

Child Labor in Domestic Service ("Restaveks") in Port-au-Prince, Haiti

Mixed Methods Research on Child Labor and Forced Child Labor in the Production of Goods

September 2012

Submitted to:
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Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor, and Human Trafficking
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CHILD LABOR IN DOMESTIC SERVICE (RESTAVÈKS) IN PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI

Task Order II, Task VIII: Quantitative Research and Data Collection

September 2012

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Haitian children who live and work away from home as unpaid servants are known as restavèks. This phenomenon is widespread in Haiti, and the children involved are exposed to a range of physical and psychological risk factors as well as limited school attendance. While previous research has explored the experience of restavèks and the opinion of experts on the issue, little research has provided detailed information on the experience and motivations of the biological families of child servants as well as the families that host them. The intention of this study was to shed light on the sending and receiving families in an effort to better understand the root causes of the system. Additionally, the study sought to understand the policies and programs that exist to address these causes and to provide additional information on children's working conditions.

This exploratory qualitative study collected data through in-depth interviews formal experts, informal experts who witness the phenomenon, current restavèks, former restavèks, sending families, and receiving families. The fieldwork took place from July to September 2012. Altogether, 225 interviews were conducted in Port-au-Prince and various areas in Haiti where children are known to originate.

These reasons for the persistence of the restavèks system can be broadly divided into supply factors, which would explain the parents' willingness to send their children to work as restavèks, and demand factors, which would explain the receiving families' willingness to employ these children.

Interviews with sending families helped to identify the main factors behind the parents' decision to send their children to work as domestic laborers. Overall, the sending families' poverty or inability to look after their children was identified to have contributed to the decision. These difficulties were often the result of household shocks, including the death of a parent, unemployment due to injury or disability, familial discord, the consequences of the 2010 earthquake, or any combination thereof. What these families had in common was the inability to provide for the whole family, despite what they saw as their best effort. They sent their children to work as domestic laborers in the expectation of a better life for the children, including access to the education.

On the demand side, formal and informal experts identified a culturally acceptable and longstanding tradition among Haitian households of having domestic workers. The receiving families interviewed tended to be relatively large families, often spanning several generations. They reported having been motivated by a number of factors in addition to the need for inexpensive domestic labor. Specifically, many receiving families responded that they brought children into their home as goodwill gesture to provide them a much needed home in the aftermath of various misfortunes.

Notwithstanding the reasons, interviews with the families revealed that the arrangements of sending and receiving child workers were often made informally. Sending and receiving families were often related or acquainted and there was little evidence indicative of coercion, pressure or involvement of a third party. Experts, on the other hand, frequently referred to the existence of intermediaries or brokers that would profit or take advantage of the transaction. The conflicting

reports suggest that experts might have overstated the role of intermediaries, or there might have been some degree of underreporting from the families. Experts, families, and children agreed that restavèks rarely have any input in the decision making process. Regarding the effect of the 2010 earthquake on the situation of restavèks, the consensus was that the devastating impact likely exacerbated the vulnerable conditions of the restavèks, and put many more children at risk of entering domestic service.

Regardless of the factors that contributed to children's working as restavèks, most children interviewed reported working and living under difficult conditions. Many children said they work long hours performing household chores with little time for play or rest. Most children were exposed to risks such as carrying heavy loads, exposure to hazardous chemicals, or the possibility of being burned. While some children reported being happy with the host family, others' accounts suggested the existence of psychological or physical abuse from household members. Some families reported awareness of these risks, but in their state of distressed economic conditions, they reasoned that sending their child to work was the lesser of two evils.

Despite the generally bleak conditions, sending and receiving families reported some positive aspects of the restavèk phenomenon. Sending families are often in rural areas and find it difficult to keep their children in school. Some of these children may have a better chance of attending school once they start working for the generally urban receiving families even though their attendance may still be sporadic. Parents of some sending families also believed that learning how to do domestic work might have a formative value.

The research also sought to shed light on the phenomenon from a policy perspective. An examination of the legal, policy and institutional framework in Haiti revealed significant gaps in the programs and policies that aim to ameliorate issues of the restavèk practice. Both formal experts and the prior literature review indicated that the few laws available to combat the practice were not enforced adequately, and the implementation of programs to eradicate the problem has had limited success. As important as addressing the issue is, the consensus among various stakeholders who participated in this study was that effective solutions must go beyond law enforcement and implementation of programs aimed specifically at this sector to address underlying reasons for the practice. The root causes of the restavèk system have a broader demographic and the economic context. For a solution to be effective, it must also aim to tackle the pervasive poverty and demographic issues that foster the practice

I. INTRODUCTION

Child domestic labor is a significant problem worldwide. Although there are no global estimates, more girls are thought to be in domestic service than in every other sector combined.[1] Children working in domestic service are commonly exposed to physical risks such as carrying heavy loads, long hours, exposure to chemicals, and physical abuse. They also risk psychological damage from the lack of opportunities to play, the absence of support and affection from their parents, and maltreatment from their employers. In many countries, the importance of children's roles in domestic labor is not recognized and their challenges go unnoticed. In other countries, including Haiti, there has been rising attention to the issue and the potential damage to children's future. Known as restavèks, children working and living away from home as domestic servants is a too common fate for Haiti's children. Many of these children are exposed to serious physical and psychological risks, and their future opportunities are often limited by not attending school or attending after a long day of work. Little is known about the motivations and attitudes of the families who send and receive these children. This research was intended to provide information on these families as well as on the conditions under which the children work.

1.1 Aim of the study

This study aimed to gather exploratory data on child labor and forced child labor[2] in the domestic service (restavèks) in Haiti. The research objectives of this study were to—

1. Understand the root causes of children's participation in the restavèk practice.
2. Discover what programs and policies exist to address the root causes of the restavèk practice.
3. Understand the micro- and macro level-factors that contribute to the persistence of the restavèk practice.
4. Understand the relationship between sending and receiving households and how it impacts children's working conditions.
5. Map and understand the patterns of movement between the sending and receiving households.

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

[1] http://www.ilo.org/ipec/areas/Childdomesticlabour/lang--en/index.htm
[2] Please refer to Appendix A for detailed definitions of child labor, forced adult and child labor.

1.2 Introduction of ICF International's 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. The ICF International team comprised an officer in charge, a project director, and two research managers. ICF International designed the methodology, developed the instruments, secured approval from ICF International's ethics review board, analyzed the data, and wrote the report. One ICF International research manager traveled to Haiti to oversee training and launch of fieldwork; the other traveled to Haiti to oversee the conclusion of fieldwork and ensure complete data entry.

ICF International's regional partner in this research was the *Centre de Recherche pour le Développemen*t (CRD), led by Dr. Calixte Clérismé. CRD was responsible for carrying out data collection and data entry. CRD has conducted numerous research studies in Haiti with a wide variety of clients, including governmental institutions, international organizations, and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). The organization has experience in conducting fieldwork in the challenging setting of Port-au-Prince and in collecting data on sensitive topics. CRD's technical team consisted of a project director, a project manager, a team of interviewers, and several data entry technicians.

2. BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW

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.[3] Haiti is the western hemisphere's poorest and least-developed country. It ranks 145th out of 169 countries on the 2010 United Nations (UN) Human Development Index.[4] Roughly 80 percent of its population lives below the poverty line and 54 percent in abject poverty (on $2 per day or less).[5] Roughly two-thirds of Haitians rely on small-scale subsistence farming for a living, but this activity makes up only 30 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP).[6] The country has experienced little formal job-creation over the last decade, although the informal economy is growing. 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 GDP to contract by an estimated 8 percent in 2010.[7] It further devastated the country's already inadequate social services, exacerbated political and social-economic instability, and weakened the already poor educational system.[8]

2.1 Child Labor in Haiti

Haiti's economic conditions put children in a precarious situation. It is customary for a Haitian child, usually around age 6, to begin serving adults and contributing to the family's livelihood.[9] The U.S. Department of State's 2012 *Trafficking in Person Report* states that Haitian children are frequently found crossing the Haitian-Dominican border illegally, often in the company of an adult who is paid to pretend to be the children's parents.[10] While some of these Haitian children are reunited with their real parents who are working in Dominican Republic, others are forced into organized begging rings, domestic servitude, or sex trafficking.[11] Children in Haiti also work on farms, where they may be exposed to pesticides, sharp tools, harsh conditions, and long hours. In 2007, ICF International (known as Macro International Inc. at the time of the research) conducted a household survey in one of Haiti's department about the agricultural sector. The survey found that children constituted one-fourth of the farm workers sampled. They contributed to the cultivation of pistachios, corns, peas, millet, sugarcane, manioc, and rice.[12]

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[3] CIA World Factbook, Haiti, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ha.html
[4] UN Human Development Index, http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/
[5] Supra note 1.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.
[8] 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
[9] Smucker, Glenn R., and Murry, Gerald F. (2004). The Uses of Children: A Study of Trafficking in Haitian Children. Port-au-Prince, USAID.
[10] U.S. State Department. (2012). *Trafficking in Person Report 2012*. http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/192595.pdf
[11] Ibid.
[12] Macro International Inc. (2008). Child Labor in Haiti's Agricultural Sector—A Study of Children in the Rural Center Department.

Anecdotal evidences suggest that the 2010 earthquake, which resulted in thousands of displaced individuals, likely increased the number of both restavèks and street children.[13] Children on the streets perform activities such as washing car windows, vending, or begging. They are exposed to a variety of hazards, such as severe weather conditions, car accidents, and vulnerability to gangs and prostitution.[14]

2.2 Child Domestic Labor in Haiti

According to the International Labour Organization (ILO), child domestic labor refers to situations where children are engaged to perform domestic tasks in the home of an exploitative third party or employer. When such exploitation is extreme and includes trafficking, slavery or practices similar to slavery, or work that—by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out—is hazardous and likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children, then it constitutes a worst form of child labor.[15]

Children in Haiti are exploited in the worst forms of child labor, most commonly in domestic service.[16] Often described simply as the 'restavèk' system, the phenomenon is far more complex than this single term suggests. Smucker and Murray define restavèks as unpaid child servants living and working away from home, but note that the restavèks' fieldwork revealed significant variation in the arrangements and treatment conditions of the children who live or work away from their biological parents.[17]

Restavèks are mostly found in middle-to-lower-middles class households; they are also prevalent in the poorest slums of Port-au-Prince.[18] A survey conducted by the Pan-American Development Foundation (PADF) and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) found that Cite Soleil, the largest slum of Port-au-Prince, had the highest percentage of restavèks. While 16 percent all Haitian children surveyed were found to be restavèks, 40 percent of all children in Cité Soleil surveyed were found to be restavèks. The lack of public services, such as electricity and water, in poor neighborhoods where families lacked employment created a high demand for free child labor. Yet, with the lack of employment, these families could not afford to send these children to school. For receiving families who were not employed, many restavèks were not sent to school because of their long work hours and their low social status.

Kinship plays a large factor in the recruitment of restavèks.[19] According to a 2009 study by Francois, Smucker, and Tardieu, only 22 percent of restavèks had no kinship ties to the head of household where they resided. For the remaining 78 percent, family obligations and ties, to close and distant relatives, were evident as children were transferred from lower-income to higher-

[13] 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
[14] Ibid.
[15] International Labour Office. (2004). *Helping Hands of Shackled Lives: Understanding Child Domestic Labour and Responses to it.* ILO: Geneva. http://www.unicef.org/violencestudy/pdf/2004_domestic_Helpinghands_en.pdf
[16] Ibid.
[17] Smucker and Murray. *The Uses of Childhood*, USAID, Haiti, 2004, p. 21.
[18] Restavèk Freedom. (2011). Restavèk: The Persistence of Child Labor and Slavery, http://ijdh.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/Haiti-UPR-Restavek-Report-FINAL.pdf
[19] Francois, Smucker, Tardieu. Lost Childhoods In Haiti: Quantifying Child Trafficking, Restavèks and Victims of Violence, PADF/USAID, Haiti, 2009

income families. These obligations occurred even among households that were just a little poorer than the sending households. For the poorer families, this represents an opportunity for their children to have a proper education and health care in urban areas, which they cannot receive in the rural areas where they currently live.[20]

The UN Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of slavery, Gulnara Shahinian, argued in her 2009 report that the direct placements of children from one family to another has been taken over by the existence of recruiters. These recruiters, for their own financial gain, recruit children from rural areas to work either with urban families as restavèks or outside the home in markets. In many cases, the recruiters are paid by the host family to find a restavèk. Since the rural families are sending their children with a recruiter to be placed with a family of strangers, many stakeholders label this phenomenon as trafficking. While living with strangers, the restavèks often lose complete contact with their biological families. Another difference is that due to demographic changes, wealthy families have paid workers to carry out the domestic chores. The domestic workers themselves now have restavèks in their own homes to take care of their home and children.[21] A third change noted in Francois, Smucker, and Tardieu's 2009 study is the intra-urban movement of children within the metropolitan area of Port-au Prince for restavèk placement.[22] In their research, they found that communes within Port-au Prince were the second most important suppliers of restavèks for Port-au-Prince. For example, for Cité Soleil, neighboring communes supplied the same percentage of restavèks as the communes from the Sud department. This is a change from the earlier practice of rural families sending their children to be restavèks in urban households.[23]

Whether these children were sent to family members or to strangers, they rarely enjoyed the benefits that their parents had wanted for them. Some children escape from their new home; they then either live in the streets or are picked up by authorities who refer them to the *Institut du bien-être social et de recherches*—Haitian Social Welfare Institute (IBESR). The children stay at centers, such as the *Centre d'action pour le développement*—Center for Action and Development (CAD) and *Foyer L'Escale* in Port-au-Prince, until they are reunited with their biological families.[24]

The U.S. Department of State 2012 Trafficking in Persons Report also mentions the role of recruiters in arranging for restavèks to live with families in other cities and towns with the hopes of going to school. The report details the types of abuse these children suffer, such as physical, sexual, and psychological. When they become too difficult to control, they are dismissed and thrown out on the streets. These dismissed children, the restavèks displaced by 2010 earthquake as well as those who run away, make up a significant amount of the population of street children. The latter children might be subjected to street crime or sex trafficking by criminal gangs.[25]

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[20] UN HRC: Report of the Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of slavery, including its causes and consequences, Addendum, Mission to Haiti, 2009

[21] Ibid.

[22] Supranote 3.

[23] Ibid.

[24] IOM: Video News Release on Child Trafficking and Abuse in Haiti, available at http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/media/press-briefing-notes/pbnAM/cache/offonce/lang/en?entryId=16514, 2008

[25] Supra note 9.

Little reliable information is yet available about the effect of the 2010 earthquake on the restavèk situation. There are, however, sufficient indications to suggest that there have been changes, some of them short-term, others possibly longer term. One example might be the increased vulnerability of children separated from their families or caregivers, often surviving alone in the crowded and often violent tent cities. Another could be the patterns of post-earthquake population displacement and its effect on the movements of restavèks. For the families struggling in the wake of a natural catastrophe, restavèks tend to be the first to go. They are the ones most at risk to be turned out onto the streets or trafficked. 26

2.3 Legal Framework

According to Haiti's Labor Code, the minimum age for work in industrial, agricultural, or commercial enterprises is 15.[27] The minimum age for apprenticeships is 14.[28] Children ages 15 to 18 must obtain work authorization from the Ministry of Labor to be employed.[29] Children are also prohibited from night work in industrial jobs, and from work that is likely to harm their health, safety, or morals.[30] 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.

