Tone Sommerfelt (ed.)

Child Domestic Labour in Haiti

Characteristics, Contexts and Organisation of Children's Residence, Relocation and Work

REVISED DRAFT

A report to UNICEF, ILO, Save the Children UK and Save the Children Canada.

Fafo

Contents

Contents 2

Preface 4

Executive Summary 6

1 Introduction 7

Child Domestic Labour in Haiti: Background 8
On the Concept of Child Domestic Labour 11
Foci and Approaches 14
Society, Culture and Contexts of Children's Work 15
Sources of Data, Research Techniques and Fieldwork 17
The Chapters 18

2 Characteristics, Definitions, and Arrangements of Children's Residence and Child Domesticity in Haiti 20

Fosterage Arrangements and Child Domestic Labour 20
Conceptualisations of Children's Work, Remuneration and Kinship Ideology 23
Compensation for "Upkeep" by Children's Work or Parents' Contributions 25
"Paid Board": Money Following the Child as Compensation for Upkeep 25
"Compensating" for Upkeep by Work 28
The Concept of Child Domestic Labour in the Haitian Context 30

3 Extent and Demographic Characteristics of Haitian Child Domesticity 32

Introduction: Blurred Definitions, Exact Numbers? 32
The Three Vulnerabilities: Living with No Parents, Inferior Education and Work 33
The Number of Child Domestic Workers 35
Characteristics of Child Domestic Workers: Distribution, Gender and Age 38
The Demographic Dynamics of Child Domesticity 41

4 Living and Working Conditions of Child Domestic Workers 44

Working and Living Conditions 45

Activities and Workload of Child Domestics..47
Education 51
Clothing, Hours of Sleep, Health and Parental Contact.....................................53
Composite images: Rationalising Experience 58
Conditions in the Past – Conditions in the Present 58
From Vagabond to "Serious" 60
Children's Responses 62

5 The Social Context: Households, Kinship and Social Inequality.......................64

Recruitment and the Implicit "Agreement" 64
Indications of Middlemen operating as Recruiters...67
Original Households: Characteristics and Motivations 68
Poverty: Resolving Difficult Situations..69
Aspiring to Highly Treasured Values...70
Parents' Rationalisations – Children's Gender 73
Crisis and Purposive Relocation..74
Ignorance or Chance of Improvement? Parents' Investments in Children 75
Households that Include Child Domestics: Characteristics and Motivations 77
"Needing" or "Helping"?..77
Income and Educational Level, and the Child in the Household Economy 80
Providing Benefits 82
"Disciplining" and Setting Limits for Child Domestics.....................................84
Kinship and "Parental Domesticity" 86
Child Domesticity, Social Debt and Inequality 88

6 Explanations, Interpretations and Recommendations.......................................91

Opportunity Situations and Social Reproduction 91
Recommendations 93

Appendix: The Haiti Living Conditions Survey - Sample and Methodological Notes...95

References 98

Preface

This report is an outcome of a study requested and financed by Save the Children Canada, Save the Children UK, The International Labour Organization in Haiti, and UNICEF. For Fafo, the funding organisations not only gave us the opportunity to continue our engagement on research issues pertaining to child labour issues, but also to analyse further the wealth of data provided from the Haiti Living Conditions Survey (HLCS), which the present study benefits from.

Numerous people and organisations have made this study possible, and we wish to extend our sincere thanks to them for their various contributions. The partners who funded the study gave us the opportunity to carry out the work, and assisted us prior to, during, and after fieldwork. The study was coordinated by the UNDP in Haiti; the efforts of the entire staff, and Diene Keita and Hilde Skogedal in particular, deserve special thanks. We are also grateful to the Governments of Haiti and of Norway for their support. The two countries cooperated in conducting the HLCS, which has provided the statistical data for this work. The research would not have been made possible without the patient and efficient contributions of the staff in the Haitian Institute for Statistics (IHSI) in Port-au-Price. Special thanks goes to Mrs. Danilia Altidor and coordinator Mr. Altidor. Dr. Nathalie Brisson Lamaute was so nice as to let us discuss our thought with her, and gave valuable feedback and input in the project's analytical stage.

Most importantly, this research could not have been conducted without the support of adults and children around the country, in local communities, schools and credit unions, who participated in interviews and conversations, sharing their experiences, thoughts, hopes and fears with fieldwork personnel. Their names are too many to mention, and we remain indebted to them all.

The qualitative fieldwork was made possible as a result of the assistance from a number of people (and organisations). The following should be mentioned in particular: Karry Lafosse of the Baptist Church of Bethel in Phaëton, John and Eleanor Turnbull of the Baptist Mission in Fermathe, Lionel Fleurestin of the Methodiste Church in Haiti (l'Eglise Méthodiste d'Haiti), the staff of The Methodist Church (and the school of the Methodist Church) in Cap Haïtien, and in particular, Karline Jean Baptiste and Annette Pierre. Furthermore, Fenold Appolon and the rest of the staff in Beyond Borders (Limyè La Vi), the Evangelist Baptist Mission of the South of Haiti (Mission Evangelique Baptiste du Sud d'Haiti), Jean-Robert Chéry of the Centre d'Éducation Populaire in Port-au-Prince, Nemour Abel of Coeur des

tre d'Éducation Populaire in Port-au-Prince, Nemour Abel of Coeur des Jeunes in Cap Haïtien, Gaillot Dorsinvil in the Centre d'Éducation Speciale, Jesi Chancy Manigat and Rachel Magloire, anthropologist Mary Ellen Tamari, and Alain Grimard of FENU in Fort Liberté, all deserve special thanks. Barbara Laurenceau contributed with valuable insights and coordinated the study in its early stage. Finally, Edwin Carrie and Jean Rodiny Isidor were both assistants for Fafo during the study, and without them, the work would have been considerably harder to undertake.

In Fafo, researchers Anne Hatløy and Tone Sommerfelt executed the project. In addition to Hatløy and Sommerfelt, Jon Pedersen also contributed as author, and researchers Willy Egset and Cristophe Gironde have given feedback and assisted the study in its different stages.

It is our hope that this study will contribute to enhancing our understanding of children's labour, and the context in which children and youth grow up in Haiti, and that it can thereby be of help in designing appropriate measures to meet the challenges that are involved.

Oslo, May 2002

Jon Hanssen-Bauer

Managing Director

Fafo Institute for Applied International Studies

Executive Summary

This report is a response to the need for more up-to-date, accurate, and representative data on the situation of children in domesticity, and the extent of child domesticity, in Haiti. It describes how arrangements of child domesticity come about and how they are organised; assesses the economic and social contexts in which child domestic labour takes place; and analyses how the practices, relations and processes involved are generated and reproduced.

The report combines two sources of data, firstly statistical data from the extensive Haiti Living conditions Survey carried out by IHSI with assistance from Fafo, and second qualitative data produced by a separate anthropological fieldwork.

In the present report, child domestic labour is defined in terms of parent-child separation, high workload of the child, and lack of or delays in schooling. Using these criteria, it is found that child domestic workers count 173 000 or 8.2 percent of the child population aged five to 17 years.

Not regarding urban-rural status, our data show that overall, 59 percent of the child domestics are girls, whereas 41 percent are boys. Furthermore, in absolute numbers, most of the child domestics are found in rural areas. If considering the proportion of child domestics of the total child population in urban and rural areas, the percentages are about the same. There is a tendency that more of the boy child domestics originate from rural areas, whereas girls to a larger extent than boys come from urban areas. We also find that urban girls make up a large proportion of the child domestic workers, and among these girls, fewer have kinship relationships to their new guardians.

Patterns in the social organisation of child domestic labour are generated, changed and reproduced by people's various needs and practices. The needs, wishes and actions of individuals are shaped, but not determined, by social, cultural and economic processes. In Haiti, these needs are related to poverty (parents' low incomes), parents' hopes of giving their children a better future, to the fact that formal education is a highly treasured value, and to priorities among "employing" households in terms of labour needs and their children's schooling. Generally, households that include child domestics have higher incomes than sending households.

1 Introduction

Tone Sommerfelt

The Caribbean Republic of Haiti makes up the western third of the island of Hispaniola, the remaining two thirds comprising the Dominican Republic. Haiti is a mountainous country, and the mountain ranges that stretch east-west are divided by river valleys and plains. Agriculture in the mountain slopes and in the lowlands makes up the country's dominating economic activity. Population estimates of Haiti vary from six to more than eight million people (see appendix). About 30 percent live in urban areas.

Social organisation in Haiti is highly complex, and associated with economic divisions, and distinctions according to language (French and Haitian Creole), religion (Catholicism and Voodoo/Vodoun), and in part to colour (cf. Labelle 1987).[1] Patterns in Haitian social organisation have been shaped by Haiti's past. Haiti broke loose from the French colonial power as early as in 1804, making the world's first "black republic". Independence and the abolition of slavery was followed by conflicts between elites and peasant communities around the country, between different elites; landowners and army-based; and between rulers based in the north and the south. Moreover, Haiti has been marred by political conflict, external interventions and repressive governments ever since independence.

Today, the majority of Haitians is left with scarce economic resources. Agricultural land is split up in small units. Due to erosion and population growth, the relation between land suitable for agricultural production and the population is stretched to its limits. In addition, growth in non-agricultural sectors has been instable. Haiti is known as the poorest country in the Americas. When Haitian affairs reach international media, focus is usually directed toward political, economic and social crisis, rather than toward the country's rich cultural traditions.

[1] The absolute majority of Haitians adheres to Catholicism, and many practice Voodoo at the same time. Distinctions associated with colour have never been clear-cut, but in the past, upper class groups of landowners and wealthy commercialists were to a certain extent recruited from the mulatto population. François Duvalier ("Papa Doc") represented a form of "black consciousness" movement, but the economic foundations on which social inequalities were based remained intact.

Child Domestic Labour in Haiti: Background

In 1998, Jean-Robert Cadet published an autobiography titled "Restavec: From Haitian Slave Child to Middle-Class American", describing his life as a "restavek", domestic servant, or "slave child", and the general social acceptance of this practice in Haiti. The book drew international attention, and in the aftermath, the topic was given space in newspapers around the world. The Creole term "restavek"[2] became close to an idiom of child domestic labour in wider circles.

In Haiti, however, the issue had been raised in public forums earlier. In 1984, Haitian official and scholars gathered in a Conference on child domesticity (which produced a conference report, "Colloque sur l'Enfance en Domesticité", see Anderson et. al. 1990: iv; UNICEF 1993: 34). The first known estimates of the extent of child domesticity in Haiti stem from this conference. With basis in census data from 1982, Dorélien estimated that Haiti had a number of 109.737 domestics, which comprised 2.2% of the total population, or 9% of the population aged less than 18 years (Dorélien 1990 [1984]: 1). During the same conference in 1984, E. Clesca suggested an estimate of 120.000 child domestics, or 11% of the children from six to 15 years of age. However, Clesca also noted that this figure may be doubled, to 240.000, as domestics considered as relatives or lodgers/paying guests/boarders (French: pensionnaires) are not included in the estimate of 120.000 (Clesca 1984, in UNICEF 1993: 39, 58n43; Anderson et. al. 1990: 1).[3]

The issue did not bring together a larger political or specialist audience until 1990, when a new Conference took place (gathering largely the same participants as in 1984, see UNICEF 1993: 34). Since 1990, the issue has been debated regularly, and estimates of the number of children abound, though a general lack of more recent representative survey and census data often leads to cross-referencing to a few older sources. UNICEF points to the lack of sources in a report on children in a "particularly difficult situation" in Haiti (1993: 39). At the same time, the latter study makes use of data from a smaller sample of children (totally 1.117 children) in three of the major cities of the country, and estimates the number of child domestics to about 130.000, or, between 100.000 and 160.000 (UNICEF 1993: 39, 58n48, see also p. 87).

---

[2] The spelling of "restavec" (with a "c") is French, whereas "restavek" (spelt with a "k") is more common in English texts ("restavek" also reflects Creol spelling). The fact that the concept is thus "translated" from one language to another illustrates the international attention accorded it.

[3] Unfortunately, we have not succeeded in getting hold of the original conference report from 1984, and neither reproductions of E. Clesca's estimation. Therefore, we cannot describe further or discuss the data on which the estimations were based. This is unfortunate, particularly because a discussion of the choice of exactly a doubling of the original estimate is not evident. Anderson et. al. (1990) only refers to Clesca's highest estimate of 240.000 domestics.

In international publications that treat child domestic labour in more general terms, there seems to be a tendency to quote the highest estimates of the number of child domestics that figure in national reports. In 1999, for instance, an estimate of 250.000 Haitian child domestics appears in an issue of Innocenti Digest (UNICEF 1999: 3). In this case, the source of the estimate is Anderson et al. (1990, i.e. Minnesota Lawyers International Human Rights Committee, see UNICEF 1999: 3, 18n34). In turn, the estimate in Anderson et al. (1990: 1) is given with reference to the highest estimate from the 1984-Conference held in Haiti, i.e. Clesca's "double estimate" (E. Clesca 1984, see also our comments to this above).

All in all, there is a need for more up-to-date, accurate, and representative data on the situation of children in domesticity, and the extent of child domesticity, in the Haitian context. This is the focus of the present report. Additionally, we aim to describe how arrangements of child domesticity come about and how they are organised; describe the economic and social contexts in which child domestic labour takes place; and analyse how the practices, relations and processes involved are generated and reproduced.

Internationally, more attention has traditionally been accorded children's labour in industry and manufacture than their labour in household settings. During the past decades, however, child domestic labour has become recognised and referred to as a form of child labour. Moreover, no international conference on child labour can avoid the issue. The current attention to child domestic labour in Haiti is partly a reflection of this fact.

On the other hand, it is important to note that the attention to the issue in Haiti is *not only* a reflection of international discourses in UN and non-governmental organisations. Nor are Haitians' negative descriptions of some practices of child relocation simply an expression of political correctness of recent date, or of a will to conform to alien ideals on the upbringing of children in the face of outsiders. Melville Herskovits, who conducted fieldwork in Mirebalais as early as in the 1930ies, describes the "giving" of children, and "'*'ti moun qui 'reté à caille 'oun* – small folk who stay at your house', or more briefly, *'ti moun*'" (1964 [1937]: 103). It becomes apparent that stories of child abuse were discussed among Haitians already at this time:

> To what extent this relationship offers a means for the exploitation of children … cannot be said, though tales of abuses of it, especially in Port-au-Prince, are heard (1964 [1937]: 103).

However, it is important to point out that it is not until recently that the issue has entered into the formal political discourse on a more regular basis, and that evaluations from this discourse are reflected in Haitian law. Though children are accorded

protection in earlier legal documents, the juridical protection of children in domesticity did not come into force till some 20 years ago. In 1984, Haiti adopted a Labour Law (Code du Travail), which prohibits the placement in a family of children under the age of 12 years for domestic work (article 341).[4] It further specifies that children above 12 years, working in domestic service, are entitled to decent lodging, clothes, sufficient and healthy nutrition, and that they must be enrolled in school or to professional training (cf. Joanis 1996: 12; Ngom 1999: 23). It states that children shall not work during the hours that the school to which they are enrolled give classes, during Sunday afternoons or on public holidays, or during night. The children are furthermore entitled to 10 hours of uninterrupted rest daily. Finally, from the age of 15, children in domestic service should be regarded as paid domestic servants, and shall be given a salary equivalent to salaries paid other [adult] servants (article 345, 346, 347, 350 in the Haitian Labour Law, cf. Joanis 1996: 12). However, even though Haitian law thus attributes legal rights to children, they are seldom enforced (Joanis 1996: 12).

As mentioned, more international attention has been accorded children's labour in industry and manufacture than their labour in household settings, and international conventions partly reflect this fact. Nonetheless, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), ILO Convention 138 (1973) and, more recently, ILO Convention 182 (1999) can be applied to child domestic labour. Haiti has ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (ratification in effect from 1995, see Danroc 1996: 35). The UN Convention establishes that children are entitled to protection from economic exploitation and hazardous work, and that work must not deprive them of education or be harmful to their development. It further calls for countries to specify a minimum age for admission to employment. The ILO C138 stipulates that the minimum age for admission to employment is 14 years (for developing countries). The ILO C182, on the "worst forms of child labour", defines a child as a person under the age of 18 years. The age limit for introduction to the labour market of 12 years defined in the Haitian Labour Law is thus lower than age limits in international conventions, which use either 14 or 18 years.

We return to the issue of legal instruments in the subsection below, when we discuss the concept of child domestic labour in further detail.

[4] On the year of this amendment to the Haitian labour law, see UNICEF (1993: 40).

On the Concept of Child Domestic Labour

"Child domestic labour" and "child domestic worker" are contested concepts, definitions depending on the user's position and purpose, whether within arenas of political advocacy in different forms or analysis in the social or other sciences. In many cases, discourses on children's work and labour reflect a clash between cultural-relativist approaches, insisting that children's activities must be understood within their proper social, economic, and cultural context, on the one hand, and universalistic approaches on the other, seeking to establish universal standards for what should be regarded as "unwanted" labour among children. As standpoints become increasingly complex, this distinction cuts across the border between activist-oriented research and more scholarly literature on children's activities.

Due to its contested nature, and the complexities of the concept itself, a definition of child domestic labour cannot be established prior to a closer examination of Haitian practices. Definitions and delineations of child domestic labour in the Haitian context is thus a recurrent topic throughout this report. A discussion of the concept in more general terms, and approaches to child domestic labour, is still in place at this point. As a first step, "child domestic work" can be defined as children's activities within, or closely related to, the household sphere. Situating these activities within the framework of "child labour" is not unproblematic.

One approach, adopted in international conventions, is to include domestic work that goes at the expense of children's mental or physical health and/or schooling. Two principles underlie this approach to child labour in legal instruments: Firstly, the consequences of children's work, and secondly, absolute age (cf. Grimsrud & Stokke 1997: 6; Grimsrud 2001).

With respect to the first, ILO Convention 138 asserts that work performed by children should not interfere with the child's education, or be harmful, or threaten to harm, "the child's health or physical, mental, moral, or social development" (cf. Grimsrud 2001: 4). Thus, this condition does not relate to children's activities per se, but to the *consequences* of their work (on education, health, and development).

With respect to interference with education, regulations in Haiti prescribe nine years of compulsory education between the ages of six and 15 years (UNESCO 1995/96).[5] This brings us to the issue of age, which constitutes the second condition for defining and prohibiting "child labour" (Grimsrud 2001). As mentioned, international conventions apply 14 and 18 years as age limits: ILO Convention 138 specifies 15 years as the limit for introduction to working life, and 14 in developing countries.

[5] The number of compulsory school years has been increased from six to nine years after an educational reform (UNESCO 1995/1996).

ILO Convention 182, on the "Worst Forms of Child Labour", may be made relevant to some cases of child domesticity in Haiti, and defines a "child" as all persons under the age of 18. Haiti has not ratified ILO C138, but has indicated that it will do so.[6]

In this study, we focus on all persons under the age of 18, and make a point out of emphasising the limit of 14 years as an internal distinction at the same time.

In academics or more scholarly work, sociologists, anthropologists and ethno-psychiatrists pursue a different approach, emphasising that "child" and "childhood" are defined differently in different cultures. Boyden et. al. (1998: 9-26) point out that children's abilities and maturities vary so much that defining a child's maturity by calendar age can be misleading. The discussions become particularly complex when considering children's work in the *domestic* sphere. Whereas children's remunerated labour contributions in industry is often labelled "labour", and perceived as exploiting, children's (and women's) work in the domestic sphere has traditionally been considered as "duty" or "socialisation", and referred to as "work" (cf. Nieuwenhuys 1994, 1996). Moreover, children's socialisation and informal training is often closely tied up with (paid and unpaid) activities.

More recent literature questions descriptions in which children are portrayed as passive victims, and explores children's own motivations and manoeuvres in their working life (cf. Camacho 1999; Myers & Boyden 1998; Nieuwenhyus 1994; Save the Children 1999; Sommerfelt 2001). Also, in more recent debates, the distinction above between *work* ("acceptable") and *labour* ("unacceptable") has become blurred by the reintroduction of the term "slavery" to certain forms of child labour, in which children's unpaid domestic work is included (cf. Bales 1999).

The latter approaches bring to light that the social contexts of children's work are vital for grasping the ways in which children's work and activities are shaped and understood in local settings. For instance, the convention texts referred to above do not use the social context of the child's work as a criterion for defining "child labour", i.e. where the work takes place, whether under parental supervision and/or in households different from the child's own. In principle, household work under parental supervision or authority may be encompassed by international child labour legislation in cases when the work interferes with the child's schooling or harms the child's health or development. However, it has become common to refer to child *domestic* labour as employment or activities undertaken in households other than the child's own (cf. Blagbrough & Glynn 1999: 51), and it is children working in house-

[6] The country's position toward C182, on the "worst forms" of child labour (and of child domestic labour) remains unclear. Note that not all cases of child domestic labour are "worst forms".

holds other than their own that are the focus of the present study.[7] In societies with extensive fosterage practices, however, it may be problematic to determine which household should be regarded as the "child's own", and which affiliation constitutes the child's primary family belonging. This is particularly the case in Haiti. Thus, of particular relevance for debates on child *domestic* labour is the fact that there are diffuse borders between what can be referred to as "child domestic labour" and different forms of fostering and adoption systems (see for instance Bledsoe 1980, 1990a, 1990b; Goody 1975; Isiugo-Abanihe 1985). Moreover, not all cases of child relocation and fosterage arrangements should be included in a definition of "child domestic labour", and the problematic distinction between fosterage and child labour arrangements will be a main topic in the following chapters. The methodology in the present study was developed to adjust to the specificities of Haitian family, kinship and household structures.

As many of the practices under scrutiny here imply that children are *relocated*, we use "child relocation" as a collective term to refer to all these cases of placement of children in new homes, some of which also can be defined as child domestic labour. Additionally, about two-thirds of children who live apart from their original parents were actually born into their present home. This is to say that the separation from the parents does not result from the *child's* relocation, but from the *parents'* migration or death. Obviously, many processes of "parent-child separation", like adoption, entail that children get *new* parents. No "emotional primacy" should necessarily be ascribed to the relation between "biological" parents and children. Neither is there any reason to condemn the fact that children are cared for by others than their original parents in situations when the parents, for some reason, cannot. In the present context, however, the point is that we aim to investigate children's residence patterns, and just how caretakers other than original parents actually care for children. "Care taking" is here to mean "to keep", or "have responsibility for", and does not necessarily involve emotional affection.[8] In sociological terms, children are "recruited" into relationships, including domesticity, by a number of mechanisms, and parents' death may be one of them.

To conclude, processes involved in children's residence, work and vulnerability more generally cannot be distinguished by any inherent traits. Our area of study, then, is shown in Figure 1.

---

[7] Even so, we would agree with Nieuwenhuys (1994), who points out that the economic aspects of children's labour contributions in their own homes are often underestimated.

[8] Here, we rely on the distinction between "care" as "responsibility", on the one hand, and as "affection", on the other, the second presupposing the first, but not vice versa. By the same token, a "caretaker" is to be read as a "keeper" or even "custodian", without presupposing that the person in question is "taking care" of the child in the emotional sense of the term.

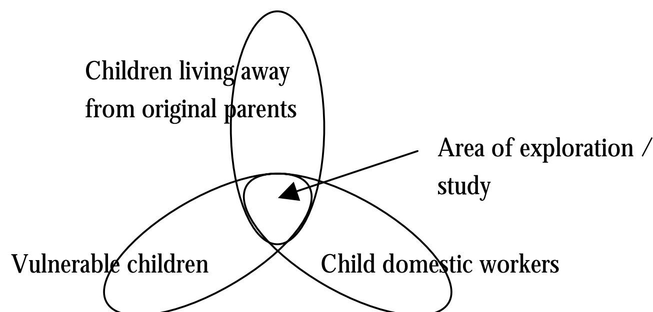

Figure 1 Vulnerable children, child domestics, and children living away from original parents

Foci and Approaches

The study has five main foci:

- Produce information on the *characteristics* of child domestic labour in Haiti, and how different arrangements are organised;
- Determine the *extent* of child relocation and –domesticity in Haiti, i.e. the number of children involved, based on the description of characteristics of child domesticity in the Haitian context;
- Assess *demographic characteristics*, i.e. the sex and age of the children involved, and where they come from and currently in terms of urban and rural areas;
- Describe the *living* and *working conditions* of children in domesticity, as compared to other children, and various experiences of these conditions;
- Describe and analyse the *social*, *cultural*, and *economic context* of practices related to child relocation and children in domesticity, in order to interpret the meanings locally attributed to such practices, and to produce information on how the practices are caused and reproduced. This analysis focuses on the children's present caretakers; their original families of origin, and the relationship between them.

