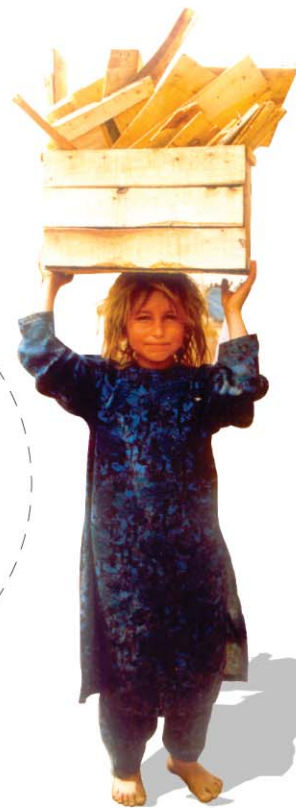


Society for the Protection of the Rights of the Child



Next time you see a **child** working think about it!



Next time
you see
a child
working
think
about it!



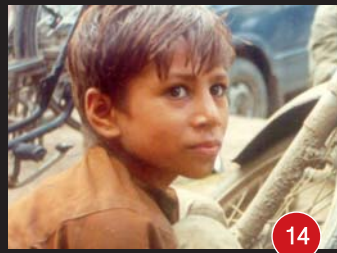
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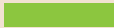

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● List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ACILS	American Center for International Labor Solidarity
CACL	Coalition Against Child Labor
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CRC	Child Rights Committee
ECA	Employment of Children Act
IBFAN	International Baby Food Action Network
ICDC	International Code Documentation Center
ILO	International Labor Organization
IPEC	International Program for the Elimination of Child Labor
NGO	Non-Government Organization
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development
SPARC	Society for the Protection of the Rights of the Child
UN CRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNGASS	United Nations General Assembly Special Session (on Children)
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WABA	World Alliance for Breastfeeding Action
WHA	World Health Assembly

Introduction

While once discussing the state of children in Pakistan with Ms Marty Rajandran, then UNICEF's Program Officer in Islamabad, she suggested that I form an organization in Pakistan on the pattern of Defense for Children International. She even followed up her suggestion by sending me photocopies of some DCI literature the very next day.

The idea remained dormant, however, until I was asked by UNICEF's Health Section to attend an IBFAN Training Course on Implementing the International Code of Marketing of Breastmilk Substitutes in Penang, Malaysia in February 1992. The organizers belonged to an international coalition called IBFAN that was, and still is, fighting the infant formula industry worldwide to protect breastfeeding. The activists at that training gave me the final push to do something about child rights issues in Pakistan.

Naila Ruvi, a lawyer working with me at the time, helped greatly in organizing initial activities. Unfortunately, she died at a very young age. For about three years, I supported all SPARC activities on my own.

UNICEF's Ms Khalida Ahmad came to our office one day to inquire about SPARC. I asked her for Rs. 25,000 to print a brochure. Instead, she signed an Annual Project Plan of Action for Rs. 750,000, which was SPARC's first funding. We have been lucky in that we have never since had funding problems, and there has been no looking back. Part of the credit goes to integrity and honest dealing with all donors, but mainly to the fact that SPARC has always met its targets without fail and thus never disappointed its donors. It is not an easy task, as it entails immense hard work by all members of the SPARC team, which has always remained small.

SPARC started to take out a quarterly newsletter in English which later also started to come out in Urdu, Sindhi and sometimes even in Nepali from Nepal. The newsletter was initially supported by UNICEF and the Royal Netherlands Embassy but since 1997 has consistently been supported by NORAD and CIDA.

CIDA was the first donor to support SPARC institutionally, providing the first computers and first staff training and



supporting some early major conferences. CIDA's Ms Rukhsana Rashid and Ms Anne Woodbridge have always taken an interest in guiding SPARC.

NORAD has helped SPARC immensely in more ways than one. Mr. Alf Ramslien of NORAD always took a personal interest in the organization and in guiding us at every juncture. NORAD forced SPARC to institutionalize its working and helped to purchase an office in Islamabad. And whenever SPARC mentioned crediting any publications to NORAD, Mr. Ramslien declined, saying his agency's aim was to promote civil society in Pakistan and not to propagate itself. The State of Pakistan's Children, a hallmark publication of SPARC, is supported solely by NORAD.

SDC's Mr Ruedi Hager and Kaneez Fatima literally brought SPARC onto the national scene. Offices in Peshawar and Lahore, even if one-room flats, were purchased with SDC's assistance, and SPARC was able to purchase its first vehicles under the same project. The project is to improve the state of juvenile justice in the country, a neglected subject prior to this intervention.

SPARC hopes that it has succeeded in bringing the subject to the forefront, as it has done with the child labor issue.

SPARC has produced a large number of brochures on almost all aspects relating to child rights, and almost all are available in Urdu. In addition to its annual State of Pakistan's Children, three major books have been published that can easily be said to be the first of their kind, covering the subjects of child labor, juvenile justice and child rights. Publication of the books would not have been possible without the cooperation of Friedrich Naumann Stiftung and, in the case of the book on juvenile justice, DFID.

Both Friedrich Naumann Stiftung and ACILS have remained a consistent pillar of strength to SPARC and helped to produce a number of quality research publications. Most of SPARC's consultations throughout the country are made possible with their cooperation, along with that of ASI.

Recently, SPARC produced its first documentary on child labor with the help of ACILS and is presently working on the second one, dealing with the taboo subject

of life of girl children in the Lahore's Red Light area, with support from ASI.

In November 1996, following a visit of some of its legislators to Islamabad, Germany's Social Democrat Party invited me to address its Parliamentary Group in the Bundestag (Bundestagsfraktion) in Bonn, Germany. The present German Chancellor, who was the then opposition leader, presided over the function.

At this meeting I met Mr. Kailash Satyarthi of SACCS and he asked SPARC to coordinate the Global March Against Child Labor in Pakistan. I explained to him that SPARC was a small NGO, and this was too big a venture for us. He, however, insisted. We had a meager budget for organizing the March. The major grant was given to us by NOVIB, but ILO also supported it and NORAD volunteered to support some activities. Within a short time SPARC galvanized the whole country around the child labor issue. Seminars and consultations were organized all over the country. When the Global March entered Pakistan, no less a person than the Federal Minister of Labor was waiting patiently at the Wagah border in the April summer heat to welcome the Marchers. The Government of Pakistan had taken out supplements in all the major papers explaining the salient steps taken by the Government to solve the child labor question. The President and the Prime Minister of Pakistan had issued statements welcoming the Marchers.