USDOL reported in its *2010 Findings on Worst Forms of Child Labor Report* that no evidence indicated that the Government of Haiti has established a coordinating mechanism to combat the worst forms of child labor. While the Ministry of Social Affairs is tasked with enforcing child labor laws, it is hindered by understaffing and a lack of equipment. The Brigade for the Protection of Minors within the Haitian National Police is tasked with investigating crimes against children.[31] This agency has 35 officers and maintains a system to refer exploited children to protective services and has the authority to apprehend perpetrators, but its mandate is limited because of the lack of legal penalties for child labor offenses.[32]

Haiti is signatory to all of the following fundamental human rights conventions concerning child labor—

- ILO Convention 29—Forced Labor Convention.[33]
- ILO Convention 105—Abolition of Forced Labor Convention[34]
- ILO Convention 138—Minimum Age Convention[35]
- ILO Convention 182—Worst Forms of Child Labor Convention[36]

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[26] Smucker, G. quoted in Paul, K.: Labor Shortage, available at http://www.newsweek.com, February 01 2010
[27] Republic of Haiti, Code du travail, article 335.
[28] U.S. Department of State. (2012). Human Rights Report. *op. cit.*
[29] Republic of Haiti, Code du travail, article 337 and 340.
[30] Republic of Haiti, Code du travail, article 333 and 334.
[31] USDOL. (2011). 2010 Findings on Worst Forms of Child Labor. http://www.dol.gov/ilab/programs/ocft/PDF/2010TDA.pdf
[32] U.S. Department of State. (2012). Human Rights Report. *op. cit.*
[33] http://webfusion.ilo.org/public/applis/appl-byCtry.cfm?lang=EN&CTYCHOICE=0280&hdroff=1
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.

- 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)[37]
- UN Convention on the Rights of the Child[38] and the Optional Protocol on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography.[39]

[36] Ibid.
[37] http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/treaties/CTOC/countrylist-traffickingprotocol.html
[38] http://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=IV-11&chapter=4&lang=en
[39] http://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=IV-11-c&chapter=4&lang=en

3. METHODOLOGY DESIGN

This exploratory qualitative study is based on in-depth interviews on the topic of domestic child work. As a qualitative study, this research was intended to shed light on the situation of restavèks, particularly on the roles of the receiving and sending families, 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."[40] This type of methodology was appropriate for this study, as it sought to provide information on areas of the situation that had been scarcely researched previously.

To do this, the study addresses issues including the causes and pathways into child labor and forced child labor in the restavèk system, the types of work performed by the restavèks, their living and working conditions, the perceptions of the situation by those involved, as well as the social networks and market demands. In particular, by seeking to establish a deeper understanding of the relationship between the sending and receiving households, and the effect of that relationship on the conditions under which restavèks work, the study sought to cast light on aspects of the restavèks' situation that do not appear to have previously been major topics of investigation. It also examined the factors that perpetuate the practice, as well as the efforts to combat it by addressing its root causes. Finally, the study sought a preliminary understanding of how the earthquake may have affected the prevalence.

3.1 Description of Research Methodologies

A literature review was conducted to identify published literature and studies on child domestic 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 these children, as well as information about the sending and receiving households.

Following the background research, the researchers conducted semi-structured interviews with formal and informal experts to gain the perspective of individuals outside of the restavèk system on the conditions of work, the causes of the system, and the relationships of the sending and receiving families with each other and the children. Formal experts had direct knowledge of child domestic labor and included representatives from governmental agencies, NGOs, and international organizations. Informal experts were individuals working in various activities in neighborhoods with high concentrations of restavèks who can make external observations on the situation. These informants included neighbors, shop owners, teachers, and religious leaders.

The information collected through the literature review and initial interviews were used to form a knowledge base on the restavèk system. This allowed researchers to develop an understanding of where child workers were concentrated, how to access them and gain their participation in the research, and to fine-tune the research instruments taking into consideration local factors.

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

Gaining this information was particularly important for this research topic, as the restavèk practice is relatively stigmatized in Haitian society despite its prevalence.

Restavèks were interviewed to gather firsthand information on the nature of the work and risks children face. Children were also asked their perspective on the reason for their work. Adults who had been restavèks as children were also interviewed in order to understand the long-term effects of such work on individuals and to gain a more mature yet still firsthand perspective on the lives of the current children restavèks. Sending families were interviewed to gain an understanding of why parents offer their children as servants to other families, as well as to know how sending and receiving families are related and obtain parental opinions on child domestic work. Receiving families were interviewed to learn their motivations for having restavèks in their home, their opinions on the system, and their perspective on the lives of the children involved.

3.2 Research Instruments

The purpose of conducting interviews with multiple types of respondents was to triangulate information and to deepen the discussion of the issues. As discussed above, the study included six types of informant, which were each interviewed using a specific instrument as follows:

1. Formal Expert Interview Protocol
2. Informal Expert Interview Protocol
3. Current Restavèk Interview Protocol
4. Former Restavèk Interview Protocol
5. Sending Family Interview Protocol
6. Receiving Family Interview Protocol

The Formal and Informal Expert Interview Protocols were developed based on previous research on child labor by ICF International. The Current and Former Restavèk Protocols were developed based on exploratory research conducted by ICF International in Port-au-Prince about children working in the streets. The Sending and Receiving Family Protocols were developed for this study with reference to instruments used by ICF International for previous research on child labor in domestic service and other sectors. All the instruments were translated into French and Creole.

3.3 Sampling

Table 1 shows the target and final samples for the four different types of respondent:

Table 1: Target and Final Samples, by Respondent Type

Type of Respondent	Target Sample	Final Sample
Formal Expert	15	15
Informal Expert	15	15
Current Restavèk	100 (combined)	100
Former Restavèk		25
Sending Family	40–50	40
Receiving Family	20–30	30

Table 2 shows the breakdown of respondents by geographic distribution:

Table 2: Geographic Distribution of Respondents

Geographic Area	Formal Expert	Informal Expert	Current Restavèk	Former Restavèk	Sending Family	Receiving Family
Pétionville	6		15	9		9
Port-au-Prince	4	2	22	5	12	8
Carrefour/ Martissant		4	49	11	4	
Delmas	3	9	14		6	13
Les Cayes					10	
Jérémie					8	
Tabarre	2					

The sample for this study was systematic and not random. As a result, the findings cannot be generalized to the population of restavèks and their families. Nevertheless, the selected sample is large enough that it allows the collection of reliable data to give an understanding of the breadth of the work the restavèks accomplish, of the lives these children lead, and of the relationships between the sending and receiving families.

3.4 Final Research Questions

The following questions were addressed in this research:

1. What are the root causes of children's participation in the restavèk practice?
    - What are the factors that contribute to parental/household/caregiver decision-making about sending children to work as restavèks (both "push" and "pull" factors)?
    - What are sending families' perceptions of the situation in which their children find themselves?
    - Is there a history within sending families of placing their children into domestic service?

- How strong are cultural norms and historical precedent in the restavèk process?
- How important a driver is economic hardship among sending and receiving families?
- Is the prospect of their children's access to educational key motivating factor for sending families?
- Are there particular laws, policies, or institutions that support or maintain the practice, whether directly or indirectly?
- How significant are existing financial obligations and debt burden in the decision-making process of sending families?
- Are there key events in the lives/circumstances of sending families (e.g., death of parent(s), large family, obligations to other family members etc.) that influence the decision the decision to place children in domestic service?
- Do parents recognize the risks of sending their children to work as domestics? If so, why do they send their children in light of these risks?
- What are the reasons families host restavèks?

2. What programs and policies exist to address the root causes of the restavèk practice?
    - Are there particular laws, policies, or institutions that seek to combat the practice, whether directly or indirectly?
    - If so, what are they and how do they work?
    - What are the gaps in programs and policies that aim to address the problem of the restavèk practice? What policies and interventions might address these gaps?
    - What support programs exist in the specified localities to assist child domestic labor victims?
3. What is the relationship between sending and receiving households and how does it impact the children's working conditions?
    - Where kinship ties exist between sending and receiving households, what is the nature of those ties?
    - How do kinship ties impact how restavèks are treated?
    - Where there are no kinship ties to the destination household, how did the children enter into or come to be recruited by the receiving household?
    - How does a lack of kinship ties impact both how restavèks are treated and their work conditions?
    - What, if any, effect can contributions in the form of money or in-kind gifts from sending families to receiving families have on the situation of restavèks?
    - If so, in which ways?
    - What other factors contribute to variation in treatment and working conditions?
    - Are restavèks able to go home or have other contact with their family?

4. What are the patterns of movement between sending and receiving households and how can these patterns best be understood?
    - What kinds of patterns exist? Are the movements between sending and receiving households from rural to urban areas, between or within urban areas, across borders between Haiti and Dominican Republic? Do different patterns display different behaviors and outcomes?
    - From which regions of Haiti do the children primarily come?
    - How are the children placed in the third-party home?
    - Are the children transported by family members? By third parties? If so, by whom?
    - How are the children being recruited? Are recruiters involved in the process? Who is recruiting the children into domestic work?
    - Who are the other individuals involved in the recruitment of children into domestic work? Are they paid?
    - Are there times of the year when children are more vulnerable to being recruited into domestic work?

4. FIELDWORK AND ANALYSIS

Before fieldwork, CRD carried out a thorough training for interviewers and supervisors with an emphasis on—

- Child labor and forced labor concepts
- Access strategies for children and families
- Consent procedures
- Developing rapport with respondents
- Methods for recording detailed notes.

Whenever possible, interviewers worked in pairs, with one speaking to the respondent and the other recording notes. However, one interviewer played both roles in some cases. Fieldwork took place from July to September 2012.

The research took place mainly in the urban areas of Port-au-Prince, including in slums and other marginal areas of the city. Data collection on sending families also took place in the department of Grand-Anse (specifically, Jérémie) and of the Sud (specifically, Les Cayes and surrounding areas). These departments were reported as the main areas from which restavèks were sent.

Children were initially identified for the study using contacts they had already made with the organizations who provide services to restavèks, including churches, schools, and welfare centers. Other contacts were made using the "snowball" technique, whereby children were asked for contact information of other restavèks. Children were interviewed outside of the home where they work in order to increase the accuracy and reliability of the data and protect both the children and the researchers. Sending and receiving families were identified with the help of the NGOs serving restavèks as well as key informants.

Data entry was completed by CRD on a rolling basis. Data from formal experts, informal experts, former restavèks, sending families, and receiving families were typed verbatim from interview notes into Excel and were organized by interview question. A subset of current restavèk interview notes were entered similarly; the remaining notes were pre-coded based on the most frequent response categories and were entered into Excel in an abridged format.

ICF International completed the analysis using Excel. Certain responses were tallied in order to provide a numerical understanding of the sample. Other responses were coded more thematically according to the research question. Results from the different respondents were then triangulated in order to validate the findings.

5. RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

However, there are a number of limitations to the study. One is the large number of interviews required by the contract with USDOL, given the period available for research. In seeking to complete 200 interviews with a relatively hidden population during a fieldwork period of approximately 1 month, the researcher's ability to gather in-depth information was limited. Respondents were reluctant to provide personal information to a stranger. A study seeking to understand the root causes of the restavèk system could have benefited from the use of ethnographic methods, including spending enough time with the respondents to gain their trust and having repeated discussions with them over time to extract the most personal information possible. A smaller number of interviews would have facilitated this shift.

An additional difficulty with timeline was the limited amount of time available to conduct the analysis. The research produced a significant amount of qualitative data, which required substantial time to digest and analyze. Research conducted with this number of interviews would have benefited from a more extended period of analysis than was possible for this report.

A final limitation relates to the methodological challenges imposed by ethical considerations. For the security of respondents and researchers, the ethics review board required that researchers not interview both the children and their families, or the children and their employers. All informants were required to be completely independent of each other. It was not possible, for example, to determine whether a restavèk and her receiving family agreed on the difficulty of the work assigned. As a result, it was only possible to compare the perspectives of the various types of respondents generally. This limited the ability of the researchers to validate the findings from each group.

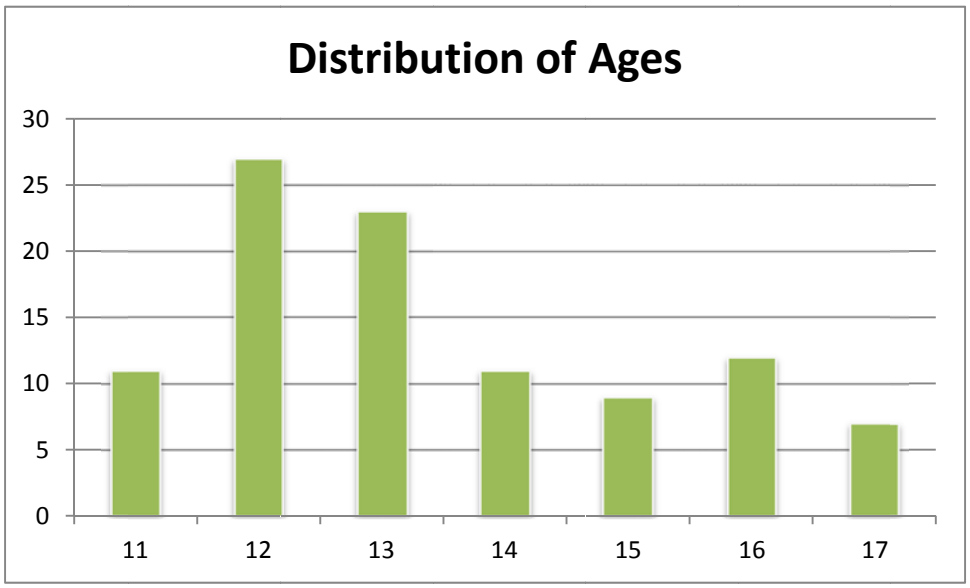
6. FINDINGS

6.1 Demographics of Child Workers

As noted above, researchers interviewed 100 current restavèks. The selection of these children was systematic, with the intention of covering the range of conditions. Therefore, the demographics presented in Figure 1 are representative only of the sample of interviewed children, not of restavèks more broadly.

Of the 100 current restavèks interviewed, 57 were girls and 43 were boys. The median age was 12, but there was strong representation of all ages between 11 and 17.

Figure 1: Distribution of Ages



Most of the children interviewed had been living on their current premises for at least 1 year, and many for much longer. Approximately one in three children had lived at the same location for at least 6 years, with most having resided at their present location for between 1 and 5 years. Less than 10 percent of children had lived at their current residence for less than 1 year.

Table 3: Number of Years at Current Residence

Number of Years	Number of Respondents
Less than 1	8
1–3	33
4–6	26
7–9	15
More than 9	18
Total	**100**

A little over half of the children came from rural areas (54); the remaining children had moved from other parts of Port-au-Prince or from other cities. Before moving to their current residence, the children tended to live with their parents (61) or other family members—uncles/aunts (19) or other relatives (17).

Formal and informal experts were asked about the origins of restavèks in order to understand the origins of the children more broadly, outside of the sampled children. Respondents indicated that the children came from all regions of the country. Some of the most commonly regions mentioned were Plateau Central, Nord, Ouest, Jérémie, and Kenscoff.

The geographical regions mentioned as areas with high prevalence of restavèks were Carrefour-Feuilles, Cité Soleil, and Delmas.

> *The trend remains the same, from rural to urban areas. (Formal Expert)*

> *Third parties encourage people in their localities with many children and precarious economic situation to send their children to the families in the capital. In this case, the host family gives money to that person to cover travel expenses. (Informal Expert)*

In addition to moving to urban areas within Haiti, it was reported that in the areas closer to the Dominican Republic, there were more cases of children being moved from their home in Haiti to work as restavèks in the Dominican Republic. It was not clear, however, if they ended up working for other Haitian receiving families that had immigrated there or for Dominican families.