A main aim is thus to depict patterns of action, and patterns in the priorities made. Hence, we approach child domestic labour as a social system, and seek to understand why original families, children themselves, and the people who "employ" them, act and react the ways they do, given the opportunities they are faced with. This analysis enables an understanding of how practices and relations are generated, and thus, an

understanding of the effects of intervening in these practices, and how such interventions should be directed.

Society, Culture and Contexts of Children's Work

The theoretical arguments that underlie the foci and approaches outlined above require some specification. A point of departure in the analysis is that an essentialist view of a unified "culture" (in this case the construct of "the Haitian culture"), "society" or "economy" does not bring us further in understanding the processes that generate and reproduce patterns and variations in children's work. Put differently, social and economic structures, or culture, do not *determine* parental behaviour or childcare practices.

This approach to children's work, childcare practices, and human behaviour more generally is informed by the general shift in approaches in the social sciences, away from an emphasis on societies and "cultures" as closed, coherent systems, and toward an emphasis on the processes that produce, reproduce, and change behavioural patterns.[9] Practices and beliefs vary from one community to the next and from one individual to another. People also relate pragmatically to culturally defined norms. This is not to say that one should not focus on patterns in social practices, nor that children's work and labour are unaffected by social, economic and cultural processes. On the contrary, childcare practices are shaped by cultural, social and economic contexts, and notions of adulthood and childhood are culturally and socially constructed. They are not, however, determined by them.

In our field of study, this is to say, for instance, that in communities dominated by subsistence economy, in which the provision of food is a pivotal concern, economic competence may be heavily emphasised in goals regarding childcare. However, the economic system does not determine goals in childcare (cf. Levine et. al. 1994). By the same token, moral, notions and ideals inform choices, e.g. regarding child relocation and human reproduction (number of children), but do not determine their outcomes.

In our setting, this implies that child domestic labour is not caused, or determined by "Haitian culture". On the other hand, children's domestic labour is shaped by the context in which it appears. This context embraces fosterage practices, kinship ideologies, relations of gender and inequality, and blurred distinctions between fostering

---

[9] For very brief summaries of this shift within the anthropological discipline, and critiques of determinism, see for instance Keesing (1994) and Vayda (1994).

and labour arrangements, all of which need not be exclusively "Haitian", but which nonetheless constitute elements in the social, cultural, and economic setting. Thus, fostering and gender relations in part explain why practices of child relocation, including domesticity, appear in the forms they do.

By the same token, "culture" does not motivate people to take in children or place them in domesticity. People's various needs, on the other hand, motivate them to act. In Haiti, as will be shown, these needs are related to poverty (parents' low incomes), parents' hopes of giving their children a better future, to the fact that formal education is a highly treasured value, and to priorities among "employing" households in terms of perceived labour needs.

As a part of the analysis of the social and economic contexts of children's work in Haiti, we also assess child domestic labour in relation to social and economic inequality. Presently, a general notion held among specialists working in the field is that earlier, children worked as domestic servants in upper-class homes, whereas now, employing child domestic workers has become a widespread practice among the general urban population as well. This contention is partly reflected in our material. We find that there positively is a difference in sending and receiving households' average incomes, and that the households that include child domestics have higher incomes than sending households, but that these average income measures conceal a large variation among households that contain child domestic workers. There are nearly as many child domestic workers in lower as in higher income households, though the propensity to employ child domestic workers increases with increasing income.

Debates on "cultural determinants" of child domesticity are linked with discussions of the role of history on children's domestic work in Haiti. Some writers have connected child domestic labour in Haiti to the historical legacy of slavery.[10] Implicit in this argument is that slavery forms part of Haiti's "cultural heritage", and that slavery has created a "mentality" in which tolerance for abuse and exploitation, also of children, is high. Violence and abuse, in other words, is placed in the core of "Haitian culture". We strongly counter claims about an inherent "violence" in (a constructed entity of) "Haitian culture". Once again, we stress an anti-determinist approach, in which the *shaping* of social practices by their present social context and through time has to be assessed empirically. Social inequality is an important contextual dimension, and also the construction of social inequality through time.

Moreover, the present study endeavours to depict tendencies in the social organisation of children's domestic work in Haiti, assess how these tendencies come about, and analyse the shaping of social practices by their social context – through empirical investigation.

---

[10] Cf. Cadet (1998). For other references to this view, see UNICEF (1993: 33, 40, 56n20).

Sources of Data, Research Techniques and Field-work

The present study combines two sources of data: Firstly, statistical data from the extensive *Haiti Living Conditions Survey* (henceforth referred to as the HLCS). Statistics from the HLCS forms the quantitative part of the study. Secondly, it includes data produced through qualitative techniques in another empirical fieldwork. Additionally, the study relies on secondary data that are both qualitative and quantitative in nature.

The fieldwork for the HLCS was conducted over a period of about 18 weeks, from March to July 2001, in all regions of the country. The fieldwork was undertaken by the Institut Haïtien de Statistique et d'Informatique (IHSI), and involved 79 interviewers and 20 supervisors. In 501 clusters, 7812 households were selected for interviewing, and the response rate was 97.8 percent. Further details on the HLCS are described in the appendix.

The fieldwork for the qualitative part was carried out as interviews, group discussions, and as series of observations. The aim of the fieldwork was twofold: Firstly, to prepare relevant questions (and indicators) in the HLCS questionnaires, such as types of activities, clothing and sleeping facilities, to mention a few. Secondly, the aim was to capture practices, views, explanations, justifications, motivations, and experiences among children and adults involved in child relocation and domesticity.

The main part of the qualitative fieldwork took place in March and April 2001. Some interviews and group discussions were also conducted in July 2000. Fieldwork was carried out in urban and semi-urban areas in, and rural areas around, Port-au-Prince, Les Cayes, Cap Haïtien, and Fort Liberté. In addition, we conducted fieldwork in rural areas around Jacmel and in Pleine du Nord, Carniere (near Croix de Bouquet), and Fermathe. We got in touch with participant and respondents through informal and formal contacts in the field locations. These contact persons brought us to homes, workplaces, schools, professional training centres, and churches. On several occasions, we walked from house to house in local communities, and were introduced by informal contact persons. We also spoke with people who came to speak with us simply because they had heard that we were around.

About 110 persons participated in 56 interviews and seven group sessions.[11] More precisely, 12 participants were parents or close family members (in the original

[11] In addition to these 110, we organised a large group of about 80 people, in a church in Phaëton. The aim of this session was to recruit participants to individual interviews. We also took the opportunity to discuss the small town's economic and educational situation. About 15 of the 80 people were especially active during the discussion.

household) of children who had been placed in new families, and 11 had, or had had in the past, children living with them who were not their biological offspring.[12]

Furthermore, 22 of the 110 participants were children who presently lived with others than their parents or original caretakers, or were children and adults who had done so in the past. 21 of these 22 had been placed with new families before they reached the age of 15, and one had been below 18 (at the age of 16). Ten of these 22 participants were below 15 at the time we interviewed them, and seven of them were still living away from their original homes, some of them working as "domestics". Only two of the ten had returned to their original parents or households, and one was presently living in the streets, having run away from the home he had been placed in. Nine of the 22 participants mentioned above belonged to the age category 15 to 17 (i.e. below 18), and all but one of them were still living in other than their original homes.

In addition to the persons mentioned above, we spoke with resource personnel in schools, activities and resource centres for children, and many of the discussions we had with children were conducted here. Finally, we spoke with a range of adults and children who were not directly involved in child relocation in their immediate families, that is to say, they had not moved from home during childhood; they had not sent children to new families; nor received children from other families. Nonetheless, they made evaluations and held opinions and views on the issue of child relocation and child domesticity.

The Chapters

Chapter 2 is devoted to a discussion of characteristics of child domestic labour in the Haitian context. Here, we also discuss the blurred lines between fosterage arrangements and child labour, and local distinctions of different arrangements of child relocation. In Chapter 3, we proceed to estimating the extent of child domesticity, and assess elementary demographic characteristics of the phenomenon. Chapter 4 focuses on the children's working and living conditions, and on experiences of the conditions under which child domestics live. In Chapter 5, we analyse the social contexts of child domesticity in Haiti, by way of an analysis of the children's backgrounds; the households that employ child domestics; and the relationship between them in term of kinship and social inequality. In Chapter 6, we sum up and character-

---

[12] By "biological" offspring, we refer to offspring of adults that are socially accepted as biological father and mother.

ise the social system of child domesticity; the processes that reproduce practices which affect children's work; and assess the consequences and possibilities of intervening in the relationships of which the social system of child domesticity is constituted.

2 Characteristics, Definitions, and Arrangements of Children's Residence and Child Domesticity in Haiti

Tone Sommerfelt

In the present chapter, we describe practices regarding children's residence, relocation, and labour within the Haitian context. In order to do so, we assess child domesticity in relation to fosterage arrangements, and discuss these in conjunction with kinship ideology, and local perceptions of children's work and upkeep. In turn, this facilitates delineations, and a definition of the concept of child domestic labour in relation to Haitian practices.

Fosterage Arrangements and Child Domestic Labour

Various forms of relocation of children are universal phenomena, and are as old as humankind itself. Early writers, such as Mackenzie (1971 [1830]), Herskovits (1964 [1937]) and Simpson (1941: 648 ff.; 1942: 666-667), have described Haitian practices in this respect. As early as in 1830, Mackenzie described godparenthood as a means used by Haitian landowners to "procure labourers" in agricultural fields (1971 [1830]: 273). Herskovits refers to Haitian practices of child relocation as "quasi-adoption":

> No discussion of the development of the child … can neglect to mention the widespread institution of a form of quasi-adoption … By this is not meant legal adoption, though that, too, is known and at times occurs. Quasi-adoption involves children who are called " *'ti moun qui 'reté à caille 'oun* – small folk who stay at your house," or, more briefly, *'ti moun*. They are the children, often of peasants, "given" to friends who live in a town or … to friends or acquaintances living in the capital. … To "give" a person a child in this manner … is regarded as a token of friendship, and such children as were observed, though poorly clothed, were fed not much differently from the children of the families

> with which they were sent to live. When the *'ti moun* grows older, he leaves and returns to his own home, though the relationship between foster-father and child may continue friendly if the young person has been well treated (Herskovits 1964 [1937]: 103-104).

Adoption is usually defined as the complete transfer of all rights and duties in relation to the child from the original parents, or birthparents, to the new family. This transfer not simply includes the rights and duties involved in giving food, shelter, emotional comfort, etc., but also rights which may arise after the (new) parents' death, i.e. to inheritance. The degree to which the child is considered by others, and considers itself, as a child of the new parents may vary, but the point is that it implies a legal and complete transfer of the relationship.

According to Bastien (1961), "adoption" in Haiti was traditionally rare, and was not formally recognised by law. When it occurred, it implied that the child got rights to inheritance of land, but not necessarily that he or she took the adoptive father's family name (1961: 490). In Haiti, as in many countries, it may be difficult to delineate adoption, as the establishment of relationships may be considered as complete in the local communities, but not be registered in bureaucratic institutions that the state recognises as "legal". The consensual *plaçage*-union is another example of the latter.

More common than adoption proper are different arrangements of fosterage, which imply the partial transfer of rights and duties in care taking (e.g. not involving rights to inheritance or education, but to food and shelter). Usually, the term fosterage is applied when it involves co-residence. In Haiti, godparenthood may involve fosterage in the sense that the godparents take on certain responsibilities for the child (and especially when it is accompanied by co-residence). In the above quote from Herskovits' text (1964 [1937]: 103-104), Herskovits basically referred to fostering when he applied the term "quasi-adoption" (the latter term is mostly abandoned in literature of more recent date, because, rather than describing what the arrangement actually does involve, the prefix "quasi" directs attention to what the arrangement *is not*).

Moreover, adoption and fosterage are mechanisms by which ties of kinship, or relatedness more generally, are created. Sometimes, such ties of kinship are created strategically. By the same token, relocation of children may have purposes other than those relating directly to the child's welfare. For instance, economic or political alliances may be sought established by links through children (or through marriage, for that matter). In the Haitian context, godparenthood has often served other than purely religious purposes, and has been a means of establishing solidarity in economic, political, and/or other terms (cf. Bastien 1961: 491 ff.; Mackenzie 1971 [1830]: 273).

In Haiti, various forms of fosterage arrangements can also be described as entailing child domestic labour. However, it would be a misunderstanding to claim that fosterage and adoption practices are "causes" of child domesticity, as child domesticity is widespread also in societies in which adoption is rare; where child domesticity cannot be described as fosterage; and where child domestics are locally described as "domestic servants" rather than "children of the house" (e.g. in Morocco, cf. Sommerfelt 2001: 25-26). However, it does imply that as a part of the social and cultural context of children's activities in Haiti, fosterage shapes the ways in which children's work is organised and conceptualised. Also, this implies that *motivations* among parents to give children into relationships of fosterage may be taken advantage of by receivers of the child, or that cases of care taking resulting from birthparents' migration or death may turn into relationships which the child regards as difficult or even abusive.

In Haiti, the concept of *restavek* is often referred to as the local "version" of a child domestic worker (as defined in international settings). Literally meaning "a person who lives with someone else", deriving from the French terms "living (*rester*) with (*avec*)", the term illustrates well the connotations to fosterage. At the same time, however, the term carries other connotations than to the child's residence alone. This especially relates to types of tasks: A *restavek* performs work closely related to the domestic sphere or household economy, i.e. household chores like carrying water, washing, cleaning, etc. and also petty trading for other household members, running errands, etc. The term also carries negative connotation, and in many situations evokes the image of an underprivileged child. In this way, a person identifying a child as a *restavek* may by so doing give a description of the child's living conditions, as worse than those of other children. It is occasionally also used derogatory, as an offence, implying that children so defined should answer to the needs of anyone who calls him or her, and/or that the child is less "worth" than other children.

Moreover, when approaching child domestic labour in the Haitian context, we focus on the aspect of the child's residence, and obviously, on the type of work that the child performs. The fact that responsibilities for the child are transferred to new "caretakers", however, is not necessarily interpreted as a sign of the child being cared for in the same way as other children "of the house". This remains an empirical question for investigation in later chapters.

Conceptualisations of Children's Work, Remuneration and Kinship Ideology

In a publication by IPSOFA, the term *restavek* is defined as a child fulfilling the role of a servant, who performs household work in homes different from their own, *without* being paid (1998: 9). In Haiti more generally also, the term *restavek* is basically associated with children's non-remunerated work. From the viewpoint of international conventions, however, children's domestic work should be considered as child (domestic) labour even in cases when it is *paid*, as long as it goes at the expense of the children's schooling.[13] If defining the local term of *restavek* as an unpaid child worker, it implies that *restavek* only includes a portion of "child domestics" in Haiti, according to a definition of the latter concept in international conventions.

A few comparative considerations will shed light on characteristics of child domesticity in Haiti. Firstly, the fact that children's domestic service is, for the greatest part, not paid, contrasts practices in certain other parts of the world, for instance in Morocco, where children's domestic service (from as early as the age of five years) is remunerated, though their original families receive their salaries (cf. Sommerfelt, ed., 2001). Whether children's work is remunerated or not is connected with local definitions and conceptualisations of children's activities. In Morocco, children are placed in families with the explicit purpose of giving their original families an extra income; their activities are referred to as "work"; and the children themselves referred to as "small maids" – *petites bonnes*. In Haiti, distinctions between duties and upbringing on the one hand, and labour, on the other, in many cases appear as more blurred than in Morocco, and the distinction between fostering and labour arrangements are of degree rather than of kind. Obviously, these distinctions are blurred all over the world in the sense that all processes of child raising involve that children perform tasks, regardless of whether they live with their original families or not. In this context, however, the contrast to Morocco is that in Haiti, the relocation of children is but very seldom (openly) described as *employment*. In cases when it is so defined, the work is remunerated and the child in question identified as a "servant".

As is the case for fosterage arrangements, the blurred distinction between fostering and labour arrangements in Haiti should not be interpreted as a *cause* of child domesticity (especially considering that child domesticity may be said to exist in settings where the distinction is very differently constituted, or more clearly emphasised). Rather, it should be seen as an explanation to why practices of child reloca-

[13] During fieldwork, we did encounter paid "servants" under the age of 15, though the cases were few.

tion, including domesticity, appear in the form they do, i.e. it describes the specific characteristics of Haitian child domesticity.

In turn, the remuneration and conceptualisation of children's work is connected with kinship ideology, or, with the ways in which people think about "being related". In Haiti, kin and family are often identified in contrast to "strangers", and categories of kin may be wide. For instance, they include relations created through godparenthood. Moreover, kinship ties are not strictly defined in terms of "blood" (or not as strictly so as e.g. compared to in the Arab world). In stead, kinship ties are not only *given*, but are also *created* by sharing food, residence, or protection and guardianship of different kinds (cf. Bastien 1961: 491-492). Many of these ties also entail work. In this sense, social relationships have many aspects and serve multiple functions. The fact that, in Haitian contexts, kinship or family relationships are only partially defined in terms of "blood", implies that distinctions between children's work in their own household and their work in the household of non-consanguineals, do not directly correspond with distinctions of "upbringing" or "teaching", on the one hand, and "labour" on the other.[14] Also, and obviously, many households try to get children for the specific purpose of getting access to their labour force, but this does not in itself deny the fact that adults at the same time hope to get access to other aspects of relationships to children, like company, to mention one. However, adults also recruit children for them to serve as "unpaid maids"; provide nothing else than food and shelter; and draw very sharp lines between them and "children of the house" (their "own" children). In this context, the consequences of adults' treatment on children's welfare, and how the children perceive the situation in which they live, are the central issues.

---

[14] The fact that in Haiti, as in Morocco, the aspect of work, and economic dimensions of children's activities are discussed explicitly, does not necessarily indicate that children are treated in impersonal ways, devoid of affection and love. In western societies, money, work and labour are often associated with impersonal and/or "anonymous" settings, and in turn, distinguished from (and opposed to) a different sphere of family, personal ties, and the giving of gifts. This is problematic, as much commercial dealings and labour investment do take place within close personal relationships, and as all family life involves economic dealings (see e.g. Appadurai 1986; Parry & Bloch 1989). The oppositions seems to be based on European and North American family ideologies, in which it is almost a taboo to introduce money into relationships that are defined by personal ties, care taking, family life, and love. Moreover, the distinction is problematic in the Haitian context, as the organisation of livelihoods makes the household into the basic economic- or productive unit, and attributes several functions to family life.

Compensation for "Upkeep" by Children's Work or Parents' Contributions

The issue of remuneration is also closely connected with local classifications of different types of child relocation according to how the child's stay and upkeep is "compensated", i.e. through the child's work or through parents' payments to the new caretakers. In turn, this goes directly toward local understandings of what constitutes "fortunate" and "unfortunate" situations for children, to what parents regard as a child with "paid board" as opposed to a "child domestic" (*domestik*), and informs what is expected of the child in terms of workload.[15] This distinction seems to coinside with whether the purpose of sending the child is related to formal or informal education, and whether this purpose goes beyond what could be referred to as a "hope".

"Paid Board": Money Following the Child as Compensation for Upkeep

During fieldwork in rural areas, it was near to an unanimous description of own and others' practices that, in cases when a child is sent to stay with a new family with the explicit purpose of education, that it to say, when this purpose is something more than a hope, it will be known and agreed which school the child should go to, and the original parents will pay the school fees of the child, or regularly supply the receiving family with the funds for them to see to that the school fees are paid. In this case, they will also supply the family with money for the child's upkeep. The below case is one of several examples of this practice, and resembles more "paid board", where the child is placed as a tenant, than other forms of child relocation.[16]

---

[15] Other typologies of care taking can also be worked out, and typologies of local definitions of care taking arrangements, e.g. according to whether the child stays with relatives or "strangers", and parents' motivations for sending the child away. This will be discussed in later chapters, but we touch on some of the issues here.

[16] This may be the form of child relocation which E. Clesca (1984, according to UNICEF 1993: 39) refers to as "pennsionnaires" (in French, designating the children involved), and which he includes in his higher estimate of child domestics. If so, we do not readily agree that all children placed in such arrangements should best be described as "child domestics", and would rather claim that this remains an empirical question. At the same time, however, abuses of the parents' intention of the child's stay do occur, a point to which we will return later.

Maria's children

In the small community of Phaëton in the North-eastern Division, near Fort Liberté, Maria, a 49 year-old mother of seven children, tells us that four of her children live with her and her husband, and that their three other children live in Cap Haïtien. Of the four children who still live with her and her husband, the youngest goes to school in Phaëton, and the three others in Terrier Rouge. The school in Phaëton does not function on a regular basis (the zone only has two primary schools, and they function only rarely). For the three older children who still live at home, therefore, Maria and her husband have chosen to do as most parents in Phaëton, namely to let the children walk every day to Terrier Rouge to attend primary and secondary school, and return in the evenings. This, she says, is not ideal, as Terrier Rouge is some distance away from Phaëton. Often, the children leave very early in the morning, and do not arrive at the house until eight or nine o'clock in the evening.

However, in order to offer the children education after secondary school, they have to be sent to Fort Liberté, Cap Haïtien, or some of the other larger towns and cities, as the area has no such offer. This is the reason, Maria explains, that her three other children live in Cap Haïtien. Of the three children in Cap Haïtien, two live in families that are unrelated to Maria and her husband, and another with an aunt (the father's sister). Two of them go to a public school, and attend the last year ("la philo") and the second last year ("la retho") respectively. The third attends a private school.

Maria tells that all three of them go to school during the morning and daytime (i.e. not evening school). Maria and her husband pay their school fees, and send 40 Haitian dollars (200 Gourdes) each week to the two non-kin families ("strangers" – *etrangers*) with whom two of her children live, in order to compensate them for the extra costs they get from having the children living with them. Additionally, they send foodstuffs, like fish and milk. She also gives ten Haitian dollars to each child a week, as pocket money (which also has to cover school supplies, like writing pads, pens, etc).

Maria explains that she does not send as much money to the child who lives with an aunt, and generally, worries less about welfare, as the aunt helps them by providing the child with upkeep. Still, Maria and her husband pay the school fees each due date.

She visits the children each eighth day, when she goes to a market place near by. This is also when she delivers money and foodstuffs to the families and children.

According to Maria, all the three children do some chores in their respective households, as, she says: "When you live with someone, it's impossible to do nothing, or else the family will have to do all the work. Everyone has to work".

Maria adds that she thinks that the child who lives with the aunt is best off, and uses the aunt's home as a synonym with "home": "Living with a stranger, and living at home, is not the same. One has to accept certain situations [when living with a stranger]".

Thus, in this case, the mother sees her children each week, and in this way not simply hands over money, but also has the chance to check on them. According to Maria, it is expensive to send children in the way she and her husband have chosen to do, and it is a luxury not all parents can afford. Moreover, parents, and especially mothers, often expressed the view that sending children is an economic burden that they unfortunately cannot afford for all their kids.

This same attitude, that sending children for the explicit purpose of education is an expense that not all children are lucky to be granted, was echoed throughout the fieldwork. Information about just how this is arranged is also repeated. The below extracts from a discussion we had with a group of women show some of these redundancies, and illustrate the sharp distinction drawn to other forms of child relocation.

Plaine du Nord

While discussing children's place of living with a group of women in Plaine du Nord, several stories come up. In this community, there is one primary school, and one secondary school, the latter founded only the previous year.

