

Haiti's Model Communities

Ending *Restavèk* Child Domestic Servitude

Monitoring & Evaluation Project Report
Best Practices and Lessons Learned
March 2014



U.S. State Department
Office to Monitor and Combat
Trafficking in Persons (J/TIP)



Free the Slaves liberates slaves, helps them rebuild their lives, and transforms the social, economic and political forces that allow slavery to persist. We support community-driven interventions in partnership with local groups that help people to sustainable freedom and dismantle a region's system of slavery. We convince governments, international development organizations and businesses to implement key changes required for global eradication. We document and disseminate leading-edge practices to help the anti-slavery movement work more effectively. We raise awareness and promote action by opinion leaders, decision makers and the public. Free the Slaves is showing the world that ending slavery is possible.



Fondasyon Limyè Lavi (FLL) is a Haitian foundation established in 1992. FLL operates in the following areas: child protection, formal and alternative education, advocacy and organizational capacity building. We work primarily in the most remote and marginalized rural communities in the country to combat child domestic servitude known as *restavèk*. One of the priorities of the Foundation is to support the poor to become “Model Communities” where families, community leaders and members who live there develop strategies to improve their socioeconomic conditions and protect and defend the rights of the child.



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A 12-minute mini-documentary video (in English and Haitian Creole) has been produced to showcase the Model Communities approach in action. It is available for online viewing at www.freetheslaves.net/haiti.

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Acronyms

CPC	Child Protection Committee
ESK	<i>Edikasyon se yon Konvèsasyon</i> – “Education is a Conversation” participatory learning method
ESK-DT	Child Rights Series of the ESK methodology
ESK-SR	Reproductive Health Series of the ESK methodology
FLL	Fondasyon Limyè Lavi
FTS	Free the Slaves
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ILO	International Labor Organization
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease

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Executive Summary



Restavèk is a traditional system in which Haitian children are sent by parents to live with other families and work for them as domestic servants. In many cases, *restavèk* becomes child trafficking and forced labor slavery, where children are completely controlled through violence and exploited by members of the households where they work. Estimates¹ of the number of children living in *restavèk* range from 150,000 to 300,000—two-thirds of whom are girls. Despite Haitian law and Haiti's signature on international codes that specifically prohibit the practice, *restavèk* continues largely unchecked.

In 2011, Free the Slaves began a three-year project in partnership with Fondasyon Limyè Lavi (FLL) entitled "Freedom for Haiti's Children: Community

Action to End Slavery Locally and Nationally," funded by the U.S. State Department Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons (J/TIP). The project aimed to prevent and reverse the flow of children from Haitian source communities into *restavèk* slavery. The project utilized a holistic method for community development that is one of the first of its kind in Haiti: the Model Communities approach. It was designed through an analysis of the risk factors that underlie the sending of children into *restavèk*, as well as family and community support needed to prevent this phenomenon and assist families in retrieving children. This report provides the results of an evaluation of the Freedom for Haiti's Children project and the effectiveness of the Model Communities approach.

Key Project Results and Evaluation Findings

- An estimated 27 percent of the children in villages reached by the project who were initially identified as being in *restavèk* are now back home. The sending of children into *restavèk* has decreased.
- The children's rights participatory learning method, in which 525 community members participated, was very effective at shifting norms by improving attitudes and behaviors related to children's rights. Reported desirable behavior, such as better treatment of children, increased by 29 percentage points. This stimulated retrievals in all communities where there were *restavèks* to recover.
- Child protection committees were formed in each community to actively engage in efforts to prevent the sending of children into *restavèk*, to support returned children's reintegration and to promote overall child welfare.

- A reproductive health participatory learning module was included in the project because family size and parental health can affect whether children are sent into *restavèk*. The intervention increased knowledge among approximately 500 participants about reproductive health, including how to prevent pregnancy and STDs; created a shift among participants toward attitudes favorable of family planning and prevention of STDs; and helped change behavior, including increased use of birth control.
- An accelerated education component provided a complete year of nearly-free education to an average of 148 children each year, helping to retain at-risk children in their communities of origin. It also contributed strongly to the reintegration of children who have returned from *restavèk* by serving 53 percent of the returnees in the communities assessed.
- Returned children reported overwhelmingly that they feel happier to be home with their families, feel freedom that they didn't experience when they were in *restavèk*, and are glad to be in school. Children enjoy positive relationships with peers and siblings.
- Parents are facing difficulties in providing for returned children as a result of underproductive farmland and little to no work opportunities.

Lessons Learned and Recommendations

The outcomes attained during this project demonstrate program effectiveness. Lessons learned during the project and evaluation point to the need to refine components of the Model Communities approach.

Community-Based Assessment	Standardize the use of social mapping and participatory wealth ranking exercises for use at baseline, follow-up and end-line, incorporating slight adjustments. Use the data to conduct follow-up verification, to constitute caseloads for tracking, and to target project activities.
Education is a Conversation (ESK)	Ensure that the risk of overly directive facilitation is properly managed in order to maximize participation by all community members. Simplify monitoring and evaluation for ESK.
Reproductive Health	Ensure that real or perceived barriers to access to birth control are addressed, including resistance from religious leaders and spousal partners.
Child Protection Committees	Ensure that returnee households have access to adequate psychosocial support.
Accelerated Education	Increase education investments at the design stage to boost quality and success rates. Continue to reinforce the standard of non-violent discipline within classes. Enhance relevance by incorporating hands-on life skills. Seek to deliver all classes in the morning.
Advocacy	Ensure that the stated and intended focus, targets and materials for grassroots advocacy align with core concerns and capacity of affected communities.
Livelihoods	Ensure that all future Model Communities projects include livelihoods programming targeting the most vulnerable—including households that retrieve children.
M & E, Exit Strategy	Define a timeline and criteria for exiting project communities. Focus overall M&E on learning first, with key accountability points second.

Introduction



Restavèk in Haiti

Restavèk is a traditional system in which children are sent from home to live and work elsewhere, most often from impoverished rural families to wealthier urban families seeking a domestic servant. In many cases, *restavèk* becomes child trafficking and forced labor, meeting international criteria for slavery:² many *restavèk* children are completely controlled through violence and exploited by members of the households where they work. Often far from home, isolated and excluded within their own environments, children in *restavèk* slavery have no viable options, are under physical control, and thus cannot walk away. *Restavèk* slaves are abused physically, verbally, emotionally and sexually;

forced to do age-inappropriate chores; not sent to school; and treated as inferior to the children of the “host” or receiving family.