> *For the Dominican Republic, I know of cases especially in the Central Plateau.* (Informal Expert)

> *Most displacements are from rural to urban areas; however, it is quite frequent in the border areas to find children who leave the country to work as servants in the Dominican Republic.* (Informal Expert)

6.2 Education of Child Workers

Haiti's educational system is considered one of the weakest in the world.[41] Even before the earthquake in January 2010, Haiti's educational system was characterized by significant exclusion and structural deficiencies. Education costs were high in proportion to family revenues (approximately 40 percent of revenues for low-income families) and access to school was difficult, especially in rural areas. Public schools only covered 20 percent of the total demand for basic education. In addition, parents had to pay school fees to enroll their children in the public school system. Twenty-two percent of children ages 6 to 11 (an estimated 400,000) were still out of the educational system.[42] Approximately 30 percent of those initially enrolled in primary school would not continue on to the third grade, and 60 percent of all students would drop out of school before the sixth grade.[43] Much has happened since January 2010, both in terms of

[41] See http://www.fafo.no/pub/rapp/10070/10070.pdf
[42] See http://www.haitispecialenvoy.org/about-haiti/education
[43] UNICEF. See: http://www.unicef.org/har08/files/har08_Haiti_countrychapter.pdf

physical reconstruction and in terms of access to schooling, particularly as a consequence of President Martelly's new initiative for free education, launched in October 2011, targeting some 260,000 out-of-school children.[44]

It is against this background that restavèks' participation in education should be understood—access to schooling for children from poor backgrounds, not just those working in domestic service, was and continues to be limited.

Interviews with sending families suggested that, despite their difficult circumstances when their children were living with them, it was fairly common that they send at least some of their children to school some of the time.

> *She went to school, but not regularly.* (Sending Family)

> *The oldest child went to school when he was small. He was there until the 4th year. I had to withdraw him, since I didn't have the means to pay the fees. My young daughter hasn't been to school yet.* (Sending Family)

Most sending families reported that the children they had sent away to do domestic service work had attended school before leaving—if not on a regular basis, then certainly occasionally for 1 year or longer. The reasons for the sporadic attendance were obvious from the families' answers about sending their children away—economic hardship frequently exacerbated by family breakdown, deaths in the family and natural disasters. Yet, it was interesting to note that despite these obstacles many children had managed to begin their education, which some were able to continue later after their move to the receiving family.

> *The oldest went to school when he was little. He did the 4th year. I had to take him out of school because I had no money.* (Sending Family)

> *He went for as long as I could afford to send him.* (Sending Family)

> *Two went to school, the oldest did the 9th year, and the youngest did the 1st year. The one who is with the friend of my aunt doesn't go to school now, and the one with my sister is going to do the 5th year.* (Sending Family)

Receiving families reported that, wherever possible, they made sure that the children placed in their care received some form of education. In some cases, however, financial hardship prevented or limited them from doing so.

> *She goes to school every day and has never missed a day.* (Receiving Family)

> *Last year she took her 6th-year examinations but didn't pass. She hasn't been this year because I have no money to send her.* (Receiving Family)

> *She has been in school since she lived with her parents in Saint-Louis-du-Sud. She continued with her studies when she was with me.* (Receiving Family)

[44] See http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/files/2yearsReport.pdf

A majority of the children interviewed said they were currently going to school, and approximately one in seven had not been to school at all. However, attendance patterns were sometimes erratic—approximately half of the children said that they were sometimes absent.

> *I always go to class, unless I have no shoes or I'm ill.* (Restavèk)

> *I'm in the 6th year. I may be late sometimes, but I go to school every day.* (Restavèk)

> *I have just done the 6th year. I often lose several days of class because I have to finish the jobs I'm given.* (Restavèk)

As noted above, a key promise made when children are placed as domestic workers is that they would be able to go to school, even though reportedly this promise was frequently not kept. Given that a majority of these children said they were attending school, it was unclear how and in which ways the educational opportunities available to those working in domestic service differed from those available to children as a whole and, indeed, how accurately the children interviewed for this study reflected the population of child domestics.

The formal and informal experts tended to suggest that participation in education by these children was at a lower level than suggested by the children themselves. In the experts' view, which broadly aligns with available statistics, only a minority of children—probably no more than 20 percent—actually attended school, and most of these children attended low-quality institutions. Some were late starters and found themselves in classes with other children who were significantly younger than they were. Hence, there might be a discrepancy between the actual age of the working children and the class in which they should have been enrolled.[45] The experts also suggested that school attendance was more likely to be in the afternoon or evening, a time of day when working children would have already performed extensive household chores.

> *It's hard for them to succeed. Once they get back from school, they immediately have chores to do.* (Informal Expert)

> *They may be sent to school in the afternoon or evening. When they are there, they really don't have time to study; they don't get any help with their lessons and homework. They are left to their own devices and only the super-gifted can make a success of it.* (Formal Expert)

> *Increasing numbers are going to school in the wake of growing awareness of children's rights. However, the schools they go to are not very good. The children could spend their entire life there and not learn a thing. (*Formal Expert)

[45] The Problem of Over-Age Students in the Haitian Education System: An Overview, Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, Directorate of Planning and External Cooperation. Available at: http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001364/136433e.pdf

6.3 Causes and Pathways into Domestic Child Labor

This section first explores the push and pull factors leading households to send their children to work as restavèks. It then analyzes the children's freedom to end the placement or not perform their assigned tasks.

6.3.1 Cultural and Historical Precedents

Some formal and informal experts referred to Haiti's historical precedent and cultural norms to explain the persistence of the restavèk phenomenon, including the history of colonization and slavery, and a persistent and culturally ingrained demand for domestic help.

> *It is our historical past as our ancestors were slaves …. [It] looks like it is cultural, as Haitian families still think they need someone to help.* (Formal Expert)

> *It is, first of all, cultural and mental. Having been colonized had a great impact.* (Formal Expert)

> *It is genetic; it comes from the days of slavery, the current colonizers [sic] inflict the same treatment they received at the time of slavery.* (Informal Expert)

Most formal and informal experts often did not make an explicit link between historic and cultural factors and the restavèk phenomenon. When they did, the link was usually inconsistent. Some formal experts referred to the historical roots of fertility preferences, whereas others referred to an inherited culture of servitude.

> *If we were to return to the days of slavery, we would see that the problem is cultural. The masters would command their male slaves to get their female slaves pregnant so that they could increase their number of slaves. We could say that today, certain men continue to have the same behavior, getting women pregnant without regard to their responsibility. The poor women often have several children in their arms and are forced to place them in domestic work.* (Formal Expert)

> *The colonial heritage, the culture of having someone to command, etc*. (Formal Expert)

These historical and cultural factors were in any case mentioned less often than other factors such as poverty, education, and family planning. When they were mentioned, it was together with these interrelated and more immediate factors.

6.3.3 Motivations of Sending Families

The principal reasons sending families reported for sending their children away to do domestic work were a direct consequence of the immediate families' inability to look after their offspring because of the abject poverty in which they were living. Whether because of the death of a parent, the inability to find work on account of injury or disability, relationship issues, the consequences of the 2010 earthquake, or any combination of these, the common thread linking these families was the great difficulty, even impossibility of being able to provide for their families, despite what they saw as their best efforts.

The reasons are economic and social. I can't really work and my state of health is critical. I couldn't live with my daughter the way I would have wanted to, and her mother had died. This isn't what I would have chosen for my child, but what can you do? (Sending Family)

It was because I didn't have the wherewithal to look after them properly. Their father died on January 12th [2010 Earthquake]. I don't work, apart from doing a bit of laundry from time to time. With the small amount I made I couldn't look after them. There were times when I couldn't even feed them. All I could do was [to] have them placed somewhere. (Sending Family)

I lived with the youngest one in Port-au-Prince, but since I had nowhere to live after the earthquake, I decided on Anse-du-Claire and left here with one of my sisters. With the older one, I was living in Jérémie and there was a family there I had some dealings with who needed a child to help them, so I suggested my son. This was only because I wasn't able to look after them myself. (Sending Family)

After the earthquake, we had nowhere to go. We were on some open space in a tent. (Sending Family)

Sending families often mentioned that one reason why they sent their children to serve as domestic workers was so that the host family would provide them access to education, which they could not afford:

I could not send all three to school and my cousin had promised to help me with the younger one. I've brought the child to him because I did not want to keep her out of school. (Sending Family)

Because I could not send them to school; and if they do not go to school, it will not secure [their] future. The young girls, I cannot support them. (Sending Family)

It was because of my economic circumstances. My husband had just died and it was hard to feed my children. And it was important that they went to school. There was no other choice. (Sending Family)

There is little evidence from the interviews with sending families that pressure, external or otherwise, had been factored into the decision to place a child in some form of domestic work. Some said that the decision had been entirely theirs; others claimed that relatives or others had offered to take the children off their hands. Several sending families expressed the wish that, in time, their children would be able to return home.

No other person was involved in placing my child. The decision was mine. (Sending Family)

My family suggested that I send the child to a person they knew. (Sending Family)

I asked the people involved to take the children until such time as my circumstances had improved and I could take them back. (Sending Family)

6.3.3 Motivations of Receiving Families

The receiving families interviewed tended to be relatively large households, often spanning several generations, and living in poor and overcrowded conditions that frequently had been exacerbated by the effects of the 2010 earthquake. The great majority of the household members were related to each other, with outsiders being quite uncommon.

> *There are 10 people living in this house, including a girl I adopted. Seven are the children of my own children, but I'm not sure exactly how old they are … The girl I'm not related to is the daughter of a woman who worked here. She became pregnant and, after the baby was born, [she] had to leave the child with me. The mother left and never came back, leaving me to bring up the child.* (Receiving Family)

> *I'm married and the mother of three children. I have two nieces who are staying with us in the same house. We have a small house made out of sheet metal, in the form of a single room. There are eight of us in total. We live like one large family.* (Receiving Family)

> *I don't have a husband—he died on January 12th—and have four children of my own. There are two others, the children of one of my sisters who was killed on January 12th. I used to live in Carrefour-Feuilles, which is where my husband died. I was put up by a friend and am still living with him. The house has four rooms and we use three of them. He keeps asking when I'm going to leave, but I have to keep asking for a little more time until I can get organized.* (Receiving Family)

Receiving families appeared to have been motivated by a number of factors, not always directly linked to having a source of cheap domestic labor. Helping out with household chores was nevertheless a strong reason to take in a child, with some families saying they were overburdened with their own domestic responsibilities. One receiving family said: "Before the child arrived, there were not enough hands to do all the domestic chores. There were no other children to help." Others seemed primarily to want company, as another receiving family remarked: "I felt lonely when my husband wasn't there, so I arranged for the girls to come. They keep me company." There were also several cases where family responsibilities were the primary reason for taking in a child, as one receiving family noted: "He's my nephew. I took him in when his mother died." Occasionally it was the desire to take in a child and give him a home; one receiving family said: "I wasn't in the habit of employing children; on the contrary, I don't agree with it. However, I couldn't leave these children in the street so I took them in for their own good."

As described by the receiving families, there were a number of reasons, sometimes overlapping, why they came to have children working in their homes. One recurring set of circumstances was the need to provide a home for the children of other members of the family in the aftermath of various misfortunes. One receiving family said: "She was my brother's favorite daughter. She lived in Carrefour with her parents before the earthquake. Their house was destroyed in the catastrophe and her father was killed. I went to collect her that same night." Sometimes the desire to help a relative was linked to a perceived opportunity to obtain some help with domestic work, as a receiving family observed: "Her parents lived in the provinces and couldn't send her to school and take care of her. My husband's brother asked if we could take one of the children.

I needed someone who could do a few things for me, so we agreed to take her. She helps me at home, and I help her with school work." Where there was no family link, the decision to take on a child was often based on earlier shared experiences.

> *Cedrick's mother rented a room in the house where I lived. She didn't organize her life very well, became pregnant, and the father left her. After 4 months, she left the baby in the room and disappeared. As for the girl, her mother Elda lived with me until she left a few months after the baby was born. They are both abandoned children.* (Receiving Family)

Sometimes the motivation appeared to be based on a simple desire to help people in desperate circumstances.

> *Their mother had 13 children; I have the 2 youngest. I had to protect them from being exposed to prostitution and other dangers.* (Receiving Family)

> *She comes from Jacmel. Her parents were poor and were only able to send her to school for 1 year. Since I was looking for some domestic help, her mother let her come to me.* (Receiving Family)

6.3.4 Children's Role in the Decision

All of the current restavèks interviewed reported that someone else had made the decision for them to move into a receiving family's home. The children often felt like they had no input in the decision-making process. Many were not informed at all beforehand; one restavèk said: "They didn't tell me anything about the place where I was going." Another said: "I didn't want to go far away from my parents. I wasn't happy because I didn't know this place, or the people from here. They didn't tell me that I was going to work but I was going to help." The move was usually no longer an option at the point when the children were made aware of it. It was a decision that appeared to rely solely in the hands of the adults in the family, usually a parent.

Formal and informal experts also confirmed this general idea of the children being at the mercy of adult family members.

> *The kids often report: "When I came here, I was simply told that I should make the trip to come to school. This is when I came here I found that it was to work as restavèk." They were often made false promises.* (Informal Expert)

> *Sometimes [the] children do not want to leave the house [and] it is primarily parents who push them to go to the other; they think that there could be surprises, good things [that are] better for the child.* (Informal Expert)

> *When someone sends a child, he knows the child will help in household chores, but he does not have all the information. It's a child; adults decided for him.* (Formal Expert)

6.3.5 Pathways into Domestic Child Labor

The formal and informal experts distinguished two broad categories of pathways into child domestic labor:

1. A potential receiving family contacted an intermediary in charge of seeking out families who wished to place a child in domestic service in return for promising to ensure that the child would attend school;
2. An arrangement is worked out between members of the same family, again commonly, with a promise that the child's education would be secured.

In the first case, interests usually coincided: a sending family generally experiencing economic hardship and looking for ways to reduce its burden therefore was open to placing a child into circumstances believed to be beneficial, or at the very least better than existing home conditions. For the receiving families, the desired outcome was to acquire low-cost domestic assistance. On the face of it, the arrangement suited both parties, with the hopes of better opportunities being offered to the child of the sending family in the future, and the receiving family obtaining free domestic help. However, in cases where the connections were made using some form of intermediary engaged by the receiving family, the sending family might not even know where any placed children were likely to end up. Contact was often minimal and the indications are that many of the promises made on behalf of the receiving family were broken.

In the second case, the links between those involved in the arrangement were closer and the parties generally knew each other. Even though a better life and access to education were normally central to the arrangement, things did not always work out that way. The formal experts noted that there was sometimes little difference between how children in both categories were treated.

> *There are parents living in rural areas who send their children to an uncle or aunt living in a town or city, expecting that the children will be attending school. In practice, there is sometimes little difference between what happens to these children and those who are taken specifically to do domestic work.* (Formal Expert)

> *There are many children who cannot be cared for by their parents. When a family can no longer meet the needs of their child, they place him/her with someone who can, in return, the child helps with household chores. So it is [the] parents who voluntarily make these investments sometimes via an intermediary who makes promises.* (Informal Expert)

Contact had been established in a number of ways. For the most part, family members appeared to have learned about the difficulties their relatives were encountering, sometimes by chance, sometimes by actively seeking them out. Non-relatives tended to be people with whom the sending family had some pre-existing relationship.

> *It was when my wife died as a result of the earthquake, and I had been seriously injured. My cousin came to see me and saw the state the child was in and agreed to help me.* (Sending Family)

I met the lady who took my first child when I was a street seller. She had the pitch next to mine, and we became friends. If I wasn't there, she would sell things for me. The second child is with a member of my family. (Sending Family)

My aunt visited one day and saw how we were living. She said she would see what she could do to help. She took one child because she needed some help at home. She came back later for a second child, since she had a friend who was looking for some help. My third daughter is being looked after by my sister. (Sending Family)

The number of children sent to live with others varied by family circumstances. In some cases, just one child was sent away; in others, multiple children were. Their destinations tended to be other family members' homes, or the homes of people with whom some form of personal contact had been established over the years, sometimes before the child in question had been born. In this sample only rarely were children sent to people unknown to them; just two of the sending families interviewed said they did not personally know the people who would be taking their children. Even though there was in most cases a personal connection, the sending families were often quite vague about what their children were doing in their new homes.

