

**THE USES OF CHILDREN:
A STUDY OF TRAFFICKING IN HAITIAN CHILDREN**

By

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PREFACE

This study is based primarily on in-depth tape-recorded interviews with hundreds of Haitians and Dominicans on both sides of the border. Fieldwork was undertaken directly by the two co-authors of this report. Murray assumed primary responsibility for interviews and chapters devoted to the Dominican side of the issues studied, and Smucker to the Haitian side of the border. Smucker accepted prime legal responsibility for the execution of the contract and for communication with USAID. He also undertook the final editing and synthesis of the report. In all other respects the work was totally collaborative.

The authors are especially grateful to Philippe Cantave and Sharon Bean and of the Democracy and Governance team at the USAID/Haiti Mission, and for the cooperation and insights of hundreds of persons interviewed in the course of study. The names of institutional personnel and certain key informants are listed in the annexes. Despite the generous help of these persons, the views expressed in this report reflect those of the authors and not of the persons interviewed nor of the USAID/Haiti Mission, the contracting agency. The authors themselves accept responsibility for any errors of fact or interpretation.

The authors briefed AID/Washington personnel in July 2004 and USAID/Haiti personnel and partners in September and December 2004. In September Murray was unable to participate as scheduled due to severe weather. A final briefing was therefore scheduled for December 2004 to focus on elements of the report that deal with the Dominican Republic and the Haiti/Dominican border. The authors are grateful for the stimulating questions and comments of participants in these briefings and have taken them into account in final revisions.

For a summary of findings comparable to an executive summary, including a detailed listing of recommendations, see Chapter IX, Summary Conclusions and Recommendations, page 108.

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ACRONYMS

ADRA	Adventist Development and Relief Agency
BARA	Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology
CEDEC	Centre de Développement Communautaire
CIFD	Comité Inter-Agences Femmes et Développement
COHADDE	Coalition Haitienne pour la Defense des Droits de l'Enfant
DR	Dominican Republic
EMMUS	Enquête Mortalité, Morbidité, et Utilisation des Services
FAFO	Institut des Etudes Internationales Appliquées de Norvège
GARR	Groupe d'Appui aux Rapatriés et Réfugiés
GRET	Groupe de recherche et d'échanges technologiques
HRW	Human Rights Watch
HSI	Haiti Solidarité Internationale
ID	Identity card or paper
IFSI	Interim Food Security Information System
IHRLC	International Human Rights Law Clinic
IHSI	Institut Haitien de Statistique et d'Informatique
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IPEC	International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (ILO)
IPSOFA	Institut Psycho-Social de la Famille
KADRET	Komite pou akeyi ak defann rapatriye ak refijye nan Tyot
MAST	Ministère des Affaires Sociales et du Travail
MENJS	Ministère de l'Education Nationale de la Jeunesse et des Sports, Haiti
MHAVE	Ministère des Haitiens Vivant à l'Étranger
MLIHRC	Minnesota Lawyers International Human Rights Committee
NCHR	National Coalition for Haitian Rights
OIM	Organisation Internationale pour les Migrations
OIT	Organisation Internationale de Travail
PV	Plataforma Vida
TIP	Trafficking in persons
RAMAK	Rasambleman Medya pou Aksyon Kominotè (Creative Associates)
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VDH	Volontariat pour le Développement d'Haiti

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CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE

This study documents a series of insidious forms of child abuse affecting Haitian children in their own country and in the neighboring Dominican Republic. The overriding purpose of the study is to document evidence of trafficking within Haiti and across the border. We will present evidence encountered for systems, networks, and the actors involved in severe forms of trafficking.

Trafficking is by definition abusive; however, trafficking was not the only form of abuse encountered during field inquiry. Therefore, this study also documents other uses and abuses of Haitian children, the social and cultural context of child labor, and a significant range and variation in child placement outside the home. Two types of child labor placement are the primary focus of study: (1) the placement of Haitian children as domestic servants in other Haitian households, an arrangement commonly known as *restavèk* (literally, "living with"), and (2) the cross-border movement of Haitian children to work in the Dominican Republic.

The study seeks to clarify and illustrate patterns of child placement and trafficking, origins and destination of children placed or trafficked, cultural antecedents for giving and taking children, and social characteristics of families in which there is a heightened risk of child victimization due to trafficking or placement outside the home. The study also identifies systems of recruiting Haitian children for placement in the Dominican Republic, high incidence routes across the border, and living conditions of Haitian child workers in the neighboring republic. This inquiry also notes factors rendering children more vulnerable to external placement and trafficking. This includes poverty, the death of parents, runaways, and proximity to focal points of demand for child labor such as towns, urban centers, border markets, and the relative affluence and high demand for cheap labor in the Dominican Republic.

The purpose of this study is to better inform donor decision-makers who seek to alleviate problems of child abuse and trafficking in Haiti. Therefore, the present report identifies prospective points of programmatic entrée into the system, and includes recommendations and suggested activities with a view to practical forms of intervention and program assistance.

THE CONCEPT OF TRAFFICKING

The overriding concept for this study is the notion of trafficking. At its most generic level, labor trafficking might include the following elements:

- (a) a laborer,
- (b) a labor user,
- (c) a financial transaction to ensure a labor user's access to a labor,
- (d) a financial transaction to ensure a prospective worker's access to employment,
- (e) an intermediary or broker role in the chain of labor supply and demand,

The basic impetus behind the present inquiry, however, is not just generic trafficking *per se* but “severe forms of trafficking” of children as defined in the Trafficking Victims Protection Act.¹ This legislation defines *severe trafficking* in terms of the use of threats, violence and intimidation:

- a. *sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such an act has not attained 18 years of age; or*
- b. *the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery.*

Children are defined as persons under age 18. According to the language of US legislation, threats, physical coercion, or abuse of the legal process serve as basic criteria for defining *involuntary servitude*. *Slavery* is defined as “a person over whom any or all the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised.” *Practices similar to slavery* include “delivery of children for exploitation.”²

The US Department of State makes annual country assessments of the incidence of severe trafficking and local government response to trafficking. A hundred victims or more is considered a significant number. By these standards Haiti is afflicted with severe levels of trafficking in persons. In June 2003, the State Department’s Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons identified Haiti as a “Tier 3” country – the most severe status category according to State Department criteria. The trafficking phenomenon behind this assessment was primarily in-country exploitation of “*restavèk*” children as domestic servants, i.e., a practice deemed to fit the criteria of trafficking in children for forced labor and sexual exploitation. The Trafficking in Persons report also stated that Haitian children were trafficked into the Dominican Republic for similar purposes.³

RESEARCH DOMAIN

In Haiti and the Dominican Republic, the networks of supply and demand for Haitian children are somewhat more complicated than the definitions of trafficking noted above. Furthermore, the demand for children goes beyond the practice of recruiting *restavèk* children as domestic servants. So where is the trafficking in these and other arrangements?

In order to clarify the whole issue of trafficking, the present study examines a broad range of child labor and other arrangements whereby children are placed outside the home. Not all of these arrangements can be construed as trafficking. Certainly not all children living outside of their own homes of origin are *restavèk* servant children. Our field research was thus based, in the first instance, on the neutral concepts of *child recruitment and child labor mobilization*. This in turn establishes a basis for identifying different categories

¹ State (6/11/03, 5), *Trafficking in Persons Report*, based on the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (Division A of Public law 106-386), enacted in October 2000.

² US Department of State, *Model Law to Combat Trafficking in Persons*, released by the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, March 12, 2003.

³ See Trafficking in Persons Report, Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, June 11, 2003.

of demand for children and any related networks of trafficking in children. Thus, field research for this study was based on the following lines of inquiry:

- Extra-domestic mobilization of Haitian child labor, that is, the phenomenon by which Haitian children (a) labor for others, and (b) live away from their biological parents or other primary adult caretakers.
- Patterns in the recruitment of Haitian children and child laborers in both Haiti and the Dominican Republic.
- Patterns of child abuse that fit the criteria of severe trafficking including involuntary servitude, slavery, or delivery of children for exploitation.

To get at the issue of child abuse and trafficking, the study made a special effort to document modes of child labor recruitment that met one or more of the following criteria:

- payment of money to intermediaries who link labor suppliers with labor users,
- application of coercion on children (a) to bring them to the place where they will labor, (b) to force them to labor once there, and/or (c) to prevent them from leaving,
- use of physical, sexual, or verbal violence, or the willful imposition by adults of unnecessary substandard living conditions in terms of food, clothing, shelter, schooling, and medical care given to children.

The literature and some voices in the international community tend to label as abusive any form of extradomestic child placement that entails an exchange of child labor for education and care. In contrast, Haitians recognize that many placements do entail abuse but reject the notion, as do Dominicans on the other side of the border, that the labor-for-schooling arrangement is inherently abusive. In view of this conceptual dilemma, we will present an anthropological analysis that attempts to do justice to both positions.

THE LITERATURE

The past two decades have seen growing interest in the plight of *restavèk* servant children within Haiti; however, very little has been published on trafficking in persons and even less on trafficking in children. It is worth noting that the main human rights groups in Haiti have not shown much interest in *restavèk* children nor trafficking as a human rights issue. Two important exceptions are the Coalition Haitienne pour la Defense des Droits de l'Enfant (COHADDE) and the National Coalition for Haitian Rights (NCHR). The Groupe d'Appui aux Rapatriés et Réfugiés (GARR) does important work on trafficking to the Dominican Republic and the problem of forced repatriation, but is not oriented specifically to children's rights. International organizations interested in *restavèk* children include the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC), the International Organization for Migration (IOM), and international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) whose primary mission is services to children, especially Save the Children and World Vision.

The most pertinent, recent study of child trafficking is based on information gathered in portions of two northern communes, Plaisance and Pilate, and several sites in the Dominican Republic (Tejea et al., OIM, 2002). This study found evidence of child

recruitment by cross-border labor smugglers operating in these northern communes, and identified several uses of Haitian child labor observed in the Dominican Republic. The report provided some information on border crossing arrangements and general information on living conditions of children working in the Dominican Republic. The report estimated that as many as 2,000 or more children may cross the border annually from Haiti's three northern departments.

Other recent reports on cross border migration, the plight of undocumented Haitian workers, and forced repatriation, provide useful background information for the present study (see Ferguson 2003, IHRLC 2002, and GARR 2001). Americas Watch and NCHR have long shown an interest in the plight of Haitian workers in the Dominican Republic, especially in the sugar cane industry, including eyewitness reports of coercive labor practices, forced recruitment, child labor, severe trafficking, and the use of *buscones* – the popular Dominican term for agents, brokers, and other intermediaries who facilitate services.⁴ Field interviews for the present report indicate that many of these conditions continue to the present time including cross border trafficking for the cane harvest – despite recent privatization of this longstanding parastatal sector of the Dominican sugar industry.

Advocates on behalf of *restavèk* children have generated useful reports on historical origins and the ongoing exploitation of children as unpaid domestic servants, but with relatively little information on trafficking. See especially HSI (2002), McCalla and Archer (NCHR 2002), and IPSOFA (1998). Other more recent reports include Raymond (2003) and Mildred Aristide (2003).

Most of what has been written on *restavèk* is in the form of agency reports produced by local and international NGOs. An important exception is the English language autobiography of a former Haitian *restavèk* child who made good (Cadet 1998), which generated broader awareness of the problem among North Americans. In Haiti, perhaps the single most eloquent voice depicting the plight of *restavèk* children is the Maurice Sixto story of Ti Sentaniz (see Sixto, Volume 3, 2001, compact disc). The name of this Sixto character has entered the local language as a synonym for *restavèk* child servant.

Other themes that have a bearing on child labor and trafficking include street kids (Bernier and Ponticq 1999, Pierre 2003a&b), children's rights (COHADDE 2002a&b, Trouillot 2001), orphans (IMPACT, nd), and domestic servants (Vernet 1935).

SMUGGLING AND TRAFFICKING

Haiti's dilemmas provoke moving language. Even in the research community, Haiti's status as the poorest country in the hemisphere provokes language laden with affect and accusation. The discriminatory treatment of large numbers of Haitian children living apart from their biological parents has led to accusations of slavery. Smuggling of many Haitian children across the border has evoked charges of child trafficking and the specter of a resurrected slave trade focused on Haitian children.

⁴ See Americas Watch, NCHR, and Caribbean Rights publications by Canejo (1991), Canejo, Ga rro, & Zeisler (1992), Canejo & Wilentz (1990), Mariner & Strumpen-Darrie, 2002.

Operationally precise language. The language of reporting on child advocacy in Haiti often lacks precise definition of terms; however, for purposes of field study it is essential to use operationally precise language. Severe forms of *trafficking* are well defined in U.S. State Department reports noted earlier. In the present report, the term *smuggling* is defined as the illegal movement of people or commodities across international borders. The term *abuse* is a broader reference to cruel or exploitative treatment of others.

Smuggling versus trafficking. In field interviews, the researchers encountered numerous cases of smuggling that entailed no trafficking, e.g., minors who voluntarily paid smugglers for travel to the Dominican Republic to cut cane. Field inquiry also documented cases of trafficking without smuggling, e.g., intermediaries in both countries who deceived Haitian parents in the process of child recruitment for placement in distant households in Port-au-Prince or Santo Domingo.

Practices similar to slavery. The latter cases suggest trafficking, but they do not fit technical definitions of slavery since the children were not bought and sold, and, at least in principle, the biological parents could have taken their children back at any time. In one clear case of trafficking, an intermediary convinced a Barahona *batey*⁵ mother to send her 12-year old daughter to work for a Dominican family in Santo Domingo and attend school. Instead, the trafficker turned the child over to a brothel owner in exchange for a fee. The brothel owner locked her up and sold her sexual services to clients. In this case, the trafficker employed deceit, coercion, and delivery of the child for exploitation, but there was no smuggling involved. This case was not technically slavery but certainly qualified as a form of severe trafficking “similar to slavery” in that it included the “delivery children for exploitation.”

Smuggling *cum* trafficking. Finally, researchers encountered situations that entailed both trafficking and smuggling, such as the cross-border movement of Haitian children for child placement in Haitian households where the children were forced to beg. In other cases, smugglers recruited unemployed high-school graduates for well paying clerical jobs, but instead dumped them in a *batey* barrack where they were given machetes and told to cut cane. The young men were not physically constrained, but having spent all their money they could not return to Haiti. These were cases of smuggling combined with deceitful recruitment, therefore, smuggling linked to trafficking.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The time frame allocated for fieldwork precluded the gathering of quantitative data through traditional survey techniques. Furthermore, as a study strategy, the quest for precise numbers is best held in abeyance until research has identified what variables are worth quantifying. Therefore, the research approach is one of *systems analysis* rather than hypothesis testing. The guiding assumption is that there is a social system, or that there are multiple systems, for recruiting the labor of Haitian children. The research task is to discover and describe those systems. When dealing with human behavior systems involving multiple actors and flow circuits, *systems analysis begins with ethnographic description*. The research process identifies the human actors, material components, and flow circuits that make up the system.

⁵ The term *batey* refers to a cane worker residential quarter linked to large sugar plantations in the Dominican Republic.

In most cases, ethnographic fieldwork is used to investigate realms of social life understood to be public information. In stark contrast, field study of trafficking, smuggling, and underage labor may require researchers to elicit information about behaviors that informants deem sensitive, shameful, abusive, or illegal. Users and victims of child labor may be reticent to answer questions for fear of arrest, ostracism, or punishment. Furthermore, interviews with children are fraught with special sensitivities under the best of circumstances.

In actual fact, most interviews in this study dealt with topics on which people were willing to talk freely; however, field inquiry was also confronted with the challenge of penetrating curtains of secrecy, obfuscation, embarrassment, or illicit behavior. These constraints, along with the limited time parameters for the study, required researchers to interview *filter sources* as well as *key informants*:

- *Key informants, i.e., key actors*: those directly involved in child labor circuits including (a) sending parents, (b) labor intermediaries or smugglers, (c) employers of Haitian child labor (households, farmers, others), and (d) the children themselves.
- *Filter source*: an individual or group with firsthand knowledge of those circuits. Such sources provide information on circuits and practices, and are able to put researchers into direct interview contact with key informants.

Categories of ethnographic information in this study included firsthand accounts and observations, and secondhand accounts. The major data gathering techniques were (a) structured interviews, (b) informal conversations, and (c) targeted observations. This included key informant and secondary informant interviews with individuals and groups. Targeted observations accompanied informal conversations, e.g., taking note of different categories of child labor in border markets and border crossings.

The vast majority of interviews were tape recorded to enhance the accuracy of reporting and capture the views and experiences of people in their own words. Recorded interviews were undertaken with the full knowledge and consent of the persons interviewed. The lengthiest part of analysis was the transcription of key portions of recorded interviews.

The primary research instrument was the *interview schedule*, a series of questions that researchers had in front of them during interviews. This instrument differs from the *survey questionnaire* in that it is more flexible and focuses on open-ended questions where the goal is to elicit as many comments as possible. As distinct from the strictly ordered survey questionnaire, the interview schedule constitutes a simple guide to the order of topics, but the topics can be covered in any order and new topics can be discussed if they surface. Many unexpected core insights surfaced during such free flowing interviews, insights that would have been missed in a questionnaire strategy.

Program managers and donor decision-makers ultimately need numbers on certain key variables; however, only carefully executed survey research based on random samples of a population can generate reliable national statistics. The present study was not positioned to carry out this type of quantitative survey. In the absence of survey data, field study elicited “triangulated consensus” from individuals and groups knowledgeable

about a particular topic. For example, field interviews elicited rough estimates of local supply and demand for extra-domestic child labor. Each methodology has its advantages. For time constraints we elected a qualitative rather than quantitative strategy though a lengthier research project can incorporate both.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

In practical terms, the pivotal question guiding fieldwork was the following: *What are the uses of Haitian children outside their homes of origin?* To answer this question, the basic tool of methodological inquiry was the concept of the *child labor chain*, that is, the trajectory of decisions and actors involved in moving a child from the care of his or her biological parents to the homes of other caretakers interested in the labor of the child. . Guiding questions included the following:

1. Who are the children?
2. Are orphans and homeless or runaway children drawn into the child labor chain, including children without surrogate caretakers?
3. Who are the suppliers and end users of child labor?
4. What are the modes of child labor recruitment and mobilization?
5. What is the role of paid or unpaid intermediaries in the child labor chain?
6. What work do children do when placed outside the home?
7. If placed with other families, what role do they play in those households?
8. Are all such children defined as *restavèk* servant children?
9. Where do child laborers live, and what are their living conditions?
10. What is the attitude and perspective of sending and receiving families, surrogate caretakers, or any non-household users of child labor?

These questions established basic parameters for delving into related spheres of information including the following:

- Traditional practices of giving and taking children
- Categories of child labor and labor movements
- Push and pull factors in child labor recruitment
- Families and children most vulnerable to internal or external trafficking
- Incentives for extra-familial child labor on the part of sending families
- Do children agree with such arrangements? Do children initiate such arrangements?
- Gender issues in child labor and trafficking
- High volume areas of illicit passage, including center and southern tiers as well as the northern tier of the 380-kilometer border
- Border crossing conditions for Haitian children travelling to the DR, including forced repatriation
- Do trafficked children return? Do they come back with money?
- Evidence of force, fraud, coercion, or physical abuse in the child recruitment process and in the uses and living conditions of children
- Evidence of the recruitment of children as sex workers

FIELDWORK SITES

Two cultural anthropologists with extensive experience in Haiti and the Dominican Republic carried out field interviews in both countries including border areas, small towns, rural districts, and the two capital cities – Port-au-Prince and Santo Domingo. Smucker conducted fieldwork in November and December 2003, primarily in Haiti, plus additional interviews in late January and early February 2004. Murray conducted fieldwork in the Dominican Republic from December 2003 to early January 2004. In mid-December 2003, Murray and Smucker worked together in border areas of the Dominican Republic, sometimes conducting joint interviews and sometimes conducting simultaneous interviews with different members of Dominican households that included Haitians in residence, or in different types of households, including Dominican-Haitian couples or individuals.

The researchers used both functional and geographic axes for selecting field sites to carry out interviews. Functional sites included the following:

- sites from which child labor was sent,
- sites where child labor was utilized.
- border sites traversed by children,

The geographical spread of interview sites did not permit thorough analysis of any single region, but it did maximize the likelihood of documenting a range of labor circuits. Geographic parameters for fieldwork included a range of urban and rural sites in Haiti and the Dominican Republic, and both capital cities. Researchers also conducted interviews on both sides of the border at several twinned sites immediately adjacent to the border separating the two countries (see Table 1 below).

In addition, travelling as a team, Murray and Smucker conducted other interviews in the Dominican Republic further away from the border including Santiago and El Cercado. The team also interviewed people in Dominican border areas not noted in Table 1:

- La Vigia (a rural community near Dajabòn),
- Lomo de Cabrera and Santiago de la Cruz,
- Cruce de Mariano (a rural district),
- La Restauracion and the nearby rural district of Trinitaria,
- Angel Felix, a rural district in the mountains above La Descubierta across the border from Grand Bois (St. Pierre/Cornillon, Haiti).

Table 1. Twinned border sites where researchers conducted portions of fieldwork

Haiti	Dominican Republic	Location along 380 Kilometer North-South Border
Ouanaminthe	Dajabón	Northern region of the north-south border
Ti-Lori	Villa Anacaona Restauracion	Adjoining the International Highway – the border road at the eastern edge of Haiti's upper Central Plateau
Belladère	Elias Piña (Comendador)	Center region of the border at the edge of Haiti's lower Central Plateau
Savanette	La Colonia, Hondo Valle	Mountain zone south between Belladère & Cornillon; between Hondo Valle and La Descubierta in the DR.
Malpasse Fond Parisien	Jimani, La Descubierta	Along the southern tier of the border, easy access to the Cul de Sac Plain and Port-au-Prince
Point-à-Pitre	Pedernales	Southern limit of the binational border

Smucker conducted additional interviews in Haitian border areas not noted in Table 1 (see Annex I for a listing of informants interviewed by Smucker):

- Fond Verettes, across the border from Limòn
- Boucan Chat, a rural border market and border crossing in the Pine Forest,
- Savane Zombi, an old agricultural colony established after 1937 border massacres
- Thiotte, important transit point for Haitians repatriated by Dominican authorities
- Bananne, across the border from Bananno, an important crossing point for undocumented Haitian workers and traffickers

Smucker also interviewed key informants from St. Marc and Petite Rivière de l'Artibonite, Cerca Carvajal (Center), Belle Anse (South-East) and Les Anglais (South), and conducted interviews in other areas of Haiti, including sites distant from the border:

- Port-au-Prince,
- Cap-Haitien,
- Minan – a rural locality in the third communal section of Plaisance *commune*,
- Mirebalais and the rural area of Desvarieux,
- Lascahobas,
- Layay – a rural locality of Savanette *commune*.

Murray carried out fieldwork in Santo Domingo and other areas of Dominican Republic away from the Dominican/Haitian border. He conducted interviews in the Haitian Embassy in Santo Domingo, the offices of the Frontier Development Agency of the Dominican government, the U.S. embassy, USAID, and several NGO offices including Alianza, MUDHE, and FUDECO. He spoke to Haitian migrants in Neiba, Tamayo, Polo, Palmarito, and several of the *bateyes* associated with the Barahona sugar mill. He accompanied Fr. Pedro Ruquoy, a priest actively involved in anti-trafficking activities, on several trips into the *bateyes* and into communities where smuggled migrants were lodged pending transportation to other parts of the Dominican Republic. He interviewed Haitian and Dominican female sex workers in Boca Chica and Santo Domingo, and Haitians involved in the construction industry, the tourist industry, and shoeshine and begging activities. A total of some 60 hours of tape-recorded interviews were made, most of them transcribed.

THE REPORT

The remainder of this report falls into four primary sections:

- an interpretative narrative drawn from the round of field interviews undertaken by Smucker primarily in Haiti plus Dominican border areas (Chapters II to IV),
- a second interpretative narrative based on Murray's interviews in the Dominican Republic (Chapters V to VIII),
- Chapter IX then synthesizes key findings in keeping with study objectives, and proposes a series of programmatic recommendations,
- annexes including a listing of sites and people interviewed, Haitian proverbs that deal with children, and a text that further elaborates certain Chapter IX recommendations and brainstorming on program design options.