Consequently, the women say, it was not until this year that they could allow their children to go to secondary school without sending them to the larger towns and cities. But still, in order for them to go to high school, they will have to go to Cap Haïtien, or even to Port-au-Prince. And parents often send children to towns for this purpose. In these cases, they find host families, related or unrelated to their children, who offer housing but in principle, nothing else. The child's original family covers all other expenses, which have to be handed over each eighth day. Each eight day then, they send foodstuffs, like chicken and vegetables, and charcoal, and pocket money for the children to cover all their other needs, like oil, soap, etc. One of the women says that this amount should be about 20 Haitian dollars (100 Gourdes), i.e. in addition to foodstuff, school fees, and other expenses that may arise.

Several of the women add that, in general, it is less costly to keep the children at home, but if keeping them home, there is the problem of school. And sending a child to a host family is costly, because the economic responsibility rests with the original family, even if the child stays with family members. And they stress that: "It happens that children are sent because the parents are not capable of keeping them ("*parents pas kapab*"), but this is something else, and then it's not for education".

Moreover, several parents we spoke with throughout the country expressed that they were sorry they did not have the money to send their children away for education. If they *had* had the money, they would certainly do so.

Generally, people emphasised that these arrangements are very different from *restavek*-situations. When the child is sent for purposes of education, where the family

of origin sends money for upkeep and school fees, the children are not "domestics". Among a group of parents in Phaëton, everyone also conveyed the impression that when money is *not* sent to cover the child's expenses, the child's education is left to the receiver's good will, and nothing else. However, when money *is* sent, it would be a complete breach of contract if the receiving family did not comply with the original family's wishes, i.e. they would receive money for something they did not deliver. Furthermore, as there are regular visits between child and original caretakers in these cases, as money or goods for the child's upkeep is often given weekly (a few people held that it was given monthly), these visits provide opportunities for parents to check on their child.

These cases of relocation, with the mutual agreement between original and receiving households about formal education, are different from cases when there is a *hope* that the child will go to school, when money is not provided for their education, and the education of the child rests on the good will of the receivers. Also, it is different from the cases when parents send a child to urban areas and explain that the child will receive informal training or obtain life experience.

The considerations on paid board do not, however, signify that arrangements of this kind are never abused. Also, parents' hopes or expectations of school attendance are not always fulfilled. This is a point to which we will return later.

"Compensating" for Upkeep by Work

The other, and opposite, extreme point of the continuum of relocation arrangements appears in cases when parents explain that they have sent children away as a result of not being able to care for them. On several occasions, we came across cases where the parents did not know where the child's new home was located. In these cases, the child is understood as paying for its own upkeep (i.e. for food, shelter, clothes) through contributing with work. Herskovits echoes this view, and its contrast, in his writings:

> Such a child [*'ti moun qui 'reté à caille 'oun*] repays the cost of keeping him by helping in the garden and by running errands. If his parents wish him to receive uninterrupted schooling at the secular or Catholic school, they must recompense the person responsible for the child for any cost this may be to him (Herskovits 1964 [1937]: 104).

The below case illustrates how the child's work services is seen as compensating the caretakers' expenses for food and clothes for the child, and in turn, how the parent represents this as a situation deriving from a crisis.

Jean Luc's children

We meet Jean Luc in a church in Phaëton. He comes to us because he has heard that we talk to people in the neighbourhood about their children. Jean Luc is 36 years old, and a father of six. The mother of his three oldest children, who are 12, ten, and eight years old, died eight years ago. The mother of the three youngest children left Jean Luc some time ago, and left the children with him. These latter children are now four, two and one years old. Now, four of the six children live with Jean Luc, and Jean Luc has the sole responsibility of supporting them. Two of his children by his deceased wife live in Port-au-Prince.

It is the ten and 8-year olds who live in Port-au-Prince. The girl of ten lives with a non-relative (*etranger*), who Jean Luc refers to as "a friend". Jean Luc tells that his friend was passing by during the holidays, and asked for the child. He adds: "He saw the child and felt pity for her" (*Li wè kè-l fè-l mal*). The child does not attend school, and performs household tasks in the family. At the same time, the friend gives her food and clothes ("*Li bay ti rad, li bay manjé*"). The family she lives with has three children, of whom two are older than Jean Luc's own daughter. Jean Luc has never visited her there, and says he does not "even" know the family's address.

The other child who lives in Port-au-Prince, she too a girl, is now eight years old. She lives with one of Jean Luc's brothers. Jean Luc's brother lives from selling lottery tickets. This daughter neither attends school. Instead, she performs tasks in the house, like laundry, cleaning in the house, and fetching water: "She is only a small child" (*se pa yon gran timoun*), he adds, indicating that these are the smaller tasks, or that she cannot do heavy tasks.

When we ask him a general question about what he thinks about relocated children's ("enfants deplacés") not going to school, he answers: "if they do not go to school, they will neither learn to read nor write. But they know other things, like doing the laundry, and cooking". He also adds that if the receiving families had had the means, they would have sent them to school.

Jean Luc expresses that he finds the situation especially difficult. He earns a living from fishing, but the income is not stable. Even so, we ask Jean Luc if there are advantages connected with his children living in households other than his. He says that, as he is a man, he cannot teach his two daughters to do [household] tasks, and that they are better off in Port-au-Prince in this regard. His main problem with the arrangement, he says, is the lack of visits. He misses his daughters. He seems embarrassed, and depressed with the situation, and says that it is "not good". He is struggling now to keep the four other children with him. He is fully aware of the fact that his two daughters in Port-au-Price do not go to school, and he does not send them money. And he says that had be been "capable", he would never have sent them to Port-au-Price at all.

Between the extreme points of paid board on the one hand, and work for upkeep on the other, there is a continuum of arrangements in which material prestations of a lesser value may be given to the child or the family with whom the child stays, and

where the purposes of sending the child is more diffuse. This is to say that the "agreement" between the original and receiving family, both in terms of material transfer and the purpose of the stay, is more informal or implicit than in cases of "paid board" mentioned above. They all share that the original families *hope for* some advantage for the child. Regardless of the purpose of the child stay, it is common for parents who visit their child to bring him or her foodstuffs or something "from home".

Rawson & Berggren refer to the practice of children receiving "room and board" (*billet*) in exchange for domestic service, and note that in some of these cases, the family of the child is additionally sent an amount of money (1973: 293). We did not encounter such cases, though in some instances, the present caretaker of the child will send foodstuffs or other "help" to the parents, which may be interpreted as another version of the same pattern. This was on a very irregular basis, however. When payments go *from* the present caretaker, it is usually in the form of salary to paid domestic servants (in this case children), who then dispose of the money according to their own will. Some of these young paid servants give parts of their salary to their parents, with reference to their "difficult situation".

The two extreme points of paid board on the one hand, and work for board, on the other, may be said to share a common feature in that the relationship between the child and the present caretaker is defined in terms of one function (i.e. it is seemingly uniplex in character), in the first case the function of board, in the second of work. For all intermediary cases, however, and in practice in all cases, several roles are fulfilled in relationships between child and caretaker (i.e. they are multiplex), as they also entail "care", "upbringing" (including sanctioning and punishment), etc. The fluid nature of kinship relations, and the multiple functions of labour, rearing and residential arrangements, contributes to making Haitian social organisation particularly complex in this respect.

The Concept of Child Domestic Labour in the Haitian Context

To summarise, the category of "Haitian child domestic workers" cannot be defined by any one trait. Delineation of the phenomenon must involve a complex of children's residence, workload, and schooling.

Firstly, on children's residence, a definition must include children who live away from their original parents. Importantly, the existence of kinship ties between a child

and its new guardians does not in itself contradict that the child in question should be regarded as a child domestic.

Secondly, the workload criterion must allow us to include children who perform household or other work to such an extent that it goes at the expense of schooling. This however, does not imply that lack of, or delays in, education should automatically be attributed to domestic service, and estimations in terms of the children's number of working hours must therefore be made. Furthermore, it makes no difference whether the child is paid or not, though we point out that paying "children in service" is very rare in Haiti.

Thirdly, the delineation must allow us to include children who do not attend school, or who have delays in schooling. The latter criterion involves that educational level has to be compared with age (i.e. if children have reached the level appropriate to their age). This implies that children who presently attend morning or evening school are included as long as they are delayed in their education and simultaneously "qualify" as child domestics according to the other criteria. Regarding age, we analyse findings on all children between the ages of five and 18 years, and also make an internal distinction at 14, in order to facilitate several estimations of extent.

As will be evident from the above, this complex of delineation easily leads into a tautological problem. If the concept of "child domestic worker" is defined in terms of lack of schooling and heavy workload, it would be a self-reference to later establish that child domestics' educational level is lower, and their workloads heavier, than those of other children. However, we have data to compare work hours and enrolment ratios of child domestics with those of other children, and to analyse internal differences between different categories of child domestics, e.g. according to gender and whether they stay in urban or rural areas. Furthermore, our delineations allow us to compare child domestics and other children according to the activities they undertake, and other living and working condition indicators.

With this in mind, we proceed to findings, and thus the details of the "criteria" of child domesticity, in order to estimate the extent of the phenomenon, and its characteristics. It should be kept in mind that, in this context, the definitions and associated criteria are established for this particular, and pragmatic purpose.

3 Extent and Demographic Characteristics of Haitian Child Domesticity

Jon Pedersen & Anne Hatløy

Introduction: Blurred Definitions, Exact Numbers?

As we have seen in Chapter 2, several criteria are needed in order to determine if a child can be categorised as a domestic worker or not. In both Haitian conceptions of *restavek* and relevant international conventions on child labour, compound definitions are implicitly or explicitly used.

It would have been convenient if households simply reported their number of child domestic workers when asked. To allow for this possibility, the HLCS did have an answer category in the question on household composition that identified *restaveks*. Among the children aged from six years to 17 years, the respondents volunteered 1.4 percent (or 32 000) as *restaveks*. In addition, 1.9 percent (42 000) of the children were reported as having no relation of kinship to the household head. Given the stigma associated with the term *restavek* in the current Haitian public debate, it is likely that the number is considerably underreported. Nevertheless, the reporting based on the question of household composition appears better than what the mothers report about the whereabouts of their children. In that case, about 12 000 children are reported as doing housework in other households. In contrast, the mothers report 85 000 children as being "adopted" by other people.

The criteria that were discussed in Chapter 2, namely the absence of parents, lack of education and work, are individually not sufficient to identify a child as a domestic child worker, but must be considered in combination. Nevertheless, two complications arise that both are related to intent and motivation.

The first complication is that the extreme combination, namely a child with a much higher than average workload, not living with parents and not attending school does not necessarily qualify the child as a child domestic worker, because the motivations behind the residence choice, work or lack of education may vary. For example,

the parents may be dead, and the receiving family very poor. What we then are faced with is an extremely vulnerable child and guardians that may try to handle a difficult situation as best as they can. Nevertheless, if a child is in a situation where the child is carrying out work, and this work interferes with education or damages health, then this would qualify as child labour under Convention 138 regardless of the intent of the guardians.

The second is the explicit question of motivation. If the child was delivered to the receiving family with a view to exploit the labour of the child, the child would obviously be a child domestic worker, and also in a relationship that is forbidden by the "1956 UN Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery". However, as discussed above, the question of motivation is difficult to ask, even though it is implied when someone explicitly designates a child as a *restavek*.

The Three Vulnerabilities: Living with No Parents, Inferior Education and Work

The above considerations mean that there is no simple way to come up with a single "right" estimate on the number of child domestic workers in Haiti. The best we can arrive at is to consider the combination of vulnerabilities that together makes it likely that a child should be considered a child domestic worker. To do so, we have first to consider the distribution of the basic vulnerabilities.

Of the total of 2.1 million children aged five to 17, 19 percent, or 401 000 live in households with neither mother nor father present (Table 1).

Table 1: Distribution of children not living with any parent by age

	Percent	Number (100's)
3-5	14	20
6-8	15	81
9-11	18	89
12-14	24	127
15-17	22	86
Total	19	401

School attendance is assessed here through considering enrolment and if enrolled, whether the child is at the stage that he or she should be according to age. Altogether, 61 percent or 1 290 000 of the children aged five to 17 have either never attended, are not currently enrolled or is behind their age group at school. At early ages, the problem consist mainly of no enrolment, while at older ages there is a mix of having never enrolled, falling behind, and drop-out (Table 2).[17]

Table 2: Enrolment of children by age (percent and 1000's)

	Never enrolled in school		Not currently enrolled		Lower class than age		Enrolled at correct stage		Unweighted n
	Percent	1000's	Percent	1000's	Percent	1000's	Percent	1000's	
5	36	53	1	2	12	19	51	75	763
6-8	24	136	4	23	26	146	45	252	2 733
9-11	15	77	4	22	36	179	44	222	2 488
12-14	14	73	6	31	48	254	32	168	2 567
15-17	9	35	13	50	50	189	28	106	1 915
Total	18	375	6	127	37	787	39	824	10 466

Since most Haitian children work, we have ranked weekly workload into five approximately equal sized groups[18] within age groups (Table 3). As can be seen, the workload is quite unequally distributed, with some children having quite heavy loads.

[17] Non-enrolment among children under six is not necessarily a result of heavy workload, as school is not compulsory for children under the age of six. However, the five to six-year-olds make up a very small group and do not affect the numbers.

[18] In principle the grouping is in quintiles, i.e. groups that each make up 20 percent of the distribution, but the distribution cannot be divided exactly into such groups because of the preponderance of some values (such as 0 and 1 hour worked).

Table 3: Children's weekly workload, in approximate quintiles of hours worked, by age

Age group (years)	Approximate quintile					Median
	1	2	3	4	5	
3 – 5	0	0	0	1 – 3	4 +	0
6 – 8	0	0	1 – 2	3 - 9	10 +	1
9 – 11	0	1 – 2	3 – 7	8 - 19	20 +	5
12 – 14	0	1 – 5	6 - 12	13 -27	28 +	8
15 – 17	0	1 – 7	8 - 16	17 - 33	34 +	11

One way to depict the simultaneous relation between residence, work and education is through correspondence analysis. This multivariate qualitative statistical technique aims at showing the association between several characteristics as a Cartesian graph, where the characteristics that are located close to each other on the plot go together. Thus, on the plot, it is clear that belonging to the group of children that does the least work, goes together with the focus on education, and also actual attendance. Put differently, children who do the least work are to a great extent the same as those who focus on their education and actually attend school. In general, there is a tendency too that small workload goes together with attending school, and few household chores (upper left quadrant of the plot), while in the lower right quadrant is found work and non-attendance.

While the figure does give support to the notion that work and school are contradictory activities, it is perhaps surprising that the child's residence with or without his or her parents does not make much of a difference for work or schooling. There are at least two possible interpretations: first, some children are sent away in order to go to school. Secondly, Haitian children who live with there parents also work.

The above does not mean that residence is irrelevant, it simple underlines the fact that several criteria are needed in order to identify the child domestic workers, and that being a domestic worker is not the only vulnerability a Haitian child may face.

The Number of Child Domestic Workers

If we combine the three characteristics: residence, school and work, we find that 173 000 children, or 8.2 percent of the child population aged five to 17 years can be considered child domestic workers. Obviously, the few below-eighteens that have established their own households are excluded. For estimation purposes we considered those children having a workload belonging to one of the three highest groups

as having a heavy load (the workloads in each quintile depends on age, see Table 3). If we make the work criteria more stringent, and consider only the two upper quintiles of workload, we arrive at a figure of 124 000 or 5.9 percent.

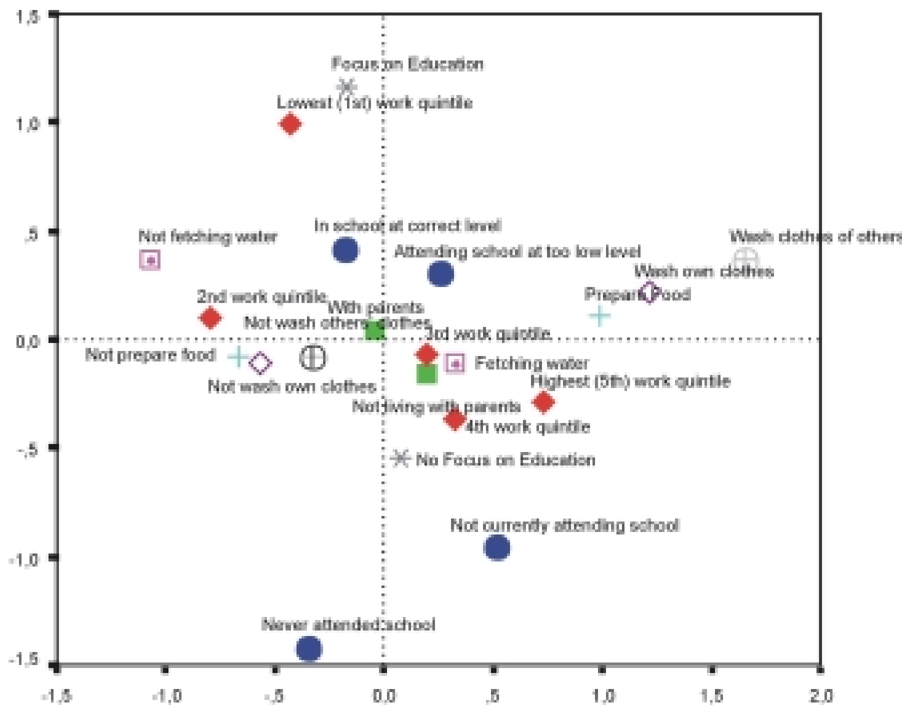

Figure 2: Correspondence analyses of education, workload and co-residence of children and parents (each symbol signifies a type of activity, or analytical variable)

The various international conventions that pertain to child labour use different age limits, in particular less than 15 and less than 14. There are 134 000 child domestic workers less than 15 years of age (7.7 percent of the population 5-14) and 115 000 (7.3 percent) child domestic workers less than 14 years of age. These estimates too are based on the upper three quintiles.

How do these figures compare to previous estimations of the number of child domestic workers in Haiti? In general, most estimates fall in the region of 100 to 200 thousand children.

Table 4: Various estimates of child domestic workers in Haiti (age in completed years)

Source and year	Estimate (1000's)	Age group	Based on
HLCS 2001 High	173	5 – 17 years	National sample: residence, workload and education
HLCS 2001 Low	124	5 – 17 years	National sample: residence, workload and education
HLCS 2001 High	134	5 – 14 years	National sample: residence, workload and education
HLCS 2001 High	115	5 – 13 years	National sample: residence, workload and education
Emmus III 2001	?	?	?
UNICEF 1993	130	0 – 15 years	Sample of 1117 children in 3 towns adjusted to whole population
Dorélien 1982	110	5 – 17 years	Estimated from self reporting of household composition in 1982 Census of Haiti
Clesca 1982 – I	120	6 – 15 years	Not clear
Clesca 1982 - II	240	6 – 15 years	Doubling of Clesca 1982 – I based on inclusion of relatives and lodgers/tenants.

Sources: UNICEF 1993; Dorélien 1990; Clesca 1984; Macro International 2002.

Dorélien's 1982 estimate (Dorélien 1990), while lower than the others, may in some ways be considered as high. The variable that was used for his estimation was simply the number of children reported as "*Moun ki rét ak moun yo*", i.e. children living in the household apart from own children and grandchildren. Thus, it is more or less the same variable as we in HLCS find that give very low numbers. This most likely means that the propensity to report domestics has declined since 1982. If this was not the case, there would have been a large reduction in domestics during the last 20 years.

A complication in the comparison of the figures, and indeed of the present estimation itself, is the total child population. As discussed in the Appendix, the total (and by extension child) population in Haiti is not well known, and the HLCS does give lower estimates than some other sources. While we have adjusted the HLCS estimate to be consistent with the US Bureau of the census estimate of the population, there is considerable room for uncertainty. For example, if the current IHSI projection of the population is used as basis for the estimation, then the number of child domestic workers would be around 206 000.

Characteristics of Child Domestic Workers: Distribution, Gender and Age

In general, child domestic workers are found all over Haiti (Figure 3). The differing density of child domestic workers shown on the map to some extent reflects the population densities of the various departments. In particular, child domestic workers are found in Artibonite, Nord, and Ouest.

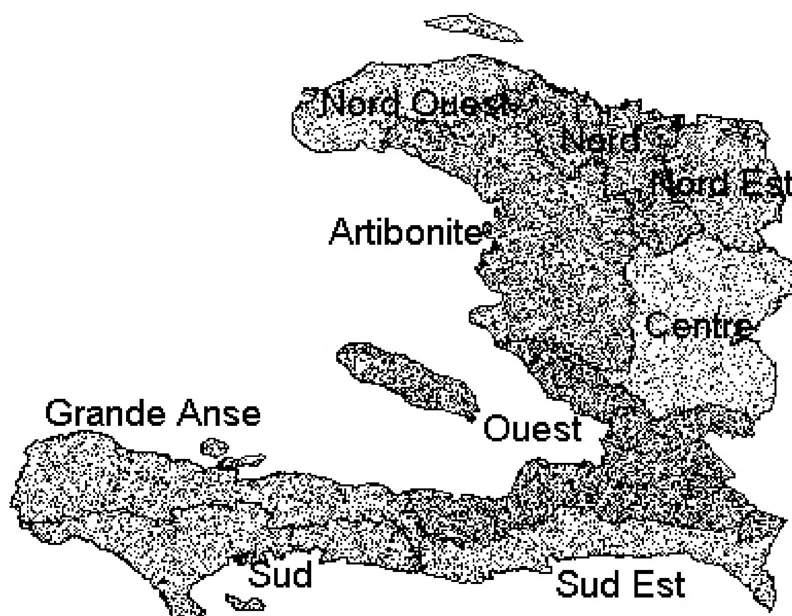

Figure 3: Distribution of child domestic workers in Haiti. One dot corresponds to 100 children.

In general, the child domestics are proportionally represented in rural and urban areas, with about 73 percent living in rural areas. If considering the proportion of child domestics of the total child population in urban and rural areas, the percentages are about the same. There are, nevertheless, some differences between the percentages of the child population accounted for by child domestic workers between the departments and also between urban and rural areas (Table 5). One should, however, be wary of over-interpretation, since the sample sizes for some of the departments are very small.

Table 5: Percentage child domestic workers aged 5-17 by department ("department") and urban-rural area

	Rural	Urban
Ouest	6	9
Sud'Est	13	9
Nord	5	8
Nord'Est	7	4
Artibonite	7	9
Centre	7	10
Sud	11	15
Grande Anse	11	6
Nord'Ouest	9	13

The geographic distribution of child workers can also be regarded in terms of the absolute numbers rather than in terms of density or percentages. When we do so, we see that by virtue of its large population, the department of the Ouest, which includes the Aire Métropolitaine (the greater Port-au-Prince area) accounts for a large proportion of the child domestic workers. A particular feature of the urban domestics in general is that, to a large extent, they are girls (Figure 4).

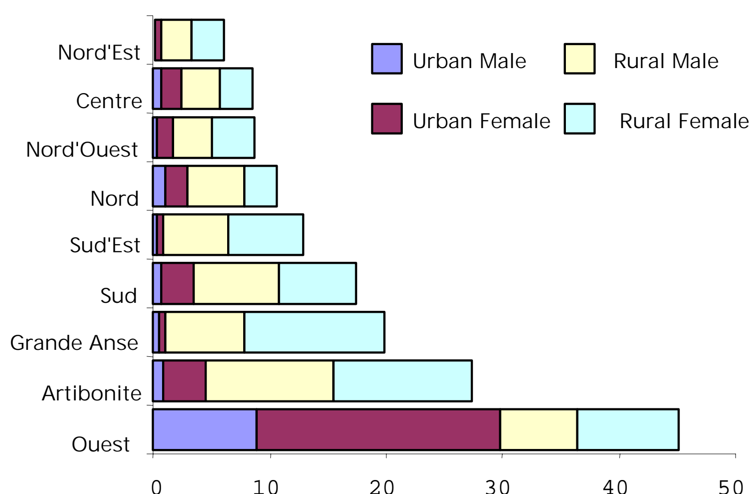

Figure 4: Distribution of child domestic workers by department, gender and place of residence (1000's)

In general, there are more girls (59 percent) than boys (41 percent) that we classify as domestic child workers. The percentage resembles that found in previous studies. For example, Dorélien (1990: 1) found 60 percent girls in the 1982 census, and

UNICEF (1993: 39) recounts that the different studies present percentages of girls between 60 and 80 percent. To some extent, the difference between the different studies may be due to urban or rural bias. In the HLCS, it turns out that while the urban areas have 72 percent girls, the rural have 53 percent.