Bethsaida no longer lives at home. She lives at Gérald Bataille doing odd jobs for my cousin Venite who lives there. We used to live in the same place. (Sending Family)

Stephanie lives in Debussy with Mme. Paulette and helps her with domestic chores. We used to live in the same building in Jacmel. (Sending Family)

Both have gone. One is in Jérémie with someone I don't know, and the other is in the same town with one of my sisters. (Sending Family)

She lives with a lady I met in the street when I was pregnant. I was crying because I didn't have anywhere to go. She offered to put up my baby when it was born. (Sending Family)

6.4 Relationships Between Sending and Receiving Families

6.4.1 Agreements Between Families

The formal experts overwhelmingly agreed that formal agreements between sending and receiving families were uncommon. On occasion, there was no actual contact between the two families, with the arrangement being facilitated by an intermediary, who might be a member of, or be associated with, the receiving family. Sending families would generally expect to hear that their children would be cared for, but these wishes were rarely, if ever, in the form of an agreement to which both parties could be held. Promises would be made and frequently be broken, and wishes would not be respected.

There is no agreement. The sending family hands over their child in the hope that s/he will have a better life. In most cases, the sending family does not even meet the receiving family. Everything is done through an intermediary. It's the intermediary who most frequently makes promises to the sending family. (Formal Expert)

> *No agreement; everything is done on the basis of trust—I know you, you can trust me. Nevertheless, promises are not respected.* (Formal Expert)

> *If there are agreements, they tend to be tacit ones—I'm giving you my child so s/he can have a better future, and can go to school. Such agreements tend to be a blend of the promises made by or on behalf of the receiving family and the expectations of the sending family. These often don't survive the bus or tap-tap[46] journey to the receiving family. The child gets off the bus, straight into hell.* (Formal Expert)

Whereas the informal experts concurred that formal agreements were not the norm and that the promises and undertakings given were frequently not respected, they were generally more likely than the formal experts to think that the placement of a child was underpinned by something more than a simple understanding.

> *As I see it, there is always an agreement; but in most cases, it is an informal one. Someone goes to take the child and always makes promises that they will be well treated.* (Informal Expert)

> *I don't know if you could call it an agreement, but it is the case that the intermediary or the sending family often make promises to the sending family, leading them to believe that the child will be well treated and will be sent to school. There [are] indeed some who honor their promises and do send the child to school, even if this often turns out to be in the afternoon after a hard day's work for the child.* (Informal Expert)

> *Sending families are often overjoyed that their children will be able to go to school and will be supported by people in more comfortable circumstances than their own.* (Informal Expert)

The experiences reported by both the sending and the receiving families tended to bear this out. They, too, reported that such agreements were rare, and when they existed, they tended to be informal and lacked specific detail. The sending families who had made agreements tended to limit themselves to a general expectation that the child would be looked after, and would be able to return if the sending families' circumstances improved.

> *There was no agreement. I gave them the child so that he could do work for them.* (Sending Family)

> *No agreement; only that I could take her back when I wanted.* (Sending Family)

The receiving families interviewed were also unlikely to have formal agreements in place. There was a tendency for them to suggest in their replies that, by offering to take a child, they were acting out of goodwill and were not motivated by a desire for low-cost domestic help. In this sense, they created the impression that their motives were very much in the spirit of the origins of the restavèk system, as a way for less fortunate members of a family to be supported by those in a better position to help them.

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

There was no agreement. The children decided to come and live with me, and there were no problems with the natural parents. They accepted without condition. (Receiving Family)

I wasn't there when the arrangement was made, but I don't think there was any kind of agreement. All I know is that people in this country like to live in Port-au-Prince. (Receiving Family)

No contract was signed because the girls' mothers had abandoned them. (Receiving Family)

6.4.2 The Role of Intermediaries

Several formal and informal experts had mentioned that some form of intermediary had been used in the process of organizing the placement of children with receiving families. Informal experts in particular described a number of circumstances where third parties of several kinds had been used. Many different types of intermediary were mentioned, suggesting that a wide range of people were involved. "It's mainly unemployed people, who have nothing to do" said one expert. Another commented that "former restavèks are very important in identifying possible children for domestic work." Another expert quoted an instance where "a pastor went looking for a child in the country under the pretext of placing him/her abroad, but in fact he took the child back to live with him before getting money from someone needing a child."

Against this background of a thriving intermediary sector, two broad categories emerged. There were those who tended to work as intermediaries, largely working alone on their own account and offering their services to those who needed them:

These people are brokers. Go and talk to them, and they will very quickly lead to you to a child. You pay them, because that's what they do for a living. They can often be found on street corners in, for example, Delmas 35 and in the square at Croix-des-Bouquets. (Informal Expert)

They get money from both sides—the sending family and the receiving family. They act as a bridge between the two families. (Informal Expert)

You can find these people everywhere. These are people who go directly to [the] parents, or who help children to run away from their parents. (Formal Expert)

The second group of brokers appeared to work with others, sometimes members of the sending or receiving family, in order to secure an agreement:

Either the broker himself turns up at a potential ending family's house, or sets up a contact through another member of the sending family. (Informal Expert)

It tends to be someone who lives in the neighborhood or a friend of the receiving family. Sometimes the two families don't know each other at all. That puts the sending family at a disadvantage, since the family may offer one of its children without going to see where the child would be living. (Informal Expert)

> *Third parties encourage people in their neighborhoods who have several children and are finding it hard to make ends meet to consider sending their children to people living in the capital. If one is identified, the intermediary is paid by the receiving family.* (Informal Expert)

One particular type of intermediary is known as "Madam Sara," predominantly rural women who purchase produce in rural areas and then transport the goods directly to larger markets or Port-au-Prince. They operate either in their native rural area or in an area they are familiar with and where they have relatives.[47] They are, therefore, very well informed and connected. These "Madam Sara" may connect sending and receiving families, and help with the transport of the child.

> *There are traffickers, "Madam Sara" who are involved in the identification of children for placement in domestic service … I know they receive earnings.* (Formal Expert)

> *The "Dames Sara" and other brokers often serve as the channel that brings children to the receiving families.* (Formal Expert)

Given the extent of intermediary activity reported by the experts, it was striking that the sending and receiving families interviewed were adamant that third parties were not involved, and that all arrangements were made directly between the families concerned.

> *No one else was involved apart from my aunt.* (Sending Family)

> *Apart from myself, the children's family and certain neighbors, no one else was involved* (Receiving Family)

Similarly, since the picture painted by the experts was one where the exchange of cash and goods was an integral part of the placement process, the families were again very clear that they had not, with one or two minor exceptions, received or made any payments in cash or kind.

> *No, I haven't received anything from anyone, apart from occasional provisions and food.* (Receiving Family)

> *There was no exchange between us, right up to and including today.* (Sending Family)

The pattern of responses strongly suggests that the families involved in supplying and employing children are reluctant to discuss this issue. Whereas most other sections of the research instruments generated detailed and nuanced information, the questions concerning financial arrangements were characterized by brief and largely non-committal responses.

All of the receiving families analyzed had previous connections with the sending families of the children working for them. In many cases, there was a direct family link, as one receiving family noted: "I know her mother. She's my sister." In addition, in most of the remaining receiving families, there were connections from places where both had lived, as one receiving family

[47] See "Subsidizing Self-Destruction: Madam Sara vs. Komèsan", accessed at http://open.salon.com/cover.php, on February 19, 2012.

remarked: “I knew their parents from when we all lived in Saint-Louis-du-Sud.” Contact, especially with members of the same family, appeared to quite common:

> *We always had good relations and her mother visits us.* (Receiving Family)

> *We have close contact, since they are my brother’s daughters.* (Receiving Family)

6.4.3 Patterns of Movement of Children Between Sending and Receiving Families

Public transportation of one kind or another was the usual means of transportation, as one sending family reported: “I went with her on the bus when we left Delmas for Carrefour.” A receiving family also acknowledges: “They came almost half the distance on foot, and then took the bus.” In some cases, the arrangement was made within one particular locality, where it was usual to walk; one sending family reported: “The people she was going to also lived in Anse-du-Claire, so I took her there on foot.”

Children very rarely traveled on their own, frequently being accompanied by a parent or relative; as one sending family noted: “My sister travelled with them to Jérémie.” In some cases, a member of the receiving family collected the child: “I picked her up on my way back to Port-au-Prince.”

Once again, the experts ascribed a much greater role to the intermediaries in the process of getting the children to their new homes than the families themselves did; both sending and receiving families made no mention of intermediaries as part of this process.

> *Generally, the child is entrusted to a person who travels with him/her to the receiving family. This could be someone from the receiving family or someone who has been acting as an intermediary.* (Formal Expert)

> *Younger inexperienced children are always accompanied by someone, either the intermediary, a family member, a friend of the family, or the parents themselves* (Informal Expert)

As far as occasional visits to their family of origin, half of the children who responded to the question reported having visited their parents since they had been with their receiving family. Among those who had never gone to visit their relatives, some of the reasons were the lack of money to travel, the unwillingness of the adults in their receiving family to take them, or the fact that they had no other home.

> *My parents have died; I have nowhere to go.* (Restavèk)

> *They would not let me leave. The only place I know to go to is to my sister’s in Delmas. To go anywhere else, my aunt picks me up.* (Restavèk)

6.4.4 Possibility of Ending the Arrangement

When asked how long they thought their restavèks would stay with them, some receiving families said simply that the children could leave when they were ready and that it was their decision; one receiving family said: “She can decide when she’s ready to set up her own household.”Another said: “They will be here until they can set up their own families. My great wish is to be able to see them married.”

The prevailing view of receiving families was that the children working for them would be able to return to their parents if they wanted to do so. However, few could understand why a child would want to do that, maintaining that the subject had rarely, if ever, been raised.

> *They can when they want to. They are free to do whatever they think is right for them. For me, I would have liked to see them married.* (Receiving Family)
>
> *I don’t see why a child would want to leave my house, because I treat her as if this was her home.* (Receiving Family)
>
> *His mother is dead. He has nobody else. And the question has never been asked.* (Receiving Family)

Several receiving families expressed a sense of surprise that such a question was being asked, perhaps because it was interpreted as a criticism of the way they were treating their child domestic. Many respondents took great pains to emphasize that the child really had no reason to leave and was being treated very well. It is not clear whether this was a genuine response, or a way of creating the impression that everything was fine:

> *I don’t see why she would want to leave my house, since I don’t mistreat her and I behave towards her as if she was my own child.* (Receiving Family)
>
> *I’m not forcing her to stay with me, but there’s nowhere else for her to go. And I don’t think she will feel compelled to leave the house, since I’ve never treated her badly.* (Receiving Family)
>
> *She’ll stay with us until she’s grown up, because we get on well.* (Receiving Family)
>
> *If they leave the house, they will have more problems because their parents do not live together. One lives at Baradères, the other at La Gônave. They are used to living with me.* (Receiving Family)
>
> *I think these children will stay with me for the rest of my days because they have nowhere else to go.* (Receiving Family)
>
> *It would be her choice. She could return to her family or go somewhere else.* (Receiving Family)

6.5 Living and Working Conditions

The picture that the experts painted of the living and working conditions of children in domestic service is unrelentingly bleak.

> *They don't sleep; they don't eat when they are hungry; they don't have time to study;[and] they are beaten, downcast, touched inappropriately or physically abused by the young sons of the head of household.* (Informal Expert)

> *They do everything that needs to be done in the house—go to the market, fetch water, help with preparing food, do the laundry and ironing, take the family's children to school and collect them later. Their living conditions are inhumane. They are the first to get up and the last to go to bed. They eat scraps of food that others have left. They work not only in the houses where they live, but also do work for friends of the family.* (Informal Expert)

> *They are malnourished [and] poorly clothed, have no access to education, [and are] the victims of all kinds of poor treatment.* (Formal Expert)

The views of the children themselves were more nuanced. When asked whether they liked living where they were placed, opinions were evenly divided among those who did and those who did not. Their responses suggest that there are cases of receiving families not treating these children well, but the circumstances identified by the experts were also reflected in their responses.

> *I like living here because I get on well with the daughter of the lady I work for. I like it when the children play with me, but I don't like it when I'm told off.* (Restavèk)

> *Yes, I like the neighborhood and the house. The house has its own water supply, so I don't have to go out and fetch it. What I don't like is that they don't let me go out.* (Restavèk)

> *I don't like the way my godmother's husband behaves with me. I don't have any problem with the work because I'm used to it.* (Restavèk)

> *No, there's hardly anything here I like. I'd really prefer to go home*. (Restavèk)

6.5.1 Type of Work Performed

The restavèks interviewed reported mostly doing typical household chores, such as cleaning the home, cooking meals, fetching water, and doing laundry.

Parents imagined, sometimes without any concrete evidence that their children would be involved in a wide range of domestic chores, including fetching water, cleaning the house, buying things at the market, washing dishes, laundry, and other domestic chores; as one sending family said: "I don't know because I've never asked him."

Receiving families repeatedly listed a range of household chores when asked what kinds of work domestic child workers did, and there was little variation between families. One family said: "She cleans the house and goes to fetch water when it's needed." Another receiving family stated

"She's learning to do a number of things—prepare food, wash clothes, get rid of jumble and dirty water, clean the house." Whereas there was some suggestion that boys tended to do the physically more demanding work, tasks seemed to be spread quite evenly between boys and girls.

> *The girl washes the dishes, and sweeps. I don't want her to fetch water—my own children are bigger and can help me with the water. The boy sweeps sometimes. This morning I sent him to Cité Militaire to do some shopping and made sure he came straight back.* (Receiving Family)

> *Take out any urine, sweep, wash dishes and the pans, clean the shower, take care of my children, help me prepare food, do the laundry, and keep an eye on the children.* (Receiving Family)

> *She helps my mother when she's frying food, does work around the house and washes plates.* (Receiving Family)

6.5.2 A Restavèk's Day

To provide a more complete picture of the working conditions of children, this section presents the daily life of restavèks. A restavèk's day starts early. Most were up and about between 4 a.m. and 6 a.m. and very few were still in bed at 8 a.m. Although they were not necessarily the first to rise—many said that they were woken up by a member of the receiving family—they were certainly among the first to be doing work. Once the day was underway, there was plenty to do, with little time for relaxation. Many children juggled their domestic chores with school attendance, which is not always easy:

> *I generally get up at 5 [a.m.], but if there are still chores remaining from previous day I get up earlier, around 4 [a.m.]. I'm the first to get up and I have to wake the lady's daughter since she has to go into the city early. Then I clean the house and put the dishes in the kitchen. After that, I cook the beans so that the daughter can prepare food when she gets back. I have to be at school by 9 [a.m.].* (Restavèk)

> *Usually I get up at 7 [a.m.], but when I need to fetch water, the lady wakes me at 5 [a.m.]. We are the only ones up at that time. I do the dishes and then, once everyone is out of bed I clean the house, then I go to the market to get things to eat. I don't go to the market on Sundays. During the week, I have to organize myself so that I can finish my work and get to school by noon. Sometimes, when I do the laundry, I don't get to school until 1 p.m.* (Restavèk)

> *Work continued well into the afternoon, with children performing a range of tasks.*

> *I go to school in the afternoon. When I get back, I sweep the kitchen. Sometimes I'm told I can leave the dishes until the following morning. If there's electricity then I watch TV. If not, I play cards with my friends. I try to get my schoolwork done before I come home.* (Restavèk)

If the daughter hasn't finished preparing the food, I'll help her. Then I'll do the dishes, some ironing, I go to the market, fetch water and do my homework from school. If there's shopping to do, then I'll do that. I have some free time around 8 in the evening. (Restavèk)

In the afternoon, I go and fetch water and that's quite a way from here. It takes me about one hour and a half. (Restavèk)

In the afternoon, I delivered some sand for someone in the neighborhood and got 200 gourdes [$4.65] for it. I gave the money to the lady I work for so she could buy some things to eat. (Restavèk)

Time for play and recreation was usually in short supply, being squeezed in as circumstances permitted. For some, it was an opportunity to have some contact with other children, when allowed by the family. Others were simply pleased to use the opportunities that arose too to squeeze in some rest. Apart from the occasional errand, evenings tended to be relatively chore-free.