I knew that the March was a success when,

on the very first day, a crowd of more than 10,000 people turned up on Lahore's Mall Road raising the slogan: "No, No Child Labor, No". I could not believe my eyes when I saw thousands of people lining streets in Multan garlanding the Marchers and when village after village in Sindh was waiting with lit candles in their hands to welcome the Marchers as late as midnight. My hope in this country was revived. The Core Marchers, who had traveled through more than 26 countries in Asia, were in tears at times and repeatedly told me that Pakistan's March activities were the best of any of the countries they had visited. SPARC played only a small role: it coordinated, but the rest was done by partner organizations and trade union federations in the Punjab and Sindh, without whose cooperation the success would not have been possible.

The Global March left deep imprints in Pakistan. The March has been successful to a certain extent in changing the stereotype images of child labor in the minds of people, the authorities and even NGOs. The whole exercise also reflects that, barring a few cases, if mobilized, various organizations can work together for common causes and bring about positive changes in society. It was a major achievement that the whole activity was organized over a period of six months without any major disagreement cropping up amongst the NGO community, which is quite an achievement in Pakistan as the democratic culture is still developing. Indians and Pakistanis are not normally



permitted to enter each other's countries by land route. The fact that the Marchers entered Lahore through the Wagah border, therefore, was an accomplishment in itself, and set a positive precedent for similar future activities.

The Global March was a huge success, not just in Pakistan but the world over. It passed through more than 100 countries worldwide and culminated in Geneva in June 1998 when the ILO Labor Assembly was considering the Worst Forms of Child Labor Convention.

Until coordinating the Global March nationally, SPARC had concentrated mainly on research-oriented activities, picking up areas lacking material. After the March, however, pressure mounted and there was a growing demand for new initiatives. As a result, SPARC entered a totally new arena and started to hold meetings across the country on child rights issues, particularly child labor.

SPARC has pursued a holistic approach, aiming to benefit not a small number of working children, but somehow the maximum possible number of children. The NGO community has limited resources, and it is thus unfair to expect the civil society to revolutionize the plight of more than 70 million children, particularly when more than 30% of the populace is living below the poverty level. The Governments, both Federal and Provincial, need to play an active role in this respect, and SPARC constantly endeavors to create awareness

amongst all stakeholders, including the concerned bureaucrats.

Millions of dollars are being spent in various projects, and many are justified on the grounds that they are "models". However, somehow we are not moving beyond these models, and at times it appears we are simply moving in circles. SPARC desires to break this circle by lobbying with the Government authorities at both the Federal and Provincial levels to adopt policies that will change the current situation. There is an acute need to invest more on the social sector, and this has been a consistent SPARC objective.

Advocacy, awareness-raising, research and lobbying are fairly new fields in Pakistan and more so in the arena of child rights. However, SPARC is trying to break new grounds and in this respect relies a lot on its international partners and the experiences of organizations working in other countries.

With meager resources and a skeleton staff, SPARC has been able to accomplish quite a lot in a limited period of time. However, it aspires to do more and will be satisfied only when all of Pakistan's children are receiving free and quality education and when all can look forward to a bright future with equal opportunities.

Anees Jillani
August 2003



Chapter 1

Breastfeeding

Objectives

SPARC's objectives since inception have been to:

- Protect the inherent right to life of every child, and to promote every child's survival and development;
- Reduce infant mortality.
- Promote the right of families to have enough nutritious food.
- Promote the right of women to full support for successful breastfeeding and for sound infant feeding practices.
- Advance the right of health workers and consumers of hospitals to be free from commercial pressure.

Inappropriate bottle feeding caused by irresponsible marketing of infant formulas was a catalyst for the establishment of SPARC. In December 1985, one of SPARC's founding members, Mr. Anees Jillani, conducted a study for UNICEF concerning implementation of the International Code of Marketing of Breastmilk Substitutes. UNICEF in February 1992 sent him to attend a training course on implementing the International Code conducted by the ICDC in Malaysia.

Subsequently, he drafted national legislation implementing the International Code which, after 10 years of modifications and stiff resistance from the infant formula industry, was eventually enacted in October 2002 as the Protection of Breastfeeding and Young Child Nutrition Ordinance 2002.

Inspired by the work of ICDC and IBFAN, SPARC was founded in 1992 to advocate for implementation of the International Code as national legislation in Pakistan. It also became a member of IBFAN and benefited from the coalition's years of experience.

Responding to the lack of material available on the Code, SPARC's first publications were a flyer titled What Paediatricians can do to promote Breastfeeding? and a brochure titled The Magic a Mother can do, funded by UNICEF. Another brochure explaining the salient features of the International Code was funded by the Royal Netherlands Embassy.

Focus on legislation

SPARC's emphasis has been on advocating

● The International Code

The International Code of marketing of Breastmilk Substitutes was adopted by the World Health Assembly in 1981. It prohibits the marketing and promotion of baby milks and foods. Subsequent WHA Resolutions on infant feeding reflect changes in scientific knowledge and industry promotion techniques and are considered a part of the Code.

● Breastfeeding in Pakistan

UNICEF has termed malnutrition a "silent emergency", implicated in more than half of all child deaths worldwide and leaving millions crippled, chronically vulnerable to illness and intellectually disabled.

Malnutrition starts before birth, through malnourished mothers, resulting in low birth weights in 21% of infants born in Pakistan, according to UNICEF. In 1995-2001, 38% of children under five were moderately and severely (13%) underweight.

Compounding the problem is poor feeding practices in infancy and early childhood. According to UNICEF, only 16% of babies are exclusively breastfed (given no other food or drink, not even water) for about six months. This denies babies not only the perfectly balanced source of nutrition, but also antibodies that protect against infection, such as diarrhea and acute respiratory infections.

Only 31% of mothers are breastfeeding along with complementary foods when their babies are 6-9 months of age, while 56% of mothers are still breastfeeding their child at 20-23 months of age. This indicates that many mothers wait too long to introduce complementary foods.

Breastfeeding rates in Pakistan have dropped considerably over the last 20-30 years. According to UNICEF's State of the World's Children 1986, between 1975-1983, 98% of mothers were breastfeeding their babies at 3 months, 96% at six months and 90% at 12 months. Note, however, that there was no distinction made regarding exclusive breastfeeding.