CHAPTER II CHILDHOOD IN PERIL

In order to identify clear cut patterns of child abuse and trafficking, and prospective points of program intervention in the system, it is useful to begin with the local social and cultural context of childhood. More specifically, we want to know the general rules governing child labor in the society being studied, and the more specific rules that govern the giving and taking of children between households. We also seek to understand the broader societal conditions that motivate such movements. What is the local social or cultural standard for children's work, including children who live at home? Who are the children most at risk of abuse and trafficking? These are some of the general questions which we explored as a platform for better understanding of the more specific problems of child abuse and child trafficking.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Haitian society has long been marked by acute class stratification. Haitian political arrangements tend to be hierarchical and authoritarian. These characteristics date back to colonial Saint-Domingue and a particularly harsh form of plantation slavery. The *restavèk* children of today's Haiti are not slaves; however, current treatment of *restavèk* children is fully in keeping with old patterns of hierarchy linked to short-term opportunistic labor extraction divorced from sentiments of compassion or long-term family ties and obligations.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS CHILDREN

Economic value. To be taken seriously as an adult in rural Haiti, it is important to have children. As in other agrarian societies, Haitian peasant farmers favor large families. Traditionally, children are highly valued and considered a gift from God. Beginning at an early age, they make important contributions to the household economy. The economic benefits of children are reflected in numerous Creole proverbs that synthesize traditional values relating to children (see Annex III)⁶:

- *Children are the wealth of poor people.*
- *Children are money saved.*
- *The donkey has offspring to rest its back.*

The value of children in old age. Children living at home assist with household chores and fieldwork. In addition, they are an investment in the future. A peasant woman interviewed in Minan (Plaisance) supplements meager farm income with petty commerce, selling along the highway two hours distant from her mountain home. She made the following comment in response to the question, "Why were you willing to send your 10-year old son away to work in the Dominican Republic?"

Depi yon moun ranje yon kivèt If a person packs produce in a basin

⁶ Unless noted otherwise, the quotes in this section are translations of Haitian Creole proverbs. These quotes are drawn from the list of proverbs collected in Annex II. Proverbs are a part of the everyday language of most Haitians, especially rural Haitians. They summarize traditional Haitian values and observations, and are used here as a framework for discussing Haitian attitudes towards children.

*ale nan mache,
ou g'on ti moun deye ou,
ou gen lespwa demen
yap pote yon ti bagay pou ou.*

and goes to market,
and you have a child following along behind,
you then have the hope that tomorrow
he'll bring back a little something for you.

Answering with a market-based metaphor, this peasant woman made the decision to send her child across the border in the hope of improving his life chances and eventually to enhance his ability to contribute to his parents.

As in other agrarian societies, rural Haitian children are expected to become self-sustaining economic actors able to provide for their parents, especially in old age. A Haitian proverb sums up this traditional duty: *Children are a cane in old age.*

The present study encountered a cross-border variant on this theme. Old age care is a critically important motivation in the recruitment of Haitian girls as foster children in Dominican farm families, especially among farm families interviewed in Dominican border areas. These Dominican households looked to Haitian foster children to help care for them in old age.

Respect and hierarchy. Interviews with Haitians yielded a rich but internally contradictory series of proverbs, some of which appear harsh to children while others urge compassion. The harsher orientation can be heard in proverbs which emphasize the importance of training children, teaching respect for elders, and the utility – even necessity – of using corporal punishment as a form of discipline:

- *Children are little animals.*
- *Children should be beaten.*
- *The remedy for an insolent child is the whip.*
- *Insolent children – their beards are growing in the cemetery.*

In principle, the reference to children as “animals” may be used affectionately to refer to young children caught up in a world of play, but it also bespeaks their social status in the family hierarchy, and it certainly refers to the process of socialization. Children are untrained, they must be taught how to behave, they need discipline, they must learn respect for their elders. Parents go to great lengths to impose strict standards of obedience and respect for authority, including respect for older siblings and other adults.

Traditionally, this includes inculcating children with a fear of adult authority and power: *Adults cannot wear your clothes, but they can eat your food.* Métraux (1952) made a cogent link between authoritarian patterns of child rearing and authoritarian political arrangements in this society so deeply marked by hierarchy and class stratification.

There are other proverbs that are protective of children. Corporal punishment is fully acceptable but only within limits. For example, people say, *Adults are not God, children are not dogs.* Since children are also expected to serve adults, it is worth quoting another comparable proverb, *People serve you, but that does not mean they are dogs.* Both sentiments show sympathy for the underdog, but they also evoke the potential for abuse and for invidious distinction between those who serve and those who are served.

Values. Key informants for the present study, in keeping with the hoary lexicon of proverbs, take note of other important values in child rearing. Children must learn generosity and be responsive to family needs. Parents should be willing to make sacrifices for their children including sending them to school and providing catechism (for Catholics) and first communion ...*so they don't die as though they were horses* (i.e., in order to be fully human). Parents generally express a fierce desire for their children to be educated, and show pride in having their children in school even if it means sending them away at a tender age to live with others.

Kinship ties and obligations. Haitians tend to be strongly oriented to kinship ties and family obligations, including extended family, ritual kinship (godparenthood), and fictive kinship. As a corollary, people make a distinction between kinfolk and strangers. This applies, not surprisingly, to in-laws: "Your mother-in-law is not your mother, your father-in-law is not your father." It also applies to other people's children: *When you bathe someone else's child, wash one side, leave the other side unwashed*. That is to say, the children of strangers are loyal to their parents, so do not count on their loyalty to you. This notion clearly foreshadows findings in the present study regarding differential treatment of children sent to live with others.

Children's work. Children above a certain age, generally around age 6, are expected to serve adults, work around the house, and eventually help with agricultural work and marketing in keeping with the sexual division of labor. Bastien (1985, 82) finds that a conspicuous change in parent-child relations takes place when children are old enough to work around the house. At this point, parental severity and recourse to corporal punishment supplant the tolerance and pampering more characteristic of early childhood. Bastien notes that this is an abrupt and potentially traumatic shift.

Bastien's original field observations date back to the early 1950s; however, current fieldwork shows strong evidence that this basic pattern still holds, despite some changes. There is still a notable shift in parental expectations towards children around age six, and children at this point are expected to do much more work in peasant households. Corporal punishment is still standard practice.

In the present era, it is clear that children between the ages of 6 and 10 are readily recruited for placement outside the home. This age range also coincides with the normal age for attending primary school in a rural sector poorly served by schools and afflicted by acute levels of poverty. We have found that a critical element in the placement of children outside the home is the desire of parents to educate their children. As a corollary, caretaker households who do not send *restavèk* children to school are violating their pact with the biological parents of children placed.

Interrupted childhood. Field interviews also suggest a growing pattern of child "independence" at tender ages, commonly age 10 or above and sometimes younger, whereby children are separated from family and manage their lives, in varying degrees, on their own. This is invariably an outcome of households in acute crisis and entails a profound interruption in the normal cycle of child development and socialization. Among cases encountered in fieldwork, especially provincial towns and border areas, this independence came about due to the following scenarios:

- unschooled children who left home *of their own volition* in search of food, employment, or living arrangements with another family
- runaways from physically abusive situations, including *restavèk* placement,
- children reportedly kidnapped for *restavèk* child placement,
- forcibly repatriated children picked up by Dominican authorities, separated from parents or other adult caretakers in the process, and dropped off at border crossings.

These cases undoubtedly constitute a relatively small percentage of children and households; however, such cases provide concrete evidence of a growing social problem affecting both sides of the border. They are also symptomatic of a Haitian rural sector in a profound state of crisis.

RURAL SECTOR IN CRISIS

Poverty. In macro-economic terms, the poverty rate in rural Haiti is extremely high – afflicting over 80 percent of rural Haitian households as measured by FAO standards of caloric intake and per capita income. Furthermore, despite high demand for schooling in rural areas, only a minority of rural school-age children is actually attending school. Half or more of those who do attend are over age in relation to grade level. Data from the 1990s indicate that only 20 percent of public expenditures for education have gone to rural areas where the majority of school age children live.⁷

Out migration. Not surprisingly, data from this period also show high rates of out migration from rural areas. One national level study found 29 percent of rural households reporting recent out migration of one or more household members. In the decade of the 1990s, annual rates of population growth in the metropolitan area of Port-au-Prince averaged 4.4 percent – double the national rate of population growth. This rapid urbanization has had dramatic social and political consequences, including sizeable increases in the population of urban slums and an undeniable impact on the current political crisis in Haiti. Rapid urban growth has been fed primarily by rural migrants.⁸

All available evidence suggests that Haiti's rural population has long surpassed the carrying capacity of the land. Rural Haiti continues to have a much higher fertility rate than urban areas but only a third the urban rate of population growth – a disparity due primarily to the sheer scale of rural out-migration. In all likelihood, rural Haiti now constitutes less than 60 percent of the country's population. At present rates of urban growth in Haiti – two-thirds of it in the Port-au-Prince metropolitan area, the majority of Haiti's population will shift from rural to urban residence within the present decade. An estimated 70 percent of internal migrants are 10 to 29 years of age. The departure of children – with or without their parents – is simply one stream of a much broader exodus presently underway from Haiti's rural areas.

GIVING AND TAKING CHILDREN

⁷ For data on education see MENJS 1997, 7) and Salmi (1998, 8). On poverty rates see Wiens and Sobrado 1998, 3-4).

⁸ See Smucker (2001, 326-328), Wiens and Sobrado (1998, 7), the national level database generated by BARA (1997-1998) at the University of Arizona, and EMMUS-II (1995, 1).

The impersonal numbers that document macro-level shifts translate to poignant reality in the micro-level decisions of people's lives as encountered in recent field interviews. This includes the complex of maneuvers surrounding the practice of giving and taking children. In Haiti this is done for a variety of reasons, and recruitment of *restavèk* servant children, as presently practiced, is only one manifestation of Haitian children living outside the home. For example, it is quite common, and socially acceptable, for Haitian children to live portions of their childhood with other extended family members. *Therefore, from the perspective of cultural analysis, it simply cannot be assumed a priori that such children are abused, trafficked, or treated as servant children.*

In general, the practice of children living with others outside the family is not an isolated phenomenon in Haiti nor is it uniquely Haitian. It is a common feature of the Caribbean as a socio-cultural region. Caribbeanist anthropologists have long made a distinction between the family unit and the household as a residential unit, noting that the two are not coterminous, and nuclear family members do not always live together.⁹ Anthropological studies of Caribbean family systems have identified extralegal unions, union fragility, and extradomestic child placement as central elements of post-colonial survival strategies, particularly in Afro-Caribbean social sectors.

A notable finding of the present study is that both Dominican Republic and Haiti have consensual, culturally sanctioned practices of giving and taking children, especially younger children. For the receiving household in both countries, the child – Dominican or Haitian – may be valued for his or her companionship and/or for field labor or domestic chores. There are, however, significant differences between the two countries, an element that will be further developed in later sections of this report.

An important trend in recent decades is the emergence of a bi-ethnic modality on the Dominican side of the border whereby culturally Dominican households take in Haitian children as foster children. Some of these Haitian children were born in the Dominican Republic. In other cases, Dominicans seek out Haitian children from across the border for placement in Dominican households. In near-border areas, evidence from the field suggests that cross border child placement with Dominican families is a growing phenomenon. Fieldwork also uncovered evidence of cross-border recruitment of Haitian children for culturally Haitian households in the Dominican Republic, especially for households located in urban areas of the Dominican Republic far removed from the border.

HOW MANY CHILDREN LIVE OUTSIDE THE HOME?

Most reports available on children living outside the home focus specifically on *restavèk* children exploited as unpaid child servants. This is in fact a subset of the much larger numbers of children who live outside the home for a variety of reasons; however, there is little or no reliable information on the actual incidence of such *restavèk* servant children. Various reports provide widely varying estimates. Most of these reports are not based on household composition surveys.

Since only a portion of Haitian children placed outside the home are exploited as unpaid and possibly unschooled child-servants, this aspect is not adequately taken into account

⁹ See Solien (1971), who studied Black Caribs, and Clarke (1957) who studied family life in Jamaica.

in *restavèk* estimates. Also, when census data are utilized, estimates are simply extrapolated from the obsolete 1982 census. The table below summarizes various published estimates of the number of *restavèk* children for the period 1982-2002. The figure of 300,000 (IPSOFA 1998) assumes that roughly 10 percent of all Haitian children are *restavèk* servant children. The true figure is simply not known.

Despite the paucity of survey data on numbers of *restavèk* servant children, there is somewhat more reliable information available on the much larger numbers of Haitian children known to live outside the home. These national level data are based primarily on demographic and health surveys financed by international donors.

Number	Year	Source
109,000	1982	IHSI/IBESR
240,000	1984	Clesca
109,000	1990	Dorélien
200,000	1993	UNICEF
130,000	1993	IPSOFA
300,000	1998	IPSOFA
87,000	2000	EMMUS-III
173,000	2002	FAFO
400,000	2002	cited by M. Aristide

There are also a small number of locality-level studies of household composition from earlier time frames, including one in the mountains above Grande Rivière du Nord (Chateau-Noir) and another in the Artibonite. These studies found that 18 and 21 percent, respectively, of children in two rural localities were not living with either parent. In the case of Chateau-Noir, this included children identified as “servant children” or informally “adopted” children.¹⁰

Findings from these local level studies are roughly consistent with national demography and health surveys of 1995 and 2000 that found an astonishingly high incidence of children living outside the home.¹¹ The EMMUS-III survey (2001) found that 20 percent of all children in urban areas did not reside with either parent compared to 17 percent of children in rural areas (children under age 15). Furthermore, a higher percentage of girls (19 percent) than boys (17 percent) lived away from either parent. Viewed from the standpoint of households, the EMMUS-III study found that 29 percent of urban households outside of the Port-au-Prince metropolitan area included one or more children living away from their parents, a proportion significantly higher than either rural households or Port-au-Prince households surveyed. Overall, 22 percent of all households, or some 377,000 households, included children living away from their own parents.¹²

Given the salient indicators for high-risk children, it is of great interest that 12 percent (178,000) of Haitian children between 10 and 14 years old, a crucial age cohort for *restavèk* servant children, had lost at least one parent. Only 40 percent of children in this age cohort were living with both parents, and 25 percent were not living with either parent. Large households are at higher risk of placing children outside the home, and over 22

¹⁰ See Smucker (1984, 195) for a mountain peasant locality in the north, and Rawson and Berggren (1973, 292) in the Artibonite. In Smucker’s sample, people sometimes used the term “pitit adoptif” (adopted child) but this referred to “informal” adoption or foster placement rather than adoption in a formal legal or sense.

¹¹ EMMUS-II (1995, 11-12) was based on a sample of 5,000 women of childbearing age, 1,600 men age 15-59, and a total of 4,818 households. EMMUS-III (2001, 11-14) was based on a sample of 9,595 households including 44,573 people. Both samples were deemed representative at both the national level and the level of residential milieu (Port-au-Prince metropolitan area, other cities, and rural areas).

¹² The 2003 national census (IHSI 2003, 7) estimates a total population of 7,929,048 in the year 2003, divided into 1,712,120 households averaging 4.6 persons per household.

percent of Haiti's households included 7 or more people with average household size in rural areas somewhat higher than in urban areas.

Demographically, Haiti is a very youthful society with 42 percent of the overall population under 15 years of age, and with a higher proportion in rural areas (45 percent) compared to urban areas (38 percent).¹³ Therefore, the population pool from which *restavèk* child servants are recruited (age 5-14) is around 2,200,000 children out of a total population of about eight million people. At the present time, the number of Haitian children living away from both parents is likely to be well in excess of 650,000.

In sum, survey data verify a remarkably high incidence of child placement in other households. Roughly one fifth of all Haitian children lives away from biological parents, and more than a fifth of all households have such children in residence. If anything these figures under-represent the social impact on Haitian society since there is a sending household for every receiving household, although some households may give or receive more than one child, and some of the children are orphans.

This overall statistical profile is fully consistent with known practices of sending rural children to live in urban areas to work or to attend school and to do so on a massive scale. The large numbers of orphaned children noted earlier are certainly at risk of placement as servant children. It is clear from field inquiry that Port-au-Prince and other urban areas generate high demand for servant children. The Port-au-Prince metropolitan area is also the single most important destination for children living away from home for other reasons, especially for schooling. Nevertheless, extra-domestic child placement is not simply a rural-to-urban or province-to-capital city phenomenon. Field interviews in the present inquiry found many rural Haitian children living away from their parents in other *rural* households within Haiti as well as in rural and urban households of the Dominican Republic.

Given that such a large number of children live away from their parents, or have no parents, the question remains: how many of these 650,000 or more children are in fact *restavèk* servant children as opposed to children living away from home for other reasons? The more recent reports in Table 2 seem to suggest that at least 13 percent and perhaps as many as 60 percent of children living outside the home are servant children. In actual fact, there are no clear answers to this question. More reliable and more precise statistics on *restavèk* servant children would necessarily require household composition surveys in representative rural and urban areas.

The EMMUS-III study of the year 2000 did in fact ask household heads if unrelated children in their households were *restavek* children.¹⁴ The study reported that 4 percent of all children 5-14 years old were identified as *restavek*, girls were twice as likely to be *restavek* as boys, the age range of 12-14 had the highest rate, urban areas had twice the rate of rural areas, and urban areas outside of Port-au-Prince had somewhat higher rates than the metropolitan area. It seems likely that the incidence of *restavek* children was significantly underreported in this study due to social stigma, and the study did not include other means for cross-checking the information. Field interviews in the present study and other available data suggest that the order of magnitude is at the very least in

¹³ EMMUS-III (2001, 11).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 14.

the tens of thousands of servant children and is likely much higher. In any case, the widespread use and abuse of children as servants is a social problem of enormous magnitude.

CROSS-BORDER MIGRATION OF CHILDREN

The other statistical enigma is the paucity of information on extra-familial arrangements related to cross-border child migration. This information is difficult to acquire due to the informal, illicit, and unregulated character of most cross-border movement. The cross-border trafficking study by Tejeda et al (2002) estimates annual migration levels of 2,000 to 2,300 children from the northern region. These figures are to some extent indicative but certainly not precise. They are in any case difficult to verify and cannot be generalized to other regions and crossing points. They are not linked statistically to specific types of child labor or placement with families in the DR. They also do not seem to take into account distinctly different types of border crossing behaviors in areas closer to the border nor do they distinguish first time cross-border migrants from others who cross back and forth repeatedly over a period of months or years.

There is some quantitative information based on NGO assistance to Haitians repatriated from the Dominican Republic. This information is based on numerical data but does not constitute a statistically valid measure of the volume of cross-border movement. In 1999 and 2000, the Groupe d'Appui aux Rapatriés et Réfugiés (GARR) carried out social service interviews with Haitians summarily deported from the DR in selected areas of the southern tier of the DR/Haiti border. During this same period, the Office National de Migration (ONM) collected information on deportees who arrived in Ouanaminthe – at the northern tier of the border. Also, during the same year (1999), the Dominican government reported that 17,000 Haitians were officially deported from the Dominican Republic.¹⁵ It is difficult to establish a clear picture of the current rate of deportation. Some estimate the rate of deportation to be between ten and thirty thousand Haitians annually, including many children.¹⁶

Analysis of GARR information from this period found that 19 percent of deportees served by GARR were children under age 15, and eight percent were born in the Dominican Republic and had presumably never been to Haiti. About 25 percent of repatriated adult Haitians in this database were separated from their spouse or children in the process of deportation.

During fieldwork for the present study the Komite pou Akeyi ak Defann Rapatriye ak Refijye nan Tyot (KADRET), a local committee in Thiotte affiliated with GARR, shared information on deported Haitians who sought assistance when travelling through Thiotte. The most complete set of data in their files covered a two-week period, November 10-25,

¹⁵ See IHRLC (2002, 64, 67, 72) especially Appendix B which analyzes data on Haitians deported from Dominican Republic between August 1999 and July 2000, and who registered with GARR, a Haitian NGO, or with the Haitian government's local Office National de Migration in Ouanaminthe. The IHRLC report also includes some data from the Dominican government's Dirección General de Migración.

¹⁶ HRW 2002, 7: "Besides the waves of collective expulsions, more routine deportations are conducted on a daily basis. It is difficult, however, to reliably establish an average or ordinary deportation rate, as estimates vary widely, and the rate itself varies greatly over time. The most that can be said with certainty is that well over ten thousand deportations take place each year, with the true figure perhaps reaching thirty thousand."

1999. During this time frame, over 600 deportees passed through Thiotte and received assistance from the local refugee committee.

The deportees came from all nine Haitian departments, but half (even excluding those from Thiotte itself) were from the South-East department. Two-thirds of those who received GARR assistance were children. Many of the children picked up by Dominican authorities were separated from parents or adult caretakers when picked up, and were unable to contact their adult caretakers when dropped off at the border. Adult deportees were primarily young men. Slightly over half of the adults reported having lived in the DR since they were young children. Many of the deportees, including children, were held in prison for a short time before being repatriated to Haiti. Many reported that Dominican border authorities took away their money when they were dropped off at the border. KADRET registration forms confirmed that deportees trickled through Thiotte throughout the year, but the peak periods were clearly November and December.

HAITIANS IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Aside from children, there are no reliable data on how many Haitians live in the Dominican Republic nor how many people in the Dominican Republic are of Haitian descent. Published estimates vary from 300,000 to 1,500,000 Haitians.¹⁷ Aside from the issue of Haitians in general, Ferguson (2003) cites a Haitian Embassy estimate of 280,000 “Dominico-Haitians” in the Dominican Republic in 2001, and also a Dominican government claim that only 4,000 Haitians had valid legal papers in 1999.

Haitians present in the DR might be classified according to the following categories – all of which include children:

- Documented, legal migrants
- Long-term residents of DR born in Haiti
- Temporary migrants, i.e., seasonal or transient workers
- Dominico-Haitians, i.e., people born in the Dominican Republic to at least one Haitian parent.

In principle, the Constitution of the Dominican Republic bestows Dominican citizenship on anyone born in the Dominican Republic; however, the children of undocumented Haitians are excluded from citizenship since their parents are considered to be “in transit” – even if they have lived there for years. Of course such children are technically recognizable as Haitian citizens under the provisions of the Haitian Constitution by virtue of their parental nationality. For the Dominican government, the goal is presumably to avoid further Haitianization of the Dominican population while retaining the benefits of cheap Haitian labor. The operative assumption is that lowering the barriers to citizenship would open the floodgates to uncontrolled Haitian migration – a scenario with dramatic economic and political consequences deemed highly undesirable.

This situation creates an anomalous legal status for Dominico-Haitian children – invariably classified as Haitian even if they have a Dominican parent (usually the father). The same problem is posed for Haitian children reared in Dominican families, i.e., informally adopted children called *hijos de crianza*, and to some extent also for Haitian-

¹⁷ See Ferguson (2003, 8-10, 21-22), OIM (2002, 19), and Alexandre (2001).

born children reared by undocumented Haitian parents who have lived many years in the DR. This anomalous legal status, according to human rights advocates, relegates Haitians to a state of permanent illegality and renders them effectively stateless.

Ferguson (*ibid.*, 22) sums up the problem of illegality, even for Haitians who have lived many years in the Dominican Republic:

Not only are they permanently illegal, their children also face a situation of non-citizenship. Without proof of identity, they face reduced access to education and health facilities, they can take no part in political or other organized activity, they have no civil rights, and most significantly, can be repatriated arbitrarily and without appeal to a country they have never seen.

CHAPTER III CHILDREN LIVING WITH OTHERS

“Childhood only exists in Haiti by its negation.”

The reporting on child placement in Haiti focuses primarily on the plight of *restavèk* children – defined here as unpaid child servants living and working away from home. Child rights advocates in Haiti commonly view the practice of *restavèk* as tantamount to child slavery and call eloquently for the restoration of childhood. The word *restavèk* has come to be used by intellectuals, donors, and child rights advocates to draw attention to a serious social problem – a numerous category of Haitian children whose childhood has literally been stolen away from them.¹⁸

Fieldwork reveals significant variation in the arrangements and treatment conditions of children who live or work away from their biological parents. Are there different types of arrangements whereby children live with others? Is it accurate to characterize all children who live with others as *restavèk* servant children? Is there trafficking in children for placement as unpaid domestic servants? What are the factors or circumstances that put children at heightened risk of abuse or of being trafficked?

Lexicon of Child Placement

Restavèk. In its most basic sense, the Haitian Creole word *restavèk* is derived from French words meaning to “stay with” or “live with” but is more accurately rendered as “someone who lives with another.” This is a thinly veiled euphemism. A *restavèk* does not just live with someone else. It is a person who lives with others and serves them, an unpaid domestic servant. It may apply to adults as well as children, as explained by a man from Belle-Anse:

<i>Gran moun vin chita pou li rann ou yon sèvis san li pa reklame lajan. A mwayen si sityasyon li pa bon, depi ou ka reponn pou bal manje bal kote pou domi, li ka vin rann ou sèvis net ale.</i>	An adult might come to stay with you, to provide domestic services without asking for payment. Assuming that his situation was not good, and so long as you were capable of feeding and housing him, he might well stay and serve you forever.
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In popular parlance, the word *restavèk* itself is a pejorative reference to servile dependence, similar to the term *tchoul* (flunky). It may be used metaphorically to describe or criticize a person of any age, perhaps a politician, sometimes carrying the connotation of opportunism or corruption. As generally used in everyday language, *restavèk* is an epithet and categorically demeaning. In popular parlance, it is virtually never used as a neutral reference to a particular social category. Labeling someone as *restavèk* has the effect of putting that person down, relegating him or her to the lowest possible servile status in a social order based on hierarchy and domination.

