is evidence from qualitative interviews that Haitian children are recruited for organized begging or street work such as shining shoes in Dominican cities. This recruitment is generally by Haitians for Haitian households in Dominican cities.

Young women including underage adolescents are also recruited for the sex trade. This includes young women recruited by Haitian boukong (recruiters, traffickers in people) for Dominican establishments, and young women and minors engaged in street commerce in sex in Dominican cities. There is also a serious problem of abandoned children, Haitian runaway children who cross the border, and children separated from parents or other caretaker adults in the process of human smuggling across the border. Border services are inadequate to meet the need of such children.

VIOLENCE, AGGRESSORS, AND RECOURSE

Time frame. To measure the prevalence of violence in hotspot urban neighborhoods, the survey elicited information specific to the period marked by the end of the Interim Government (May 2006) through the first 19 months of the Préval government (December 2007). This facilitated respondent recall by situating acts of violence in relation to a clearly defined benchmark: Since the departure of Latortue, how many times have you or any other members of your household been physically attacked?

Organized violence. To get at the issue of organized violence, the survey instrument elicited incidents of murder, rape, and kidnapping, and the sources of these acts of violence including the Haitian National Police, soldiers of the UN peacekeeping mission (MINUSTAH), other government authorities, and Lavalas supporters or the opposition to Lavalas.

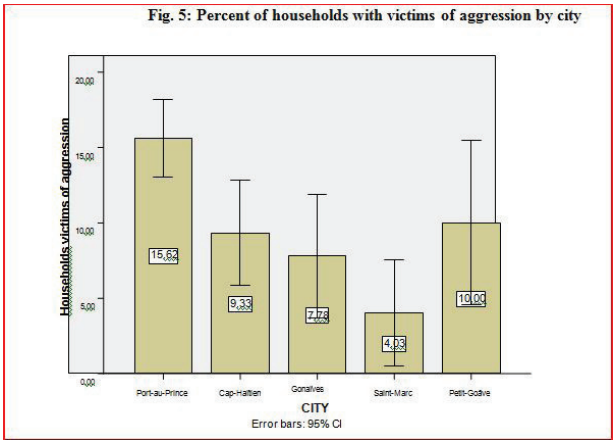
Recourse. The instrument also elicited the incidence of victim recourse to institutions such as the police, courts, and human rights and women's organizations. Survey results are reported below for physical assault, types of violence and aggressors, and actions taken to report crimes or seek services.

Context. Respondent replies to questions reflect a period of socio-political transition marked by the turbulent months preceding and following the departure of Aristide on February 29, 2004, the period of Interim Government 2004-2006, and the elections of 2006 followed by peaceful transition to power in May 2006. The entire year 2006 was characterized by an unprecedented wave of kidnappings identified

with politically partisan gangs in Cité Soleil and other hotspot urban neighborhoods. The year 2007 saw a concerted effort by MINUSTAH and the Haitian National Police to disperse the gangs and restore order. The period since then has seen a significant decrease in kidnappings and gangs. Respondent reporting of violent incidents appears to reflect, primarily, the higher levels of violence during 2006 and the first six months of 2007.

Physical assault. Figure 5 below reports percent of survey households victimized by physical assault in the five cities surveyed. Not unexpectedly, Port-au-Prince with 16% of households (rounded off) ranks significantly higher than other cities, compared to 10% of households in Petit Goâve, Cap-Haïtien 9%, Gonaives 8%, and Saint Marc 4%.

Fig. 5: Percent of households with victims of aggression by city



Forms of violence. Table 32 shows rates of household victimization reported for specific forms of violence including rape, murder and kidnapping. The overall rate of victimization is about 7% of households surveyed, and murder is the most frequent of these violations affecting over 3% of households.

Table 32: Rates of victimization by household and crime in percent

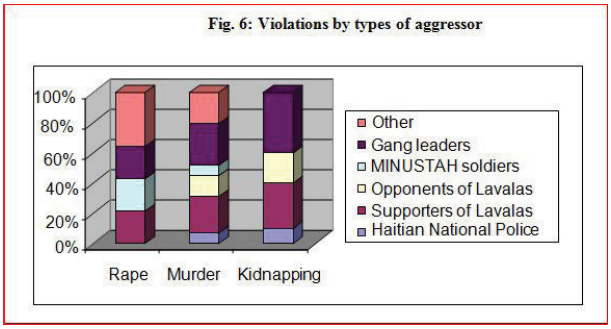
Types of violations	Households victimized by violence %	Households victimized by violence #	Number of valid responses N
Rape	1.8	26	1,456
Murder	3.3	49	1,456
Kidnapping	1.4	20	1,456
Involvement with gangs	1.2	18	1,456
At least one case of these violations	6.7	98	1,456

Aggressors. Table 33 summarizes the household prevalence of violations by category of aggressor specifically for rape, murder and kidnapping. Figure 6 represents these attributions visually. These findings speak directly to the issue of organized violence.

