

Urban Child Labor in Port-Au-Prince, Haiti

Task Order II, Task 9

September 2012





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Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor, and Human Trafficking
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Port-au-Prince has a large population of child workers, many of whom work on the streets. However, little previous research has been conducted on the working and living conditions of these children. This study was commissioned by the United States Department of Labor (USDOL) to contribute to the international discourse on exploitative child labor, raise awareness about child labor in urban areas in Haiti, and inform current and future technical assistance efforts of USDOL. The research objectives were to:

1. Understand the root causes of urban child labor;
2. Discover the types of work children perform and their working conditions;
3. Map and understand the geographic characteristics of child labor in urban areas in Haiti;
4. Capture information about the lives of children outside of work, including their living conditions, familial relationships, and educational status;
5. Understand the perceptions of children and adults on urban child labor;
6. Understand how the earthquake may have affected urban child labor in Haiti; and
7. Discover what programs and policies exist to address the root causes of urban child labor.

This qualitative study provided findings on these objectives using a total of 216 in-depth interviews with four types of respondents: formal experts, informal experts who witness child work, child workers, and family members of child workers.

Unsurprisingly, the study concluded that poverty was an important factor in urban child work. Many children worked to support themselves or their families and reported that they would not be able to nourish themselves without working. Another cause of child labor was children living away from their parents. The underlying causes for the large number of children living away from their parents were varied. Many parents were deceased, suggesting that public health issues were a cause. Other children left home because of discord within their families while others simply seemed to relish independence. Children's relationships with their parents varied greatly. Some lived with their parents, some had never met them, and some were estranged.

The study did not find evidence that children were relocated to Port-au-Prince with the purpose of exploitation among the children interviewed. There were possible indications of forced labor for a few children, but the data were inadequate to declare conclusively whether these children were indeed in conditions of forced labor.

Children working in Port-au-Prince performed a range of activities, most of which required little or no initial funding or skills, including petty trading, transportation assistance, washing, and begging. Many worked long hours for little income and were exposed to such risks as prolonged exposure to the sun, inhalation of dust and fumes, injuries from being hit by a car, heavy loads causing pain and injuries, beatings, and robbery. Working on the streets of Port-au-Prince was a dangerous proposition for children, but most felt that it was worthwhile because their work was essential for their own support or for their family's support. Most controlled the money they

earned, either spending it on daily living expenses or saving it through such mechanisms as buying goats. Some children gave their earnings to another person, usually a family member.

Child work was distributed throughout the four communes but tended to be concentrated in areas with heavy car or pedestrian traffic. The mobility of children depended on the type of work they did, but most street children moved around throughout the day in search of customers. Some, such as those who sold vegetables or shined shoes, typically remained stationary for the day.

Children interviewed for this study had extremely varied living situations. Some lived with family members and a few on their own or with nonrelatives. A large portion lived on the streets, which was found to be particularly dangerous for girls. Children reported sometimes not having enough to eat, and family member respondents were concerned about the limited diet of working children. Children working on the street tended to be more male than female. Interviewees included ages 9 to 17, but the majority of children interviewed were over 12. Researchers conducting observations noted that while younger children were occasionally observed, most were accompanied by a parent.

Many child respondents had never attended school, and it was common for children to comment that children should be in school, not working. As a result, this study concluded that there did appear to be a tradeoff between working and attending school, though many children did both. An examination of children's achievement in school compared with their expected level based on their age revealed a significant age-grade delay for child workers. Many children reported a desire to return to school or continue their school in order to improve their future lives.

Children's attitudes toward work varied. In addition to their belief in the importance of school, some children indicated that work should be the domain of adults. However, many children believed that children should work in order to have independence or to help their families. Parental views were similarly mixed, with some wishing their children did not have to work and others stating that it was important to learn skills.

While the study identified laws and policies in place to address the issue of urban child labor, the issue remains a significant problem. It seems unlikely that any policy or program would make a significant improvement in the situation without addressing the root causes of child labor, most importantly, poverty.

I. INTRODUCTION

The Republic of Haiti is located in the northern Caribbean Sea, approximately 600 miles southeast of Florida. It shares the island of Hispaniola with its neighbor, the Dominican Republic, occupying the western third of the island. Estimates in 2011 put Haiti's population at over 9.7 million.[1] Haiti is the western hemisphere's poorest and least-developed country and has the greatest inequality of the hemisphere. It ranks 145th out of 169 countries on the 2010 United Nations (UN) Human Development Index.[2] The country has experienced little formal job-creation over the past decade, although the informal economy is growing. Roughly 80 percent of its population lives below the poverty line and 54 percent in abject poverty (on USD 2.00 per day or less).[3]

Already one of the poorest countries in the world, Haiti's economy suffered severe setback when a 7.1 magnitude earthquake damaged its capital city, Port-au-Prince, in January 2010. The damage to Port-au-Prince caused the country's gross domestic product to contract an estimated 8 percent in 2010.[4] It further devastated the country's already inadequate social services, exacerbated political and social-economic instability, and weakened the already poor educational system.[5]

As a result of these and other challenges, Haiti has a significant population of working children, many of them in urban areas. However, the information available on children working in urban areas is limited.

A. Aim of the Study

This study aimed to gather exploratory data on child labor in urban areas in Haiti. The research objectives were to:

1. Understand the root causes of urban child labor;
2. Discover the types of work children perform and their working conditions;
3. Map and understand the geographic characteristics of child labor in urban areas in Haiti;
4. Capture information about the lives of children outside of work, including their living conditions, familial relationships, and educational status;
5. Understand the perceptions of children and adults on urban child labor;
6. Understand how the earthquake may have affected urban child labor in Haiti; and
7. Discover what programs and policies exist to address the root causes of urban child labor.

[1] CIA World Factbook, Haiti, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ha.html
[2] UN Human Development Index, http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/
[3] Supra note 1.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Luzincourt, K. and Gulbrandon, J, (2010). Education and Conflict in Haiti: Rebuilding the Education Sector after 2010 Earthquake. United States Institute of Peace, Washington. http://www.usip.org/publications/education-and-conflict-in-haiti

This research is expected to contribute to the international discourse on exploitative child labor; raise awareness about exploitative child labor in urban areas in Haiti; and inform current and future technical assistance efforts of the U.S. Department of Labor's (USDOL) Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor, and Human Trafficking (OCFT).

B. Research Team

This study was executed by ICF International under its "Research Services in Support of USDOL's Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor and Human Trafficking" contract with USDOL. The ICF International team comprised an officer in charge, a project director, and a research manager. ICF International designed the methodology, developed the instruments, secured approval from ICF's ethics review board, provided additional analysis of the data, and wrote the report based on a draft by the subcontractor. The ICF International research manager traveled three times to Haiti to conduct exploratory research for the study, oversee the conclusion of fieldwork, and ensure complete data entry. The research manager was assisted in conducting exploratory work and some additional interviews by local researcher Ferdinand Marseille, who also produced the map of urban workers.

ICF International's main regional partner in this research was the *Bureau de Recherche en Informatique et en Développement Economique et Social* (BRIDES), which was responsible for carrying out data collection and data entry. BRIDES has conducted numerous research studies in Haiti with a wide variety of clients, including governmental institutions, international organizations, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). The company has experience conducting fieldwork in the challenging setting of Port-au-Prince and in collecting data on sensitive topics. BRIDES's technical team consisted of a project director, two lead researchers, a team of interviewers, and a data entry technician.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

The country's economic conditions put children in a precarious situation. It is customary for a Haitian child, usually around the age of six, to begin serving adults within his/her household and contributing to the family's livelihood.[6] Haiti's Labor Code sets the minimum age for work in industrial, agricultural, or commercial enterprises at age 15.[7] Children age 15 to 18 must obtain work authorization from the Ministry of Labor to be employed.[8] Children are prohibited from night work in industrial jobs and from work that is likely to harm their health, safety, or morals.[9]

The US State Department's 2011 Trafficking in Persons (TIP) report states that Haitian children are trafficked both internally and externally to the neighboring Dominican Republic.[10] Haitian children trafficked to the Dominican Republic work in domestic service, begging rings, and prostitution.[11] Children in Haiti also work on farms where they may be exposed to pesticides, sharp tools, harsh conditions, and long hours.[12] Children on the streets perform activities such as washing cars, vending, or begging; they are exposed to a variety of hazards, such as severe weather conditions, car accidents, and vulnerability to gangsters.[13] Children on the street are also exploited in prostitution.[14] Anecdotal evidence suggests that the 2010 earthquake, which resulted in thousands of displaced individuals, has likely increased the number of both *restavèks*—unpaid child domestic servants living and working away from home— and street children.[15] Quantitative research on child labor in Haiti is very limited.[16] An estimated 21 percent of Haitian children work,[17] but the number of children who work in urban child labor is unknown.

While child labor in domestic service has been widely studied, little previous research has focused on other types of urban child labor. A review of the restavèk literature indicates that there is some overlap between the two issues. In Amnesty International's report on sexual violence against girls, one case mentions a girl who works as a domestic servant for room and board without pay. In order to pay for school, the girl sells goods on the street.[18] Another Amnesty International document mentions that restavèks sometimes sell goods in the market as part of their service to host families.[19] The UN Special Rapporteur on Contemporary Forms of

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[6] Smucker, Glenn R., and Gerald F. Murry. (2004). The Uses of Children: A Study of Trafficking in Haitian Children. Port-au-Prince, USAID

[7] Government of Haiti, Code du travail, Article 335.

[8] Ibid, Articles 337 and 340.

[9] Ibid, Articles 333 and 334.

[10] U.S. Department of State. (2012). Trafficking in Persons. Retrieved from http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/192595.pdf

[11] Ibid.

[12] USDOL. (2011). 2010 Findings on Worst Forms of Child Labor. http://www.dol.gov/ilab/programs/ocft/PDF/2010TDA.pdf

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

[15] U.S. Embassy, Port-au-Prince, reporting, March 1, 2010. Cited from USDOL 2009 Findings on Worst Forms of Child Labor www.dol.gov/ilab/programs/ocft/pdf/2009OCFTreport.pdf

[16] United Nations. (2012). Journée mondiale contre le travail des enfants: Haïti et la communauté internationale se mobilisent pour «un pays digne de ses enfants ». Retrieved from http://minustah.org/?p=35859

[17] UNICEF. (n.d.). At a glance: Haiti: Statistics. Retrieved from http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/haiti_statistics.html

[18] Amnesty International. (2008). *Don't turn your back on girls: Sexual violence against girls in Haiti*.

[19] Amnesty International. (2009). *Overcoming poverty and abuse: Protecting girls in domestic service in Haiti*.

Slavery reports that recruiters are playing a more significant role in the restavèk phenomenon, recruiting children to work as domestic servants and also "outside the home in markets."[20]

Other documents indicate that many street children are former restavèks. The International Organization for Migration reports that when older domestic servants become unmanageable, they are turned out onto the streets where they work as servants, sex workers, or petty criminals.[21] The 2012 US Department of State TIP report notes that many street children are former restavèks who were either dismissed or ran away.[22]

Some documents have addressed the issue of street children more directly. A 2011 Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations Individual Direct Request indicates that the number of children on the streets is growing and that there is not a comprehensive system to address this challenge or provide services for these children. The document also notes that "these children are used in the perpetration of offences and that some of them have disappeared."[23] Smucker and colleagues' study of childhood in Haiti discusses, among other topics, the issue of children working on the streets.[24] Since this is a household-based study, children who also live on the streets are excluded. Children on the streets are found working as petty traders, pickpockets, car cleaners, and porters, and are considered vulnerable to recruitment into gangs and prostitution. The study focuses on experiences relating to crime, violence, and knowledge of and access to services and does not detail the working conditions of these children.

Other documents mention sex work among children. NGOs reported increased rates of sex work among girls in the aftermath of the earthquake.[25] Even before the earthquake, there were many reports of sexual abuse of children by aid workers and peacekeepers, in exchange for money or goods.[26]

It is clear from this review of the literature that child labor in urban areas is a serious issue in Haiti; however, there is a lack of research focused specifically on these children and their working conditions.

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[20] UN News Service. (2009). *UN human rights expert condemns child 'slavery' in Haiti*. p. 1

[21] International Organization for Migration. (2008). *Video news release on child trafficking and abuse in Haiti*.

[22] U.S. Department of State. (2012). Trafficking in Persons. Retrieved from http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/192595.pdf

[23] ILO. (2011). CEACR: Individual Direct Request concerning Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182) Haiti (ratification: 2007). p. 4

[24] Smucker et al. (2009). *Childhoods in Haiti: Quantifying child trafficking, resteveks, and victims of violence*

[25] Amnesty International. (2011). *Amnesty International Annual Report 2011 – Haiti*.

[26] Save the Children. (2008). *No one to turn to: The under reporting of child sexual exploitation and abuse by aid workers and peacekeepers*.

III. METHODOLOGY

This study aimed to address these deficits by collecting qualitative data on child labor in urban areas in Haiti. As a qualitative study, this research was intended to shed light on the unique situation of urban child workers through an inductive research process, in which "the researcher tries not to be constrained by prior theory and instead sees the development of relevant theory, propositions, and concepts as a purpose of the project."[27] This type of methodology was appropriate for this study as it sought to provide information on a broad variety of themes that had little previous research. This research sought to collect information on the root causes of urban child labor, the nature of child labor in urban areas, the geographic characteristics of urban child labor, the characteristics of children's lives outside of work, and perceptions of the situation by those involved. In addition, the research sought to identify the programs and policies that were in place to address urban child labor. The research also explored the repercussions of the 2010 earthquake on urban child workers.

Data were collected through a mapping exercise, observation, and interviews. Interviewees included formal experts, current child workers and their families, and informal adult experts who regularly witnessed child labor. The use of multiple informants allowed the researchers to validate findings and deepen the discussion.

A. Research Methodologies

A literature review was conducted to identify published literature and studies on urban child labor in Haiti, including materials published after the 2010 earthquake. The background materials were intended to provide an overview of what is currently known about the lives and work activities of urban child laborers, as well as information about their families. In addition, 15 semi-structured interviews were completed with urban child workers during the preparatory stage of the work in order to improve the design of the questionnaire.