¹⁸ Trouillot (2001) entitles her clarion call, *Restituer l’Enfance* (to restore childhood). The quote at the top of this page is translated from the French (Trouillot, 10), “...l’enfance n’existe en Haiti que par sa négation.” An influential NCHR publication (2002) is entitled, *Restavèk No More: Eliminating Child Slavery in Haiti*.

Eliciting information on servant children. The lexicon of references to children distinguishes between different categories of children. When eliciting information in the field, it is ill advised to ask someone if he or she is a *restavèk*. It is socially more acceptable, for example, to ask about “children who live with others” (*ti moun ki rete kay moun*) or “children who render services” (*timoun rann sèvis*).

The term *pitit* (child) is a reference to one’s offspring; it connotes kinship. Sometimes people identify a child as a *pitit adoptif* (adopted child); however, in all such cases encountered in the field, these were informal or non-legal adoptions. Nevertheless, use of the term *pitit adoptif* suggests that such children are treated as though they were direct offspring of the host parents. The term *timoun* (child) is a more generic reference to children. As a rule of thumb, when a Haitian child is identified with his or her biological parents, the term *pitit* is used, as in “Jacque’s child” (“pitit Jak”). In contrast, when referring generically to children, for example to an age group, the term *timoun* is used.

Soliciting children. When negotiating over the giving and taking of children in the present era, the operative words continue to be *timoun* (child) and *rann sèvis* (provide service), i.e., unpaid domestic services. One mother who sent children to live with others used the term *prete ti moun* (borrowing children), e.g., when people need the services of a child, they might ask to borrow a child. When recruiting a child, people do not use the word *restavèk*. Instead, the word *timoun* is generally used as a less pejorative synonym for unpaid servant child.¹⁹ One informant explained:

<i>Yo pa di restavèk.</i>	They do not say <i>restavèk</i> .
<i>Yo di ti moun rete lakay li</i>	They say, “it is a child who lives with them,”
<i>Pou’l pa imilye.</i>	so that he or she does not feel humiliated.
<i>Yo pa di restavèk –</i>	People do not say <i>restavèk</i>
<i>moun kap joure ki di sa.</i>	unless they want to curse you.
<i>Paran gen dwa di</i>	Instead, parents might say,
<i>“li ret kay yon moun.”</i>	“He is living at someone else’s house.”

Temporary placement. Parents sometimes make temporary living arrangements for their children to stay in another household. This might enable children to attend school at a distance, at the sending parents’ own cost, or to weather a crisis in the household such as illness, death, or the “hunger season.” People do not refer to this type of temporary placement as *restavèk*. Rather, they might say that someone “found lodging at so-and-so’s house” (*fè desann lakay tèt moun*). Such children are expected to work around the house, and the stay might be long in duration though temporary in nature; however, such children are not categorized as servant children.

In contrast, placement of a *restavèk* child has a long-term connotation whereby the receiving household assumes primary responsibility for “taking care of the child” or rearing the child in return for the child’s domestic services. The traditional arrangement for such *restavèk* children also assumes that the caretaker household will send *restavèk* children to school and cover the costs for doing so.

¹⁹ This reference has been in use for a long term. For example, Simpson (1941) noted that peasant children (“ti-moune”) sometimes lived with wealthy families.

Living with extended family as a *pitit kay*. In Haitian households, it is not uncommon for a child to live with an extended family member. Living with a relative is one of several possible arrangements in which the household and family in Haiti are not coterminous. In this case the child may be living with an aunt, uncle, grandparent, or godparent, or perhaps a more distant relative (*ti fanmi*).

In principle, a child who lives with extended family members is not thereby classified as a domestic servant. For example, a child may live or sleep at the house of a nearby aunt or grandparent who lives alone to “keep them company” (*kenbe konpanyi*) and help around the house. Such a child may continue to have regular contact with parents, perhaps even daily contact including at least some meals. This child would be a *pitit kay* (child of the house) and not a servant child. These arrangements reflect the traditional Haitian practice (also a Caribbean practice) of sending children to live with others, usually relatives. This is not the standard practice for all children, but it is on the cultural menu as a socially legitimate practice.

In rural Haiti people commonly address each other with fictive kin titles, e.g., “brother” or “sister” or “my child.” The term *pitit kay* retains the sense of kinship and belonging even when the child is not living with a father or mother. *Pitit kay* is also used metaphorically to make someone feel at home or to integrate an outsider into the household as though they were kin, not unlike the kin-based origins of the English word kind.

In contrast to *pitit* or *pitit kay*, the term *restavèk* carries the connotation of a stranger, someone who lives in a household without the benefit of kinship ties and obligations, someone who is both dependent and servile. A man from Petite Rivière stated, “*Restavèk* children are treated like dogs.” Then, he went on to explain that his wife’s 16-year old niece had been living with him since she was a little girl. Why? Because his wife did commerce and needed help to take care of their own young child, now 10 years old. The man sent his wife’s niece to school and stated that he treated her like his own child, a *pitit kay*. In sum, the niece lived with them – and worked for them – but was not classified as a *restavèk* servant child.

Buying and selling children. There are persistent rumors that children are bought and sold, e.g., *vann timoun* (selling children). Fieldwork uncovered transactions and gifts but no cases of children being sold in a literal sense; however, the term “buying a child” (*achte timoun*) is sometimes used to describe acquisition of a *timoun* servant child, a process that may in fact include payment of expenses to an intermediary. We encountered no cases where the biological parents received payment for a child over whom they renounced parental rights, i.e., the literal sale of children.

We did encounter expressions such as *vann chè* (selling flesh), *vann tèt* (selling a head, or selling yourself), and *achte tèt* (buying a head) that suggest purchase of human beings. These are popular expressions easily mistranslated, and are used to describe certain labor maneuvers. If I am a labor broker who collects a fee for providing 20 Haitian laborers to a Dominican sugar mill, it may be said in Creole that I “sold” the 20 men. It emphatically does not mean that the sugar mill now owns those men. The mill owner would not say in Spanish, *compré 20 haitianos*, “I bought 20 Haitians.” The Creole term is a colloquial expression perhaps derived from the days of slavery, but it no longer implies ownership of the persons “sold.” Some of these transactions may entail entail

deceit and therefore constitute trafficking, but the use of the Creole terms *vann* (sell) and *achte* (sell) cannot be equated with the buying and selling of humans in a slave trade.

Technically, we found no literal evidence of *child enslavement*, defined in terms of buying and selling children as private property; however, there is ample evidence of systematic child abuse in the recruitment and use of *restavèk* children as domestic servants. Some reports angrily label these arrangements as slavery. Those who describe the *restavèk* child as a slave child are doubtless demonstrating human concern for the welfare of the child; however, such children are not literally slaves. The Haitian *restavèk* child can legally run away or be taken back by his or her parents without payment of ransom or manumission. The term slavery is perhaps useful as an inflammatory metaphor for purposes of advocacy, but it fails to capture the Haitian meaning of the word even when used as an epithet. When Haitians say the *restavèk* child is like a *ti esklav*, they are using the word slave in a metaphorical sense, similar to calling a demanding foreman a “slave driver” in English. The *restavèk* child is an abused child but not a slave child. The concept of “unpaid domestic servant” is less dramatic but captures the reality much more accurately.

Views of Children Sent to Live with Others

When asked to define the situation of a *timoun* sent to live with others, informants took note of identifying characteristics, some variation in circumstances (economic class, rural/urban differences), the ideal versus real treatment of outside children, and several recurring themes. Some of these are captured in the following quotes:

<i>Okipe ti moun tankou se pitit pa'l, voye ti moun lekòl, l'ale legliz avè'l, li ba'l manje pran swen ti moun nan tankou se pitit pa'l. Gen de fwa timoun pa gen papa manman – yo mouri, rete lakay lot moun,</i>	Takes care of the child like his own, sends the child to school, goes to church, feeds the child, takes care of her just as if she were his own child. Sometimes a child has no father or mother – they are dead. So the child lives with someone else.
<i>Konn pa ale lekòl men yo rann yo sèvis. Gen de ka ou we se plis sèvis li wè. Li pa ede'l jan pou'l ta ede'l.</i>	Sometimes the child does not go to school but still provides service. In some cases you will see It is just the domestic help they want. They do not help her the way they should.

– peasant farmer from Desvarieux

<i>Yo toujou trete pitit pa yo pi byen pase ti moun rete lakay.</i>	They always treat their own children better than the <i>timoun</i> living with them.
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– school teacher from Mont-Organisé

<i>Se yon ti moun ke yo plase sou lakay yon moun. Moun yo pran'n pou fè travay de mezon. Ti moun sa preske koupe de kontak avèk paran'l. Donk ti moun sa generalman la pou sevi pitit lot moun nan, e pa gen kontak ak lakay li.</i>	It is a child that they place at someone else's house. They take her for household work. The child is pretty much cut off from contact with parents. So the child is generally there to serve the other children in the household and has no contact with her own home.
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– townsperson from Cerca Carvajal

<i>Lè timoun yo al rete kay moun, moun yo maltrete yo anpil, bay yo kou, fè yo pote anpil chay, fose yo fè travay,</i>	When kids go stay with someone, they are badly mistreated, they beat them, make them carry many loads, force them to work.
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– a street kid who has lived with others in Mirebalais

<i>Afè bat moun bastone moun bastone ti moun... pou de ryan yo bat ti moun, Menm si li gran lakay li, yo bat li. Manman ti moun nan konn di Depi'l fè dezod bat li, depi li fè enpètinan, moun nan vin g'on dwa pou'l kale ti moun san'l pa bezwen.</i>	As for hitting people beating people beating <i>timoun</i> , they will hit the <i>timoun</i> for nothing Even if he is grown up and still at home, they beat him. The child's own mother might say them, if he misbehaves, beat him. So if he is impertinent they come to have the right to hit the child even if he does not need it.
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– a slum dweller and ex-farm boy from rural Belle-Anse

<i>Men ti moun nan yo pran ni epi li sèvi a tout bagay nan kay la.</i>	So they take the child, and she serves every possible need in the household [including sexual needs].
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– Director of L'Escale group home for runaway *restavèk* children

<i>Le couronnement de carrière malerèz sa se lè finalman yo soti ansent pou yon pitit nan kay la.</i>	The crowning moment in the career of these unfortunate girls is when finally they become pregnant by one of the boys in the house
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– bourgeois woman of Port-au-Prince

<i>Ti moun restavèk se ti moun ki ale lakay yon moun ki fè sa yo vle avè'l. Li sou konmandman absoli,</i>	A <i>restavèk</i> child is a child who goes to live with someone who does whatever they like with her. She is under absolute command,
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*pa manmp fanmi, san salè.
Ti moun pa gen le chwa.
Restavèk pat achte,
men li preske ba ou
dwa de vi e de mo.*

not a family member, no salary.
Children do not have a choice.
A *restavèk* child is not purchased,
but it almost gives you
the right of life and death.

– a bourgeois man of Port-au-Prince

INTER-HOUSEHOLD ARRANGEMENTS

Relationships in Haiti often have a transactional character. Negotiations over the giving and taking of children are no exception. Decision making in child placement is based on a calculus of costs, benefits, and household needs.

Receiving households. Normally, any child placed outside the home is expected to perform at least some domestic tasks in the household much as they would at home; however, the receiving households clearly expect servant children to work much harder than their own children. Some households also recruit child labor for other occupational requirements such as commerce or agriculture.

In recruiting a *timoun* servant child, the receiving family reaps the benefit of unsalaried domestic services. This transpires within a broader social context marked by widespread use of household servants, especially in towns and cities. The demand for domestic servants, formerly a practice identified primarily with the bourgeoisie, now cuts across class lines to include both rich and poor. Adult servants may not be well paid in most cases, but they are generally paid – unlike child servants.

Obligations of receiving households. In return for the child's free labor, receiving households are expected to provide servant children with food, clothing, shelter, and schooling – at least in principle. There is social and parental pressure to send servant children to school, especially in towns and cities where schools catering to the needs of *restavèk* children are more available. In reality, outside servant children do not always attend school, or if they do attend, the schools are inferior, e.g., afternoon or evening sessions more limited in duration than the

Transactions

Giving a Child – Gaining Employment

Foufounn's mother gave Foufounn, age 7, to a *madansara* (travelling market intermediary).

Foufounn's father had died. Her mother was a poor peasant lady who had developed a client relationship with the *madansara*. Foufounn's mother helped the *madansara* assemble stocks of coffee and other produce at favorable prices. In return, the *madansara* extended credit to Foufounn's mother for small stocks of sugar, flour, oil, and soap for local resale.

Foufounn's mother protected her client relationship by giving Foufounn to the *madansara*. Foufounn assisted the *madansara* in her trading activities, and as a young girl was given the task of carrying the market trader's money to foil thieves. Foufounn did not attend school.

When the *madansara* retired, she passed Foufounn along to her adult son. The son retained Foufounn as a *timoun* servant child until adulthood, and then began to pay her a small salary as a live-in servant. Foufounn is now 23 years old and still serves the *madansara*'s son and his family. The son pays her 12 dollars (USD) per month "so that she is not discouraged" (*pou'l pa dekouraje*), sends her to evening class for literacy training, and says she is like family.

normal school day. Girls are somewhat more likely to be sent to school than boys, especially if the boys are assigned agricultural tasks.

As a result of taking *timoun* child servants, the receiving household assumes responsibility, by default, for rearing the child. This factor lends itself to psychological abuse. In effect, *ti moun* servant children enter the work force at a tender age and lose their childhood. This constitutes a potentially damaging interruption in the normal cycle of childhood development and socialization.

Traditionally, there is an expectation that children be allowed to visit their parents from time to time, perhaps once each year. On such occasions the receiving household may give the child new clothes, and may send a gift of money or provisions to the child's parents. As recounted by informants, adult caretakers in the receiving house wish to create a positive impression of the child's treatment and general welfare, and may take measures to prevent the child from having private conversations with the natural parents. Field interviews show strong evidence of a decline in efforts to keep outside *timoun* children connected with their families of origin, especially for children placed in Port-au-Prince.

Non-domestic uses of *restavèk* children. In rural areas, larger peasant farmers sometimes recruit boys as extra fieldhands. Farmers are not inclined to send such fieldhands to school. Child fieldhands are sometimes assigned their own field gardens. The receiving family may rear such children to adulthood although they are not generally treated the same as biological children.

Madansara market traders often recruit a *timoun*, usually a girl, to travel with them. Such girls are unlikely to attend school. The text box above recounts the case of an impoverished peasant woman who gave away her 7-year old daughter as a means of ensuring her client relationship (*pratik*) with a trader. This illustrates transactional elements of child placement although the transaction between sending and receiving households does not directly take the form of buying or selling children.

Sending households. For sending parents, *timoun* arrangements are commonly perceived as a worthwhile investment in the child's future including access to education, better nutrition, *fwòtman* (literally "rubbing," i.e., advantageous contact with social and economic superiors) or *gran relasyon* (influential ties). Opportunity for social mobility is an important factor in Haitian society, a social system deeply marked by acute class stratification. Source households for *timoun* grasp onto the hope that placing a child with another family, especially a better educated urban household, might have a positive impact on both the child and his or her family: "L'a vin leve tèt nou" (it will raise up our heads).

Households in crisis. Field interviews with placed children, and the parents of such children, suggest that a domestic crisis in poor households almost invariably precipitates child placement outside the home. In most cases documented by this study, sending families have five to ten children, and there has been a death in the family within the year preceding placement, usually a parent. Placing a child outside the home helps to solve a family problem such as food shortage or the absence of funds for schooling. During times of food shortage, it may literally be a survival issue – both for the child given away and for the sending household which benefits from one less mouth to feed.

There is ample evidence that sending families view the opportunity to place a child as a favor or advantage; however, the choice is driven by necessity. All other things being equal, the inherent preference would be to keep the child. In field interviews, some parents insisted strongly that they would never make such an arrangement. A man who recruited a *timoun* to help take care of his own young children noted:

Yo konn krentif bay timoun.
children.

People are sometimes afraid to give

Yo konn fè timoun pase anpil mizè.

People sometimes subject children to a great deal of misery.

When asked whether had she or others present had ever heard of people “selling” children (*vann timoun*), a market lady in Boucan Chat replied vehemently:

Nou vann jounen.
Nou pa vann timoun!
Nou sansib pou pitit nou.
Si boukong nan pase la
pou l vann ti moun Sendomeng
nap touye'!

We sell day labor.
We do not sell children!
We are protective of our children.
If a smuggler came through here
selling children in the DR,
we would kill him!

A Haitian farmer near the border refused requests from comparatively more affluent Dominican families to give them one of his children. In this case, the father feared that he would lose all contact with his child if placed with a Dominican family. The “lost child” and the fear of losing children are a recurring theme in field interviews.

Class Dynamics

In the early 1940s Simpson defined the *timoun* arrangement as a “...peasant child who goes to live with a family in the elite and who performs various kinds of work in return for his meals, clothing, and a place to sleep.”²⁰ The traditional movement of such children was from rural to urban sectors and from peasant families to wealthy urban families. Such arrangements were defined by distinct class differences, and, at least in part, by a serving role on the part of the child placed with such families. There is every indication from field interviews that this pattern has changed in striking ways.

Rural to urban. Rural children live with in other rural households for a variety of reasons, especially with other rural kinfolk such as grandparents or aunts and uncles. In these cases, receiving households may no longer

Rural to Urban, Poor to Less Poor

Marie-Michelle is a 13-year old servant child who lives in a densely populated neighborhood above Croix des Près. She came from Pilate to live with Antonine when she was 4 years old. Antonine was herself an orphan raised by Marie-Michelle’s parents. Antonine went to secondary school and has a minor government job.

Marie-Michelle has never attended school. She sleeps on a piece of carpet in the kitchen. She carries up to 24 buckets of water to the house every day. She does not eat the same food as other residents of the house, and is sometimes beaten with fists and sandals. She’s been home twice in nine years to visit her parents, but has never spoken privately with her parents since placed with Antonine.

²⁰ Simpson (1941) in a journal article on Haiti’s social structure.

have children at home or may not have children old enough to do household chores. In some cases, the sending household may have problems at home such as food shortage or the death of a parent. Similar circumstances exist in urban areas, and urban households also supply children to other urban households.

Nevertheless, there is a marked rural-to-urban stream of children placed in other households, including the recruitment of *timoun* from nearby rural areas into Haiti's small towns and coastal cities. In addition, both survey data and field interviews signal an important shift in this system: *the sheer scale of rural children recruited to live in Port-au-Prince households*. This trend parallels the rapid growth of Port-au-Prince as a hyper-urban metropolitan area, and the unrelenting exodus from rural areas.

From the poor to less poor. Another major change is the class character of child placement, a change also linked, at least in part, to the dramatic demographic shift presently underway. In lieu of peasant-to-bourgeois, the movement of children is primarily from poor peasant families to *arriviste* middle and lower-class urban households. Many of the children admitted to L'Escale, a group home for *restavèk* runaways, come from Cité Soleil, the country's best known slum district. Field interviews suggest that rural households send large numbers of children to live with receiving households that are only marginally less poor than the sending households. So, the striking feature of this movement is *child placement from the poor to the less poor*, a trend that puts servant children at great risk.

Although relegated to second class citizenship in any case, the treatment of *timoun* servant children varies with the economic status of receiving households, i.e., they share the relative misery or well being of the household where they are placed.

<i>Lè'l lakay yon moun ki pi byen, li trete pi byen, men nan yon klas, e souvan se klas moun sa yo ki bezwen ti moun tou, souvan yo maltrete.</i>	When the child is with someone better off, he is treated better, but within a certain class, and it is often this class of person that needs the services of a <i>timoun</i> , They are often mistreated.
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In short, households of the working poor in Port-au-Prince have generated high demand for *unpaid child servants* as an alternative to paying scarce cash for domestic servants. At the time of fieldwork, going rates for *paid servants* in poor neighborhoods in the Port-au-Prince area were reportedly around 25 dollars (USD) per month, a prohibitive cost for the working poor.

The need for household labor among the poor is hardly frivolous. Less than 30 percent of households in the Port-au-Prince metropolitan area have running water.²¹ In the city's teeming slums, water is sold by the bucket, and the unit cost of water is far higher in poor neighborhoods than more affluent areas. Throughout Haiti the traditional carriers of water are women and children, especially children. In Haiti's urban slums, water from public fountains or broken pipes is supplied by a veritable army of young children, including large numbers of *timoun* servant children.

²¹ See EMMUS-II (1995, 12) for data on household access to water in rural and urban areas.

Decline in placements with bourgeois households. In contrast to high demand for child servants among the poor, affluent households of Port-au-Prince have seen a sharp decline in the placement of *restavèk* children since the mid-twentieth century. Members of the traditional bourgeoisie express outright disdain for the practice, and they disparage lower class households that actively maintain the practice. Urban bourgeois informants in the present study made the following observations:

<p><i>S'ou frekante fanmi Ayisyen w'a wè ke klas privilejye yo si otrefwa yo te konn gen ti moun rete ave yo, ya dezane ke an prensip fami'k respekte tèt yo pa gen sa ou rele'l restavèk anko. Ti moun restavèk pa byen vu chez les bourgeois. Preske yon konpoteman enfènal. Ou pa ladan!</i></p>	<p>If you visit Haitian families you will see that the privileged classes that used to have “servant children” living with them, for years now, at least in principle, families with self-respect no longer have what you’d call <i>restavèk</i>. Use of servant children is not well regarded in bourgeois homes. It is almost an evil behavior. You don’t want to have anything to do with it!</p>
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Other Categories of Child Placement

Fieldwork elicited a fair degree of range and variation in the arrangements parents make for children to live away from home. The main categories noted above are:

- (1) the placement of children with strangers (non-kin) as *ti moun* servant children,
- (2) short-term and long-term child placement with extended family members.

These two categories sometimes overlap though not inevitably.

Child servants disguised by kinship. Kinship ties and obligations are strongly valued in Haitian culture. Nevertheless, field interviews clearly indicate that children living with relatives remain vulnerable to use as domestic servants, a pattern described by some as “domesticité informelle” (informal domestic service).²² This disguised child servant role contrasts with the more straightforward *timoun* arrangement whereby a child is placed with relatives or strangers for the explicit purpose of serving their domestic needs.

In one case, a woman was working as a maid in a bourgeois household of Port-au-Prince. Her brother-in-law was very angry when she refused his request for a child. The woman feared that doing so would diminish her young daughter’s life chances, and that she would not be treated well at her uncle’s house. She feared her daughter would have to work like a servant child even if living with a close relative.

An estimated one-fourth of the clientèle at L’Escale, a group home for runaway *restavèk* children, were originally placed with relatives and treated badly.²³ It is difficult for poor rural parents to monitor the situation of children placed in distant urban households. The sending family may simply rely on the goodwill of urban relatives who appear to be doing

²² See HSI (2002, 54, 73) for use of the term “domesticité informelle” – referring specifically to children placed with extended family members or godparents and treated as child servants.

²³ Dr. Nadine Burdet, Director of L’Escale, says that some of the worst cases of abuse in her program were children placed with relatives, generally in the city, far away from rural homes.

better than they are or are better educated and speak French. When ongoing contact with parents is absent, the opportunity for abuse is far higher. Judge Prevost in Cap-Haitien cited a court case in which a physically abused child lived with her aunt:

<p><i>Li te gen lyen parante ki fe li pitit kay tandiske restavek pa paran ditou.</i></p> <p><i>Ka sa ak matant sete pitit kay as pitit kay men te gen profil restavèk. Matant abize pitit la plis li te fe travay pitit matant li menm pat fe.</i></p>	<p>She had kin ties so she was a <i>pitit kay</i> whereas a <i>restavèk</i> is completely unrelated.</p> <p>In this case she lived with her aunt but was treated as a <i>restavèk</i> child. The aunt abused the child <u>plus the child did work that the aunt's own children were not asked to do.</u></p>
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Rural school children living with urban kinfolk. Haiti's towns and cities are centers for educating rural children, especially for secondary schools. The decapitalization of the rural sector is due in part to the need to send children away to school. An important cost of schooling is therefore board and room. This problem is commonly addressed by lodging children with townspeople – preferably kinfolk or other prior acquaintances (see adjoining text box).

In school-based lodging with other families, the host parents do not generally have primary childrearing responsibility. In many cases, biological parents keep in close touch with both the children and the host family, perhaps weekly on market days. The school children return home for school vacation periods and the longer summer break. Living with others in such cases is a temporary arrangement though it may endure for long periods of time.