Table 6: Distribution of child domestics according to gender and place of residence (percent)

	Males	Females
Urban	28	72
Rural	47	53
Overall	41	59

In general the domestic child workers mimic the rest of the population as regards place of births, and thus, the majority is born in rural areas. However, when the genders are considered separately, female child domestic workers more often come from the towns than do other children, and male child domestic workers come somewhat more often from countryside than other children (Table 7).

Table 7: Place of birth, children aged 5 to 17

	Not child domestic worker		Child domestic worker		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total
Rural	68	68	73	58	68
Urban	32	32	27	42	32
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Unweighted Valid N	4 922	4 716	371	501	10 510

It is difficult to say clearly why this pattern appears, especially because it is difficult to say much about the migratory patterns of child domestics. This is the case because the occurrence in the survey sample of child domestics who have moved from their place of birth is low (about two thirds of children living without parents present in the household were born into their present homes). We return to the issue of child domesticity and gender in the next chapter.

Turning to age, the age distributions of the child domestic workers are strikingly dissimilar from that of other children (Figure 5). The overall age distribution of other children shows the expected decline from young to high ages, while the domestic child workers are most preponderant after age 12.

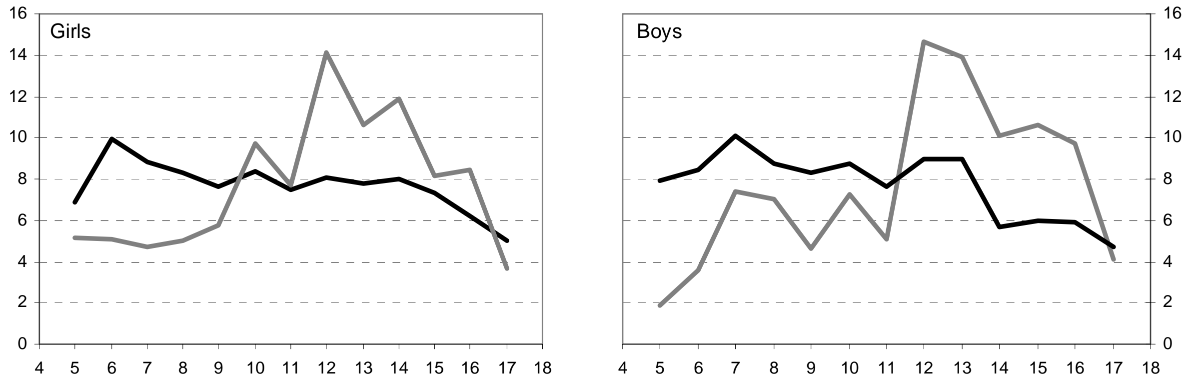

Figure 5: Distribution of child domestic workers and other children by age and sex. Grey lines are child domestic workers, black lines are other children (percent of children aged 5 to 17 within each group)

This implies that many children become domestics at the age of 12 years. We can but speculate about the background for this pattern. One reason may be that many children leave school after having completed their sixth year of education. Another, and perhaps complementary reason may be that children are more able to perform household chores at this age than when they are younger.

The Demographic Dynamics of Child Domesticity

Child domestic work and children's changing residence away from their parental household depend to some extent on the overall demographic situation and development of a society. A somewhat paradoxical pattern is revealed when household size is considered. First, it appears that both small and large households receive children, and second, both large and small households give away children. Several mechanisms explain these patterns.

First, on the receiving end, both small and large households may have a need for children. The small have a need because they do not have any children that can work. The large have a need because they have a large need for work, and because – perhaps – they prefer that their own children go to school.

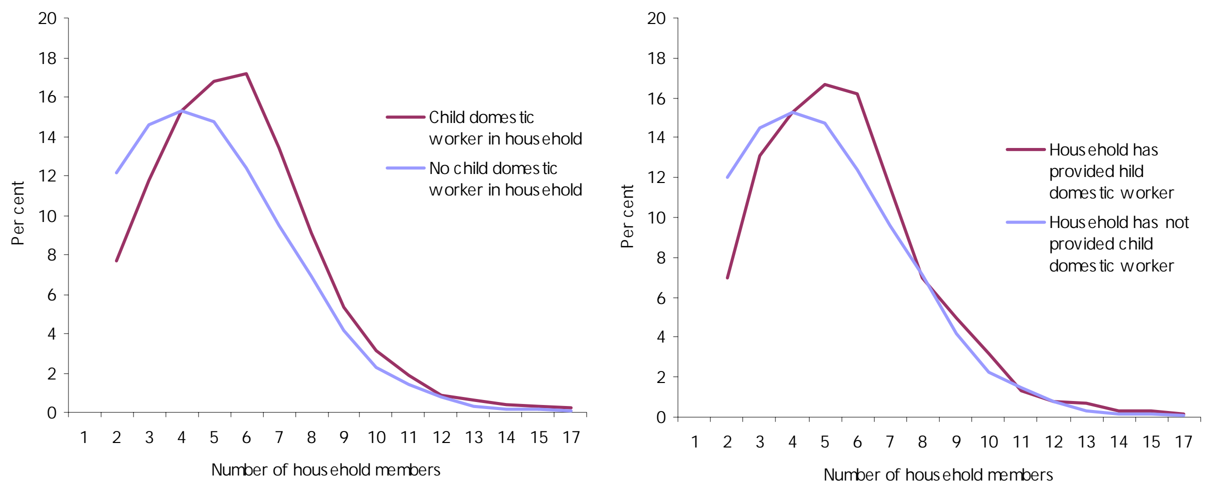

Figure 6: Household size for receiving (left) and providing (right) households. Running means.

Second, on the providing end, if use of children's work is an asset to households, providing households may fall into the trap of not only giving away "surplus" children, but also children that they may need themselves. Nevertheless, both median and mean household sizes are bigger for households involved in transactions with child domestic workers. Thus, the providing households give away their "surplus" of children compared to the other households, while the receiving households obtain a "surplus".

The relation between child domesticity and households size points to the importance of fertility for the development of the institution of child domesticity. During the last 20 years, fertility rates have been dropping in Haiti, and the current Total Fertility Rate (TFR) of about 4.7 children per woman is, for example, about one child lower than five years ago. If the trend continues, Haiti will follow other countries and arrive at fertility levels at or below what is needed for replacement of the population in the long run.

The effect of reduced fertility on the age distribution of the population is already clearly seen (

Figure 7). Thus, the age group below five years is now smaller than the five to nine year group, and the five to nine year group has approximately the same size as the ten to 14 age group. Accordingly, in about five more years the number of children in the ten to 14 age group will start to become fewer than the number in the previous cohort. The ten to 14 group is, as we have seen, the age group in which the majority of child domestic workers is found.

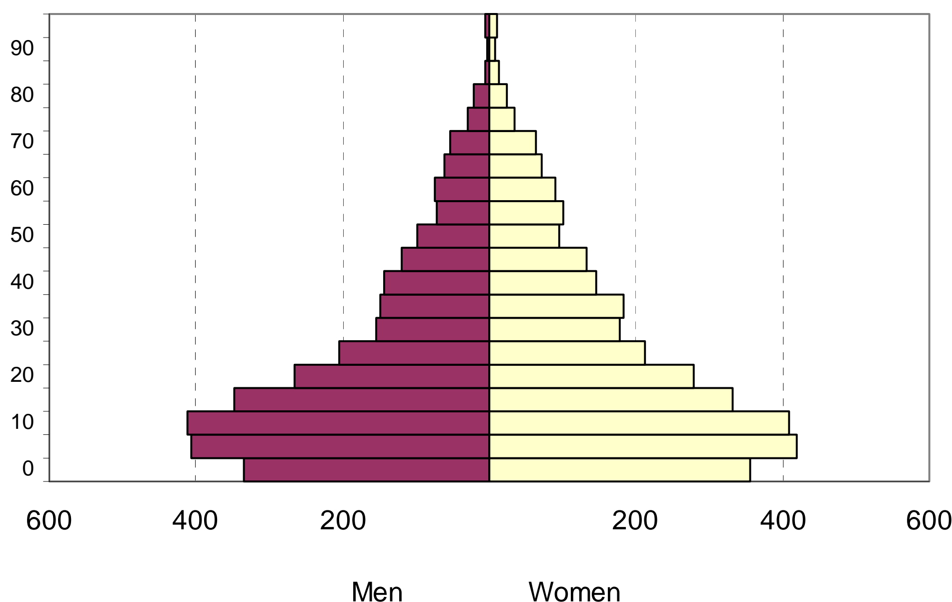

Figure 7: Age distribution of Haiti (1000's)

Accompanying these changes, the older age groups will continue to grow in size for several years, as the legacy of past high fertility moves upward in the population pyramid. As people marry or move together, the consequence will be many new households, and presumably an increased demand for child domestic workers.

Therefore, assuming that other factors stay the same, the future holds a reduction in number of potential domestic workers and increasing demand. Since it appears that the gender bias in child domesticity in Haiti is comparatively slight (overall 59 percent girls and 41 percent boys), the effect of reduced fertility (on the pool of potential child workers) will not be as quick as in countries where there is a preference for one or the other gender. The exception will be the potential supply of girls to the towns, since child domestics in towns are predominantly girls.

While the long-term effect of these trends probably will be that the importance of child domesticity and other forms of fosterage are likely to be reduced, the short term effects of the next five to ten years are not so clear. Since the demand for children is likely to increase, one would expect prices, or costs involved also to increase, i.e. that employers will have to offer children something in return for service. This may in turn either completely or partially compensate for the reduction in the pool of potential workers by leading to a higher percentage of the children being turned into domestics.

4 Living and Working Conditions of Child Domestic Workers

Tone Sommerfelt, Anne Hatløy & Jon Pedersen

This chapter assesses the living and working conditions of child domestics. It includes descriptions of their workloads and types of activities, educational situation, and various other aspects, such as health situation, sleeping facilities, punishment, and clothing. Findings on child domestic workers are compared with findings on non-child domestic workers throughout the text, and the urban-rural dimension and gender make additional comparative axes.

We also describe experiences of lives as domestic workers, as recorded during our qualitative fieldwork. Listening to present and former child domestic workers telling about their lives, and observing them while they do so, gives a complex image of experiences of domesticity. Descriptions range from hardship and abuse; via contentment; to images of childhoods not different from those depicted by children who live with their parents. Many stories from children reflect the image of child domestics as underprivileged, in part or in full.

Getting access to children's experiences poses methodological problems of a particular kind. Admitting to feel discontent often appears as a kind of reflection which some of these children cannot grant themselves. In these cases, which especially are linked to cases in which contact with parents has been broken, or only takes place on an irregular basis, children seem to comfort themselves with "feeling good". With time, memories of childhood also change. Accounts from former domestics who reconstruct their experiences do thus not represent direct testimonies.

At the same time, children's representations of their situations give intakes to their lived experience, especially when the representations are combined with information from observations of the children in their homes, of how they go about their daily routines and the ways in which they relate to other household members. Accounts from children and observations of them in their present homes also illustrate the variation lying behind figures and numbers, or put differently, they show the multitude of living arrangements that generate the social patterns depicted by way of statistical analysis.

Working and Living Conditions

Before assessing patterns in working activities, living conditions, and experiences of them, we reproduce the story of a young boy in Port-au-Prince. Alexandre told us about his past life as a child domestic, and the hardships he had been through. His story also illustrates a pattern of continual changes of homes.

Alexandre

Alexandre is about 12 years old, originally from a village in the North East. His parents died when Alexandre was two years old. After his parents' death, his grandmother cared for him. Eventually, his grandmother died. Alexandre cannot tell how old he was at this point.

After his grandmother's death, Alexandre moved to his uncle (mother's brother). After some time, Alexandre's uncle got married, and had two daughters and one son by his wife. The three children all attended school when they reached the proper age, but Alexandre did not. He once asked his uncle to send him to school, but his uncle refused, arguing that:

> You have to work. You will [have to] earn money to pay for your schooling (*Se pou ale travay. Wa fè lajan pou peye lekol ou*).

Alexandre tells that while with his uncle, he carried water, brought the cattle to the pastures, went to the market, and had some other tasks as well.

Alexandre describes the relationship to his uncle's wife as difficult. He was beaten and maltreated ("*maltrete*") for the smallest thing. The uncle's wife would complain to her husband, who in turn would beat Alexandre "some more". On one occasion, his uncle beat him to a point where a neighbour intervened. Alexandre quotes his neighbour, who said that:

> This boy was living with you before your wife. You love your wife much more than him (*Ti gason an te avèk ou anvan fanm lan. Ou pi renmen fanm nan pase li*).

Alexandre tells that the uncle and his wife bought many things for their children and nothing for him. He would walk barefoot and dirty in the village. Faced with these conditions and the maltreatment, Alexandre explains, he decided to run away to find refuge with his godmother in Cap Haitien. At this time, Alexandre also says that he wanted to go to his godmother in order to go to school. When he got to Cap Haitien, however, Alexandre could not locate her house, and had to return to his uncle.

Later, a daughter of his godmother came to the village, and Alexandre decided to go with her to the godmother's house. The godmother, a mother of six children, was in no way able to keep him in her house, as things were hard enough as they were. She therefore proposed to send him to Port-au-Prince, to

someone who needed a little boy. As she did not yet have the money for transport, one of her friends placed him in the house of an old lady in Cap Haitien.

After three months, the old woman placed him with yet another family, and Alexandre recalls that it was in a house with a balcony. The family members told him that under absolutely no pretext was he to run away. In the house, Alexandre performed different chores, among them carrying water and looking after a little boy.

Alexandre tells that one day, he lost one of two Gourdes that the woman of the house had given to him for him to buy something in the marketplace. Alexandre addressed this woman as "mother" – *manmi*. He told the "mother" of the house what had happened. She got angry, and told him to return her money.

Alexandre turned to the old lady with whom he had stayed earlier, who gave him the Gourde to replace the one he had lost, and then beat him. Alexandre returned to the house, and gave the "mother" the one Gourde.

Later the same day, while having a meal, the "mother" ordered him to clean her son, who had defecated on the floor. Alexandre stopped eating, cleaned the boy, and picked up the excrements from the floor. Alexandre explains that he now lost his appetite and could not eat the rest of his food. When he refused to eat, the "mother" beat him. The next day, Alexandre ran away.

While living with the various families in Cap Haitien, running errands and going to the market place, Alexandre had gotten to know children who lived in the streets. Alexandre now joined them. However, as it was difficult to earn enough to eat, he and some friends in the streets, who were familiar with Port-au-Prince, decided to go to Port-au-Prince on the back of a bus. Since then, Alexandre has lived in the Portail Léogâne area of Port-au-Price. For some time now, he has been frequenting an educational centre for street children.

The story told by Alexandre is not exceptional. Alongside other stories from children, it contributes to a composite image of child domestics' experiences. The case below, for instance, is different in many essential respects. Fabienne was enrolled to school after arriving in her new home.

Fabienne

Fabienne is now 21 years old, and still lives in the outskirts of the town of Les Cayes with Mme Rosefa, the woman with whom she has stayed with for the past ten years, and who is not her birthmother. She was born and spent her first years in a rural village in the region.

Fabienne refers to Mme Rosefa as her aunt ("*matant*"). She tells that Rosefa enrolled her to school. She finished her sixth year in primary school, and for the past three years, she has attended a professional school, and studied sowing and embroidery, floral art and baking. She is thus in the process of finishing her ninth year of schooling.

Fabienne tells that it was her uncle who brought her to Rosefa, as her own mother was very poor, ill, and had the burden of supporting all her seven children by herself. Fabienne's mother had also lost her hearing. She has no

money, Fabienne explains, and would not have had the money to send her to school. She has an older sister who works as a (paid) servant in Port-au-Prince, and another sister still living in the countryside, who is now 17 years old and in the process of finishing her sixth year in primary school. Her uncle pays her sister's school fees. Fabienne is not clear on whether her other sisters and brothers attend school, or on whether or not they live with their mother. She says that Mme Rosefa took her in because she needed help with household tasks, but also because she wanted to help Fabienne's mother and Fabienne.

Earlier, Fabienne used to do cleaning, cooking, and washed clothes. Now, however, she is "too old" for this, and has no chores any longer. Rosefa confirms this, and says that you cannot tell a young woman, who is old enough to get married, to do a "child's tasks". Also, she adds, Fabienne is very busy preparing for her final exam and spends much of the morning in school. Rosefa and Fabienne eat together in the evening time, when the two other children who also stay with Rosefa attend evening school.

The two other children who stay with Rosefa are younger than Fabienne. The girl is 11 years old, and has taken over most of Fabienne's duties. The boy, who is 16, helps Rosefa in the garden, and sells bananas and coconuts for her in the market place.

Rosefa's house has two rooms. In the room facing the porch, Rosefa and Fabienne sleep, Rosefa in a separate bed, and Fabienne in a bed she shares with the younger girl in the house. The young boy sleeps in the second room.

Fabienne tells that she visits her mother from time to time. Last August, she went to see her mother and other relatives, and spent three months with them.

After her graduation, she does not know what to do, as Rosefa can no longer support her: "She will tell me to care for myself, to get a job and help my relatives in the countryside". Fabienne says that she can arrange for earning a bit of money from baking or other activities, or from commerce, but adds that: "I don't have anything to sell and *matant* [Rosefa] cannot help me, she is getting old and has no money".

Fabienne does not seem "shocked" by the fact that Rosefa cannot keep her any longer, she rather expresses this as a matter of fact. She emphasises that she does not work in the house, and that she is a grown-up now. As she will sooner or later leave anyway (for marriage), Rosefa has had to get new kids. Now, they are too many in the house for Rosefa to support.[19]

Activities and Workload of Child Domestics

Alexandre tells that his tasks in his different homes consisted of carrying water, tending animals, running errands, caring for children, and cleaning. Fabienne explains that she used to clean, wash clothes, and cook, but that she also focused on her educa-

[19] We follow the case of Fabienne and Rosefa in the next chapter.

tion. The other boy who stays in Fabienne's household works in the garden, and assists Mme Rosefa with selling garden products in the market place.

Our HLCS-results show that child domestics to a larger extent than other children take part in all activities, except from focusing on their own education. There is no activity that is carried out exclusively by child domestic workers (Figure 8).

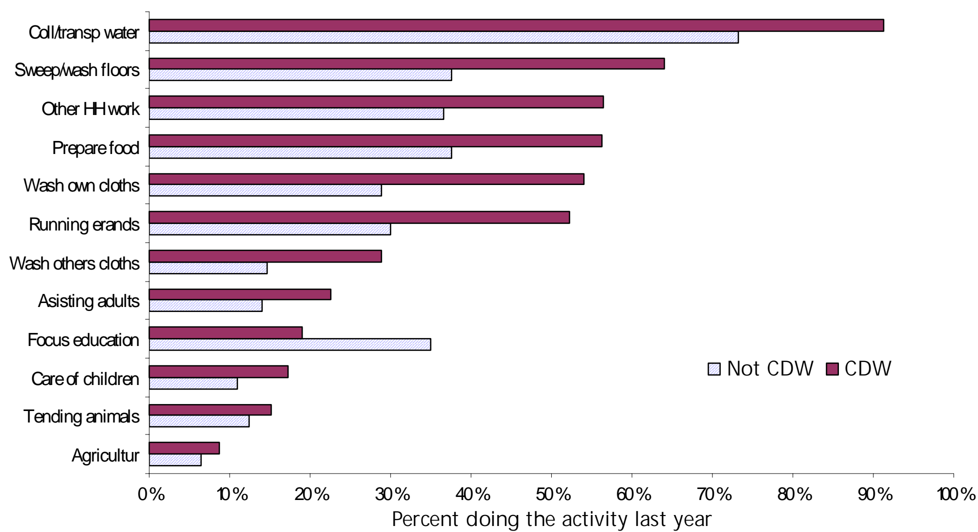

Figure 8 Activities carried out last year

Furthermore, we find that child domestics' activities vary more between boys and girls, than between urban and rural areas (Table 8). There are no significant differences in activities reported for the child domestic workers the last year and the last week (Table 8 and Table 9). Washing clothes and preparing food is more often the task of the girl than the boy domestic (and very few boy domestics wash the clothes of others). Tending to animals and participating in agriculture are rural activities mostly performed by boys.

Table 8 Activities carried out by child domestic workers last year by sex and location (%)

Activities last 12 months	Urban		Rural	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Fetch/transport water	90,7	91,8	91,4	95,1
Sweep/wash floors	73,0	86,6	45,0	68,1
Wash own clothes	36,3	76,3	29,9	68,3
Run errands	71,8	76,2	39,6	46,9
Prepare food	34,2	68,3	45,3	65,8
Other HH work	59,2	62,5	53,3	57,2
Wash others' clothes	4,3	50,5	8,9	40,3
Focus on education	16,8	34,8	16,0	12,3
Care for children	26,8	25,4	8,3	18,7
Assist adults	35,9	25,3	23,0	18,5
Tend animals	3,2	0,6	38,5	6,0
Agriculture		0,3	22,1	4,1

Table 9 Activities carried out by child domestic workers last week by sex and location (%)

Activities last week	Urban		Rural	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Fetch/transport water	90,9	91,8	90,2	94,2
Sweep/wash floors	65,6	82,1	38,8	61,5
Wash own clothes	36,4	70,9	23,7	62,5
Run errands	51,0	73,9	31,1	37,7
Prepare food	34,6	67,5	39,7	62,0
Other HH work	38,9	57,5	51,5	54,1
Wash others' clothes	3,6	44,1	7,3	34,3
Focus on education	13,8	30,2	11,6	10,1
Care for children	18,0	24,2	6,4	13,8
Assist adults	32,3	21,6	20,3	14,6
Tend animals	1,2	0,0	34,6	4,2
Agriculture	0,6	1,3	18,1	3,5

The tables show that to a certain extent, the gender distribution among child domestics reflects the organisation of work in more general terms. Women and girls thus dominate in the activities that are the most closely associated with household work

(like washing clothes and preparing food). At the same time, it is important to point out that this gendered organisation of work is mediated by the urban-rural dimension: In the rural area, the activities are more clearly distinguished according to gender than in the urban areas.

The pattern that appears when studying activities in this manner thus gives an intake to analyse the gender distribution among child domestics in urban and rural areas. One may recall from Chapter 3 that we found an overall percentage of 59 percent girls and 41 percent boys, but that the distribution varies in a more profound way when looking at urban areas more specifically, where girls make up 72 percent of the domestics, and boys 28 percent. The gender distribution in rural areas, on the other hand, is more even, with 53 percent girls and 47 percent boys.

Now, the pattern of boys engaging in agriculture and animal tending may partly explain the fact that the gender distribution is much more even in rural areas than in urban areas. Agriculture and animal tending are rural activities, and the "need" for boys' assistance in this field is hence greater in the rural area. Correspondingly perhaps, there is a marked difference between boys in the rural and urban area with respect to engaging in childcare: Boys in the rural area do not to the same extent as boys in the urban area care for children. The same tendency appears with respect to sweeping and washing floors: Fewer boys in the rural area than in the urban area are reported as engaging in this task. In the urban areas, on the other hand, the "need" for assistance to tasks associated with boy domestics (like animal tending and agriculture) is very low. In turn, this contributes to explaining why girls outnumber boys in urban areas.

Though child domestics generally focus less on education than other children, we find that in the urban areas, more girl than boy domestics is reported as focusing on education. This is a paradox, as the overall figures (i.e. regardless of urban-rural status) show that girl domestics work more than the boys. We will return to the issue of education below. Regarding workload, it derives from the definition of child domestics that they work more than other children in the same age group. Although the number of hours worked last week was thus used in the definition of the child domestic workers, we can estimate the median of work hours reported last week (Table 10).