The Haitian government has estimated that 150,000 children have been living in *restavèk* servitude. The Pan American Development Foundation has estimated the figure of urban *restavèks* to be 225,000, two-thirds of them girls.³ The National Coalition for Haitian rights has estimated the number of urban and rural *restavèks* nationwide to be 300,000.

The U.S. Labor Department conducted a qualitative study including current and former *restavèk* children, in both sending families and receiving families, to understand the root causes and factors that maintain the *restavèk* system.⁴ Sending families cited poverty or inability to look after their children as the principal drivers of their decision to send their children away, conditions which they reported often resulted from the death of one parent, parental unemployment due to injury or disability, familial discord and/or the consequences of the 2010 earthquake. Receiving families cited the need for inexpensive domestic labor to manage the household of relatively large families, as well as their intention to offer a goodwill gesture to provide children with a much needed home.



Haitian Law and Protection Mechanisms for *Restavèk*

Haiti is party to the Universal Declaration on Human Rights⁵ and the Convention on the Rights of the Child.⁶ Haiti has also ratified the International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention Concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labor⁷ (Convention 182), and the ILO Minimum Age Convention⁸ (Convention 138). Each of these conventions prohibits child slavery and servitude and provides for children to have the right to education and the right to be free from degrading and inhumane treatment.

In accordance with these international conventions, in 2003 Haiti passed the Act on the Prohibition and Elimination of All Forms of Abuse, Violence, Ill-treatment or Inhumane Treatment against Children,⁹

which prohibits servitude, forced or compulsory labor, and the use of children in criminal activities or armed conflict. The act also criminalizes child trafficking and the recruitment of children for sexual exploitation, such as pornography, and for illicit activities. However, there are no penalties established for committing abuse and violence against children through any of the crimes discussed in the act. It should be noted that the first article in the act annuls Chapter 9 of the Haitian Labor Code,¹⁰ which contained specific stipulations guiding the treatment, rights and privileges of a child working in domestic service. The intent was to make illegal any child domestic service, but as a result, there are no longer minimum guidelines for what a child deserves when working in domestic service.



Despite the existence of these measures, which should assure the eradication of *restavèk* and the protection of all children, the *restavèk* practice continues largely unchecked. The continued lack of legislation prohibiting all forms of human trafficking, as well as a lack of formal protections for trafficking victims, remain serious problems. An anti-trafficking bill has been introduced, but has not passed the Haitian parliament. However, there are indications of the government of Haiti's commitment to building upon existing efforts. The Haitian Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor-led

working group on *restavèk* (*Table Sectorielle Sur Les Enfants en Domesticté*) launched a process to develop a national plan to eradicate *restavèk* in Haiti by 2030. This plan will extend over 15 years and is aligned with the national strategic plan for Haiti's development. The working group has completed a draft of the national plan. In addition, the creation of an inter-ministerial group to address human trafficking and officials' stated commitment to passage and implementation of anti-trafficking legislation may lead to improved results in the future.

Partnership between Free the Slaves and Fondasyon Limyè Lavi to Address Restavèk

In 2011, FTS began a three-year project in partnership with FLL entitled "Freedom for Haiti's Children: Community Action to End Slavery Locally and Nationally," funded by the U.S. State Department Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons (J/TIP). The FTS-FLL project supports broader and longer-term FLL child protection programming to pilot the Model Communities methodology in Haiti, an effort involving 12 communities in two communes. The FTS-FLL partnership activities evaluated in this report were implemented in six¹¹ rural communities around Jacmel, with work in three of them reflecting a continuation of efforts initiated in previous years (May 2009 to May 2011) under an earlier J/TIP grant.¹²

The goal of the FTS-FLL project was to "prevent and reverse the flow of children from Haitian source communities into *restavèk* slavery through an approach that recognizes and reinforces the strength of those most severely affected—*restavèk* children and their families and communities." The project was structured around three objectives:

Objective 1: Develop, test, and refine an effective grassroots-based model for source community resistance and response to *restavèk* slavery that

reduces the sending of children into the *restavèk* system and increases reintegration of former *restavèk* children.

Objective 2: Document and promote an effective, grassroots-based model for community resistance and response to *restavèk* slavery in local, national and international forums.

Objective 3: Strengthen advocacy for passage of an effective legislative framework to combat *restavèk* slavery by perspectives and priorities from communities and individuals most affected by the *restavèk* system.

Free the Slaves conducted an evaluation of the most recent three-year period of the "Freedom for Haiti's Children" project. This report is intended to disseminate the findings of that evaluation, highlight the best practices that emerged through the project, provide recommendations for other organizations wishing to adopt the project strategies and develop programs that address the root causes of *restavèk*.

Model Communities Approach



The program design that undergirds the “Freedom for Haiti’s Children” project is the Model Communities approach—a holistic model for community development that is one of the first of its kind in Haiti. The Model Communities approach is based on an analysis of risk factors that contribute to sending of children into *restavèk*, as well as community and family support that is necessary to prevent this phenomenon and help families retrieve *restavèk* children. The approach emerged from the long-standing involvement of FLL in the Campaign to End Child Servitude (*Kanpay pou Elimine Sistèm Restavèk*) and the organization’s experience in organizing networks of grassroots child rights organizations both in Port-au-Prince and in the Southeast department of Haiti. FLL’s positioning

and experience in the fight to end child slavery laid the groundwork for the development of this holistic approach and for FLL’s collaboration with partners FTS and Beyond Borders in its implementation.

The evaluation reported here takes into account the three-year project period immediately preceding it, and each of the project strategies conducted within that period. To initiate the project, baseline assessments were conducted to orient the subsequent strategies and provide comparison with follow-up data. Awareness-raising and capacity-building strategies were designed to spark community engagement and organizing around child rights, including support for the reintegration of children who had been sent into servitude. The primary strategies for community organizing, awareness raising, capacity building, and participatory community-based evaluation included the following:

Community-Based Assessment: Household surveys, social mapping and participatory wealth ranking community assessment exercises. These methods were designed to provide project staff and community members baseline information regarding core indicators of the flow of children into and out of servitude, the extent of their effective access to education, and the general economic wellbeing of the most vulnerable households. Social mapping and participatory wealth ranking exercises were conducted and the resulting data was quickly tabulated and reported. Field workers were also trained and conducted more than 1,000 household surveys. However, the team was unable to analyze the resulting survey data due to technical





complications. As a result, follow-up data collection at the end of the project period was conducted using only social mapping and participatory wealth ranking processes, and not household surveys. All available data was analyzed as part of the broader project evaluation process.