When I can, I go out and play with some children who live behind our house. I always try to do nothing between 6 and 7 in the evening, with nobody running after me. (Restavèk)

When the adults go out, I stay and look after the babies. Once they're asleep, I stay there and do nothing. I can spend 2 hours just doing nothing. They don't let me go out to play. (Restavèk)

I rest when I'm not working. I have several friends I talk with. I can only go out when I have to buy something in the street. (Restavèk)

I go and play sometimes, but not every day. I always have things to do. (Restavèk)

Sleeping arrangements varied depending on the status of the household. Some children had a room of their own, but sharing with other children was most common. Most seemed to have had some kind of bed, although some slept on the floor.

I sleep in a small bed with another girl in the same room as everyone else. (Restavèk)

I sleep on the floor with the other children. (Restavèk)

I sleep all alone in my own room. (Restavèk)

The domestic children seemed aware that they needed to get to bed early since they were expected to get up early. However, it did not always prove to be possible, partly for work-related reasons and partly because children sometimes did not want to waste the free time they had, which tended to be in the evening hours.

Yesterday I went to bed at 10 [p.m.], since I'd been watching TV. It's not the time I usually go to bed, because a child should sleep for 7 to 8 hours. (Restavèk)

> *I went to sleep at 8 yesterday evening. This is the time we normally go because we're woken very early in the morning.* (Restavèk)

> *It was midnight, because I wasn't tired and I didn't feel sleepy. Normally when I'm tired I go to bed at 8 [p.m.], sometimes at 11 [p.m.] when I have schoolwork.* (Restavèk)

On average, the children interviewed said they had spent nearly 6 hours on the previous day doing domestic tasks. Not every day was the same; significant variations were noted from day to day. Special occasions in the family meant that the children had to work particularly long hours.

> *Yesterday was a very long day for me. It was laundry day and I had to go and fetch water twice. I worked for 8 hours.* (Restavèk)

> *I worked long hours—7 in total—on July 7th because it was the birthday of one of the daughters.* (Restavèk)

The receiving families did not feel that the work done by the children was particularly difficult or dangerous, with many going out of their way to insist that the work done was really very straightforward—typical comments from receiving families were: "She doesn't do anything difficult" and "I don't have anything difficult to give her." To the extent that a task might have been considered difficult, the families were keen to minimize any perceived dangers for the child by providing help; one receiving family reported: "Fetching water is difficult, since it's a long way from the house, so we all go." Another receiving family explained: "I don't give him much to do apart from letting him help with odd jobs … He might fall when carrying buckets of water. If I send him to shop some distance away, he might get lost or something bad might happen to him."

Receiving families were also asked if there were any consequences if the child refused to perform a task. It may be significant that only half of the families interviewed responded to this question. Among those that responded, few instances were reported of children refusing to do work; one receiving family said: "They are not bad people. They are obedient. They don't refuse to do anything." In cases when requested tasks were not carried out, little if any punitive action seems to have been taken, as one receiving family explained: "They might refuse to clean the kitchen, for example, but nothing happens." There was again a sense that some receiving families were being protective towards the children working for them; one receiving family noted: "They're all my children, and I have a duty to protect them. If they are not well, it's my responsibility. Why would I beat them?"

However, many of the children reported receiving verbal and physical punishments when they did not do their required chores:

> *If I have work to do and don't do it, she gets mad but rarely beats me.* (Restavèk)

> *She gets mad and hits me sometimes.* (Restavèk)

> *They whip me.* (Restavèk)

There was great reluctance, even defensiveness from receiving families about answering questions about whether they were aware of instances where their child domestics had been injured while performing their work. Almost half the families restricted themselves to saying that they knew nothing about that, with few adding any specific detail beyond broad generalities.

> *There are a lot in the neighborhood who are badly treated and injured sometimes.* (Receiving Family)

> *No, I can't say anything about that, but my niece doesn't do any dangerous jobs in the house.* (Receiving Family)

> *I'm not up to date on that.* (Receiving Family)

The interviewed children reported many illnesses, including fevers, tuberculosis, the flu, and stomachaches, but most indicated that they did not have to work when they were ill. One restavèk reported: "I often fall ill with fever or migraine. At this time, they take me to the hospital and buy me medicines. They don't make me work; I rest and relax." A few are required to work despite illness, as one restavèk noted: "When I have a fever or am sore I can rest a few minutes but I'm obliged to get up to go work. When I have pain, it's the children who go buy pills for me. A few reported injuries obtained while working, as one restavèk explained: "One day I was burned, and it was the school that took me to the hospital and told them to let me rest because, otherwise, my burns would not heal."

6.6 Perceptions of the Situation by Those Involved

Perceptions of and attitudes toward restavèks were complex and multifaceted. As one formal expert commented: "For some people, it's not a serious situation; for others it is. Depending on who you talk to, you will get different opinions." There was a recognition that the phenomenon was deeply rooted in Haitian culture and, as such, acceptable—one formal expert noted: "Most people think it's a normal activity. Culturally, they do not consider it to be an abuse." Nevertheless, a repeated view reported by the formal experts was that, with children working in domestic service, there was an expectation of poor treatment. In its extreme form, such children were not seen as humans and children deserving of treatment appropriate to their age and situation. A formal expert explained: "It's modern slavery" commented one formal expert; another formal expert said: "Most children are ill-treated and verbally abused."

The word "restavèk" itself carried negative connotations, even though historically it had been seen as a support system within families to provide opportunities to less fortunate members. Now they were sometimes reduced to a commodity to be put to use; one formal expert said: "there are people who ask others if they can borrow their restavèks."

Informal experts identified a similar range of reactions. Even though several agreed that children working in domestic service were likely to be ill-treated: "People use inhumane language when talking about them and do not consider the children to be human beings." For some, restavèks were thought to be pitied: "They are abandoned children, the forgotten ones. It's the worst thing that could happen to a child." Others felt that people were becoming more sensitized to the issue and that it was not a given that children working in domestic service would be ill-treated; as one

informal expert noted: “People are coming to understand that these are children just like any other children.”

There was however broad agreement that the scale of the problem was such that it could not be eradicated until the state had addressed the economic and infrastructure issues at the heart of the issue. A one informal expert noted: “For there to be any significant change it would be necessary for the state to intervene to create schools in rural areas and help families there be economically more productive.”

As for the sending families interviewed, opinions were divided broadly among those who thought that sending a child to work in domestic service was something to be avoided, and those who recognized that, as undesirable as it might be, for some it was the only available solution to their economic problems. There was very little, if any sense of the practice being seen as beneficial, but rather a necessary evil.

> *People think it’s treating your child as a gift to someone else, or a commodity to be sold. They have very bad opinions.* (Sending Family)

> *There are people in the community who told me not to allow the child to go and work elsewhere since she would be given a great deal of work to do.* (Sending Family)

> *They always say they will never do it with their children. They will have to eat whatever the parents can find to eat.* (Sending Family)

> *It’s something which distorts our society, but it won’t really get us out of our misery.* (Sending Family)

Among sending families, there was a widespread feeling, often based on impressions rather than hard evidence, that the children’s lives had not improved significantly, with one set of hardships replaced by another. The sending families’ lack of knowledge about their offspring’s current lives was striking; their responses were tinged with regret, resignation and, on occasion, helplessness.

> *I don’t know what she does there.* (Sending Family)

> *She works very hard. She doesn’t go to school and she hasn’t developed very well physically. Sometimes she falls ill, but gets no treatment.* (Sending Family)

> *It’s not really a better life. They have somewhere to sleep and are still going to school, which I suppose is something.* (Sending Family)

> *I don’t know, but they are not at ease. People are always scowling at them. They are expected to do all the jobs around the house. They do too much work.* (Sending Family)

> *I don’t know because I don’t live with her. Once a child lives apart from his mother, he’ll never have a good life.* (Sending Family)

On balance, the sending families were not convinced that their children's lives had improved. As one sending family observed, "There's no difference. There she eats but gets ill-treated, or here she's well thought of but eats badly." In some ways, things may have improved, as another sending family noted: "They go to school, have a roof over their heads and something to eat." But in other ways the dangers and risks were all too apparent, as one family remarked: "They're beaten and not well thought of."

In fact, when asked outright whether there any positive aspects to working as a domestic, almost all sending and receiving families replied firmly that there were not. With the possible exception of being able to go to school, the responses were overwhelmingly negative; one sending family observed: "There's nothing good in any of it since they are regarded negatively and badly treated. All the things that the head of the house doesn't want her own children to do are left to ours."

Not surprisingly, all of this impacted the parents' fears for their children's future. Several members of the sending families had done similar work themselves when they were younger and had no doubts about the possible consequences. As one sending family observed: "I'm worried when I see my daughter going through all the things I went through." They would do their very best to prevent any other of their children going down the same route, as noted by another sending family: "No. I tell myself that, whatever the situation here, I will not send my youngest child away because I know what it's all about." Some sending families reported that they would certainly do what they could to prevent their children's children from having the same experience: "I don't want them to have that experience. I want them to go to school and then learn a trade to give them a future."

The overwhelmingly majority view among receiving families was that child domestic work was generally not a good thing—even though they themselves were providing a home for the children; as one receiving family observed: "Children shouldn't have to work, regardless of the circumstances." The receiving families interviewed tended to regard themselves as different and much more responsible in their dealings with the children they housed than they perceived to be the case elsewhere.

> *In my house, there is no distinction between the children, wherever they come from. They are all mine.* (Receiving Family)

> *I don't think it's a good thing. I consider the child we have to be my own son. You often hear about child domestic workers being the victims of bad treatment. Today's child is tomorrow's adult.* (Receiving Family)

Nevertheless, even though the practice was generally disapproved, some receiving families conceded that a child working as a domestic helper might be the lesser of two evils, particularly if the child's home circumstances were dire: "It's not a good thing to mistreat them but in some cases the children are better off than they would have been at home."

Some also conceded that, by learning how to perform certain tasks and perhaps being able to attend school, children might acquire skills and knowledge that would give them good standing for the future; one receiving family noted: "It's good if the child's parents have no other options.

It's quite normal for a child to go to live with someone else to have a better life and learn things." All in all, the receiving families' opinions were mixed.

> *Generally, such children are mistreated. I'm not going to put my sister's children into domestic work. They will stay with me and we'll live within our means.* (Receiving Family)

> *There's nothing necessarily bad about it. It depends on the people involved.* (Receiving Family)

> *If the parent doesn't have the means to keep the child, he has to make other arrangements. But the child isn't an animal and shouldn't be given away. Sometimes some good can come of it if the child is able to go to school.* (Receiving Family)

While generally agreeing that the restavèk system was sometimes controversial in their community and that there were cases of abuse, receiving families took great pains to stress that, regardless of what others might do, they treated their own child domestic workers well.

> *People in the community don't take it [child domestic work] well at all. They think that child domestic workers have a bad life and have to do work not suited to their age.* (Receiving Family)

> *I've heard it said that people think that children working in domestic service are badly treated, that they are beaten, poorly fed, and kept away from school.* (Receiving Family)

> *Everyone considers the child to be mine, and my own children regard her as their sister. She feels comfortable. I'm sure this happens with others too.* (Receiving Family)

> *They are my sister's children and I consider them to be my own, since they are orphaned. I don't know what people in the community think.* (Receiving Family)

6.7 Programs, Policies and Institutions Addressing the Restavèk Problem

Formal experts identified several governmental and NGOs working to combat the restavèk practice. Formal experts themselves worked directly for NGOs that were involved in the issue, including *Foyer d'amour, Fondation Maurice Sixto, Foyer L'Escale, Fondasyon Limyè Lavi, Coordination des organisations Bolosse-Martissant, Ligue des Frères Boursiquot pour les enfants, FOHDEDO, Fondation Zanmi Timoun,* and *TIMKATEC.*

These NGOs have undertaken a variety of interventions, including sensitization campaigns with parents/tutors, campaigns to raise awareness of child rights in schools and churches, rescue and rehabilitation of restavèks, monitoring orphanages, vocational training for adolescents, and lobbying for legal reform.

Some of these NGOs have worked with international organizations (IOs) such as the International Organization for Migration (IOM), which provides assistance for restavèk rescue and rehabilitation activities. Other IOs identified by formal experts as working in this area included UNICEF and MINUSTHA.

Finally, formal experts also identified at least two governmental institutions working on the problem, including a government commission—Table Sectorielle (Sectoral Table)—that meets monthly and' IBESR (Haitian Ministry of Social Affairs), although they did not provide details of these institutions' activities.

Formal experts identified general gaps in the programs and policies that aim to address the problem of the restavèk practice. These general gaps could be grouped into two main categories: lack of real and effective actions and lack of funding.

> *On paper, yes, efforts are certainly being made, but there is nothing happening concretely. In general, if problems are identified, no action is taken to solve them.* (Formal Expert)

> *The efforts that have been developed are bureaucratic. Colloquiums, major declarations are not really directed towards the concerned parties: families of origin and receiving families. … In terms of recommendation, we must implement accountability policies for host families to negotiate the departure of the child. The state must be present as in the case of adoption; enact necessary laws, while taking care to enforce the laws that already exist; revise policy institutions working in the child protection [services]; engage children in schools and former restavèks in the fight against this phenomenon.* (Formal Expert)

> *We are currently working on this issue, but during my 18 years I had no help … For 18 years, I am asking the [Haitian] government to help me, especially in the educational field, but nothing. (Formal Expert)*

Formal experts also identified some specific gaps to be addressed. Two formal experts denounced the existence of organizations that get involved in the restavèk problem only as a business.

> *Some organizations are interested in the persistence of these problems.… I wished good grassroots organizations who know the children and work with them were taken into consideration.* (Formal Expert)

> *Some institutions embrace the cause of restavèks as a business purposes.* (Formal Expert)

Another formal expert indicated that it was necessary to strengthen the supervision of the orphanages:

> *Hence, it would be necessary to be more strict with the supervision of orphanages and foundations for orphans.* (Formal Expert)

Neither formal nor informal experts identified any particular laws, policies, or institutions that support or maintain the practice. One formal expert explicitly ruled out the possibility, indicating that the restavèk phenomenon was exclusively the result of socio-economic factors:

> *The factors that enable the perpetuation of this problem are of socio-economic order. They are not cultural, nor legal. There is no institutional mechanism.* (Formal Expert)

It was on the other hand recognized that the institutional, policy and legal framework was insufficient to combat the problem, although some formal experts were of the opinion that the legal framework was sufficient, but the laws were not being enforced.

> *There is a legal void. There are no legal means to compel a father to take care of his children. At the political level, there is no real political will to confront the question seriously.* (Formal Expert)

> *One of the main factors I can mention is the lack of coercive laws to regulate the restavèk phenomenon.* (Formal Expert)

> *What is missing is the enforcement of the law. The laws are there, but one could say that they only exist on paper; nothing concrete is done. There are no legal actions; traffickers are not punished.* (Formal Expert)

7. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This study provided an exploration of the causes and mechanisms of domestic child labor in Haiti by integrating valuable inputs from multiple stakeholders. The perspectives of experts (formal and informal), families (sending and receiving) and domestic child workers (former and current) allowed this research to form a nuanced picture of the restavèk phenomenon and the reasons for its perpetuation.

These reasons can be broadly divided into supply factors, which would explain the parents' willingness to send their children to work as restavèks; and demand factors, which would explain the receiving families' willingness to employ these children.

Interviews with sending families helped to identify the main factors behind the parents' decision to send their children to work as domestic laborers. The sending families' poverty or inability to look after their children was identified as the main push factor. These difficulties were often the result of household shocks, including the death of a parent, unemployment due to injury or disability, relationship issues, the consequences of the 2010 earthquake, or any combination thereof. These shocks were particularly devastating because of pre-existing poverty and the large number of children within many of these families. The sending families' expectation of a better life for their children, including access to education, was the main pull factor for sending their children to the receiving families.