Table 33: Violations by category of aggressor

Aggressor	Rape #	Murder #	Kidnapping #	Total #	Total %
PNH/Government authorities	-	2	1	3	6
Supporters of Fanmi Lavalas	3	7	3	13	25
Opponents of Lavalas	-	4	2	6	11
Foreign soldiers	3	2	-	5	9
Gang leaders	3	8	4	15	28
Other	5	6	-	11	20
Total	14	29	10	53	99%*

*Rounding error.



The figures reported for individual categories of violation are too low for a statistically valid analysis; however, they are suggestive of possible trends. Furthermore, the numbers are statistically significant when considered as a whole for all three types of crime.

Organized violence. When violations and the authors of organized violence are lumped together, victims attribute 80% of the 53 reported incidents of rape, murder and kidnapping to armed authorities and politically partisan groups, including gangs. Over half of the violations are attributed to gang leaders and Lavalas supporters. Gang leaders are at the top of the list at 28% of reported violations. Gang leaders from this period are generally viewed as Lavalas supporters although violent acts attributed to them are not necessarily political acts. Nevertheless, their access to guns, and official tolerance of their criminal acts, is attributable at least in part to their roles as a political base for Lavalas supporters and as leaders of political pressure groups known as chimè.

Some of the attribution of violent acts to the Haitian National Police and MINUSTAH, particularly murder, could be attributable in part to armed exchanges with gangs. According to street interviews with Cité Soleil residents in October 2007, violent exchanges between gangs and the police resulted in the killing of innocent bystanders as well as gang members. Nevertheless, young men interviewed in Cité Soleil expressed a strong desire for the return of a strong and consistent presence of national police in Cité Soleil.

There is an issue of how to validate respondent statements. How did informants identify the types of aggressor? These concerns should be taken into account in qualitative follow-up of victims afflicted by these forms of violence, and also by replicating these questions in a follow-up survey using these findings as a baseline.

LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS, LOCAL GOVERNANCE & VICTIMIZATION

Governance. The Constitution of 1987 provides for civilian governing councils in rural areas, municipal councils in towns and cities, and deliberative assemblies at rural, municipal and departmental levels. Despite these provisions, local governing bodies are poorly funded and provide a limited range of services. The constitutional provision for assemblies has never been fully implemented.

Do local citizens appeal to local elected officials for services, including protection from human rights violence? The survey elicits the incidence of contact between local citizens and local and central authorities such as CASEC, mayors, executive délégués, and parliamentarians. Table 34 shows that only a small percentage (4%) of local residents seeks assistance from public authorities to resolve local problems.

Table 34: Citizen contact with public officials

State Agents	%	N
Mayors, CASECs, delegates	3	1,454
Parliamentarians	1	1,312
Ministries/State offices	2	1,454
Overall	4	1,464

Grassroots organizations. How active are survey respondents in local religious or secular groups, and what effect does active participation in local member-based organizations have on household rates of victimization, including organized violence, and services and recourse in response to rights violations?

To measure participation in local associations, the survey elicited frequency of interviewee participation in local religious groups, parent-teacher associations or other grassroots organizations, and modern credit unions as well as traditional rotating credit groups (sang, sabotay, sol). Figure 11 demonstrates that by far the highest rate of respondent participation is with religious groups – between 71 and 85 percent of respondents at all sites. The next highest rate is parent-student associations (34 to 45 percent at all sites) followed by neighborhood associations (9 to 18 percent at all sites).

Port-au-Prince has the lowest rate of participation in local member-based associations (9%). This is not surprising in light of the high percentage of recent migrants to Port-au-Prince (nearly two-thirds of survey respondents are from other areas of Haiti). Secondly, there has historically been far greater donor and other public investment in promoting grassroots organizations in rural Haiti rather than urban areas.

For credit associations, residents of these low income urban neighborhoods show an impressively high rate of participation (52%) in traditional rotating credit groups (sang, sol, sabotay), and a sizeable minority (18%) in credit unions (see Tables 35 and 36).