Open Space Technology: A highly scalable and adaptable meeting approach that encourages and enables self-organizing discussions related to a particular theme, allowing participants to suggest their own specific subtopics and group themselves according to their interests and passions. FLL has been using open space technology for the past 10 years and organized multiple open space dialogues in each community as a way of involving community members and gathering community input at each critical stage of the project.

Education is a Conversation (referred to by Haitian Creole acronym ESK): A participatory dialogue-based learning method that uses illustrated story books to guide participants in a process of discovery and transformation. Two ESK curricula were used in the current project—one that focuses on children’s rights (ESK-DT) and another that focuses on reproductive health and family planning (ESK-SR).

The children’s rights curriculum (ESK-DT) has been found to increase compassion toward children who have been in *restavèk*, and lead to improved

behavior in the treatment of children. A pool of local volunteers was trained to facilitate the child rights curriculum via small groups meeting in their community throughout a six-month period. An attempt was made to target parents from households identified in social mapping and participatory wealth ranking as having children in *restavèk* or being vulnerable. A total of 525 community members participated in ESK-DT child rights, exceeding project projections. The reproductive health and family planning curriculum (ESK-SR) was used in the same fashion, reaching 500 community members, nearly twice the number projected in project planning.

Child Protection Committees (CPCs): Groups of community members trained and motivated to provide support to the most vulnerable families, to promote child protection and to intervene in specific cases to prevent children being sent away or to encourage return and reintegration. To ensure sustainability of gains in child protection, during the project period, CPCs were established where they did not yet exist and strengthened where they did. Approximately 10 members of a central committee from each community shared knowledge and strategies with the broader membership and community, undergoing training and participating in exchange visits with members of CPCs in other communities. The broader CPC membership averaged 55 members (47 percent of whom were



women) in each community. The CPC membership included a cross-section of the community. However, parents whose children had been sent away were sometimes targeted for participation in ESK and thus could be more likely to join the CPCs upon completion of ESK.

Accelerated Education: A curriculum developed by the Haitian Ministry of Education designed to equip students over the average age for primary school enrollments with the knowledge and skills necessary to transfer to secondary school. This program allows overage children to complete the standard, six-year primary school curriculum in three years. The inability to provide for a child's education was one of the most oft-cited reasons by evaluation participants for sending children away or being reluctant to retrieve them. Given past research showing that overage children are particularly at risk, efforts to increase their access to education were targeted through providing accelerated education to an average of seven classrooms and 148 children each school year, consisting of children either returned from or at risk of being sent into *restavèk*.

Advocacy: The fundamental aims of grassroots advocacy activities were: a) to help communities understand their potential role in formulating positions on matters relevant to them and advocating



toward government on behalf of their own priorities—whether on national legislation, local services or any other matters of concern; b) to influence the quality of advocacy for an anti-trafficking bill that has not passed the Haitian parliament by having such advocacy informed by the perspectives of grassroots communities. Another advocacy component of the final part of the project related to promoting cost-effective and replicable elements of the Model Communities approach as a strategy for addressing *restavèk*.

Livelihoods: The importance of a livelihoods intervention to address the economic risk factors for the sending of children into *restavèk* was recognized at the beginning of the project. The J/TIP funding was not sufficient to address this need, and the partners planned to identify other sources of funding to implement this program component. However, they were unable to identify those resources. In year three of the project period, due to cost savings in other areas, FTS redirected a portion of J/TIP grant funding to FLL to enable the hiring of a livelihoods expert. The expert has trained communities in how to set up savings and loan initiatives that are now in the early stages of implementation.



Evaluation Methods



An internal evaluation of the project was managed by two international consultants: the lead with expertise in monitoring and evaluation (M&E) and project management, and the second with a Ph.D. in psychology and specific expertise in mental health issues faced by children coming out of *restavèk*. The international consultants were not directly engaged in field-based data collection, but developed the methodology and tools, trained field teams, and conducted the data analysis. The FTS director of monitoring and evaluation provided feedback on overall evaluation methodology and field instruments, and provided support for issues related to sampling and processing of data from pre- and post-tests.

Core fieldwork was conducted between November 6 and November 9, 2013, with visits to five of the six project communities: Sous Platon, Bas Jeffré, Gou/Denard, Marre, and Menaud. The field teams consisted of five external agents with prior experience in conducting field interviews on the subject of *restavèk* and six members of the FLL Model Communities team. After the last field exercise, the lead consultant conducted final interviews and queries of staff from FLL and Beyond Borders.

The general framework and tailored questions that were used to guide the evaluation are described in Table 1.

Table 1: M&E General Framework and Tailored Questions

Relevance	- To what extent are the needs and priorities of children in <i>restavèk</i> or at risk of being sent into <i>restavèk</i> addressed? - Are some elements of the project more relevant to these key stakeholders than others?
Effectiveness	- To what extent have project outcomes and objectives been achieved? What factors significantly helped or hindered? Were there particular project components that contributed more than others? How were risks managed? - To what extent has the project contributed to the level of community organization and to what extent did that organization contribute to project effectiveness? - Was there a change in knowledge and attitudes of community members toward engaging the government to fulfill its responsibilities?
Impact	- Has the project enabled progress toward preventing and reversing the flow of children from Haitian source communities into <i>restavèk</i>? How many children from target communities were enslaved at the beginning of the grant, how many were retrieved; how many of those retrieved were kept in school; how many at-risk children were sent into <i>restavèk</i> and how many were retained, and in school, during this period? - What significant changes has the project brought about in the lives of the beneficiaries intended or unintended, positive or negative? Did some project components contribute more than others to these changes?

Sustainability	• Was sustainability adequately addressed in the project design and was management responsive to any issues arising during implementation? • What is the projected level of sustainable benefit? Have key project processes, structures and tools, been mastered by local actors and can they be expected to operate/be used after the project ends? • What is the projected sustainability of emerging impact? Have underlying causes been addressed, have norms or policies undergone sustainable shifts? Will children returned likely remain? Does the lack of a strong livelihoods component hamper long-term sustainability or even have a negative impact (does it make children more vulnerable?) • Is there capacity and commitment at FLL to continue to manage such interventions and to attract additional partners?
Efficiency	• Was the project implemented in a cost-efficient manner, giving value for money, compared to alternatives? • Were the logical framework and the work plans followed and used as an implementation tool?