On the demand side, formal and informal experts identified a culturally acceptable and longstanding tradition among Haitian households of having domestic workers. Interviews with receiving families indicate that this demand may be motivated by the need of large, overburdened households for cheap domestic labor, but also by receiving families' desire to help relatives or acquaintances in need.

Once supply and demand factors meet, the transaction among families was often made informally. Sending and receiving families were often related or acquainted and, according to the families' reports, there was little evidence of any type of coercion, pressure or involvement of a third party. These reports disagreed with the reports from experts, which often referred to the existence of intermediaries or brokers who profit or take advantage of the transaction. This suggests that experts may be overstating the role of intermediaries or there may be some degree of underreporting from families due to social desirability bias.

Irrespective of the factors involved in the transaction to obtain the children, the research showed that the working and living conditions restavèks end up facing are often difficult. Many of them worked long hours on household chores, with little time for play or rest. While some children report being happy with their host family, others report psychological, physical or sexual abuse from household members. Sending families were often aware of these difficulties, but being often in desperate economic conditions, they reasoned that this is the lesser of two evils.

There were nonetheless some positive aspects to the restavèk phenomenon, at least based on reports from sending and receiving families. Sending families were often rural and had difficulties keeping their children in school. Some of these children may have better chances of attending school once they started working for the receiving families, usually in urban areas. Some sending families also conceded that learning how to do domestic work might have some formative value.

An examination of the legal, policy, and institutional framework identifies significant gaps in the programs and policies that aim to address the problem of the restavèk practice. Formal experts denounced that most legal and institutional efforts are simply formal, but in reality the law is not enforced and there are no effective actions to eradicate the problem. Additionally, the experts who are actively involved in solving the problem denounced the proliferation of organizations that pretend to work on the issue but are only motivated by profit, while legitimate organizations suffer from a lack of funding.

There is a broad consensus among the different sources that participated in this study that any solution to the restavèk problem must go beyond law enforcement and the implementation of programs aimed specifically at this sector. Since the root causes of the problem are of broader demographic and economic nature, the solution must tackle the pervasive poverty and demographic problems that foster the practice. Further research should attempt to identify best practices and evaluate the impact of interventions aimed at eliminating the restavèk problem. Additionally, future research attempting to quantify the population and distribution of domestic child workers in worst forms conditions, as well as the socio-demographic risk factors that may contribute to predict these conditions, would be valuable in addressing the issue.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: KEY CONCEPTS AND DEFINITIONS

- **Forced labor:** all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty for its nonperformance and for which the worker does not offer himself voluntarily, and includes indentured labor. "Forced labor" includes work provided or obtained by force, fraud, or coercion, including:

  (A) By threats of serious harm to, or physical restraint against any person;
  (B) By means of any scheme, plan, or pattern intended to cause the person to believe that, if the person did not perform such labor or services, that person or another person would suffer serious harm or physical restraint; or
  (C) By means of the abuse or threatened abuse of law or the legal process.

- **Forced or indentured child labor** means all work or service (1) exacted from any person under the age of 18 under the menace of any penalty for its nonperformance and for which the worker does not offer himself voluntarily; or (2) performed by any person under the age of 18 pursuant to a contract the enforcement of which can be accomplished by process or penalties.

- **Determining forced labor:** ILO Convention 29 Article 2 (1) defines forced labor as "all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily". In other words, there are two elements that make labor forced: The first is a menace of penalty. The second is the lack of consent on the part of the worker.

  - The threat of a penalty (which represents the means for keeping someone in forced labor) includes the actual presence or credible threat of:
    - Physical violence against the worker, family or close associate
    - Sexual violence
    - Threat of supernatural retaliation
    - Imprisonment or other physical confinement
    - Financial penalties
    - Denunciation to authorities (police, immigration officers, etc.) and deportation
    - Dismissal from current employment
    - Exclusion from future employment
    - Exclusion from community and social life
    - Removal of rights or privileges
    - Deprivation of food, shelter and other necessities
    - Shift to even worse working conditions
    - Loss of social status

- Voluntary nature of work: lack of consent to (involuntary nature of) work (the route into forced labor) includes:
  - Birth/descent into "slave" or bonded status
  - Physical abduction or kidnapping
  - Sale of person into the ownership of another
  - Physical confinement in the work location—in prison or in private detention
  - Psychological compulsion, i.e. an order to work, backed by a credible threat of penalty for non-compliance
  - Induced indebtedness (by falsification of accounts, inflated prices, reduced value of goods or services produced, excessive interest charges, etc.)
  - Deception or false promises about types and terms of work
  - Withholding and non-payment of wages
  - Retention of identify documents or other valuable personal possessions
  - Voluntary participation in work situation is irrelevant in case of children under 18 working in a worst form

- **Child labor:** All work performed by a person below the age of 15. It also includes all work performed by a person below the age of 18 in the following practices:

  (A) All forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale or trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom, or forced or compulsory labor, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;
  (B) The use, procuring, or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic purposes;
  (C) The use, procuring, or offering of a child for illicit activities in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs; and
  (D) Work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety, or morals of children. The work referred to in subparagraph (D) is determined by the laws, regulations, or competent authority of the country involved, after consultation with the organizations of employers and workers concerned, and taking into consideration relevant international standards.

This definition will not apply to work specifically authorized by national laws, including work done by children in schools for general, vocational or technical education or in other training institutions, where such work is carried out in accordance with international standards under conditions prescribed by the competent authority, and does not prejudice children's attendance in school or their capacity to benefit from the instruction received.

The main principles of the ILO's Convention No. 138 concerning the minimum age of admission to employment and work are in the table below.

	The minimum age at which children can start work.	Possible exceptions for developing countries
Hazardous work Any work which is likely to jeopardize children's physical, mental or moral heath, safety or morals should not be done by anyone under the age of 18.	**18 (16 under strict conditions)**	**18 (16 under strict conditions)**
Basic Minimum Age The minimum age for work should not be below the age for finishing compulsory schooling, which is generally 15.	**15**	**14**
Light work Children between the ages of 13 and 15 years old may do light work, as long as it does not threaten their health and safety, or hinder their education or vocational orientation and training.	**13–15**	**12–14**

- **Worst forms of child labor:** The International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention No. 182 defines the worst forms of child labor to include:

  (A) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;
  (B) The use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances;
  (C) The use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties; and
  (D) Work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children.

APPENDIX B: FORMAL EXPERT INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

FORMAL EXPERT INTERVIEW – HAITI *RESTAVÈKS*

Formal Expert Interview Top Sheet

Interviewer:	Date (mm/dd/yy) **|_|_|/|_|_|/|_|_|**	
Place of interview District:_____ Town/village/city:_____		
Unique ID Number for the Key Informant: **|_|_|_|** [*To be provided by supervisor. Put Unique ID in this box and on the indicated line at top of Page 3, the start of the research questions.]*		
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:		

Instructions: After interview is complete, remove top sheet. Place in envelope provided for top sheets only. Place interview form in separate envelope provided for interview forms only.

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER

- During the interviews, ask the respondents if they could provide copies of relevant materials and documents related to child labor/forced child labor among *restavèks* in Haiti or research papers on this topic if they can recommend the sources/where you can find such documents.
- If the interviewer wishes to insert his/her own opinions/comments regarding certain responses from the respondents, please put the comment under each response with a different pen color or label with the interviewer's initials.

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 _____ I am interviewing people about work activities in domestic service and children's work in this sector. Employing qualitative research techniques, our project aims to collect exploratory data on the root causes and consequences of forced child labor among those working as *restavèks* in Haiti. We will collect information on children ages 5-17 working as *restavèks*. To get a comprehensive picture, we would like to speak with knowledgeable informants like you. The findings from this research are meant to contribute to promoting awareness of the issues and inform future programs aiming to ameliorate the issues of forced child domestic labor among *restavèks*.
- The primary goals of the research are to collect data on the causes, characteristics, responses to and nature of forced child domestic labor among *restavèks* in Haiti. To this end, we would like to ask you to share your personal knowledge and opinions on these issues, together with insights from the work your organization is doing on *restavec* issues in Haiti, and your own knowledge of children's involvement in the domestic sector. The information will be incorporated into the final analytical report.
- Your participation in this study is **voluntary**. If you choose to talk with me, you can choose to not answer some questions or end the interview at any time.
- To help me remember what you have said, I would like to record our conversation. Do you agree to the conversation being recorded?

- 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.
- I will answer any questions that you have about the study before we begin. 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 assent statement to the respondent. I have answered any questions asked about the study, and the respondent has agreed to be interviewed and recorded.

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

Print Interviewer's Name _____

Interviewer's Signature _____ Date _____

Key Informant Interview Unique ID Number: _____

Research Questions

[FOR EACH ITEM, ASK THE GENERAL QUESTION FIRST, AND THEN PROBE THE SUB-ITEMS THAT HAVE NOT BEEN ADDRESSED SPONTANEOUSLY]

1. Please tell me your position and what you do at work.
2. What is your personal and/or professional involvement on the issues of child labor in general, and children working as *restavèks* in Haiti in particular?
3. What is your organization's view or mission regarding child labor, forced child labor, and moving/trafficking of children in general, and children working as *restavèks* in particular?
4. What do you think is the general population's perception and attitude towards children working as *restavèks*?

5. How do children become *restavèks*? What are the dynamics of the relationships between sending and receiving families?	
5.1 Who makes the decision that children will become *restavèks*? Are the child's wishes taken into account?	
5.2 Could you give an example of how children get into work as *restavèks*? (For example, are they working to paying off personal/family debt, being lured into domestic work under false pretences?)	
5.3 How is the process of placing children as *restavèks* initiated? Who is involved? *(Probe: Friend, neighbor, family member, another person?)*	
5.4 Are there agreements between sending and receiving families? What form do such agreements take? Are they formal or informal? What kind of promises might be made on each side? Do families tend to abide by formal and informal agreements and promises? *(Probe for details)*	
5.5 Are you aware of any evidence that anyone involved makes a profit through the provision of *restavèk* children? If so, what form does it take? Is money paid? By whom and to whom? Are there gifts in kind?	

5.6 Apart from the sending and receiving families, is anyone else involved in the identification of children to work in domestic service? Who else is involved? What form does their involvement take?	
5.7 Overall, how many *restavèk* children have familial ties to the families with which they live How important are family links and connections? Do children sent to work with relatives tend to fare better or worse than those who have no family connection?	
5.8 How do children make their way from their place of origin to the place where they will work? Do they travel alone or with others? If so, who?	
5.9 Is the movement mostly from rural to urban areas? Are there also movements within urban areas, or from one urban area to another? Are you aware of any instances of children being moved directly to the Dominican Republic to work in domestic service?	
5.10 Are there any particular parts of the country where most of the children who go to work in domestic service come from? If so, which ones?	
5.11 In which areas of Port-au-Prince are *restavèk* children most likely to be found?	
5.12 Do you see any trends in such movements? Are you aware of any recent changes in the patterns of how children come to be *restavèk*?	

6. What are the characteristics, working and living conditions of *restavèk* children?	
6.1 In your experience, what are the work activities of *restavèks*? What are their working and living conditions?	
6.2 To what kinds of dangers or hazards are *restavèks* exposed? *[Probe if necessary: work in the heat, long hours, carrying heavy things, burns, cuts and bruises, verbal, physical or sexual abuse from employers or others etc.)*	
6.3 What are their usual ages? At what age do these children start working? When do they stop? What happens to them when they cease to work?	
6.4 Under what circumstances do children cease to be *restavèks*?	
6.5 Are there more girls or boys? What are the differences between the work done by girls and boys?	

6.6 What is the basis for the employment of *restavèks*? Are they paid, or do they receive benefits in kind?	
6.7 How common is it for *restavèks* to go to school?	
6.8 Where do *restavèks* live? *(Probe: In the same house/building as their employer or in separate quarters?Who provides the accommodation? Is a charge made?)*	
Do you know of cases where children are prevented from leaving their worksite or their positions more broadly? If so, how are they prevented?	
6.9 What effects do you think the earthquake of 2010 had on the situation of *restavèks*? (*Probe: Did they stay with their host families? Did they return home? If so, for how long? Have the changes been short term or long term? Since the earthquake, has the situation of restavèks improved, deteriorated or stayed the same? Have there been any consequences for supply and demand?)*	

7. What do you think are the factors/root causes that influence the persistence of the *restavèk* tradition? Further, what societal, institutional, legal mechanisms may perpetuate/exacerbate the problem?	
7.1 What drives sending families to send children to work in third party homes ? 7.2 What drives receiving families to take in domestic workers ? What do you think are the benefits for employers of using *restavèks*? 7.3 What are the Macro level factors (such as cultural, legal, political) perpetuate the problem?	
8. Are there official statistics on *restavèk* in Haiti? If so, what is the degree of prevalence of the issue in Haiti? If not, what do you think how common it is for a child to work as a *restavèk*?	

9. What are the efforts that the government and non-governmental organization took to address the issue of *restavèks*? In your view, are their gaps in these policies and programs? Are there any aspects of the root causes not being addressed? If so, which ones? Do you have any recommendations for interventions to address these gaps?
10. As we move forward in our research, do you have suggestions for other government and non-governmental organizations we could approach to discuss issues related to *restavèks*, particularly organizations providing direct support to *restavèks*?
11. Is there anything else you would like to add?

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

APPENDIX C: INFORMAL EXPERT INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

INFORMAL EXPERT INTERVIEW – HAITI *RESTAVÈKS*

Informal Expert Interview Top Sheet

Interviewer:	Date (mm/dd/yy) **|_|_|/|_|_|/|_|_|**	
Place of interview District:_____ Town/village/city:_____		
Unique ID Number for the Key Informant: **|_|_|_|** [*To be provided by supervisor. Put Unique ID in this box and on the indicated line at top of Page 3, the start of the research questions.]*		
Name:	Age: **|_|_|**	Sex: Male/Female
Time interview started: **|_|_|:|_|_|** (Use 24-hr. clock)		
Time interview ended: **|_|_|:|_|_|** (Use 24-hr. clock)		
Profession:		
Position (if applicable):		
Employer:		
Contact information:		

Instructions: After interview is complete, remove top sheet. Place in envelope provided for top sheets only. Place interview form in separate envelope provided for interview forms only.

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER

- If the interviewer wishes to insert his/her own opinions/comments regarding certain responses from the respondents, please put the comment under each response with a different pen color or label comments with interviewer's initials.

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 _____ I am interviewing people about work activities in children's work in the house. The information will be incorporated into an analytical report that examines the root causes and consequences of children working in domestic service in Haiti.
- As someone with knowledge of children working in domestic service and their situation, 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 final analytical report
- Your participation in this study is **voluntary**. If you choose to talk with me, you can choose to not answer some questions or end the interview at any time.
- To help me remember what you have said, I would like to record our conversation. Do you agree to the conversation being recorded?
- 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.
- I will answer any questions that you have about the study before we begin. 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 assent 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 agreed to be recorded
___ Respondent did not agree to be interviewed
___ Respondent did not agree to be recorded

Print Interviewer's Name _____

Interviewer's Signature _____ Date _____

Key Informant Interview Unique ID Number: _____

Research Questions

[FOR EACH ITEM, ASK THE GENERAL QUESTION FIRST, AND THEN PROBE THE SUB-ITEMS THAT HAVE NOT BEEN ADDRESSED SPONTANEOUSLY]

1. Please tell me more about yourself and how you interact with children who work in domestic service.	
1.1. What kind of work do you do?	
1.2. Do you interact with children working in domestic service through your work? *(Probe for details)*	
1.3. [If not,] In what kinds of situations do you interact with these children?	
1.4. In which places do you meet them?	
1.5. How would you describe the relationship you have with them?	
2. How do children enter domestic service and work for other people? How do the relationships between sending and receiving families work?	
2.1 How does the process of placing children in domestic service in other people's homes start? Who is involved? *(Probe: Friend, neighbor, family member, another person?)*	
2.2 Have you heard of cases where children get into domestic service against their will, or are moved about under pressure?	