Table 35: Participation in traditional rotating credit associations

Have participated?	Frequency	Percentages
Yes	746	52
No	700	48
Total	1446	100

Table 36: Members of savings and loan associations

Members?	Frequency	Percentages
Yes	262	18
Non	1179	82
Total	1441	100

Fiure 12 demonstrates these trends for the five cities surveyed. The high level of participation in traditional rotating credit associations reflects pressing economic needs, a high demand for credit, and easy social access to such groups compared to the formalities of credit unions or commercial banks.

Rates of victimization and participation in local organizations. Do the survey data show any correlation between victimization and organizational participation? Does organizational affiliation have a positive or negative bearing on the incidence of aggression or the presence of restavèk children? Analysis of survey data show a correlation between neighborhood association membership and the likelihood of physical assault, but membership in religious groups and parent-student associations are statistically neutral in this regard. On the other hand, interestingly enough, there is a lower incidence of restavèk children among members of parent-student associations.

These findings merit follow-up to better understand links between victimization and active participation in local organizations. This should be done for several reasons. First, grassroots organizations are a potential channel for conflict mediation and the prevention of violence. Secondly, grassroots organizations can be effective in identifying and accompanying hidden victims, and channeling information regarding legal recourse and other support services in the face of rights violations. Thirdly, the emergence of local organizations also offers strength in numbers and new social capital resources that can help counteract the threat of organized violence.

Table 37 links the incidence of physical assault to the frequency of respondent participation in neighborhood associations. Accordingly, 13% of households that participate once a week in neighborhood organizations were victims of aggression versus only 6% rate of victimization for non-participants. The overall rate of participation in such groups is quite low, especially in Port-au-Prince; however, neighborhood groups such as komite katye ("neighborhood committees") tended to become politicized, and organizasyon popilè (OP) emerged as violent political pressure groups, which in the urban Haitian political context under Aristide significantly increased member vulnerability to violence, both as authors of violence and its victims. It is hardly surprising that heightened risk of aggression would accompany membership in such organizations whose very existence served to increase organized violence, and undercut the development of social capital (noted earlier), based on institutional arrangements that encourage the growth of trust.

Table 37: Households victimized by physical assault by intensity of participation in neighborhood groups *

Victim households	Intensity of participation in neighborhood group			
	Once a week (N=56)	Once or twice a week (N=97)	Once or twice a year (N=141)	Never (N=1132)
Yes	13%	11%	9%	6%
No	87%	89%	91%	94%

*The relationship between the two variables is significant with 2% margin of error

Table 38 shows an interesting correlation between frequency of participation in parent-student associations and the presence of restavèk servant children. Only 11% of households that participate once a week in parent school associations have restavèk children in their home. This is only one-third the restavèk rate of households (35%) that are not members of parent school associations. The intermediate categories show the same trend. In other words, survey respondents who participate in parent-school associations are less likely than other households to have a restavèk child at home.

Table 38: Households with restavèk children by frequency of participation in parent-school association meetings*

Restavèk Household?	Intensity of participation in parent school association			
	Once a week (N=18)	Once or twice a month (N=512)	Once or twice a year (N=643)	Never (N=243)
Yes	11%	26%	32%	35%
No	89%	74%	68%	65%

*The relationship between the two variables is significant with 2% margin of error.

Availability and Use of Services

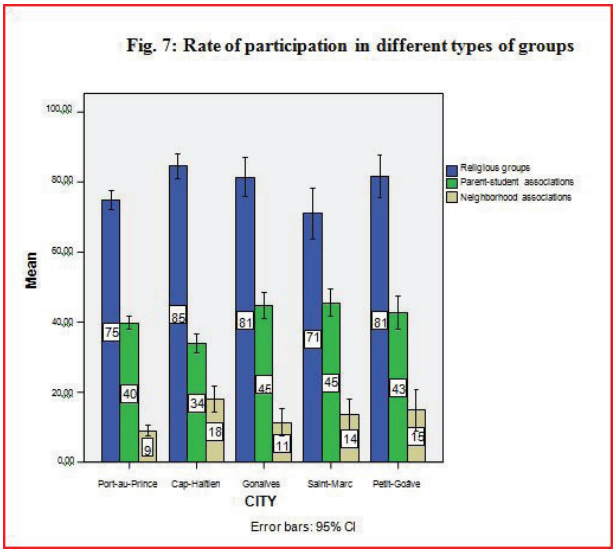


SURVEY FINDINGS ON USE & KNOWLEDGE OF SERVICES

Table 39: Average % of victim households filing complaints

Households with victims of violence	Average % filing declarations	Number of households
Yes	38	94
No	6.0	1316
All households	8.0	1410

Recourse and use of services. As shown in Table 39, the percentage of all survey households who have brought charges or registered complaints with the authorities or human rights organizations averages 8% at all survey sites surveyed (see Figure 7 below for breakdown by city). Not surprisingly, victimized households show a much higher rate of filing than other households (38%); however, it is important to note that the vast majority (62%) of victimized households did not file complaints or bring charges.