The decline is blamed largely on myths and misconceptions spread through years of extensive and aggressive marketing by the baby food industry.

national legislation implementing the International Code and related WHA resolutions in their entirety. With legislation in place, attention will turn to monitoring company compliance with the law, its enforcement and the punishment of

violators, keeping an eye in particular on the Infant Feeding Board's performance with a baby food industry representative as a member.

SPARC also hopes to enlist the support of

IBFAN ●

IBFAN is a coalition of 170 groups in 70 countries working to protect the rights of mothers and babies to breastfeed as a means of attaining the highest standards of health and development for infants and young children. IBFAN impresses upon governments to adopt and enforce legislation to give effect to the principles and aims of the International Code. The coalition monitors company compliance with the Code and reports violations

health professionals to eliminate industry pressures that interfere with their counsel on infant feeding. SPARC has always supported efforts to legally protect maternity leave and benefits, social support for mothers and facilities for working mothers. SPARC also believes that boycotts of corporations and products are one of the most powerful weapons available to the common man.

International Convention on the Marketing of BMS

At the WABA Global Forum on Children's Health: Children's Rights: Action for the 21st Century held in Bangkok, Thailand on December 2-6, 1996, SPARC called for an "International Convention on the Marketing of Breastmilk Substitutes".

The International Code was adopted as a compromise document. It is not binding, and is thus only a model or a recommended standard for the world community. The baby food industry has also found loopholes to exploit.

The Code has succeeded in at least achieving some voluntary compliance by the baby food industry. However, SPARC feels the Code has outlived its utility, and work should be initiated on a Convention on the Marketing of Breastmilk Substitutes. International Conventions are binding on the States that sign and ratify them, and subject to penalization.

A first draft can be based on the SAARC Model Code for the Protection of Breastfeeding and Young Child Nutrition and the Model Law developed by ICDC.

Chapter 2

Child Labor

Objectives

SPARC's objectives on child labor

- Protect every child from work that threatens his or her health, education or development.
- Encourage the government to set minimum ages for employment and regulate working conditions.
- Safeguard every child from all forms of exploitation.
- Oppose children's use of narcotic and psychotropic drugs, and their involvement drug production

Almost all children do some work. This is part of the normal process of growing up. But child labor implies something different: that children are being exploited, working long hours and under dangerous conditions, and missing vital years of education. Of course poverty is the driving force behind child labor. When family survival is at stake, everyone, however young or vulnerable, has to lend a hand. These children are deprived of their basic right to education and a healthy life.

Pakistan was considered to have one of the worst child labor problems in the region. It was realized that important steps needed to

be taken to end child labor and provide basic education to all children of Pakistan. SPARC took on the job of researching the problem and creating awareness to inspire people to take urgent, appropriate measures.

SPARC's Early Efforts

In the early nineties, child labor was a fairly unheard of subject in Pakistan, unreal as it may sound today. SPARC sought then effective abolition of child labor, and a minimum age for employment consistent with the physical and mental development of young persons. It accordingly called for the ratification of the Minimum Age Convention 1973 (No. 138) and the Minimum Age Recommendations 1973 (No. 146), and their subsequent implementation. It later played an active and a pivotal role in getting Pakistan to sign and ratify the



SPARC has concerns with the project approach to combating child labor. With 3.3 million child laborers officially acknowledged, and millions more potential child laborers, projects that target only thousands of children can hardly be expected to make a dent on the problem.

Macro-level policies and the political commitment and resources to implement them are required. Policies and interventions must recognize that child labor, illiteracy and poverty are intrinsically linked: no one problem can be solved without considering the other two, nor is it feasible to expect that solving any one issue will automatically solve the other two.

For instance, many people blame child labor and lack of education on poverty, failing to realize that child labor also contributes to poverty and illiteracy. Some people seem to believe that once poverty is alleviated, child labor will automatically vanish, or once quality education is made accessible, child laborers will immediately leave their work.

This is simply not the case. The three issues must be taken up in a complementary manner. Yet, surprisingly, there is little interaction, if any, between the labor, finance and education officials, ministries or agencies at any level: local, national or even international.

SPARC uses research, compilation and collection of material, dissemination of information, advocacy, and awareness raising to encourage the government to make serious efforts to combat this menace. SPARC aims also to alter impressions that efforts to oppose child labor are "Western" or attempts to hurt Pakistan's exports and economy. Ridding Pakistan of child labor is to the benefit of the entire country and is the only way country can hope to develop and prosper.

How many child laborers in Pakistan?

SPARC believes that the official figure of 3.3 million child laborers in Pakistan released in September 1996 is unrealistically low. With 25 million school-age children not attending school, it would be naïve to believe the actual number of child laborers is not higher than official figures suggest. Today, there are 250 million children between the ages of 5 and 14 working around the world. Sixty percent can be found in South Asia. According to the report Human Development in South Asia 1998, 19% of the world's child laborers were found in Pakistan. In 2003, UNICEF estimated that eight million children under the age of 14 are engaged as laborers (in brick kiln factories, the carpet weaving industry, agriculture, small industries, and domestic.

ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labor (No. 182).

SPARC became one of ILO IPEC's initial partners under its Mini Program and produced a brochure titled *The Conspiracy of Silence* in June 1995. A premier review of the major laws relating to child labor, the brochure was later translated into Urdu with the financial assistance of the Royal Netherlands Embassy and widely distributed before and during the Global

March Against Child Labor in 1998. In 1994, SPARC printed a poster titled Stop Child Labor with the help of UNICEF. SPARC also produced two audio-cassettes on the state of child labor in Pakistan with the financial assistance of ILO IPEC in July 1995. Subsequently, it published two brochures in Urdu titled *Our Responsibilities Towards Working Children and Safeguards for Children Working in Workshops*, with the financial assistance of the ILO and in collaboration with ANCE (Association of Network for Community Empowerment).

In January 1994, Member of the National Assembly Mr Shahid Khaqan Abbasi

introduced a Bill drafted by SPARC to amend the Constitution of Pakistan. This Amendment, if passed, would have amended Constitution's Article 11 (3) to read as follows:

“No child below the age of sixteen (16) years shall be permitted to be engaged in any kind of employment whatsoever any where in Pakistan for hire or reward.”

The Amendment was opposed by the then Benazir Bhutto Government and defeated on the floor of the National Assembly. Undeterred, SPARC continues to ask politicians and officials not only of Pakistan but also of other countries, particularly India, Bangladesh and Nepal, to upgrade their local laws and respective Constitutions along the lines of the above proposed Amendment.