The operating premise of these arrangements is mutual aid whereby host families provide board and room and resident students do chores. The sending parents may also contribute agricultural produce from time to time. Students living with others often contribute a great deal of labor to the household, including the lion's share of domestic tasks. In some cases, these lodging arrangements are barely distinguishable from *timoun* arrangements.

**School Children and Servant Children
Living with Others**

Sergo's parents were large peasant farmers who lived in the town of Mirebalais. When Sergo still lived at home 15 people slept there including 4 categories of children: 9 siblings, at least 1 *timoun* servant child, a hired fieldhand during peak seasons, and 4 or 5 students from rural areas who needed a place to stay in town. All the children worked. The rural students in residence did most of the domestic work in the household. The *timoun* servant children did fieldwork, took care of animals, and helped Sergo's mother with marketing. The hardest work in the household was assigned to servant children.

Over a 20 year period 6 *timoun* servant children - 4 boys and 2 girls - worked for Sergo's parents - one or two at a time. None went to school. All came from rural households. Two were distant relatives and two were godchildren of Sergo's father. They were 9 to 11 years old when they came, and stayed 5 to 7 years until they chose to leave. All left to try and make money. When they left, two returned home then moved to Port-au-Prince. One went to work at another household on salary. Three returned to their rural areas to farm, including one who also sold *bolèt* (private lottery) tickets.

Hybrid arrangements. Field interviews uncovered living and service arrangements for children that have a hybridized character. They exemplify the flexible character of child living arrangements in Haiti. For example, Sonsonn, a teenager and former street kid in Mirebalais, lives with a cousin. He is careful to note that this is not a *restavèk* arrangement; rather, his cousin “gives him a place to sleep” (*yo banm ti adom*) and he takes care of his own needs for food, clothing, laundry, etc. In return for a place to sleep, he runs errands and does some work around the house, but he is not his cousin’s domestic servant.

Marie-Rose, a peasant woman in Desvarieux, reported a local form of child placement in which the child still sleeps at home but provides domestic services to a nearby household on a daily basis. In return the child is fed and sent to school. This reduces economic pressure on the sending household while still keeping the child at home. This is not an isolated case. It is a variant on the practice of sending children to live with others.

Other informants reported that children are sometimes sent to live with others, generally relatives, on a temporary basis due to family crisis or food shortage. In return, the children assist with domestic chores around the house. Such “temporary” arrangements can last for a few days, a season, or several years.

Girls in customary marital unions that cut across class lines. Aside from the issue of servant children, households also negotiate customary marital unions for teenage girls. In one variant, underage girls are sometimes solicited, or offered by their parents, in *plase* unions with men deemed wealthy or powerful. This researcher has documented such arrangements for girls as young as thirteen and fourteen. An older man with a teenage *plase* wife made the following comment:

*Le yon ayisyen di ou pran yon
jenn fi menen al lakay ou,
li la pou tout koz.*

When a Haitian tells you to take a
young girl home with you,
She is available for all purposes.

Parents may well actively negotiate *plase* unions with young teenage daughters. As in other spheres of social life, these negotiations have a transactional character. In one such case, the father of a thirteen-year old girl needed a tin roof and offered his daughter as a *plase* wife in exchange for a gift of 500 Haitian dollars and 30 sheets of tin roofing. The man who agreed to the arrangement was wealthy, and the union was deemed to have long term benefit for the sending household, a family of poor peasant farmers.

In another case, the wealthy man showed an interest in a 14-year old girl as a *plase* wife. The girl’s brother-in-law communicated this interest to the parents of the girl and arranged a meeting with the girl’s father. The father agreed to the arrangement but explained that when a young woman left home to live with a man, she needed furniture, clothing, and a place to live. This was viewed at least in part as insurance in case the union did not last. The suitor paid 350 Haitian dollars and the match was made.

In both of these cases, negotiations over *plase* unions took place between two men – the father of the girl and the prospective *plase* husband – and not between the two partners to the union. In both cases, these customary unions had the effect of linking households divided by class.

Orphanages and international adoptions. Looking into the social dynamics of Haitian orphanages was beyond the scope of the present study; however, many children resident in orphanages are not truly orphans. Therefore, orphanages may be viewed as another form of child placement outside of the home. Furthermore, there is an international adoption circuit that operates in Haiti, and this circuit is built in part on the role of orphanages as assembly points for children available for adoption.²⁴

Given the relative affluence of foreign parents seeking children, the situation is rife with the potential for corruption and maneuvers that may well not be in the best interest of the children. We interviewed a prospective American adoptive mother. She was planning to adopt a boy under the age of one year. The boy was in placement at an orphanage near Delmas 31. Nearly all the children at this orphanage had biological parents who were still alive. This was an orphanage in name only. The adoptive mother estimated that around 70 foreign adoptive parents were registered with the orphanage, had paid feeds, and awaited completion of formalities for a Haitian adoption.

The adoptive mother reported having paid an initial fee of 4,000 US dollars for the orphanage to process her case, plus 600 dollars per month for the child's board and room at the orphanage for a period of 6 months. She expected to pay a final fee of 3,500 dollars once the adoption was completed. The former director of the orphanage, an American citizen, left the country some months after the adoptive mother made these arrangements. The adoptive mother reported that new directors at the orphanage then charged her an additional fee of 3,000 dollars to continue processing the adoption, required additional time due to delays in processing her case at IBESR, and charged additional months of board-and-room fees at the orphanage. Clearly, neither the orphanage nor presumably IBESR had any financial incentive to accelerate adoption procedures. The adoptive mother expected to pay around 15,000 dollars for the adoption in addition to her own hotel and travel expenses from the northwest region of the United States. Ironically, she didn't feel the costs were exorbitant in view of her prior experience adopting a child from the Russian Far East for a fee of 20,000 dollars plus 5,000 dollars in travel costs.

Coming of Age

In general, it is quite common for rural children to come of age around age fifteen; however, for the purposes of this report, and according to the law, children are defined as persons under the age of eighteen. This definition of childhood is at odds with the reality of everyday life in Haiti where many children take on adult, self-determining roles at an early age. Field interviews indicate that this takes place as early as age ten.

Miniature adults. The world of Haitian children includes a growing segment that might be described as miniature adults, leaving home, handling money, and making their own way in the world. Many such children are runaways, especially *restavèk* children. Others leave home if they are unable to go to school. Some take initiative to live in other homes including households located far away or across the border. Some are on their own and

²⁴ According to some reports, international adoptions in the United States tripled to some 20,000 children between 1990 and 2002 (Kruger 2004).

live in the street. Some work as street hustlers (odd jobs, handouts, scavenging), sex workers, carriers, vendors, or agricultural laborers.

Street kids. We encountered street kids in literally every Haitian town visited during fieldwork for this report. Recent reporting on street kids in the Port-au-Prince area indicates that their numbers have not increased in the period since 1991, currently estimated to be no more than 2,000 children in the metropolitan area.²⁵ In apparent contrast, recent interviews and observations suggest that the numbers of street kids in provincial towns have notably increased in the past decade, especially in border towns.

Many street kids are runaway *restavèk* children. Other street kids have run away or taken initiative to leave their own homes and live in the street. In both cases, the option of living in the street is to some extent an alternative to living with others as a servant child. The precipitating factors are similar.

For example, Sonsonn, a street kid in Mirebalais, left his rural home after his mother died, when he was 10 years old. His father was unable to send him to school and there was little food available. He walked to the town of Mirebalais of his own volition and lived from various street activities. He slept outside on the ground for 6 years. The past three years he has slept inside people's houses in exchange for domestic services. As a young adult he now lives from washing cars, carrying loads, and selling drinks in the street. He has taken initiative to enroll in school and covers the cost himself. He periodically visits his father in a nearby rural area and gives him gifts of money from his meager earnings.

Other street children tell life stories with elements that recur over and over in interviews:

- leaving home of their own volition,
- running away from *restavèk* placement,
- leaving home after the loss of a parent,
- continuing to make periodic visits home,
- and sometimes, stating a preference for living independently on their own rather than living under adult authority, subject to the demands of others.

A notable recurring theme of interviews with street kids, sex workers, and working teenagers is that they report visiting parents and bringing gifts. This suggests some degree of continued attachment. Even homeless children in town report visiting rural parents and taking gifts of money.

Child self-placement. Runaway children also take initiative to seek out other households willing to take them when they have problems at home. One man explained two primary ways that children find placement as *restavèk* in the town of Thiotte.

Malere bay lot fanmi ki pi miyo.

*Ti moun fè vis
kouri ale lakay lot moun,
sove kay paran,
lal direktman lakay moun.*

The poor give children to other families that are better off.

A child does something wrong runs away to another's house, runs away from parents, goes directly to someone's house.

²⁵ Pierre (2003, 73).

This is another recurring theme in the placement of children with others – the runaway child who goes to the house of an acquaintance, oftentimes a relative. This pattern is reported in in both rural and urban areas. Such departures are generally precipitated by conflict at home and may include flight from physical abuse. In urban areas, many runaway children are fleeing abusive *restavék* placements rather than their own homes.

In other cases, a child may take initiative to leave home due to acute poverty and food shortage, especially if the child is not in school. This researcher repeatedly encountered children and young men who had left home as children – on their own initiative. Invariably, they were children who did not attend school, and came from poor families with many children.

In a case elicited in Lascahobas, a twelve-year left his rural home in search of work or a place to stay. His parents did not know where he was. Another family agreed to take him on condition that his parents give him permission to stay. He lived with the family for the next ten years and assisted in farmwork and animal care. The receiving family provided food, shelter, clothing and some schooling, and arranged for him to visit his own family once a year, taking gifts of farm produce. As a young adult, he works as a paid employee for one of the other children in the household who now has his own business.

Continuum of Children Living with Others

What emerges from field observations and interviews is a wide-ranging *continuum* in the treatment of children who live with others. Children are workers. Child labor is highly valued but generally unremunerated. Children live with others for a variety of reasons. Not all children who live with others are “restavék” servant children.

In some cases, outside children are treated almost as if they were informally adopted. At the other end of the spectrum, outside children are treated very badly, virtually as little slaves. A large and growing number of children constitute a distinct class of child servants separated from parents and living with strangers. In between are a broad range of arrangements and patterns of treatment that reflect different circumstances, temperaments, kinship ties, and culturally mediated arrangements for giving and taking children.

Some such arrangements reflect the generosity of host families and protect children from far worse circumstances in homes of origin afflicted by crisis or acute poverty. Some children are runaways who actively choose to live with others to escape abusive conditions or food shortage at home. Other arrangements are clothed in euphemisms of kinship, godparenthood, or school attendance that disguise the use and abuse of children. All arrangements observed or documented provide tangible benefits to the receiving families.

In general, regardless of the arrangement, children living outside the home tend to have a heightened risk of treatment as second class citizens and also a heightened risk of physical and sexual abuse – though neither is inevitable. According to field interviews, the living conditions of servant children tend to be distinctly different from other children in the same household. They sleep in the least desirable places, e.g., on a section of carpet in the outside kitchen or on the floor at the foot of a bed. They eat different food. They do significantly more work than other children in the household. They may well

carry the workload of adult domestic servants and more. According to direct observation by informants, such children are subject to public humiliation and corporal punishment including beatings with cooking pots, shoes, whips, or fists. They may well not go to school, or if they do, it is an inferior school and in any case a different school from those attended by other children in the household. They are subject to sexual use by other children in the household and sometimes by adults, yet they would not likely be allowed to marry the sons or daughters of the household served.

Trafficking

Is there evidence of trafficking in these various arrangements for child placement outside of the home?

- There is ample evidence of negotiation, gift-giving, and transactional arrangements.
- There is no evidence from present fieldwork that *sending* families give or receive money in exchange for supplying children to work as unpaid servants in other Haitian households.
- There is growing evidence of some severe trafficking in the process of *recruitment*.

Growing role of intermediaries in the recruitment process. Recruitment is traditionally a consensual arrangement between adults representing the sending and receiving households. Traditionally the two households have had some prior relationship with each other, including kinship ties. This is still the case in many instances, especially in provincial towns and rural areas; however, there have been major shifts in the character of child placement. These include the following:

- (1) A dramatic increase in big city placement of children from distant rural areas under circumstances that allow *little or no ongoing contact between the children and their parents*.
- (2) Strong evidence of a significant rise in the *placement of children with strangers*.
- (3) Child placement with strangers *facilitated by intermediaries and payment of fees*.

The intermediary contact might be made by word of mouth via a household servant, perhaps a laundry woman who passes along the message that she knows someone looking for a *timoun*. Or, households may pay money for someone to actively recruit a servant child in rural areas.

<p><i>Gen de moun ki depeche moun al an provens peye frè transpo pou li pou'l ale nan zòn kote li soti a pou'l vin avèk yon ti moun pou li.</i></p>	<p>There are those who send someone out into the provinces, and pay transport costs for the person to go where they came from and bring back a <i>timoun</i> servant child</p>
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<p><i>Klas kap chache ti moun kounyea pa gen mwayen peye yon bonn. Achte yon ti moun epi yo frankil.</i></p>	<p>The class of people looking for a <i>timoun</i> nowadays cannot afford a maid. So they buy a <i>timoun</i> and they are happy.</p>
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Use of the word “buy” suggests that people are willing to pay expenses for child recruitment since it is bound to be cheaper than paying for a maid; however, use of the word does not imply that children are directly bought and sold as slaves.

Informants from Savanette report that a market trader (*madansara*) from the area goes to Port-au-Prince every Saturday with a child in tow. Each week it is a new child destined for placement in Port-au-Prince. This trader thus trades in servant children along with other commodities. People have nicknamed her *Manman Zanfan* (mother of children). Another woman from Savanette specializes in recruiting teenage girls around the age of 16 or so for big city households interested in hiring domestic help at low salaries. This woman has acquired the nickname *lajans* (agency). In effect, both women are market ladies who operate as labor recruitment agents or *koutchye* (brokers), and receiving families are willing to pay a fee for their services.

There is evidence that Haitian children are recruited in a similar fashion for placement as servant children with Haitian households in the Dominican Republic. Informants in both Mirebalais and Plaisance report seeing market ladies headed for the DR accompanied by four or five children. In general, it is very clear from fieldwork that Haitian families living in the DR, as well as Dominican families in border areas, are interested in recruiting Haitian children; however, there is no evidence from field interviews that Dominican families have paid fees for access to Haitian foster children. There is evidence that Haitians living in the DR have paid fees, such as smuggling and travel costs, to cover the costs of recruiting rural Haitian children for placement with Haitians in the DR.

Kidnapping. The *lost child* is a persistently recurring theme in field interviews dealing with child migration – both within Haiti and across the border. Some of the lost children are due to kidnapping. The director of L’Escale estimates that at least 50 of the runaway *restavèk* children admitted to L’Escale in recent years were kidnapped from rural homes and placed with strangers in Port-au-Prince. This is roughly one-eighth of the children who have passed through L’Escale.

This information is based on feedback from children and from their parents whenever L’Escale was able to locate biological parents. Many parents contacted by L’Escale reported having lost their children and feared them dead, or the children disappeared, or “they took the child away from me.” The children were in turn placed with big city families – reportedly for a fee, and completely cut off from any further contact with family. The children at L’Escale with a history of kidnapping and placement with strangers tended to be treated worse than other *restavèk* children, according to the group home’s director.

Independently of L’Escale, this researcher encountered parents who reported having “lost children.” In some cases these were children lost to the Dominican Republic. There is evidence that some children may in fact have run away rather than being taken by force, or were encouraged to run away by an acquaintance or perhaps a relative, and then placed as *restavèk* children.

Indicators of Children at Risk

Children placed outside the home generally come from families of five to 10 children. A major life crisis, particularly the death or extended illness of a parent, tends to precipitate placement of one or more children outside the home. Access to education is a dominant

motivation for placing rural children in urban households. Sending children across the border is viewed as an alternative to sending a child to school, when a family cannot afford the costs of schooling. Orphans and especially AIDS-orphans are a high risk group. Some reports estimate the number of AIDS orphans at 163,000 to 235,000 children in Haiti under the age of 15.²⁶

In sum, children that reflect some or all of the following characteristics or circumstances are at heightened risk of being trafficked or recruited as servant children:

- Rural households marked by acute poverty
- Households where water is located at a long distance, e.g., an hour's walk or more.
- A major life crisis, particularly the death or illness of a parent.
- Hunger seasons or periods of food shortage.
- Families of five to ten children.
- Children who have only one contributing parent.
- Children between the ages of six and twelve.
- Girls are more vulnerable to placement than boys, especially for urban households.
- Children born outside of stable conjugal unions, e.g., *pitit deyo* (outside children) or children born to passing (non-enduring) unions.
- Children of school age who are not in school or cannot afford school costs.
- Runaway children seeking a place to stay.
- Orphans including growing numbers of AIDS orphans
- Presenting opportunity or access, i.e., households that have contact with prospective receiving households or their representatives, for example,
 - urban-based relatives and godparents,
 - market traders who travel back and forth between rural and urban areas,
 - brokers (traffickers), including kidnappers, who actively recruit children,
 - young people from the area who have moved away and who might encourage children to leave home without parental permission.

²⁶ FHI/Impact, ND, La Situation des orphelins et des enfants vulnérables en Haïti, Résumé de l'évaluation, p. 16.

CHAPTER IV CHILD LABOR, THE BORDER, AND TRAFFICKING

CHILD LABOR IN HAITI

There is every indication that the largest single sector utilizing child labor in Haiti is unpaid domestic service. Are there other forms of unpaid child labor, and to what extent do children also work for money? Three points stand out in response to these questions:

- (1) Aside from domestic service, the other large-scale centers of demand for unpaid child labor in Haiti are petty commerce and agricultural field labor.
- (2) If children are not in school and not needed at home, they tend to come of age in adolescence, perhaps age fifteen or younger. Many actively seek paid work outside of the household – both locally or in other areas.
- (3) Young children as well as adolescents also cross the border to work for money – both voluntarily or under the authority of adults, especially in Haitian localities near the border.

From no pay to low pay. A common theme is the shift among *restavèk* children from unpaid domestic labor to wage labor beginning around age fifteen. For example, girls placed as *restavèk* children in Port-au-Prince may run away or arrange to leave, especially if they can locate salaried jobs as domestic servants (see adjoining text box).

In many rural areas there is high demand for agricultural day laborers. Demand is intermittent in keeping with the agricultural cycle. Many farmers are chronically short of cash to hire day laborers at peak periods. Therefore, some farmers recruit *restavèk* children as field hands in lieu of hiring day laborers. Such worker children are usually boys, and they are unlikely to be sent to school.

In the Lower Plateau area, field interviews elicited repeated cases of *restavèk* boys placed as field hands with peasant households at age 9 or 10. These boys sometimes choose to leave placement around age 15, taking on the role of young adults and seeking paid labor alternatives to unpaid *restavèk* placement. In another variant, *restavèk* field hands staying through adolescence may receive garden space in exchange for providing unpaid fieldwork on the farm.

Restavèk field workers who leave placement households in adolescence sometimes return to work as hired hands – seasonal agricultural laborers. Under these

From No Pay to Low Pay

Marie-Rose moved to Port-au-Prince as a single person from Mawouj, a rural area on the road to Hinche in the Lower Plateau. Marie-Rose found work in a factory but lived alone in a rented room.

Sylvanie, age 12, was sent from rural Mawouj to live with her godmother Marie-Rose in Port-au-Prince. Sylvanie's parents did not live together, and neither parent wanted to keep her. Sylvanie lived with Marie-Rose for 6 years. She carried water, cleaned house, and prepared food while Marie-Rose worked in the factory. Marie-Rose sent Sylvanie to school in evening sessions at 5:00 and 7:00 PM.

At age 18, after living 6 years with Marie-Rose and serving her, Sylvanie ran away. She was pregnant and had found paid work as a domestic servant elsewhere.

circumstances they are temporary live-in workers who are fed and given a place to sleep. Under such live-in arrangements, they may be paid about half the going rate.

Agricultural labor. An important source of extra-familial labor in rural Haiti is the rotating labor group or *eskwad* – a labor arrangement that should not be confused with the well-known *kounbit* work party. There are a number of variants; however, the rule of reciprocal, rotating, and unpaid labor is common to all *eskwad*-type groups. Such groups may also sell their group labor to non-members. There are thousands of such rotating labor groups in Haiti; they often include adolescent boys and young men.

Teenagers, usually boys, also sell their labor as individual daily wage laborers or agricultural jobbers (piecework). Certain zones in rural Haiti have high demand for agricultural daily wage. High labor demand zones include irrigated areas such as the Artibonite Valley, a labor magnet for young workers from surrounding regions.

Petty commerce. Both girls and boys are in demand as street vendors, carriers, market assistants for travelling *madansara* traders, and sellers in small household stores or street markets. Demand for child workers in this sphere is higher for girls than boys. Child market workers may be unpaid *restavèk* children or may work for pay. Some buy and sell their own produce. Boys may seek out clients willing to pay them to carry produce on market days or unload goods at the bus station. This phenomenon is highly visible at any urban market, and especially in border towns on marketdays.

Sex workers. Accord to field interviews, sexual activity tends to begin earlier for girls than boys. This may be as young as ten years of age or more commonly age twelve or thirteen, especially for *restavèk* servant girls. Informants including sex workers interviewed in this study have personal knowledge of girls age 10 to 14 who sell sexual services. There is evidence from field interviews that young sex workers include ex-*restavèk* children who have fled abusive household situations, including sexual abuse.

Informants also note that young girls have something to sell that boys do not have. This refers to work that girls customarily do, but it is also a reference to sexual activity. This is also reminiscent of a rural proverb that takes note of the transactional character that colors relations between the sexes:

Tout fanm g'on kawo tè. All women have a plot of land,
i.e., something of value.

Fieldwork did not uncover cases of trafficking in sex workers within Haiti, although such trafficking may well exist. Interviews in Ti Lori and Anse à Pitre elicited some reports, including specific cases based on personal knowledge, of underage Haitian girls recruited by smugglers (*boukong*) for a fee, specifically for placement with Dominican men as sexual or conjugal partners.

THE BORDER

Haitians cross the border in both directions by the thousands. This includes minors and young children who cross the border, including some who cross of their own volition. In principle, Haitians crossing into the DR must decide whether or not to do so legally. In practice, relatively few rural Haitians have ready access to travel documents. Therefore, the vast majority of Haitian labor migrants run the risk of crossing as undocumented workers. As a result, they are subject to deportation from the DR on a moment's notice.

The frontier zone. The Border itself is a separate reality. Zones that immediately about the Haiti/Dominican border are distinctly different in many respects from regions further afield on either side of the border. In the immediate environs of the border there is a great deal of contact between Haitians and Dominicans and considerable cross-border movement between neighboring localities.

In sharp contrast to local-level cross border interactions, the border also attracts laborers from virtually all regions of Haiti, though primarily from rural areas. These prospective workers are men, women, and children, but the largest percentage is young men seeking work in the Dominican Republic. Unlike people from border area localities, such labor migrants are strangers to the border and usually require the services of cross-border guides and labor smugglers.

An illegally open border. The Haiti/DR frontier is not technically an open border; however, it is marked by a near constant movement of people and goods. Border authorities regulate cross border movement at major crossing points, but the majority of people and goods cross the border informally, i.e., illegally. Crossing the border may be facilitated by payment of small fees to Dominican guards, or it may be unobserved – entirely removed from formal systems of control and regulation.

It's abundantly clear from field interviews that most Haitians who cross the border do so through illicit or unregulated channels or without proper papers, i.e., *anba fil* (under the wire). These circumstances generate ample opportunity for corrupt transactions when such migrants are detected at military checkpoints or border posts, especially by Dominican border guards.

In sparsely populated areas, uncontrolled segments of the border also carry a heightened risk of lawlessness including armed robbery and cross-border trafficking in stolen animals as well as undocumented migrants. When crossing the border in remote areas, labor smugglers and migrants are vulnerable to robbery and rape by gangs of thieves.

Cross border trade. Brunet (2001) estimates illicit cross border trade at 4 or 5 times the value of regulated trade. The percentage is clearly much higher than that in some areas visited in this study including Savanette, a mountainous commune of the Lower Plateau, and Boucan Chat, a lively but remote rural market along the border in the high mountains of the Forêt des Pins. In Savanette, virtually all local agricultural surplus is marketed across the border especially coffee, beans, congo peas, and avocados. According to interviews with market traders in Boucan Chat, *madansara* traders travel long distances in both Haiti and the Dominican Republic in order to ply their trade. They cross the border with ease and make special arrangements with Dominican border guards and military checkpoints further inland from the border.

Official border crossings. The Dominican government staffs an elaborate network of guard posts and border crossings scattered across the 380 kilometer border. In sharp contrast, the Haitian government staffs police posts, customs and immigration at only a small number of major border crossings including Ouanaminthe (across from Dajabòn), Belladère (Elias Piña), Malpasse/Ganthier (Jimani), and Anse à Pitres (Pedernales).