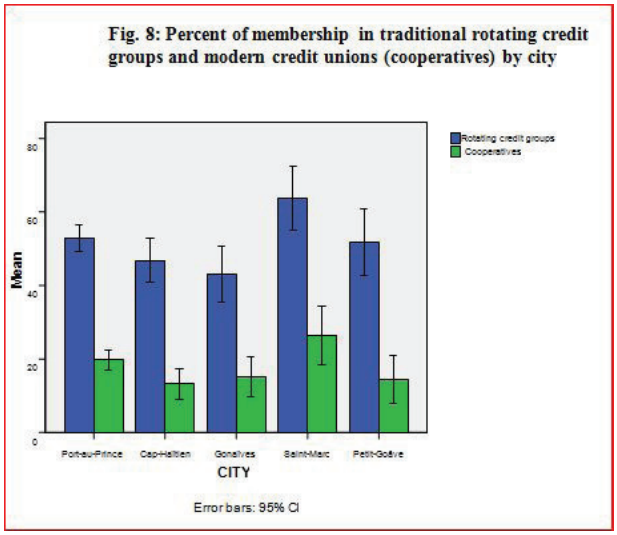


Figure 8 above indicates that victims are far more inclined to register complaints with the police (80%) and the court system (60%) than human rights organizations (20%) or women's organizations (10%). It should also be noted that police and the courts, though woefully inadequate, are generally more available than other central government institutions in Haiti, and provide some degree of national coverage in relative terms.

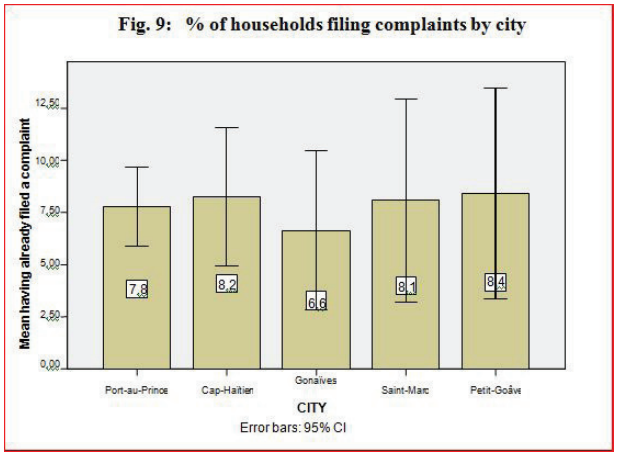
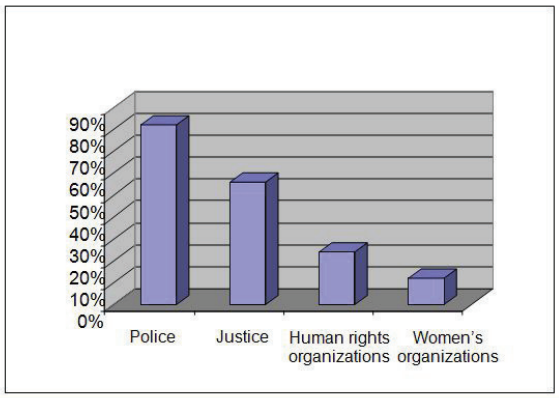


Fig. 10: Institutions where households have filed complaints



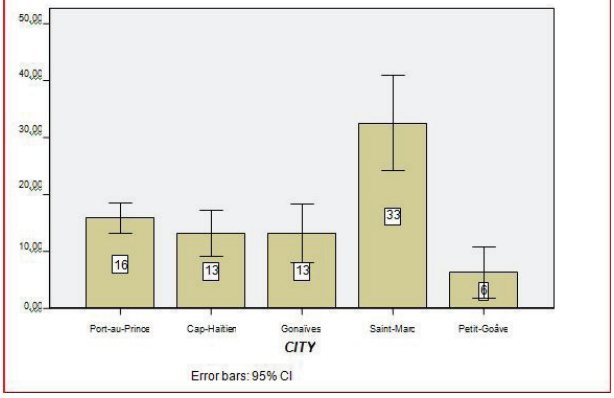
The household survey asked whether respondents were aware of services available to victims, and if household victims of assault had used such services. Survey findings indicate that respondent knowledge of victim services is low. As shown in Table 40, only 15% of 1,431 respondents knew where to go for services to victims of violence.