Interviews were conducted with formal experts to provide an overview of the nature of child labor in urban areas, including risks faced by child laborers. Experts were also asked to provide their perspective on the pathways children take into work, as well as the determinants of child labor. Formal experts could include governmental officials, nongovernmental organization representatives, as well as international organization employees.

Researchers conducted observations of children working in the streets. The purpose of the observations was to provide an additional perspective on the nature of children's work, as well as to provide context for the interviews. Since children work in open markets and along busy streets, researchers could easily make unobtrusive observations. Topics observed included the type of work that took place, the risks encountered by children, the working conditions, and whether and where children took breaks and ate.

[27] Rowlands, B.H. (2005). Grounded in practice: Using interpretive research to build theory. *The Electronic Journal of Business Research Methodology, 3*(1). p. 86.

Information collected through the literature review, exploratory work, formal expert interviews, and observations helped to form a knowledge base of urban child labor. With this knowledge, the following three objectives were achieved: 1) identifying the points at which child labor and forced child labor were known or suspected to occur through a mapping exercise; 2) developing tactics to access child workers and their families for interviews; and 3) fine-tuning the research instruments by taking into consideration local factors.

Children who worked as street vendors, car washers, shoe shiners and in similar types of work were targeted for interviews. Children were asked about where they worked, why and how they began working, what type of work they did, and about their lives generally. Family members of child laborers were interviewed to gather their perspectives on pathways into child labor and the characteristics of children's lives outside of work.

Finally, information on child labor was gathered from adults who regularly witnessed child labor (for example, the owner of a vegetable stand that overlooked an intersection where children regularly sold items to motorists). These informal experts were asked their perspectives on the nature of child labor and the conditions under which child laborers lived and worked. These informants were also asked to describe any changes to the type or amount of child labor they witnessed after the earthquake.

The purpose of conducting interviews with multiple types of respondents was to triangulate information as well as to deepen the discussion of the issues. Current child workers were interviewed in order to gain first-hand knowledge of the experiences of these workers. Family members were interviewed for a different perspective on the working conditions of children as well as an understanding of the root causes of child labor in urban areas. Informal experts were interviewed to gain a relatively neutral opinion on the conditions and causes of work from adults without a specific role in child labor. Formal experts were interviewed to learn about the official policies and the attitudes toward urban child work.

B. Sampling

The following table shows the target and final samples for the four different types of respondents:

Table 1: Target and final samples by type of respondent

Type of Respondent	Target Sample	Final Sample
Formal Expert	15	6
Informal Expert	50	59
Child Worker	100	116
Family Member	35	35

Six formal experts were interviewed for this study. The intended sample was 15, but the researchers found formal experts reluctant to participate. It was difficult to make appointments, and potential respondents often required several layers of approval for an interview, which

researchers were not able to obtain. Institutions represented included two NGOs, one international organization, and four government bodies.

The location of the fieldwork was the four communes of the Port-au-Prince metropolitan area: Port-au-Prince, Petion-Ville, Delmas, and Carrefour. The research— formal and informal expert interviews and child interviews—were conducted in communities/neighborhoods where: 1) urban child labor had been observed; and 2) government agencies, NGOs, international organizations and other organizations had direct experiences and/or information on urban child labor and/or provided services to child workers in urban areas.

The division of the sample of children between those communes did not take into account the demographic weight of each of them because the population of street children has never been determined by any investigation. Consequently, the local research team selected a sample distribution of street children by allotting a certain number of questionnaires, depending on the size of each target commune.

Since study has been conducted to determine the number of children who are working in the metropolitan area of Port-au-Prince, the sample for this study was systematic and not random. One hundred twenty urban child workers were interviewed for this study. This sample was not representative of the street children population in Haiti. Nevertheless, the selected size was large enough that it allowed the collection of reliable data to understand the breadth of the work children accomplish and the lives these children lead.

The study targeted children who worked informally on the streets in activities such as vending, shoe shining, car washing, and doing other petty activities. Access to children involved no major problems since they were usually located in places of major economic activities, in the busiest streets and intersections. Child workers were initially identified by walking through areas identified as having a high concentration of child workers and asking children if they were willing to talk. Interviewers generally spent a few minutes chatting with children before starting in order to build rapport. These children then helped to identify other working children who could participate in an interview.

Family members were identified by asking children for permission to contact their families, if appropriate. Further contacts were made using the referral or ‘snowball’ technique, whereby an interviewee was asked whether he/she knew other urban child laborers or parents of child laborers, and how these persons could be contacted.

Thirty-five family members of child laborers were interviewed, primarily parents. In a few cases, aunts or siblings were interviewed about children because they were supporting the child. Many of the respondents could not provide their age; those who did ranged from 24 to 65 years old, averaging 41 years old. One-third of family member interviewees were male, and two-thirds were female. Of family members who provided their marital status, a little under two-thirds were unmarried, one-quarter were married or living with a partner, and the remaining few were either widowed or had a spouse living in another city. Respondents had an average of four children and a maximum of nine. Around one-half of family members were involved in petty commerce, such as selling spaghetti, used clothing, CDs, or cell phone credit. Around one-quarter were

unemployed. The remaining family members had jobs such as woodworkers or mechanics or did not provide their job.

Fifty-four informal experts, witnesses of urban child labor, were identified by approaching people working in areas of high density for child workers and by asking children to identify non-family members who were familiar with their lives. Around half of informal experts were petty traders or shopkeepers. The occupation of about one-third of respondents is not known. Nearly all of these respondents indicated that they had a lot of contact with children working in urban areas, generally because children came to them to beg or trade. Five additional informants were classified as informal experts because they were recent child workers. These individuals were between 18 and 20 and were interviewed about their experience as child workers.

C. Research Instruments

This study used four research instruments. Each was structured to include primarily open questions, and all were pre-tested before fielding to ensure questions were formulated clearly and concisely. The questions were intended to stimulate a discussion between the respondent and researcher. All instruments were translated to Creole.

1. **Formal Expert Interview Guide**: The formal expert guide included a number of questions about the specific nature of child labor in urban areas, including the risks faced by children. Questions covered children not targeted for this research, including children in sex work and construction work. Experts were asked to discuss the pathways children take into work and their opinions on the root causes of child labor. This interview guide was based on guides used for previous child labor research by ICF.

2. **Informal Expert Interview Guide**: The informal expert guide covered similar topics as the formal expert guide but with more informal language and without asking about official policies. Like formal experts, informal experts were asked about the nature of child labor in urban areas, risks faced by children, pathways into child labor, and root causes. This interview guide was also based on guides used for previous research by ICF.

3. **Working Child Interview Guide**: The working child interview guide led the child through the previous day's work in order to learn about the nature of the child's work, as well as the risks faced. The child was also asked about his relationship with family, his entrance into work, his school attendance, effects of the earthquake, and his opinion of child labor. This interview guide was developed during ICF's exploratory work in Port-au-Prince through open discussions with children working on the streets.

4. **Family Member Interview Guide**: Family members were interviewed to understand more about children's pathways into work, as well as their lives outside of work and their demographic characteristics. Family members were also asked their opinion of child work. This interview guide was based on previous interview guides ICF used for research on child labor.

D. Research Questions

This study was intended to answer the following questions:

1. What are the root causes of urban child labor?
    a) What socioeconomic conditions lead children to work?
    b) To what extent are children trafficked into work? If trafficking takes place, what are the means by which children are trafficked? From where do trafficked children come?
    c) To what extent is their labor forced and by whom?
    d) What are the market demands that contribute to urban child labor (pull factors)?

2. What is the nature of child labor in urban Haiti?
    a) What kinds of work are children doing? Under what conditions?
    b) Is child labor organized, either through gangs or another type of entity?
    c) Do children keep the money they earn or does a portion (or the full sum) go to another person?
    d) How much of their time do children spend working?
    e) What risks do children encounter in their work?
    f) How many of the interviewed children are exposed to hazards in their work?

3. What are the geographic characteristics of urban child labor?
    a) How is child labor physically distributed in Port-au-Prince?
    b) What differentiates areas with more or less child labor?
    c) Do individual children work in one specific area or do they move around?

4. What are the characteristics of children's lives outside of work?
    a) What are the living conditions of child laborers, including whether children have homes or live on the streets?
    b) What are the demographic characteristics of child laborers and their families?
    c) What types of relationships do child workers have with their parents and relatives?
    d) What is the educational status of child laborers? Do they combine work with school?

5. What are the perceptions of urban child labor by the children and adults involved?
    a) What do children think of their work and the fact that they work?
    b) Do adults, including the families and employers of child laborers, consider children's work to be hazardous child labor or a beneficial development activity?

6. How did the earthquake affect urban child labor?

7. What programs and policies exist to address urban child labor?
    a) Are there particular laws, policies, or institutions that seek to combat urban child labor, whether directly or indirectly?
    b) If so, what are they and how do they work?

c) What aspects of combating urban child labor are not being addressed? What interventions might fill those gaps?
d) What support programs exist in the specified localities to assist urban child laborers?

E. Fieldwork and Analysis

Interviewers were recruited who had experience in qualitative research in order to ensure the depth of data collected. Because qualitative data collection requires field research with less structure, special attention had to be paid to the selection, training, and supervision of interviewers. Regardless of their previous experience, teams of investigators were trained during a five day training focused on:

- Familiarity of the investigators with research subject and object
- Techniques for writing notes
- Management of the interview
- Comprehension of each topic in the data collection guides

Interviewers were encouraged to pay attention to the child's body posture and gestures because they could indicate the respondent's emotional response to the interview. Additionally, the voice tone, which reflects the emotional state of a person, and the visual contact between the respondent and the interviewer were considered important in recording the interviewed observations.

Interviewers were organized in pairs: a moderator and a reporter. The primary role of the moderator was to establish rapport with the child and encourage him/her to elaborate on topics of interest. Meanwhile, the reporter took detailed notes, making an effort to transcribe as closely to verbatim as possible. Researchers were selected without regard to gender; rather, they were selected based on their ability to establish strong rapport with the respondent. There was no observed difference in the ability of male and female interviewers to collect data from children.

Fieldwork took place primarily in July, 2012, with a few remaining interviews taking place in August and September, 2012.

Data were entered into Excel by BRIDES staff. BRIDES conducted a preliminary analysis using Excel in order to tally certain responses. ICF added to this analysis by coding more thematically across all the datasets using Excel after reviewing the data thoroughly to obtain a sense of the information. The themes followed the research questions and included, for example, poverty, familial discord, violence, earthquake, friendship, and school. The findings on these themes are organized by research question in the results section below. Results from the different respondents were triangulated in order to validate findings. In most cases, the general picture was the same for all types of respondents. The few issues with disagreement between the types of respondents have been noted in the text.

IV. LIMITATIONS

There are a number of limitations to this study. First, as a qualitative study using a non-representative sample, the results are not generalizable to the wider population of children working in urban areas of Haiti. The results must therefore be considered in this context and understood to present a wide picture of child labor in Port-au-Prince, without seeking to quantify the phenomenon or establish frequencies of various behaviors or situations.

Another limitation is the large number of interviews required by the contract with USDOL. In seeking to complete 100 interviews with children working on the street, the researcher's ability to gather in-depth information is limited. Respondents, particularly children, are sometimes reluctant to provide personal information to a stranger. A study seeking to understand the root causes of urban child labor could benefit from the use of ethnographic methods, including spending enough time with children to gain their trust and having repeated discussions over time to reveal the most personal information.

A final limitation is the sampling method used by the study. By identifying children through seeing them on the street, the study cannot provide information on the more hidden forms of urban child labor. Children working inside shops, or behind the scenes elsewhere, were less likely to be included in the sample for this study. Children in other less visible sectors, such as sex work and construction, were purposely excluded from the sample of children due to inaccessibility because they often work on private property instead of in public areas. An examination of these sectors would require different research methods for gaining access and trust of respondents.

V. FINDINGS

The following section presents the results from the analysis. The section begins by presenting the study's findings on the pathways children take into child labor and the reasons that they work. Next, the types of work and working conditions are presented. The subsequent section presents the geographic characteristics of urban child labor, including a map of workers. Section D presents the living conditions and demographic characteristics of child workers, including information about their education. The next section discusses the perceptions of child labor by those involved. Finally, Section E presents the programs and policies in place that address urban child labor.

A. Causes and Pathways into Child Labor

i. Why Children Work

When children were asked why they work, most responses involved economics. Some framed their response in terms of their parents, stating that their parents were unable to provide for them. For example, one child responded, "Because my parents didn't have the means to help me." Some framed the response more personally and explained that they had expenses and needed to be able to meet them: "Given that I left my house, I had to deal with certain needs." Others indicated that they worked to help support their family, explaining, for example, "My mother had a hard time making ends meet after the death of my father; I wanted to do something to help a little."

The root cause of the poverty that led the children to work is more difficult to ascertain without a more detailed family history. In some cases, as in the quote above, a death of an adult in the family resulted in the reduction of income which necessitated the income of the child. One child explained, "I started doing the work I do after the death of my father; I was miserable and had to work." Sometimes the situation was more extreme: "My mother is dead. My father left after having killed my mother." An extended illness had a similar effect. Many children in the study said their parents were unemployed, although they generally did not provide the details on the causes and duration of the unemployment.

Some children had no relationship with their parents, so their economic circumstances were different. In these cases their need to work is clear, but the reason for the estrangement was rarely provided. One child mentioned that his step-father did not want him in the house, so he left. Others mentioned being mistreated at home. Still others seemed simply to crave the freedom of living apart from their parents and supporting themselves: "I lived at my sister's. I liked to play a lot. In the street, I saw that everyone entertained themselves a lot. It was like that [that I started working]."

The families of child workers were asked how the child began to work, whose idea was it to work, and whether the child was amenable. The overarching theme again was one of poverty. The vast majority of family member interviewees mentioned at some point during their interview that the child needed to work because the family lacked economic means. For example, when

asked how the child began working, several parents simply responded, “given that we lack means…”

When asked directly why the child worked, family members had several explanations. Echoing the responses above, many parents explained that the child worked because they were unable to provide for the child. For example, one family reported that the child worked “because the economic situation is very difficult for me, because me and my partner don’t do anything.” Another said, “He works because I cannot help him.” Others said that the child worked to help support the family: “To help us with the other children. Yes, my husband and I don’t work; that’s the main reason.” In some cases this was because one or both parents were missing. For example, one father reported that his child worked “to help us, yes, because of the illness of my partner.” A mother explained that the child worked “because his father abandoned him, and I’m not able to take care of his needs.”