Table 10 Median number of hours worked in the household last week

	Urban				Rural				ALL
	Male		Female		Male		Female		
Age-group	Non CDW	CDW	Non CDW	CDW	Non CDW	CDW	Non CDW	CDW	
5-6	0	1	0	10	0	5	0	8	0
7-8	1	4	0	8	2	8	3	6	2
9-10	1	4	1	14	4	10	6	19	4
11-12	1	16	4	16	6	19	11	21	7
13-14	2	11	6	23	8	25	12	20	9
15-17	3	22	7	31	9	21	19	33	11

As can be seen from Table 10, female child domestic workers work more than male. Furthermore, the median of hours worked last week is profoundly higher among child domestics than non-child domestics. As mentioned, this is partly related to the definition used to estimate the extent of child domesticity.

In sum, a main characteristic of child domestics is that they participate in all work activities in the household, and that education is the only activity in which they engage less than other children.

Education

Educational level was used as one of the criteria for defining child domestic workers, and the enrolment ratio among child domestics is therefore lower than among other children. Nevertheless, there are differences within the group of child domestics. Figure 9 shows that there is a difference between the female and male child domestic workers. For the boys, the enrolment rate increases by age all the way up to 17 years, whereas for the girl domestics, the enrolment rate decreases form the age of 14.

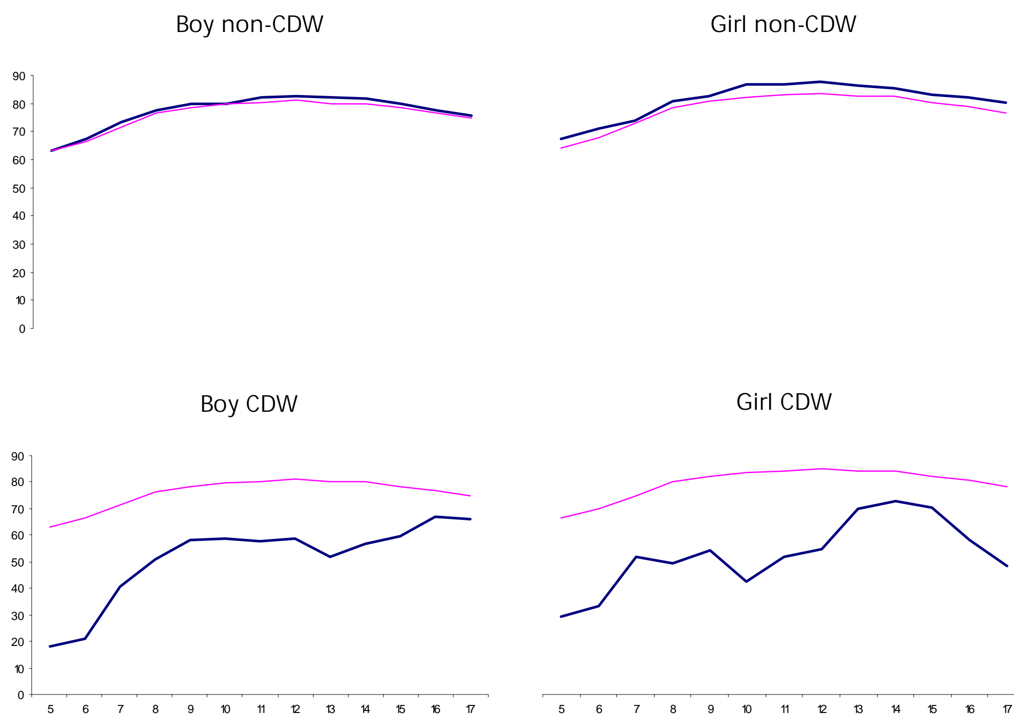

Figure 9: Percentage of children enrolled by age according to sex and child domestic worker-status (Bold line signifies percentage currently enrolled, grey line signifies overall current enrolment)

However, overall enrolment is not much different between male and female domestic child workers, either in urban or rural areas.

A comparison between children living with and without their parents and child domestic workers is also important. As it is part of the definition, child domestic workers score lowest on enrolment. At the same time, however, *other* children who live away from their parents (i.e. who are not identified as child domestic workers), have higher and better enrolment than children who live with their parents (Table 11).

Table 11: Enrolment by residence with parents and child domestic worker status

	Not living with parents			
	Not child domestic worker	Child domestic worker	Living with parents	All
Never attended school	10	29	16	16
Not currently enrolled	4	11	5	6
Enrolled at lower grade than age implies	25	60	38	38
Enrolled at correct grade for age	61		41	40
All	100	100	100	100
Unweighted Valid N	1 160	862	8 444	10 466

This pattern lends credence to the parents' contention that children are sometimes sent away to ensure their education. The non-child domestics who live away from their parents who are identified here as having higher and better enrolment than children who live with their parents may be living in arrangements of "paid board", as described in Chapter 2.

In sum, the combination of heavier workload and lower enrolment contributes to the image of child domestic workers as a vulnerable group. Within the group of child domestics, it is difficult to determine the effects of girls' heavier workload on their educational situation and prospects, particularly because we find that urban girls focus more on their education than the other categories of child domestics.

Clothing, Hours of Sleep, Health and Parental Contact

Turning to other indicators of living conditions, we find that in urban areas, children who are not child domestics receive new clothes more often than child domestic workers.

Table 12 Percentage that received new clothes last three months

	Urban		Rural	
	Non-CDW	CDW	Non-CDW	CDW
Male	19.0	16.2	12.9	12.3
Female	19.8	12.7	15.0	16.5

This pattern supports a generally held notion about child domestics. Often, child domestic workers take over the clothes of other children in the household, or they receive second-hand clothes from other sources.

The heavier workload of child domestic workers compared to non-child domestics is not reflected in their reported hours of sleep per night (Table 13). Among urban girl domestics, however, there is a slight difference compared to other child domestics and non-child domestics.

Table 13 Mean hour of sleep per night

	Urban				Rural			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
Age-group	Non CDW	CDW	Non CDW	CDW	Non CDW	CDW	Non CDW	CDW
5-6	10.2	11.1	10.2	9.5	10.6	10.9	10.6	10.3
7-8	9.8	9.6	10.0	9.8	10.4	10.4	10.4	10.4
9-10	9.7	10.4	9.7	9.4	10.1	10.3	10.2	10.4
11-12	9.5	9.5	9.4	9.2	10.1	9.9	10.1	10.4
13-14	9.2	9.4	9.3	9.2	9.9	10.0	10.0	9.5
15-17	9.2	8.9	9.1	8.8	9.7	9.6	9.7	10.0

It is difficult to explain this difference in hours of sleep among the urban girl domestics. It is true that they work more than their male counterparts (in urban areas), but they do not work considerably more than girl domestics in the rural area. At the same time, the difference in hours of sleep is so moderate that it is impossible to make univocal generalisations.

Data on acute illness or injuries during the past two weeks were collected in the HLCS through the household questionnaire. The data show that the child domestic workers in general were reported as having about the same amount of injuries and acute illness as other children. It is difficult to evaluate these data, but there is no obvious reason why caretakers would under-communicate injuries and illness among child domestic workers, as questions were posed with reference to all children in the household, regardless of their status.

Now, we turn to parental contact. Most of the children who live in domesticity have parents who are still alive, and the majority of these children stay in touch with their parents. There is a significant difference between urban and rural child domestics in terms of actual visits from parents (estimated on the basis of visits last year). Fewer rural child domestics are visited by parents than child domestics who live in the urban areas. Among the urban and rural girls, about 40 percent were not visited

by their parents last year, and neither were about 55 percent of the rural boys (Table 14). The urban boy domestics stand out, with about 85 percent being visited by parents last year.

Table 14 Child domestic workers' parental contact (in percent)

	Urban		Rural	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Mother/father still alive	84.2	86.8	72.6	86.6
Received news from parents last year (parents alive)	89.1	82.0	75.9	84.1
Visit from biological parents last year (parents alive)	84.5	62.9	46.4	60.8
May return to parents (parents alive)	27.1	32.3	32.4	40.1

Inability to afford transport costs may be a barrier for parents to visit their children. Additionally, and according to accounts given by adults (in the qualitative fieldwork), a barrier for parental contact is that parents are expected to bring their children something from their home area when visiting. This "something" is usually foodstuff, like eggs, fruit, or the like, and is connected with a norm regarding travelling in more general terms: When visiting, or travelling, you bring something (several of the stories from different parties to relationships of domesticity presented later also reflect this pattern). Many present caretakers held that many parents, due to their economic situation, cannot afford to bring anything, and that they find this embarrassing and hence rather stay away, and instead exchange news with their children through others.

Significantly, depending on residence and gender, 30 to 40 percent of the child domestic workers who have parents still alive are reported as expected to return to their parents, or that they may do so (Table 14). This may indicate that the remaining 60 to 70 percent expect to stay with their current caretakers, or other caretakers, until they are ready to set up their own households, or get married. It may also indicate that the relationship to the original parents is no longer regarded as the child's most important bond. However, it is recorded that child domestic workers living in rural areas to a greater extent than urban domestics may return to their parents, in spite of the fact that they to a lesser degree than their urban counterparts are visited by their parents.

For Alexandre (above), living in the streets was a better option than staying with the family he was last with. Children who have left abusive circumstances often reflect the same view. Children who still live in domesticity, on the other hand, only seldom express that they would rather go back to their original home, or live elsewhere: During fieldwork, we encountered only one child who said so explicitly.

Other children, even those living under difficult circumstances, would avoid the issue, in part also because moving was not an option. The HLCS-results that 60 to 70 percent of children are not expected to return to their parents may also be a reflection of this pattern.

Children who tell about difficult circumstances during stays with families usually focus on the issue of being beaten and punished in various ways. By punishment in this context, they also refer to scolding, being put to tasks they do not want to perform, or that they find repulsive. Moreover, it is most basically a feeling of not being a member of an emotional community in the family. This is to say that even though other children in (or of) the family may also be punished by beating; the experience of being beaten may be different when the child feels like an outsider. This "feeling of not being member of a community" is a vague notion in the sense that it is practically impossible to capture by way of asking standardised questions. In many cases, children should not be asked such questions at all.

In the HLCS, we asked women listed as caretakers in each household about the methods of punishment of each child. In the analysis, we checked punishment method for the children's sex (gender) and according to whether they are classified as child domestic workers or not. The results show only small differences, too small to be significant (Figure 10). Reported punishment method "last week" showed the same tendency (Table 15).

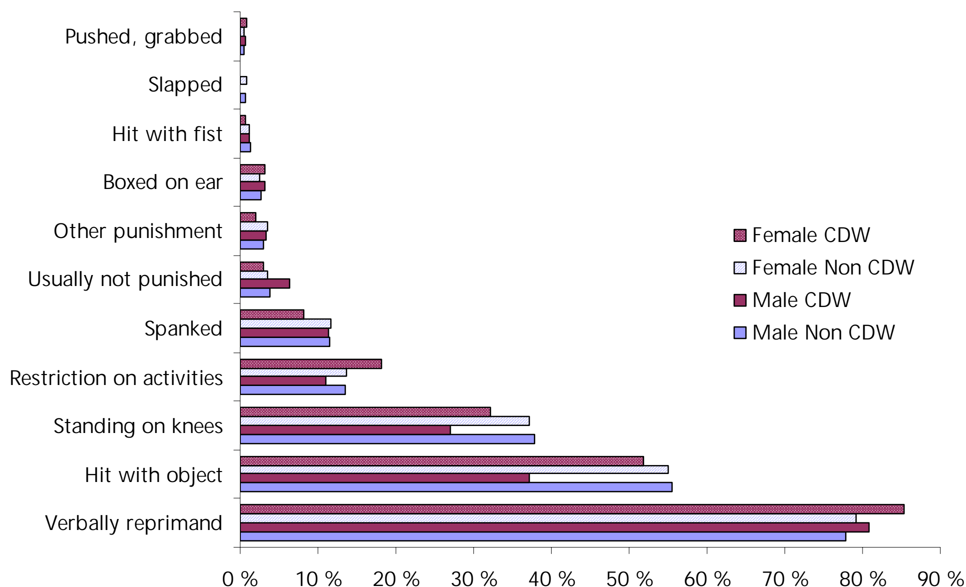

Figure 10 Reported methods of punishment of children by sex and CDW status

Table 15 Percent punished last week

	Urban				Rural			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Non CDW	CDW	Non CDW	CDW	Non CDW	CDW	Non CDW	CDW
Verbally reprimand	83,5	94,5	86,0	91,5	81,0	91,6	83,1	86,6
Restriction on activities	17,1	30,7	16,4	14,7	12,9	7,3	12,0	10,1
Standing on knees	26,6	24,7	28,2	17,7	26,7	15,0	25,6	20,0
Other punishment	4,3	6,2	5,0	3,2	2,1	1,1	2,0	0,3
Spanked	9,4	17,5	8,9	6,9	8,4	3,9	8,4	3,9
Hit with object	28,4	18,8	25,6	26,6	37,5	27,2	37,7	32,4

As can be seen from the percentages listed for the punishment methods "hit with object" and "standing on knees", people do not seem reluctant to answer questions about punishment in general. At the same time, it is important to note that it may be difficult to obtain information about differences in punishment by way of standardised questions, as in the HLCS questionnaire.

Another expression of the feeling of exclusion from the community of the household discussed above, and which recurrently comes up, is lack of commensality. Children may thus not eat with the family, and occasionally, not eat at a table, but are given a plate after the other family members have eaten, or they simply eat in another place. In a sense, children who mention lack of commensality often represent it as another form of punishment.

Sleeping facilities is a related issue. There are significant differences between urban and rural areas in terms of sleeping facilities (Table 16. The table is ranged from better to poorer facilities). In rural areas, every second child sleeps on a mat, whereas sleeping in a shared bed is the most common in urban areas. In urban areas there is a clear tendency that non-child domestic workers have better sleeping facilities than child domestics. In rural areas, however, these differences are not found.

Table 16: Children's sleeping facilities

	Urban		Rural	
	Non CDW	CDW	Non CDW	CDW
In own bed	28.9	22.8	10.6	15.9
In shared bed	46.2	24.8	32.6	24.7
On a mattress without bed	12.1	22.8	4.5	5.2
On a 'army frame' bed	0.6	0.8	0.3	0.8
On a mat	10.0	18.2	47.0	51.1
Lit de fortune	2.2	10.0	4.7	2.1
On the floor	0.0	0.6	0.3	0.1

Moreover, urban-rural affiliation and gender appear as important dimensions when describing differences among child domestics. We return to the issue of gender below, when we discuss children's rationalisations of their experiences.

Composite images: Rationalising Experience

Alexandre and Fabienne's stories presented in the opening of this chapter are different, and illustrate different aspects of the figures we have presented. Children's representations also give an intake to the ways in which they rationalise their life situations. In this subsection, we focus on child domestics' rationalisations of some aspects of their lives, as these became apparent during our discussions with them.

Conditions in the Past – Conditions in the Present

When talking about their present life situations, and the background for having been raised in new homes, children who live in domesticity often focus on the difficult situation in their original homes. By doing so, they imply that their parents could not care for them, and sometimes, they say so explicitly. Occasionally, they imply that they are better off now than they would have been if they had stayed in their original homes, and in some cases, that they have been "helped" by their new caretakers. Most of these statements and explanations reflect an implicit comparison of the material conditions in their original and present homes respectively. Significantly, such comparisons are based on references to "the past", and centre on a perception that

the conditions *before*, or in other homes *earlier*, were worse than the conditions under which they currently live, in one respect or another.

Fabienne's story in the beginning of this chapter is a case in point. She explained the fact that she had been raised in a new home by referring to her mother's inability to care for her. She also explained that an uncle pays her sister's schooling, as her mother cannot afford school fees. This does not necessarily mean that she does not miss her relatives, or people in her original home. Rather, it indicates that she draws attention to the positive aspects of her current situation. In more general terms, children who live in domesticity often use their original homes, or homes they have lived in earlier, as the comparative basis for describing their present living conditions, rather than comparing their own conditions with those of other children in their present homes. This is a way in which to come to terms with their experiences. Note that in Fabienne's case, the other children who live in her current households are in the same situation as herself.

Occasionally, children complement descriptions of their parents' inability to care for them with presentations of their present opportunities, like schooling, or their school performance. A girl we met in an evening school explained that she was ranked as the best in her class at the end of the last school year. She inferred this fact when talking about the lack of visits from her mother: "She doesn't even know anything about my performance in school!".

A comparison often inferred by children in domesticity, which is related to the comparison of the material conditions in their original and present home, is connected with their tasks in their present households. The girl mentioned above, whose mother was not up to date on her performance in school, had earlier lived in domesticity in a different home. Now, she explained, she is better off, not simply because she is doing well in school, but because her tasks are different. Earlier, she explained, she had to wash the walls in the house each and every day, whereas now, she transports water, and performs "ordinary housework". By the same token, children's expressions of discontent often centre on the chores that are, or have been, demanded of them. Alexandre's story about the tasks he was put to before running away from his caretakers illustrates this. And once again, discontent is located in the past.

Thus, children rationalise their present experiences by comparing their conditions or tasks in the past with those in the present. Often, such comparisons are negative in character, for instance, explaining that they have been beaten before, but not any longer; that they have had excessive workloads, but that they are "fair" now, that their parents had economic difficulties, but that their present caretakers can provide them with their basic needs. They thus draw attention to the negative aspects of their life situations when they constitute (or are represented as) a passed stage.

This pattern of comparison with the past does not imply that children do not evaluate their experiences by comparing the ways in which they are treated with those of other children in their current household. However, it is seldom expressed if it is a source of present discontent. When expressed, this comparison is usually applied to describe a stage in the past. Once again, Alexandre is a case in point: To elucidate the hardships he had been going through, he inferred the fact that the other children in his uncle's household were bought new things, whereas he never received anything. In other words, his uncle did not care for him. Significantly, Alexandre did not live with his uncle, but in the streets of Port-au-Prince at the time we were talking with him.

From Vagabond to "Serious"

A view often repeated in our conversations with young boys living in domestic service, and attending evening school, was that the move from their original homes had turned them from "vagabonds" without "discipline", who simply used to "do nothing", or "simply play", and into more "capable" individuals, who can read and write. When they portray their existence in this manner, they represent themselves as more "serious" now than earlier. For the large part, this pattern of self-representation can be accredited to the fact that they have gone from illiterate to literates (according to their own terms). To a certain extent, in cases when the boys in question were attending school when they lived with they original families too, they also refer to that they have been assigned duties, have responsibilities, and that they learn the ways of what they see as a "proper life". A "proper life" in this context is exemplified by learning French (or a few words in French), which they signal in their conversations with us, or simply, that they have acquired "city habits" (which may imply the daily implications of living in a house in towns, like making beds, setting tables, etc.). Usually, they represent this as a contrast to their former lives.

Parents often echo this view when they talk about why they sent a child away, or when describing the consequences of relocation in their children's behaviour. In these cases, they primarily relate "vagabondisme" to the lack of formal education, on the one hand, and lack of "discipline", on the other. We shall return to parents' motivations, explanations, and rationalisations in a later section. In this context, we give summaries of two accounts from boys in evening school that shows this pattern of self-representation.

Roussy

Roussy is about 14 years old and originally from a small village in the Department of the South. He tells us that when he was young and still living with his parents, he used to go fishing, with his friends or by himself, without the guid-

ance or acceptance of his parents, who are cultivators. According to his own saying, he was "a bit of a vagabond".

Two years ago, after his mother's brother asked Roussy's mother, Roussy moved to his present home, in a "popular" (or poor) area in town. According to Roussy, the parents agreed to his moving, and took this "opportunity" as a means to work against Roussy's "vagabondisme". Here, he lives with the couple (the uncle and aunt), and their last-born child, a boy of 13 who attends school in the mornings.

In the morning time, Roussy tells that he often goes fishing with his uncle, and helps him placing fish traps. In addition to fishing, he washes clothes, and does the cleaning in the house, and fetches water. When his aunt is absent, it is Roussy who cooks. During the rest of the day, he says, he studies his homework and watches telly. He goes to bed at nine, and sleeps in an iron bed in the first floor.

When telling that he earlier used to be a "vagabond", Roussy says that he has always appreciated the fact that he was sent to town to stay with his uncle and aunt. Now he says: "I am no longer a vagabond – you see, I can write now".

His dream is to become a priest or a policeman. The problem with the latter, however, is that as a policeman you may get killed, so therefore he would rather choose to be a priest.

Fanfan, who left his parents at the age of ten, used to attend school before he moved as well. He still defines his former life as that of a "vagabond":

Fanfan

We meet Fanfan in the same evening school. Fanfan is 13 years old. When we ask him how his move came about, he tells us that it was the family he presently lives with who was looking for a child, and when Fanfan's mother heard about this, she decided to send her son to town. At the same time, Fanfan makes humorous comments to his own behaviour prior to moving to Les Cayes, and connects this to his mother's decision: "I was a vagabond! I used to roam around without a purpose". Presently, he says and laughs, he cannot enjoy this freedom: "Now I am not a vagabond. I go to school!"

Fanfan tells that in his original home too, he used to go to school (preschool), but now, things are different. Now, he has tasks, like getting water, sweeping the backyard, and going to the market. He explains that he rarely performs "ordinary" household chores; that he knows how to cook, but that usually, women in the house make the meals. Fanfan says that he also spends time with the other children in the family, and he likes to play football with them, and with kids in the streets. He wants to become a mechanic, as he will then earn money to help his family. He underlines that his original family is in a difficult position. He goes to visit his parents once a year, every first of January, for New Year. From time to time, they send food. Fanfan explains that this is not for supporting him, but simply to "be nice". Occasionally, they also send

money, for Fanfan to enjoy himself, but he refuses to accept this, because he knows their situation: "Things are not very good in our home" (*La kay pa tres bon*).

We ask Fanfan about the relationship to the people in his present home. Once again, he brings in "vagabondisme": "I am no vagabond any longer, I am good now, 'ma tante' is never angry with me, and never beats me". He says the same thing when we ask him what he thinks about living with them: "It is good, because earlier I was a Vagabond".

Fanfan relates his transition from "vagabondisme" to the fact that he goes to school regularly, and secondly, to his lifestyle in more general terms: The fact that he has tasks and is "behaving well", as he puts it. The latter aspects refer to concepts of a more informal formation of "manners", and what boys often represent as "acquiring new habits", "being well-mannered", and "leading more proper lives".[20]

These notions, and their inversion in "vagabondisme", suggest ideals among some young boys living in towns. They also convey the idea that 'living in towns' in itself signals certain skills. In turn, such ideals shape children's experience of their lives as child domestics. Finally, the notions may be interpreted as a "survival strategy" among boys in domesticity, that is to say, a way in which to justify and come to terms with the changes that have taken place in their lives, and, in some cases, perhaps even the disciplinary acts that adults in their new homes subject them to.

Children's Responses

Children's rationalisations represent ways in which to respond to their life situations. Both boys and girls refer to their parents' difficult social and economic situations when talking about the fact that they have been placed in new homes. In the case of young boys, rationalisations often, and in addition, centre on a perceived transition from "vagabond" to "serious individual". On the other hand, we never heard girls inferring "vagabondisme" in a similar manner. This is in part related to traditional ideals in the behaviours of girls and boys, or in their role expectations. Gender roles thus shape the ways in which children's activities are organised, and girls' and boys' respective responses to them. The ways in which expectations of children are shaped by their gender may also indicate that girls have fewer possibilities of opposing living

[20] Quite interestingly, this discourse on "vagabondisme", and the ideals that underlie it, can be recognised in early accounts of rulers' rhetoric (and legislation) against peasants' resistance to wage labour in plantations and against perceived laziness among rural peasants. See Vertus (1993).

and working conditions that they find difficult.[21] In this context, it is important to keep in mind that girls make up the majority of child domestics in Haiti, and that they, on an average, work more than the boys.

Children in domesticity are faced with different conditions, given different opportunities, and respond in different ways. Changing home, or looking for new places to stay, is a response to discontent. Others do not seem to have this opportunity, and become subordinated. Attending school is highly valuated among child domestics, not only because it provides formal qualifications, but also because it provides gateways into working life, contacts, and friends. Children who are given conditions they see as fair talk about their experiences accordingly. In such cases, former child domestics who have reached adulthood represent their childhoods in a different light, and keep focusing on the opportunities they had with the ones they would have had if they had stayed with their original parents.