The State of Child Labor in Islamabad

In 1995, SPARC conducted a pilot survey on the state of child labor in Islamabad.

Child labor laws?

SPARC's brochure *The Conspiracy of Silence* also makes it clear that it is a misconception that laws prohibiting child labor already exist in Pakistan.

As the publication shows, child labor is banned only in a small sector of employment where it has not been a problem for many years. In the rest of the sectors, particularly the informal sector, child labor is either totally unregulated, like in agriculture or domestic service, or regulated, meaning thereby that it is permitted.

Nevertheless, SPARC continues firmly to believe that child labor can be eliminated from Pakistan with political commitment and appropriate channeling of resources.

However, due to a lack of resources, the survey targeted only 100 children, so the findings presented only a small picture of a massive problem.

In the second half of 1996, with the financial assistance of Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, SPARC conducted a large-scale survey on child labor in the Islamabad Capital Territory, including some rural and small semi urban settlements within the periphery of the capital.

The survey targeted 400 working children under the age of 18 from 20 different localities and two villages in the periphery of the city. They were randomly selected on the basis of their availability, their willingness, and in some cases, the willingness of their employer. A special effort was made to interview at least 50 girls in order to collect specific information on female child laborers. SPARC published the survey findings in April 1997 in a report titled *Child Labor in Islamabad*. A second edition of this report was later published.

● Global March Against Child Labor

The Global March Against Child Labor in 1997 and 1998 was a tremendous success, raising awareness about child labor and influencing the ILO Labor Assembly's consideration of the Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labor. The mandate of the March was:

To mobilize world wide efforts to protect and promote the rights of all children, especially the right to receive a free and meaningful education and to be free from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be damaging to the child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development.

The Asian component of the March started from Manila in January 1998; and some 50 core marchers from 12 countries traveled through Vietnam, Cambodia, Thailand, Malaysia, Bangladesh, Nepal and India. SPARC was national coordinator of the March in Pakistan. NOVIB mainly funded SPARC's Global March related activities but ILO and NORAD also partly supported the effort.

The Federal Minister for Labor was present to welcome the Marchers as they entered Pakistan on April 13, 1998 and issued a statement expressing his resolve to eliminate child labor from the country.

SPARC invited people and organizations from cities that were not along the March route, especially the Frontier Province, also to join the Marchers. Even in towns where activities were not planned, the community organized a spontaneous gathering so that the message of the Global March could be shared.

After passing through Punjab, Sindh and Balochistan, the March left Pakistan for Iran on April 24, 1998. The March ultimately reached Geneva in June 1998 in time for the ILO Labor Assembly.

Handbook on child labor laws

Two editions of a handbook on the legal provisions of various laws concerning child labor, titled *Child Labor: The Legal Aspects*, were published with the help of Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, the first in 1997, the second in 1998. The book contains relevant excerpts of the laws, rules and international conventions with detailed footnotes, as well as similar information about India for comparison and inspiration. The purpose of this book was to create awareness, fill knowledge gaps and encourage the government to make efforts to enforce and implement all laws related to child labor.

Campaign for Child labor laws in FATA and PATA

One of SPARC's main campaigns at present is the extension of child labor laws to both the Federally Administered and the Provincially Administered Tribal Areas. SPARC partly succeeded in this respect by getting the Employment of Children Act

1991 extended to these areas and now is working for extension of its rules. In fact, despite the fact that the ECA was enacted in 1991, its rules were not notified in the NWFP until 2001, when SPARC single-handedly took up the issue with the concerned authorities in the Frontier Province.

The existence of child labor in the tribal areas was also taken up in a SPARC brochure, *Laws & Labor Issues in the Tribal Areas*. The brochure was also translated into Urdu and Pushto with the financial assistance of IPEC. It attempts to explain the problems that exist and the importance of the extension of relevant laws to these areas.

In collaboration with ILO, SPARC also designed and printed an advertisement on child labor in all major newspapers of the country. The purpose was simply to inspire and mobilize people to make efforts to eradicate the menace of child labor. A recent activity of SPARC with the financial cooperation of IPEC has been

● Global March Against Child Labor

In preparation for the Global March, SPARC convened a meeting on September 1, 1997 in Islamabad on the issue of child labor, in collaboration with Friedrich Naumann Stiftung. More than 40 NGOs from all over Pakistan participated.

One of the successful objectives of the consultation was to form a Coalition Against Child Labor, which brought together NGOs, trade unions, responsible businesses, public leaders, child laborers, and concerned citizens to combat child labor. Since child labor is considered to be rampant among the poor population of the country, it was established that NGOs from more remote areas would be projected.

Though it had convened the meeting that founded CACL, SPARC refused to coordinate the coalition, insisting it must be run on democratic lines. By 1999 the CACL was facing difficulties and SPARC accepted responsibility for coordinating the coalition for a year, which now boasts a membership of about 350 members. SPARC has served on a voluntary basis as its national secretariat since October 2001.

A brochure explaining the salient features of CACL, its membership criterion and other rules and regulations was prepared and distributed in 2002 with support from CIDA.

printing calendars and pocket calendars for the years 1999 and 2000 dedicated to the theme of child labor. In the 1999 calendar each month mentioned a particular aspect of child labor in the context of relevant laws. The 2000 calendar followed the same pattern but in the context of the ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labor. The purpose of these calendars was to create awareness, and inspire people to support the cause and work towards its elimination.

In 2001, a brochure titled *Bonded Labor: Free to Starve* was published with ACILS assistance. Its Urdu translation was also later produced and distributed. Apart from discussing the issue of bonded labor in Pakistan, the brochure also explains the salient features of the Bonded Labor System (Abolition) Act 1992. In 2003, a poster with the help of Anti Slavery International was published containing the salient features of the 1992 legislation on the subject.

In 2002, stickers declaring homes to be child labor free were printed with CIDA funding to address the neglected issue of domestic child labor.

Consultations and Conferences

On June 3, 1999, SPARC held a major Consultation in Islamabad questioning What Pakistan is Doing to Abolish Child Labor? The target audience was the donor, the international organizations working in the child rights arena and the diplomatic community based in Pakistan; the government officials were invited to respond to queries posed by the participants.

