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## Child Labor in Latin America: Poverty as Cause and Effect

Michaelle Tauson

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## Child Labor in Latin America: Poverty as Cause and Effect

### Abstract

Throughout much of the developing world, children make up an alarming portion of the workforce. These children are robbed of their childhood in order to provide economic supplementation to their families. According to the International Labor Organization (ILO), 5.7 million children in Latin America participate in the regional workforce (2006). It is a common misconception that children, who do not participate in the formal workforce, are not child laborers. However, the ILO defines child labor as any work that is detrimental to a child's well-being or interferes with a child's education. Due to the many categories and classifications of child labor, as well as its far-reaching causes, child labor in Latin America is difficult to combat. It is not only the direct result of poverty; its causes are societal and cultural as well. Child labor is a significant problem, not only because of its direct impact on the child, but because of the implications it has on society and culture as a whole.

### Keywords

Human rights, Latin America, Child labor, Children's rights, Forced labor, Poverty, Education

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## Child Labor in Latin America: Poverty as Cause and Effect

By Michaëlle Tauson

Throughout much of the developing world, children make up an alarming portion of the workforce. These children are robbed of their childhood in order to provide economic supplementation to their families. According to the International Labor Organization (ILO), 5.7 million children in Latin America participate in the regional workforce (2006). It is a common misconception that children, who do not participate in the formal workforce, are not child laborers. However, the ILO defines child labor as any work that is detrimental to a child's well-being or interferes with a child's education. Due to the many categories and classifications of child labor, as well as its far-reaching causes, child labor in Latin America is difficult to combat. It is not only the direct result of poverty; its causes are societal and cultural as well. Child labor is a significant problem, not only because of its direct impact on the child, but because of the implications it has on society and culture as a whole.

Children in Latin America normally participate in one of three economic sectors: agriculture, industry, and the informal economy. Agricultural work is by far the most common (Tuttle 2006). Children in this industry hold unpaid positions on family farms or work on plantations. The work performed in the industrial sector can be factory work, mining, manufacturing, and other similar activities. The third sector, the informal economy, is a much broader sector. The ILO generally defines the informal sector as any good or service that is not taxed or regulated by the government, and which is comprised of unregistered employees. Work that falls into this category includes prostitution, domestic servitude, drug sales, or any other unregistered work. Regardless of sector, all child labor are detrimental to the education and development of the child.

A large portion of the children who participate in the agricultural sector work on family farms. In the highlands of Chiapas, Mexico, children under the age of fifteen make up 30 percent of agricultural day laborers (Carey 2006). In some Mayan communities, the reality of the situation is harsh. Children work from sun up to sun down, performing arduous labor in the fields and in the household. If they are lucky enough to attend school, they must take off harvesting and planting seasons to help the family.

Industry-based child labor in Latin America is also a significant problem. The conditions in industry-based labor are usually far worse than the conditions on family farms. In Honduras, up to 50 percent of total labor intensive jobs are performed by children. In *maquilas*, or factories, it is not uncommon for young girls to work 12-18 hour shifts, as they are not permitted to leave until they have reached their daily quota (Zelaya 2006). They are forced to take birth control and are often times sexually harassed by their employers. Their physical safety is, more often than not, completely overlooked.

The informal sector is extremely difficult to monitor. This sector encompasses most of the work that children do on the streets. It is difficult to walk through downtown Quito, Ecuador, where children make up 25 percent of the workforce, and not be asked by several children if you would like your shoes shined, or if you would like to purchase gum (Tuttle 2006). Often with their younger siblings tied to their backs, children flood the streets begging relentlessly for money or food.

The international community has enacted a multitude of international laws and accords in order to eliminate child labor, and the majority of states have adopted these laws in their own legislation. However, the eradication process has been painstakingly slow and the real concern is that policy makers are not addressing the roots of the problem. Most international organizations from the World Bank to the ILO, as well as independent states, consider poverty to be the most significant cause of child labor, and therefore focus their policies on poverty eradication. Poverty and child labor are in fact linked; increased aggregate Gross Domestic Product (GDP) commonly results in a decrease in the child labor rate (Basu 1999). However, the pace at which the decrease occurs varies across states despite the similar increase in GDP. For example, huge economic growth in China resulted in remarkable decreases in child labor, while in Brazil the same increase in aggregate income resulted in almost insignificant changes in the child labor rate. This leads to the conclusion that combined economic, societal, and cultural factors must contribute to the prevalence of child labor.