Informal experts were also asked why children work. The witnesses’ responses were diverse, but the majority believed that the work of children was justified by their own need for income. The second most frequently cited reason was family support, followed by a desire for autonomy.

ii. Role of the Earthquake

In a few cases, the 2010 earthquake was noted by the family member as the reason the child worked. One child had an aunt who supported her financially who died during the earthquake, resulting in the child’s move into the labor market. Another parent said her child started working “because of the earthquake of January 12th and that I lost everything.” When asked why her child worked, another mother responded simply, “The earthquake ruined us.”

Around one-tenth of the working children listed the earthquake as the reason they began working, either because a family member was injured or killed or because the family lost resources. One child explained, “I don’t have parents anymore. My father died when I was 3 years old, and my mother didn’t survive the earthquake of January 12, 2010.” When asked about his parents, another child said they “disappeared since January 12th.” A female homeless working child explained that before the earthquake she did not work and had lived at her sister’s home. However, her sister died during the earthquake. The child lived in the ruins of the house for some time but eventually had to begin working.

Children who worked before the earthquake were asked whether the type of work they performed changed due to the earthquake. The vast majority indicated that their work did not change due to the earthquake. However, one child stated that he lost his shoe-shining box during the earthquake and had not obtained a replacement since. Now he sells water on the street. Another, interviewed during the exploratory work, said that the produce he was selling was lost when the building he was in collapsed. He now sells drinks.

A few children interviewed for the exploratory work described their experience of the earthquake. A young girl said she was walking home when she heard the noise, and she started to run. She went on to explain, “I took my younger brother and slept in the middle of the street and the devil didn’t see us.” A boy said that he was out on the street during the earthquake and was very scared. He lost the uncle who was sending him to school as well as his three brothers, but his work on the streets did not change.

Two different Haitian governmental sources reported that the numbers of orphans working on the streets had increased since the earthquake. The majority of informal experts agreed. As one noted, "There are a lot more children in the streets, nearly every day a new face." Another explained, "The earthquake aggravated the situation of street children." Less than one-fifth of informal experts thought the number of children working in the streets had not changed, and only one believed the number had dropped. All but one informal expert stated that the types of work performed by children did not change after the earthquake. The one respondent who indicated a change in the type of work did not elaborate on the difference.

iii. Introduction to Work

Most parents indicated that it was the child's idea to begin working, stating, for example: "He went on his own to see a mechanic on Champs de Mars street. It was his idea," and "Given that I couldn't offer him certain things, well, he had the idea to do it." In other cases the parent decided the child should start working. Several explained that they wanted the child to learn important skills: "I gave her things to sell to develop her sense of commerce," and "It was my idea; I wanted him to get used to moving in the street." Similarly, some parents wanted to help the child develop a career, explaining that "It was my idea; I wanted to give him an activity so that he could earn money. Yes, he was very willing." One parent said he didn't want his son "to stay at the house doing nothing." Only one parent mentioned that the child was not amenable to work, stating that the child's working was his wife's idea and "the child didn't want to."

Given that parents often stated that it was the child's idea to begin working, the children's perspective on how they began working was interesting to investigate. Many children said they began working because of the influence of other children. Some saw what others were gaining and wanted to earn similarly: "I started doing this kind of work because seeing other children like me could buy a plate of food with this kind of activity; well, not wanting to be hungry, I started doing this work I do now." Some said more directly that they had learned from their friends; for example, they said: "I had a friend who did that [wiped cars]. I was with him one day and I saw how he did it." Others said that their friends encouraged them to work. A few children said they were encouraged to work by a parent: "When my mother went to sell, she brought me with her, and she taught me how to sell. At present, I can go and sell alone."

In an effort to understand their pathways into work, children were asked how they got started in their work. Again, peers played an important role for some children: "A friend brought me to this station to load cars like him," and "The boss is my friend; he lets me work with him." Others found their work through a family member or family friend. In cases where initial capital was required, it was generally provided by a family member. Sometimes the money came from a parent, for example: "I wanted to earn money, so I saved the money that my parents gave me so that I could do this work [selling water]" or "My parents gave me a little money to do it." Siblings, aunts, and other family members sometimes provided the initial funding. Occasionally the funds came from a stranger, for example: "I helped a lady who needed help, so she gave me 150 gourdes.[28] Then I started with trading." In a few cases the child said s/he was required to work: "My aunt made me work for her" or "my guardians made me work."

[28] The national currency is the Haitian gourde (HTG). 1 HTG ≈ 0.02 USD.

Family members were also asked how children got established in their work. Many respondents indicated that they or another family member gave the child the initial funding for their work. One respondent explained that her son "realized that I didn't have enough opportunity to help him; he asked me for a little money to start with commerce," and another said the child asked an aunt for initial funds. In some cases a family member gave the child initial merchandise to sell, such as underwear or small bags of water sold as beverages.

iv. Forced Labor and Trafficking

This study also examined the data for themes of forced labor and trafficking. A review of the literature suggests that forced labor outside of domestic service is very uncommon in Haiti. Forced labor and trafficking of children in domestic service is reportedly widespread,[29] but the review of the literature revealed no indications that the issues are common in the rest of urban work. An investigation of trafficking is complicated by the fact that Haitians are relatively mobile with high rates of internal and external migration. An estimated 600,000 people fled the capital zone for rural areas after the earthquake, but within 6 months at least 40 percent had returned.[30] Haiti also has very high rates of rural to urban migration—an estimated 75,000 people move to Port-au-Prince each year—and "nearly 17 percent of all Haitians over the age of 18 have migrated at some point to Port-au-Prince."[31]

The following definitions of forced labor and child trafficking were used for the analysis:

- **Forced Labor:** International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention 29 defines forced labor as "any work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which said person has not offered himself voluntarily."[32] This definition becomes problematic when the person is a child and the employer her or his parent. In this case, the 1956 Supplementary Convention is helpful, as it states that "any institution or practice whereby a child or young person under the age of 18 years, is delivered by either or both of his natural parents or by his guardian to another person, whether for reward or not, with a view to the exploitation of the child or young person or of his labour" is a practice similar to slavery.

- **Child Trafficking:** Child trafficking is defined by the Palermo Protocol as "the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation." It is not necessary for the means of recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring, or receipt of the person to include fraud and coercion in the case of children.

In order to investigate forced labor, the study examined whether children worked for someone other than a parent, how and why they began working (to identify elements of coercion or deceptive recruitment), and whether children could stop working if they wanted to stop. The exploration of trafficking builds on the analysis of forced labor themes through the addition of an examination of how children arrived in Port-au-Prince if they were born elsewhere. The purpose

[29] U.S. Department of State. (2012). Trafficking in Persons. Retrieved from http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/192595.pdf
[30] Oxfam. (2010). *op. cit.*
[31] World Bank. (2006). *op. cit.* p. 20.
[32] ILO Convention 29 Forced Labour Convention. (1930). Geneva: ILO

of this analysis was to identify issues that might indicate potential forced labor or trafficking situations, rather than to measure specific cases of forced labor or trafficking. The issues identified merit further investigation to determine if these conditions are taking place.

To indirectly gather information on possible trafficking and forced labor conditions, family members were asked how the child got from his or her home to the site of work the first time. Most said that the child arrived on his or her own. Many also noted that the place where the child worked was near the home. Sometimes the parent went with the child: "Well, I was there with him; it was me who showed him the street." Two parents said the child was helped by a friend, and another was accompanied by the parent's older brother, who found the job for the child. When asked whether the child worked with or for anyone else, most family members responded that the child worked alone. A few reported that the child worked for a boss, such as a mechanic or tap-tap[33] driver.

As described above, most child respondents said that they worked alone, but a few worked for someone else. In these cases there is not enough information to determine whether the child might be in conditions of forced labor or trafficking, but children did make some troubling statements that could indicate these conditions. For example, one child said, "After my day of work, I have to share my revenue with [nick-name omitted]; if not, he hurts me." Additionally, several children mentioned having to share their profits with their aunts, which is concerning because restaveks sometimes refer to their employers as their aunts.

A direct question regarding a child's ability to stop working was asked of family members. Many respondents said that the child was free to stop working if he or she wanted. Others said that the child could stop working if she or he found a better opportunity or if the parent found a job. Many others said that the child could not stop working because the child must be able to support him or herself. In other cases the child seemed to have no choice in the matter. Some parents said the child could not stop working because his income was needed to support the family: "No, she cannot; if she stops, I don't know how we will eat." Another responded, "Yes [he could stop working], if I don't want him to work anymore."

The responses of children, for the most part, were similar to those of the family members. Many said that yes, they could stop working if they wanted to stop. A large number said they could not stop working because of their economic conditions, explaining, for example: "No, I wouldn't find anything to eat" and "No, I couldn't survive." A few children seemed pressured to work by their peers in addition to poverty, for example: "If you don't work and then you ask the other guys for something to eat, they'll spit first in the food, and you have to eat that, too. They will call you a tramp and ask, 'Why don't you work? You want to leech off of others.'" Several children said they had to work so that they would not have to turn to theft for self-support: "I don't want to take what doesn't belong to me. I am young, and I value my reputation."

Some said they could not stop working because of the conditions of their family, reporting, for example: "Yes, I can, but I won't because my mother cannot function, all alone." In some of these cases it is not clear whether the pressure to work came from the child himself or family members. One child responded, "I can't stop working because what I do really helps the house

[33] "Tap-tap" is a Haitian term to refer to public transport, usually buses or pick-up trucks.

and the rest of the family that lives in the province." Many others said they could stop working if they found something different or more profitable. Several mentioned they could stop if they were willing to return to their family's home.

Some responses to the question about ability to quit working were unclear. One child said, "Yes, I can decide to stop if I want, if they decide to send me to another place that is better than the street." It is not clear here to whom the child is referring, but he does not seem to be fully in control of his situation. Another responded somewhat enigmatically, "Yes, because I would like to be at school rather than where I am now"; here, too, it is not clear whether the child is fully in control of his situation. A girl working with her blind father responded no when asked whether she could ask him to return to the home, but the details here are unknown; perhaps he did not allow her to stay home alone when he was working. One child said he didn't know whether he could quit working.

In a few cases the responses indicated more clearly that the child lacked the ability to stop working:

- "No, I could not stop working if I want because my mother would not agree with me – because if I don't work, she and my little sister will not be able to eat."
- "No, my aunt would punish me."
- "No, I could not because my uncle would never want for me to drop his trade."
- "No, I couldn't because my cousin wouldn't like it and wouldn't want me to do it."

For these children information is inadequate to know for sure the severity of their situation, but their statements suggest that, in some cases, children on the street may be working unwillingly. None of the children's responses indicated that they were relocated to Port-au-Prince with the purpose of exploitation.

v. Market Demands Contributing to Urban Child Labor

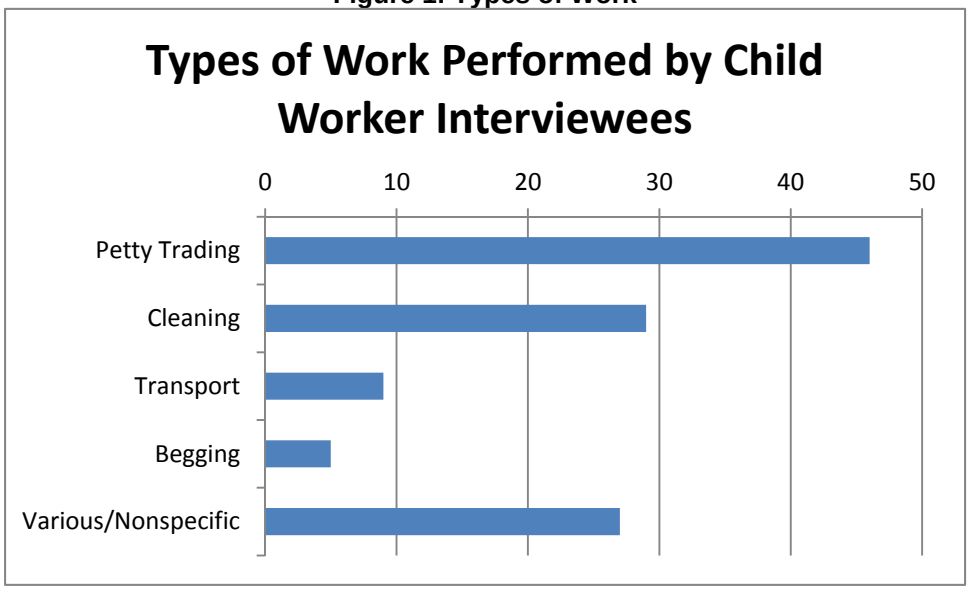
In addition to understanding the socioeconomic conditions leading to child work and the possibility of forced labor and trafficking, the study sought to identify market demands that contribute to urban child labor. Given the data compiled for this study, it is not possible to provide a definitive answer to this question. Most of the work performed by children appears to be performed in equal measure by able-bodied adults, with the exception of begging and wiping cars. As this is the case, there does not seem to be a strong demand for labor which would provide an opportunity for children. Port-au-Prince has many adult beggars, often individuals with disabilities or the elderly, so there too the market seems almost saturated even without children. Because children tended to work in occupations that require little or no initial funds, the researchers conclude that push factors may be more important than pull factors in the case of Haitian urban child labor. Children in poverty seek an opportunity to earn money even if it means working long hours for little money.

B. Types of Work Performed and Working Conditions

i. Types of Work Performed

The most common types of work for the interviewed children were petty trading, cleaning, transportation jobs, and begging.

Figure 1: Types of Work



Trade included such activities as reselling clothing; selling small amounts of foods, such as flour and salt; selling cell phone credit; and selling beverages, including sacks of water, sodas, and juice. Informal experts suggested that selling water is the one of the easiest points of entry into the market because the cost of bags of water are relatively low. Bottles of soda and juice, for example, are more expensive.