Table 40: Knowledge of available services by household

	Frequency #	Percentage %
Yes	226	15.8
No	1205	84.2
Total	1431	100.0

Figure 11 shows percentages by city. St. Marc shows a much higher rate (33%) than other cities surveyed. This may reflect the relative efficiency of Hôpital St. Nicolas and its collaboration with active civil society organizations such as FEFBA which provides legal aid and physically accompanies victims who need medical services.

Fig. 11: Knowledge of services available by city in %



Petit-Goâve shows by far the lowest rate of respondent knowledge of services (6%), which may reflect the more limited range of services available in Petit-Goâve compared to other cities studied.

The survey instrument also tested the frequency with which victims used particular types of services, as reported by respondents, for 98 household victims of assault including organized violence. The findings in Table 41 and Figure 12 indicate that access to small groups was the most commonly used service (33%). Another 22% received medical attention, and 19% benefited from interpersonal support, including physical accompaniment in seeking other services such as medical services. Another 12% sought legal or psychological services, and 13% received other types of assistance including temporary shelter or financial assistance.

Table 41: Types of services used by victims of assault, by percent

Services	Percentage	N
Group therapy	33	98
Medical treatment	22	108
Accompaniment	19	99
Psychological support	12	99
Legal assistance	12	108
Social assistance	8	99
Other services	5	94

NOTE: "Group Therapy" refers here to the opportunity for victims to discuss their victimization in small groups, which may include groups without trained counselors. "Social services" temporary shelter or financial assistance. "Accompaniment" refers to personal assistance and referral, including physical accompaniment and personal support in seeking other services. "Psychological support" refers to counseling by trained social workers or psychologists.

Fig. 12: Services used by victims



Subsequent to the household prevalence survey, carried out in December 2007, PHR completed an inventory of partner institutions providing services. The project also carried out assessments of 13 partner institutions including two Haitian government agencies – the Office National de Migration (ONM), and the national ombudsman, Office Protecteur de Citoyen (OPC), as well as 11 other local associations in Cap-Haïtien, Gonaïves, St. Marc, and Petit-Goâve. See Annex V for the list of 116 service providers inventoried by PHR, and Annex VI for a list of 11 shelters.

PHR INVENTORY OF SERVICES

Table 42 below summarizes and categorizes the range of services offered by these institutions, by département. Not surprisingly, the largest number of institutions is found in the West département, primarily in the Port-au-Prince metropolitan area.

Table 42: Services offered by 116 institutions inventoried by PHR

Victim Services	Artibonite	North	West	Total	
	#	#	#	#	%
Education & training	19	18	36	73	63
Legal aid	10	17	15	42	36
Medical	8	12	17	37	32
Social-psychological	6	6	20	32	28
Case documentation & referral	3	16	16	35	30
Social reinsertion & reintegration	4	11	20	35	30
Food & lodging	2	5	11	18	16
Promotion of human rights protection	7	-	4	11	9
Repatriation support services	0	0	5	5	4
Total service providers	32	25	59	116	100

NOTE: Data are drawn from 116 institutions inventoried by PHR (see Annex V). Numbers in rows add up. Columns do not add up because institutions may offer multiple services and be counted under more than one service category. Percentages are percent by service category of 116 institutions inventoried.

Nearly two-thirds of the inventoried institutions do education and training, roughly a third provides medical services or legal aid, and 30% do social reinsertion or case documentation and referral. In light of the listing of services available in the PHR inventory (Table 42), it is interesting to note that victims in the household survey (Table 41) reported greater use of group therapy sessions, medical services, and personal "accompaniment" than the other services. The categories in the two tables are not entirely consistent; however, it appears that legal services are underutilized by victims, services offered do not reach the majority of victims, and the balance of inventoried services

favors education and training over direct services to victims. It is highly appropriate to do prevention; however, education is not sufficient, particularly in the face of legal constraints and weaknesses in the system of enforcement. Furthermore, very few of the inventoried services are public services. There is a marked absence of national service networks to ensure some degree of national coverage through the four critical public services – the police function (BPM), migration (ONM), child protection services (IBESR), and the ombudsman (OPC).