Children's responses to the conditions under which they live thus partly also reflect the conditions under which they came into domesticity. This is one of the foci of the next chapter.

---

[21] This may also be a point of departure for analysing the large preponderance of boys among street children in the urban areas (cf. UNICEF 1993: 27). However, this is a large and complicated issue, the situation probably undergoing constant changes, and unfortunately, we cannot go into this here.

5 The Social Context: Households, Kinship and Social Inequality

Tone Sommerfelt, Jon Pedersen & Anne Hatløy

In the present chapter, we assess the social and economic contexts of child domestic labour. The analysis is based on a combination of quantitative and qualitative findings, and focuses on evaluations and motivations among original families and present caretakers. Characteristics of child domestic workers' backgrounds (their original families when appropriate), and of the households in which they live, are also assessed. Finally, we analyse the relationships between original families and present caretakers in terms of kinship and social inequality. The aim is a better understanding of how patterns and variations in children's recruitment and labour, and in treatment of children, are generated.

First, however, we describe the recruitment of child domestics, and "implicit agreement" between original families and new guardians.

Recruitment and the Implicit "Agreement"

Children enter into relationships of domesticity after moving from their original home, and also following their parents' death and/or migration. In the latter cases, it seems misleading to refer to children's "recruitment", as what takes place is rather that the relationships between the child and other household members become or evolve into relations of domesticity.

In cases involving children's relocation, which is the main focus of the present section, recruitment to domestic service mainly takes place through informal contacts. Children move to new homes following their family's search (or exploration) among potential receivers, or, the potential new caretaker or employer asks around for a child, or approaches family members of a child directly. It is often a combination of these two processes that take place when a child is thus recruited to domestic service – the giver and receiver find each other, so to speak.

Relationships of kinship (including godparenthood and ties created by and through marriage), friendship, or simply vague acquaintance are followed as paths to find a child, or to locate a receiver. Market places vendors also look for children among their customers. Parents who cannot locate a household that will accommodate their child, and people searching for a child but unable to find a boy or girl, investigate among kin, friends, colleagues, or acquaintances. The latter hence take on the role of informal middlemen, as they locate a child or receiver when those directly involved cannot. In these cases, the children may move to "strangers", which is the term used by parents themselves to denote non-relatives or others of whom they have no prior knowledge.

The actual arrangement, and what it is to, or should, contain, is often implicit, i.e. it is not discussed thoroughly or in detail. As mentioned, parents seem to hope that the child will be enrolled to school, as a positive side effect of the stay, but do not always discuss this with the new guardian(s) explicitly. This does not apply to cases of boarding, i.e. when the child is sent to a family in order to attend a specified school, and the parents compensate the new guardian economically for housing the child, as here, the education of the child forms the core of the arrangement. In yet other cases, original families pose education as a precondition for the stay, yet realising that the children will work when not in school. As will be shown below, representatives of original families occasionally sanction the guardians by taking the children back home when discovering that the promise has not been kept.

The nature of the agreement about the arrangement thus partly reflects the parents' situations and thoughts prior to sending the child away. In cases of crisis that we came across, i.e. when parents expressed that they had sent their children because they could not support them, parents conveyed the impression that they were in no position to pose any demands regarding how their children were to be treated, but should rather express gratitude to the new guardians for supporting their child.

Occasionally, children initiate their moves to new families themselves, and offer their services, and are thus well aware that the stay will entail domestic work. Such instances mostly appeared in cases when the child's home had been dissolved as a result of parents' death, or when other circumstances had made the situation in their original home unbearable. In other cases, children initiated their own moves after already having been introduced to domestic service, searching for new employers/guardians. Children thus try to change employer/guardian when they are mistreated or unhappy about their current situation, and try to improve it by finding another, gentler guardian.

Below, we give an example of the recruitment of a child. The case not only shows how the arrangement came about, but also how it was negotiated and organised.

Jonise

Jonise is 11 years old, and we meet her in the house of her grandmother – Ilophie – where she presently lives. Ilophie and Jonise live in a small village between Jacmel and the Dominican border. Jonise is now doing her first year in a small school near by, from seven o'clock in the morning to one in the afternoon.

Jonise's mother died in the summer of 1999, at the age of 34, after having been ill for a long time. She had five children, all by different fathers, and did not know the identity of the father of each child. Jonise was the third born among them, and now, only two are still alive.

Ilophie tells that while her daughter (Jonise's mother) was still ill, Jonise was placed with Kettline, a niece of her own late husband. Kettline had no children of her own. It was Kettline who approached Ilophie to ask if Jonise could come with her to Port-au-Prince, and when Ilophie agreed, Kettline came to the village to get Jonise.

As a part of the verbal agreement between Ilophie and Kettline, Kettline promised to have Jonise baptised. Kettline's brother was supposed to be Jonise's godfather, and Jonise refers to him as "godfather", and Kettline as her "godmother". Both Kettline and her brother also promised that Jonise would be sent to school.

Kettline's brother was a bus-driver on the route between Port-au-Prince and Santo Domingo, and passed through the village regularly. Most contact with Kettline thus took place through him, and this was how Ilophie got news from Jonise. However, Ilophie did not get the chance to confirm whether Jonise actually went to school or was baptised, as she never had the chance to visit Jonise: "I did not know their address in Port-au-Prince".

Ilophie tells us that Kettline never kept her word: Jonise was neither baptised nor sent to school. She emphasises that Kettline and her brother are therefore not "real" godparents to Jonise. The fact that Kettline made Jonise work without sending her to school, however, was the worst problem, in Ilophie's opinion.

Ilophie tells that she found out about the real state of affairs after a visit by Jonise a year ago. Jonise confirms this story. She is shy the first time we meet and talk with her. During our second talk, however, Jonise is more relaxed, and tells that while she was with Kettline, she performed different chores: washing clothes, fetching water, and cleaning the house. Jonise also affirms that Ilophie never had the possibility to visit her in Port-au-Prince, and that Kettline always told Ilophie that she was a nice girl and that she was in school. During the visit by Kettline and Jonise a year ago, Kettline told Jonise that: "If your grandmother asks you if you go to school, then tell her 'yes'". And Jonise adds: "She told me to lie" (*Si grand ou mandé si ou ale lekol, dili oui, li di mouin – bay manti*).

However, Jonise affirmed to Ilophie that she was not in school, and Ilophie then took her back home, and inscribed her in one of the small schools in the area. Ilophie tells that before her mother's death, Jonise went to the same school.

Jonise spent about two years with Kettline in Port-au-Prince. Kettline lives in a "popular" neighbourhood by the sea in Port-au-Prince. She has no formal job.

In the case of Jonise, the terms of the child's placement was discussed with the new guardian, and when broken, the child was taken back home. The content of arrangements is not always specified by parents or new caretakers in this manner, and new caretakers are not always sanctioned when breaking the conditions agreed upon. In the case of Jean Luc's children discussed earlier, Jean Luc did not make any conditions for his two daughters' placement with families in Port-au-Price. Jean Luc explained that if the new caretakers had the means, they would have sent his children to school. Jean Luc had placed his children in new homes because he could not cover their basic needs. The only "condition" for the placements, in this case, was implicit, and related to the provision of food and clothes for the children. The degree, or lack, of specification of the terms of placement of children thus reflects the background for why the children are sent to new homes in the first place.

Indications of Middlemen operating as Recruiters

During our work in Les Cayes, resource personnel in organisations that offer evening classes for children indicated that some children are recruited through middlemen. According to them, such a middleman is locally referred to as a "koutye", and is a recent phenomenon in recruitment of children, though not frequent. The term *koutye* literally means an "intermediary", or "promoter". Such an intermediary (and the term *koutye*) is ordinarily employed in relation to servants, i.e. they are the intermediaries who recruit maids or servants, i.e. remunerated help ("bonnes"). It is an accepted and organised, yet informal, practice. Usually, employers pay the middleman when he/she recruits a servant (e.g. about ten Haitian dollars, i.e. 50 Gourdes), and additionally, the servant pays a part of his/her first salary to the *koutye* (they held that an ordinary amount was ten Haitian dollars).

Now, however, such intermediaries are also emerging in the search for domestics, according to the resource personnel in the school. A *koutye* who thus recruits a child domestic is remunerated by the receiving family, for instance by ten Haitian dollars (i.e. 50 Gourdes), but the child does not him or herself pay the *koutye* (as in the case of servants), as the child's work is not remunerated. Hence, the payment only consists of the receiving family's contribution. A middleman is always hired by the receivers, but may well be a friend or relative of the original family. The resource personnel added that the *koutyes* are often women.

According to the resource persons, the “need” for these middlemen in the field of domestics is a result of a common complaint among receiving families, that it is difficult to “get good children these days”. Therefore, potential employers/receivers hire and pay middlemen to find “good/well behaved” children. This is not necessarily connected with possible increases in demand for child domestic workers in the future, as discussed in Chapter 3. Though the appearance of middlemen is a possible adaptation to this, it may also simply express behavioural ideals about child domestics among potential employers. Thus, a market develops for people who can help households finding “well behaved” children and who can guarantee the children’s “quality”.

Though we have no first hand information of the frequency by which such middlemen operate in different part of Haiti, this issue requires further investigation. Recruitment of child domestics through paid middlemen is known from other part of the world, e.g. in North Africa (see e.g. Sommerfelt 2001: 60 ff., also on the effects of this practice).

Original Households: Characteristics and Motivations

In preceding chapters, we have touched on aspects of relocated children’s original families, and reasons or motivations behind sending children. Here, we return to these issues in greater depth.

As mentioned earlier, the domestic child workers mimic the rest of the population as regards place of birth, i.e. the majority is born in households in the rural areas. Also, one may recall that about two thirds of children living without parents present in the households were actually born into their present home. Thus, it is worth reminding that for many child domestics, their present household is the same as their original household. Consequently, the following description of “original households” directs attention to cases in which the children were recruited into domesticity following a change of household affiliation.

Parents’ explanations as to why they have placed children in new homes centre on their own economic situation and incapability of caring for their children, and on hopes of the children obtaining some advantage during the stay, in the form of getting an education, learning skills, or getting contacts which may assist the children or themselves in the future. In many cases, parents convey several of these considerations at the same time.

Poverty: Resolving Difficult Situations

When parents' emphasise that they are "not capable" (*pas kapab*) to care for their children, they refer to their economic conditions. Jean Luc's situation, as presented in Chapter 2, is a case in point. According to Jean Luc, he would never have sent his children to Port-au-Prince if he had been "capable" [of supporting them]. For him, their placement in new families was the solution in a difficult situation, even though he was aware that the children do not attend school. The children work for their upkeep in the new families, and Jean Luc is freed from these expenses. His incapability to provide for them derived from the fact that fishing did not yield sufficient output, and that he was the sole provider of his children after his first wife's death and second wife's leaving him.

Regarding parents' poverty, differences in incomes between households that have and those that have not placed children in new homes have to be described. First, households that give away children have lower income than households that have not given away any children. This is the case for households that have given away children regardless of purpose (Table 17), but the difference is comparatively slight, about 400 Gourdes annually when household income is considered. When household income per person is considered, the difference becomes greater, reflecting that it is the large households that give away children.

More importantly, the difference in income between households that report no children given away for the purpose of housework and those that have given children away for housework is substantial (Table 18), when considering both total income and income per person. In this case, the total household income among providers of children is about half of the total household income in other households.

Table 17: Mean and median annual total household income adjusted for self-consumption by whether household have given away child, *regardless of purpose* (Gourdes)

	Total		Per person	
	Median	Mean	Median	Mean
Has not given away child	10 200	23 000	2 700	6 339
Has given away child	9 780	22 577	2 263	5 640
All	10 143	22 932	2 625	6 226

Table 18: Mean and median annual total household income adjusted for self-consumption by whether household have given away child *for housework* in another household (Gourdes)

	Total		Per person	
	Median	Mean	Median	Mean
Not given away child	10 180	22 998	2 643	6 251
Has given away child	4 600	12 339	1 239	2 325
All	10 143	22 932	2 625	6 226

Basically, these differences show that parents' decisions to place their children in new homes are connected with their economic situation.[22] However, poverty is not in itself sufficient to explain why parents choose to place their children in new homes. In Jean Luc's case, a man who came to the village asked for his daughter, and this gave Jean Luc the opportunity to place his child. The "demand" for children sustains parents' practice of placing them in new families – the social repertoire has domesticity to offer. Other factors also affect parents' decisions concerning their children.

Aspiring to Highly Treasured Values

Parents do not always express as clearly as did Jean Luc that they cannot cover their children's basic needs, but simply state that they do not have means to send their children to school, and that they hope that the family with whom they have trusted the children will send them to school. In cases when receiving families do not send them to school, parents occasionally take their child back (an example of the latter was shown in the case of Jonise). Others try to find new families, who will send their child to school.

Hence, not only economic crisis, but also parents' wish for their children's education leads parents to place their children. The below case makes this abundantly clear:

Mrs. Jeanne

Mrs. Jeanne is a woman in her mid-forties and a mother of six children, and lives in a small community near Jacmel. The father of her eldest child died when the child was only a year old. Her three other daughters and two sons are the children of her ex-husband, from whom she divorced two months ago.

[22] We return to the issue of poverty when we later asses child domesticity in relation to inequality by way of a comparison of income levels in households that include child domestics and households that have placed children in new homes.

According to Mrs. Jeanne, her ex-husband placed two of her daughters in families in Jacmel against her will, and when he had done so, she resigned, as she felt she could not do anything about it. She says that generally, families who take in children in this manner only care about their own children, and do not provide the other children with decent clothes, and often do not even allow them nice shoes.

Mrs. Jeanne lives with her three youngest children, a girl of two years, and two sons (her eldest daughter is now married). The two sons attended school until three months ago, but since then they have had to stay home, as Mrs. Jeanne can no longer afford to pay their school fees. She lives from craft and agriculture, but does not earn enough to keep them in school.

The two girls who stay in families in Jacmel are ten and 15 years old respectively. The ten-year-old stays with a relative, attends school and is presently in her third grade. The 15-year old stays with a non-relative (a "stranger"), and is now in seventh grade. They both have household tasks in their houses. Mrs. Jeanne goes to see them about every third month, and brings bananas and eggs on these occasions.

According to Mrs. Jeanne, she would not accept it if the families took her children out of school. If this were ever to happen to her children, she would place them in new families. In her opinion, school is extremely important, and she says that she goes to great sacrifices to ensure the children's schooling. She even begs for charity in the streets. She prefers this to having her children placed in families who do not put them in school.

As she is so determined to provide her children with an education, Mrs. Jeanne says, she is presently looking for families to whom she can confide her two sons. She stresses that this have to be families who will help her sons. In return for schooling, her sons can do various tasks in their houses. Later, the boys may learn a profession, and help their mother.

Mrs Jeanne's last statement, that she hopes that the child will go to school and learn a profession during his stay, and thus eventually be able to assist her, reflects a dimension in parents' explanations which is different from a rationalisation in terms of "crisis" only. It is focused on that placement in a new family will hopefully bring some advantage to the child or its parents. Formal education is perhaps the most highly treasured value, or most important "pulling factor" leading parents to place their children in domestic service. In a critical perspective, one may even claim that the short-term consequence of public insistence on the value of children's formal schooling is that parents seek to get their children to school by any means possible.

This point is well illustrated by the fact that, when parents ever pose a condition for placement, it regards schooling (cf. section on children's recruitment).[23]

Formal education is not the only value sought by parents. They also refer to children's chance of learning a skill, like commerce, or a craft, getting experience (like learning to live in a city, living in a "proper" house and learning to run a household of this kind), obtaining useful contacts, or getting a paid job. The case below illustrates this point. It involves Ilophie, the grandmother of Jonise, whose story of recruitment was presented earlier in this chapter.

Ilophie

Ilophie is a woman of about 60 years, living in a small community near Jacmel. When Ilophie was a small child, she lived with another family in Jacmel. She performed all tasks in the house: laudry, ironing, cleaning, fetching water, etc. She never went to school. She says that this (not sending her to school) was the greatest wrong that this family did to her.

After a dispute with the father in the house, she left the family and went back to her own father. Some years later, a representative of the family she had earlier lived with contacted her, as they wanted to bring her to Port-au-Prince with them. Ilophie says that this was because they remembered all the things she had done for them. Ilophie refused to go, arguing that they had never enrolled her to school.

Later, she worked as a servant in Cayes Jacmel and in Jacmel. Ilophie says that she believes in the virtues of working in other families' houses and going to school. A child who lives with another family in the city can learn much, like cooking, baking, and good habits, and can go to school in the afternoon (*lekol di soi*), and later in the mornings. The point is, she says, that the child learns as much as possible. The child must get "training" (or "guidance" – *formasion*), not simply formal *education*, because in the future, the child may profit from this. Possibilities are better in cities like Port-au-Prince. There, people can become anything: nurses, nuns, or seamstresses. Port-au-Prince is a place of possibilities – and there are no such possibilities in the village.

Here, then, Ilophie focuses on the informal training or guidance (*formasion*) obtained through living and working in a non-parental household. She further connects informal training to city life. A similar attitude is reflected in parents' discussions about the qualities of schools in urban and rural areas respectively, in which urban schools are often represented as being better than those in rural areas. The latter notion is also related to the possible contacts that their children may get from living in urban

[23] During fieldwork, we met youth whose parents had placed them in orphanages, according to the youth, because their parents had regarded this as one of few possibilities for them to get access to education.

areas. Moreover, towns and cities are represented as places with better possibilities for success than rural communities (on this issue, see also UNICEF 1993: 43).

Another issue related to parents' notions of "informal training" and the possible positive effects of children's stays, is parents' notions of their sons' "vagabondisme". Boys' expressing the view that they have turned from "vagabonds" into serious people after having been placed in new homes, which we discussed in Chapter 4, is echoed in parents' stories. A brief example:

> Vagabond Returned
>
> In Plaine du Nord, a mother tells that she has a son who is "a bit of a vagabond". Some years ago, she placed him with family in a town near her village. Unfortunately, the family soon returned him, which the mother finds reasonable enough, as the stay had not improved his attitude. Instead, she sent them another son, a 15-year old, who has stayed with the family for the past four years. He goes to evening school and now attends his third year. According to his mother, his stay has been important for his "development".

We are not by this suggesting that parents regard domesticity as an "efficient" way of disciplining children, but that rationalisations among parents are complex.

Parents' Rationalisations – Children's Gender

In sum, parents' explanations to their children's relocation focus on their own poverty, on their children's education and/or informal training, the latter including discipline (and fight against "vagabondisme"), on towns as places of possibilities, and on chances that children's stays may bring some advantage to themselves or their children.

However, it is difficult to apply the term "motive" in this context. Put differently, children's education and informal training do not always seem to be the driving force behind decisions to place a child in a new home. Often, a focus on education and informal training seems to be an *a posteriori* rationalisation, i.e. a rationalisation parents arrive at after they have decided to place their children, or an additional rationalisation of their solution to a more immediate economic problem. In this case, the situation is rather that the child is placed because of parents' "incapacity" to provide for them, and in turn, that parents hope that the children may learn something from the stay, as a positive "side effect". This was evident in Jean Luc's description of his daughters, when he expressed that his girls would learn household tasks. This may in part also be the case in Ilophie's emphasis on informal training in non-parental households. Parents' representations of their children ceasing to be "vagabonds" indicate the same pattern.

Parents' rationalisations of decisions regarding their children's relocation also seem to be informed by the children's gender. In the context of informal training, most parents stress that girls obtain skills related to household work, whereas boys obtain contacts that may be an advantage to them later. Regarding formal education, it is difficult to tell whether parents give preference to boys over girls, even though it is clear that the majority of child domestics are girls.[24]

Crisis and Purposive Relocation

Evidently, children get new caretakers following the death of both parents, and relations to the new caretakers may turn into domesticity. Alexandre, whose story was presented in the previous chapter, is one example of the latter. This case may be described as resulting from a "crisis" in the strict sense of the term. In a comparative article on fosterage arrangements in the West Indies and West Africa, Esther Goody distinguishes between "crisis fostering" and "purposive fostering". She defines *crisis fostering* as the "rescue" operation following "cases where the family or orientation has been scattered by death or divorce of the parents" (1975: 137). *Purposive fostering* on the other hand, is "arranged while the family is intact, [and] … is entered into with the intention of securing some benefit to the child, his parents, the foster parents, or perhaps to all" (1975: 137). In both cases, children are reared by others when their original family "cannot, for some reason, manage" (1975: 137), and continues to say that "fostering is used as a means of widening the education of a child, of providing relatives with companionship and assistance, and of strengthening ties with kin who are relatively well-off" (1975: 137-138).

In the Haitian context, a distinction between "crisis" and "purposive" fostering can be illuminating of some practices. However, the distinction is definitely diffuse, and differently constituted. Firstly, the fact that parents live apart should not necessarily be regarded as an exception to a "normal state of affairs" of parental cohabitation. This is partly related to Haitian polygyny – or *plaçage* – where a man may marry a woman (or women), referred to as a *placée*, in addition to the wife to whom he has been legally wed in church. These co-wives establish separate households, and the husband moves between them. Thus, the fact that a woman and a man do not formally live (or are registered as living) together does not necessarily imply that they have ceased to be husband and wife. In addition, unions are often broken.

[24] Among the child domestic workers, actual figures of enrolment do not give such indications. However, in order to determine whether this is the case, the gender distribution among non-child domestic workers who do *not* live with their parents have to be considered, and help up against educational variables. Enrolment rates and children's gender would also have to be discussed more generally. Unfortunately, this is beyond the scope of the present work.

Furthermore, "crisis" as a cause for sending children is not necessarily linked with parents' cohabitation. Many married and cohabiting couples still represent it as resulting from a "crisis" when they send their children to live in new homes. Moreover, whether parents represent their children's relocation as resulting from a crisis or to overcome difficulties is not necessarily linked with the marital "career" of the parents, or whether both parents are still alive.

The fact that children are often sent to "strangers" when their parents die or cannot care for them indicates that there are no relatives who are present or able to step in. This may be an expression of the restructuring of the Haitian family and fragmentation of the authority structures of the *lakou* (groups of households gathered around a yard, members related by filiation and recruited through marriage), of which much has been written (Bastien 1985 [1951]: 177 ff.; Tremblay 1995: 72). It should be recalled also, however, that many child domestics live with close relatives. Nevertheless, the latter fact does not contradict that family relationships become strained in times of economic crisis.

As has been shown above, aspects of "purposive" and "crisis" relocation appear to be closely connected. Not being able to pay children's school fees is regarded as a precarious situation that has to be solved. Parents thus try to solve a difficult situation and improve their children's prospects for the future by the same act. In this sense, parents' decisions to place children in new homes are affected by both pushing and pulling factors.

Ignorance or Chance of Improvement? Parents' Investments in Children

Parents' *hope* that caretakers will put their children to school, and their hope that the child or themselves may gain some advantage from the child's stay, is not an expression of naivety or ignorance. It is a way of expressing that placement of the child is a solution in a difficult situation. This does not contradict the fact that new caretakers take advantage of parents' hopes.

Parents' hopes are also grounded in an idea that children's *chances* of succeeding are greater if they are placed in a new home, or in a new home in the city. This thought is expressed by way of indicating that perhaps *one* child of many may be blessed, or eventually get lucky. Mrs. Jeanne expressed this view in a case above. If the child *was* to become successful, or get access to a better-paid job than he or she would otherwise have had the opportunity to get in the original home community, the child will eventually become able to assist them, and thus affect their own life situation in a positive way.

Parents' sending several children, and often to different homes, can thus also be interpreted as a way of "spreading risk". According to our data, about half (57 percent) of the mothers who report that they have children placed in new homes for purposes of housework have placed more than one child. The figure is similar to that of all the women who have placed children in new homes regardless of objective. In this case, 52 percent have placed more than one child.