(For example, are they working to pay off personal/family debt, being lured into domestic work under false pretences?) 2.3 Are there agreements between sending and receiving families? What form do these agreements take? Are they formal or informal? What kind of promises might be made on each side? *(Probe for details)* 2.4 Are you aware of any cases where either family or a third party profited from placing a child? If so, what form does it take? Is money paid? By whom and to whom? Are there gifts in kind? 2.5 Apart from the sending and receiving families, is anyone else involved in the identification of children to work in domestic service? Who else is involved? What form does their involvement take? 2.6 How important are family links and connections? Do children sent to work with relatives tend to fare better or worse than those who have no family connection? 2.7 How do children make their way from their homes to the place where they will work? Do they travel alone or with others? If with others, who?	

2.8 Is the movement mostly from rural to urban areas? Are there also movements within urban areas, or from one urban area to another? Are you aware of any instances of children being moved directly to the Dominican Republic to work in domestic service? 2.9 Are there any particular parts of the country which supply more of the children who go to work in domestic service? If so, which ones? 2.10 In which areas of Port-au-Prince are children working in domestic service most likely to be found? 2.11 What do you think are the benefits for receiving families of using these children to do domestic work in their homes?	
3. In your experience, what are the characteristics, working and living conditions of children working in domestic service?	
3.2 3.1 What are the work activities of children in domestic service? What are their working and living conditions? *3.3* What is the nature of work that *restavèks* perform? *[Probe if necessary:* what kinds of dangers or hazards are these children exposed? To *work in the heat, long hours, carrying heavy things, burns, cuts and bruises,*	

verbal, physical or sexual abuse from receiving family or others etc.) 3.4 To your knowledge, how many hours a day and days a week do these children typically work? Do they have free time? If so, are they allowed to leave? 3.5 What are their usual ages? At what age do these children start working? When do they stop? What happens to them when they cease to work? 3.6 Under what circumstances do children cease to work in domestic service? Can they leave voluntarily? 3.7 Are there more girls or boys? What are the differences between the work done by girls and boys? 3.8 Are these children paid, or do they receive any other benefits? 3.9 How common is it for these children to go to school? 3.10 If they go to school, how do they fit this in with the domestic work they do? 3.11 Where do these children live? *(Probe: In the same house/building as their receiving family or in separate quarters? Who provides the accommodation? Is a charge made?)*	

3.12 Can a child choose not to work? What consequences might she face? Do you know of children who have refused to work? What happened?	
3.13 What effects do you think the earthquake of 2010 had on the situation of *restavèks*? (*Probe: Did they stay with their host families? Did they return home? If so, for how long? Have the changes been short term or long term? Since the earthquake, has the situation of children in domestic service improved, deteriorated or stayed the same? Have there been any consequences for supply and demand?)*	
4. What do you think are the factors/root causes that influence the persistence of the tradition of sending children to work in domestic service?	
...	

5. When people here in your community talk about children working in domestic service, what kinds of things do they say? [Probe: Do they think it is a good or a bad thing for the child? Why do they say that? Do they think that things are likely to change, or do they expect what happens at present to continue?)
6. Can you think of any other people or organizations we could approach who work directly with children in domestic service?
7. Is there anything else you would like to add?

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

APPENDIX D: CURRENT RESTAVÈK INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

RESTAVÈK INTERVIEW – HAITI RESTAVÈKS

Informed Consent Statement (for parent/guardian)

Child's ID No: |__|__|__|

Child's Name:_____

Instructions to Interviewer: This form can be used to obtain parental consent for the child to be interviewed. In the case when parents/guardians are not available for granting the consent, the interviewer is required to seek consent from adults responsible for the child. Read the following statements to the parent/guardian/responsible adult of the selected child and answer any questions the individual may have. Do not begin the interview(s) until all questions have been addressed, the parent/guardian/responsible adult has agreed to let the child/children participate in the study, and the child has agreed to be interviewed.

- Hello, my name is _____. I would like to ask some questions of (child's name) about his/her schooling and participation in household tasks. We are interviewing children in service throughout Port au Prince and heard through an NGO that a child in service is living here.
- The information will be incorporated into a study about the roles of children in service in Haiti.
- 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.
- To ensure your child's privacy, we won't be interviewing you or your child's employer.
- To help me remember what (child's name) has said, I would like to record our conversation. Do you agree to the conversation being recorded?
- The interview with the child will take about 30 minutes.
- If you have questions after I leave, please contact the project manager (DETAILS TBC)
- Do you have any questions of me before I talk with your child/children?
- May I talk with (child's name)?
- May we talk with (child's name) in private?

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 gave consent for interview to be recorded
___ Parent/guardian/responsible adult did not give consent for participation of selected child
___ Parent/guardian/responsible adult did not give consent for interview to be recorded

_____ _____

Print Interviewer's Name Date

_____

Interviewer's Signature

Verbal Informed Consent Statement: Child Questionnaire Assent

Child's ID No: |__|__|__|

Child's Name:_____

Instructions to Interviewer: This form is to be used to obtain assent from a respondent over the age of 12 and younger than 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.

- Hello, my name is _____. I am talking with children about their role the house. The information will be used in a study about children in service in Haiti.
- Your mother/father/guardian/supervisor (or other responsible adult) has given me permission to talk with you, but you don't have to participate.
- I would like to ask you some questions about your education, your family, and the activities that you do in the house, and I will not be talking about these things with your family or the family you live with.
- You do not have to answer the questions and you can stop at any time.
- (If parent/guardian/responsible adult has given permission) To help me remember what you say to me, I would like to record our conversation. Your mother / father / guardian / supervisor has given me permission to record our conversation.
- 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, and 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 _____

Interview Results:

Interview Completed 1

Interview incomplete/rejected	2
Child disabled/sick/cannot speak	3
Others (specify_____)	96

1. ORIGINS AND LIVING ARRANGEMENTS	
1.1 What is your name?	
1.2 How old are you?	
1.3 How long have you lived in the house where you live now? When did you come?	
1.4 Where did you live before you came? Whom did you live with there?	
1.5 Why did you come?	
1.6 Who decided that you should move here?	

1.7 Before you left home, were you told anything about where you were going? What were you told? (Probe for promises about: education, living conditions, visits to/contact with family, nature/location/specifics of job, employer, wages/benefits. Who made promises?)	
1.8 What did you think when you found out that you were going to come? (Probe: Did it make you happy? Unhappy? Why was that? Did anyone ask you whether you wanted to go?)	
1.9 How did you get here? Did you travel with anyone? Who?	
1.10 Where in Port-au-Prince are you living right now? (Probe: What's it like? Can you tell me about it?)	

1.11 Where else have you lived? (If other worksites, probe: Did you live with the same family there that you live with now? (if not) With whom did you live? Which place was best? Can you tell me what was good about it?)	
1.12 Whom do you live with now? (Probe: Family members? If so, which ones? If not family, what is the connection? Before you arrived, did you know the people you're living with now? If yes, had you met them before? How did you know them?)	
1.13 What is the house like where you now live? Can you tell me about it? (Probe: How big is it? Who lives there? How many people? Are there any other children? How old are they? Is there any damage from the earthquake?)	

2. WORK DAY	
I'd like you to tell me about the things you do during the day. Let's talk about yesterday and how you spent your day.	
a. First of all, about what time did you wake up yesterday? (Probe: Was anybody else awake at that time? Who was awake in the house? Were you the first one to wake up?)	
b. What was the first thing you did after you woke up? (Probe: Bathe? Where? Prepare food? Do cleaning? Tidy the house? Look after children/elderly people? Go to buy something? Fetch water? Anything else?)	
c. What else did you do yesterday morning? (Probe: Activities as listed above, plus going to school. For each activity, ask: how long did it take you?)	

d. And what did you do during the afternoon? Can you tell me all the things you did and how long you spent on each one? (Probe: As above) e. [If child has not mentioned any breaks in working] Was there any time during the day when you weren't working? (Probe: How long? What did you do? Who did you talk to? Could you leave?) f. Now tell me what you did after it got dark. (Probe: As above) g. Where did you go to sleep? (Probe: Who else sleeps nearby? Where do other children in the household sleep?) h. What time was it when you went to sleep yesterday? (Probe: Is this the time that you normally go to sleep?)	

i. How many hours would say you spent working on your various chores yesterday? j. Was yesterday a pretty normal day? (IF NO, probe: Why not? What things were different yesterday? Are there any jobs you didn't do yesterday that you do on other days? Which ones?) k. What would you say is the longest time you have spent on one day doing your chores? How many hours? l. Do you work every day?	

3. TYPES OF ACTIVITY	
3.1 Are your days here what you were expecting before you came? (Probe: In what way? Any expectations about: education, living conditions, visits to/contact with family, nature/location/specifics of job, employer, wages/benefits? Are conditions better or worse?) 3.2 If you had some work to do and didn't do it, what would happen? 3.3 Are there any rules here? What are they? (Probe: Restrictions regarding activities, areas of the house, leaving the house, interactions with others)	

3.4 Do you receive anything in exchange for your work in the house? What do you get in exchange for the jobs and chores that you do? (Probe: Do you receive money? Does someone else receive money? Do you get somewhere to live? Food? Clothing? Education?)	
3.5 Do you think any of the work in the house you do is dangerous? In what way?	
3.6 Have you been sick or hurt since you came to live here? (Probe: What kind of sickness/injury did you have? Did it stop you working? Did you get time off work to recover? How long? Did you get any treatment from a doctor or health worker?)	

3.7 Do you like living here? (Probe: What are the things you like about living here? Are there things you don't like? What kinds of things? Can you tell me about these things? Do you have friends?)	
3.8 Would you be able move away from this house if you wanted to? If not, why not? What would stop you leaving?	
3.9 Have you visited your parents/old home since you've been here? If yes, how often and for how long? If not, would you like to? What prevents you?	

4 SCHOOLING	
4.1 Now I'd like to talk to you about school. Do you currently go to school?	
4.2 (IF YES) What grade are you in? How often do you go to school? Are you ever absent from school? Why are you absent some days?	
4.3 (IF NO) Have you ever attended school? Do other children in the house go to school? (Probe for specifics about whether other children are domestic workers or children of HoH)	
4.4 (IF YES) What is the highest grade you completed?	

5. EARTHQUAKE IN 2010	
5.1 I'd like to ask you some questions about the earthquake now. Is that ok? Where were you when the earthquake struck two years ago? (Probe: Were you in Port-au-Prince or somewhere else in Haiti? Did you feel the earthquake where you were? Were you working with a family at the time?)	
5.2 What do you remember about the earthquake? (Probe: Anything else? Did you get hurt or injured?)	

5.3 Has your life changed since the earthquake? How so? (Probe: How did it affect the family you were living with? Was their house damaged? Did anything happen to them? Did you continue living with them after the earthquake? If not, what did you do? Did you carry on working?)	
5.4 How is your life now compared to the time before the earthquake? Do you think it's got better, got worse, or stayed the same? (Probe: Why do you think that?)	

INTERVIEWER NOTES

6 Was there anyone else present during this interview?	Yes □ No □
7 Who was present? (Write in details)	
8 Did anyone coach the child's responses during the interview?	Yes □ No □
9 Were there any signs of verbal or physical abuse to the child?	Yes □ No □
10 Was the child reprimanded or abused due to participation in this interview?	Yes □ No □
11 Comments	

APPENDIX E: FORMER RESTAVÈK INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

FORMER *RESTAVÈK* INTERVIEW – HAITI *RESTAVÈKS*

Informed Consent Statement (for parent/guardian)

Instructions to Interviewer: This form can be used to obtain parental consent for the child to be interviewed. In the case when parents/guardians are not available for granting the consent, the interviewer is required to seek consent from adults responsible for the child. Read the following statements to the parent/guardian/responsible adult of the selected child and answer any questions the individual may have. Do not begin the interview(s) until all questions have been addressed, the parent/guardian/responsible adult has agreed to let the child/children participate in the study, and the child has agreed to be interviewed.

- Hello, my name is _____. I would like to ask some questions of (child's name) about his/her time working in service. The information will be incorporated into a study about the roles of children in households in Haiti.
- 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.
- To help me remember what (child's name) has said, I would like to record our conversation. Do you agree to the conversation being recorded?
- The interview with the child will take about 30 minutes.
- If you have questions after I leave, please contact the project manager (DETAILS TBC)
- Do you have any questions of me before I talk with your child/children?
- May I talk with (child's name)?
- May we talk with (child's name) in private?

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 gave consent for interview to be recorded
___ Parent/guardian/responsible adult did not give consent for participation of selected child
___ Parent/guardian/responsible adult did not give consent for interview to be recorded

_____ _____

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 over the age of 12 and younger than 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.

- Hello, my name is _____. I am talking with children about their role the house. I would like to talk to you about the time you spent in service. The information will be used in a study about children in Haiti.
- Your mother/father/guardian/supervisor (or other responsible adult) has given me permission to talk with you, but you don't have to participate.
- I would like to ask you some questions about your education, your family, and the activities that you did in the house.
- You do not have to answer the questions and you can stop at any time.
- (If parent/guardian/responsible adult has given permission) To help me remember what you say to me, I would like to record our conversation. Your mother / father / guardian / supervisor has given me permission to record our conversation.
- 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, and 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 _____

Informed Consent Statement for Adult Former *Restavèks*

Instructions to Interviewer: This form is to be used to obtain consent from a respondent over the age of 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.

- Hello, my name is _____. I am talking with people about domestic service in Haiti. I would like to ask you some questions about your time in service. The information will be used in a study about children in domestic service in Haiti.
- I would like to ask you some questions about your education, your memories of the earthquake, and the activities that you used to do in the house.
- You do not have to answer the questions and you can stop at any time.
- 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)
- To help me remember what you say to me, I would like to record our conversation. Do you mind if I record the conversation?
- 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 consent statement to the respondent, and I have answered any questions asked about the study, and the respondent has agreed to be interviewed.

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

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

Interview Results:

Interview completed	1
Interview incomplete/rejected	2
Child disabled/sick/cannot speak	3

Others (specify_____) 96

1. ORIGINS AND LIVING ARRANGEMENTS	
1.1 What is your name?	
1.2 How old are you?	
1.3 When did you start to work in domestic service? When did you stop? (Probe: How old were you when you started and stopped?)	
1.4 Where did you live before you started to work in domestic service? With whom did you live there?	
1.5 Why did you go into domestic service?	
1.6 Who decided that you should begin working in domestic service?	

1.7 Before you left home, were you told anything about where you were going? What were you told? (Probe for promises about: education, living conditions, visits to/contact with family, nature/location/specifics of job, employer, wages/benefits. Who made promises?)	
1.8 What did you think when you found out that you were going to move? (Probe: Did it make you happy? Unhappy? Why was that? Did anyone ask you whether you wanted to go?)	
1.9 In which town or city did you work when you were in domestic service?	
1.10 How did you get to your new home? Did you travel with anyone? Who?	

1.11 Did you do housework for more than one family? (If other worksites, probe: With whom did you live at each site? Which place was best? Can you tell me what was good about it?)	

2. WORK LIFE	
I'd like you to tell me about your life when you were in domestic service.	
2.1 Can you tell me more about the people you lived with when you did housework? (Probe: Family members? If so, which ones? If not family, what was the connection? Before you arrived, did you know the people you lived with? If yes, had you met them before? How did you know them?)	
2.2 What was the house like? Can you tell me about it? (Probe: How big was it? Who lived there? How many people? Were there any other children? How old were they?)	
2.3 I'd like to hear about a normal work day. First of all, about what time did you wake up? (Probe: Was anybody else awake at that time? Who was awake in the house? Were you the first one to wake up?)	

2.4 What was the first thing you usually did after you woke up? (Probe: Bathe? Where? Prepare food? Do cleaning? Tidy the house? Look after children/elderly people? Go to buy something? Fetch water? Anything else?)	
2.5 What else did you do in the mornings? (Probe: Activities as listed above, plus going to school. For each activity, ask: how long did it take you?)	
2.6 And what did you do during the afternoon? Can you tell me all the things you did and about how long you spent on each one? (Probe: As above)	
2.7 [If respondent has not mentioned any breaks in working] Was there any time during the day when you weren't working? (Probe: How long? What did you do? Whom did you talk to? Could you leave?)	