A mixed-methods approach to data collection across the five communities included semi-structured interviews and focus groups with parents of children formerly in *restavèk*, parents of children currently in *restavèk*, and children who had been retrieved from *restavèk*. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with teachers in the accelerated education program, and focus groups were conducted with groups of parents in vulnerable

households whose children were not in *restavèk*, participants in ESK groups, and members of CPCs. Finally, a brief transect survey was conducted with a convenience sample of community members.

The sample sizes for each data collection method are provided in Table 2.

Table 2: Sample Sizes for Data Collection Methods

Target Group	Focus Groups (#Groups, # Total Participants)	Semi-Structured Interview Total (#Female, #Male)
Parents of Children Formerly In <i>Restavèk</i>	3 groups, 31 participants	8 (4F, 4M)
Parents of Children Currently In <i>Restavèk</i>	4 groups, 26 participants	4 (3F, 1M)
Children Retrieved From <i>Restavèk</i>		11 (7F, 4M)
Accelerated Education Teachers/Administrators		16 participants (7 administrators, 9 teachers)
Parents in Vulnerable Households Whose Children Are Not in <i>Restavèk</i>	5 groups, 73 participants	
ESK-SR Participants	3 groups, 33 participants	
CPC Members	5 groups, 81 participants	

Evaluation Results



Children Retrieved from *Restavèk*

The project has enabled progress toward the prevention and reversal of the flow of children from participating communities into *restavèk*. Numerous significant positive changes in the lives of beneficiaries can be attributed at least partially to the project. They are described in this section of the report, by strategy.

An estimated 27 percent of children initially identified as being in *restavèk* from communities for which baseline data was available are now back at home (see Table 3).¹³

Returned children and their parents who were interviewed report that the reintegration process has

been overwhelmingly positive. The children's rights curriculum from ESK, the child protection committees and the provision of support for education (including but not limited to the accelerated education program) were seen as the primary contributors to core project impacts. Due to the limits of existing project data and the constraints of the evaluation, it was not possible to quantify the number of at-risk children that were sent into *restavèk* or the number that were prevented from being sent into *restavèk* during the period. However, anecdotal evidence indicates that the sending of children into servitude has decreased, and that project strategies have contributed to the prevention of sending children away. The reintegration is described in primarily

Table 3: Retrieval of Children

Community	Population of Children at End Line ¹⁴	Estimated # in <i>Restavèk</i> at Baseline	Total # of Retrievals Reported
Sous Platon	365	30	4
Bas Jeffré	444	40	20
Haut Jeffré	335	35	5
Marre	607	< 100	15
Gou/Denard	579	combined	11
Menaud ¹⁵	574	0	0
Total	2,904	205	55¹⁶

positive terms by both parents and children, with all expressing happiness about their reunion and the child's freedom from harm and abuse, attendance in school and relationships with peers and siblings. It is necessary to point out, however, that families who sent their children away are largely

in no better economic situation, and in many cases their situations have degraded through decreased agricultural production and limited revenue-generating opportunities, leading many to express significant concerns about being able to provide for their children.

Effectiveness and Impact of Project Components

Community-Based Assessment was effectively achieved primarily through social mapping and, to a lesser extent, participatory wealth ranking, as it was found that the volume of data provided through the detailed household survey census overwhelmed project capacities and therefore had to be finally set aside. Baseline and follow-up social mapping and participatory wealth ranking yielded most of the core data needed for targeting interventions and tracking change; however, resulting baseline data was not used as efficiently as possible, and could not be accessed for some communities, which reduced its overall contribution to project effectiveness.

Open Space Technology: The effectiveness of open space as a strategy to empower community members to form consensus solutions to *restavèk* could not be formally evaluated. Most activities had not yet been completed, documentation of those held was limited, and attribution of effect would have been difficult. However, anecdotal reports from community members and FLL staff indicate that this strategy was viewed positively both by staff and by participants, contributed to overall understanding of the project and of the CPCs, and contributed to community consensus regarding the importance of protecting children from *restavèk*.

Table 4: ESK-DT Pre- and Post-Test Data

Questionnaire Statement	% Desirable Response at Pre-Test	% Desirable Response at Post-Test	Improvement From Pre- to Post-Test
My child is mine and I can treat him/her as I wish. (Question investigates parental attitudes.)	48%	69%	21 points
I treat my child as I wish. (Question investigates actual parental behavior.)	42%	71%	29 points
If a parent is mistreating his or her child, it is none of my business; If a parent is mistreating someone else's child, it is none of my business.	64%	72%	8 points
I speak to other parents when they are mistreating children.	94%	98%	4 points
Children should obey adults without question.	22%	49%	27 points

Education is a Conversation Child Rights (ESK-DT):

Use of ESK-DT was found to be very effective at shifting norms by changing awareness, knowledge, attitudes, and—in many cases—behaviors in relation to child rights in general and the practice of *restavèk* more specifically. An analysis of pre- and post-test questionnaire data from ESK participants indicates that desirable¹⁷ attitudes toward treatment of one's own child improved by 21 percentage points

**“If it weren’t for ESK,
I could have lost my
children.”**

(See Table 4). Desirable reported behavior improved by 29 percentage points. Attitudes toward intervention in the face of mistreatment of the children of others showed more limited improvement, improving 8 percentage points on average for the two questions analyzed. A question regarding whether or not children should obey adults without question found a desirable shift of 27 percentage points. The same question asked on the transect survey elicited desirable responses from only 12 percent (three of 25) of those respondents who had not participated in ESK-DT, which could be seen as a comparison group, albeit small.

The findings specifically related to changes in behavior were also illustrated by the following quotes:

“I used to beat my children a lot; I don’t do that anymore. Now, I talk to them instead of beating them.” (Marre ESK participant.)

“I used to beat my child a lot, but when I participated in this training I came to see that I shouldn’t act like that anymore.” (Bas Jeffré ESK participant.)

ESK-DT stimulated retrievals from *restavèk* in all communities where there were *restavèks* to retrieve. It also played a role in prevention. As one parent from Marre explained: “[The children] told me they weren’t well...but I didn’t have the means to go get them. News of them, plus the ESK books, encouraged me to go get them.”

Impacts attributed to this program component include the prevention of some children from being sent into *restavèk* and the return of others from *restavèk*, which has spared them from neglect and abuse and is seen in some cases to have saved their lives. A parent from Gou/Denard after retrieving her child shared: “If it weren’t for ESK, I could have lost my children. If I hadn’t gone to get them they would have died, Limyè Lavi saved my children. Because of Limyè Lavi they are alive today.”

