. The children suffered from TB, diarrhea, eye problems, etc.

D. LAB School

There are currently 25 Rugmark children who completed the rehabilitation center program attending the Lab school, a prestigious English preparatory school on the outskirts of Kathmandu. The school goes from 4-12th grade, but the Rugmark children only go through 10th grade, at which point they are reunited with their parents.

In 2006 Rugmark entered into an agreement with the Lab school where they would accept some of their children for a reduced cost, which Rugmark covers. The children all take an entrance exam in order to enter into the school. The teacher we spoke with relayed that the Rugmark children are always very good studiers and high achievers. They have never caused any kind of problems. The Rugmark children do get along with the other children and are pretty well integrated into the school. There is no problem with discrimination. The children do still get counseling on occasion and some of the children are more fragile than the others. The guardian stressed that those that have the most difficult time are the orphans. However, their achievement in school produces confidence. All of the graduates of the program have passed the first division (60% or more, apparently very good).

The children are not only high academic achievers, but they are also talented in other areas too, such as sports and the arts. One child recently won a competition where she was given 5,000 NR. After interviewing the teacher I had the chance to watch the children at their dance practice. They were practicing for the same cultural show the younger children were practicing. They had won first prize two years in a row.

Children's Interviews:

I attempted to speak with the Rugmark children in a focus group discussion setting. They all gathered around me in a semi-circle and most were quite shy speaking English.

Many of these children interviewed had only worked for a few months in the carpet factories. One worked for six months and only one worked for two years. The majority of them are from Surly, Rautahat and Mauktapur. They came to Kathmandu with relatives, their family or friends. One told the story of how they came with a relative who had previously worked in the carpet factory and told her the money was good and that life would be better in Kathmandu. When the girl arrived to work, she realized that life was not better and she earned little money. What she did earn she never saw as it was sent back to her parents.

The children came to Kathmandu for better economic conditions, to be with their family, to attend a better school (some closed down in their villages because of the Maoists). Many of the children lived in the factory, some lived out of the factory. The children worked from 4am to 8pm.

All of the children interviewed enjoyed school, including the quality, games, sports, talent shows, dancing and singing. They could not answer the question regarding what they wanted to do when they finished school. Many are worried about the poor economic conditions of the country.