The same year in 1999, on September 8 and 9, 1999, SPARC organized its first-ever international Conference on the State of Child Labor in South Asia in that the International Coordinator of the March, Mr Kailash Satyarthi and the then Nepal National Coordinator and now the Regional South Asian Coordinator of the Global March, Mr Gauri Pradhan, and ACILS Mr William Conklin were the international participants. The Conference itself was inaugurated by the then Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Mr Sartaj Aziz. The American and the Canadian Ambassadors were some of the other key speakers. The Conference deliberations were later published in the form of a book titled *The State of Child*

Documentary: The Silent Scream

The first documentary ever produced by SPARC, on the subject of child labor, was launched on June 5, 2003, at the same time as its annual State of Pakistan's Children report.

Produced with support from ACILS, the 20-minute documentary serves as a sad reminder of how pervasive child labor is in the Pakistani society. It reveals children working to make the carpets, bangles, surgical instruments and many other items that have become a part of our every day life.

Feedback on the documentary has been positive, and other NGOs and individuals concerned by the prevalence of child labor in Pakistan have requested copies to show at their various activities and meetings.

Labor in South Asia with the financial cooperation of ACILS.

On June 10, 2000, it organized a meeting in Lahore on the ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labor and urged the chief guest present there, the then Federal Labor Minister, Mr Omar Asghar Khan, to adopt, sign and ratify the Convention. SPARC consistently kept in touch with the Federal Labor Minister and the Federal Minister for Social Welfare, Dr Attiya Inayatullah and circulated, with ACILS assistance, more than 20,000 copies of a brochures in English and Urdu, highlighting the contents of the Convention and the efforts bore fruit when Pakistan signed and ratified the Convention in August 2001.

Child Labor-Free Week

In 1999 SPARC organized for the first time in Pakistan weeklong activities under the title, Child Labor Free Week, from November 13 to 20. The activities were mainly funded with the help of the ILO and ACILS. Eleven thousand posters in Urdu were distributed all over Pakistan highlighting the issue of child labor, along with 24,000 bumper stickers and several hundred banners made by SPARC but distributed nationwide. SPARC organized activities such as a trade union consultation in Lahore with the active cooperation of ACILS, which was attended by all the country's major trade union federations, a seminar in Hyderabad, Sindh and a meeting in Tando Jam on November 15, and

US bills to combat child labor in other countries

Lawmakers in the United States have been trying for years to introduce bills that would prohibit the import of products made with the help of child labor. The summaries of four such US laws and proposed laws were published as brochures by SPARC in May 1998 with assistance from ACILS, first in English and later in Urdu. The brochures were titled: The Harkin Bill, The International Child Labor Elimination Act, The Child Labor Free Consumer Information Act, and The Sanders Amendment.

In August 1992, Senator Tom Harkin introduced the first US bill dealing with child labor in other countries, titled the US Child Labor Deterrence Act. Also known as The Harkin Bill, it is an effort by the United States to halt the import of goods made by children under the age of 15 years. SPARC's brochure The Harkin Bill explains the proposed law, which is being introduced in the US Congress every year since 1993.

US Senator Tom Harkin in April 1996 also introduced the Child Labor Free Consumer Information Bill, which would compel manufacturers to adopt a voluntary labeling system to inform American consumers of wearing apparel or sporting goods that the product was made without abusive and exploitative child labor. The Child Labor Free Consumer Information Act, SPARC's brochure, explains the purpose of the law.

In October 1997,
The Bonded

a meeting in Lahore on November 19 that was attended by the Consul General of the United States. Another trade union consultation was held in Lahore on January 28, 2001.

Since then, SPARC has annually organized meetings and assisted other organizations, especially its CRCs, financially and otherwise in holding meetings, arranging seminars and other activities, displaying banners and mobilizing people in the struggle to combat child labor. This has been made possible mainly with the help of grants from CIDA, ACILS, and Anti Slavery International.

Recognition

SPARC's efforts have been recognized nationally and internationally. It was asked to present its views as a key speaker at the announcement of the National Policy on Child Labor in May 2000 and the National Policy on the Abolition of Bonded Labor in November 2001. It has been a member of the IPEC National Steering Committee, the Committee on the Rights of the Child under the Employment of Children Act, and the committee formed to frame the National Plan of Action. It continues to act as the National Coordinator of the Global March Against Child Labor movement in Pakistan.

Chapter 3

Child Rights

SPARC's Objectives on Child Rights

- Protect the right of every child to express his or her opinion freely and to have that opinion taken into account in any matter affecting the child.
- Protect the child's right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion, subject to appropriate parental guidance.
- Protect the right of every child to join or form associations.
- Promote every child's right to protection from interference with privacy, family, home and correspondence.
- Help organize people in national and international solidarity in order to secure changes that protect and promote the rights of children.
- Foster every child's right to accessibility of information and material from a diversity of sources;
- Influence the mass media to disseminate information beneficial to the child and to protect the child from harmful materials; and
- Defend the right of every child to express his or her views, obtain information, make ideas or information known, regardless of frontiers

● Dialogue with senior UNICEF Advisor



In 1994, Special Advisor to the UNICEF Executive Director, Ms Teresa Albanez, visited Pakistan. SPARC held a Consultation in Islamabad on October 17 that afforded more than 100 participants representing about 30 NGOs to have an interactive dialogue with her and the then UNICEF Representative in Pakistan.

UN CRC

In late 1988, SPARC's Mr Anees Jillani and Ms Naila Ruvi compared the draft provisions of the UN CRC with all of Pakistan's laws. The comprehensive study concluded that no major provision of any law in Pakistan was in conflict with any UN CRC principle, and the Government of Pakistan should therefore have no hesitation in signing and ratifying the CRC.

The study, published by UNICEF in November 1989, titled Pakistani Laws and the Convention on the Rights of the Child, encouraged the Government decision to sign the UN CRC on July 18, 1990. Copies of the study had been circulated among Cabinet members to persuade them to approve the proposal to sign and later to ratify the UN CRC. The Government of Pakistan continues to claim this Review as one of its accomplishments in terms of compliance with the CRC.

Since its inception, then, SPARC has been creating awareness about the UN CRC and lobbying for implementation of its provisions. To this end, SPARC has

organized six major national conferences in Islamabad and Peshawar and numerous provincial and local-level consultations all over the country, but particularly in the Frontier and Punjab provinces, on various child rights topics. SPARC has produced numerous publications, including:

- Numerous brochures in English, Urdu, Sindhi and Pushto on a variety of issues,
- Pakistan's first and only magazine exclusively devoted to child rights issues, published biannually,
- Quarterly newsletters in English, Urdu, Sindhi and sometimes Nepali from Kathmandu,
- Books on child rights topics,
- Annual The State of Pakistan's Children reports based on monitoring developments relating to children in Pakistan and, to some extent, in Afghanistan.