2.8 Now can tell me what you did after it got dark? (Probe: As above)	
2.9 Where did you sleep? (Probe: Who else slept nearby? Where did other children in the household sleep?)	
2.10 What time did you usually go to sleep?	
2.11 How many hours would say you spent working on your various chores each day?	
2.12 Were some days different than others? (IF YES, probe: Did you do more work on some days than on others? Was there work that you did on some days that you did not do on other days? What kind of work?)	

2.13 Did you work every day of the week? Of the month?	

3 WORKING CONDITIONS	
3.1 Were your days there the way you were expecting them to be before you came? (Probe: In what way? Any expectations about: education, living conditions, visits to/contact with family, nature/location/specifics of job, employer, wages/benefits? Were conditions better or worse?)	
3.2 If you had some work to do and didn't do it, what would happen?	

3.3 Were there any rules there? What were they? (Probe: Restrictions regarding activities, areas of the house, leaving the house, interactions with others)	
3.4 Did you receive anything in exchange for your work in the house? What did you get in exchange for the jobs and chores that you did? (Probe: Did you receive money? Did someone else receive money? Did you get somewhere to live? Food? Clothing? Education?)	
3.5 Do you think any of the work you used to do in the house was dangerous? In what way?	

3.6 Did you ever become sick or hurt while you were living there? (Probe: What kind of sickness/injury did you have? Did it prevent you from working? Did you get time off work to recover? How long? Did you get any treatment from a doctor or health worker?)	
3.7 Did you visit your parents/home while you were living there? If yes, how often and for how long? If not, would you have liked to? What prevented you?	
3.8 Did you like living there? (Probe: What were the things you liked about living there? Were there things you didn't like? What kinds of things? Can you tell me about these things? Did you have friends?)	

3.9 Can you tell me how your work in domestic service came to an end? What did you do then? (Probe: Did you decide to leave? Did your employer ask you to leave? What did you do when you left the house? Where did you go? Did you find any work?)	
3.10 [If respondent didn't choose to leave above] Could you have moved away if you wanted to? If not, why not? What would stop you from leaving?	

4 SCHOOLING	
4.1 Now I'd like to talk to you about school. Did you go to school when you were in domestic service?	
4.2 (IF YES) How often did you go to school? Were you ever absent from school? Why were you absent some days? What was the highest grade you completed?	

4.3 (IF NO) Did you attend school before going to work in the house? Did other children in the house go to school? (Probe for specifics about whether other children were domestic workers or children of HoH)	

5 EARTHQUAKE IN 2010	
5.1 Where were you when the earthquake struck two years ago? (Probe: Were you in Port-au-Prince or somewhere else in Haiti? Did you feel the earthquake where you were? Were you working with a family at the time?)	
5.2 What do you remember about the earthquake? (Probe: Anything else? Did you get hurt or injured?)	

5.3 Has your life changed since the earthquake? How so? (Probe: Who were you living with when it happened? How did it affect the people you were living with? Was the place where you lived damaged? Did anything happen to the people you lived with? Did you continue living with the same people after the earthquake? If not, what did you do? Did you carry on working?)	
5.4 How is your life now compared to the time before the earthquake? Do you think it got better, got worse, or stayed the same? (Probe: Why do you think that?)	

INTERVIEWER NOTES:

APPENDIX F: SENDING FAMILY INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

SENDING FAMILY INTERVIEW – HAITI *RESTAVÈKS*

Sending Family Interview Top Sheet

Interviewer:	Date (mm/dd/yy) **|_|_|/|_|_|/|_|_|**	
Place of interview District:_____ Town/village/city:_____		
Unique ID Number for the Respondent: **|_|_|_|** [*To be provided by supervisor. Put Unique ID in this box and on the indicated line at top of Page 3, the start of the research questions.]*		
Name:	Age: **|_|_|**	Sex: Male/Female
Time interview started: **|_|_|:|_|_|** (Use 24-hr. clock)		
Time interview ended: **|_|_|:|_|_|** (Use 24-hr. clock)		
Occupation:		
Contact information:		

Instructions: After interview is complete, remove top sheet. Place in envelope provided for top sheets only. Place interview form in separate envelope provided for interview forms only.

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER

- If the interviewer wishes to insert his/her own opinions/comments regarding certain responses from the respondents, please put the comment under each response with a different pen color or label with the interviewer's initials.

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 _____ I am talking with people about the role children play in helping around the house. I understand from an NGO in Port au Prince that one or more of your children lives away from home and is in service. The information I collect will be included in a report about the experiences of children in service Haiti.
- We will be talking to some children and families who employ children as well, but each part of the study is separate, so we will not talk to your children or their employer(s).

- 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.
- To help me remember what you have said, I would like to record our conversation. Do you agree for the conversation to be recorded?
- 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 half an hour.
- I will be happy to answer any questions that you have about the study before we begin. 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 assent 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 agreed to be recorded
___ Respondent did not agree to be interviewed
___ Respondent did not agree to be recorded

Print Interviewer's Name _____

Interviewer's Signature _____ Date _____

Respondent Interview Unique ID Number: _____

Research Questions

[FOR EACH ITEM, ASK THE GENERAL QUESTION FIRST, AND THEN PROBE THE SUB-ITEMS THAT HAVE NOT BEEN ADDRESSED SPONTANEOUSLY]. WRITE IN RESPONSES IN APPROPRIATE POSITION

1. Please tell me something about your family

1.1 How many children do you have? What are their names? How old are they? Are there any other children living in this household?

Name	Age
Child 1	
Child 2	
Child 3	
Child 4	
Child 5	

1.2 Which of your children are living away from home? (For each child named, ask): Where is (NAME) living now? What is s/he doing? (PROBE: If little information offered spontaneously, probe for location and activities)

(WRITE NAME):

(WRITE NAME):

(WRITE NAME):

2. Can you tell me more about your children who no longer live here with you?	
2.1. Whom does (NAME 1) live with? 2.1.1 Is (PERSON THEY LIVE WITH) a relative/family member? 2.1.2 (If yes) What is the family relationship between you and the family (NAME 1) lives with? 2.1.3 (If no) If they are not living with a family member, whom is (NAME 1) living with? **(INTERVIEWER: If more than one child named, ask for each one (maximum of three))** 2.2 Whom does (NAME2) live with? 2.2.1 Is (PERSON THEY LIVE WITH) a relative/family member? 2.2.2 (If yes) What is the family relationship between you and the family (NAME 2) lives with? 2.2.3 (If no) If they are not living with a family member, whom is (NAME 2) living with? 2.3 Whom does (NAME 3) live with? 2.3.1 Is (PERSON THEY LIVE WITH) a relative/family member? 2.3.2 (If yes) What is the family relationship between you and the family (NAME 3) lives with?	INTERVIEWER: Write responses in this column

2.3.3 (If no) If they are not living with a family member, whom is (NAME 3) living with? 2.4 How were you introduced to the people with whom your children live? 2.5 Do you know them personally? What kind of relationship do you have? 2.6 Who first suggested it? Did you ask someone about it, or did someone ask you? If so, who was it? *(Probe: Friend, neighbor, family member, another person?)* 2.7 Was/is there any kind of agreement between yourself and the family taking the child? If so, what kind of agreement? What did it say? *(Probe for details)* 2.8 Was anyone else involved in the arrangement apart from yourself and the family where your child was going to work? If yes, who was involved? What form did their involvement take? 2.9 Did you receive anything in exchange for sending your child? *(Probe for type, quantity, and source of payment)*	

2.10 Did you have to pay money to anyone? Who did you pay money to? How much did you pay? Did you have to pay all at once, or a little at a time?	
2.11 Did you have to provide other non-cash, in-kind goods or services? What kinds of things?	
2.12 How did your child get/travel from here to (CITY WHERE CHILD WORKS)? Did anyone travel with them? Did you go with them? If not, who did?	
2.13 How long have your children been living away from home?	
2.14 How long will they be staying there? What do you think will be their next steps?	
2.15 How often to you talk to your children who moved to (NAME OF PLACE)? How do you keep in touch?	

2.16 Have you seen them since they moved to (NAME OF PLACE)? 2.17 How often do you see them? 2.18 Do you go to see them, or do they come to see you?	
3. I'm interested to learn why your child(ren) went to work in domestic service.	
3.1 Can you tell me in your own words why your child(ren) went to work in domestic service? 3.2 Was it hard for you to support your children when they lived here? 3.3 [If so,] What made it hard?	

3.4 Did they attend school when they lived here? 3.5 How often did they attend school when they lived here? 3.7 Did you have any obligations to the family where your child(ren) now live(s)? If so, what kind of obligations? *(Probe: did you owe them money)* 3.8 Were there any other reasons for their going?	
4. What do you think about your children working in domestic service?	
4.1 What kinds of tasks does/do your child/children complete in the house where they live? 4.2 How is/are your child/children getting on? What kind of life do they lead? (Probe for details. If respondent hasn't heard from child, ask how respondent thinks they're getting on.)	

4.2 Do you think they have a different life now than when they lived here? What things do you think are different for them?	
4.3 Are there good things about working in domestic service as a child? What kinds of things?	
4.4 And are there bad things about working in domestic service as a child? What kinds of things?	
4.5 Do you worry about your children? What kind of things do you worry about?	
4.6 Did you work away from home in domestic labor when you were a child? If so, what were your experiences?	
4.7 Would you want to see any of your other children going away to work in domestic service? If not, why not?	
4.8 When they have children of their own, would you want their children to work away from home in domestic service?	

4.9 Do you think they will? 4.10 In general do you think it's a good thing for children to go to live with and work for others? In what way?	

5. How did your child/children's going to work in domestic service come about?

6. When people here in your community talk about children working in domestic service, what kinds of things do they say? [Probe: Do they think it is a good or a bad thing for the child? Why do they say that? Do they think that things are likely to change, or do they expect what happens at present to continue?)

7. Is there anything else you would like to tell me about your children and their lives in domestic service?

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

APPENDIX G: RECEIVING FAMILY INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

RECEIVING FAMILY INTERVIEW – HAITI *RESTAVÈKS*

Receiving Family Interview Top Sheet

Interviewer:	Date (mm/dd/yy) **|_|_|/|_|_|/|_|_|**	
Place of interview District:_____ Town/village/city:_____		
Unique ID Number for the Respondent: **|_|_|_|** [*To be provided by supervisor. Put Unique ID in this box and on the indicated line at top of Page 3, the start of the research questions.]*		
Name:	Age: **|_|_|**	Sex: Male/Female
Time interview started: **|_|_|:|_|_|** (Use 24-hr. clock)		
Time interview ended: **|_|_|:|_|_|** (Use 24-hr. clock)		
Occupation:		
Contact information:		

Instructions: After interview is complete, remove top sheet. Place in envelope provided for top sheets only. Place interview form in separate envelope provided for interview forms only.

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER

- If the interviewer wishes to insert his/her own opinions/comments regarding certain responses from the respondents, please put the comment under each response with a different pen color or indicate using interviewer's initials.

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 _____ I am talking with people about the role children play in households. I understand from an NGO in Port au Prince that there are children in your home who help with domestic tasks. The information I collect will be included in a report about the experiences of children serving families in Haiti.
- We will be talking to some children in service and families who send children as well, but each part of the study is separate, so we will not talk to children in your household or their parents.
- You do not have to take part in this study if you do not 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.
- To help me remember what you have said, I would like to record our conversation. Do you agree for the conversation to be recorded?

- 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 half an hour.
- I will be happy to answer any questions that you have about the study before we begin. 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 assent 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 agreed to be recorded
___ Respondent did not agree to be interviewed
___ Respondent did not agree to be recorded

Print Interviewer's Name _____

Interviewer's Signature _____ Date _____

Respondent Interview Unique ID Number: _____

Research Questions

[FOR EACH ITEM, ASK THE GENERAL QUESTION FIRST, AND THEN PROBE THE SUB-ITEMS THAT HAVE NOT BEEN ADDRESSED SPONTANEOUSLY]

1. Please tell me about your home and your family	
	INTERVIEWER: Write responses in this column
1.1 How many adults live in your home? How old are they?	
1.2 Can you tell me the names and ages of all the children who live in your home? Child 1: Child 2: Child 3: (ADD OTHERS IF NECESSARY)	
1.3 Which ones are your own children? Child 1: Child 2: Child 3: (ADD OTHERS IF NECESSARY)	
1.4 (If not all children mentioned) Are any of these children related to you by family? If so, for each child, what is the relationship?	

1.5 (If any children not related by family) (And (NAME(S)), why do they live with your family? 1.6 How did you get into contact with them? How well did you know them before? 1.7 For how long have those children who are not yours been living with you? 1.8 Before these children came, what was your household like? (Probe: Has the household always had a child helper? If not, what prompted you bring in extra help?) 1.9 For how long do you think they will continue to live with you? What do you think their next steps will be when they leave your home?	

2. **Thinking about the children who live here and do domestic work for you, can you tell me something about their backgrounds and how they came here? (*Interviewer: Make sure all relevant children are asked about)***

2.1 Where did they live before coming to live with you?	
2.2 Did you know the child/children's parents before s/he/they came to live with you? If you did, how did you know them? If you didn't, how did you make contact with them? (*Probe: Was anyone else involved in making the contact? Who?)*	
2.3 How much contact do you have with the children's parents or guardians? What kinds of contact?	
2.4 Who first suggested it? Did you ask someone about it, or did someone suggest it to you? (*Probe: Who was it? A friend, neighbor, family member, other person?)*	
2.5 Is there any kind of agreement between yourself and the child's family? If so, what kind of agreement? What are the terms of the agreement? *(Probe for details)*	

2.6 Was anyone else involved in the arrangement apart from yourself and the family from where the child came? If yes, who was involved? What form did their involvement take?	
2.7 Did you receive money from anyone? Who did you receive money from?	
2.8 Did you receive any other non-cash, in-kind goods or services? What kinds of things?	
2.9 How did the child get from the place they lived to here? Did anyone travel with them? If so, do you know who that was?	
2.10 Now that (NAMES) live with you, how often do they talk to their families? Do they go home to see them? Do the parents / guardians come to visit them?	

3. I'm interested to learn more about the things these children do in the home and how they fit into the life of your family.	
3.1 Please tell me what kinds of tasks the children do.	
3.2 Would you say that any of the tasks they do are difficult? *(Probe: What kinds of work? Can you give any examples?)*	
3.4 Do you know of any domestic servants who have gotten hurt? *Are there tasks that might be dangerous? (Probe: What happened? What are the main dangers?)*	
3.5 What are their daily schedules like? *(Probe: For how many hours do they work in the house each day? Do they get time off? How much? What do they do when they're not working? Can they leave?)*	

3.6 Do they go to school? *(Probe: How often do they go to school? For how long?)* 3.7 Where do they sleep? 3.3 Some households have adults who work in service, and some have children. Could you help me understand what motivates families to hire one versus the other?	
4 Perceptions about children doing domestic work	
4.1 What do you think are the differences between the life the children had when they lived with their parents and the life they have here with you? (Probe: What's better? What are the negatives?)	

4.5 Do you know other families here who have child domestic workers in their home?	
4.6 In general do you think it's a good thing for children to perform household service? What are the benefits?	
4.7 Has the child ever refused to perform an assigned task? What happened?	
4.8 Could the child go back to her parents if she wanted to? *(Probe: Why or why not? Has the child ever talked about this?)*	

5. When people here in your community talk about children working in domestic service, what kinds of things do they say? [Probe: Do they think it is a good or a bad thing for the child? Why do they say that? Do they think that things are likely to change, or do they expect what happens at present to continue?)
6. Is there anything else you would like to tell me about these children and their lives in domestic service?

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