The ESK-DT methodology is especially well suited to work in rural communities with high levels of illiteracy. By enabling the emergence of child rights leaders, ESK-DT effectively laid the groundwork for the establishment of the CPC. It led to better reported treatment of children at home and in the community, and is reported to have had a related effect of increasing dialogue generally, contributing to a strengthened social fabric.



Education is a Conversation Reproductive Health (ESK-SR): ESK-SR successfully reached more than the projected number of participants, and the methodology was well adapted to the participants and the context. Available data indicate that its effects were greatest in enabling shifts in knowledge, attitude and perceived capacity among participants, and relatively less effective in empowering changes in their behavior. Impacts attributed to ESK-SR include increased knowledge among participants about reproductive health, including how to prevent pregnancy and STDs; a shift among participants toward attitudes favorable of family planning and prevention of STDs; a sense of increased capacity to discuss these issues with others; and, to a lesser degree, reports of changed behavior including increased use of birth control and more open care-seeking when needed. Reported barriers to converting new knowledge, attitudes and capacity into changed behavior

regarding family planning included resistance from partners and religious leaders, as well as lack of easy access to effective birth control methods. Increased coverage as well as time to allow conversations to progress and catalyze change may be needed.

Using most significant change¹⁸ evaluation methodology, groups reported the most significant changes they experienced as a result of participating in ESK-SR. Eleven groups highlighted changes specifically related to HIV/STDs, four groups focused specifically on reproduction or birth control, and seven used more general, overarching language. Table 5 presents a compilation of the community-level consensus statements for most significant changes produced by the ESK-SR programming, which were captured approximately six months after completion of the dialogue sessions.

Table 5: Number of Groups Indicating Various Consensus-Level Most Significant Changes Reported by ESK-SR Participants

	Most Significant Changes	Number of ESK-SR Groups Who Came to Consensus on the Given Most Significant Change
Knowledge	Know more about health and reproduction	1
	Know more about STDs, about how to prevent STDs	2
	Know what water to wash with to avoid infection	1
	Learned I should seek help if my genitals give off a strong smell	1
	Know more about reproduction/having children	1
Attitude	It's important to raise awareness in the community re: how to prevent STDs	2
	Family planning is not a bad thing, it's good	1
Capacity	Can speak more knowledgeably with others / teach them about reproductive health	5
	Able to counsel youth about sex	1
	Can help others prevent STDs	3
	Can speak with or educate others about how to stay healthy	2
	Can use my knowledge to help others better understand what to consider when thinking about having kids	1
	Have a method to control the number of children I have	1
Behavior	Nothing reported	0

Child Protection Committees (CPC): The project has effectively enabled the emergence of a CPC in each target community. They are actively engaged in efforts to prevent the sending of children into *restavèk*, to support returned children's reintegration and to promote overall child welfare.

An example of this was shared by a member of the CPC in Menaud: "One father had two children in *restavèk* and he was going to send a third. Because of the awareness raising that CPC members did to prevent him from sending the third away, not only did he not send the third, but he retrieved the two that were away."

CPC members showed a strong consensus around a clear child protection role for their groups, which enjoy fairly strong recognition among the general public. In Marre, a parent pointed out the vigilance and attention that the CPC demonstrates: "I have a child who went away for the vacation period and a CPC member came by to ask for the child. That shows me that they are checking up on all kids in the community."



CPC members provided encouragement, advice, school referrals, and—in some cases—small financial contributions, all of which contributed to the quality of the reintegration of returned children. Speaking about reintegration, a CPC member from Menaud noted: "These kids are now well integrated into the community because the community welcomes them. The CPC works with the community to prepare them, to ensure that they understand that all human beings are equal, because they used to humiliate these children."

The evaluation revealed that the capacity of CPCs to address the depth and breadth of the needs of the most vulnerable families remains limited, and the importance of strengthening CPC capacity to continue to support families considering retrieval was indicated by a drop in retrievals soon after the completion of ESK sessions. The evaluation also indicated the importance of ensuring that CPC discourse and strategy remain focused on helping families to better understand the potential risks of sending their child away, and the reality of the conditions of *restavèk*, so that parents can make an informed but not unduly influenced decision when considering sending and/or retrieving their children. It is important for the CPC approach to be one of enabling a retrieval or retention through a combination of awareness raising and the resolution of other practical barriers (logistical, economic, etc.). Otherwise, there is a risk that the CPC could become too prescriptive or attempt to pressure families into retaining or retrieving children.

Accelerated Education: Programming contributed to the prevention of *restavèk* by providing education to an average of 148 overage children during each project year, thus helping to retain at-risk children in their communities of origin, and leading to both a perceived reduction in delinquency in the community and a greater likelihood that pupils can take care of themselves as adults. Children taking part in accelerated education might not have been able to attend school otherwise, due to the discrepancy between their age and their grade level. As a result of the program, they were able to complete their primary school more quickly. Without access to education for their children, parents are more likely to feel little choice but to send them into *restavèk*.

Beyond providing material support, community members recognized the importance of accelerated education in helping children to know their own worth: “The child used to sit at home. We couldn’t pay for school, so [accelerated education is] a great support. I see how it’s a support for all of the other children in the community; they want all children to feel that they have worth.” (Gou/Denard parent of returned child.)

Accelerated education is also contributing strongly to the reintegration of children who have returned from *restavèk* by serving 53 percent of the returnees in communities assessed in the evaluation.¹⁹ The interface between accelerated education programming and the work of the CPCs was strong, with the latter engaged in outreach, referrals and supporting access to accelerated education for the most vulnerable, as well as tracking dropouts. The overall retention rate in the accelerated education program was 80 percent and the pass rate was 55 percent, which are relatively high for the rural Haitian context. Asked whether accelerated education classes were seen to be inferior to mainstream classes, stakeholders were unanimous in stating that recent exam results have made it so popular that some parents now express a preference for accelerated education over traditional classes. “Many parents didn’t believe in this program at first because they didn’t believe the child would be ready for exams in three years. Now they see it is serious because of the results on exams.” (Marre resident.)

There are disparities in the retention and pass rates across different schools, however, with the completion rate for one cohort as low as 10 percent. These disparities point to the need for more concentrated efforts in some areas to ensure sufficient and equitable quality is being provided. Efforts would include increased training for teachers, who expressed this need: “The training should be continuous. We have not yet mastered the curriculum and need more training in lesson preparation.” (Bas Jeffré teacher.) “We feel we still need more training and better techniques to make sure that kids stay in school.” (Sous Platon teacher.)