Family dynamics and poor public education systems are cited as major contributors to child labor (Brown 2006). Parents with low education levels, regardless of income, are more likely to put their children to work. They may not weigh the costs and benefits of forgone labor now to see higher rates of return in the future. If a parent worked as a child, his/her child is even more likely to work. Also, mothers who work outside of the house are more likely to have female children who work, as the children are forced to take over the absent mother's responsibilities, in lieu of attending school. Families in Peru cite school quality as the biggest factor for child work force participation (Brown 2001). Primary schools rarely have the resources to provide adequate education, which leads to the assumption that children are better off working than attending school.

Culture also has an impact on the prevalence of child labor. A World Bank study found that indigenous children are far more likely to work than non-indigenous children, regardless of income. Parents in indigenous societies in rural Guatemala prefer that their children work because they believe that manual labor is an important part of the education process, teaching children to become hard working adults (Safiq et. al 2008). In Latin American countries with large indigenous populations, such as Bolivia, Peru, Guatemala, and Ecuador, children make up a large percentage of the workforce (Tuttle 2006). These families are not only overlooking the detrimental effects of labor force participation on the child, they are also ignoring the severe societal implications of child labor. Child labor force participation has an impact on society, community, and culture, as well as the national economy of the state.

Society is impacted by child labor on many levels. For example, the more a child works, the less education he/she receives. Low national education levels are negatively correlated with infant mortality, poor health, high birthrate, and low life expectancy. If a child spends a significant amount of time outside of the community it can negatively impact culture solidarity, indigenous language, and family values. Labor outside of the community also encourages migration and a breakdown of the family, which can ultimately lead to increased levels of violence in the household.

In addition to negative social and cultural repercussions, child labor can actually perpetuate economic problems within the state. Interference of a child's right to education traps the state in poverty. The eradication of child labor would stimulate economic benefits within the state, increasing aggregate GDP by developing the state's human capital. The ILO projects that the elimination of child labor in South America would allow the state to save over \$235 billion due to increased access to education and health care for children. An uneducated child will become an

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uneducated adult who will continue to earn at or below a subsistence level. Abundant child labor in any state limits human capital so that the economy will maintain low levels of productivity and technology, stagnating development in all areas. Due to high levels of child labor, Latin America is placing itself at a disadvantage in the global market.

According to the ILO, although major efforts to eradicate child labor have been made, the impact has been small. Some agencies believe that the number of child laborers has actually been increasing. Most states have laws to hold violators of domestic laws responsible, but due to political instability and discrimination, these laws are not enforced. It is also extremely difficult to monitor the informal market. Certain programs like Mexico's PROGRESSA, an education, health, and nutrition program, work to supplement a child's would-be earnings contingent upon the family sending the child to school. The program has been extremely successful because it is not a hand out, but a reward system. However, the program has less of an impact on young girls, who are seen as less valuable and therefore less important to educate (PROGRESSA 2002).

Other programs that have focused on poverty alleviation have seen very little success; this is due to the fact that child labor force participation is a social norm for a large portion of the population in Latin America. Child labor is not solely perpetuated by economic need; it is embedded in culture and society as well. Agencies need to address these problems at a local level through improved education programs and economic alternatives for families. Unless the causes of child labor are approached holistically, child labor will continue to adversely affect the economy and society of Latin America on a large scale.

**Annotations**

“PROGRESA: Breaking the Cycle of Poverty.” 2002. International Food Policy Research Institute. <http://www.ifpri.org/pubs/ib/ib6.pdf>.

Annotation: This report researches the implications for the ProgresA project in Mexico and provides a decent overview of the progress made since the initiation of the program. This program is a cash transfer project initiated to keep children in school and out of the economic sector. This means that heads of households are provided with a cash incentive to send their children to school. The program has shown reduced incidence of child labor and work hours as well as better performance in school.

“Informe Nacional de los Resultados de la Encuesta de Trabajo Infantil y Adolescente en Costa Rica.” 2003. Costa Rica: International Labor Organization.