Malpasse is the single most important official border crossing. Malpasse controls the primary land route linking Port-au-Prince with Santo Domingo. In 2000 it accounted for over half the value of cross border trade according to Théodat (2003). The northern town of Ouanaminthe has also become a high volume crossing point – second only to Malpasse since the early 1990s, and accounted for nearly a third of cross border trade during the year 2000 (*ibid.*).

The population of Haiti's 14 border municipalities (*communes*) is well in excess of a half million people living in close proximity to the 380 kilometer border (see Table 3 below). Brunet (*ibid.*) reports that population density on the Haitian side of the border tends to be far higher than the Dominican side of the border – as much as five times higher (250 persons/km² versus 50 persons/km²) although this varies from one area to another.

Table 3. Jurisdictions and Population of Haitian Border Communes

Haitian Border Communes	Population	Haiti (<i>départements</i>)	Dominican Republic (<i>provincia</i>)
Ferrier	13,096	Nord-Est	Montecristi
Ouanaminthe	77,319		Dajabon
Capotille	15,086		
Mont Organisé	17,189		
Carice	10,180		
Mombin Crochu	25,113		
Cerca la Source	40,270	Centre	Elias Piña
Thomassique	42,557		
Thomonde	32,993		
Belladère	60,239		
Savanette	29,717		
Cornillon	48,934	Ouest	Independencia
Ganthier	71,261		
Fonds-Verettes	40,227		
Anse à Pitre	21,846	Sud-Est	Pedernales
Total	546,024		

NOTE: Jurisdictions are listed along a north-south axis. Dominican *provincia* are listed according to geographic proximity with Haitian *départements*. Population data are drawn from the 2003 census (IHSI, 2003).

Illicit border crossings. Areas reported by CEDEC to have a high incidence of border crossing by undocumented Haitian workers include the following (see Séide 2003):

- Ouanaminthe
- Cachiman and Miguel (Savanette)

- Mont Organisé
- Tilor (Cerca la Source)
- Castilleur (Saltadère)
- Bòk Banik (Thomassique)
- Thomonde (near Tierra Muscady)
- Cornillon
- Fonds-Verettes (near Limòn)
- Ganthier (near Jimani)
- Anse à Pître

These areas correspond quite closely with the list of border communes noted in Table 3. Feedback from field inquiry suggests the following:

- People cross the border for a variety of reasons in literally all of the 14 border communes.
- They definitely do not restrict themselves to the major border crossings noted earlier.
- A great deal of border crossing is local – daily traffic between neighboring localities.
- Some sites are characterized by much higher volumes of border crossing, including cross border migrants who are strangers to the area.

Characteristics of preferred sites for illicit border crossing. Recent field interviews tended to confirm the CEDEC listing; however, local informants identified a number of other more specific localities where Haitians cross the border in relatively large numbers, especially groups of people who are strangers to the border and who are led by guides or labor smugglers. These crossing points offer particular advantages including some or all of the following:

- opportunity to avoid checkpoints, or,
- to cross unobserved by Dominican border guards;
- ready access to roads with public transportation on both sides of the border;
- Haitian sites that offer convenient and inconspicuous staging areas for groups waiting to cross, e.g., border markets,
- Dominican sites that offer assembly points near public transportation on the Dominican side but out of sight of guard posts or checkpoints;
- geographic locations within range of Dominican cities or specific types of Dominican labor opportunities, e.g., the annual sugar cane harvest (south), or other particular crops such as coffee (mid-border area), large scale production of green peppers and paddy rice production (north), or construction (Santo Domingo).

Zones of high volume border crossing. For the present study it was not possible to visit all border communes; however, field interviews point to the following border regions frequented by labor smugglers and cross border guides, and by thousands of Haitians arriving from regions of Haiti more distant from the border:

1. Northeast: Ouanaminthe, linked economically to its Dominican twin Dajabón, is a high volume crossing point. Commercial relations between Ouanaminthe and Dajabón are anchored by large Monday and Friday marketdays in Dajabón. This is a government-regulated border crossing; however, on marketdays literally thousands of people cross back and forth freely from early morning until 4:00 PM. Most are local people going to market as traders or consumers; however, the

large volume of foot traffic also allows labor smugglers to cross with undocumented workers.

The area of Capotille south of Ouanaminthe is an important rural crossing point in the area. The Massacre River serves as the local border. Smugglers cross the Massacre River after dark out of sight of Dominican guard posts.

2. Plateau Central: This region is a high volume area for border crossing. There are sizeable border markets at Ti Lori (called Tiroli by Dominicans) on the Haitian side of the international highway, close to Villa Anacaona (DR), and at Elias Piña (DR) across from Belladère. People from Savanette and Baptiste go to Dominican markets in Hondo Valle and Cañada Miguel. Ti Lori (Cerca la Source) and Bòk Banik (Thomassique) are well-known staging areas for labor smugglers and their clients. People come to these sites from distant communes including Port-au-Prince to make contact with local labor smugglers and negotiate passage on foot across the border. Smugglers operating out of Ti Lori cross the border at night at La Cruz near Mario.
3. Pine Forest region: Fonds-Verettes is located in rugged terrain a few kilometers from the Dominican town of El Limón. To go to El Limón or Jimani, people cross over from Twa Ma or Tè Fwad. Boucan Chat is a Haitian border market in a remote area of the Pine Forest. This market is an important assembly point for labor smugglers and their clients, especially during recruitment for the Dominican sugar harvest. As many as 15 truckloads of workers reportedly arrive daily during the peak season for labor recruitment, late November through January. The workers and their smugglers cross at Tèt Sous not far from El Aguacate. People also cross at Lospin and Nan Paul.
4. South-East: There are close ties between Anse à Pitre and Pedernales, including a great deal of local movement back and forth between the twin border towns on a daily basis. In addition, literally thousands of undocumented Haitian workers reportedly pass through Anse à Pitre en route to Mangit (Avila), a remote assembly point in the forest above Pedernales, for the annual recruitment of Haitian workers to harvest Dominican cane. Large numbers come to Anse à Pitre by boat from Marigot. Others come overland to rural border areas between Anse à Pitre and the mountain town of Thiotte. Thiotte itself is not located on the border, but it is on the main road between Anse à Pitre and the Pine Forest. Many labor migrants and smugglers pass through Thiotte on their way to rural crossing points closer to Anse à Pitre.

Major crossing points include Bwa Dòm (across from Senom), Nan Banann and Nan Bony (across from Banano), and Tè Fwèt Mayin (communal section of Anse à Pitre), also Nan Cashiman, Bwa Kodenn, and Mensi. Dozens of Dominican transporters thrive on fares from undocumented Haitians seeking public transport after crossing over from Bwa Dòm to Senom. Bwa Dòm is strategically located on the border in a remote rural area. As a crossing point it provides convenient access to roadways and public transportation on both sides of the border. Although it is only a small rural locality, Bwa Dòm is a well-known center for access to labor smugglers and guides.

LOCALITIES NEAR THE BORDER

Intimate contact. In many cases, rural localities along the border are marked by frequent everyday contact between Haitians and Dominicans. In such areas there is a relatively high rate of bilingualism (Creole/Spanish) among Dominicans as well as Haitians, and a growing incidence of Dominico-Haitian unions, particularly on the Dominican side of the border. Haitians who live in border localities do not require the services of labor guides or smugglers to cross the border. They are on familiar ground.

On market days at border markets there is vastly increased movement across the border. Local traffic also includes large numbers of Haitian day laborers from border areas who cross into neighboring areas to work on small Dominican farms, or even to rent or sharecrop land. Free Dominican medical services in border areas attract many Haitian clients from across the border. In some areas near the border, Haitians are far more inclined to cross the border for Dominican medical services rather than seek out Haitian medical services that are less well equipped, more expensive, and further away.

Overall, cross-border encounters among local people in border areas appear generally amicable, at least on the surface. In both countries, researchers confronted negative clichés or stereotypes about the other nationality; however, these stereotypes tended to be more vividly stated in interviews further removed from the border. In field interviews, most border-area Dominicans and Haitians deemed frequent cross-border ties and interactions as mutually beneficial.

Vulnerable status. Despite close ties in border areas, undocumented Haitians inside the Dominican border – including long-term residents in border localities – retain an ambiguous social status with few or no legal rights. In principle, they are subject to deportation, including resident Haitian women in conjugal unions with Dominican men. Haitian children, including children with a Dominican father, are generally excluded from normal legal channels for acquiring Dominican birth certificates or nationality.

Access to land. Due to legal restrictions on land ownership, Haitians do not purchase land across the border; however, growing numbers of Haitians residing in Haiti cross the border to farm Dominican land under rental or sharecropping arrangements. Harvest rights remain tenuous. Interviewees reported cases where Haitian farmers renting or sharecropping land from Dominican border farmers were summarily removed from the land by authorities and landlords just prior to harvest, thereby forfeiting harvest benefits.

Population shifts. Despite the tenuous legal status of most Haitians residing in the Dominican Republic, field inquiry found ample evidence that Haitians have resettled in relatively large numbers in Dominican border communities. For example, the rural border community of Cruce de Mariano south of Santiago de la Cruz has a large proportion of Haitians. At a rural border school in Trinitaria not far from La Restauración, 30 percent of the students are Haitian, and the majority of households in the vicinity of the school are reportedly Haitian. In this case, the local predominance of Haitians is a demographic shift that has reportedly taken place within the last five years. Teachers in Trinitaria also pointed to a rural Dominican school near Villa Anacaona where literally all of the students are presently Haitian.

Local cross-border agricultural laborers. In general, local Haitian agricultural laborers play a very important role in smallscale agriculture on the Dominican side of the border, even while maintaining residence in Haiti. For example, in the north, La Vigia is an agricultural village of Dominican farmers not far from Dajabón; however, Haitian day laborers from rural sectors of Ouanaminthe and Ferrier are the primary source of agricultural labor in La Vigia. This pattern was evident from field inquiry on both sides of the border, and also in segments of the border far removed from the northern tier. Field interviews and observations took note of this pattern in the following areas visited:

- Cañada Miguel and La Colonia near Hondo Valle across from Savanette;
- Angel Felix across from Grand Bois (St. Pierre/Cornillon);
- Altagracia and neighboring areas near Savane Zombi and the Pine Forest;
- Banano and other Dominican localities across from rural districts of Anse à Pitre.

A man from Anse à Pitre emphasized the close ties that Haitian farmers have with Dominican farmers across the border including agricultural daily wage labor and sharecropping:

<p><i>Katreven pousan Ayisyen Ansapit se Pedenal yo travay, Ayisyen ki fe tout lot bo, jaden demwatye. Travèse maten 6è retounen apremidi 4è. Tre bon relasyon ant de peyi.</i></p>	<p>Eighty percent of Haitians in Anse à Pitre work over in Pedernales Haitians do everything over there, and they sharecrop field gardens. They cross at six in the morning and return in the afternoon at four. Very good ties between the two countries.</p>
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Labor arrangements. As in Haiti, labor arrangements across the border include daily wage labor, informal labor contracts based on a flat rate for a given amount of work (*djob* in Creole, *peraso* or *avonoto* in Spanish), the use of labor recruiter-managers, and labor groups. Dominican farmers in La Vigia and other border areas may make arrangements with one Haitian labor foreman or “manager” (*jeran* in Creole, or *capata* in Spanish) to recruit and supervise a number of other Haitian laborers. The Dominican farmer deals only with the *capata* for labor arrangements and payments. At the end of the week, the Haitian *capata* makes his report, receives payment, and pays his workers. The *capata* receives an extra fee from the employer for his services. Some such arrangements include the use of Haitian rotating labor groups (*eskwad*) who work together on a regular basis at home, and occasionally, perhaps seasonally, cross the border as a group as daily wage laborers for Dominican farmers.

Dominican farmers say that Haitian agricultural workers are willing to work for significantly less than Dominican workers – reportedly as much as 50 percent less away from the border (e.g., El Cercado) or 20 percent less in border areas (e.g., Cruce de Marino or Colonia/Hondo Valle). This provides a strong incentive for Dominican farmers to hire Haitian laborers. Not surprisingly, labor rates quoted for agricultural labor within Haiti are generally less than those quoted for rural areas of the Dominican Republic.

Child agricultural labor along the border. In the communities noted above, child laborers who live in Haiti also play a role in Dominican agriculture along the border. Wage labor arrangements noted above also include children as young as 10 years old, but more often age 14 and above. Informants from Savanette, including former child

workers, reported that Haitian children were employed in smallscale agriculture across the border in Cañada Miguel. A trader in the Boucan Chat border market reported that children from her home community of Savane Zombi regularly cross the border to work as day laborers in Altagracia where they find work weeding *mazonbèl* (a tuber) and beans. A farmer from Nan Banann reported that cross-border agricultural workers from his area included both women and children. For example, children from Nan Banann as young as 8 to 10 years old, particularly children not in school, cross the border daily to dig potatoes for Dominican farmers during the harvest season:

<p><i>Yon semenn ap travay, 6 jou, 150 peso. Pa evalye tan ti moun ponko ka travay anpil, Chak jou vini ak ti pomdetè pote lakay manman la an Ayiti.</i></p>	<p>They may work for a week, six days, for 150 pesos (for the week). They do not keep track of the time since little kids can only do so much work. Each work day the child brings home a few potatoes for his mother in Haiti.</p>
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Border markets. Border markets play an influential economic and social role as organized points of exchange between the two countries. They are located on both sides of the border though the most important such markets tend to be on the Dominican side of the border, e.g., Dajabón, Elias Piña, Hondo Valle, and Pedernales. Some are located on the Haitian side of the border such as Ti Lori, a rural locality along the Route Internationale that marks the border in the region of Cerca la Source (Haiti) and Villa Anacaona and La Restauración (DR), or Boucan Chat, a remote locality in the Pine Forest. Large numbers of Haitians frequent Dominican border markets. In general, relatively few Dominicans come to Haitian border markets; however, the Ti Lori market is located quite literally on the border road and includes Dominicans along with much larger numbers of Haitians.

Border markets are frequented largely by local people who make purchases for their daily needs, especially in urban markets; however, the border markets are also points of exchange for travelling intermediaries who come from a distance. Aside from border markets, a few Dominican traders travel further inland in Haiti to buy produce for resale in the Dominican Republic. Field inquiry documented this pattern in the Lower Plateau area including Belladère, Lascahobas, Baptiste, Savanette, and Mirebalais. *Madansara* traders encountered at the rural Boucan Chat market travel extensively in both countries. The market at Elias Piña attracts Haitian traders from Port-au-Prince, St. Marc, and Mirebalais due to the excellent roadways that link the twin cities of Elias Piña and Belladère with Pont Sondé (Artibonite) via La Chapelle. As a result, Dominican goods are imported by the truckload from Elias Piña to the Artibonite. Researchers also encountered Haitian market ladies selling sizeable stocks of clothing in all border markets visited during fieldwork. This included *madansara* from Port-au-Prince who travel regularly to Elias Piña to sell used or odd lot clothing (*pèpè*) imported from the U.S.

Border markets and labor markets. Border markets are ostensibly defined by the buying and selling of agricultural produce, clothing, and a range of other goods – similar to public markets anywhere. In addition, and very importantly for the purposes of this study, border markets serve as key points of contact for other forms of exchange including,

- (a) intermittent employment of children,
- (b) recruitment of agricultural day laborers,
- (c) the placement of Haitian children with Dominican families.

Child labor in border markets. Literally hundreds of Haitian children are in evidence at urban border markets. A prime example of this is the Dajabón market. Children carry goods for market traders, unload goods from trucks and carts, assist market traders in selling, serve as street peddlars, and assist Dominican shopkeepers, including Creole interpretation for Haitian clients in the market district. Much of this work takes place during school hours using children who are not in school. Children interviewed were either local children, primarily from the Haitian side of the border, or street children, some of whom had been rounded up and dropped off at the border by Dominican authorities.

Border markets and recruitment of agricultural labor. Border markets are prime recruiting grounds for Dominican farmers to make contact with seasonal agricultural laborers from Haiti, especially for Dominican farmers living some distance from the border. An example of this is the case of Señor Encarnación, a small farmer interviewed just outside the town of El Cercado. El Cercado is some 20 miles from the border, falling within the next tier of towns away from the border. In sharp contrast to the border, researchers found no evidence of Haitians living in the town of El Cercado, a pattern distinctly different from border localities marked by growing numbers of Haitian residents. Yet, during peak agricultural seasons, Encarnación and other local farmers travel to Hondo Valle to recruit Haitian day laborers at the Sunday market near the border.

Recruiting foster children at border markets. Border markets are also recruiting grounds for Dominicans seeking foster children. There is no evidence that children are bought and sold; however, the marketplace offers ample opportunity to ask for children who might be available for placement. See above text box for the story of Fransiko, a

Child Recruitment & Border Markets

When Fransiko was 7 years old, he encountered a Dominican man at the Ti Lauri border market. The Dominican, a market trader, invited Fransiko to come live with him. Fransiko said he needed his father's permission. His father lived nearby and came to meet the Dominican man. He agreed on condition that Fransiko come home periodically for family visits.

For the next three years Fransiko lived with the Dominican trader and his family and assisted him in buying and selling produce. The Dominican man also had two younger children of his own. He fed, clothed, and sheltered Fransiko but did not pay him wages or send him to school. There was no time for school since Fransiko was busy working in the man's commercial endeavors. Fransiko saw his own family on market days and came home for visits.

After three years, at the age of 10, Fransiko returned home to live with his own parents. He says he missed his family and made his own decision to return home, but he continued friendly ties with the Dominican trader, including buying produce for him. Fransiko says the Dominican man treated him well, like a foster child (*hijo de crianza*), and he learned commerce and Spanish, useful skills that now serve him well.

At age of 15 Fransiko went into business for himself as a small trader. Fransiko is now 21 years old and makes his living as a cross-border trader, smuggler, migrant guide, and labor broker.

Haitian boy from Ti Lori who was recruited on marketday and placed in a Dominican household:

Isi a nou rankontre nan teras, We met right here on the roadway,
Wout Entenasyon la, jou mache. the International Road, on marketday.
Sa fèt souvan. That happens often.

Ti Lori Interviews included the following comments on the market and child recruitment:

Konn gen ti moun vin nan mache Children sometimes come to the market
k'ale ak Dominiken. and leave with Dominicans.
Dominiken konn pran yo. Dominicans take them home.
Pafwa yo konn ofri yo Sometimes parents offer children
bay Dominiken. to Dominicans.
Paran konn pa kapab Parents may be unable to take care of them
epi bay Dominiken. so they give them to Dominicans.

Ti moun kon vin ofri tèt yo Children sometimes offer themselves
bay Dominiken. to Dominicans.
Dominiken konn antre Ti Lori Dominicans come to Ti Lori
mande ti moun. and ask for children.

Dominiken konn wè ti moun, Dominicans sometimes see a child
mande'l vin rete avè yo. and ask her to come live with them.
Si ti moun gen disiplin, If the child is well behaved,
li konn al chache paran she goes to find her parents
vin pale ak Dominiken. to come talk with the Dominicans.
Si paran vle, If the parents agree, they
li vin remèt Dominiken. turn the child over to the Dominicans.

Ti moun ki ale Panyol Children who go to the DR
se ti moun ki soti pi lwen yo. come from a distance.
Se pa sitou moun Ti Lori. They are not primarily from Ti Lori.
Pou ane mete a 40 ti moun ki ale, For the year maybe 40 children go across,
ki vin nan mache a that is, children who come to market
tou pran chans pou pati. and who are looking for a chance to leave.
Vin kanpe devan Panyol yo, They stand right in front of the Dominicans
pou si Dominiken hoping a Dominican
ta ofri yo al avè yo. might offer to take them home.
De 7-15 an konn gen nan mache. These are children age 7-15 at the market.

Haitian street vendors walking the streets of border towns and villages are also channels for Dominican recruitment of foster children. The story of Sonia is a case in point. Sonia's biological mother is an ambulatory street vendor from rural Ouanaminthe who sells clothing house to house in Dominican neighborhoods near the border:

Four years ago a La Vigia housewife, a client of Sonia's mother, asked if she knew any Haitian girls available to come live with her. Sonia's mother said she could bring her eleven-year old daughter, Sonia, one of seven children. At the time Sonia's father had died less than a year earlier. When interviewed in December 2003, Sonia had lived with

the Dominican family for four years and was 15 years old. She explained how she came to live in La Vigia:

<p><i>Manman'm te mande'm si m te vle rete nan Panyol, yon Panyol bezwen yon ti moun. M te di wi. Ayiti gen trop dezod, si'm vin isit la, m kwè isit la, demen m ka rive fè yon moun. Epi m vin rete isit la.</i></p>	<p>My mother asked if I wanted to live in the DR since a Dominican woman needed a child. I said, yes, Haiti was full of disruption, so if I came here, I thought maybe over here, eventually I might be able to grow up right. So I came to live here.</p>
<p><i>M manje chak jou. Lakay a'm m'pa tap manje chak jou. Papa'm te mouri. Manman'm pat gen lajan. Isit la yo mete'm lekòl. Yo achte rad, tout bagay m bezwen yo ba mwen.</i></p>	<p>Here I eat every day. At home I didn't eat every day. My father had died. My mother had no money. Here they send me to school. They buy me clothes. They give me everything I need.</p>

Sonia's Dominican foster parents do not allow her to go home on visits, she says, because they are afraid she might not come back; however, Sonia sees her Haitian mother several times a week as she makes her daily rounds selling clothing (*pèpè*, imported odd lots from the U.S). Her Haitian mother sometimes brings her clothing or other gifts. Sonia's Dominican foster parents no longer have children of their own at home. They had a previous Haitian foster child who returned to her Haitian family when there was conflict between the child and her foster mother.

Recruiting foster children through day laborers. Border area day laborers are another important point of contact for recruiting foster children. Sonson, a Haitian labor foreman from a Haitian locality near the border, worked for Dominican farmers. He explained how his brother placed a daughter with a Dominican farm family in La Vigia:

<p><i>M gen fwè mwen ki konn travay ak yon Dominiken. Men nan travay li travay Dominiken li bay yon ti moun pou rete avèk li. Nan fason li bay li a, s'on fason ki bon pou lakay nou... Sèt ti moun nan men ou. Fo wap chache manje maten aprèmidi pou bay yo. Lè gon Dominiken ki di ou, bon lap ede ou ak yon ti moun, ou tou bay li pou l ede ou. Li mete ti moun nan lekòl. Li ede ou ansanm avèk li. Pa ba ou 5 kob men lap bon pou ou</i></p>	<p>I have my brother who sometimes works for a Dominican. While he was working for the Dominican he gave up a child to live with him. The way he gave them the child was helpful to our own household... You are responsible for 7 children. You have to come up with food for them morning and afternoon. So when a Dominican tells you, fine, he will help you out with one child, you give up the child to help your family. He sends her to school. He helps you take care of the child. He does not give you a nickel but it is still good for you</p>
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avèk ti moun nan.
Se konsa.

and for the child.
So that's the way it is.

Child placement with Dominican families. What emerges from field interviews is a recurring theme of strong demand for Haitian foster children among Dominican households in border areas. In comparison with areas more distant from the border, there appears to be a much higher incidence of Haitian children living with Dominican families near the border. Foster child recruitment in border areas is clearly facilitated by the high frequency of contact between Dominican households and Haitian workers and traders, and by border markets frequented by Haitians as well as Dominicans.

Demand appears to be far stronger for girls than boys. Initiative to seek girls comes from woman, especially middleaged women whose own children are no longer at home. There is also some demand for boys; however, among cases encountered in the field, the initiative to recruit boys came primarily from Dominican men who needed boys to help with work. In general, both boys and girls appeared to be treated well, but boys were far less likely than girls to be sent to school. Field interviews detected no evidence of trafficking or of “buying” children on the part of Dominican families seeking Haitian foster children.

MIIGRANTS AND SMUGGLERS

Many cross-border Haitian migrants travel long distances and are complete strangers to the border and the neighboring republic. Unlike people from border localities, strangers to the border generate demand for guides and smugglers. Local people in border areas do not need guides; they *are* guides and smugglers. This aspect of border crossing is a one-way affair – Haitians travelling into the Dominican Republic led by smugglers.

Haitians also re-enter Haiti in large numbers both voluntarily and by forced repatriation. Re-entry of Haitians is generally via major border crossings served by public transportation, especially for people coming from distant areas far away from the border.

Risk assessment. First time labor migrants are often not fully aware of the risks of illegality when recruited by labor brokers or when deciding to cross the border in search of work. On the other hand, many are aware of risk but decide that illicit passage is worth it due to the prospect of paid work and the difficulty of getting valid papers. Some risk the Dominican option because they are running away from something in Haiti – a personal dispute, political conflict, or a criminal act. Some are runaway children, including those fleeing abusive *restavék* placements.