Those involved in cleaning most frequently cleaned cars, but they also washed dishes and shined shoes. Car cleaners typically either wiped the cars or washed them. Those who wiped roamed the streets with small pieces of cloth and began wiping cars that were stopped in traffic or pulled over on the side of the road in hopes that the driver would pay for the service. Those who washed cars typically worked in a set part of the street and waited for drivers who wanted their cars to be washed with soap and water to approach the wash site. Informal experts explained that those who wash cars typically earn more than those who wipe them. Some children reported washing dishes or cleaning the cooking tools of street merchants. Other children worked as shoe shiners, usually setting up their small stool in a set location for the day.

A Day in the Life: A 17 year old boy in Port-au-Prince describes the previous day

Yesterday I woke up in the house I rent with a friend. I brushed my teeth and washed my face and left. I started working around 7 am. I helped a porter carry water to an upstairs apartment. After five buckets of water, I took a little break. As vehicles arrived, I wiped a few that people were just parking nearby. I continued carrying water until 10 am. They gave me 50 gourdes for this work.

After, I went to look for something to do on the street. I wiped several more cars that people had just parked nearby. I made around 50 gourdes doing this. In the afternoon I took up my position at the bottom of the stairs. There's a pharmacy located upstairs where people go to buy medication. I take the prescriptions and carry them to the man upstairs. He gives me 25 or 50 gourdes.

I finished around 6 pm and went directly home. I didn't roam the streets at all. I went to bed around 8 pm.

Was that a normal day?
Yes, but sometimes if things are "hot" [insecure] where I live, I go sleep on the front porches of the stores in another area.

Another common job was to work in transportation, either of people or goods. Children often collected passengers for shared buses, vans, and trucks. Transportation vehicles compete for passengers, and children were often employed to collect passengers for a particular vehicle. They sometimes also helped to load belongings into the vehicles and collected money from the passengers. Another common job was helping to load products onto trucks. Some children worked as porters and assisted merchants or shoppers in moving goods from one place to another. One respondent was a motorcycle taxi driver. Two performed tire repairs.

Finally, many children worked as beggars in Port-au-Prince. This job was frequently combined with wiping cars and was generally mobile, with children walking through traffic or busy markets asking for assistance. One interviewee was a beggar's assistant, helping a blind man to navigate crowds and traffic. Among the interviewees there were a few other less common types of work such as repairing tires and collecting scrap metal for pay.

A Day in the Life: An 11 year old girl in Carrefour describes the previous day

I woke up in the morning and did the dishes and a few other household tasks, like make the bed and clean the floor. After brushing my teeth, washing, and eating, I went out with the blind man. I took a tap-tap to arrive where we were going. It was 10am when I arrived. I ask for alms accompanied by the blind man. People give me money, food, bread, juice... I give the money to the blind man. On a good day we earn 500 gourdes. I don't keep any. I returned home at 7pm. I went to bed at 9pm.

Was that a normal day?
My days always pass like this, except when there is school. When I have class, there is a young boy who goes with the blind man.

It was not unusual for children to do several types of work, even in the course of one day. Those who did not have the capital to buy merchandise to sell often walked the streets begging but also searching for short-term opportunities, such as helping someone fetch water. Children frequently refered to this search for activity as "*brase/bwase*," and while there does not seem to be an exact English translation, the idea is to seek activity or money, or to hustle. Some children did one type

of work in the morning, such as selling bags of water, then changed to another type in the afternoon after they had sold all of their merchandise for the day.

ii. Organization of Children's Work

The study found little evidence of children's work being organized, either through gangs or another entity. Most children indicated that they worked alone, though a few worked with friends or an employer. Those who washed and wiped cars, for example, sometimes worked with friends. Those who collected passengers for mass transportation worked for a driver, but the work did not seem to be organized beyond this level. Children involved in petty trading typically worked alone and for themselves, but in some cases they worked for another person, usually a relative. In these cases, they were given the money to buy merchandise in the morning, and then they returned any unsold merchandise, as well as the money made during the day, to their boss in the evening. These children were either given occasional pocket money or a weekly wage. In no case was work organized beyond a child being hired by a single individual.

iii. Income from Child Work

Children reported varying levels of income depending on the day. They tended to report the amount earned on good days rather than an estimated average. Most reported earning between 50 and 500 gourdes per day (US$1.20 to $12) but noted that on some days they earn nothing at all. Some explained the level of profit expected for their particular type of work. For example, several children explained the profit structure of selling small sacks of water: They buy a large bag of sacks of water for 60 gourdes and then gain a profit of 40 gourdes by selling all the sacks. Another bought a bag of sacks for 50 gourds and gained a profit of 25 gourdes. One child gave the profit possibility of selling cell phone credit: "If you buy 1,000 gourdes of credit, you can make a profit of 40 gourdes for the day."

The majority reported that their earnings were theirs to decide how to use. Some reported giving a portion to a relative, and a few said that they gave the full sum or majority to a family member.

Family members of children were also asked how much children made. Most family member respondents were unsure how much the child made, and many indicated that the amount varied. Those who did provide estimates offered a range from 20 to 1,000 gourdes (approximately US$0.50 to $24), with a median of 100 gourdes (US$2.40). Additionally, most noted that the child kept the full sum, but some said the child shared his or her earnings with the family: "He brings sometimes his earnings and I require him to share them with the family." The few children who worked directly with their parents were typically unpaid and just received pocket money.

Many children provided information on how they spent their earnings. Most were used for daily survival, such as food. Many reported saving their earnings to pay for school. Several noted additional expenditures, such as clothing and rent. Some children mentioned spending their earnings on entertainment, such as gambling, playing video games, or renting a bicycle. Some mentioned saving "for tomorrow" since income is highly variable, either keeping the money on their person or by giving it to a trusted third party to save. Others said they invested their money by sending it to rural relatives to buy animals, such as goats, on their behalf. Several children explained that they invested a portion of their earnings in a rotating fund. In these cases,

everyone contributes a fixed amount each week, and one member receives the full fund each week on a rotating basis.

A number of children reported not being paid for work. For example, one female worker spent the day washing clothing: “The vast majority was colored clothing. I just used detergent. It’s a religious person. I brushed the skirts and jeans using detergent.” After eight hours of washing: “She said that the money to pay wasn’t available and that I could come back the next day to look for it. So I left.” A boy who loads passengers said, “Sometimes they have me work and don’t pay me… When I load trucks in the afternoon, they don’t pay; and then I go wipe cars to have money to pay for my food.” Most of those complaining of not being paid for their work were those who wiped cars. However, in many cases individuals approach cars and begin wiping without the request or consent of the owners, so this is not surprising.

iv. Risks faced by working children

Children were asked to recount their day including the hours that they had started and stopped working. Because many children did a number of activities during the day in addition to working (such as going to bible study, eating, and playing), it was difficult to estimate the number of hours worked per day from their responses. It was clear, however, that most worked at least 8 hours and often more, up to around 16 hours per day. Additionally, some children lived in rural areas outside of Port-au-Prince and commuted to work on foot, adding additional hours to their work day.

Most family members reported that their children worked long hours, for example, stating, “He works all the time; he comes home late.” The respondents who were able to quantify their child’s hours reported a range from 3 to 13 hours per day, with an average of 8. One noted that the child worked longer hours during the vacation period. Informal experts said that children worked from 10 to 15 working hours per day. Most family members indicated that the child worked either six or seven days per week, with the most common rest day being Sunday. Similarly, children usually reported working either six or seven days per week.

In addition to long hours, the study aimed to determine risks faced by working children. Researchers observed working children and concluded that those working as mobile vendors or beggars appeared to be most at risk due to the frequency of their walking through traffic, which exposed them to the risk of being hit by cars. Young children also carried heavy loads, such as a box of sodas on their heads, for many hours of the day. Most wore only sandals, with no protection from the trash and injury hazards on the street. Many spent hours per day in the sun without long sleeves or hats. Mobile vendors and children working on buses and trucks were exposed to dust and exhaust for most of the day.

When children themselves were asked to describe their work and their worst day, most focused on their level of earnings rather than the risks and dangers they faced. For example, one child who sold cell phone credit by transferring his credit to his customers using his own phone reported, “The minutes that I sent to someone—I sent way too much,” resulting in a loss of income. A water seller said that his worst days were those that were not sunny, because when the weather is overcast, “people don’t consume enough water.”

It was not uncommon for children to report having been robbed, either of their earnings or their merchandise:

> *Sometimes I move around, I leave the merchandise for a moment, when I return I find nothing. That happens very often. Last month that happened around four times. The time it takes for me to go make change and come back and everything has disappeared. I don't know who does that.*

In some cases children were beaten during the robbery, and some children reported being beaten at other times during their work, for example when they blocked the position of another seller or attempted to wipe a car without the agreement of the driver. Some children seemed to experience violence as they went about their days. One child said he was asked by a big man for 10 gourdes: "I refused, he hit me. I didn't do anything else. This is a frustrated big guy; he always wants what he doesn't possess." Several children, when asked whether they had ever experienced violence during their work, indicated that the reason they had not had this experience was their own attitude: "I don't look for trouble; my days are good and normal." Another responded similarly:

> *We can have an argument, but that doesn't mean we're going to fight. You have to consider you're smaller. If you're younger, just look for peace and give him a hug. Then you have fun and make jokes. If you don't steal people's things and aren't rude, no one can come and hit you for not doing anything.*

The opinion of these children was supported by the example of an opposite case: "One time someone tried to kill me because I had stolen their handbag."

Some children described injuries obtained during work, such as being hit by a car, getting severe scrapes from falls, and tripping while running from municipal authorities. For example, one child reported, "One day when Petionville authorities were chasing after merchants, I fell with the sack of water bags on my head. I nearly broke my arms, and I almost lost the sack, but I managed to save what could be saved." A few mentioned falling ill during the workday and having to return home without completing the work of the day. One child reported, "Every Monday I always have problems. Every Monday, I get ill. If I don't have a headache, I have a fever. It has always been like that every Monday, I must get sick."

Regarding the risks children face at work, most of the family member concerns were somewhat vague, such as "the street is dangerous" and "there is too much insecurity in the country." Several respondents specifically mentioned the risk of robbery and one mentioned murder. One mother worried that the car parts were too heavy for her mechanic apprentice son. Another worried about the dangerous drivers and delinquents on the street. Most parents indicated that their child had never been hurt or become sick while working. A few mentioned injuries, such as being burned, fracturing a bone because of a fall, and having their skin pierced while searching for pieces of iron. Parents of mechanic apprentices reported their children being injured by falling car parts and sustaining injuries to their fingers.

Most informal experts indicated that street work was not dangerous. However, a minority of informal experts argued that children performed very strenuous. Their examples included carrying loads that were too heavy for their level of physical development, washing vehicles for

more than ten hours per day, and searching for metal such as sewage copper without any kind of protection against disease.

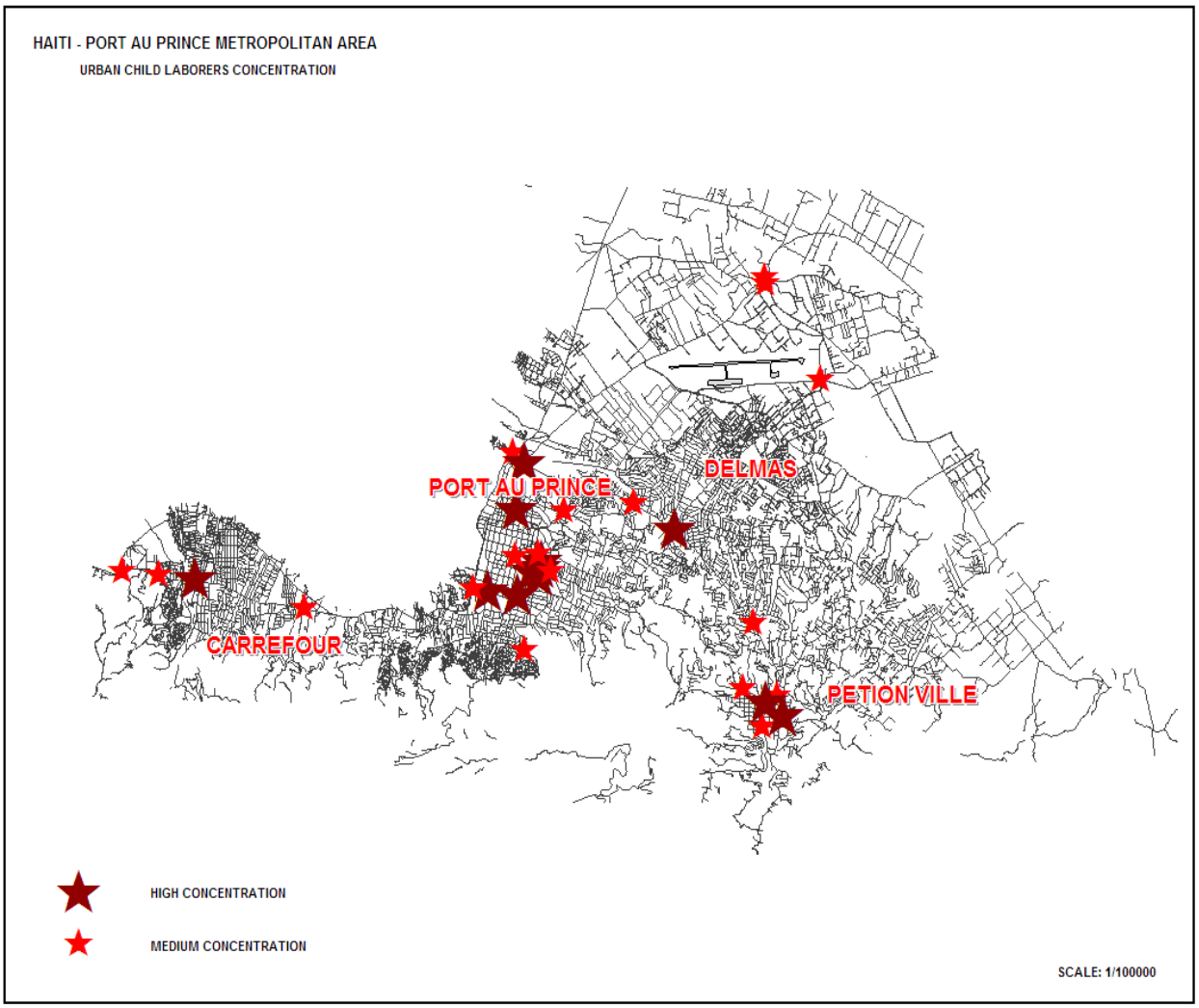
C. Geographic Characteristics of Child Labor

The study sought to understand the geographic characteristics of child labor. The researchers found that the areas of greater child labor were generally crowded places with heavy traffic. This was not surprising considering the types of work that they do, which require a large client base.