Annotation: This report, written in Spanish, was conducted in Costa Rica by the International Labor Organization. The report is filled with statistics and examines the various factors that might cause child labor in Costa Rica, as well as the effects of child labor on culture and the community. Researchers examine the legal system and children's rights granted by the Costa Rican government, the socioeconomic situation throughout the nation, demographics of children workers, and the specific work done by children in different

sectors. The report also focuses on the effects of child labor on the education and health of the children.

“The End of Child Labour: Within Reach.” 2006. Geneva: International Labour Organization.

Annotation: This global report on child labor is extremely comprehensive. The report defines what child labor is and describes its prevalence worldwide. It explains national and international actions that have been taken, as well as the current policies in place. The article outlines the progression of child labor: how it has decreased over time, the ILOs participation, and global challenges and solutions that will change child labor in the future.

Basu, Kaushik. 1999. “Child Labor: Cause, Consequence, and Cure, with Remarks on International Labor Standards.” *Journal of Economic Literature* 37 (3):1083-1119.

Annotation: Basu’s comprehensive article discusses the causes of child labor throughout the world, such as industrialization. He analyzes policy concerns for combating child labor and concludes with possible solutions to diminish the incidence of child labor and to finally eradicate the human rights violations brought on by the global economic system.

Brown, Drusilla K. 2001. “Child Labour in Latin America: Policy and Evidence.” *The World Economy* 24 (6):761-778.

Annotation: This article examines child labor in Latin America and current policies put in place by state governments in order to combat the issue. The author looks at standards included in international trade agreements before analyzing the determinants of child labor. She focuses mostly on economic reasons for the current child labor issue, including poverty, capital market failure, and school quality. She concludes by analyzing recent initiatives put in place to encourage school attendance and to discourage child labor, in addition to evaluating their effectiveness.

Bryson, B.J., and Tina Bryson. 2004. “The Dominican Republic.” In Child Labor, A Global View. Edited by C. L. Schmitz, E. K. Traver and D. Larson. Westport: Greenwood Press.

Annotation: The authors present an extremely concise economic history of the Dominican Republic, including the impact of Hurricane George on today’s economy. The authors provide an overview of child labor in the sex industry, the public and political view of child labor, and the perceived future of the child labor situation in the Dominican Republic.

Carey Jr., David. 2004. “Mexico.” In Child Labor, A Global View. Edited by C. L. Schmitz, E. K. Traver and D. Larson. Westport: Greenwood Press.

Annotation: David Carey, Jr. provides a brief history of Mexico, focusing on events that contribute greatly to Mexico’s economic status today. He describes the child labor situation

in the past and as it stands today. His main concerns in this chapter are the young females who work along the US/Mexico border and child labor in the agricultural sector.

Centro de Asesoría Laboral del Perú. 2005. Economía, Empleo y Derechos Humanos, Propuestas Desde La Juventud. Lima, Peru: Biblioteca Nacional.

Annotation: The report, written solely in Spanish, focuses on youth employment in Peru, the rights of workers and human rights violations that take place in the economic sector. The book outlines programs and organizations that are working to combat violations and to protect the rights of employed youth in Peru. The book also provides a brief history of the movements that have advanced workers rights in Peru and how they can be emulated.

Charmes, Jacques. 1998. "Skills Development for the Informal Economy."  
<http://www.ilo.org/public/english/employment/skills/informal/who.htm>.

Annotation: This report, written by the International Labor Organization, provides statistics on the informal sector of child labor. It describes what the informal sector is, examples of jobs in the informal sector, and different indicators and dimensions of the informal sector. It is an extremely brief overview, but provides an excellent definition and examples.

Cigno, Alessandro, and Furio C. Rosati. 2005. The Economics of Child Labor. New York: Oxford Press.

Annotation: Furio Rosati, formerly the director of the UNICEF-ILO-World Bank Understanding Children's Work Project, and Alessandro Cigno provide extensive research in the causes and effects of child labor in many regions in the world. They present a significant amount of statistical information and raw data concerning child labor by region, gender, and type of work. They also provide statistical analysis correlating infrastructure and poverty to child labor. Studies on child poverty and health in Guatemala and access to resources as a cause for child labor in El Salvador are extremely useful case studies.

Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations. 1973. "Recommendation concerning Minimum Age for Admission to Employment." International Labour Organization.

Annotation: The Minimum Age Recommendation is the ILO's attempt to set an international standard on the age of child laborers. It specifies the age requirement to work, the process, and recommendations for the enforcement of the law on the national and international level.

\_\_\_\_\_. 1999. "Elimination of Child Labor and Protection of Children and Young Persons." International Labor Organization.

Annotation: The Worst Forms of Child Labor denounces and describes the worst labor conditions and provides a guideline to member states in order to work toward abolishing the most egregious instances of child labor persistent today. Guidelines include data gathering, providing forms of child labor as criminal offenses, and ensuring penalties.

Cunningham, Hugh, and Shelton Stromquist. 2005. "Child Labor and the Rights of Children: Historical Patterns of Decline and Persistence." In Child Labor and Human Rights, Making Children Matter. Edited by B. H. Weston. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Annotation: Cunningham and Stromquist present the history of child labor in a concise summary. They analyze child labor in underdeveloped nations and explain how their placement in a global system does not allow these nations to eradicate child labor. They focus on child labor as a human rights violation and conclude that over time, child labor will diminish greatly.

Dennis, Michael J. 1999. "The ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labor." *American Journal of International Law* 93 (4):943-948.

Annotation: This article addresses the International Labor Organization's Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labor, which specify the four categories of child labor that should not be tolerated by any state or organization. The author discusses some of the major contentions of the conventions such as what is the definition of a child soldier and at what age is a person fit to participate in military activity. The author also addresses what kind of work should be considered hazardous and what level of education should be compulsory. The author raises very important questions about how to consider child labor.

Diller, Janelle M., and David A. Levy. 1997. "Child Labor, Trade and Investment: Toward the Harmonization of International Law." *The American Journal of International Law*, 91 (4):663-696.

Annotation: This article examines international law and its impact on trade treaties regarding human rights and labor rights. It addresses norms and standards of child labor and human rights within the international community. The article is extremely technical and examines a multitude of international laws on the issues of child labor, human rights and treaties.

Dos Santos, Benedito Rodrigues. 2005. "Combating Child Labor in Brazil: Social Movements in Action." In Child Labor and Human Rights, Making Children Matter. Edited by B. H. Weston. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Annotation: The chapter provides a brief history of child labor and the combating of child labor in Brazil. The author analyzes eradication strategies put in place by the government and discusses the gains and pitfalls of the campaign as well. Throughout the article, he makes the argument that reductions in Brazil are substantial and trends will continue as such in the future, providing an optimistic look at child labor in Brazil.



Edmonds, Eric V., and Nina Pavcnik. 2005. "Child Labor in the Global Economy." *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 19 (1):199-220.

Annotation: The authors of this article bring to light the important issue of defining child labor, which can be a difficult task due to the large range of work to which children are exposed. Edmonds and Pavcnik examine many forms of child labor and conclude that work performed by children inside the household is still child labor regardless if a wage is earned. The article concludes that cash transfer programs and improved school systems are the best methods to reduce child labor participation.

Elliott, Kimberly Ann, and Richard B. Freeman. 2003. Can Labor Standards Improve Under Globalization? Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics.

Annotation: Elliott, who is a researcher for the Institute for International Economics, and Freeman, who is an economics professor at Harvard, address the issue of inefficient labor standards in the global system from the perspective of globalization and development. They focus on universal problems such as why poor labor standards, i.e. child labor, can still exist in an informed society. They also discuss the possibility of states improving labor standards without losing their comparative advantage, which is one of the main arguments for the existence of child labor and poor labor conditions in less developed countries.

Forero, Juan. 2002. "In Ecuador's Banana Fields, Child Labor is Key to Profits." *The New York Times* (July 13): 1.

Annotation: Reporter Juan Forero outlines the child labor situation on the banana plantations in Ecuador. In order to get a first hand view of the situation, he interviews a local family whose children work on the plantations. He describes the current situation affecting Alvaro Noboa, a former presidential candidate and owner of many plantations in Ecuador. He lists the many human rights violations Alvaro Noboa commits on a daily basis.

Fraser, Barbara, and Paul Jeffrey. 2004. "Poverty Cuts Children's Chances for a Future." *National Catholic Reporter* 41 (2):13-17.