Children recruited to work across the border, especially young children from distant areas, are generally unaware of these risks. There is evidence that their parents are also not fully aware of the risks in placing children with others in the Dominican Republic, especially in Haitian households. The risk of deportation is much higher when Haitian children live with undocumented Haitians, compared to placement in Dominican families.

Lexicon of cross border migration. The language of labor migration speaks volumes about the ambiguous social status of Haitians as illegal migrants and resident outsiders

in the Dominican Republic.²⁷ The Creole word *vyewo* is rooted in the Spanish word for “old one” (*viejo*) and refers to a Haitian who speaks Spanish and is acculturated to life in the Dominican Republic:

<i>Moun fo nan lang.</i>	A person who knows the language.
<i>Moun abitye lontan Dominikany.</i>	Someone who has lived a long time in the Dominican Republic.

The Creole word *kongo* is the antonym of *vyewo*. *Kongo* stems from “congo,” a Dominican reference to the African origins of Haitians. As currently used among Creole speakers, *kongo* means a Haitian arriving for the first time in the DR:

<i>Moun ki pa pale pyès lang nan, pa konn anyen, yo rele'l “kongo.”</i>	Person with no knowledge of the language, doesn't know anything, they call him “kongo.”
<i>Depi moun nan pa legal, anba fil.</i>	Someone who is not legal, who crossed over clandestinely.
<i>Ayisyen Sendomeng se chyen ak chat... pa regade Ayisyen pare li. Pran poz Dominiken devan kongo</i>	Santo Domingo Haitians (<i>vyewo</i>) are like dogs and cats (antagonistic)... show no regard for their fellow Haitians. When they are around a new arrival (<i>kongo</i>), they pretend to be Dominicans as though they do not recognize him.
<i>komsil yo pa rekonèt li.</i>	

The word *kongo* also carries a connotation of ignorance, or backwardness, as in the Creole expression *nèg mòn* (hillbilly). One Haitian informant stated:

<i>Panyol soti nan mòn al kapital la</i>	A Dominican from the mountains who goes to the capital city,
<i>yo gen dwa rele'l kongo tou.</i>	they might call him a <i>kongo</i> too.

Haitians who have lived in the Dominican Republic say that Haitian *kongo* are easy to spot by the way they dress and carry themselves and by what they are carrying. While this researcher was undertaking interviews near crossing points on the Haitian border, knowledgeable informants, including a cross border smuggler (*boukong*), pointed out people identifiable as *kongo* en route to the DR.

In Creole, the term for a cross border guide or labor smuggler or labor broker is *boukong*, a word derived from the Spanish word *buscón* meaning someone who searches. As a synonym of *boukong*, people in northern Haiti often use the word *pasè*, someone who knows where to pass, e.g., where to cross the river. The *boukong* may also be called a *chèf bya* (group leader for travelling migrants).

<i>Yo konn wout la.</i>	They know the way.
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²⁷ Words as defined and discussed here are drawn from interviews with Haitian informants encountered in Haiti. Words such as *boukong* or *bya* are also used by Haitians in the Dominican Republic and have some other variant meanings and nuances in keeping with Dominican labor circuits (see Chapter VII).

<i>Pran mezi lajan.</i>	They take their share of money.
<i>Konn kote pou moun pase...</i>	They know where people can cross...
<i>koupe wout kote gen pos.</i>	where to avoid guard posts.
<i>Se yon travay koutye.</i>	They also serve as brokers.

The word *boukong* translates first of all as “guide” – someone who knows the way. The *boukong* may provide guide services long distances *within* Haiti or *within* the DR. Guiding people illegally across an international border then transforms the guide into a smuggler. The Haitian *boukong* is also a *vyewo* (experienced, bilingual), but *vyewo* is not the same as *boukong*.

Another important definition of *boukong* is someone who plays the role of *koutye* or broker, an intermediary who links the supplier of a commodity to the user. This sense is similar to Dominican use of the word *buscón* in Spanish. For labor recruitment in the sugar industry, see Chapter VII for discussion of the “labor recruiting” *boukong* versus the “smuggling” *boukong*.

The Creole word *bya* is derived from the Spanish “viaje” (trip). It refers to a *group* of people travelling with a *boukong* or *pasè*.

Bya se yon vwayaj, chajman moun. Bya is a trip, a load of people.

Such travelers may be smuggled across the border; however, as strangers and undocumented migrants, they require further assistance to travel long distances within the DR. Migrants may require the services of a different *boukong*, or a driver based in the DR, after having contracted with a first *boukong* to cross the border.

The *boukong* at work. Fransiko, a *boukong* interviewed in Ti Lori, had just returned from leading a *bya* to Santo Domingo three days earlier.²⁸ None of his *bya* members were *kongo*. The group of 15 people in this *bya* – 8 men, 6 women, and a 15-year old boy – were all undocumented DR *residents* returning illegally to the DR. Dominican authorities had blocked their usual crossing point in Thomassique (Banik). Therefore, they needed an alternate route to the capital and a knowledgeable cross-border smuggler and guide. In this case, the *boukong* led them across the border and accompanied them to Santo Domingo via a more northerly route. He knew where to bypass military checkpoints and where to take public transportation without fear of discovery.

Repeat travelers. It became abundantly clear in field interviews that there is a great deal of movement back and forth across the border by literally thousands of people who are *not* from border areas and who travel to major Dominican cities and other areas for a variety of reasons. Travellers in an illegal cross-border *bya* are not necessarily prospective cane cutters or inexperienced labor migrants (*kongo*) in search of work. They may be people crossing the border for commerce or to seek medical services or in search of work in other sectors, or they may be people returning to the DR who have come home for a visit or who were forcibly repatriated by Dominican authorities.

²⁸ See earlier text box for the story of Fransiko who was recruited as a foster child in the Ti Lauri market at the age of 7, and now at age 21 works as a fulltime professional *boukong* (smuggler).

Workers in the cane. Some of this movement is related to seasonal agricultural labor. The most famous such movement is the recruitment of workers for the Dominican cane harvest (see Chapter VII). At the time of fieldwork for this study, thousands of Haitian workers were crossing the southern tier of the border between Fonds-Verettes and Anse à Pitre. Haitian *boukong* play a very important role in this movement, recruiting workers throughout Haiti in exchange for a fee paid to the *boukong* by the migrant workers.

Haitian *boukong* promise work and deliver workers to assembly points in the Dominican Republic; however, there is no assurance that prospective workers will find work. Some job seekers in fact return home penniless without being offered a job, according to field interviews in Boucan Chat, Thiotte, and Anse à Pitre. Furthermore, there are numerous reports that some *boukong* lead *bya* groups across the border in remote areas, and then run off, leaving the now illegal migrants to fend for themselves, sometimes with fatal consequences.²⁹ This clearly is deception and falls in the category of severe trafficking.

Other seasonal laborers. Fieldwork included interviews with a number of young peasant farmers whose primary objective in crossing the border was to generate a small fund of savings through temporary day labor and then return home. Such migrants may find work as unskilled construction laborers in Santo Domingo or agricultural day laborers in other areas distant from the border. They stay for a limited period of time before returning to Haiti. These workers, generally young men, have no intention of resettling in the DR. They go to the DR perhaps once a year for several weeks during the slack season for agriculture at home (e.g., November-February). When they return, they plant field gardens, buy animals, or perhaps build a house and take a *plase* wife (customary or common-law conjugal partner) in Haiti.

Some such seasonal workers use the services of a *boukong*. In the area of Layay (Savanette), the going rate of payment to a border guard was 20 pesos for someone identified as a labor migrant or 5-10 pesos for a trader carrying produce. Once having crossed into the DR, workers report paying 1,000 pesos to a Dominican driver seeking to put together a *bya* of illegal travelers from border areas to Santo Domingo. Drivers in this area reportedly paid off guards at checkpoints to assure passage at a cost of 5 pesos per passenger at each of three checkpoints.

Other intermediaries Some Dominican farmers advance funds to a Haitian *jeran* (manager) to recruit workers from Haiti during peak agricultural periods. This person serves as a labor intermediary; however, he is not called a *boukong* – although he does bring people across the border illegally and he does recruit labor for an employer.

²⁹ See C. Lespinasse, *Le Nouvelliste*, September 8-9, 2003, for news coverage of four Haitian cadavers found in a Dominican border area, reportedly abandoned by a *boukong*.

In another variant, this researcher interviewed an entire *eskwad* of 6 Haitian agricultural workers from Ma Briyol (Belle-Anse). This rotating labor group, sometimes including minors, had crossed once a year for the past ten years to work for a Dominican farmer – always the same farmer – located some distance from the border. The *eskwad* leader led the group across the border illegally – a two-day trip largely on foot, arranged for public transport on the other side, and negotiated terms of employment for the group – but he was neither a *boukong* nor a *jeran* and was not advanced funds to recruit workers.

Part time smugglers. *Boukong* are often young men or even teenage boys who have lived in the DR for some years. Some *boukong* are part time or occasional smugglers. They may work in the DR and come home periodically to see relatives or invest savings in land or animals. They may stay home for several weeks or months before returning to the DR. When they return, they recruit a number of people to defray travel costs.

Such *boukong* do not make a living from cross-border smuggling; it is only a sideline. Other *boukong* live in Haiti – especially but by no means only in border areas. For some smugglers, it is a primarily a seasonal trade linked to recruitment for the Dominican cane harvest.

Smuggler's cost structure. Joseph, the part time smuggler described in the above text box, reported his costs for three smuggling trips from rural Plaisance to Santiago. He had 8 travelers in his first *bya* and charged 900 gourdes per person. He spent 1,300 gourdes for protective magic to avoid arrest by guards, plus food and public transport costs for the group.

For his second trip, he led 18 people at 1,100 gourdes per person, and for a third trip 21 people at 1,100 gourdes. His expenses always included food and transportation with costs averaging around 100 gourdes per traveler.

The Making of a *Boukong*

Joseph is an 18-year old from Minan, a remote rural locality between Plaisance and Limbé. He had gone to school for a year when he was 8 but dropped out. His father had died. At the age of 10, he decided to go to the DR with a *pasè* (smuggler) from the area who was recruiting travelers. His mother reluctantly agreed and paid the smuggler's fee. So he traveled to the DR with a *bya* of 28 people, including 12 children. They traveled by bus to Ouanaminthe, and crossed the border on foot at night near Capotille.

In Santiago, Joseph lived with a distant cousin as a *restavèk* child. He worked as a shoe shine boy and did household chores for his cousin, whom he called *matant* (aunt). He turned his earnings over to her to hold for him. She used his savings as working capital for travel to Cap-Haitien to buy clothes for re-sale in the streets of Santiago. When his cousin was travelling, Joseph deposited his earnings with a Dominican storekeeper. Joseph also sent money home to his mother, but she never received it.

At the age of 12 Joseph came home to visit after 2 years away from home. He brought home 600 gourdes to give his mother. He stayed for a few weeks, and returned to the DR with a *bya* led by a smuggler. At the age of 14, Joseph returned home for another visit. He has made a number of other trips back and forth since then but never with another smuggler. Instead, beginning at the age of 14, he put together his own *bya* and began to smuggle others across the border.

At the time of fieldwork for this report, Joseph was 18 years old, working occasionally as a chauffeur's assistant in Port-au-Prince. He viewed this as an alternative to the DR. He said it offered the advantage of work without fear of deportation and loss of savings; however, he was making less money in Port-au-Prince. So, he decided to put together another *bya* and return to the DR.

Full service boukong. Some *boukong* make a living primarily from smuggling people across the border. A skilled, professional *boukong* is far more than a smuggler and is not necessarily defined by the recruitment of cane cutters. He may provide a broad range of services to his clients as needed – guide, information, temporary shelter, loans, job placement, labor broker – in addition to smuggling people across the border.

Fransiko of Ti Lori is a case in point. Having mastered Spanish and traveled widely with a Dominican trader as a child, Fransiko began smuggling people across the border at the age of 15. Presently, Fransiko frequently takes Haitians across the border, including children, and turns them over to a Dominican driver. He refuses to take children who are not accompanied by an adult:

<i>Anpil bya...</i>	<i>Many bya...</i>
<i>Dominiken fèm fè moun pou li</i>	A Dominican has me bring him people.
<i>Dominiken al ak moun yo.</i>	The Dominican then takes them.
<i>Lè'm rive lakay Dominiken,</i>	When I arrive at the Dominican's house,
<i>moun yo antre machin</i>	the people get in his vehicle.
<i>M wè yo rive Santiago</i>	I see them to Santiago
<i>M retounen.</i>	and return home.

Fees for service. The Ti Lori marketplace is Fransiko's point of departure for Santiago. Fransiko's basic fee is 800 pesos per person including public transportation in the Dominican Republic. If customers cannot afford to pay public transportation, Fransiko takes them on foot. The Dominican driver takes 600 pesos leaving 200 per person for Fransiko. If the client needs help finding work, Fransiko charges 1,200 pesos. If clients do not have enough money for these expenses, Fransiko lends them money, charging a total of 1,400 pesos (17% interest) payable within two weeks.

Job placement. If necessary Fransiko helps people find work for an additional fee beyond the cost of travel and leading the group:

<i>Sou pa konn kote ou pwale,</i>	If you do not know where to go,
<i>ou peye m kob,</i>	you pay me money,
<i>M menen ou nan travay.</i>	and I find you work.

Fransiko uses personal networks of friends and relatives to provide temporary shelter for clients, if necessary, and to find work for them. He finds them work as day laborers, primarily in construction or commerce. Fransiko knows a number of masons including some who previously employed him, and he uses this network for job placement. His target destinations are Santiago, Santo Domingo, and Puerto Plata/Sosua. For Fransiko, arrest and deportation are normal risks of the trade.

<i>Le'm al ak Ayisyen li peye kob li.</i>	When I go with a Haitian, he pays money.
<i>M'al avè'l pou chéf pa konen.</i>	I go with him to get past the guards.
<i>Nou mete yo anba yon prela.</i>	We put them under a tarpaulin.
<i>Lè sak pa gen kob yo kont,</i>	When they do not have enough money,
<i>nou mache avè yo apye fè 3-4 jou.</i>	we travel on foot for 3 or 4 days
<i>Chef konn arete'm,</i>	Guards sometimes arrest me.
<i>M bay yo kob.</i>	so I give them money.

*Gen de fwa yo konn arete moun,
fouye yo pran kob.
Gen de fwa m'arete
pran konbyen mwa prizon,
3 mwa, 1 mwa, 8 jou, 6 jou.
Si Ayisyen di ou boukong,
ou fè plizye jou.*

Sometimes they arrest people,
search them and take their money.
Sometimes they arrest me
and I spend months in prison,
3 months, a month, a week, 6 days.
If a Haitian tells them you are a *boukong*,
you do longer prison time.

Recruiting for the sex trade. Owners of discothèques in Puerto Plata have also advanced money to Fransiko to recruit young women whose job is to entertain customers by sitting, drinking, or dancing with them, or for an additional fee – payable only to the disco owner, to have sex with interested customers. Fransiko says disco owners pay these entertainers a monthly salary, an employment arrangement called *achte chè* (buying flesh) or *vann tèt* (selling yourself). Fransiko reported that disco owners have paid him 1,500 to 2,000 pesos per person to recruit Haitian women for this purpose.

*Y'achte chè yo a pa mwa.
Mèt disko achte fi a.
Lè fi a kouche ak gason,
fi a pa touche,
mèt disko ki touche.
Kò fi a se konm si li pa pou li.
Se pou mèt disko a.
Gen mèt disko konn mande ou
chache jenn fi yo pou li.
tounen an Ayiti chache fi.*

They buy their flesh by the month.
The disco boss buys the girl.
When the girl sleeps with a guy,
the girl does not get the money.
The disco owner gets the money.
It is as if the girl's body is not hers.
It belongs to the disco boss.
Some disco bosses ask you
to find girls for them,
to return to Haiti and look for girls.

Fransiko says Haitian woman work in some Puerto Plata discos, and he has recruited young women in Haiti for this purpose. He denies misrepresenting the type of work when recruiting women. He does not know any young children recruited or employed in this manner, though some are as young as age 15 or 16. Since they are minors, this is a clear case of trafficking. He noted that some of the women he recruited already had experience as sex workers in Haiti.

Brokering domestic partners. Other informants say they have personal knowledge of *boukong* “buying” young women, including teenagers as young as 14 or 15 years old, as live-in partners for Dominican men, usually in rural areas. These are consensual arrangements but involve minors. In the cases reported, these were temporary arrangements, sometimes lasting for the duration of a harvest season. In such cases, the *boukong* operated as a *koutye* (broker), extracting fees from both parties.

*Se pa ti moun, se jenn fi.
Boukong kon al avè l.
Dominiken sèvi avè l konm fanm.
Boukong fe lajan,
bel fi, li vann ni, Laj 14-15 an.
Fi yo konpreann sa.
Pafwa se sa yap tann.
Se yon travay koutye.*

They're not children, they're young women.
The *boukong* takes her across.
The Dominican uses her like a wife.
The *boukong* makes money
a pretty girl 14 or 15 years old.
The girls understand the arrangement.
Sometimes it is what they are seeking.
This is a broker role (for the *boukong*).

*Yo konn pran kob nan fiy,
300 peso menen moun ale.*

The girls pay them
300 pesos to take them across.

Child recruitment for Haitian households in the DR. A recurring theme of field interviews is the recruitment of children in rural Haiti for placement with Haitian households in the Dominican Republic. This includes placement of children as *restavèk* servant children – a pattern similar to what was described in Chapter III, i.e., rural children placed with urban households that are only marginally less poor than the sending families. In both cases, children may go from remote rural areas to hyper-urban slum neighborhoods, e.g., Santiago and Santo Domingo rather than Cap-Haitien and Port-au-Prince.

The difference is that placement in the DR, compared with Port-au-Prince, decreases even further the opportunity for biological families to see their children and monitor their welfare. Interviews with repatriated children from poor families in northern Haiti suggest that they eat better in the DR and they have opportunity to earn money; however, they are very unlikely to attend school and they are vulnerable to new forms of labor exploitation. Furthermore, the whole process of child placement with marginal Haitian households in the DR significantly increases the risk of exposure to frightening and dangerous experiences at a tender age.

Risks in the process of child migration. Specifically, this includes, first of all, the difficult and sometimes traumatic circumstances of illicit cross-border travel into the DR. Secondly, Haitian children are subject to the risk of wholesale round-up and forced repatriation. This may entail short periods of child imprisonment, separation from parents or other adult caretakers, and deposit at the border by military figures, leaving unaccompanied children to fend for themselves.

Some children are unable to find their way home and live in the streets. Under such circumstances girls are vulnerable to rape or child prostitution. Some children are thought by their parents to be lost. For example, a child from Minan was sent to live as a *restavèk* child in a Haitian household in the DR, but he disappeared.

*Yo jou li leve, li soti,
li pa vini.
Se anpil ti moun ki pèdi lot bo.*

One day he got up, he went out,
he never returned.
A lot of children are lost over there.

The story of two brothers, Navo, age 11, and Junior, 13, illustrates the risks of illicit travel and forced repatriation. Navo and Junior travelled to the DR when they were 9 and 11 years old. Their mother had 6 children. They travelled to the DR with their mother and three other siblings:

*Nou pa't gen kob, nou ale.
Nou te ale ak yon pakèt moun.
Nou pase nan bwa.
Nou kouche anba yon bwa nan raje,
Rivyè Masak.
Yon ti ravin nou ta pwal janbe.
Yo twa,
vole ki gen zanm, yo gen koulin.*

We didn't have money so we left home.
We went together with a lot of other people.
We passed through the woods.
We were resting under a tree in the brush
near the Massacre River.
We were about to cross a small ravine.
There were three of them,
thieves with a gun and machetes.

Zinki ki di se zenglando.
 Yo tire yon bal anro tèt ay.
 Yo te kase pye yon pasè Anefe.
 Deye kob pran mont a moun.
 Pat ba nou kou.
 Yo di si nou pa bay yo kob,
 y'ap chache yon bout baton.
 Sak gen kob yo plime yo.
 Sak pa gen kob y'al taye.
 Yo pran 3 fi,
 ou konn se 3 gason.
 Le yo fin sèvi,
 yo lage yo.

Zinki said they were robbers.
 The robbers fired a bullet above his head.
 They shot a smuggler Anefè in the foot.
 They were after money and watches.
 They did not hit us.
 They said if we did not give them money,
 they would find a stick to beat us.
 Those with money they plucked clean.
 Those without money they raped.
 They took 3 girls,
 They were 3 guys you know.
 When they finished using them,
 they let them go.

The return of Navo and Junior to Haiti was also traumatic. They were rounded up by Dominican guards and sent to the border. In the process, 10-year old Navo was picked up and dropped off at the border separately from his mother. He made his way back to Minan together with others from rural Plaisance who were also picked up and repatriated. Junior and his mother were picked up and held briefly in prison:

*Chef la ramase nou
 mete nou nan prizon...
 Yo mete nou nan kay kaka,
 nan twalet, la nou te domi.*

The boss (guards) rounded us up
 and put us in prison.
 They put us in a shit house,
 a toilet, where we slept.

Use of *restavèk* children as paid laborers. Haitians in the DR actively recruit rural children from Haiti for a variety of reasons, including their use as domestic servants. Some recruit children with a view to putting them on the street as beggars or shoeshine boys, or to hire them out for labor-intensive harvest of large fields of sweet peppers. In short, an important finding in this study is the use of children as a source of income for Haitian households in the DR, and the recruitment of *restavèk* children specifically for this purpose.

Parents in poor households may gain income from their own children in this manner. Given the economic benefits, this is an effective survival strategy for impoverished families, an opportunity that the poor can hardly afford to ignore. It is there for the taking. Borrowing children or recruiting *restavèk* children is then an extension of using one's own children. Consequently, children are "borrowed" for the day or for longer periods of time as a *restavèk* child, a pattern noted by Rezi, a peasant woman from Minan:

*Lè yo pa genyen timoun pa yo,
 yo prete ti moun.
 Ak kob timoun bay gran moun
 yo achte bèt,
 Yo fèt pou voye kob
 bay paran timoun prete.*

When they don't have children of their own,
 they borrow children.
 They use money earned by the children
 to buy animals,
 but they are expected to send money
 to the parents of borrowed children.

A Child Labor Career

Rezi placed her son Alfarès as a *restavèk* child at the age of three – knowing full well that he was to be used as a beggar child by the adult caretaker, a relative who lived in the DR. She felt betrayed when the adult caretaker did not respect her end of the bargain, and did not share Alfarès' earnings. When he was five years old, Alfarès together with his adult caretaker, returned home for a visit. Alfarès, interviewed at the age of 16, said he didn't want to return to the DR after that visit home.

<i>M p'ap pral tounen.</i>	I said I'm not going back.
<i>M p'ap pral mande anko.</i>	I'm not going to beg anymore.
<i>P'at vle fè lajan pou lot moun anko.</i>	I didn't want to make money for others anymore.

He returned to DR when he was 10 years old. This time he went to make money for himself and his family by shining shoes. He saved money on the smuggler's fee by recruiting three of his cousins to go on the *bya* being put together by a smuggler. He later came home for a visit and brought 300 gourdes for his mother. He returned to the DR and a few months later was picked up by Dominican authorities and dropped at the border without adult caretakers. His mother unexpectedly found him walking home on the highway near Puilboreau. This time he had no money. His mother noted,

<i>L'el te vini lakay</i>	When he came home
<i>li te di li te voye kob</i>	he said he had sent money home
<i>achte kochon...</i>	to buy a pig.
<i>Lè fini li mande kote kochon,</i>	Then he asked, "Where is the pig?"
<i>M di kote kob ou te voye...?</i>	I said, "Where's the money you sent?"
<i>Lè'y al kote moun nan</i>	When he went to see the person
<i>ki te pati avè'l</i>	who carried money for him,
<i>moun nan tap bat li.</i>	the person threatened to beat him up.
<i>Depi lè a m di m p'ap voye'l anko.</i>	Since then I said I wouldn't send him again.
<i>M mete'y lekòl, m mete'y katechis.</i>	I put him in school, I sent him to catechism.
<i>Kounyèa li ponko ka ale.</i>	So for the time being he can't go away yet.

Alfarès confirmed his mother's views in a separate interview:

<i>M pa sou ale Sandomeng ditou.</i>	I don't want to go to the DR at all.
<i>Sim antre Sandomeng,</i>	If I went to the DR,
<i>m p'ap pral lekòl anko.</i>	I wouldn't be able to go to school anymore.

Begging. Begging is a revenue generating activity. People view it as a form of commerce or work. It is hard work. Individual children and whole families travel from Haiti to Dominican cities specifically to beg. Access to babies and young children is highly desirable and significantly increases income from begging.

<i>Panyol yo bay ti moun lajan.</i>	The Dominicans give children money.
<i>Se sa fe depi yo jwenn ti moun</i>	So if people have access to children,
<i>yo mande ti moun ale</i>	they ask the children to go across
<i>pou yo fe kob.</i>	so they can make money.