Case management procedures that can quickly identify challenges to attendance and completion

will help to ensure that children can maximize this educational opportunity and overcome barriers. Additional constraints to better success that need to be addressed include improvement of the quality of the learning spaces and adequate and timely provision of materials.

Advocacy: Given that most of the relevant advocacy activities had not taken place at the time of the evaluation, it would be premature to draw conclusions on their effectiveness. However, it can be said that CPC members illustrated an awareness of advocacy channels, and that both CPC members and a number of parents formulated advocacy demands focused primarily on increasing investment from both the government and non-governmental organizations into the creation of sustainable livelihoods (farming, commerce and other small businesses) and accessible education.

Livelihoods: Efforts to pilot livelihoods activities, which began in year three, had not yet reached the project’s principal intended beneficiaries—households with children formerly or currently in *restavèk*—because the chosen activities were primarily designed for and targeted to CPC members. Though interventions were limited and had not yet had sufficient implementation time, CPC members who participated in livelihoods training and savings and loan activities were enthusiastic and could already cite practical economic benefits as a result of increased access to small loans to invest in education, farming or commercial activities. As one beneficiary in Marre noted: “The [livelihoods] activities were well done and are bearing fruit. We are pooling our savings via the savings and loan. We are storing corn and beans. We are lending money to people for petty commerce. We have an almond business to make more money.” Haitian stakeholders who participated in the evaluation widely noted the need for sustainable livelihoods for the most vulnerable as a central priority.

Children's Voices: Whether the result of ESK, the CPCs, accelerated education, a broader shift in community norms, or a combination of these, children expressed some of the clearest and most poignant benefits of the change in knowledge, attitudes and behaviors that their parents demonstrated. Children reported overwhelmingly that they felt happier with their families, felt freedom that they didn't experience when they were in *restavèk*, and were glad to be in school. "My favorite thing is going to school so that I can become something,

and my other favorite thing is living with my mom and dad." (Bas Jeffre child.)

Children for the most part enjoy positive relationships with their peers and siblings, and many commented on how they share everything with siblings—an experience that had been lacking while in *restavèk*. "If they buy a piece of bread they share with me equally. We do each other's hair; we go get water together; we cook together. When we bathe, we scrub each other's backs." (Gou/Denard child.)

Sustainability

High levels of community participation, a prerequisite to community-level sustainability, were built in to the project design. Core tools such as open space and ESK were projected to engage a significant portion of the population in a process of sustainable norms change, using relatively simple-to-deliver and highly cost-efficient methodologies, thus increasing the potential for future roll-out. A community-based child protection structure was included, to serve as an ongoing conduit for child rights activism and reintegration of children returned from *restavèk*. Accelerated education programming was utilized to cement the reintegration process for overage returnees. A grassroots advocacy component was carried out to transform the community members' view of their role in advocacy, ensuring that broader advocacy initiatives such as passage of a national anti-trafficking bill were informed by the perspectives of rural community members (voices which otherwise appear not to have been solicited). Further advocacy promoting support for and replication of the Model Communities approach was also included.

Based on this evaluation's findings, operational sustainability of core tools, processes and structures are expected to be sustained, at least partially. To highlight a few ways in which this is expected to occur:

- A pool of local ESK facilitators exists in each of the communities, as do the ESK-DT and ESK-SR series materials.

- Stories from the ESK series continue to be told by community members when asked their thoughts about children's rights or reproductive health.
- A sizeable core of CPC members can be expected to sustain basic child protection activities without significant investment.

Individual impacts that are expected to be sustained include the benefits of accelerated education for child participants; the impact of savings and loan activities; the changes in knowledge and attitudes brought about by ESK (including increased awareness of the risks of *restavèk* and decreased social acceptability of sending children into *restavèk*; improved attitudes toward family planning and care for STDs and for people living with HIV; and increased awareness of the risks of unprotected sex); and benefits accruing from the generally improved social fabric in participating communities.

Relatively small investments that could lead to greater sustainability include the following:

- Training community members as open space facilitators.
- Providing small stipends for the already-trained ESK facilitators and a new set of illustrated books in each community.
- Training of community members to conduct social mapping and participatory wealth ranking.

Accelerated education programming is not intended to be operationally sustainable.

There is potential for challenges to the sustainability of retrieval and prevention success rates because parents are facing difficulties in providing for returned children. The children themselves expressed tolerance for economic hardships they face, noting that being with their family, having the freedom to go to school, playing with friends and enjoying the love of their parents and siblings is a dramatic change and improvement from the situations they faced while in *restavèk*. In the words of a child from Marre: “I’m more comfortable with my mom, even if she doesn’t have food for us. I feel better, because they do everything they can so that I can go to school, and our mom takes care of us better, even if we sometimes go two days without eating. Where we used to be, they didn’t take care of us.” The parent of a returned child from Bas Jeffre shared her own child’s willingness to focus on the positive, as well: “My child says she’s hungry, but I don’t have anything to give her. But in times like that, she says: ‘Mom, I’m hungry, but I’m not being beaten.’”

However, parents openly expressed their own difficulty in sending their children to school hungry and not seeing how they will be able to provide for them, as a result of underproductive farmland and little to no work opportunities. “[The Model Communities program partners] pay for school, it’s true, but when they [the children] get up in the morning you don’t have anything to give them; you don’t have shoes to give them to wear. They learn, but sometimes the teachers tell you the child sleeps in school, and we understand that. If the child goes to school without eating, it’s normal for him to be like that.” (Bas Jeffre parent of returned child.)

There is evidence that some parents who have retrieved their children are hopeful that recovering one or more children should or will allow them to receive support to care for those children. But available support is extremely limited. A CPC



member from Menaud explained: “One of the biggest difficulties we are facing is that when the children return, the parents think that the CPC will take care of them, because they don’t have the means to do that. There are parents who consider the child who has returned to be an additional burden—another child to send to school and to take care of.”

Economic challenges remain significant for most, and dire for some, and do lead to a concern that parents will eventually find the challenges too great and will send their children away again.

Efficiency

A number of core project components were highly cost-efficient.²⁰ These included open space, the ESK children's rights and reproductive health curricula, and the child protection committees, which constitute substantial components of the Model Communities approach.

Accelerated education programming, while financially efficient, could be made more so through increased investment to boost the quality of instruction and the provision of small subsidies to families to cover school costs, thereby improving retention and success rates. This would also increase the efficiency of the educational investment that is made by the households themselves.