Annotation: Fraser and Jeffrey's article gives an overview of the economic situation and the issues that arise in response to the overwhelming problems in Latin America. The authors give many examples of the dilemma children under the age of fourteen face in countries such as Peru, Paraguay, Venezuela and Ecuador. Some of the major problems include child labor, lack of education, and gang participation.

Green, Eric. 2005. "UN Cites Benefits of Ending Child Labor in Latin America; New Study Estimates Net \$235 Billion in Savings over 20-year Period." Washington DC: US State Department.

Annotation: This press release from the US State Department is a summary of the United Nations findings on child labor in South America. Researchers from the United Nations International Labor Organization found that the eradication of child labor could produce a net savings of \$235 billion as a direct result of increased education and improved overall health. This is an extremely helpful overview of the research done in South America by the UN.

Gunnarsson, Victoria, Peter F. Orazem, and Mario A. Sanchez. 2006. "Child Labor and School Achievement in Latin America." *World Bank Economic Review* 20 (1):31-54.

Annotation: This report is summary of a World Bank conducted study, which includes nine Latin American countries, in order to find the correlation between school achievement and child labor. The study found a negative correlation between time spent at work and test scores in mathematics and language in all nine countries, suggesting causality between time spent working and school achievement.

Hartman, Laura P., Richard E. Wokutch, and J. Lawrence French. 2003. "Adidas-Salomon: Child Labor and Health and Safety Initiatives in Vietnam and Brazil." In *Rising Above Sweatshops*. Edited by Laura P. Hartman, Dennis G. Arnold and Richard E. Wokutch. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishing.

Annotation: In this chapter the authors give an extensive overview of the corporation Adidas-Salomon and the human rights violations that take place in their factories around the world. The authors describe the course of action the corporation has taken in order to combat these problems. They review the implementation of the Standards of Engagement program, a program to better the working conditions in their factories, and conclude with an analysis of how the program has improved working condition in the factories in Asia and Latin America.

Henne, Kurt, and David Mosely. 2005. "Combating the Worst Forms of Child Labor in Bolivia." *Human Rights: Journal of the Section of Individual Rights & Responsibilities* 32 (1):12-15.

Annotation: Henne and Mosely discuss the issue of child labor around the world today. They briefly describe Bolivia and the hazardous industries that see the highest hours of child labor. They also, very briefly, highlight steps taken to confront the problem of child labor in Bolivia.

Ilahi, Nadeem. 2001. "Children's Work and Schooling: Does Gender Matter? Evidence from the Peru LSMS Panel Data." *The Policy Research Report on Gender*, <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTGENDER/Resources/laborilahi.pdf>.

Annotation: This report discusses the correlation between household welfare and school work. The study finds that due to the fact that girls spend more time in the house, doing house work, they are more negatively affected by situations in the household, especially female headship and poor health of other household members.

Instituto Nacional de Estadística. 2004. "Trabajo Infantil en Bolivia." La Paz: HERMENCA.

Annotation: The report, written in Spanish, provides data about the current issues surrounding the child labor situation in Bolivia. The report offers a unique perspective into the family and community lives of children in Bolivia. It acknowledges how life at home and the inability to access basic resources and utilities have an effect on the prevalence of child labor. It also addresses how child labor has an impact on the breakdown of culture in society. It provides excellent information about child participation in the economic sector and the working conditions in Bolivia.

Keys, David, and Adam DeFayette. 2004. "Guatemala." In Child Labor, A Global View. Edited by C. L. Schmitz, E. K. Traver and D. Larson. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Annotation: The authors briefly describe the current situation in Guatemala and the great disparity that exists between the rural, indigenous peoples and the urban, *mestizo* population. They discuss child labor in the agricultural sector, as well as in the informal economy. They site ethnic inequalities and racism as a huge impediment to the eradication of child labor.

Liebel, Manfred. 2004. A Will of Their Own, Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Working Children. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Annotation: Manfred Liebel provides a sociological outlook on child labor throughout the world. In his chapter on Latin America, he provides statements given by child workers in Brazil, Bolivia, and Uruguay, in an attempt to demonstrate the way of thinking in these states. His goal is to address how and why child labor is a part of the socio-culture and not just part of the economic sector.