A total of 18 institutions provide lodging, including some of the 11 shelter services listed in Annex VI. Given the sheer scale of restavèk children, their dense concentration in Port-au-Prince, and the fact that two-thirds of them are girls, there is a shortage of shelter services, particularly in light of the high risk of rape and other abuses that afflict restavèk girls, and the need for protective services to serve runaway children fleeing abusive situations.
Although 30 percent of inventoried institutions provide reinsertion services, such services are labor intensive and time consuming. They are able to serve only a small volume of victims since reinsertion, for example, of restavèk children into poverty stricken rural homes can result in their being sent anew into restavèk placement – unless these households receive some type of ongoing support services such as assistance in educating their children.

As noted earlier, PHR has assessed government agencies critical to providing services to victims and to the struggle against stop trafficking and smuggling of persons, including the migration office (ONM) and the national ombudsman (OPC). Both are confronted with severe constraints in budgets and personnel, and neither has an adequate legislative framework (loi organique) to define its existence as a public institution. According to the PHR report of 2008, the ONM has a very limited presence at the border and virtually no direct involvement with border repatriation or the prevention of trafficking and smuggling of persons across the Haitian-Dominican border. This finding from 2008 is consistent with recent field interviews in Dajabón.

The OPC ombudsman is well situated to play a key role in combating organized violence by virtue of its juridical autonomy and mission to protect individuals from abuse by agents of the state. In 2008 it carried out a training program on torture and organized violence that targeted police, penitentiary staff, and local government offices (mayoral and communal sectional personnel). According to the PHR report, the OPC does not carry out programs focused specifically on restavèk and child trafficking.

In 2006 and 2007, the PADF-Trafficking in Persons project evaluated the Brigade de Protection des Mineurs (BPM) of the national police, and the Institut du Bien-Etre Social et de Recherches (IBESR) attached to the Ministry of Social Affairs. The creation of the BPM in 2002 was an important step forward in law enforcement related to children's rights. According to the PADF report, the BPM is regularly involved with runaway restavèk children; however, it has little impact on the problem of trafficking and

smuggling of persons due to limited resources and the absence of a systematic campaign to identify and arrest smugglers of children and others across the border. The BPM arrested four child smugglers in Plaisance in 2004, perhaps the first such cases in Haitian law enforcement. This created precedent for enforcing existing laws against smuggling; however, there has been no subsequent follow-up. Furthermore, parliament has not yet enacted the legislation required to combat trafficking in restavèk children.

The IBESR is the primary public social service focused on child protection and rehabilitation; however, it has a very limited presence outside of Port-au-Prince and virtually no presence along the Haitian-Dominican border. According to the PADF-TIP evaluation, the IBESR has been little involved with services to trafficked and smuggled children including shelter services.

These four public institutions – ONM, OPC, BPM, IBESR – are absolutely critical to combating trafficking and smuggling of persons as well as torture and organized violence. They are poorly funded by the national budget, and they lack an adequate legal framework to exercise their missions. They have all been dependent on international funding including the UNDP, UNICEF, and USAID, as well as the IOM which provides assistance to ONM.

PARTNERS AND PRIORITIES

Prioritizing Victims to Be Served

To complement survey data, a series of qualitative interviews with key informants sought first to identify categories of victims already targeted for service by local partner organizations, secondly, under-served, ignored or hidden victims, and thirdly, a sense of partner priorities for victims to be served.

Priority categories of victimization. Respondents in qualitative interviews identified the following victim categories as high priority for services:

- Children at risk of sexual exploitation including prostitution, adult and child victims of rape, unschooled children, street children,
- Children trafficked across the border including children separated from parents or other caretaker adults during cross border migration and repatriation,
- Victims of “mob justice” including children exposed to traumatic incidents,
- Harsh conditions of incarceration including children incarcerated with adults,
- Victims of organized violence including abuse by the police, penal guards, and other public employees.

These categories of victimization are not fully consistent with the list of victim categories identified in the introductory chapter of this report, particularly

partner concerns for unschooled children and victims of rape or mob violence that are unrelated to trafficking, torture, and organized violence.

Children vulnerable to sexual exploitation. In areas targeted for PHR services, there are few services available for minors recruited into prostitution, and even fewer in border areas, including services to young sex workers repatriated by Dominican authorities.