Income from begging. On a good day, babies and younger children may garner more income in a day from begging than older boys who shine shoes. Income from begging in the DR also compares favorably with agricultural daily wage labor in many areas of rural

Haiti. Pierre, a 10-year old boy deported to Haiti three months prior to being interviewed in Minan, reported that he often made 50 to 250 pesos a day from begging in Santiago, plus gifts of food in the street. Other children with beggar experience in the DR reported similar levels of income. By comparison, at the time of fieldwork, the going rate for adult agricultural labor in Pierre's home community (Minan-Plaisance) was about 60 gourdes for a half day's work, not including food.³⁰ There are also costs to begging. This includes the cost of public transportation to go to the best locations, e.g., busy downtown street corners or bus stations, or the cost of borrowing a young child, and the cost of illicit migration to the DR.

Organized begging. Some Haitian households in the DR live primarily from the profits of several *restavèk* children who beg for a living. This researcher encountered repeated cases of Haitians in the DR who recruit children from poor families in rural Haiti, offering to pay their travel costs, including the smuggler's fee. Fieldwork did not uncover cases of smugglers who specialize in smuggling groups of children, as some have alleged. Instead, field interviews pointed to individuals who recruit *restavèk* children for their own use in the DR. Sometimes this includes several children, and they may use the services of a smuggler to cross over into the DR.

As illustration of this practice, a woman from Tibò near Marmelade, not far from Minan, lives in Santiago. She has three children of her own, but only the youngest one lives with her in Santiago. She built a new house at home and sends her two older children to school in Plaisance. Pierre, the deported beggar child, was placed in her DR household as a *restavèk* child. At the time Pierre was deported, he was one of 4 *restavèk* children living in the Santiago household, all between the ages of 8 and 13. Pierre knew of 3 other *restavèk* children who had previously lived there and run away. All five children in the household worked the streets as beggars or shoeshine boys or both – begging when they were younger and shining shoes when they were older. When queried as to the livelihood of the adults in the household, Pierre said a man sold ice cream in the streets, and it was Pierre's opinion that the woman who recruited *restavèk* children was living primarily from the children's earnings:

Li chita lakay.

L'ap fè lajan pote bay.

She sits at home.

She makes money from the children's earnings that they turn over to her.

Shoeshine boys. Both begging and shining shoes are ready sources of income for children working the streets. Haitian boys age ten and above, and also young men in their twenties, commonly work as shoe shine boys in Dominican cities, especially border towns and larger cities. There are also Dominican shoeshine boys. There is no evidence from field interviews that shoeshine boys work in organized groups, except in the case of *restavèk* children whose income is controlled by adults in the house where they live. There's good evidence that Haitian shoe shine boys tend to work together in small informal groups or a buddy system including walking together in the street, mutual

³⁰ In Minan, the going rate for agricultural work at the time of fieldwork was based primarily on piecework or *bout*, equivalent to about one hour's work at 15 gourdes per *bout*. A strong worker could do as much as 7 or 8 *bout* in a full day, working morning and afternoon, though this was considered a hard day's work. This did not include food, which is customary when working by the day (*jounen*) rather than by a predetermined amount of work. In Desvarieux, the going rate for a *jounen* (about 4 hours of work) was 25 gourdes plus food, which at least doubled the cost of hiring a day laborer.

aid, assisting each other in acquiring the materials for shining shoes, friendly loans, and shared food and lodging. Shining shoes is often combined with begging. People sometimes give food to shoeshine boys, including leftovers.

TRAFFICKING AND ABUSE

Is there evidence of trafficking in child labor and migration patterns that have been discussed in this chapter? In general, many of these arrangements do not fit the technical definition of trafficking, but they are abusive of children in other ways.

Repatriation. The process of Dominican repatriation of Haitians is highly abusive, especially in the treatment of children. Haitians are routinely rounded up and dropped off at the border. Annual deportation is undoubtedly in the thousands (see Chapter II). Conservative estimates put it at ten thousand and it is likely much higher. Deported children may be a fifth or more of all Haitians deported. It is realistic to conclude that thousands of Haitian children are deported annually from the DR.

Haitians are picked up wherever they happen to be with no opportunity to gather their things or deal with valuables or look after their children.

*Malfini pran li,
Bizango pran ou,
ki vle di Imigrasyon pran ou,
rad sal sou ou,
jan ou wè ou ye a,
yo voye ou tounen lakay ou.
Setadi ou pap gen tan
pran anyen menm.
S'ou pye a tè, ou vin Ayiti pye a tè.*

“The hawk got him,”
“The witch society caught you,”
meaning, “Immigration picked you up.”
You might be wearing your dirty clothes.
No matter what condition you are in,
they send you back home.
That is, you do not have time
to pack anything at all.
If you are barefoot, you come to Haiti
barefoot

Mayors in border communes sometimes provide deportees with food, a place to sleep over night, and bus fare. Some are labor migrants abandoned by smugglers or are unable to find work at assembly points for sugar the harvest. During fieldwork for this study in December 2003, the mayor of Thiotte was receiving daily requests for assistance from penniless Haitians returning from the DR. Local GARR related committees have also provided assistance in the lower tier of the border including Anse à Pitre, Thiotte, Fonds-Verettes, and Fond Parisien. Ordinary citizens sometimes provide food to deportees or abandoned migrants, e.g., food vendors in the Boucan Chat market or storekeepers in Thiotte.

Official theft. Repatriated Haitians and other eyewitnesses report that Dominican guards routinely take money from deportees when they reach the border. This appears to be a deliberate, openly tolerated practice of harvesting money from migrants who are illegal, poor, and defenseless.³¹ It might well be assumed that arbitrary repatriation procedures and corrupt Dominican border practices would serve as a disincentive to illicit Haitian migration. In reality, Dominican round-up and repatriation of Haitians is the

³¹ There's ample evidence of corrupt practices at the border. Dominican guards reportedly pay money to be posted at the border in order to supplement their salaries.

equivalent of a revolving door for many cross-border migrants. Repatriated Haitians encountered in the present study had travelled to the DR, been deported, and had returned to the DR several times in a repeated cycle of migration and repatriation.

Repatriation is not trafficking; however, the process of repatriation bears an eerie resemblance to some of the defining elements of trafficking, a kind of reverse trafficking. Repatriation characteristically includes forced migration, children abruptly separated from parents or other adult caretakers, arbitrary arrest and imprisonment based on skin color, and theft of the earnings of marginal workers including children. Significant numbers of deportees are children, including some Dominican citizens and other children who have never been to Haiti or who do not know where to go once they reach Haiti. Nevertheless, most Haitians interviewed in the present study had positive things to say about their relations with ordinary Dominicans – in vivid contrast to their abusive treatment by Dominican guards and border authorities.

Paid child labor within Haiti. Aside from abuses in the recruitment and treatment of *restavèk* servant children, as discussed in Chapter III, field study found no evidence of trafficking in other categories of child labor within Haiti. There are child sex workers in Haiti, and there is field evidence that Haitian minors are recruited for sex work in the Dominican Republic. This is clearly trafficking. There may be some trafficking of sex workers within Haiti; however, field study did not uncover verifiable cases.³²

Rural Haitian children recruited for *restavèk* placement in Haitian households in the Dominican Republic. Haitians living in the DR recruit rural Haitian children as child servants. Much of this is based on consensual arrangements between sending parents and receiving households; however, there is also evidence that sending parents are often not fully aware of their children's living arrangements nor even with whom they are living.

Parents and children are also not fully aware of the risks of illicit cross-border travel including the risk of traumatic experiences, theft, rape, and child separation from adult caretakers during travel to and from the DR. People are generally aware of the illegal nature of such cross-border travel but are not fully aware of their vulnerability to brief imprisonment followed by deportation, including imprisonment of children. Parents and children, especially those who have not already travelled to the DR, are also not fully aware of the risk that their children may be left to fend for themselves in the street, or to find their way home to remote rural areas a great distance from the border.

Risk of trafficking in *restavèk* children. There is some evidence of intermediaries who recruit children for *restavèk* placement in Haitian households of the DR, including placement with people not known to the sending parents. In view of the coercive circumstances that sometimes accompany child recruitment for *restavèk* placement in Haiti, there is, at the very least, a significant risk of trafficking in the recruitment of *restavèk* servant children for Haitian households in the DR.

***Restavèk* children as sources of income.** There is direct field evidence that rural Haitian children are recruited as *restavèk* children specifically with a view to using them to generate revenue for adult caretakers. This is sometimes but not always a

³² It should be noted, however, that the *restavèk* system, and not sex work or other labor categories, was the primary focus of inquiry into trafficking and the uses of children within Haiti.

consensual arrangement between adults. There is an operating assumption that money earned by *restavèk* children from begging or shining shoes or agricultural labor should be set aside for them as savings.

Field interviews suggest that children, especially younger children, are unlikely to receive these funds or to return home with savings or to be able to send savings home to parents. There is a Dickensian twist to these arrangements when adults recruit several Haitian children for *restavèk* placement in a single household – specifically for the purpose of generating revenues for the household's resident adults. These arrangements appear to fit the criteria for severe trafficking.

Kickbacks from job placement. Field interviews suggest that illegal migrants, including minors, are sometimes required to pay kickbacks in exchange for access to jobs as unskilled construction workers in Dominican cities.

Smugglers. The theme of the untrustworthy *boukong* crops up repeatedly in field interviews. Smugglers charge fees for a range of services for their clients. It is clear that many smugglers seek to make good on their commitments to illicit labor migrants. On the other hand, some labor smugglers use highly abusive practices such as dropping off undocumented Haitians, including children, in remote areas without assuring continued travel arrangements or guide services within the DR. Furthermore, smugglers may promise work that they have no way of guaranteeing, especially during massive end-of-the-year travel of Haitian migrant workers to the DR for the sugar harvest. Finally, smugglers do not fully explain the dangers of illicit cross-border travel including bona fide risks of theft, rape, arrest, imprisonment, and deportation. Smuggling *per se* does not meet the criteria for severe trafficking; however, recruiting travelers under false pretenses, and deliberately subjecting travelers to the risks of injury and death, without prior warning, does seem to meet these criteria.

Sex trade. Field interviews verify the existence of *boukong* who are advanced funds by disco owners in the DR to recruit sex workers in Haiti. In principle, the recruitment process may be an arrangement between consenting adults based on full information; however, the situation clearly lends itself to abusive practices and to recruitment on the basis of partial or false information. In any case, the system includes recruitment of minors as sex workers, therefore trafficking. Such minors are undoubtedly recruited with less than full knowledge of the risks of illicit travel, or of their vulnerability as illegal sex workers living and working in a foreign country where they have few or no defensible civil rights.

Sexual abuse. Aside from the sex trade, field interviews indicate that teenage girls and young women traveling with *boukong* are vulnerable to sexual abuse or rape during the period of travel to the DR.

CHAPTER V

HAITIANS IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

The earlier chapters of this report focused on the treatment of Haitian children in Haiti. In the following chapters (V through VIII), we examine the treatment of Haitian children in the Dominican Republic. This information is based primarily on field interviews undertaken with both Haitians and Dominicans on the Dominican side of the border. This includes Haitian child labor arrangements in the following sectors:

- Haitian children in Dominican homes.
- Sugar cane fields and residential *bateyes*.
- The agrarian economy.
- The construction industry
- Haitian children in Dominican streets
 - Homeless children
 - Shoeshine boys
 - Beggars.

GENERAL OVERVIEW

Haitian presence in the Dominican Republic. No reliable statistics exist on the number of Haitians currently residing in the DR. The vast majority of them are undocumented. The minimal number is 500,000 although some informed estimates have posited closer to a million. Given an overall population of some 8 million Dominican citizens, perhaps one out of every ten people is a Haitian.

Haitians constitute a distinct minority in Dominican society. Overall, a small percentage of Haitians are legal migrants. A much larger proportion was born in Haiti but has lived many years in the DR. There are also large numbers of Dominican-born but undocumented Haitians – perhaps 280,000 by some estimates.³³ Finally, there is a significant transient population of Haitian migrants who come and go – a number of whom were interviewed in both Haiti and the Dominican Republic. This group includes Haitians living near the border who cross back and forth for various reasons, sometimes on a daily basis. It also includes Haitians who reside primarily in Haiti but cross seasonally in search of temporary daily wage labor in areas more distant from the border. Researchers also encountered undocumented Haitians who maintain residences in both countries.

Haitian children in the DR. Major subgroups of Haitian children in the DR include the following:

³³ Ferguson (2003, 21).

1. **Migrant children.** Some children were born in Haiti and come across the border with at least one parent or a parental surrogate. Other children cross the border of their own volition together with other minors or young adults. Some migrant children are transients who come and go, returning home for visits voluntarily or as a result of repatriation.
2. **Children born to Haitian migrants.** There are many Haitian children born in the DR whose parents were born in Haiti. A small proportion is composed of Dominico-Haitians born to one Haitian and one Dominican parent, especially in border areas. Children of mixed parentage are generally considered to be Haitian.
3. **Children of Dominican-born Haitians.** Third and fourth generation Haitians are still considered by Dominicans to be *haitianos*, particularly those living in the residential *bateyes* of sugar cane communities. They and their children are considered Haitian even if they speak perfect Spanish and have never been to Haiti. Some have Dominican birth certificates and *cédulas* (ID cards). As a result, their legal status and occupational possibilities are substantially higher than other Haitians living in the DR.
4. **Haitian children born in Dominican hospitals who return to Haiti.** Dominican public hospitals admit Haitians who cross the border specifically for free medical care, especially pregnant women who cross over to deliver children in Dominican hospitals. A small percentage of these children are reportedly abandoned; however, the overwhelming majority returns to Haiti with their mothers.

The split mother/child pair. The majority of Haitian children in the DR were probably born there. Few Haitians interviewed in the DR claimed to have brought their children with them. A much more common story is that of the mother who left her children behind with relatives and is having a hard time making enough money to send home. Several young male interviewees in this study had crossed the border in search of work and left wives and children back in Haiti.

Haitian children demographically underrepresented. The migration factor thus skews the age and gender distribution of Haitians living in the DR. Adult migration tends to decrease the proportion of Haitian minors in the DR in relation to adult Haitians, particularly by comparison to the very young demographic profile of Haiti. There are no reliable surveys so it is difficult to estimate the number of Haitian children in residence. Nevertheless, the population of Haitian minors in the DR is likely to be at least 200,000.

The legal status of Haitian children in the DR. Apart from military roundups and massive forced deportations, the vast majority of Haitian children in the DR are unlikely to return voluntarily to Haiti; however, their upward social mobility is seriously jeopardized by the legal limbo in which they find themselves. The guiding rule of Dominican civil authorities is that no child born of two Haitian parents can receive a Dominican birth certificate even if the child is born in the DR. Public hospitals may admit Haitian women for delivery, but they will not issue documents that certify the birth of a Haitian child.

Dominican law mandates that every child born within the national territory is considered a citizen and will be given a birth certificate, including children born to people of non-Dominican nationality. The children of Haitians are an exception. The most frequent justification for this discriminatory policy revolves around "respect for Haitian law." According to this oft-repeated theory, there is a stipulation in the Haitian constitution that confers Haitian nationality on the children of Haitians regardless of where they are born.

Therefore, according to this argument, the children of Haitians born in the DR cannot be Dominicans.³⁴

In actual practice, certain exceptions are made for children of mixed Dominican and Haitian parentage, a situation that occurs quite frequently in near-border localities. The child of a Haitian father and Dominican mother is readily declared to be Dominican; however, the child of a Dominican father and Haitian mother categorically retains the mother's Haitian nationality. Dominican-Haitians interviewed in border areas took note of certain maneuvers used to circumvent legal restrictions on the recognition of children of mixed parentage. Such maneuvers include, for example, borrowing or purchasing the birth certificate of a deceased Dominican child, or finding a Dominican citizen, generally a relative, willing to declare the child as his or her own child in lieu of the biological Haitian parent.

Undocumented Haitian children admitted to primary school. There are several notable loopholes in the Dominican anti-Haitian policy. Haitian children in the DR are allowed to attend Dominican public schools up to the eighth grade. There are three circumstances under which Haitian child residents may be barred even from primary school.

- **Lack of classroom space (“no hay cupo”).** In the capital and larger cities the lack of classroom space sometimes forces authorities to turn away children. Under such conditions it is predictable that an undocumented Haitian will not be given preference over a Dominican child with a birth certificate.
- **Discrimination against *batey* residents.** We also came across a situation in the *bateyes* (Haitian residential zones attached to sugar cane fields) of Barahona in which the residents of an all-Dominican village refused to have their children educated in the same school with Haitian children from the *bateyes*. The discrimination was particularly odious since the school was built with funds from a private organization allocated to Haitian *batey* residents. In an effort to promote integration, the Catholic priest managing the funds arranged to have the new school built halfway between the *batey* and the Dominican community in the hopes that Dominican and Haitian children would now study together. The Dominicans were delighted at the new school but refused to admit Haitian *batey* children for whom the school had originally been built. The social situation in the *bateyes*, however, is somewhat *sui generis* and does not apply to the country as a whole.
- **Private *colegios*.** There are about 2,500 private schools in the Dominican Republic charging anywhere from U.S. \$8.00 to several hundred dollars a month. Undocumented Haitian children are not barred from attending these schools, but few Haitians can afford even the cheapest of *colegios*.

Admission to public hospitals. Haitians, resident or non-resident, are admitted to Dominican hospitals. In field interviews, Haitian women who had delivered children at

³⁴ Ferguson (*Ibid*) notes that the Dominican Constitution also includes an exception for children deemed to be “in transit,” a loophole in the law interpreted by authorities to allow the exclusion of Dominican-born Haitian children.

Dominican hospitals stated that their treatment by Dominican hospital staff was basically the same as that accorded to Dominican children.

Haitians interviewed on both sides of the border complained with great bitterness about the behavior of Dominican soldiers and police; however, these interviewees clearly distinguished between treatment by medical and educational personnel on the one hand, and police, military, and certain municipal authorities on the other. Interviews with ordinary Haitians tended to provide a balanced assessment of their treatment by Dominicans in stark contrast to allegations by Haitian advocates who have sometimes portrayed Dominican treatment as uniformly negative and abusive.

HAITIANS IN THE DOMINICAN ECONOMY

Haitian males. Haitian males have come to exercise a quasi-monopoly on three major sectors of the Dominican economy and have made inroads into two others.

- Haitian males maintain their traditional monopoly of sugar cane cutting, a strenuous low-paying activity that Dominicans simply refuse to do.
- Haitians have also established a more recent urban monopoly on the market for menial construction workers, a sector where even the lowest paid can make double the daily wages of a cane cutter.
- In most parts of the country Haitians have displaced Dominicans as paid agricultural laborers on the farms of Dominican *campesinos* and agroindustrial companies.
- Haitian men are making serious inroads into the job of urban night watchmen.

Haitian females. The only sector in which Haitian females have established dominance is street begging, often in the company of children. They did not invade the sector but rather created it. They have also made inroads into the domain of domestic service, including domestic childcare, especially in border areas. Dominicans in Santo Domingo hire Haitians as cooks and laundresses but are reportedly reluctant to hire Haitians as caretakers for young children. The reluctance stems at least in part from the perception that Haitians as practitioners of witchcraft. With the dwindling of Dominican women willing to work as domestics, Dominicans in the capital have begun to accept Haitian women. Attaining work as household domestics was the major goal of Haitian women interviewed in the *bateyes*.

HOW DO HAITIANS CROSS THE BORDER?

Illegality of the current movement. For several decades beginning in the mid-1950's the Dominican and Haitian governments organized annual labor recruitment drives for Haitian cane cutters. These were stopped more than a decade ago. Their cessation gave rise to a market for human smugglers which has now burgeoned into a major industry. Probably less than one percent of Haitians entering the Dominican Republic in recent years came with a Haitian passport and a Dominican visa. The majority have entered illegally. Some risk it on their own, but many avail themselves of the paid services of smugglers.

Human smugglers. Field interviews on the Dominican side of the border generally corroborate findings described in Chapter IV regarding human smugglers and small

groups of illicit migrants. The migrants are voluntary, fee paying clients unfamiliar with the border. The smuggler is responsible for his group's transportation costs, payoffs to military personnel, and at least one meal on the Dominican side of the border.

Perils of the journey. There are accounts of smugglers abandoning their charges mid-trip and people dying during the journey. To some extent market forces limit such incidents, particularly when *boukong* recruit travelers from their home areas or other localities where they are well known.

Evolving circuits. The heaviest volume of traffic and the most highly organized circuits traverse the southern border in conjunction with the sugar cane economy. Traffic across the southern tier of the border includes migrants who cross for other purposes, but the largest volume of labor migrants come in response to the annual recruitment of cane cutters. Some migrants use the cane fields as a stepping stone to easier and better-paid jobs in the urban construction industry.

As discussed in Chapter IV, other circuits have expanded in northerly areas that directly feed Santiago and Cibao labor markets independent of cane field recruitment. Haitian women and children also make their way across the border. Some avoid the rigorous nocturnal mountain journeys and enter the Dominican Republic via Dominican border markets where Haitian vendors are allowed on market days. In principle, their movement is restricted to designated market areas and they are required to return to Haiti by a designated time; however, smugglers also organize journeys from Dominican market towns.

The limitations of market entry points. Haitians entering Dominican border towns on market day have already entered Dominican territory. Why do they not slip away, pose as a Dominican, and make their way to Santo Domingo or Santiago? It is a risky venture and the migrant may not be admitted to a public bus or van by the driver. The major barriers are multiple military checkpoints that now exist in the western part of the country to detect undocumented Haitians. Vehicles are stopped. Dark skinned passengers are asked to show ID. Undocumented Haitians are arrested and the driver of the vehicle carrying undocumented Haitians is subject to sanctions. For this reason, Haitians entering via Dominican market towns still need the assistance of smugglers to take them by vehicle on back roads to destinations in the heart of the country.

Haitians reportedly pay high sums to Dominican taxi owners or even motor scooter owners to take them from the border area to Santiago or other towns via back roads. There are accounts of Dominican drivers who abandon their charges halfway after collecting their money. Haitians who use this individualized strategy for travel to the heartland of the Dominican Republic are those returning after a visit to Haiti, or who know some Spanish and the lay of the land, or have specific contacts waiting for them at urban destinations. The first-time migrant, however, is generally dependent on the services of a Haitian *boukong* (guide, smuggler).

HAITIANS IN THE HANDS OF DOMINICAN SOLDIERS

Dominicans and Haitians were unanimous in their opinion that Dominican soldiers commit major abuses against Haitians in the Dominican Republic, including children and adults. Three situations of abuse can be identified:

1. **Shakedowns and confiscations at the border.** Haitians caught entering illegally or Haitians in the process of being expelled may have their money and other goods confiscated by soldiers at the border. This includes Haitians born in the Dominican Republic who have never been to Haiti. There are repeated allegations that the lucrative character of these positions leads some military personnel to pay money for assignment to certain border posts.³⁵
2. **Sudden collective expulsions.** In the larger towns there are periodic *redadas* (roundups) in which persons suspected of being Haitians are grabbed in the street by Dominican military, placed in trucks, and shipped to the border, where they are stripped of any money they have and are dumped off on the Haitian side. Even those in possession of *cédulas* (ID cards) may have their ID cards declared false and ripped up. Those grabbed have no way of informing their families. Deported parents are separated from children, and deported children from parents. Haitians born in the Dominican Republic who have never been to Haiti and who may not even speak Creole may be included in the *redada*. Those rounded up often spend several days in local jails or other holding pens before being shipped en masse to the border. Some reports indicate that those rounded may be sent to Dominican sugar cane fields rather than to the border.
3. **Constant stopping at roadside military checkpoints.** Even Haitians born in the Dominican Republic who have Dominican documents and are riding public or private transportation to the capital or some other point are forced to show their ID cards. Lighter skinned Dominicans in the same vehicles are not. Profiling by skin color is an irritant to Dominico-Haitians as well as dark skinned Dominicans with no Haitian ancestry, an indignity imposed by soldiers who may be phenotypically identical to the people whose ID's they are demanding. When these roadside military checkpoints were instituted during the Trujillo years and the Cold War to capture communist infiltrators, the profiling triggers were beards and red clothing. The checkpoints have survived but have simply shifted function. Their current function is to detect the recent wave of undocumented Haitian aliens, and the profiling trigger now is black skin.

HAITIAN CHILDREN AND THE STATE: THE LAWS OF THE LANDS

The addressing of such abuse is incumbent on the legal systems of two quite different countries. In view of the current economic and energy crises affecting the Dominican Republic, and widespread complaints of corruption, it is unlikely that the Dominican government will take initiative to intervene in matters of Haitian child abuse. In Haiti, the questions are even more unsettling due to unrelenting political crisis and the inability of the Haitian government to deliver virtually any public services. Therefore, government interventions on either side of the border have limited feasibility at this moment in Haitian and Dominican history.