Taking all project components and expenses into account, overall cost-effectiveness could be improved by: a) a reduction in personnel costs; and, to a lesser extent, b) streamlining of data collection procedures. It should be noted that the communities participating in this project are relatively isolated and personnel costs may have been higher as a result of significant time devoted to travel for activities. Alternative or adjusted packages of programming should be explored to maximize the use of the most cost-effective elements with highest impact.



Lessons Learned



The project team is not aware of any similar models with which to compare the Model Communities approach in order to evaluate its effectiveness. Given the vast array of factors that drive and maintain the *restavèk* practice, we expect that the outcomes attained during this project (a 27% retrieval rate; very positive reintegration experiences for returned children; demonstrated changes in attitudes, knowledge and behavior regarding the practice of *restavèk* and the treatment of children) indicate program effectiveness. However, the fact that a majority of parents did not retrieve their children from *restavèk* and that some who did, did not retrieve all of them, points to the need to continue to derive lessons from and refine the Model Communities approach to attain greater effectiveness.

While a number of interventions were determined to be highly cost-effective, which relates to sustainability, the Model Communities approach could potentially be made more cost-effective by concentrating more narrowly on a smaller menu of deliverables without spending large sums on delivery costs. This would involve the following five components:

- A simplified baseline and follow-up assessment using social mapping and participatory wealth ranking.
- Open space community meetings to launch the project and encourage periodic community dialogue.

- The full child rights ESK curriculum, followed by the formation of child protection committees.
- Capacity building for child protection committees to conduct case management home visits, provide psychosocial support and update social maps periodically.
- Enhanced delivery of accelerated education and subsidies to families to cover school costs. Further investments into the quality of the accelerated education programming are suggested, including increased teacher training and achievement of minimum quality standards for learning spaces.

For even greater impact toward preventing and reversing *restavèk*, the approach will require other adjustments. One key recommendation would be a more robust livelihoods component designed to reach the key target group (i.e. the most vulnerable households)—whether implemented within a specific project or delivered alongside by a coordinating organization. As livelihoods programming is a specialized field with potential for negative outcomes, it may be in most organizations' best interest to partner with an institution with a high degree of skill and experience in livelihoods support. Care should be taken that livelihoods support is not seen as a reward for retrieval, nor for it to inadvertently encourage the practice of sending children into *restavèk*. The Chemen Lavi Miyò program in Haiti, designed and

delivered by Fonkoze, is one example of a program that has taken such considerations into account and is attentive to the particular challenges of working with the most economically vulnerable.

Other key recommendations based on the lessons learned during this project period for each of the Model Communities program components:

Community-Based Assessment

- Standardize the utilization of social mapping and participatory wealth ranking at baseline, follow-up and end-line, incorporating slight adjustments. It is important that social mapping and participatory wealth ranking exercises follow a standard protocol. Once collected, data should be quickly transferred and analyzed based on vulnerability indicators. Once data is extracted and cleaned, take a high-quality digital photo of the social map and return the original to the community (or replicate, if preferred) and hold a session with the community to discuss core data findings.
- Use data generated by social mapping and participatory wealth ranking exercises to conduct follow-up verification, to constitute caseloads for tracking, and to target project activities (e.g. accelerated education, ESK, CPC home visits, livelihoods support). Conduct verification of key indicators of vulnerability via a second source, such as a home visit to the vulnerable household. Indicate updates on (or alongside) social mapping.
- Conduct a new social mapping and participatory wealth ranking exercise every three years, or possibly on shorter cycles if rapid change has occurred.

ESK – Education is a Conversation

- Manage the risk of overly-directive ESK facilitation. Deepen discussions with others using ESK (including FLL and Beyond Borders) to compare approaches and results in training and monitoring of ESK facilitators, with a view to ensuring that ESK sessions are effectively a safe space for open dialogue and sharing of experiences.²¹

- Simplify monitoring and evaluation for ESK. Given existing evidence of the effectiveness of ESK as a methodology, the use of pre- and post-questionnaires may be unnecessary. The use of consensus most significant change evaluation methodology could be retained as a means for participants to socialize emerging results and for implementers to gather stories for accountability to donors. Alternately, tools could be developed to track actual shifts in behavior in the post-ESK period and to probe ongoing obstacles to behavior change.

Child Protection Committees

- Ensure that returnee households have access to adequate psychosocial support. Anecdotal information indicates that returnees in the evaluated program appear generally well adjusted. However, the evaluation interviews did not directly ask about their experience in *restavèk*. What emerged spontaneously in the interviews about what children experienced indicates that both they and their parents are likely to benefit from psychosocial support. In addition to helping children heal from their experiences, such support would help parents understand what children may have experienced, how it may manifest in their feelings and behaviors once home, and what skills they can use to manage children's reactions if and when they arise. Psychosocial training should be given to as many CPC members as possible, and they should be mentored to organize leisure activities for the children. However, CPC members cannot substitute for a trained psychologist and a plan to access such support when needed should be included at the design phase.

Accelerated Education:

- Increase investments for accelerated education programming at the design stage in order to boost quality and success rates.
 - Infrastructure that meets minimal quality standards should be either identified and secured in the design phase, or built into budgeting as a contingency or a new partnership, so that the physical space in which classes take place is conducive to learning. (Consider the potential of

leveraging additional partnerships at the design phase in support of infrastructure improvements and school breakfast/lunch programming.) Provide sufficient training, support and supervision for accelerated education teachers to increase the quality of instruction. Higher levels of training could be seen as a perk, and performance bonuses (whether monetary or not) could be offered for evidence of consistent good practice.

- Ensure adequate quantities of books to cover all pupils.
- Ensure adequate financing for a full bell curve of programming in each participating community (four-five years), so that repeaters can be accommodated.
- Continue to reinforce the standard of non-violent discipline within accelerated education classes by ensuring that all teachers sign a standard code of conduct, by increasing training and coaching in non-violent classroom discipline, by including accelerated education personnel in ESK-DT dialogues and by increasing training in psychosocial support.
- Seek to further enhance the relevance of accelerated education programming by incorporating hands-on life skills. Budget and plan from the outset to effectively ensure the implementation of school gardens in linkage with livelihoods efforts. Explore the potential to introduce elements of sexual education (even if after school) with the support of ESK-SR graduates and CPC members.
- Seek to deliver all accelerated education classes in the morning. Doing so will help guarantee sufficient class time in the face of afternoon rains and impending darkness, and it will prevent any sense of stigmatization that could arise from differentiated treatment. This may involve planning at design stage for additional investments in sufficient space and teachers (i.e. teacher training).