In this sense then, parents send children away with the hope that they one day may turn into something good, and thus with the hope of securing their own future. The notion of children as a source of wealth, or welfare rather, is reflected in the saying "children are the wealth of the unhappy [underprivileged]" (*pitit se richès malere*). Rural parents who insisted on sending their children to school, if necessary by paying a family to keep them (as "tenants" in "paid board", as described in Chapter 2), told us that earlier, it used to be an asset to have many children. Now however, due to school fees, it is a burden. This seems to contradict the notion of numerous children as a "source of wealth".

However, there is still continuity in the notion of children as a source of support (also during old age). In a situation with abundance of agricultural land, numerous children would be an appropriate resource to meet the demand for labour. On the other hand, when households face shortage of land or when the land does not give sufficient yields, as in present day Haiti, fewer children, and increased investment in each child through education outside of the agricultural sector is more appropriate. The declining fertility levels seem to support the latter interpretation of parents' decisions regarding their children in Haiti (cf. Chapter 3). Children then, are still a source of support for parents, but not necessarily by virtue of being many. And still, parents' decisions regarding their children are informed by hopes of future assistance.[25]

---

[25] Becker discusses this in terms of the "interaction between quantity and quality of children" (1991: 135). Our discussion on this point is also inspired by concepts of "rights in persons" (Kopytoff & Miers 1977: 7 ff.) and "wealth in people" (see e.g. Bledsoe 1980) in African contexts. In many African contexts, and perhaps in Haiti prior to the aggravated ecological conditions, people (labour force) rather than agricultural land is/was the most critical resource. We are indebted to Dr. Nathalie Brisson Lamaute for her contributions to our arguments on this point, though obviously, any weaknesses are to be blamed entirely on the authors.

Households that Include Child Domestics: Characteristics and Motivations

One may recall that the Aire Métropolitaine (the greater Port-au-Prince area) accounts for a large proportion of the child domestic workers, by virtue of its large total population size. In general, however, the child domestic workers are proportionally represented in urban and rural areas, with around 73 percent living in rural areas.

Below, we describe characteristics of the households in which child domestic workers are found. The role of the children in the household economy is assessed, and the level of income and educational status of households containing child domestics. First, different rationalisations among people who employ child domestics are described.

"Needing" or "Helping"?

People who ask parents for children often do so with reference to their "need" of a child. In conversations with us, this need was generally explained by their needs of assistance with household tasks. In some cases, this explicit need for labour force seems like the only motivation for acquiring a child. Thus, if it turns out that the child for some reason is incapable of fulfilling this need, they are sent back to their original families. We encountered several such cases during fieldwork. In one instance, a girl was returned home because she had a bad foot. As medical personnel were unable to help her, she could not carry out the tasks she had been set to do, and which were the purpose of her staying with them at all. A similar case is given below, in the story of the "Adventist Girl".

The fact that children's work is made explicit is not necessarily a sign of abuse, as all children perform tasks. Even in cases when adults claimed to need children because they could not afford paid (adult) servants, they additionally provided the children with certain benefits, such as schooling. Other considerations are also involved. The most common of these is the wish for company, especially among older people (see below).

New guardians also claim to be "helping" the child or the parents. When guardians do not provide the child with anything else than food and board, in exchange for children's services, the only "help" involved for the parents is that they are freed from the economic burden of feeding their child. In other cases, however, and especially in cases of crisis, there positively are adults who step in to help. However, some of these children will not (according to international conventions) be classified as

child domestic workers at all, as they attend school full-time and considered their change of household as an affiliation to a new "home".

The below case is an example of composite reasoning behind child relocation and domesticity, where several factors are implicated, as seen from the point of view of the receiver. It involves Rosefa, the present caretaker of Fabienne, whose story we presented in an earlier chapter.

Rosefa

Rosefa is in her mid-fifties, and lives in a small two-room house in Les Cayes, with three children who are not her own. She has only one child, a son who has lived in America for the past 20 years.

Rosefa lives from renting out rooms in a neighbouring house, and from selling bananas and coconuts she cultivates in the garden. Rosefa and the children live well, but simple. Apart from the rent and the profit from sale of bananas and coconuts, Rosefa has no additional source of income, and stresses that her son never sends her anything.

Until this day, Rosefa has had ten children staying with her. About three of these were sent back to their original families, Rosefa explains, because they were not well behaved: They followed Rara-bands in the streets, and went to the carnival, which Rosefa does not appreciate. She says that they were not well-behaved or well-raised. Therefore, she had contacted the parents some time after the children's (respective) arrivals, prepared a bag of something for them, and sent them back. Seven children have stayed with her for longer periods: The three who are presently with her, four children earlier.

Rosefa says that as a rule, it has been she who has asked for the children, and not the parents who have offered their child to her.[26] The exception is the boy of 16 years who has stayed with her for the past five years. In this case, the boy's parents approached Rosefa to ask whether she needed a boy to help her in the house, as they themselves were in a difficult situation, and as they had heard from the other young girl who stays with Rosefa that Rosefa is a "good person".

Originally, Rosefa started inquiries for children because she needed assistance from girls for housework, and from boys to work in the garden and sell produce in the market. Rosefa has had both boys and girls, as boys and girls perform different tasks: Boys do some kinds of tasks, girls others. She has enrolled all the children to school.

Rosefa says that she occasionally sends something to the family of Fabienne, as her mother is deaf and ill and has problems.

According to Rosefa, many adults abuse children. She holds that children have to go to school, and "you know", she says: "they are children, not ani-

---

[26] Fabienne held that it was her uncle who had brought her to Rosefa. This does not necessarily contradict Rosefa's information, but may indicate that Fabienne is referring to the uncle's physically bringing her to Rosefa.

mals".[27] If you only make them work and give them nothing in return, they will not be satisfied. And she adds, children will cry if they are not sent to school. Some of the children she has had with her have been sent back from school because Rosefa has not paid the school fees on time, crying that they have "been sold for nothing".[28]

Andresia, the youngest girl who stays with Rosefa is now 11 years old. She came at the age of approximately six. Rosefa guesses her age, as Andresia did not have a birth certificate. In order to enrol Andresia to school, she needed "papers", and Rosefa found a godmother and godfather for her, baptised her, and thus got the necessary papers for school enrolment. Andresia is now in evening school, and performs household duties in the mornings. In the beginning, explains Rosefa, when Andresia was young, it was Rosefa and Fabienne who had to take care of Andresia, and not the other way around, as she was too little to do anything. For the same reason, Rosefa says that she will not have very young children again, because she is too old to raise them and take care of them. She is too old for having babies.

Rosefa tells that her adult son often complains about her getting one child after another, indicating that Rosefa cannot afford supporting children in this way. Rosefa says that this shows that he has no understanding of her situation or for her needs in the house. And she adds: "Am I to sit here all alone?"

Rosefa tells about the first girl she had staying with her with affection. She came at the age of 16, and is now an adult woman. She works in Port-au-Prince, after following the same educational path as Fabienne. She has done well, says Rosefa, as she is working as a servant for nuns, and earns 150 Haitian dollars per month, and has no expenses for room or board as she stays in the convent in which she works. She does not spend her money for living, says Rosefa, but instead sends her salary to her parents in the countryside.

Rosefa's is a case of complex motivations for acquiring children. She emphasises her need for help, but nonetheless provide the children with benefits. She also signals that the children give her company, and that she helps their parents by providing for their children.

Obviously, the claim from present caretakers that they "help" the parents of the child is an expression of an asymmetrical relationship. The parents remain socially indebted to the caretakers of the child, and caretakers appear to be "patrons" in relation to the parents. In many respects, relationships between original families and new caretakers can be seen as patron-client relationships. The new caretakers represent

[27] *Timoun pas bèt.* In this way, she turns up-side-down the traditional saying "children are like small animals" (*timoun se ti bèt*).

[28] "*Yo vann yo pou ka*": "you [addressed to the original family] sell me for *ka*", "ka" literally meaning a "quarter" (originally a quarter of an ox), in this context implying "nothing".

patrons, not by virtue of being a source of superior resources, but by the fact that "values of the patron's choosing are circulated in … [the] relationship" to their clients (Paine 1971: 15). The values circulated here then, and controlled by the new caretakers, are labour and expenses for the child's upkeep.

Below, we analyse households' perceived "need" for child domestics' labour force by assessing the role of the child domestic in the household economy. In addition, we assess income and educational levels in households that include child domestics workers.

Income and Educational Level, and the Child in the Household Economy

The fact that the children work is inherent in the definition of domestic child workers. However, the role of domestic children in the household economy is not explained by the definition, and this is what we turn to here. The role of the child in the household economy is used as an intake to households' rationale for acquiring child domestics, in terms of the nature of their "need for labour force".

Two possible hypotheses on the role of children in the household economy can be developed. Firstly, a hypothesis where it is claimed that children are obtained in order to cover a need for labour force in the receiving household, and secondly, a hypothesis saying that children are obtained in order to replace the labour force of natural children – enabling the latter to go to school, but not the domestics. The second is a version of the first:

- "Need for labour force": Children are recruited because there is a need for labour force – and all children contribute with the same kinds of tasks. Empirically, if this is the case, households with and without child domestics should be equal in size and either all or none of the children (regardless of background) will be in school, or have attended school when they were in the appropriate age category.
- "Replacement": There is a need for labour force, but the need derives from the fact that parents want to put their own children to school, and thus let new children replace their own in terms of household work contribution. This implies that there are internal distinctions between different children in the household, and will be shown empirically when households that include children in domesticity are larger than those that have none, and when only some of the children are sent to school (the natural children).

In order to discover the importance of the education of the household members, income and workload within the household for the household's propensity to acquire

child domestic labour, we use a Poisson regression. A Poisson regression is commonly employed when the dependent variable can be seen as a result of a count. In part, this is because an ordinary linear regression would result in predictions of negative values, which in our case would be interpreted as predictions of negative numbers of child domestic workers.

The regression (Table 19) shows that the number of children in the household, apart from child domestic workers, has a negative impact on the number of child domestic workers in all cases, except in the case of children not enrolled at school aged 11-17 years (who are quite few). Thus, other children may presumably work in the place of child domestic workers, or put in another way: when a household contains many children, it does not need to acquire an extra child for work. Nevertheless, the dependency ratio of the household, i.e. ratio of the number of persons aged less than 15 and more than 64 to the number of persons aged 15 to 64 years, increases the number of child domestic workers. Thus, the higher workload in the household, the more domestic child workers there will be. Households thus acquire child domestics because they have higher workloads, but if they have children of their own that can work, they need less or no child domestic workers.

The household income also increases the chances that a household will use domestic child workers. The logarithmic form of the income used in the regression implies that the effect of income declines at higher incomes. Put in another way: the difference between a poor and middle-income household in their propensity to employ child workers is larger than that between a middle income and rich household.

Table 19: Poisson regression of total number of child domestic workers in household. Number of observations 7183, wald chi square 279 (p=0.000).

Variable	Coefficient	Robust standard error	z	Probability
Number of children aged 5-10, not enrolled	-0.4070	0.1708	-2.38	0.02
Number of children aged 5-10, enrolled	-0.3239	0.0649	-4.99	0.00
Number of children aged 11-17, not enrolled	-0.1457	0.1545	-0.94	0.35
Number of children aged 11-17, enrolled	-0.2204	0.0590	-3.74	0.00
Logarithm of total income	0.1653	0.0475	3.48	0.00
Dependency ratio (not aged 15-64/aged 15-64)	2.1599	0.1545	13.98	0.00
Education of highest educated person aged 18+ (Reference category: No education)				
Primary 1-6	0.3256	0.1351	2.41	0.02
Primary 7-9	0.4891	0.1707	2.87	0.00
More than primary	0.3649	0.1630	2.24	0.03

Variable	Coefficient	Robust standard error	z	Probability
Constant	-4.6440	0.4398	-10.56	0.00

The education of the household members has been coded as the highest education achieved by a person aged 18 years or above in the household. Because this is a discrete variable, it has been coded so that the coefficients refer to the effect of education relative to no education. Thus the regression shows that having any education, as opposed to no education among the adults of the household, increases the employment of domestic child workers by the household.

The regression appears to give more support to the "need for labour" than the "replacement" hypothesis, as having own children appears to diminish the propensity to employ child domestic workers. Thus, the majority of child domestic workers does not work so that the other children may get their education, but all children work in response to perceived labour needs of the household.

Providing Benefits

As mentioned, even adults who claim to need children because they cannot afford paid (adult) servants, occasionally provide the children with certain benefits, such as schooling. One may ask why they do so. Obviously, this question goes into the core of the nature of social relationships between the children and present caretakers. In the case of Rosefa, it is obvious that she develops close bonds to the children that stay with her for longer periods of time. Some of these children have clearly expressed discontent when they have felt unfairly treated, or not well cared for, and Rosefa yields to some of their claims. Moreover, even in cases of paid domestic servants, emotional distance is negotiated, or negotiable.[29] In our case, when the relationship is not a clear-cut employer-employee relationship, when the relationship is one of cohabitation, and especially when the "employer" takes on a parental role, it is not surprising that caretakers cover more than the children's basic needs for food and shelter, and that close bonds develop in some cases. Additionally, when getting company is a part of the rationale for acquiring new children, as among many older people, the relationships is from the start defined in other terms than the strictly economical, or in terms of labour only. In the case of Rosefa, one may suspect, also, that Rosefa thought that sending the children to school is a fair price to pay for not

[29] For an in-depth study of interaction between (paid adult) servants and employers, and the dynamic aspects of structures of domination that encompass servant-employer relations, see Hansen's study of Zambia (1989).

being exposed to their constant complaints and hassles. Moreover, social relationships between children and their adult caretakers are bound to be complex.

When guardians provide children with more than food and shelter, they occasionally do so with reference to their own future. As with parents, some guardians hope that helping a child, or securing the child with a "future" through schooling may one day pay back. Guardians who insisted on sending children to school often expressed this view. An older woman in Les Cayes formulated it in the following way: "You should help children, as one day you may need something yourself".

If looking at new caretakers' economic considerations, the rationale behind employing a child domestic and spend money on the child's schooling, rather than paying for adult domestic service, is clear. Salaries for paid domestic servants vary greatly, but it is reasonable to say that they range from 80 to 300 Haitian dollars per month (400 to 1500 Gourdes). The girl who used to live with Mrs. Rosefa, for instance, earns 150 Haitian dollars (Gourdes 750) per month in the convent where she works as a servant, but gets food and board in addition to her salary. Now, taking Rosefa as an example (as she claimed that she could not afford paid help), the two youngest children who stay with her both attend evening school. Rosefa pays six Haitian dollars (30 Gourdes) for each of them per month in school fees. Evening school is less costly than morning school. In Rosefa's case, she would have had to pay 20 Haitian dollars (100 Gourdes) per month for the two youngest children. Fabienne went to evening school up to the sixth grade, but has attended morning school for the past three years. Even with three children in the house, then, who all attend school, Rosefa currently pays 32 Haitian dollars (160 Gourdes) in fees per month. This is far less than what she would have had to pay had she hired an adult domestic servant.

Many households employ both (paid) adult servants and child domestics. This can in part be explained by the economic considerations described above, and by the different tasks ordinarily performed by child and adult domestics. Firstly, adult domestic service is considered to be expensive. Secondly, household work is organised by age. Adult maids are often put to the more advanced household tasks, like cooking the day's meals, which children cannot do as well as can adults. Often, adults also do the more heavy tasks in the house. Moreover, paid adult maids are responsible for the daily running of the household, whereas children assist adults while they carry out this responsibility. Seen from the point of view of potential employers, there is no economic reason for paying an adult maid to perform chores that children easily can do. Sweeping floors, fetching water, and cleaning are often represented as children's tasks. Above, Rosefa expressed this clearly when saying that she could not make Fabienne do a "child's tasks", as she is now an adult.

"Disciplining" and Setting Limits for Child Domestics

Just as common as the view that child domestics should be provided with certain benefits, is the attitude that children should be "disciplined" and put in place.

Among adults who house children in domesticity, discourses are marked by characterisations of the children's manners and alleged character traits, and what behavioural patterns they prefer in children. Above, Rosefa conveyed this in her statements about the children she had sent back to the parents – they were not "well behaved". Running about in the streets, for instance, is occasionally read as a sign of a child who cannot be controlled, who is easily influences by other children in the streets, and whom you should not trust. Adults in Port-au-Price would occasionally claim that they did not want "restaveks" in their house, because "they steal". Hence the recurrent complaint: "it is difficult to get good children these days".

Adults thus often ask for "well raised" (*bien elvé*) children. "Well raised" may imply that they "show respect", or in extreme cases, that they are expected to subordinate themselves to the adults, by not looking them in the eyes, or talk when they are not asked to do so. In some cases, children become subdued. Such notions and "character preferences" are thus connected with how the children are treated. In some cases, it implies that the guardians express the need of "putting the child in place" – not giving too much (attention), not letting them get too close, as they will regard you as stupid and abuse the freedom – an attitude not much different from that reflected in discourses among some upper-class residents about their relationship to paid servants.

The below case concerns a girl domestic. The story was told by an acquaintance of the woman (Mrs. Claude, see below) who originally placed the girl in a new household. The case shows a dispute over the girl's working and non-working hours, the girl's assertion of what she saw as her rights, the "employing" woman's expectations and response, and her sanctions when they were not fulfilled. The story was told a few days after the events described below took place.

The Adventist Girl

About two weeks ago, Mrs. Claude was approached by Mrs. Pierre, a close friend of hers. Mrs. Pierre was in "need" of a child to take care of the house and her three children. Mrs. Pierre and her husband work in the public administration, and their children attend one of Port-au-Prince's best schools.

Mrs. Claude suggested that Mrs. Pierre take up a girl of 17 years, who was "well raised", according to Mrs. Claude, and whose family in Grande Anse was in a desperate economic situation. Eventually, the girl moved to Mrs. Pierre's house.

Everything went well the first few days, and Mrs. Pierre conveyed her satisfaction to Mrs. Claude over the phone. When the Friday arrived, however, the girl and Mrs. Pierre got in an argument, as the girl was an Adventist, and

wanted to start the Sabbath at six p.m. and go to the temple afterwards, and on Saturday morning. She argued to Mrs. Pierre that she would finish all her work before six o'clock. Mrs. Pierre objected, got angry, and told the girl that:

> I cannot accept that you leave work and go to temple all the time. The one who doesn't work doesn't eat either! I have no use for a guest!

Now, the girl finished all her tasks, and at six p.m. left the house to go to the temple. The next day, Mrs. Pierre had asked the girl why she had not eaten, insisting that the girl had wasted the money she had spent on food for her. The girl replied that:

> The one who doesn't work doesn't eat either. My mother is poor but not so poor that she will deny me food!

Mrs. Pierre now got very upset over what she saw as "arrogance" from the girl, phoned Mrs. Claude, and told her all that she had done for the girl; that she had given her 100 Gourdes and a dress she had bought on her last trip to New York worth 15 US dollars. Now, she insisted, she did not want her in her house any longer, and Mrs. Claude would have to come and get her. Mrs. Claude insisted that Mrs. Pierre give the girl 500 Gourdes so that she could go back to her mother in Grande Anse, but Mrs. Pierre denied this, and eventually, the girl was brought to Mrs. Claude's house.

When the girl came to her house, Mrs. Claude checked the dress that Mrs. Pierre had given her, and found out that it was a second-hand dress earlier used by one of Mrs. Pierre's daughters. The girl did not want to go back home, however, and Mrs. Claude placed her with one of her cousins. After about a week's time, the girl had left without telling the family, and no one now knew where she was.

Mrs. Pierre, then, read the girl's insistence on going to church as impertinence, insisted that the work relationship be defined on her own premises, and when the girl objected, it was interpreted as a sign of arrogance. Basically, Mrs. Pierre objected to the fact that the girl did not obey her command.

Moreover, harsh treatment of, or strict discipline toward child domestics is partly explained by such alleged needs of "putting the child in place". This entails asserting control, motivated by a fear that too gentle treatment will make the situation "get out of hand". Consequently, children's insistence on rights is read as expressions of a situation about to get out of control, which triggers ever new cycles of sanctioning.

Kinship and "Parental Domesticity"

As mentioned, about two thirds of child domestics are born into their present household. This gives high proportions of children living with close relatives. However, among child domestics, whether or not there is kinship ties to household members differ according to both gender and residence.

Table 20: Co-residents of Child Domestic workers (percent of children)

	Urban		Rural		All
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Sibling	42,9	14,8	24,5	19,0	21,6
Grand parent	17,0	5,9	39,2	36,1	37,5
Uncle/aunt	7,2	15,9	11,2	13,2	12,2
Adopted relation		1,6	0,5	0,2	0,4
Other Relative	17,8	29,8	12,3	15,7	14,1
Non-Relative	15,1	32,0	12,3	15,8	14,2

Whereas boys and rural girls tend to live with close relatives, such as siblings, grandparents and siblings of parents (67 percent urban boys, 75 percent rural boys and 68 percent rural girls); urban girls tend to live with more distant relatives (only 37 percent with close relatives) (Table 20). Once again, urban girls stand out as different from the other: 32 percent of the urban girls live with people classified as non-relatives. In the rural area, grandparents are common caretakers for both boy and girl domestics.

The below is a case of "parental domesticity", and of placement with close kin:

Hilaine

Hilaine was born in Cité Soleil. She is now 14 years old. Until she was eight, she lived with her mother and four brothers. Hilaine tells that, when her oldest brother got married and moved to a new house, her mother was unable to provide food for her and the other children [indicating that the brother assisted financially before he moved]. The mother therefore decided to place Hilaine at her brother's. Hilaine's mother started going back and forth between Port-au-Prince and Les Cayes, where she was running a small-scale business. Hilaine was eight when she moved to her brother's.

According to Hilaine, her sister-in-law considered her a "domestic". Hilaine tells that she was mistreated ("*maltreté*"), hit on the head, and that she was only allowed to eat leftovers from the meals. She continues to say that: "My mother and brother were aware of this mistreatment". Hilaine did not attend school. The brother's five-year-old son, on the other hand, did go to school (another

child died at the age of six months). Hilaine says that her sister-in-law kept her from playing with the other kids in the area. Hilaine slept on a rug on the floor.

Hilaine says that she hated her sister-in-law and brother, as they were always "mad", and were bad-tempered. She explains that there was "bad blood" between her and them.

Hilaine moved back to her mother and three other brothers three years ago. Hilaine attends school in a training centre several days a week. She started at this school before she moved back to her mother's, she explains, and adds: "In the beginning, my sister-in-law and my brother were opposed to the initiative, but my mother was interested". Presently, her mother does laundry for others, which brings some, but not a lot of money.

Hilaine describes herself as a *domestic*, by virtue of her work in the house, her lack of schooling, and the mistreatment she experienced. Inspiring this self-description is the feeling that she was not treated as her brother's or sister-in-law's equal, but instead, that the relationship to her brother, and her life in general, changed when she moved to her brother's house.

The relationship between sister-in-laws is often portrayed as conflict ridden, as in this case of Hilaine and her sister-in-law. One man commented that:

> The man's sister thinks that the brother only takes care of his wife, and fails to support her (the sister) financially. The wife, on the other hand, thinks that the sister increases the brother's or household's financial burden.

Kinship relationships between child domestics and household members seem to be a double-edged sword in terms of the expectations of the child's workload. As may be recalled from Chapter 2, parents who compensate receiving families for housing their child (as "tenants" for purposes of education) held that living with kin is better than living with "strangers", as "strangers" are people that are not really known, and from whom you cannot know what to expect. Certain "sacrifices" have to be expected when the child lives with a "stranger", explained one mother. At the same time, however, parents pay less in compensation for upkeep when the guardian is a kinsman. This is justified with reference to kin "helping" each other. This implies that kin relations are relationships of social debt and mutual help, in the form of labour services and other contributions. In other words, there is no reason why a kinship relationship should involve less work than a non-kin relation.

The social debt of parents toward relatives, as implied when they are "assisted" by relatives who contribute to their children's upkeep, is in part reciprocated by the child's labour contributions. But the relationship between the caretaker and the original parents does not cease to be defined in terms of assistance: The new caretakers continue to be perceived as "helping" the original parents by supporting their

child, and parents remain indebted to the new caretakers. In kinship relationships too then, the relationship between the original family and the new caretakers can be seen as a patron-client relationship.