In an attempt to understand the specific areas more thoroughly, informal experts were asked where most urban child labor took place. Seven zones were discussed by the informal experts. The areas of highest concentration of children working in Port-au-Prince were Town Center, cited by one-quarter of witnesses, and Champs de Mars, also cited by one-quarter. This makses sense as these are areas of significant population densitity with very active markets and busy roads. Informal experts considered Delmas, Carrefour, and Bicentenaire as areas of Port-au-Prince with lower concentrations of street children.

The map below (Figure 2) shows areas of concentration of children working on the streets.

Figure 2: Areas of Concentration of Child Labor in Port Au Prince



When questioned about the locations where their children worked, most family members were aware of where their children worked, and most indicated that their children worked near their homes. Few offered other reasons for choosing a particular area in which to work. One respondent indicated that her daughter chose her worksite because she felt it would be secure. Another parent indicated the child chose the worksite because a friend worked there. Most parents reported that their children worked in the same general area from day to day, explaining for example: "He doesn't move around because he has a lot of clients in the zone." Others noted that their children moved around frequently because that was the nature of their work, for example in searching for empty cans or selling bottled drinks.

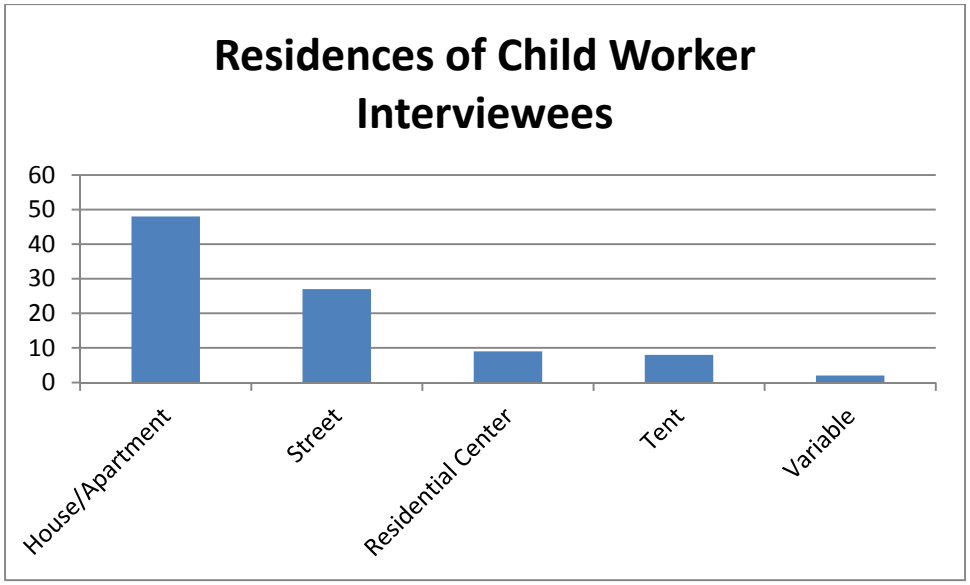
Informal experts also had mixed responses. About half interviewed specified that the children were always moving. The rest said that children developed relationships with vendors and other children in certain areas and then tended to remain in those zones. Children themselves typically indicated that they stayed in the same general areas even if their work was mobile.

D. Living Conditions and Demographics of Child Workers, including Education

i. Living Conditions of Child Workers

The living conditions of urban child workers varied greatly. Figure 3 below presents the types of residences child worker interviewees inhabited.

Figure 3: Child Worker Places of Residence



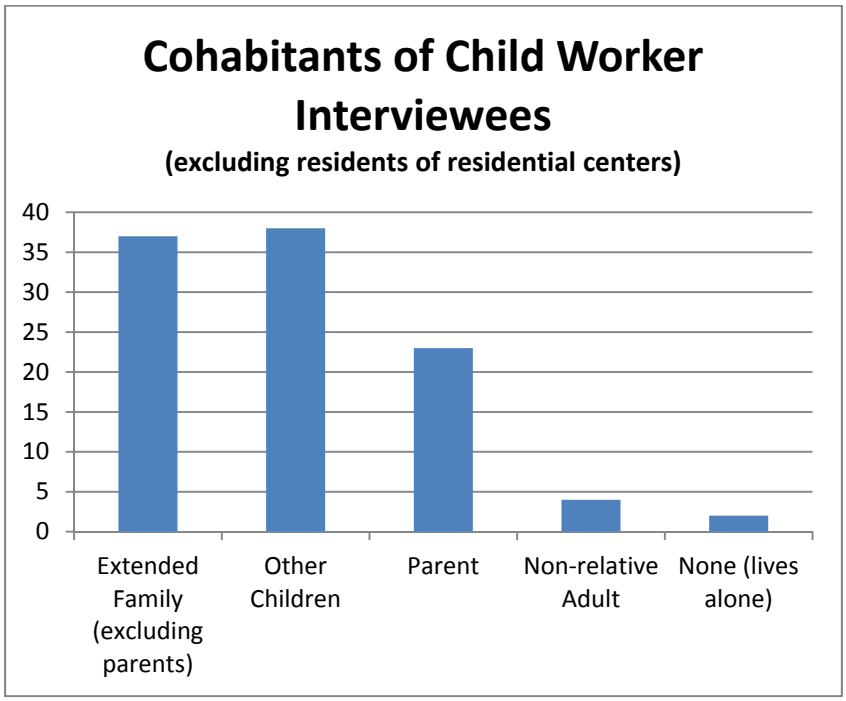
Among those interviewed, roughly one-third lived on the street and the rest in some kind of shelter. Those without shelter described sleeping at gas stations, on porches, on empty tables in markets, and in abandoned cars or ruined buildings. One such child described his living quarters as follows:

> *I sleep in a truck at the gas station after it's been parked. Only the security guard is there, but he doesn't sleep; he's seated. I don't pay anything to sleep there, but I usually sweep the station for them. They don't pay me for that. When I wake up, I buy some water from the* igloo *[store selling bags, bottles, and large jugs of water] to wash my face. I don't brush my teeth; I don't have any tooth paste.*

Most of these children slept near other street children and often described them as friends. All but one of the respondents who slept on the street was male. The one female interviewee who slept on the street slept near other girls but said that they often had to change locations because the boys come try to have sex with them. This child reported that their attempts to fend off the boys were not always successful; she had been assaulted and violated previously.

Most of those living in a shelter lived in a house or apartment, though some lived in tents or in residential centers for children. A few lived alone or with other minors, but most lived either with parents or other relatives, usually aunts, cousins, or siblings. A few children reported living with nonrelatives whom they paid.

Figure 4: Cohabitants of Child Workers



When asked about their morning routines, most children described washing their eyes or faces and brushing their teeth. Several referenced the difficulty of finding water for these tasks. A few mentioned performing household chores or morning prayers, but most indicated that they rise, wash, and go to the street to work. Very few mentioned eating in the morning, suggesting that food may be hard to come by for young urban workers. Most spent their days away from home and only returned to sleep. Those who described their meals typically mentioned either buying food from street vendors or being given food. One child, for example, said that he worked until the hour of "gratin," meaning crust or crumb: "Around 4pm, when the [food] merchants have finished selling they let you eat the *gratin*." An informal expert explained that this benefits both parties; the children receive something to eat, and the merchants receive help cleaning the browned, stuck-on food at the bottom of the pot.

A Day in the Life: A 14 year old boy in Port-au-Prince describes the previous day

I woke up in a market with three others who are like my brothers. I washed my face and then I *completely* shaved my head. I bought a razor for 5 gourdes. I took a bath in the ravine. My clothes were very dirty; I bought this shirt for 25 gourdes and these pants for 50 gourdes. When my clothes are dirty, I throw them out and buy more from used clothing sellers.

In the morning, I started working early. I requested alms from a boss who gave me 100 gourdes. I played Nintendo with this money. I played for 25 gourdes, and I ate for 75 gourdes. I lost three rounds and won two. Then I washed a car for 125 gourdes. From this money, I gave 100 gourdes to an old lady. Then I wiped several vehicles. I spent the rest of the day on the street. In the afternoon, I gave a little help to the spaghetti venders. When they finished selling, I helped them get their belongings home. For that they gave me a lot to eat. I bought a drink then I went to watch TV until 4 am. Sometimes I don't go back to the same place to sleep. Sometimes I don't sleep at all. When there were the tents I slept there, but I don't want to live with other people; I want my own house.

Was that a normal day?
No, yesterday was a very good day.

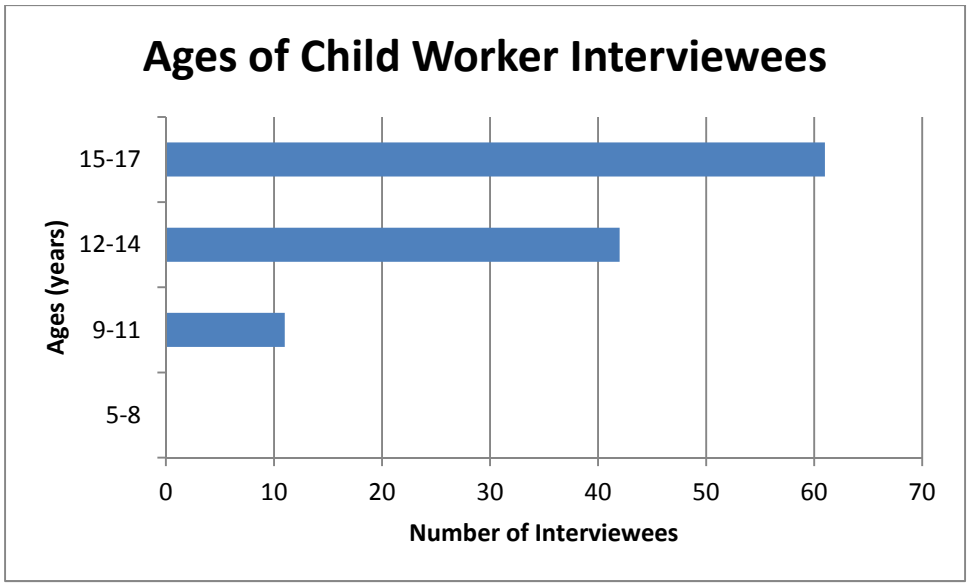
When children described their daily activities they often included non-work activities. Some reported playing soccer or watching television when electricity was available. Several mentioned gambling. A few said that when they were finished working they roamed the streets with friends. One said that when he had extra money he rented a bicycle. Another mentioned taking a walk in the fresh air before going to work. However, other children reported that their lives involved nothing but work.

Family members were also questioned about the living arrangements of working children. About half of family members interviewed indicated that their children slept at home. Most of those whose children did not sleep at home reported that their children stayed with relatives. Parents suggested that most children ate at home. Parents of child workers indicated concern over the diet of their children. Many mentioned both a shortage of food and lack of variety.

ii. Demographics of Child Workers

The study attempted to collect basic demographic information about the children who were interviewed. They ranged from 9 to 17 years old, and the average age was 14. Most of the interviewed children were older than age 12. The distribution of ages is presented in Figure 5 below.

Figure 5: Ages of Child Workers

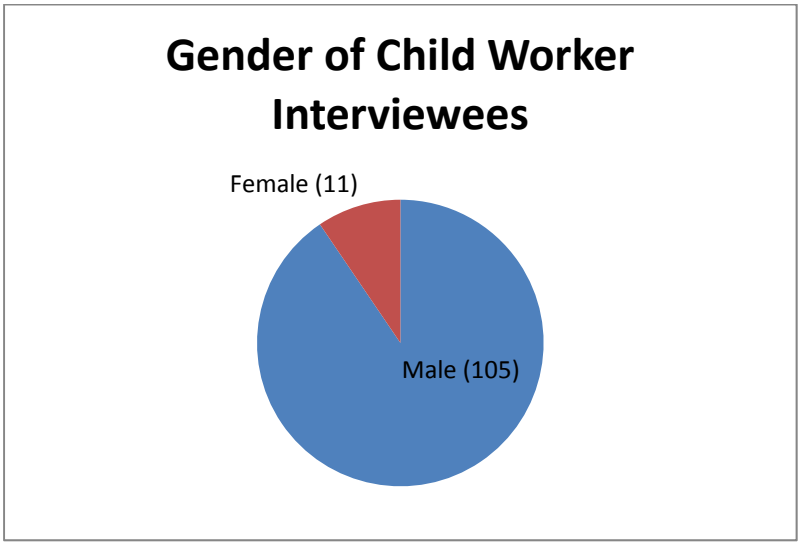


Children reported starting to work at age 12, on average. Family members were also asked at what age children started working. The ages ranged from 8 to 17 years and averaged 13 years.

The majority of the sample was male, with less than one-tenth being female, as shown in Figure 6 below. Observations indicate that this reflects the actual distribution of gender among children working on the streets of Port-au-Prince. Most mobile vendors were male, and the only female role was usually sedentary petty traders. Informal experts suggested that female children have a tendency to work in domestic service rather than on the street. One noted, “There are many more boys who work than girls; that which boys do, girls don’t do, like load and wipe cars.”

The majority of children were not born in the area where they currently lived. However, some were not sure where they came from; for example one child noted, “I suppose I was born here because I don’t remember living anywhere else.” Many children reported moving from a different part of the metropolitan area. Many others came from different parts of the country. Some described coming with others, for example on child said: “I’ve lived here for two years; before, I lived in Gonaives. I arrived in Port-au-Prince with another child like me, that is to say I followed another child like me who wanted to come to Port-au-Prince.” Another was brought to the capital by his older brother. Most who came from other areas said that they came alone.

Figure 6: Gender of Child Workers



Children were asked the occupation of their parents so that researchers could understand, on a basic level, their background. Nearly half of children were unable to provide the occupation of their parents, either because they were not in contact with their parents, their parents were deceased, or they simply did not know. Those who did know the occupation of their parents described a variety of jobs that typically represent lower socio-economic status. These included farmers, petty traders, mechanics, and clothes washers. Many indicated that their parents were unemployed.