Lieten, Georges Kristoffel. 2005. Child Labor, Burning Questions. Amsterdam: Aksant.

Annotation: Lieten is the director of the Institute for Research on Working Children and a professor of Child Labour Studies at the University of Amsterdam. In his lecture at the University of Amsterdam, Lieten addresses specific questions of child labor, including the definition of child labor, the definition of childhood, the detrimental forms of child labor, and the major causes of child labor.

Maffei, Alessandro, Nikolai Raabe, and Heinrich W. Ursprung. 2006. "Political Repression and Child Labour: Theory and Empirical Evidence." *World Economy* 29 (2):211-239.

Annotation: The authors of this article present an argument that child labor is perpetuated by the political elite due to their desire for power. The empirical evidence shows that there is a positive correlation between the rate of child labor and a government's degree of autocracy. According to the authors, autocratic governments and the political elite have much to lose if the child labor rate was reduced and more human capital was introduced into the economy.

Muck, Ronaldo. 2002. Globalisation and Labour, The New "Great Transformation." London: Zed Books.

Annotation: The author is a professor of political sociology at the University of Liverpool. The main purpose of the book is to provide a detailed overview of the major issues that workers around the world face today. Although his main focus is how the labor force deals with globalization, he lends support to the theory that victims of child labor are more likely to come from marginalized groups, citing race as the major proponent.

Myers, William E. 2001. "The Right Rights? Child Labor in a Globalized World." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 575:28-55.

Annotation: Myers, a former official of the ILO and UNICEF, examines children's rights and child labor in a global perspective and the major conventions concerning children's rights, including the ILO's Minimum Age Convention, the UN Convention on the Rights of a Child, and the Worst Forms of Labour Convention.

Nieuwenhuys, Olga. 1996. "The Paradox of Child Labor and Anthropology." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 25:237-251.

Annotation: Nieuwenhuys gives an anthropological view of child labor and how age and gender are directly correlated with exploitation. She explains why child labor is still so prevalent today in the Third World. The author takes a unique perspective by highlighting reasons for the eradication of child labor that do not include moral injustice, but economic advancements.

Perillo, Robert. 2006. "The Struggle for Worker Rights in Colombia." *Justice for All*, <http://www.solidaritycenter.org/files/ColombiaFinal.pdf>.

Annotation: The report, published by the Solidarity Center, contains 84 pages on the labor situation in Colombia. It explains workers rights and violations that take place in Colombia

today as well as gives an historical overview. It outlines the major issues of women and children in the workplace.

Pier, Carol. 2002. "Tainted Harvest Child Labor and Obstacles to Organizing on Ecuador's Banana Plantations." <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2002/ecuador>.

Annotation: The Human Rights Watch report gives an extensive look into the problem of child labor in the banana plantations in Ecuador. It explores the issue on many levels including physical hazards, health implications, lack of schooling and child labor under international law.

Priet-Carron, Marina. 2006. "Corporate Social Responsibility in Latin America." *Siyanda* (Spring) (21):1-10.

Annotation: While Priet-Carron's article solely addresses the rights and violations of women in the banana plantations, her article does address corporate responsibility and what should be expected of corporations in regards to human rights. She also makes feasible recommendations to improve conditions for all workers, although her emphasis is on the rights of women.

Ray, Ranjan. 2000. "Child Labor, Child Schooling, and their Interaction with Adult Labor: Empirical Evidence for Peru and Ecuador." *The World Bank Economic Review* 14 (2):347-367.

Annotation: Ranjan Ray, writing for the World Bank as an economist, tests two hypotheses in both Peru and Pakistan. The first hypothesis is that a positive correlation between hours of child labor and poverty exists, as well as a negative correlation between education of children and poverty. He does not find his hypothesis to be proven accurate in Peru, although trends in Pakistan confirm his theories.

Sauma, Pablo. 2005. "Construir Futuro, Invertir en la Infancia." San Jose, Costa Rica: International Labor Organization.

Annotation: This study, written in Spanish, examines the cost and benefits of eradicating child labor in South America. The study outlines the costs to families and state governments to eradicate child labor. These costs would come from income forgone, increased revenue placed into education, and direct intervention programs. The study also outlines the benefits to the eradication of child labor.