In light of concerns expressed by PHR partners, especially women's organizations, sexual exploitation warrants more in-depth study with a view to improving social services for child victims of prostitution. Minors who work as servants or servers in small bars and restaurants are especially vulnerable to sexual exploitation. Rural children sent to urban centers for education are also highly vulnerable, especially in households composed primarily of minors without adult family members in residence. Orphans in general, and especially AIDS orphans, face a heightened risk of child domesticity and prostitution. Children in orphanages are vulnerable to sexual assault by orphanage staff. Young girls in restavèk placement are vulnerable to sexual use by men and adolescent boys resident in the household. Other high risk factors for sexual exploitation include urban children not in school, children of very poor urban households, child victims of rape who are sometimes abandoned or neglected, and the children of former restavèk child servants reflecting a disturbing pattern of inter-generational transmission of risk and trafficking.

There is a shortage of reliable studies on child prostitution in Haiti. A pre-test for the PHR household survey found questions pertaining to the prevalence of child prostitution to be sensitive, and interfered with responses to other questions. Therefore these questions were eliminated from the survey instrument. In any case, for both psychosocial and cultural reasons, child prostitution is best studied using qualitative methods. Clearly this area of child victimization requires follow up study.

Child prostitution. According to partner interviews, prostitution in St. Marc is centered on (i) streets and bars of certain areas such as Maurepas Avenue and Derrière Moulin, (ii) the "batolières" – a term used by by FEFBA to refer to young women offering sexual services to sailors at the port of Saint Marc, (iii) recruitment of minors engaged in non-sex work in the streets near bars (e.g., Portail Guêpe), and (iv) the sexual recruitment of girls from nearby schools in these neighborhoods.

Organizations in Gonaïves have identified the streets and bars ("cafés") of Rue Vernet such as Malè Pandye and Sugar Night Club; in Cap-Haitian, Rue 17-A and Lotbòpon; in Petit-Goâve, streets and bars of Bèlavni such as Auberge and Amido Disco. In Pétionville and Port-au-Prince, young women work the sidewalks and bars of certain areas, especially the downtown area of Pétionville.

Victims of rape. Women's organizations contacted in this study express a keen interest in services to victims of rape. There is some concern that the

incidence of rape is growing, generating increased numbers of hidden victims unwilling to denounce their attackers or seek medical attention for fear of being stigmatized. Rape does not manifest itself primarily as a problem of organized violence at present; however, girls under age 18 are the primary victims of rape and sexual violence. Feedback from partner institutions suggests that the incidence of rape has increased in the wake of destructive tropical storms and hurricanes, including Tropical Storm Jean in 2004, and after the series of four hurricanes in September-October 2008.

There is a natural convergence of interest among (i) women's organizations, (ii) medical institutions such as clinics and hospitals, (iii) and specialized HIV-AIDS services that include the tracking of sexual contacts with a heightened risk of HIV-AIDS infection. Closer collaboration among the three service networks could significantly improve services to victims of rape and child prostitution, and to AIDS orphans at risk of sexual exploitation and child domesticity.

Women's organizations commonly play an important role in accompanying rape victims seeking medical and legal services, e.g., FEFBA in St. Marc, AFASDA in Cap Haitian, Oganizasyon Fanm Solidè and Espoir des Femmes Haitiennes in Petit-Goâve, and Kay Fanm and SOFA in Port-au-Prince. Rape victims also contact the Ministère à la Condition Feminine which refers victims to medical and legal services, and sometimes accompanies victims in filing charges or seeking services. For example, in Gonaïves the departmental office of the Ministry of Women accompanies rape victims seeking services from La Providence Hospital, the human rights section of MINUSTAH, and a local volunteer network, especially women's organizations.

According to service providers interviewed, including the director of St. Trinité Hospital (St. Marc), accompanied victims tend to receive better services. This is due in part to the more open communication of victim needs in a context where victims are reluctant to talk, and the accompanying person, generally a volunteer, and the service provider are already known to each other. In effect the accompanying person plays a crucial role in the service provider network.

Unschooled children at risk. Partner organizations attribute high priority to targeting services at school age children not in school. Children not in school are generally the poor and underprivileged. Such children are vulnerable to sexual exploitation, prostitution, living in the street, restavèk status, organized begging, and also paid child labor arrangements. In short, children not enrolled in school, and children in school who are over age for their grade level, are powerful indicators of heightened risk and vulnerability. Programmatically, education is a separate sector; however, partners are well aware of the acute vulnerability of school age children not in school.