This is not to say that the local idea of kin as safer guardians than "strangers" is always counter-productive. What it does show, however, is that kinship and work are not mutually exclusive categories. Importantly, this consideration must be kept in mind when we frame questions about relatives' roles in child domesticity. Basically, asking about the reasons why many children work for relatives is to assume that children working for non-relatives is a "normal" state of affairs, or that working for relatives is somehow abnormal. Empirically, it is not abnormal. At the same time, we know too little about qualities of kinships relationships during the past years (and especially during times of economic crisis, increased migration, and fragmentation of the *lakou*) to say whether present day parental domesticity is a result of recent developments.

Child Domesticity, Social Debt and Inequality

Relationships between original and present caretakers of children should not only be analysed in terms of kinship. Earlier, we have pointed out that the roles of caretakers and parents take on aspects of patrons and clients in many cases. Parents are seemingly helped by the new caretakers of their child, and remain socially indebted to them. In part, the debt between parents and new caretakers is "repaid" in the new relationship between the child and the caretaker by the child's labour contributions. However, this does not always seem to affect the relationship between the original parents and new caretakers. Parents still describe themselves as "grateful" to the new guardians for their contributions to the child's upkeep and education.

When placing their children in new homes, parents primarily try to solve a difficult situation. Explanations among parents to place their children in new homes indicate that parents hope that the child may gain some advantage from the stay, socially and economically. Also, they hope that the communities to which they send the children are places of possibilities, and that their children's *chances* of obtaining certain skills or getting an education are greater there than in their home communities, under the conditions they themselves live. In this sense, the riches to which they aspire for their children are not only of a directly material kind. Moreover, they convey hopes of social promotion for the child and themselves.

A common generalisation among specialists working in the field of child labour in Haiti is that earlier, children were given to rich families, whereas today, the practice

has changed, and that children are given to poor families or that is, to poor as well as rich homes. In order to assess this hypothesis, income levels of original and receiving households need comparison.

We found earlier that the group of households that send children away for domestic work in other households stands out as a low-income group, with an average annual household income at only about half of the national average (Table 18). Looking at the group of households that *receive* or *contain* child domestic workers, on the other hand, no such marked distinctions are found. The average household income of these households is some 20 percent higher than the total average. Yet, as the households with child domestic workers are also larger than others, their resulting per capita income falls below the total average (Table 21).

Table 21: Mean and median annual total household income adjusted for self-consumption by child receiver status (Gourdes)

	Total		Per person	
	Median	Mean	Median	Mean
Has no Child domestic worker	10 000	22 469	2 630	6 345
Has child domestic worker	12 650	27 404	2 582	5 078
All	10 143	22 932	2 625	6 226

Even so, a simple comparison of households that have placed a child in a new home for household work with households that include child domestics shows significant differences in income (Table 22).

Table 22: Mean and median annual total household income adjusted for self-consumption by child provider and receiver status (Gourdes)

	Total		Per person	
	Median	Mean	Median	Mean
Has given away child for housework	4 600	12 339	1 239	2 325
Has child domestic worker	12 650	27 404	2 582	5 078
All	10 143	22 932	2 625	6 226

However, the average income measures conceal a large *variation* in income among the receiving households. When total incomes are divided into five equal size ranked income groups (quintiles), there is a slight tendency for child domesticity to increase

with increasing income (Table 23). But in fact, Table 23 shows that nearly as many of the lower income households as higher income households have child domestic worker: whereas eight to nine percent of the households in the three lowest quintiles have one or more child domestic workers, the percentage is ten to twelve in the two highest quintiles.

Table 23: Percentage of households having one or more child domestic workers

Quintiles					
(lowest income group)				(Highest income group)	
1	2	3	4	5	Total
8	8	9	10	12	9

This pattern lends credence to the argument that child domestic workers are distributed quite evenly in the population.

We have seen that the need for domestic labour is partially fulfilled by own children in the household, and partially by child domestic labour. When child domestic labour is recruited, the children appear to be recruited from households that are poorer than the recipient households. Having child domestic labour does not appear to increase the receiving household's prosperity in monetary terms, but does contribute to solving the problem of obtaining labour for ordinary domestic tasks.

On the side of the providing households, giving away children probably increases the workload of the remaining children.

6 Explanations, Interpretations and Recommendations

Tone Sommerfelt & Jon Pedersen

Child domestic labour in Haiti undergoes constant changes. New arrangements appear, and the group of child domestic workers change in size and composition. The social context of child domestic labour also changes. Changing estimates of the extent of child domestic labour is hence a result of dynamics in Haitian social relations, but also of changing international standards.

Opportunity Situations and Social Reproduction

Working through the empirical material, we can establish that child domesticity is a significant feature of social life in Haiti. Considering that between 5.9 and 8.2 percent of the child population aged five to 17 years can be categorised as child domestics, child domesticity is an important component in household composition, and as such, in social organisation.

This, however, should not be interpreted as a "diagnosis" of a Haitian "culture". On the contrary, neither social systems, nor "culture", determine the actions of people. "Culture" does not motivate people to take in children or place them in domesticity. People's various needs, on the other hand, motivate them to act. Cultural dynamics and social systems are generated by social relationships and by the social efforts of individuals. Thus, people's acts and relationships are shaped, but not determined by cultural, economic, social, and religious processes. Organisational forms of child domestic labour are hence generated, changed and reproduced by people's various needs and practices, and social, cultural and economic processes in turn shape their wishes and actions.

Thus, we have stressed that neither the extensive fosterage practices, nor blurred lines between fosterage, kinship and labour arrangements are causes of the extent of child domesticity in Haiti. On the other hand, they give us an intake to understanding why child domestic labour appears in the forms they do, and to the ways in which

children's work is conceptualised. Thus, relationships of domesticity are but seldom described in terms of labour, and more often in terms of care taking arrangements. By the same token, gender relations shape patterns in children's domestic work. Furthermore, child domestic labour is generated and regenerated because there is a supply and a demand for children's labour. Supply and demand is related to poverty (parents' low incomes), parents' hopes of giving their children and themselves a better future, to the fact that formal education is a highly treasured value, and to perceived labour needs in "employing" households.

People act and react according to the opportunities they are faced with. We have seen the variety of adaptations and have pointed out the blurred distinctions between child domesticity, parent-child separation, and child vulnerability in more general terms. Parents try to resolve precarious life conditions by placing their children in new homes, and hope to improve the children's access to areas they see as "places of possibilities". Families take in children; or relationships to children born in household evolve into relations of "domesticity" because adults "need labour force" and because they cannot afford paid service. Young children have little choice but to adapt to the circumstances they are faced with. When children are offered conditions they see as fair and/or fine, relationships to new caretakers may develop into close bonds. Faced with hardship, children may respond by becoming subdued, or simply by fleeing the situation, looking for new homes. Some assert claims and rights: to sleep, to upkeep, schooling or days off. In turn, guardians choose to yield and accord the children certain benefits. Or, they read complaints as signs of children's impudence and their own lack of control, link it to children's alleged "bad upbringings", and tighten the knot even harder or terminate the entire relationship.

In general terms, child domestics work more than other children, and lack schooling or are delayed in their education, but this is also in itself an identification of a vulnerable group. This finding is in part an effect of our definition of the child domestic labour concept. Additionally, we find that the age distribution of child domestic workers peaks at 12 years. This implies that many children are recruited into domesticity at this age. Furthermore, in absolute numbers, most of the child domestics are found in rural areas. If considering the proportion of child domestics of the total child population in urban and rural areas, the percentages are about the same.

Our data show that overall, 59 percent of the child domestics are girls, whereas 41 percent are boys. In urban areas, girls make up an even larger proportion of the child domestic workers (72 percent), and among these girls, fewer have kinship relationships to their new guardians. There is a tendency that more of the boy child domestics originate from rural areas, whereas girls to a larger extent than boys come from urban areas. On an average, about 80 percent of child domestics have parents (mother and/or father) who are still alive. In urban areas, more boys than girls are visited by their parents.

As mentioned, the girls stand out in several respects. Not only do they make up a large proportion of the child domestic workers. They also work more than their male counterparts, and in urban areas, they sleep slightly less than the others, and are not to the same extent as the boys visited by their parents. By many means, then, the girl domestic workers appear as the most vulnerable. This may be due to fewer possibilities of protest, and fewer possibilities to change home in cases when conditions would inspire them to do so.

Child domestic labour is recruited from households that are poorer than the recipients. However, the recipient households do not appear to gain a large economic advantage by doing so, the benefit lies more in the possibility to carry out domestic tasks easily. In households that provide labour to other households, the remaining children probably have a larger workload than they would otherwise have.

Recommendations

Parents' motivations behind placing children in new homes reflect pulling and pushing factors. Notably, informal and formal education, and improved chances of access to such education, is a basic concern. Even though the expressed wish for their children's education in many cases appears as an *a posteriori* rationalisation, there seems to be little need to inform parents about the importance of education. Such a strategy may even turn out to be counterproductive. Even adults who recruit child domestics occasionally do so in order in order to put their own children in school.

Instead, adults and parents should be given the opportunities that allow them to put children in school in their home community. One way to achieve this would be to reduce costs of having children attend school, or perhaps even pay parents for children's attendance, which has been tried in some countries (e.g. Bangladesh). Secondary schooling (seventh to ninth year fundamental schooling) must be made accessible to rural parents and children. In the long run, these will also reduce the recruitment rates of children.

Given the fact that migration rates out of Haiti are considerable, there will in the foreseeable future remain a large number of children whose parents are abroad. Moreover, since the spread of HIV may increase the number of orphans, there is probably no option but to ensure that children who are living without parents are properly cared for. Therefore, other guardians of children than parents are also an important target group for policies that are directed at ameliorating the plight of the child domestic workers. Awareness raising, rather than focusing on education (alone),

should focus on reducing the children's workloads. In such programs, girl domestics should be a special target group.

Finally, the Haitian Labour Law must be made consistent with prevailing international conventions, especially on the lower age limit for admission to the labour market.

Appendix: The Haiti Living Conditions Survey - Sample and Methodological Notes

Jon Pedersen

The Haiti Living Conditions Survey is a multi-topic household survey consisting of three main questionnaires. It consists of, firstly, a household questionnaire, with questions relating to overall characteristics of the household and its members; secondly, a woman / caretaker questionnaire, with questions relating to reproductive history and health, and youth; and finally, in each household one person aged 15 and above was selected at random, and was interviewed with a questionnaire consisting of questions referring directly to the personal experiences and view of the respondent.

Interviewing started at March 29, 2001 and 99 percent of the interviewing was finished by July 1st, 2001, with a few interviews not being completed before the beginning of August.

The sample of the HLCS is a stratified cluster sample. It has a varying number of stages, depending on the ultimate unit of selection (household or randomly selected person) and also the location. In most areas, three random selections are made in order to select a household, but both two and four stages occur. The sample is simply the master sample of the IHSI. This sample is a sample that has been designed in order to facilitate surveys in Haiti until a new sampling frame can be defined derived from the coming census. The master sample is an update of the enumeration areas of the 1982 population census of Haiti.

Currently, all major surveys in Haiti have been carried out using the master sample. The frame consists of a set of selected areas that serves as clusters, and selection of households takes place within these areas. The frame allows for use of a subset of the clusters or all clusters. In the case of the HLCS, all clusters were used. Selected enumeration areas were remapped, in some cases segmented into smaller areas and relisted. The relisting was carried out either in conjunction with the Household Budget Survey of 1999-2000 or in conjunction with preparation of the fieldwork of the HLCS. In urban areas, extensive remapping was carried out. The sample is described in IHSI (1997) and Pedersen (2002).

The long time that has passed since the 1982 Census has been accompanied by considerable changes in population distribution in Haiti. This has meant that it was impossible to create a self-weighting sample, and even though attempts were made to reduce the variation of the weights, there is considerable variation in the final sample. The key characteristics of the sample are the following:

1. The sample was explicitly stratified by domain and urban rural status. Domains were either the area around Port-au-Prince or Departements (regions).
2. Each domain received a sample allocation proportional to the square root of the number of individuals in the domain. The sample is thus not self-weighting.
3. Each stratum within a domain received a sample allocation proportional to the number of households in the stratum.
4. The measure of size used for stratum allocation and primary sampling unit selection is the 1982 census counts as updated by IHSI to reflect the situation in 1996/1998.
5. Within each stratum area, units were selected with probability proportionate to size (PPS). The selection was in one or two stages.
6. Some area units are segmented into several segments and one of these was selected by PPS.
7. A sketch map was made for each selected area unit and all dwelling units within were listed.
8. From the list of the households, the selection of households was made with linear systematic sampling.
9. An individual aged 15 or above was selected randomly for being the respondent on the "individual" questionnaire. In order to make the random selection a so-called "Kish-table" was used (see Kish 1965: 399).

Altogether, 7812 dwelling units were selected for interview. It was possible to conduct interviews in 7313 households. The remaining 499 dwelling units did either not exist; were vacant; under construction; or their inhabitants were ineligible for the survey (e.g. diplomats, expatriate UN employees and their families). Interviewers completed interviews in 7172 households, giving an overall response rate of 97.8 percent. The refusal rate was 0.4 percent and 1.5 percent of the households could not be contacted. In general, these rates are typical of surveys in developing countries.

Since the sample is not self-weighting, weights have to be used in the estimation. The weights are based on the inclusion probabilities for each household. In addition, the weights are corrected for non-response using an adjustment cell method. This

method entails increasing the weights to households that are similar to the households that have not responded (see for example Lehtonen and Pahkinen 1995: 118).

The main problem of the sample is not response rates, but rather imperfections in the sample frame because of the long time that has passed since the 1982 census. Although the master sample specifies procedures for how to include areas in the frame that was not inhabited in 1982, and also how to delineate new borders between enumeration units in ways that should ensure the possibility of representative sampling, such procedures are difficult to apply consistently.

Because of the uncertainties in the definition and updating of enumeration areas, a particular uncertainty pertains to the population size. In principle, population size can be estimated from the survey. From our sample, this results in a population size of 6.3 million, which is small compared to the IHSI estimate of 8.3 million for year 2001. In comparison, the World Bank (devdata.worldbank.org) estimates the 2000 population to be 8 million, the UN Population Division as 8.142 million (UNPD 2002), while the US Bureau of the Census estimate is 6.96 million for midyear 2001 (www.census.gov).

Given the methods for updating the sample frame that were used, it is probable that the true population is larger than that estimated in the survey. However, it is not likely that the undercount is as large as the 1.7 – 2.0 million as suggested by World Bank and IHSI estimates. Accepting the IHSI projection would entail that 24 percent of the households were missed on the average in each enumeration area. Such errors would have been easily detected by the quality controls used in the mapping and listing procedures. In this report we have therefore adopted the US Bureau of the Census estimate of the population and adjusted estimations weights accordingly.

References

Anderson, Leslie et al. (E. J. Kelley & Z. K. Kinnunen) 1990. *Restavek: Child Domestic Labor in Haiti.* Minneapolis, Minnesota: Minnesota Lawyers International Human Rights Committee.

Appadurai, Arjun 1986. "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value" in A. Appadurai (ed.): *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, pp. 3-63. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bales, Kevin 1999. *Disposable People: New Slavery in the Global Economy.* California: The Regents of the University of California/University of California Press.

Bastien, Rémy 1961. "Haitian Rural Family Organization" in S. Mintz & W. Davenport (eds.): *Working Papers in Caribbean Social Organization. Social and Economic Studies*, Vol. 10, no. 4, pp. 478-510. Jamaica: University College of the West Indies, Institute of Social and Economic Research.

Bastien, Rémy 1985 [1951]. *Le Paysan Haïtien et sa Famille. Vallée de Marbial.* Paris: Karthala.

Becker, Gary S. 1991. *A Treatise of the Family.* Enlarged (2nd) Edition. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Blagbrough, Jonathan & Edmund Glynn 1999. "Child Domestic Workers: Characteristics of the Modern Slave and Approaches to Ending such Exploitation" in *Childhood*, Vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 51-56.

Bledsoe, Caroline 1980. *Women and Marriage in Kpelle Society.* Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

Bledsoe, Caroline 1990a. "'No Success Without Struggle': Social Mobility and Hardship for Foster Children in Sierra Leone". In *Man* (N.S.), Vol. 25, no. 1, pp. 70-88.

Bledsoe, Caroline 1990b. "The Politics of Children: Fosterage and the Social Management of Fertility Among the Mende of Sierre Leone". In W. Penn Handwerker (ed.): *Births and Power: Social Change and the Politics of Reproduction*, pp. 81-100. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

Boyden, J. et. al. (B. Ling and W. Myers) 1998. *What Works for Working Children?* Stockholm: Rädda Barnen & UNICEF.

Cadet, Jean-Robert 1998. *Restavec: From Haitian Slave Child to Middle-Class American.* Austin: Texas University Press.

Clesca, Eddy 1984. "La Domesticité Juvénile est-elle une Conséquence du Sous-developpement ou le Produit de la Mentalité d'un Peuple?" in *Colloque sur l'Enfance en Domesticité.* Conference Report, Institut du Bien-Etre Social et de Recherche & UNICEF.

Camacho, A. Z. 1999. "Family, Child Labour and Migration: Child Domestic Workers in Metro Manila". In *Childhood,* Vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 57-73. London: Sage Publications.

Danroc, Gilles 1996. "La Convetion des Droits de l'Enfant dans l'Haïti d'Aujourd'hui et de Demain" in *Haïti Information Libre,* Vol. 9 (1996), no. 98: *Le Droit des Enfants à Avoir des Droits,* pp. 33-40. Port-au-Prince: Haïti Solidarité Internationale.

Dorélien, Renand 1990 [1984]. *Résumé de la Communication sur "Interprétation des Données Statistiques Relatives à l'Enfance en Domesticité Recueillies à Partir des Résultats d'un Échantillon Tiré du Recensement de 1982".* Atelier de Travail sur l'Enfance en Domesticité. Port-au-Prince, 5, 6 et 7 décembre 1990. Port-au-Prince: Institut du Bien-Etre Social et de Recherche & IHSI.

Goody, Esther 1975. "Delegation of Parental Roles in West Africa and the West Indies" in Jack Goody (ed.): *Changing Social Structure in Ghana: Essays in the Comparative Sociology of a New State and and Old Tradition,* pp. 137-165. London: International African Institute.

Grimsrud, Bjørne 2001. *Measuring and Analyzing Child Labor: Methodological Issues.* Social Protection Discussion Paper, no. 0123, The World Bank. Washington: The World Bank.

Grimsrud, Bjørne & Liv Jorunn Stokke 1997. *Child Labour in Africa: Poverty or Institutional Failures? The Cases of Egypt and Zimbabwe.* Fafo-report 233. Oslo: Fafo.

Hansen, Karen Tranberg 1989. *Distant Companions: Servants and Employers in Zambia, 1900-1985.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Herskovits, Melville J. 1964 [1937]. *Life in a Haitian Valley.* New York: Octagon Books Inc.

IHSI 1997. *Echantillon-Maître d'Enquêtes Multiples.* Port Au Prince: IHSI.

IPSOFA (Institut Psycho-Social de la Famille) 1998. *Restavek: La Domesticité Juvénile en Haïti*. IPSOFA: Port-au-Prince.

Isiugo-Abanihe, U. C. 1985. "Child Fosterage in West Africa". In *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 11, no. 1, pp.53-73.

Joanis, Mirlène 1996 [1995]. "Le Droit des Enfants dans la Famille Haïtienne" in *Haïti Information Libre*, Vol. 9 (1996), no. 98: *Le Droit des Enfants à Avoir des Droits*, pp. 9-15. Port-au-Prince: Haïti Solidarité Internationale.

Keesing, Rogher H. 1994. "Theories of Culture Revisited" in Robert Borofsky (ed.): *Assessing Cultural Anthropology*, pp. 301-312. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc.

Kish, Leslie 1965. *Survey Sampling*. New York: John Wiley.

Kopytoff, Igor & Suzanne Miers 1977. "African 'Slavery' as an Institution of Marginality" in S. Miers & I. Kopytoff (eds.): *Slavery in Africa. Historical and Anthropological Perspectives*, pp. 3-81. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Labelle, Micheline 1987. *Idéologie de Couleur et Classes Sociales en Haïti*, 2. ed. Montréal: CIDIHCA, Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal.

Lehtonen, R. and E. J. Pahkinen 1995. *Practical methods for design and analysis of complex surveys*. Chicester: Wiley.

Levine, Robert A. et. al. 1994. "The Comparative Study of Child Care" in R. A. Levine et. al.: *Child Care and Culture. Lessons from Africa*, pp. 7-21. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mackenzie, Charles 1971 [1830]. *Notes on Haiti. Made During a Residence in that Republic*, Vol. 1. London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd.

Myers W. & J. Boyden 1998. *Child Labour: Promoting the Best Interests of Working Children*, 2. ed. London: International Save the Children Alliance.

Ngom, Nancy Ndiaye 1999. *Droits de l'Enfant et Justice Juvénile en Haiti*. Port-au-Prince: UNICEF.

Nieuwenhuys, Olga 1994. *Children's Lifeworlds. Gender, Welfare and Labour in the Developing World*. London: Routledge.

Nieuwenhuys, Olga 1996. "The Paradox of Child Labour and Anthropology". In *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 25, pp. 237-251.

Paine, Robert 1971. "A Theory of Patronage and Brokerage" in R. Paine (ed.): *Patrons and Brokers in the East Arctic*, pp. 8-21. St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Parry, Jonathan P. & Maurice Bloch (eds.) 1989. *Money and the Morality of Exchange*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pedersen, Jon 2001. *Haiti Living Conditions Survey*. Sample Design. Oslo: Fafo.

Rawson, Ian G. & Gretchen Berggren 1973. "Family Structure, Child Location and Nutritional Disease in Rural Haiti" in *Environmental Child Health*, Vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 288-298.

Save the Children 1999. *Child Centered Approaches to Child Work Issues*. Conference Report, Oslo 20-21 April 1999. Save the Children.

Simpson, George Eaton 1941. "Haiti's social structure" in *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 6, pp. 640-649.

Simpson, George Eaton 1942. "Sexual and Familial Institutions in Northern Haiti" in *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 44, no. 4, pp. 655-674.

Sommerfelt, Tone (ed.) 2001. *Domestic Child Labour in Morocco: An Analysis of the Parties Involved in Relationships to "Petites Bonnes"*. Fafo-Report 370. Oslo: Fafo & Save the Children UK.

Sommerfelt, Tone 2001. "Petites Bonnes and Their Parents: Experiences and Motivational Factors" in T. Sommerfelt (ed.): *Domestic Child Labour in Morocco: An Analysis of the Parties Involved in Relationships to "Petites Bonnes"*, pp. 21-70. Fafo-Report 370. Oslo: Fafo & Save the Children UK.

Tremblay, Johanne 1995. *Mères, Pouvoir et Santé en Haïti*. Paris: Karthala.

UNESCO 1995/1996. "Educational System – Haiti". http://www.education.unesco.org/ngo/iau/educht.html.htm.

UNICEF 1993. *Les Enfants en Situation Spécialement Difficile en Haïti: Rapport d'Enquête*. Port-au-Prince: UNICEF.

UNICEF 1999. *Child Domestic Work*. Innocenti Digest no. 5. Siena/Florence: Innocenti Research Centre/UNICEF International Child Development Centre.

UNPD 2002. *Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat, World Population Prospects: The 2000 Revision*.

Vayda, Andrew P. 1994. "Actions, Variations, and Change: The Emerging Anti-Essentialist View in Anthropology" in Robert Borofsky (ed.): *Assessing Cultural Anthropology*, pp. 320-330. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc.

Vertus, Saint-Louis 1993. "Régime Militaire et Règlements de Culture en 1801" in *Chemins Critiques*, Vol. 3, no. 1-2, pp. 183-227.

Child Domestic Labour in Haiti

Institute for Applied Social Science
P.O.Box 2947 Tøyen
N-0608 Oslo
http://www.fafo.no/engelsk/