Reproductive Health Services

- Ensure that real or perceived barriers to access to birth control are addressed, whether via efforts built into the project or delivered alongside by others. In particular, attention should be given in communities where access is determined to be a problem. In new communities, contact should be made with existing health care facilities or providers at or prior to launch.

Advocacy

- Ensure that the focus, targets, and materials for advocacy align with the core concerns and capacity of the affected communities.
 - Pursue community-identified priorities such as increased support for education, access to productive inputs and microcredit, access to technical support via agricultural extension agents and experts in small business support, and support for access to markets via improved penetration routes.

- Invest in efforts to develop effective strategies for leveraging needed external investments into participating communities—whether from the Haitian government, the Haitian private sector, national or international NGOs/agencies, the Haitian diaspora, or the international public.
- Establish linkages with local and departmental level civil protection agents, with a view to attracting support to boost the resiliency of participating communities.

Livelihoods

- Ensure that Model Communities programming includes delivery of livelihoods programming that is targeted to the most vulnerable—including households that retrieve children. Increasing and targeting activities to the most vulnerable was the top priority of the project's beneficiaries and a key recommendation made by all Haitian stakeholders. Care should be taken that livelihood activities do not create inadvertent negative consequences. Organizations that specialize in livelihoods programming should be consulted.

Defining an Exit Strategy

- Define a timeline and criteria for project exit from target communities. Ensure that a projected arc of investment and criteria for exit are taken into account during the design phase and discussed transparently with participating communities during launch and annually thereafter.

Focusing Monitoring and Evaluation

- Focus overall M&E on learning first and a few key accountability points second. Consider use of an annual learning question at each level, keep the M&E plan simple and relevant, only tracking data that will be used. Ensure that all field instruments are in Haitian Creole to give the best chance for transmission of accurate and rich data. Ensure quality control by reviewing the data together as a team in relative real time.



Conclusion



The results of this evaluation reveal the potency and effectiveness of a community-based program involving highly participatory awareness-raising and capacity-building strategies for addressing a problem as deeply-rooted and devastating as *restavèk* in Haiti.

The best practices highlighted in this report point to effective, sustainable, and scalable approaches for addressing some of the facets driving the sending of children into *restavèk* and for supporting their return and reintegration. The lessons learned provide a road map for other organizations to adapt and adopt these approaches for use in other affected communities.

It is the project team's sincere hope that readers of this report will do just that.

End Notes

1. The official Haitian government estimate of children living in *restavèk* is 150,000 (available at http://www.fao.no/ais/other/haiti/childlabour/EEDH_Report_final_french.pdf). In the largest field survey of human rights violations in Haiti, conducted in 2007-2008, the Pan American Development Foundation estimated more than 225,000 children, two-thirds of them girls, were living in urban *restavèk* slavery. As *restavèk* is not an exclusively urban phenomenon, total prevalence of *restavèk* has also been estimated by the National Coalition for Haitian Rights to be closer to 300,000 children nationwide (source: *Restavèk no more: Eliminating child slavery in Haiti*, published 2002).
2. Bales, K. (1999). *Disposable people: New slavery in the global economy*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press
3. Pan American Development Foundation defined *restavèk* as “an unpaid child servant living and working away from home, who is treated in a manner distinctly different from children born to the household.” Because in all cases of *restavèk* the distinctly different treatment involves abuse, exploitation, neglect, and/or humiliation, this definition is used for the purposes of FTS work.
4. Allen Cooper, Pablo Diego-Rosell & Christelle Gogue, *Child Labor in Domestic Service (restavèks) in Port-au-Prince, Haiti* (2012), at www.dol.gov/ilab/programs/ocft/PDF/2012RestavekHaiti.pdf.
5. *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, available at <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/>.
6. *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, available at <http://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx>
7. *Convention Concerning The Prohibition And Immediate Action For The Elimination Of The Worst Forms Of Child Labour*, Convention 182, available at <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/relm/ilc/ilc87/com-chic.htm>
8. *Convention concerning Minimum Age for Admission to Employment*, Convention 138, available at http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:C138.
9. *Loi Relative À L'interdiction Et À L'élimination De Toutes Formes D'abus, De Violences, De Mauvais Traitements Ou Traitements Inhumains Contre Les Enfants*, Le Moniteur N° 41 enacted June 5, 2003. Available at <http://www.hsph.harvard.edu/population/trafficking/haiti.traf.03.doc>
10. Haitian labor code, available at: <http://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/docs/WEBTEXT/135/64790/F61HTI01.htm>.
11. The work on La Gonâve (Mòn Ramye), one of the model communities supported under the original J/TIP grant which is no longer receiving support, was not included in field work, although it is included in the accelerated education statistics in this report.

12. FLL receives additional support for work in these six communities and in the remaining six communities that are a part of the Model Communities project through a partnership with the U.S.-based organization Beyond Borders.
13. A reliable calculation of the percentage of reduction in the prevalence of children in *restavèk* is not possible given inconsistencies in triangulated data. Baseline data for three of the communities (Marre, Gou/Denard, and Menaud) was not accessible, rendering pre-post calculation for those communities impossible. For Sous Platon, Bas Jeffré, and Haut Jeffré, a comparison of social mapping data from baseline to follow up shows a 70% drop of children presumed to be in *restavèk*; however there is only evidence for a 27% net reintegration rate based on documented cases.
14. Measured by social mapping.
15. Although the number of *restavèks* at baseline was zero, and therefore no retrievals, there was a desire by FLL to continue working in Menaud to assist vulnerable families. This has been noted by the project team as a lesson learned.
16. Note: This total does not include children retrieved from La Gonâve (Mòn Ramye) since that community was not included in the evaluation.
17. Desirable responses refer to the desired target response to an item designed to measure the effectiveness of a concept addressed within ESK.
18. *The “Most Significant Change” Technique: A guide to its use.* Available at <http://www.mande.co.uk/docs/MSCGuide.pdf>.
19. Project staff indicated that the remainder of the returned children were in traditional classes. However, the evaluation found evidence that at least one returnee had not been enrolled in classes and that one had dropped out at the highest grade level.
20. The analysis of financial efficiency is complicated by the fact that J/TIP funds are effectively being supplemented by additional investments into some of the same communities via a FLL-Beyond Borders partnership.
21. The Beyond Borders child protection programming in urban areas uses an approach where a small core of community members are themselves brought through the three-month dialogue program before facilitating sessions, as it was judged that the improved results justified the additional investment in time and money.

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