Among those who had living parents, children were divided as to how much contact they had with their parents. Some children called their parents regularly and others rarely. Some of those who only rarely talked to their parents mentioned their lack of phones. While some respondents lived with parents, some visited weekly, some visited annually, and some had no contact at all with their parents. A few of those with no contact explained that they were estranged.

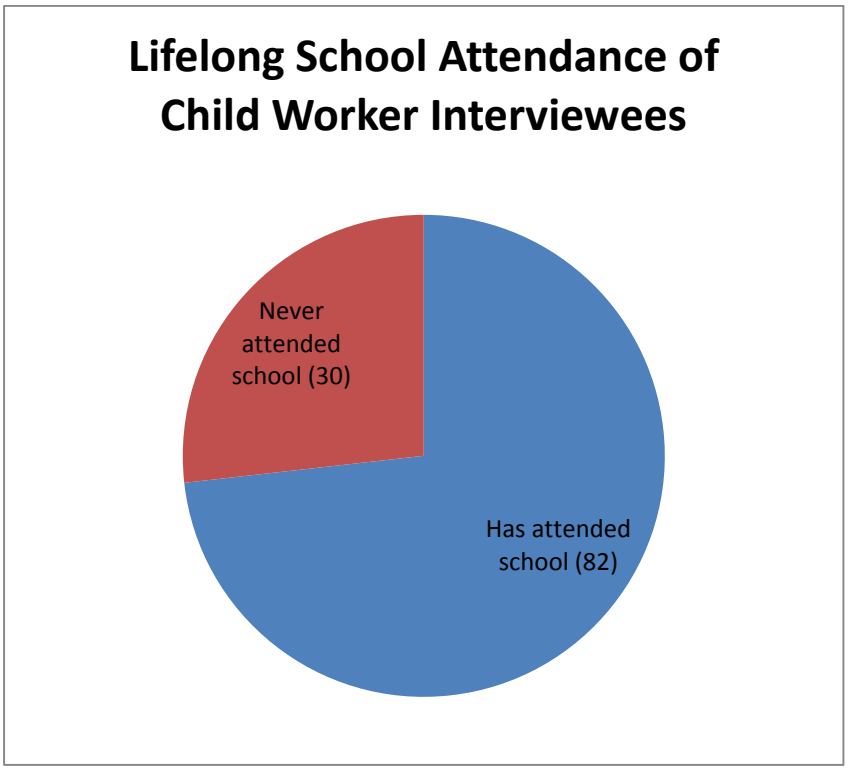
iii. School Attendance

One goal of the study was to evaluate the relationship between school and work for this population. The Haitian education system is organized into preschool, fundamental education, and secondary education. At the end of nine years of fundamental education, students receive a Brevet diploma. After the first four years, students have the option of moving to a professional or technical tract. There are four levels in the secondary school system, followed by a Baccalaureate final exam and diploma.[34] Haiti has a 48 percent fundamental education participation rate for boys and a 52 percent rate for girls (net attendance ratio, 2005-2010 data). The secondary school participation rate for both boys and girls is much lower, at 18 and 21 percent, respectively.[35] The

[34] Embassy of Haiti. (n.d.). Education systems in Haiti. Retrieved from http://www.haiti.org/files/Education_System_in_Haiti.pdf
[35] UNICEF. (n.d.). *op. cit.*

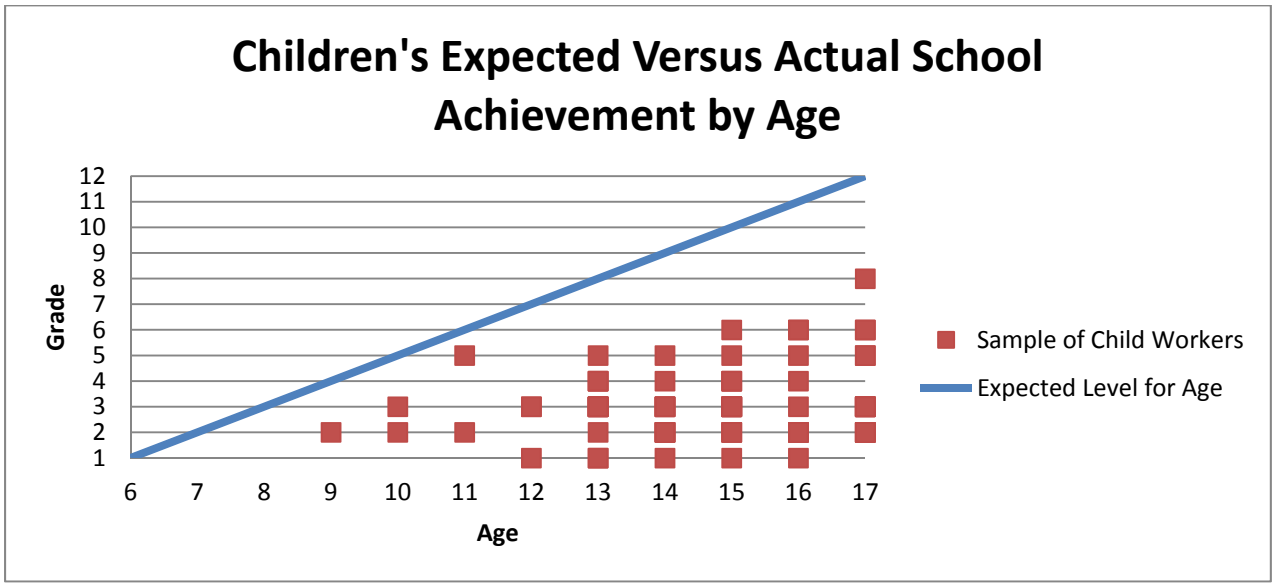
repetition rate is high for all levels. Around one-third of the sample had never attended school at all, as shown in Figure 7 below.

Figure 7: School Attendance of Child Workers



Among those children who had attended school, the study examined the age-grade delay. Children's highest level achieved was compared to the level a child of that age would be expected to have completed. As Figure 8 below shows, working children's levels in school were well below those expected for their ages. The levels shown below for the sampled children should be considered conservatively, since some children provided the highest grade attended when asked the highest grade completed. This means that in some cases the highest grade completed was actually one level lower.

Figure 8: School Achievement of Child Workers



Schooling in Haiti has a long history of weakness and has produced a population with an approximate literacy rate of 49 percent.[36] While schooling is compulsory through age 11, there are not enough public schools to enroll nearly all of Haiti's primary school-aged children.[37] Since demand for education far outstrips public delivery, there are many private and parochial schools which provide an education for 81 percent of early primary school students (first six levels). Since most children attend private schools, many families struggle to pay the cost of tuition, uniforms, and textbooks. One child explained, for example, "When the moment of the exams arrived, they always sent me out the door because my mother didn't have the money to pay for school."

Many children described working in order to pay for school fees; however, there appears to be a tension between work and schooling. A few children specifically stated that while they were enrolled in school they sometimes missed classes in order to work. For example, one child said, "Sometimes it happens that I miss class because it can happen at school, one must eat, one must drink something like that. And then, I just missed two days but I don't miss more than three days of class." Since most children were on vacation during data collection this study did not collect detailed information about non-attendance due to work, but the final interview question regarding children's opinions on whether children should work does provide some insight. Many children said that children should attend school rather than work, suggesting that, in many cases, a choice must be made between the two rather than both being possible.

Several children indicated that they had stopped attending school because they were not successful: "Despite all my efforts, I had a hard time learning at school," and "I wasn't at school [last year] … I am not too studious." However, these children still indicated a preference for returning to school. A subset of children were asked what they would like to do in the future, and

[36] UNICEF. (n.d.). *op. cit.*
[37] USDOL. (2010). *op. cit.*

many indicated that they would like to either continue school or return to school in order to accomplish something with their lives. When asked his dreams, one child responded, “Me? Going to school would be most important to me. You see what I’m telling you. I don’t mind *brase* on the street if it’s to pay for school.” One child was particularly hopeful. He was in second grade the previous year and did not know how to read. Asked about the upcoming year, he replied, “I will pray to be admitted into sixth grade. If you are studious, you skip classes in a blink of an eye.”

A little over half of family members interviewed confirmed that their children attended school. Among the remaining children who did not attend school, around one-fifth had attended school in the past: “He’s not going to school this year; yes, he usually goes—he didn’t go this year because of a lack of means.” Among those whose children did attend school, most respondents indicated that the child worked before or after school, which is understandable since most children attend school only half the day, either in the morning or afternoon. Two family members reported that their children worked on school holidays. The children described by family members might have been more able to both work and attend school than the child respondents because they were at least partially supported by family members, while many of the child worker respondents supported themselves entirely.

E. Perceptions of the Situation by Those Involved

The study sought to understand how children perceived their work in particular and child labor more generally. In reviewing the responses to all the questions, it was clear that children’s views of their work varied greatly. When children were asked to describe their worst work day, a surprising number said they had never had a bad day. Others, when asked to describe their best work day, indicated that they had never had a good day and that every day was bad. Many children, in response to both questions, said that every day was the same, neither good nor bad, just repetitive.

When children were asked whether they could leave their work, many said that they could leave it if they found something better, indicating dissatisfaction with their present employment. The dissatisfaction seemed to stem largely from lack of income. A few said that they could quit their job but they did not want to because they liked the work they did. A theme emerged that whether or not a child liked his present employment, many very much appreciated the freedom that their work offered.

A subset of children was asked what they hoped to do in the future. Most hoped to leave the street, explaining, for example: “I want to become a man of worth. I would like to accomplish several things. I don’t want to spend and lose all my time in the street and doing this dirty work.” Some did not have specific hopes for the future; rather, they were open to any type of work: “Any kind, whatever I find” and “No matter what God puts before me.” Many said that wanted a specific job unrelated to their current work, including mechanic, driver, mason, seamstress, and furniture maker. A few more ambitious children hoped to have jobs which would require university degrees, such as teacher, engineer, or doctor. Some children, however, gave the impression of being somewhat hopeless and dismissed the question, seeming to accept their current job as their future fate.

To understand children's attitudes toward child work more generally, children were asked whether they believed all children should work. Respondents were divided in their opinions and several responded with uncertainty. Many said that yes, children should work in order to make money, to support themselves, to be able to eat, or to buy things. A few specified that children should work in order to help support their families. One said that they should work in order to go to school; several expressed the belief that children should work so that they could be independent. Some believed that everyone old or young should work, and one said, "Yes, I find it normal that all children work. I don't know." Another qualified his response, stating, "Yes, all children should work but not in just any conditions." One child said, "Yes, to prepare for their future."

Many children, however, believed that children should not work. Many of these respondents highlighted the importance of school: "No, children are not supposed to work because they should be at school," and "No, work is certainly synonymous with liberty but teach them to read and write." Others said that children should not work but that they have to work because of poverty. One responded, "No, because work is not for children but for adults." Another explained more fully, "No, all children are not supposed to work because the street is dangerous. The police can stop you at any moment and because also this type of work is not good for children." Another replied, "No, they should live in the embrace of a family to find affection and food."

For the parental perspective, family members were also asked whether they thought it was beneficial for children to work. Most responded negatively, indicating that a child's place was at school. One parent said, for example, "No, children are not supposed to work, because it's school that is the priority," and another said, "In fact, he should go to school and concentrate solely on his studies." Others seemed to express disappointment in themselves, noting that parents should provide for the child rather than the child working: "As a parent, it is me who should be in his place." Many suggested that while it is not ideal for children to work, children provide necessary support for themselves and their families.

Some family members responded in the affirmative. Some indicated it provided an opportunity for the child to learn, explaining for example, "Yes, it teaches him to be responsible. It's in his interest to work." Others reported that it was beneficial for children to work because they can provide for themselves, including helping to pay for school and helping to provide for their families. One parent responded, "Yes, because it is normal for everyone to work, child or not." Another said, "Yes, I find that it's an advantage to work to avoid vagrancy."

As an alternative means of understanding parental attitudes toward child work, family members were asked whether they worried about their children when they were at work. Parents were divided in their responses. Many responded "no," without elaborating. Some said they were not worried because god would protect the child or because the child worked nearby. Many others responded that they did worry about their working child. Most of them explained that "he is only a child" or "I worry mostly about his age," indicating perhaps that parents feel children are in positions for which they are too young.

F. Programs and Policies in Place that Address Urban Child Labor

Governmental policies and laws attempt to protect urban child workers in several ways. According to Haiti's Labor Code, the minimum age for work in industrial, agricultural, or commercial enterprises is age 15.[38] These laws would apply mainly to urban child laborers outside the focus of this study. The minimum age for apprenticeships is 14 years old.[39] Children age 15 to 18 must obtain work authorization from the Ministry of Labor to be employed.[40] Children are prohibited from night work in industrial jobs and from work that is likely to harm their health, safety, or morals.[41] Haiti's Act on the Prohibition and Elimination of All Forms of Abuse, Violence, Ill Treatment or Inhuman Treatment Against Children protects children from trafficking and prohibits servitude and forced labor.

The 1987 Haitian Constitution (amended in 2011) recognizes the family as the basis of society. Articles 259 to 262 offer a legal basis to protect the child. Haitian law establishes the parents' responsibility vis-à-vis the child. The adult responsible for a child must feed him, send him to school, and provide a suitable environment for his development. The Criminal Code provides penalties for anyone who abandons or gives up a child.

Haiti is signatory to all fundamental human rights conventions concerning child labor, including:

- *ILO Convention 29–Forced Labor Convention*[42]
- *ILO Convention 105–Abolition of Forced Labor Convention*[43]
- *ILO Convention 138–Minimum Age Convention*[44]
- *ILO Convention 182–Worst Forms of Child Labor Convention*[45]
- *UN 2000 Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing The United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime (Palermo Protocol)*[46]
- *UN Convention on the Rights of the Child*[47] *and the Optional Protocol on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography*[48]

There is a "National Plan for the Protection of Haitian Children." This plan, funded by United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), is the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor's (MAST's) basic document in terms of child protection public policy. This legislation also provides that no child has the right to work until the age of 15 years, in accordance with ILO Convention 138.