Enhancing the value of socially devalued children. Field observations suggest that enrollment in school directly enhances a child's social status;

schooled children are deemed more valuable and therefore more highly valued socially. Concomitantly, not being in school significantly diminishes the social status of children, and greatly increases their vulnerability to abuse. For example, children not in school are more vulnerable to corporal punishment, including children living with their own families as well as restavèk children living away from home.

A number of partner organizations put great emphasis on educating (i) restavèk children, and (ii) poor children in general, as a high priority in poor neighborhoods. As noted earlier, aside from the inherent value of learning, the social status benefits of schooling have a significant impact on a child's treatment, including restavèk children. According to partner organizations, subsidized schooling of restavèk children is generally accepted by household heads.

The very fact of enrolling restavèk children in schools also puts social pressure on restavèk households, enables follow-up by school personnel to monitor domestic treatment, and facilitates restavèk child access to other social services. In short, educating the poor is an effective measure to prevent restavek placement, and educating restavèk children can effectively alleviate the effects of restavèk placement, foreshorten the amount of time children remain in restavèk placement, and reduce the likelihood of inter-generational child domesticity.

Street children. Urban children not in school are far more likely than other children to hustle the streets - kokorat children left to fend for themselves, earning small sums from petty commerce, petty theft, cleaning cars, or carrying things for street vendors and market women. Street children also run a heightened risk of rape, victimization by agents of organized violence including the police, assault by other street children, drug use, and recruitment by gangs of young adults.

According to partner organizations, children of the street who have spent a significant amount of time in the street are "hardened," extremely difficult to recuperate and little inclined to schooling. Hardened street children tend to protect their freedom from adult authority and from efforts by authority figures to restrict access to sex, drugs and petty income. In effect, veteran street children may strongly value their independence, having attained a kind of premature adulthood along with the dangers and difficulties of living in the street. Social service agencies that target street children report more success with children newly arrived in the street, including abandoned or lost children or recent runaways from abusive homes or restavèk placement (for example, L'Escale).

Partner organizations providing services to street children include a number of Catholic agencies in the Port-au-Prince area. There are also street children in other Haitian cities; however, the growing number of street children in small towns appears to be a fairly recent trend. In terms of magnitude, review of field studies suggests that street children are far fewer in number, overall, than the victims of child domesticity or rape; however, street children

have a social impact that far surpasses their numbers because they are visible to the public and are recruited by adult criminals who use children as lookouts and unpaid child servants, and also to carry firearms and commit crimes. Street children are also vulnerable to political use as hired protestors, including recruitment by chimè gangs and political pressure groups in the recent past.

Cross border trafficking in children. Women's organizations and social workers encountered in Cap-Haitiën point to the recruitment of children for organized begging. Informants cite cases of organized begging in Cap Haitiën as well as a number of Dominican cities. The recruitment of children for organized begging targets babies and young children below school age. School age children are recruited to shine shoes and provide sexual services in the Dominican Republic.

Prosecution of child domesticity and trafficking. According to lawyers, judges and prosecutors interviewed, there have been no prosecutions of child domesticity or trafficking in Haitian courts. There have been cases that relate to the abusive punishment of children, including restavèk children, but not because of their restavèk status. According to the state prosecutor in Petit-Goâve, neither the parents of origin nor the adults in restavèk households nor restavèk children themselves are likely to bring suit over illegal restavèk status. It is the prosecutor's view, based on similar cases in other countries, that restavèk cases and trafficking are unlikely to be prosecuted unless advocacy groups actively bring suit on behalf of a restavèk child.

During fieldwork, this researcher observed the presentation of a labor dispute at the Cap-Haitiën office of the Ministry of Social Affairs. In this case, an underage maid accused her employer of physical abuse. The case was assessed as a problem of employer-employee relations without regard to under age status nor to whether or not the worker was legally employed.

Popular justice. Partner organizations express concern about the continuing incidence of "popular justice" in which people accused of theft or other crimes are attacked or killed by mobs. This may also qualify as a form of organized violence when tolerated or subtly promoted by authorities. Mob justice violates the rights of the victim, and traumatizes others including children. These incidents often occur when local neighborhoods are repeatedly victimized by criminals, and law enforcement officials are absent or unresponsive. The absence or perceived indifference of law enforcement officials, and a perceived lack of legal recourse, generates a climate conducive to mob violence.

Detention conditions. Terrible conditions of detention are a high priority concern of lawyers and human rights organizations encountered, especially in Gonaïves and Petit-Goâve. Informants state that the 48 hour limit on imprisonment without notification of cause is rarely respected. Furthermore, children accused of crimes are commonly detained together with adults. According to members of the Bar