SPARC Takes Shape

SPARC started its donor-funded activities in June 1994, when UNICEF started to fund SPARC, and hired some full time staff. Monitoring of various national newspapers in relation to news about children and human rights was started and which continues till to date. Effective monitoring helps in keeping the organization abreast of the developments taking place in the various sectors.

The natural next step was to take up the issues raised in the news items by writing letters and visiting concerned officials to bring about policy change.

To create awareness and support its lobbying, SPARC encourages journalists and its own staff to write newspaper articles on child rights.

● Networks

SPARC is part of major networks relating to children, including:

- Child Workers in Asia
- Anti Slavery International
- Amnesty International
- Defense for Children International
- NGO Group on the CRC
- Global March Against Child Labor
- IBFAN
- Global Campaign for Education
- CRIN
- UN Department of Public Information
- CIVICUS
- Consortium for Street Children
- Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers
- OMCT

PUBLICATIONS

SPARC Newsletter

The quarterly SPARC Newsletter has come a long way from its first issue in August 1994, when it was called SPARC. Originally published only in English, the Urdu version has been published since Issue 8/September 1996 and the Sindhi version since Issue 22/March 2000. A Nepali version is published sporadically from Kathmandu.

From its initial circulation of 1,000 readers,

the Newsletter distribution has now gone up to 2,000 each in English and Urdu and 1,000 in Sindhi. It is mailed mainly to five kinds of groups: interested individuals, NGOs interested in child rights, relevant international NGOs, government authorities, and all members of the National and Provincial Assemblies, Senators and other politicians.

The newsletter contains only news and information on child rights in Pakistan and around the world and about the activities of SPARC and its CRCs. It has been widely

● The State of Pakistan's Children

The State of Pakistan's Children, perhaps SPARC's hallmark publication, is an annual report published since 1997 on the condition of children in Pakistan. It cites examples of children's rights being violated alongside measures to protect them and leaves it to readers to draw their own conclusions. Facts and figures are discussed in the larger context of issues affecting children.

Compiled from the media, reports and first hand information, the report serves as a measure of the importance given to child rights in Pakistan from year to year and a reminder of the immense work that remains to be done. The report also outlines government efforts to protect child rights and points out gaps and shortcomings.

The report helps fill the earlier gap in the availability of information on child rights. Few organizations and governmental agencies are doing research on this subject, and SPARC's annual publication is an attempt to fill this gap.

The idea of publishing an annual report on the state of children in Pakistan came in late 1996. With meager resources SPARC was able to produce and publish the first edition, The State of Pakistan's Children 1997, by January 1998. The report has been supported by NORAD since January 1997.

Topics covered in The State of Pakistan's Children 1997 included child rights, child labor, child abuse, education, girl child, juvenile justice, health, disability, and children and war. A historical perspective was also given in order to give an idea about progress being made in various areas.

New topics were introduced along with these in subsequent reports, such as refugee children, media and children, violence, drugs, street children, environment and children, and children in Afghanistan. The sixth edition of the report, State of Pakistan's Children 2002, for the first time contains a chapter on poverty and what it means for children.

appreciated and has proven to be one of SPARC's most effective and useful activities.

Initially published with UNICEF assistance, the newsletter was supported by the Royal Netherlands Embassy from July 1995 to July 1997. The Dutch grant enabled SPARC to start publishing the Urdu newsletter in Urdu from September 1996. CIDA has supported the Urdu newsletter since March 1998.

NORAD took up the newsletter in December 1996 and also supports Discourse, SPARC's biannual magazine devoted exclusively to child rights, published regularly since the first issue in June 1997.

Child Rights in Pakistan

In early 2000, SPARC published a book written by Ms Zarina Jillani and Mr Anees Jillani titled Child Rights in Pakistan. Based on extensive research, the book presents the historical, international and Pakistan perspectives along with the status of children in the country and examines the laws relating to child rights. Friedrich Naumann Stiftung funded the book.

Brochures

With CIDA's cooperation, SPARC has published brochures on the salient features of the UN CRC both in English (Know Your Rights) and Urdu (two editions), an Urdu brochure on the issue of child soldiers; three brochures in English and Urdu about education (Education Isn't Working; Compulsory Education Compulsions, Education Teaches You to Walk Alone, brochures highlighting for the first time in Pakistan the issue of corporal punishment (Corporal Punishment: The Dark Side of Discipline, Is Corporal Punishment Useful for Children? and World Movement Against Corporal Punishment) and a bookmark reading Hitting can Hurt for a Lifetime, and brochures in English and Urdu on Death Penalty for Children in Pakistan.

ACILS, an affiliate of the largest American trade union AFL-CIO, has been supporting SPARC since May 1998. Apart from supporting several major conferences, consultations and seminars relating to child rights and child labor, ACILS has supported several SPARC publications. One of which was a book titled Lengthening Shadows: Poverty-Affected Children, which is a

SPARC's Objectives on Child Abuse

- Oppose child abuse, and lobby for the establishment and promotion of appropriate social programs for the prevention of abuse and the treatment of victims.
- Prevent the sale, trafficking and abduction of children.
- Oppose the sexual exploitation and abuse of children, including prostitution and involvement in pornography.

compilation of papers read by participants at two national conferences organized by SPARC on October 14-15, 2000 (Poverty-Affected Children) and on February 9-10, 2002 (Impact of Macro-Economic Policies on Children).

Children's Participation

Knowledge is the key to a lot of doors: to understand any situation, information is always required. The majority of children do not have access to information, partly because the public does not consider it important to educate the children on various topics and issues.

SPARC Club, exclusively for children, was formed in 1994 to encourage children's participation and right to self-expression, especially concerning their rights. The Club produced a newsletter, wrote several letters to the editors and articles in newspapers. The Club unfortunately could not survive after almost all of the active members went abroad for higher studies.

SPARC also contacted schools in Islamabad to promote child rights in general, and the UN CRC provisions in particular. In this regard, SPARC's staff member maintained a close liaison with selected schools where SPARC had already met the management and lectured the students about the UN CRC. SPARC also showed video films on the plight of children in schools. The purpose was to inform the children and

help them understand the severity of the situation. This exercise allowed for extensive discussions on the subject, thus spreading knowledge to both adults and children. SPARC had UN CRC messages printed on the back of the notebooks of a major private school in Islamabad. This project was discontinued when the UNICEF funding stopped, but restarted with NORAD support in early 2002.