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[38] Republic of Haiti, Code du travail, Article 335.
[39] U.S. Department of State. (2012). Human Rights Report. *op. cit.*
[40] Republic of Haiti, Code du travail, Articles 337 and 340.
[41] Republic of Haiti, Code du travail, Articles 333 and 334.
[42] http://webfusion.ilo.org/public/applis/appl-byCtry.cfm?lang=EN&CTYCHOICE=0280&hdroff=1
[43] ibid
[44] ibid
[45] ibid
[46] http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/treaties/CTOC/countrylist-traffickingprotocol.html
[47] http://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=IV-11&chapter=4&lang=en
[48] http://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=IV-11-c&chapter=4&lang=en

MAST is tasked with enforcing child labor laws, but it is hindered by understaffing and a lack of equipment.

Governmental officials are aware that the working conditions of street children are difficult and risky. There is a measure within the Central Directorate of the Judicial Police for a Minors Protection Brigade. Consisting of specially trained police officers, this structure emphasizes a social approach rather than a judicial one. The project that this Brigade has executed over the past two years is titled "Street Children Project." The Brigade for the Protection of Minors, within the Haitian National Police, is tasked with investigating crimes against children.[49] This agency has 35 officers and the capacity to refer exploited children to protective services and apprehend perpetrators, but its mandate is limited due to the lack of legal penalties for child labor offenses.[50] Specific training is being implemented in all police stations.

The Institute for Social Well-being and Research (IBESR) is a technical and administrative organ of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Work and has three main missions: prevention, treatment, and advocacy. It has two major departments: the Directorate of Social Services and the Directorate of Social Defense, whose responsibilities include ensuring the sustainability of the social order by focusing on preventive policies. That second branch works with groups of children living in extreme vulnerability.

There is only one residential center (in Carrefour) that receives street children and is supervised by the IBESR, but it is completely full. In addition, IBESR estimates that 722 private centers (welcoming about 50,000 street children) have also emerged in an unsupervised manner, due to the weakness of the government. IBESR argues that it is necessary to evaluate them in order to ensure that those centers respect the standards.

The centers that have emerged are generally religious or humanitarian in nature. They may offer children a place to sleep, food, or training. For example, the “Foyer Don Bosco” or “Foyer Lakay” welcomes many children in the area of Port-au-Prince and offers them training in various fields such as cooking, sewing, cosmetology, and other manual occupations. Staff are trained in various fields enabling them to work to support the needs of these children. The Foyer Lakay also offers assistance and temporary shelter for street children, as does the Foyer CAFA, located in Carrefour-Feuilles. The TIMKATEC in Pétion-Ville, as well, provides a range of services, including basic education, shelter, and vocational training to street children of this commune. Several of the children interviewed for this study sleep in centers such as these.

Awareness of such programs is low among informal experts. The vast majority of informal experts said that they did not know anything about where children could receive help from charitable organizations and/or institutions of the public sector. However, some cited “Institut du Bien-Etre Social et de Recherche (IBESR),” “Caritas,” and “Centre Don Bosco” as institutions that help children.

[49] USDOL. (2011). 2010 Findings on Worst Forms of Child Labor. Available at http://www.dol.gov/ilab/programs/ocft/PDF/2010TDA.pdf
[50] U.S. Department of State. (2012). Human Rights Report. *op. cit.*

Policies and programs aimed specifically at combating urban child labor are unlikely to be effective in an environment where the root causes of child labor are so important. A governmental crackdown on children working in the streets might temporarily reduce the phenomenon but would not solve the underlying issues of poverty and social upheaval. Additionally, the government does not have the capacity for an extended campaign of this type. Increasing access to free schooling and lengthening the school day could help to reduce child labor. The government is attempting to expand access to free schooling; this is one of the major campaigns of the current president. Reducing unemployment of adults could potentially improve the situation of children because many children work to help support their families. This is another goal of the government, but such changes occur slowly.

VI. CONCLUSION

Unsurprisingly, this study concludes that poverty is an important factor in urban child work. Many children work to support themselves or their families. They reported that they would not be able to nourish themselves without working. Another cause of child labor is children living away from their parents. Children who are independent by necessity must work to support themselves. The underlying causes for the large number of children living away from their parents were varied. Many parents were deceased, suggesting that public health issues were a cause. Other children left because of discord within their families. Still others simply seemed to relish independence. Children's relationships with their parents varied greatly. Some lived with their parents, some had never met them, and some were estranged.

The study did not find evidence that children were relocated to Port-au-Prince with the purpose of exploitation among the children interviewed. There were worrying statements that could suggest conditions of forced labor for a few children, but the data were inadequate to declare conclusively whether these children were indeed in conditions of forced labor.

Children working in Port-au-Prince performed a range of activities, most of which required little or no initial funding or skills, including petty trading, transportation assistance, washing, and begging. Many worked long hours for little income and were exposed to such risks as prolonged exposure to the sun, inhalation of dust and fumes, injuries from being hit by a car, heavy loads causing pain and injuries, beatings, and robbery. Working on the streets of Port-au-Prince was a dangerous proposition for these children, but most felt that it was worthwhile because their work was essential for their own support or for their family's support. Most controlled the money they earned, either spending it on daily living expenses or saving it through such mechanisms as buying goats. Some children gave their earnings to another person, usually a family member.

Child work is distributed throughout the four communes, but urban child labor tends to be concentrated in areas with heavy car or pedestrian traffic. The mobility of children depends on the type of work they do, but most street children in this study moved around throughout the day in search of customers. Some, such as those who sold vegetables or shined shoes, typically remained stationary for the day.

Children interviewed for this study had extremely varied living situations. Some lived with family members and a few on their own or with nonrelatives. A large portion lived on the streets, which was found to be particularly dangerous for girls. Children reported sometimes not having enough to eat, and family member respondents were concerned about the limited diet of working children. Children working on the street tend to be more male than female. Interviewees included ages 9 to 17, but the majority of children interviewed were over 12. Researchers conducting observations noted that while younger children were occasionally observed, most were accompanied by a parent.

Many child respondents had never attended school, and it was common for children to comment that children should be in school, not working. As a result, this study concludes that there does appear to be a tradeoff between working and attending school, though many children do both. An

examination of children's achievement in school compared with their expected level based on their age revealed a significant age-grade delay for child workers.

Children's attitudes toward work varied. In addition to their belief in the importance of school, some children indicated that work should be the domain of adults. However, many children believed that children should work in order to have independence or to help their families. Parental views were similarly mixed, with some wishing their children did not have to work and others stating that it was important to learn skills.

While there are laws and policies in place to address the issue of urban child labor, it remains a significant problem. It seems unlikely that any policy or program will make a significant improvement in the situation without addressing the root causes of child labor, most importantly, poverty.

Further research could shed additional light on the lives of urban child labor by evaluating more carefully the role of support institutions in the lives of children and how these can result in a break in the cycle of urban poverty. Additionally, future research using ethnographic methods would be helpful in understanding these issues in more depth, particularly of the role of familial discord in urban child labor. Finally, it would be helpful for both governmental and non-governmental officials to have an accurate understanding of the scope of the problem. In order to provide this, a quantitative study would have to be undertaken, likely using the capture and recapture method of counting working children.

Annexes

ANNEX A: CHILD WORKER INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

CHILD INTERVIEW – HAITI URBAN CHILD LABOR

Interviewer:	Date (mm/dd/yy) |__|__|/|__|__|/|__|__|
Place of interview District:_____ Town/village/city:_____	
Time interview started: |__|__|:|__|__| (Use 24 hr. clock)	
Time interview ended: |__|__|:|__|__| (Use 24 hr. clock)	

Introduction: Hello, my name is _____, and I work for a research institution called BRIDES. I am talking with children about their lives and the activities they do. The information will be used in a study about the activities children in Port au Prince do to make money.

Do you have a minute to talk with me?

S1. How old are you? _____ [If under 5 or over 17, end interview]

S2. Is there an adult that takes care of you and you live with?
a. Yes
b. No → If 12 or older, go to Child Assent. If under 12, end interview.

S3. Can I call them and ask if it's ok to talk to you?
a. Yes
b. No → End interview

Interviewer: Please read consent statement below to guardian and mark whether permission was given to interview child. If the guardian can't be reached, end interview.

Informed Consent Statement (for parent/guardian)

Instructions to Interviewer: This form can be used to obtain parental consent for the child to be interviewed. Read the following statements to the parent/guardian/responsible adult of the selected child and answer any questions the individual may have.

- Hello, my name is _____, and I work for a research institution called BRIDES. I would like to ask some questions of (child's name) about his/her daily life, schooling, and work activities. The information will be incorporated into a study about the activities children in Port au Prince do to make money.
- The child does not have to answer the questions and he/she can stop at any time. There are no consequences if the child does not participate.
- The child's answers will be kept private and no one else will know his/her answers. The child's name will not be used in any reports.
- The interview with the child will take about 30 minutes.
- If you have questions after I leave, please contact BRIDES (DETAILS TBC).
- Do you have any questions before I talk with your child/children?
- May I talk with (child's name)?

Interviewer Certification of Parental Consent:

My signature affirms that I have read the verbal informed parental consent statement to the parent/guardian, and I have answered any questions asked about the study.

___ Parent/guardian/responsible adult gave consent for participation of selected child

___ Parent/guardian/responsible adult did not give consent for participation of selected child

_____ _____

Print Interviewer's Name Date

_____

Interviewer's Signature

Verbal Informed Consent Statement: Child Questionnaire Assent

Instructions to Interviewer: This form is to be used to obtain assent from a respondent between the ages of 12 and 18 years. Read the following statements to the selected respondent and answer any questions the respondent may have. Do not begin the interview until all questions have been addressed and the respondent has agreed to participate in the study. Do not interview the respondent if he/she does not give assent, even if the parent has given consent.

- I would like to ask you some questions about your family, education, and work activities.
- You do not have to answer the questions and you can stop at any time. If you don't want to talk to me, that's ok.
- Your answers to the questions will be kept private and no one else will know what you said.
- Your name will not be used in any reports.
- It will take about 30 minutes to talk with me.
- If you have questions after I leave, you can contact the project manager (DETAILS TBC).
- Is it ok with you if we talk in private?
- Do you have any questions about the study?
- May we begin?

Interviewer Certification of Consent:

My signature affirms that I have read the verbal informed assent statement to the child respondent, I have answered any questions asked about the study, and the respondent has agreed to be interviewed.

___ Respondent agreed to be interviewed
___ Respondent did not agree to be interviewed

Print Interviewer's Name _____
Interviewer's Signature _____Date _____

Introduction

1. What is your name? _____
2. How old are you? ____
3. *Gender* _____
4. Did you work yesterday?
   - Yes → *Go to day chart*
   - No → When was the last time you worked? _____ → *Go to day chart*

Workday

I would like to hear more about your day *[yesterday or last day worked]*. Can you tell me about all the things you did? Let's start with the morning.

5. Where are you when you wake up? *[Probe for part of town and type of location: home/other building/shelter/street]*

Wake up time: _ _ : _ _

6. Who else is there?

7. What do you do when you first wake up? *[Probe: eat breakfast, chores]*

Start time: _ _ : _ _
End time: _ _ : _ _

Ask children about how they spend their time at work. When work is mentioned, probe for details about specific activities. Ask about payment where appropriate: amount, frequency, who pays, how child is paid, whether child keeps the money.

8. What do you do next?

Start time: _ _ : _ _
End time: _ _ : _ _

9. What do you do next?

Start time: _ _ : _ _
End time: _ _ : _ _

10. What do you do next?

Start time: _ _ : _ _
End time: _ _ : _ _

11. What do you do next?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Start time:
_ _ : _ _
End time:
_ _ : _ _

End of work day

12. Where do you go after you finish working? *[Probe: Does the child always end the day in the same place? If end of day location is different than where child woke up, probe for details: Why is the child spending the night at a different place? Who is there? What type of site?]*

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Bed time:
_ _ : _ _

13. Was that a pretty typical day?
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No → What was different?

_____
_____
_____
_____

14. Can you tell me about your worst day at work ever? What happened?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

15. What about your best day at work ever?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Supervision & Freedom

16. Do you work with anyone else? Who?

_____
_____
_____
_____

17. Do you have a boss? *[If yes]* Can you tell me more about how you work together? *[Probe: means of supervision? rules? enforcement?]*

_____
_____
_____
_____

18. Can you tell me about your parents? Where are they? What kind of work do they do*?[For children who do not live with their parents]* How often do you talk to them? How often do you see them? Do they come to visit you, or do you visit them? *[Probe: are there limitations on how frequently they can make contact? why?]*

_____
_____
_____
_____

School

If the child mentioned school:

19. You mentioned going to school. What grade are you in? _____

If the child did not mention school:

20. Are you currently attending school?
    - ☐ Yes → How often do you go? _____
    - ☐ No

21. *[If no]* Have you ever attended school?
    - ☐ Yes → What was the highest grade you completed?
      _____
    - ☐ No

Earthquake

I'd like to ask you some questions about the earthquake now. Is that ok?

22. Did you work before the earthquake?
    - ☐ Yes
    - ☐ No

23. *[If yes]* Was your work the same? *[Probe: same activities, same location, same amount of work]*

_____
_____
_____
_____

Introduction to Work

I'd like to hear more about when you started working.

24. How old were you when you first started working? _____ What kind of work did you do? _____

25. Why did you start working? *[Probe: family/personal debt, family circumstances, poverty]*

_____
_____
_____
_____

26. How did you get started in your particular type of work? *[Probe: Who introduced you to your work? Did anyone provide seed funds?]*

_____
_____
_____
_____

27. *[For children who do not live with their parents]* How long have you lived where you live now? Where did you live before where you live now? How did you get here? Did anyone come with you? *[Probe: type of transportation, who accompanied, who paid]*

_____
_____
_____
_____

Perceptions

28. Could you stop working if you wanted to? Why or why not?

_____
_____
_____
_____

29. Do you think all children should work? Why? *[Probe: What is good about working? What is bad about working?]*

_____
_____
_____
_____

ANNEX B: FAMILY MEMBER INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

FAMILY INTERVIEW – HAITI URBAN CHILD LABOR

Interviewer:	Date (mm/dd/yy) |__|__|/|__|__|/|__|__|	
Place of interview District:_____ Town/village/city:_____		
Name:	Age: |__|__|	Sex: Male/Female
Time interview started: |__|__|:|__|__| (Use 24 hr. clock)		
Time interview ended: |__|__|:|__|__| (Use 24 hr. clock)		
Occupation:		
Contact information:		

Introduction Including Informed Consent Statement

Read the following statements to the respondent and answer any questions the individual may have. Do not begin the interview until all questions have been addressed and the individual has agreed to participate in the study.