Scoville, James. 2002. "Segmentation in the Market for Child Labor: The Economics of Child Labor Revisited." *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 61 (3):713-723.

Annotation: The purpose of this paper is to question whether or not there is validity in the argument that child labor is always negative, as asserted by Basu and Van. The author submits that child labor cannot be assumed to be good or bad. He concludes by saying that the eradication of child labor would leave the international community with a new problem of finding a place for children who would have no alternative to child labor.

Shafiq, Harry Anthony Patrinos and M. Najeeb. 2008. "A Positive Stigma for Child Labor." (4697), [http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/IW3P/IB/2008/08/25/000158349\\_20080825113642/Rendered/PDF/WPS4697.pdf](http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/IW3P/IB/2008/08/25/000158349_20080825113642/Rendered/PDF/WPS4697.pdf).

Annotation: The report by the World Bank describes the situation of child labor when a positive connotation is associated with the human rights violation, especially in Guatemala, where the positive stigma is prevalent. They conclude that in these situations, child labor is the most difficult to eradicate and social welfare programs would be the best combatant.

Siaens, Corrine. 2004. Education and Child Labor in Latin America. College of Arts and Sciences, American University, Washington DC.

Annotation: The author looks at the link between child labor and education. Paraguay is used as a case study to examine the economic costs of child labor. The thesis also provides an analysis of public policy in Mexico in regards to combat child labor. The author concludes by discussing the effectiveness of public movements to end child labor.

The United Nations General Assembly. 1959. "Declaration on the Rights of the Child." The United Nations.

Annotation: The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of the Child is a proclamation written to grant specific rights to children so that they may enjoy happy and protected childhoods that will foster healthy growth into adulthood. These rights, according to the UN, are protected on the behalf of the child and of society in general.

Todaro, Michael P., and Stephen C. Smith. 2009. Economic Development, vol. 10. Boston: Addison Wesley.

Annotation: The section in the book about child labor gives an overview of child labor from a development perspective and not a human rights perspective. The view of the authors presents child labor as an economic issue. They address the issues that would be associated with sudden eradication, and also describe different policies in place to help combat child labor force participation rates.

Tokman, Victor E. 2004. Una Voz en el Camino. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Economica.

Annotation: Victor Tokman is a well known researcher in the field of development in Latin America. Una Voz en el Camino provides the reader with an overview of the entire employment sector in South America. In his chapter on vulnerable populations, the author analyzes the current problem of child labor and the effects of exploitation on child laborers.

Traver, Elizabeth KimJin. 2004. "Brazil." In Child Labor, A Global View Edited by C. L. Schmitz, E. K. Traver and D. Larson. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Annotation: In the economic description of Brazil, Elizabeth Traver submits that the real reasons behind human rights violations in Brazil, specifically child labor, are attributed to the unequal income distribution. She gives an overview of child labor in Brazil from the streets to the agricultural sector. She proposes a number of feasible solutions such as offering monetary awards to parents who send their children to school. However, she concludes that more resources are needed to bring forth the proposed solutions and combat child labor in Brazil.

Tuttle, Carolyn. 2006. "History Repeats Itself: Child Labor in Latin America." *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal* 18 (2):143-154.

Annotation: The author outlines the history of child labor in the UK during the industrial revolution and how it translates to current child labor issues in Latin America today. The author also lists Latin American countries and the industries that use child labor in those countries. The article also addresses the physical dangers of child labor in the formal and informal market. The article demonstrates the similarities between the child labor market in Latin America today and child labor in the post-industrial Great Britain and what we can learn from history, concluding that child labor is a poverty trap and an impediment to international development that keeps less developed nations behind.

Zelaya, Raul, and Desi Larson. 2004. "Honduras." In Child Labor, A Global View. Edited by C. L. Schmitz, E. K. Traver and D. Larson. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Annotation: Raul Zelaya and Desi Larson have a bleak outlook for the child labor situation in the state of Honduras. According to the authors children in Honduras work primarily in the garment industry, but become part of the informal economy as well. They conclude that some progress is being made; however, abject poverty is the biggest impediment to eradication of child labor in Honduras. The section provides an excellent overview of the situation in Honduras.