In 1994, to celebrate the Universal Children's Day, SPARC on November 18 held a Fun Fair. It was a startling success with a turnout of more than 5,000 people, mostly children. More than 15 NGOs, 10 schools and commercial organizations set-up stalls at the Fair.

SPARC also convinced NAFDEC to hold a Children's Film Festival and collected children's films from various foreign missions. The children's film festival, the first ever in Pakistan, was held from November 20 to 24, 1994. NAFDEC provided the hall, while SPARC brought children from more than 20 schools over a period of five days.

The UN CRC started to apply to Pakistan from December 12, 1990. To commemorate this day in 1994, SPARC took children to visit the National Assembly and the Senate to witness and experience first hand the parliamentary proceedings.



At the same time, SPARC also published its first poster, designed by Hunerkada's Mr Jamal Shah on the theme Child Rights are Human Rights and supported by UNICEF. SPARC also distributed badges reading Child Rights and Don't Hit Kids among school children.

CRCs

About two years ago, SPARC started to organize CRCs (Child Rights Committees) in various districts of the Frontier and the Punjab in an attempt to establish groups of activists who could independently follow up on child rights related issues in their locality. Recently re-organized, the CRCs sign contracts with SPARC under which the CRCs agree to undertake certain tasks and activities in their respective districts to promote and protect child rights. SPARC in turn provides the CRC with literature, capacity-building training and an honorarium to cover some operational expenses. The CRCs are expected also to mobilize resources locally and to initiate their own activities to promote and protect child rights.

One of the major areas of SPARC interest

remains the adoption, enforcement and implementation of the UN CRC in Pakistan and other South Asian countries. In this respect, it is constantly trying to raise awareness about the Convention and is part of various governmental initiatives in this connection. SPARC was part of the Government's Steering Committee on UNGASS since its inception on July 18, 2000, and a member of the Government delegation that represented Pakistan in the General Assembly in the Special Session in May 2002; and a member of Pakistan's Committee on the Rights of the Child. At the time, SPARC with the cooperation of CRIN and Friedrich Naumann Stiftung published and widely distributed a booklet titled Time For Action: The World Fit For Children which was a translation of a similar CRIN publication.

Violence Against Children

In July 2002, SPARC launched a campaign against corporal punishment, inspired by the Global Initiative to End Corporal Punishment. The objectives of the campaign was to raise awareness about and bring an end to this socially and culturally accepted

method of disciplining children at home and in schools. SPARC sought a ban of corporal punishment from schools and other institutions including work places, extension to children of "Adult Protection Laws Against Assault" and the inclusion of child rights as a course syllabus in schools.

SPARC wrote to federal and provincial ministers for social welfare and provincial governors, seeking their support and cooperation in the campaign, and received a positive response. Three brochures, one in English and two in Urdu, were published on the subject and distributed nationwide.

On International Day Against Child Labor, November 19, SPARC issued a statement and held press conferences calling on the government to ban corporal punishment in all education institutions and to repeal section 89 of the Pakistan Penal Code, which allows physical punishment in schools.

In collaboration with the Human Rights Studies Center, University of Peshawar, SPARC held a one-day conference in Peshawar on Violence Against Children on January 20, 2003. The Governor of NWFP was the chief guest, while speakers

included representatives for various national and international NGOs working in Pakistan, the Charge d'Affaires of the Norwegian Embassy and senior federal and provincial governmental officials as well as a speaker from the UK-based Consortium for Street Children.

Child Sexual Abuse

"In their little worlds in which children have their existence," Charles Dickens writes in *Great Expectations*, "there is nothing so finely perceived and so finely felt, as injustice." What can be more unjust than a child being sexually abused?

According to recent reports, child abuse is not only a widely practiced phenomenon in Pakistan despite its Islamic antecedents but also on the rise. However, rarely is the problem addressed since the topic is socially and culturally taboo, and there is an incorrect impression that the problem does not exist.

Indicative of SPARC's keen opposition to child abuse, one of its first activities upon securing UNICEF funding in 1994 was to produce a publication titled *Children in Danger: The Sexual Abuse of Children* with the help of Ms Anusheh Hussain. This is a taboo subject; and this brochure was probably the first of its kind in the country. However, SPARC has not been as active in this area lately since there are several NGOs working in this field in Islamabad alone.

In October 2002, SPARC with the financial assistance of Friedrich Naumann Stiftung published a detailed report on the Second World Congress on the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children that was held in Yokohoma in December 2001.

Chapter 4

Global Campaign for Education- GAW

Girls' education in Pakistan

In Pakistan, there are more than 70 million illiterate adults and around 70% of them are women. More than four million girls of school-going age are not attending school. In the year 2001-2002 only 49% of boys and 27% of girls completed their primary education. Only 36% of teachers are female. Pakistan spends only 2.2% of the GDP on education.

Global Campaign for Education

The Global Campaign for Education is a not-for-profit association made up of many separate civil society organizations including campaign groups, charities, trade unions, churches and other religious groups. It has members all across the world, and its aim is to ensure that everyone in the world has the chance of a basic education.

Each year it organizes a Global Action Week on a different theme to draw attention to different concerns about education and to encourage governments to work towards their Education For All goals.

As National Coordinator for Global March, a founding member of GCE, SPARC has organized activities during the Action Week since 2000.

Global Action Week 2000

Two brochures about the state of education in Pakistan, titled Education Isn't Working and Education Teaches You to Walk Alone, were published. Five thousand copies were published in English and 10,000 in Urdu and distributed to civil society organizations and governmental agencies throughout the country.

Two major consultations on Quality



Education for All were organized in Lahore on May 6 in collaboration with SAHE and in Peshawar on June 17. Both were attended by representatives of the Provincial Education Departments, NGOs, journalists, general public and the Provincial Education Ministers.

Participants had a chance to openly interact with the Provincial Ministers and to explore avenues for mutual cooperation between government and civil society. The government was also able to learn about the importance of community participation in education and to understand the important role civil society can play in helping the government to provide universal education in Pakistan.

Essentially, the government, the civil society, media and general public had an opportunity to realize their responsibilities and roles in attaining the goal of Quality Education For All.

Global Action Week 2001

In addition to again printing brochures in English and Urdu on education themes, to mark the Global Action Week in 2001, SPARC arranged a series of 10 radio programs on FM-100 in which children

participated. The children were asked questions about child rights and education and children who gave correct answers were given prizes (books and calculators) or small cash prizes.