- Hello, my name is _____, and I work for a research institution called BRIDES. I am talking with people about children's lives and the activities they do in Port au Prince. The information I collect will be included in a report about the experiences of children who do work in Port au Prince.
- You do not have to take part in this study if you don't want to. If you would like to talk with me, then you can choose not to answer some questions or end the interview at any time.
- Your answers to the questions will be kept private and no one will know what you said. Your name will not be used in any reports.
- The interview will take about 30 minutes.
- If you have any questions later, please feel free to contact BRIDES at XXX.
- Do you have any questions about the study?
- May we start the interview?

Interviewer Certification of Consent:

My signature affirms that I have read the verbal informed consent statement to the respondent. I have answered any questions asked about the study, and the respondent has agreed to be interviewed.

___ Respondent agreed to be interviewed
___ Respondent did not agree to be interviewed

Print Interviewer's Name _____

Interviewer's Signature _____ Date _____

1. Could you tell me a little about yourself? What kind of work do you do?
2. Could you tell me about your family? [If married] What kind of work does your spouse do? How many children do you have? How old are they? What do they do?
3. Could you tell me more about the work that your child does? What kinds of activities are involved?
4. Living Conditions

4.1 Where does your child sleep? Eat? Is it always the same? 4.2 [If the child lives with a third party] Do you know the people with whom your child lives? Can you tell me about them and how you know them? 4.3 [If the child does not live at home] How often do you talk to your child? How often do you see each other in person? 4.4 Does your child go to school? If not, did s/he go in the past? What changed? What was the highest grade s/he completed? 4.5 If s/he goes to school, does s/he work before or after school? During school vacations?	

5. Introduction into Work	
5.1 Can you tell me about how your child began to work on the street? (Probe: Whose idea was it? Was the child amenable?) 5.2 Why does your child work? 5.2 Did anything in your family or household change that led to the child beginning to work? (Probe: Family illness/death, layoff, debts, other reasons?) 5.3 How old was your child when s/he started working? 5.4 Has s/he always done the same kind of work? What changed? 5.5 How did your child get from your home to the site where s/he works the first time? Did anyone help him/her? 5.6 How did your child get established in his/her work? (Probe: Who bought first round of merchandise?, for example)	

6. Working Conditions	
6.1 Does your child work with anyone else or for anyone else? Who? [If the child doesn't work for the respondent] can you tell me more about the relationship?	
6.2 Do you know how much your child earns? How much? Does your child give a portion to anyone else? Does anyone receive payment on your child's behalf?	
6.3 About how many hours per day does your child work? And how many days per week?	
6.4 Do you worry about your child when s/he is at work? About what kinds of things do you worry?	
6.5 Has your child ever been hurt or sick while working? What happened?	
6.6 Could your child stop working if s/he wanted to? Why or why not?	

7. Geographic Characteristics	
7.1 Do you know where in Port-au-Prince your child works? Where? How did s/he end up in that particular area? 7.2 Does s/he tend to stay in a specific area to work, or does s/he move around? Why?	
8. I would like to ask you some questions about the earthquake now. Is that ok? Was your child already working before the earthquake? If so, did anything about his/her work change after the earthquake? If not, did the earthquake play a role in his/her beginning to work?	
9. Do you think it is beneficial for children to work? Why or why not? And do you think it's beneficial to the family for children to work?	
Is there anything else you would like to add?	

Thank you very much for your time and your valuable contribution.

ANNEX C: FORMAL EXPERT INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

FORMAL EXPERT INTERVIEW – HAITI URBAN CHILD LABOR

Interviewer:	Date (mm/dd/yy) |__|__|/|__|__|/|__|__|	
Place of interview District:_____ Town/village/city:_____		
Name:	Age: |__|__|	Sex: Male/Female
Time interview started: |__|__|:|__|__| (Use 24 hr. clock)		
Time interview ended: |__|__|:|__|__| (Use 24 hr. clock)		
Profession:		
Position:		
Employer/Affiliated Institution/Organization:		
Contact information:		

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER

- During the interviews, ask the respondents if they could provide copies of relevant materials, documents or research papers related to urban child labor in Haiti, or if they could recommend the sources/where you could find such documents.

Introduction Including Informed Consent Statement

Read the following statements to the respondent and answer any questions the individual may have. Do not begin the interview until all questions have been addressed and the individual has agreed to participate in the study.

- My name is _____, and I work for a research institution called BRIDES. I am interviewing people about children's work in urban areas. Employing qualitative research techniques, our project aims to collect exploratory data on the causes, nature, and consequences of urban child labor in Haiti. We will collect information on children ages 5-17 working in urban areas. To get a comprehensive picture, we would like to speak with knowledgeable informants like you.
- The findings from this research are intended to contribute to promoting awareness of the issues and to inform future programs aiming to ameliorate the issue of urban child labor. They will be used in a report on child work in urban areas.
- Your participation in this study is **voluntary**. If you don't want to participate, there won't be any repercussions. If you choose to talk with me, you can choose to not answer some questions or to end the interview at any time.
- Your answers to the questions will be kept private and no one will know what you said. Your name will not be used in any reports.The interview will take about 30-45 minutes.
- If you have any questions later, please feel free to contact BRIDES at XXX.
- Do you have any questions about the study?
- May we start the interview?

Interviewer Certification of Consent:

My signature affirms that I have read the verbal informed consent statement to the respondent. I have answered any questions asked about the study, and the respondent has agreed to be interviewed.

___ Respondent agreed to be interviewed
___ Respondent did not agree to be interviewed

Print Interviewer's Name _____

Interviewer's Signature _____ Date _____

1. Please tell me your position and what you do at work.
2. Does your organization's work directly involve children working in urban areas? If so, what kind of activities in this area does your organization undertake? If not, how are you familiar with issues regarding child work in urban areas?
3. The focus of this study is child labor in urban areas, excluding domestic work. We are conducting a different study focused on domestic work. In your experience, other than domestic work, what kinds of jobs do children perform in urban areas?

4. Introduction into Work	
4.1 What do you think are the reasons that children work in this setting? (Probe: Family reasons/debts to pay off? Other reasons?)	
4.2 Could you give an example of how children get into work in urban areas? Do children choose to start working or does someone else make the choice?	
4.3 Do you know if children move to work in urban areas?	
4.4 If children move, what are the means by which they move? (Probe: what kind of transportation? Who pays? Who accompanies child?)	

4.5 Are there recruiters/brokers involved in the process? If so, what kinds of promises are typically made to children/their parents regarding the child's work and life? Are these promises fulfilled? 4.6 From what areas do children typically come? Are many children working in urban areas migrants from rural areas or other cities?	
5. Working Conditions	
5.1 Do children tend to work independently or for someone else? 5.2 Is child labor organized, either through gangs or another type of entity? 5.3 Are children who work for someone else typically compensated for their work? If so, how are they paid? 5.4 Do children keep the money they earn or does a portion (or the full sum) go to another person? 5.5 To your knowledge, how many hours do children usually work a day? How many days a week? 5.6 How about the physical requirements of the various tasks? Which types of jobs require children to carry out tasks that are physically demanding or otherwise hazardous to their health or safety?	

5.7 To what kinds of dangers or hazards are children working in urban areas exposed? (Probe if necessary: work in the heat, long hours, exposure to vehicles, carrying heavy things, burns, cuts and bruises, verbal, physical, or sexual abuse from employers or others, etc.) 5.8 Are most children working voluntarily? What would happen if they stopped working or left their work? 5.9 Do you know of cases where children face consequences if they do not complete an assigned task? If yes, could you share details? 5.10 Do you know of cases where children are prevented from leaving their worksite or their positions more broadly? If so, how?	

6. Living Conditions	
6.1 Where do children working in urban areas live? Where do they eat? (Probe: On the street? With their families? In the same house/building as their employer or in separate quarters?) 6.2 How common is it for these children to go to school? 6.3 If they go to school, do they work before or after school? Do more children work during school breaks?	
7. Demographic Characteristics	
7.1 At what age do these children typically start working? How do their tasks change as they grow older? 7.2 Are there more girls or boys working? What are the differences between the work done by girls and boys? 7.3 What types of relationships do child workers have with their parents and relatives? 7.4 Do their families tend to have any characteristics in common? Which? What kinds of work do their parents tend to do?	

8. Geographic Characteristics	
8.1 In which areas of Port-au-Prince are working children most likely to be found? 8.2 What differentiates areas with more or less working children? 8.3 Do individual children work in one specific area, or do they move around? Why?	
9a. Why do you think there are children working in urban areas? What are the social, economic, and political factors that contribute to children working? (Probe: Is there a shortage of adult workers? Are children performing jobs adults would not perform? Do children lack other opportunities? Do families need the income of their children to survive?) 9b. Are there government efforts to address the issues you mentioned that underlie children's participation in urban work? Which issues are not being addressed?	
10. What effects do you think the earthquake of 2010 had on the situation of urban child labor? (Probe: Has there been an increase or decrease in child labor? Since the earthquake, has the situation of urban child laborers improved, deteriorated, or stayed the same?)	
11. What are the efforts that the government and non-governmental organizations are taking or have taken to address the issue of urban child labor? In your view, are there gaps in these policies and programs? Do you have any recommendations for interventions to address these gaps?	
Is there anything else you would like to add?	

Thank you very much for your time and your valuable contribution.

ANNEX D: INFORMAL EXPERT INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

INFORMAL EXPERT INTERVIEW – HAITI URBAN CHILD LABOR

Interviewer:	Date (mm/dd/yy) |__|__|/|__|__|/|__|__|	
Place of interview District:_____ Town/village/city:_____		
Name:	Age: |__|__|	Sex: Male/Female
Time interview started: |__|__|:|__|__| (Use 24 hr. clock)		
Time interview ended: |__|__|:|__|__| (Use 24 hr. clock)		
Profession:		
Position:		
Employer/Affiliated Institution/Organization:		
Contact information:		

Introduction Including Informed Consent Statement

Read the following statements to the respondent and answer any questions the individual may have. Do not begin the interview until all questions have been addressed and the individual has agreed to participate in the study.

- Hello, my name is _____, and I work for a research institution called BRIDES. I am interviewing people about children's work in Port au Prince. The information will be incorporated into a report that describes the lives and working conditions of children working in urban areas in Haiti.
- We would like to ask you to share your insights and opinions on these issues. The information you provide will be an important part of the study.
- Your participation in this study is **voluntary**, and it's ok if you don't want to participate. If you choose to talk with me, you can choose to not answer some questions, or to end the interview at any time.
- Your answers to the questions will be kept private and no one will know what you said. Your name will not be used in any reports.
- The interview will take about 30-45 minutes.
- If you have any questions later, please feel free to contact BRIDES at XXX.
- Do you have any questions about the study?
- May we start the interview?

Interviewer Certification of Consent:

My signature affirms that I have read the verbal informed consent statement to the respondent. I have answered any questions asked about the study, and the respondent has agreed to be interviewed.

___ Respondent agreed to be interviewed
___ Respondent did not agree to be interviewed

Print Interviewer's Name _____

Interviewer's Signature _____ Date _____

1. What kind of work do you do?
2. Do you interact with children who work in urban areas through your work? If not, in what kinds of situations do you interact with these children?
3. The focus of this study is children's work in urban areas, excluding domestic work. We are conducting a different study focused on domestic work. In your experience, other than domestic work, what kinds of jobs do children perform in urban areas?

4. Introduction into Work	
4.1 Could you give an example of how children get into work in urban areas? 4.2 What do you think are the reasons that children work in this setting? (Probe: Family reasons/debts to pay off? Other reasons?) 4.3 What proportion of these children were born in Port au Prince versus elsewhere? For those born elsewhere, where do they come from? How do they get to Port au Prince? Does anyone help them? Do they come to Port au Prince to work or for another reason?	

5. Working Conditions	
5.1 Do children tend to work independently or for someone else?	
5.2 Is children's work in urban areas organized, either through gangs, individuals, or another way? Do children work in groups?	
5.3 How much do children earn? What form do their earnings take? Do children keep their earnings or does a portion (or the full sum) go to another person?	
5.4 To your knowledge, how many hours do children usually work a day? How many days a week?	
5.5 Do you think children do jobs that are hard for them? What kinds of jobs?	
5.6 Do you think children do work that is dangerous? If yes, what kinds of work? Why is it dangerous?	
5.7 Have you ever seen or heard about a child working in Port au Prince being injured? (Probe: What happened? Did respondent hear about it or witness it?)	

5.8 Do you know if children work voluntarily? What would happen if they stopped working or left their work? 5.9 Do you know of cases where children face consequences if they do not complete an assigned task? If yes, could you share details? 5.10 Do you know of cases where children are prevented from leaving their worksite or their jobs? If so, how??	
6. Living Conditions	
6.1 Where do these children live? Where do they eat? (Probe: On the street? With their families? In the same house/building as their employer or in separate quarters?) 6.2 How common is it for these children to go to school? 6.3 If they go to school, do they work before or after school? Do more children work during school breaks?	

7. Demographic Characteristics	
7.1 At what age do these children start working? How do their tasks change as they grow older? 7.2 Are there more girls or boys? What are the differences between the work done by girls and boys? 7.3 What types of relationships do children who work in Port au Prince have with their parents and relatives? 7.4 What are their families like? Is there a pattern?	
8. Geographic Characteristics	
8.1 Are there certain parts of Port-au-Prince that have more children working? Which parts? What specific types of work do children do in these areas? Why are they concentrated there? 8.2 Do individual children work in one specific area, or do they move around? Why?	

9. Why do you think there are children working in Port au Prince? (Probe: Is there a shortage of adult workers? Are children performing jobs adults would not perform? Do children lack other opportunities? Are families dependent on the income of their children?)
10. After the earthquake, did anything change with regards to children working in Port au Prince? Are there more or less children now? Did their tasks change?
11. Do you know of any people or organizations that work with these children? Could you give us the contact information?
Is there anything else you would like to add?

Thank you very much for your time and your valuable contribution.