Global Action Week 2003

Global Action Week 2003 was held April 6-13 with the slogan "Hands Up for Girls' Education" to mobilize support for gender parity in classrooms and to gain support for education for girls.

Central to the Action week was the World's Biggest Lesson, on April 9, when adults and children around the world attempted to break the world record for the largest, simultaneous lesson. An incredible 1.8 million people heard the message calling for sending more and more girls to school to break the vicious cycle of illiteracy and poverty, which has put fetters on the minds and lives of millions of children all over the world. The previous record for biggest lesson was 28,801.

Global Action Week 2003 in Pakistan

SPARC focused its Action Week activities around the World's Biggest Lesson, with the

following objectives:

- To create public awareness about the hurdles to girls' education;
- To strengthen our ongoing project of creating a group of school children sensitized about child rights;
- To remind the Government of Pakistan of its commitment to achieve Gender Parity in education.

SPARC involved its CRCs, schools, non-governmental organizations, Pakistan Girl Guides, universities and institutions to help carry the World's Biggest Lesson to the maximum number of people throughout the country. SPARC's target was 40,000, but it was able to mobilize nearly 60,000 participants, breaking the previous world record in Pakistan alone! The feedback from the participants and local organizers of the event were extremely positive and enthusiastic.

The Action Week leaflet and sticker were translated into Urdu and distributed (50,000 leaflets, 45,000 stickers) among participants of the World's Largest Lesson and other Action Week activities.

SPARC made 200 banners bearing slogans about education in general and girls' education in particular. These were displayed in various cities and towns across Punjab and NWFP. Some of SPARC's CRCs also arranged rallies, debate contests and seminars to mark the Action Week.

Following the Action Week, SPARC wrote to the Federal Minister of Education, to inform her of the successful event that represents mass support for girls' education and to remind the government of its Education For All commitments.

Juvenile Justice

Section 82 of the Pakistan Penal Code

“According to section 82 of the Pakistan Penal Code, a child as young as seven years can be prosecuted. Consequently, any child this age or older can be arrested and placed in an adult jail for a petty crime. This has led to a gross human rights violation where many children face physical and mental abuse.”

Juvenile Justice

The juvenile section of Adiala Jail, Rawalpindi, was the first visited by SPARC, in July 1994.

The condition of the jail was good, as it was new at that time, but the way the children were kept and their lack of activities in the ward was disappointing. SPARC returned to the ward that August to distribute indoor

games and other toys, like footballs. Games and toys were distributed in Sahiwal Jail in October of the same year, following a preliminary visit in August.

SPARC also initiated a legal aid program and was able to have about ten children bailed out from Adiala Jail. However, the children whose bails were accepted could not be released as sureties for the children were unavailable: a problem that SPARC continues to face till this day. Apart from bail petitions, SPARC followed the cases of almost all juvenile prisoners at Adiala for almost a year and found that cases generally are held up because of police delays in submitting challans to the relevant courts.

SPARC has also lobbied the relevant provincial governments for the extension of juvenile laws to Balochistan and the

Frontier Province, as well as for implementation of existing laws in the Punjab and Sindh. SPARC also urges all four provincial governments to provide better facilities to young female offenders, who are currently kept with adult prisoners.

Survey on the Juvenile Prisoners

Since there were no figures available regarding the number of juvenile prisoners in the country, SPARC with the help of NORAD in 1997 carried out a Survey on Juvenile Prisoners in 51 jails in all four provinces. SPARC was not granted access, however, to jails in the interior Sindh.

The survey found that there were 3,433 juvenile prisoners languishing in the jails surveyed. Prior to this survey, the first of its kind, estimates of the number of juvenile prisoners were extremely exaggerated, ranging from 5,000 to 50,000.

The juvenile prisoners were found to be living in most degrading conditions. They had no chance of rehabilitation, and often the punishment was too severe for the crimes committed. Some were even accused of crimes that realistically a child of such a tender age could not possibly be involved in.

Cries Unheard

A book titled Cries Unheard: Juvenile Justice in Pakistan was SPARC's response to the dearth of information on juvenile justice in Pakistan. Published in December 1999 with a grant from DFID (Department for International Development-UK), Cries Unheard examines the plight of juvenile prisoners and the need to improve their condition and the treatment of them. It discusses not only the historical and current aspects of the system, but also theories on juvenile delinquency. It also reviews the relevant laws concerning juveniles in Pakistan and their lack of enforcement.

SPARC used the grant also to study the profile the juvenile prisoner population and the condition of juvenile prisons, which it plans to publish within 2003 with the assistance of Consortium for Street Children. The publication is titled Waiting for the Sunrise: Juvenile Justice in Pakistan.

Juvenile Justice Project with SDC

In September 2000, SPARC signed an agreement with SDC to address the issue of juvenile justice. SPARC staff and its CRC partners started regular visits to the juvenile sections of jails in the Frontier and



the Punjab provinces. This was a major breakthrough, particularly in the case of the Frontier Province, where the state of juvenile prisoners had so far been neglected.

After the Musharraf Government enacted the JJSO in July 2000, SPARC played an active role in getting Rules notified under the Ordinance in all the four provinces. In January 2000, the Punjab Youthful Offenders Ordinance was notified after lobbying by SPARC and with the support of SPARC Board member, Ms Shaheen Attiqur Rehman, who had become the Minister for Social Welfare in the Punjab. The law had not been enforced since 1983 as the relevant notification was not being issued.

Since the initiation of the SDC Project, SPARC and its CRC partners have been organizing frequent meetings and consultations on this subject at the Provincial and grassroot level. Print media journalists are made aware about the issue through training, press conferences and informal contacts. SPARC also works closely with the Provincial Governments in this arena.

An ongoing SPARC activity is improving conditions for juvenile prisoners, such as by improving the conditions of toilets or the jail cells or providing water coolers, fans, exhaust fans, indoor games and books. SPARC is also launching educational programs in some jails. In 2002, SPARC also visited some jails in interior Sindh to provide some material assistance.

Three brochures, *The Sindh Children's Act 1955; The Juvenile Justice System Ordinance 2000; and the Punjab Youthful Offenders Ordinance 1983*, were printed in 2001 in both English and Urdu with the support from SDC. In 2003, 15,000 copies more of the JJSO brochure were re-printed in Urdu with some information about the Rules. Also in 2001, SPARC printed a table calendar with a juvenile justice theme with the help of Friedrich Naumann Stiftung.

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