The most feasible window of opportunity for eventual sustained action in the governmental sector may be at the legislative level. If trafficking, child labor, and child abuse are not illegal in the laws of a land, there is no basis for intervention. Laws do not

³⁵ It was not possible to confirm this directly; however, soldiers encountered did admit to military collusion in the cross-border movements, lamenting the low salaries that forced them, quite reluctantly, they said, into such anti-patriotic income-generating maneuvers.

guarantee action but without them there is no solid basis for action. They are a necessary though not sufficient precondition for effective interventions.

Haitian anti-traffick legislation. As a contribution to the study *Tras las Huellas de los Braceros*, two Haitian lawyers, Dr. Samuel Madistin and Dr. Jean Simon Saint-Hubert, unearthed two Haitian presidential decrees under Jean-Claude Duvalier in the 1980s. The context of these decrees was a period when arrangements between the Haitian and Dominican governments for organized recruitment of sugar cane cutters were still in effect. The Haitian government sought to criminalize those bypassing official channels in the provision of sugar cane laborers.

The first was a decree of Nov. 17, 1980, threatening six months to three years of prison to those organizing illegal cross-border trips without passing through police and immigration procedures. Article 5 of this decree establishes special punishments for those guilty of deceit, and seems to level penal code sanctions against the purchasers of these services as well. A follow-up decree of April 6, 1983 (Article 62) makes illegal any attempt to leave the country without a passport. These decrees criminalize illegal immigration into Haiti as well as illegal emigration from Haiti.

Dominican legislation. The Dominican Republic has taken recent measures going further than current Haitian legislation, including the following:

1. **The Dominican *Código Laboral* (Labor Code):** The Dominican Labor Code has several stipulations which have a bearing on issues discussed in the present report. The law prohibits hiring children under 14 years of age, prohibits flooding an industry with non-Dominican workers, and mandates an eight hour day (10 hours in the case of agricultural labor) and a five and a half day work week. Current minimum wage regulations mandate a minimum salary of 80 pesos per day (\$1.60 dollars per day at current exchange rates) for an eight hour day.
2. **Anti-smuggling legislation.** The flood of illegally smuggled Haitians that began after the fall of Duvalier in 1986 led to the drafting of explicit anti-smuggling legislation in 1998 in the form of Law 344-98. The law stipulates a jail term of 3 to 5 years for human smugglers whether or not there is trafficking. Smugglers whose clients come of their own free will are still defined as criminals. The law targets cross border *buscones* who organize the illegal entry of Haitians, organizers of clandestine boat trips of Dominicans to Puerto Rico, and falsifiers of passports and visas for Dominicans boarding planes to New York or other overseas destinations.
3. **Anti-trafficking legislation.** In July of 2003 an anti-trafficking law was passed: Ley No. 137-03, *Sobre el Tráfico Ilícito de Migrantes y Trata de Personas* (A Law Concerning Illegal Smuggling of Migrants and Trafficking in Persons).³⁶ The law was drafted in the wake of two UN sponsored initiatives, a 1998 initiative in Vienna creating an international commission on organized international crime and a 2000 follow-up congress in Palermo which approved an international treaty. The law includes protocols against Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children, and Illegal Smuggling of Migrants by Air, Sea, and Land.

³⁶ *Tráfico* here means “smuggling” whereas “trafficking” is rendered as *trata*.

4. **Legislation against child abuse.** In early 2004 a Código del Menor was passed on child abuse (Ley 14-94). Article 127 of that Law requires that cases of child abuse be reported to the authorities.

The good news is that legislation exists. The bad news is that it is not enforced in the case of undocumented Haitian workers; however, the legislation provides a basis for eventual intervention, including the following.³⁷

- **Prohibitions against child labor.** Article 245 of the Labor Code forbids hiring anyone under the age of 14 years. Some farmers have reportedly been fined after being caught with children employed as laborers on their farms. In principle, the sugar mills avoid hiring children; however, enforcement is weak when it comes to Haitian migrants in the cane fields. The study *Tras las Huellas de los Braceros* interviewed 27 Haitian cane cutters younger than 14 years old. They had not been forced to come to the cane fields, but they were hired illegally and with impunity.
- (1) **Prohibition against alien labor.** The Dominican *Código Laboral* (Labor Code) criminalizes the current situation in cane fields and construction sites with menial employment – i.e. most paid positions – to Haitians. Article 135 of the Code stipulates that 80 percent of the employees of any company have to be Dominicans. The current situation is in violation of that law.
- (2) **Work schedules and rest.** Articles 146 and 147 specify a daily work schedule of eight hours (10 hours in the case of agricultural workers) and a maximum of five and a half workdays per week. Any labor above that amount should receive double pay. The 15 to 17 hour workday that Haitians reportedly work is in technical violation of those stipulations, though the agrarian nature of the task and the undocumented status of the Haitian prevents enforcement. The worker is entitled to 36 hours per week of uninterrupted rest, beginning on noon Saturday or at any other agreed on point. Urban construction sites adhere to that norm. The cane fields routinely ignore it during the high-intensity *zafra* period.
- (3) **Minimum wages.** Minimum wage stipulations mandate a pay rate of at least 80 pesos per day (\$1.60 dollars per day at current exchange rates) for an eight hour day. Haitian cane cutters have been found to work nearly double that amount of time for about 40 pesos.

Relevance of the anti-trafficking law for the Haitian case. Though the anti-trafficking law was passed to protect Dominican women trafficked outside of the country, many of its stipulations, if enforced, would have a major impact on the illegal entry of Haitians into the Dominican Republic.

- The illegal smuggling of persons across the border is defined as a crime with a penalty of 10 to 15 years in jail for the smuggler (not the illegal migrant). In effect,

³⁷ This analysis is based on a chapter by Dr. Esteban Sanchez in the study *Tras las Huellas de los Braceros*.

the passage of this law in 2003 converted the cross border *buscon/boukong* into a criminal.

- The trafficking of persons is defined as a more serious crime with a penalty of 15 to 20 years in jail.
- The law criminalizes collaboration or cooperation in illegal cross border movements. It explicitly states that collaboration by police or military constitutes an aggravated offense subject to heavier penalties, specifically five additional years of incarceration. Enforcement of the law would lead to the incarceration of an unspecified but substantial number of Dominican soldiers said to generate income from illegal cross-border movements.
- Five years are added to the jail term to any perpetrator or accomplice to the smuggling or traffic of a minor who is a relative by blood or by marriage of that minor. This has potential repercussions for any relative of a child who collaborates in smuggling or abuse.
- If a person who has voluntarily paid to be smuggled is himself arrested, he can avoid any penalty if he identifies and assists, through information, in the capture of the smuggler who brought him over.

In short, the law signed by President Mejia in August 2003 establishes a legal basis for curtailing smuggling, although *the law was not passed to deal with the Haitian situation*. To our knowledge this recently passed law has not resulted in any convictions, even in the domain for which it was originally intended, the traffic of Dominican women to Europe or other continents. Nevertheless, current Dominican law provides a legal basis for combating Haitian child abuse and labor exploitation.

The Dominican Republic as a source of trafficked persons. The Dominican Republic has been identified as among the top three Latin American countries affected by international trafficking in persons, particularly sex traffic. The triggering condition for this classification and subsequent legislation was the trafficking of Dominican women from the Dominican Republic to other countries – not the trafficking of foreign women, Haitian or otherwise, into the Dominican Republic. The main destination for Dominican women in the sex trade is Europe. The IOM introductory text to the law estimates that as many as one out of three Dominican prostitutes in Europe are victims of trafficking.

Dominican women have also been prominent as prostitutes in other Latin American and Caribbean countries, including Haiti where the phrase *fanm panyol* (“Dominican woman”) was a traditional reference to prostitutes. To a large extent, the stereotyped image of the Dominican woman in Haiti has shifted from provider of sexual services to owner of a beauty salon. In the DR, the emigration of Dominican women for sexual commerce continues to be a theme that dominates official traffic-in-persons dialogue.

National resentment at international attention to the Haitian issue. Dominican anti-trafficking legislation was designed to prevent Dominican women from being shipped to abusive situations overseas – not to protect Haitians against trafficking or other forms of abuse in the Dominican Republic itself. We found widespread anger among Dominicans in response to international accusations that Haitians are victims of abuse in the DR. It is highly unlikely that there will be Dominican legislative initiatives or widespread Dominican public support for measures that attribute victim status to Haitians in the Dominican Republic. Foreign institutions or actors who promote pro-Haitian measures in the DR are generally resented. The dominant public image of Haitians is that of illegal invaders who

should be deported, not of involuntary victims whose women and children should be protected.

Haitian children and non-governmental channels of intervention. Though the Dominican Republic has more legislation and stronger public institutions than Haiti, the public sector in neither country plays an active role against human smuggling, trafficking in persons, or child abuse. The most effective action is being taken by the religious sector (particularly in certain Roman Catholic dioceses and religious orders) and the NGO sector.

Prospects for Haitian public sector support for TIP programming. In view of Haiti's predatory political history, limited public services, and protracted political crisis, donors interested in addressing the plight of Haitian children simply cannot rely on Haitian government agencies and public policy reform. Therefore, the primary thrust of program interventions should rely on non-governmental intervention. At the same time, it is also important to continue promoting public sector reform and an adequate legislative framework; however, for the foreseeable future, service delivery and *management of the funds to deliver those services* should be undertaken on a non-governmental basis.

Prospects for Dominican public sector support for TIP programming. The objective history of the Dominican State is quite different from that of the Haitian State. The Dominican government during the era of Trujillo expanded public services under a political idiom of authoritarian paternalism. In the present era, the Dominican government is far better organized than its Haitian counterpart, and its legislature has passed laws on smuggling, trafficking, and child abuse that are fundamentally lacking in Haiti. Nevertheless, the Dominican political and economic system is presently in crisis. Public corruption is a dominant theme and source of public anger in response to inflation, the energy crisis, and the catastrophic devaluation of the peso.

The national crises now affecting the entire Dominican population do not bode well for serious public sector attention to child abuse or trafficking. Above all, the heavy and profitable involvement of the Dominican military in the smuggling of Haitians makes effective public sector involvement highly unlikely, no matter how eloquent the wording of recently passed laws. Furthermore, Dominican public opinion is characterized by widely held views that undocumented Haitians are invaders to be expelled – not victims whose women and children should be protected. In short, there is little political support for public sector interventions in favor of Haitians. Therefore, TIP planning on behalf of Haitian children in the Dominican Republic should also depend primarily on non-governmental channels.

Umbrella organization for the protection of women. In 1997, national concern with the situation of Dominican women in international sex markets led to the creation of CIPROM, *el Comité Interinstitucional de Protección a la Mujer Migrante* (The Inter-Institutional Committee for the Protection of Migrant Woman).³⁸ CIPROM's three stated goals indicate its focus on the emigration of Dominican women:

1. Prevent uninformed women from being tricked into emigration. Education is the primary mechanism, though job-hunting assistance is stated as an ideal as well.

³⁸ See the introduction to *Ley Sobre el Trafico Ilícito de Migrantes y Trata de Personas* (p. 14).

2. Support Dominican women overseas.
3. Establish support mechanisms for women rescued from overseas traffic and brought back home.

Establishment of CIPROM. CIPROM links NGOs, government agencies, and international development donors. CIPROM's creation was spearheaded by two organizations, one of them international (IOM, the International Office of Migration) and the other a recently created Dominican governmental agency (DGPM, Dirección General de Promoción de la Mujer). Four core governmental ministries and agencies participate: Secretaría de Estado de la Mujer (Ministry of Women), Secretaría de Estado de Relaciones Exteriores (The Dominican State Department), Secretaría de Estado de Trabajo (Labor Ministry), and la Dirección General de Migración (Immigration and Naturalization). An international link is maintained via IOM, the Fondos Europeos para el Desarrollo – a development arm of the European Union, UNFPA, and Cooperación Española – the development assistance arm of the Spanish government. (Spain is by far the major European entry point for Dominican women.) Among other participating institutions are the Centro de Investigación y Orientación Integral, several Roman Catholic religious institutions, and several NGOs, among them the Movimiento de Mujeres Dominico-Haitianas, an institution dealing specifically with Dominican women of Haitian origin.

Modus operandi of CIPROM. CIPROM has undertaken public awareness campaigns using radio programs, posters, and brochures, and given dozens of workshops for women, community leaders, and high school teachers. CIPROM has organized workshops for consular official in three countries that have traditionally imported Dominican women for the sex trade: Spain, Haiti, and Argentina. The workshops were given in each country. One recent accomplishment has been the opening of a shelter (Casa de Acogida) for returning Dominican victims of overseas trafficking.

NGOs involved with refugee operations. Bilateral and multilateral organizations long ago established the practice of working with NGOs. Among the bona-fide NGOs working with Haitians, only a small subset is involved with the issue of collective expulsions by Dominican military. In this it is important to make a distinction between three types of NGOs: (a) development NGOs, (b) advocacy NGOs, and (c) migrant-action NGOs.

There are conventional development NGOs working in the *bateyes*. They are involved in school building, health care delivery, and other issues. *They do not get involved in combating expulsions.* There are also advocacy NGOs who fight for the Haitian cause in the media. The Movimiento de Mujeres Dominico-Haitianas (MUDHE) is such an organization. Its major activity is documenting abuses against Haitian women and children in the Dominican Republic and advocating policy changes.

NGO initiatives dealing with the Dominican military. Without claiming exhaustiveness in our information, we have found four organizations engaged in direct interaction with the Dominican military and Haitian deportees. Much of this is cordial and mutually respectful though some of it is confrontational.

- (1) Solidaridad Fronteriza, a Jesuit-organized cross-border movement in Dajabon and in Ouanaminthe to assist Haitians who are expelled penniless from the Dominican

Republic. The organization is associated with the name of Fr. Reginio Martinez, a Dominican Jesuit.

- (2) Radio Enriquillo, a Catholic radio station in Tamayo whose staff, such as the Dominican reporter Obispo Figuereo, have grabbed their tape recorders and cameras and chased after busloads of Haitians being shipped to the border.
- (3) Groupe d'Appui aux Rapatriés et Refugies (GARR), Support Group for Refugees and Repatriated People, a network of Haitian and Dominican organizations that has set up refuges for repatriated deportees at different points on the Haitian side of the border from Ouanaminthe in the North to Point-a-Pitre in the South. They hope eventually to have eight shelters.
- (4) Plataforma Vida, a community organization in the Barahona *bateyes*, whose founder, Fr. Pedro Ruquoy, a Belgian Scephite priest who lives on one of the *bateyes*. Fr. Ruquoy has been the major actor in defending Haitian rights in the DR.

Plataforma Vida. Plataforma Vida (PV) is an effective, multifunctional NGO that actively combats trafficking into the DR as well as collective expulsions that leave Haitians destitute on the Haitian side of the border. PV activities include entail public denunciations, but they also include hands-on support, including the following activities:

- (1) Identifying and publicizing the names and activities of cross-border smugglers (*buscones*)
- (2) Giving material support to recently arrived *kongos* (Haitians who have never been in the Dominican Republic) and attempting to integrate them into the Dominico-Haitian community already resident in the *bateyes*
- (3) Assisting disillusioned but penniless migrants to return to Haiti.
- (4) Rescuing Dominico-Haitians who have been detained by the military for eventual expulsion.
- (5) Bringing back Dominico-Haitians who have already been deported.
- (6) Establishing temporary shelters in Haiti, in collaboration with GARR, for deportees who have no legal claim to return to the DR but were deported without being allowed to inform their families or pick up their possessions, and/or were stripped of money or possessions before being dumped at the Haitian border.
- (7) House building and school building projects in the Barahona *bateyes*.
- (8) Carrying out empirical, balanced research on the situation in the Barahona *bateyes*. The Plataforma Vida – GARR study *En las Huellas de los Braceros*, cited frequently in this report, is an excellent source of information on the Barahona *bateyes*. The study contains not only data on the cane cutters, but also interviews with soldiers, company managers, and smugglers. These individuals and their viewpoints are presented, accurately, fairly, and respectfully in the study.

Plataforma Vida is in many ways a “best practice” NGO in the realm of focused anti-trafficking activities. There are other active NGOs, such as World Vision and FUDECO, and FUNDEPRODE in San Juan de la Maguana, who are doing interesting activities of a development nature at different parts of the border, some of them involving Haitians. Their activities, however, do not generally entail interactions with authorities about the treatment of deportees.

In sum, there are a small number of NGOs actively involved in anti-trafficking and whose human rights advocacy goes beyond documentation and denunciation into actual support. We recommend that these groups be looked at in more detail for possible support.

There are also sham NGOs that have engaged in deceptive fund-raising practices in program areas related to *bateyes* and community stores. One self-styled NGO was funded by a European donor-NGO to operate community stores; however, the founders of a local fraudulent NGO misused vehicles and funds for their own private business and then paid local *colmado* owners in the *bateyes* to tell visitors that they were “community stores.” Another local “NGO founder” solicited funds for activities in the *bateyes*. We visited border contacts given by this founder and encountered cynical people who complained of broken promises. Therefore, we recommend that donors be very cautious about any NGO claiming involvement with Haitians in the Dominican Republic and verify whether or not their claims are genuine.

CHAPTER VI HAITIAN CHILDREN IN DOMINICAN HOMES

THE DOMINICAN CHILD PLACEMENT SYSTEM

As in Haiti there is a widespread system operating in the Dominican Republic for relocating children from the homes of their biological parents and placing them in other homes. An understanding of the situation of Haitian children in Dominican homes presupposes a compare-and-contrast understanding of the different ground rules that govern extra-familial child placement on either side of the border.

Dominican practices bear several fundamental similarities to what is done across the border in Haiti but they also differ in several important ways. Each system in its traditional form is "mono-ethnic." The Haitian system places Haitian children with Haitian caretakers. The Dominican system places Dominican children with Dominican caretakers.

The emergence of a "bi-ethnic" modality in which Haitian infants or minors are incorporated into Dominican homes is somewhat recent. The flow of this bi-ethnic system is unidirectional. We encountered no cases of Dominican children adopted into Haitian homes. The bi-ethnic placement of Haitian children into Dominican homes is much more recent than the longstanding practice of incorporating Haitian field laborers into Dominican sugar or coffee plantations. It is even more recent than the increasingly common placement of Haitian girls and women as domestics in Dominican homes.

Before examining this bi-ethnic situation, however, it is analytically useful to compare the respective child placement systems of the two countries. Though the two systems are similar in certain essentials, the different economic and class contexts have led the two systems to veer off into somewhat different evolutionary trajectories.

The central feature of the system: Domestic labor in exchange for schooling.

Two overarching historical factors have engendered and sustained the Dominican child placement system. First, the decline of the viability and attractiveness of agriculture as a way of life has sabotaged the earlier system in which the most important legacy a parent could leave to a child was land. Nearly 70 percent of Dominicans now live in towns or cities. At the present time the major legacy that parents can leave their children is to adequately prepare them for an urban job or career. This presupposes an education. The schooling of one's children has become the major parental obligation.

This imperative to educate was felt historically before rural areas began emptying out. The prototypical child placement situation was one in which a rural family in a community with no school would turn one or more children over to urban relatives, *compadres*, or acquaintances. The terms of the exchange were that the child would be fed, clothed, and above all schooled. In return the child would provide domestic labor. In this respect the Dominican system is similar to the one operating across the border in Haiti.³⁹

³⁹ There is an important exception to the general rule regarding the education of foster children in the DR – an exception linked to the gender of foster children and the rural location of receiving families. Most foster

Care in old age: An equally important instrumental goal in the Dominican system.

In analyzing parental calculations and the value of children, it is important to avoid a one-sided emphasis on the short-term benefits of child labor. Over and over again we heard from Dominican foster parents about long-term calculations, the tremendous advantage of having additional children who can be counted on to love and care for you in sickness and old age. We have at least ten recorded accounts of the happy-ending scenario in which foster children achieve professional or economic success thanks to the educational support of foster parents, and then bestows on them greater affection and material support in sickness and old age than on their own biological parents. This outcome was presented as a major consideration in the calculus of whether or not to take a foster child.

The most sensible and most frequent parental game to achieve this scenario is to be reasonable in work demands and generous with food, clothing, and schooling. In short, parents are inclined to treat a foster child in a manner similar to one's own biological children in the hopes that the child will be *agradecido*, a grateful person who remembers what you did for her even though you are not her biological mother. It is known that some adults treat foster children more harshly than their own children, but foster parents who take that route are sabotaging a major instrumental payoff in the typical parental game plan – affection and support in sickness and old age.

Extralegal mode. In only a small minority of cases is the child legally incorporated into the caretaker family as a legally adopted child. When legal papers are drafted, this is called *criar con apellido*, "raise with surname." Or, the biological parents are said to *regalar el niño con papeles*, "give the child away with papers." If the child is placed as a neonate, the receiving parents can bypass the expense of lawyers and judges simply by declaring the child as theirs in the local registry. The child then acquires their surname and all legal rights, including the inheritance rights of a biological child; however, such cases appear to be exceptional. In the majority of cases, the foster child is raised *sin apellido*, without the surname of receiving parents. The arrangement in such cases is never explicitly legalized and the child retains his or her original surname.

Kinship mode. In the Dominican child placement system children adopted into the foster family "without surname" are in most cases considered to be *hijos de crianza*, foster children. The entire arrangement is construed, not merely in the idiom of kinship, but more specifically in the idiom of parent/child bonds. The caretakers will in most cases be addressed as *mamá* and *papá* and they will in turn call the child *mi hijo* or *mi hija*. The foster child will call the biological children of the family *hermanos*. *We have also found this to be generally true for Haitian children adopted into Dominican families.*

This contrasts sharply with the *trabajadora doméstica* mode, the role of domestic servant, or *sereno* (watchman) or *jardinero* (gardner) in which the household disburses

children placed in Dominican households appear to be girls; however, Dominican farm families also recruit boys to help with agricultural work. Interviews with current and former male foster children placed in rural Dominican households suggest that boys are generally well treated but are less likely to be treated the same as biological children and are less likely than girls to be sent to school. There's evidence of a similar pattern in rural Haiti.

wages but has no responsibility for the education of the person or even, barring stipulations to the contrary, for lodging and food.

This study found no evidence of a culturally recognized category in the prevailing Dominican system – at least in urban areas where 70 percent of the Dominican population presently lives – for an unpaid pre-adolescent domestic worker living in the home who is not treated as a foster child. As discussed in Chapter III, this contrasts with what was found in Haiti.

In most Dominican cases there are direct kinship ties between the child and her foster family. The maternal grandmother of the child is a frequent caretaker in such situations, though children are also commonly placed with maternal aunts. There are also numerous cases, perhaps a third of all Dominican child placements, in which there are no immediate kinship bonds between relocated children and caretaker adults. Even in those cases, particularly when children are brought in at younger ages, the nuclear family terminology will prevail.

The question of fee-collecting intermediaries. Absolutely no evidence surfaced that fee-collecting intermediaries operate in the placement of foster children in the DR. This contrasts with Haiti where there is evidence, at least in some cases, that intermediaries collect fees for supplying unpaid child labor to urban households.

The question of monetary exchanges between sending and receiving families in child placement. In neither the Dominican nor the Haitian system is there any evidence of economic exchange between sending and receiving households at the moment a child is placed with another family. In some cases in Haiti, especially in recent years, the receiving household may pay fees to an intermediary.

Ongoing economic obligations. In neither country is there an obligation on the part of the biological parent to send monthly remittances to support the child. In both Haiti and the DR, if the biological parents live in a rural area, it is customary for them to bring food gifts to caretaker parents when they come to visit their child. In both systems, these are voluntary gifts, not an obligatory payment or remittance. The prevailing practice in both countries is for the receiving household to assume full economic responsibility for the child.

In both Haiti and the DR, there is a special subtype of child placement where there is some flexibility in this regard. A couple or single mother that leaves the rural area to seek work in the city may leave a child with grandparents, generally maternal grandparents. If the absentee mother is poor and struggling, she will not be expected to send regular remittances. If she acquires employment that pays well, she will be expected (and personally motivated to do so, according to our interviews) to send financial aid to help out with children left behind. The same rule applies, *mutatis mutandis*, if the child is with paternal grandparents or other kinfolk.

In the DR, this is a more recent placement mode that has arisen in the wake of new opportunities for female urban employment. In the more traditional Dominican mode, it is the child who is moved to the city, and it is the biological parent who stays put.

Differential treatment of foster children? In the Dominican Republic, to what degree does the rhetoric of kinship mask recruitment of unpaid child labor? In terms of the treatment of foster children compared with biological children, we can provisionally identify a continuum of three modes of treatment that emerged from field interviews.

1. Equal treatment with biological children.
2. Differential but adequate treatment, e.g. sending foster children to school public rather than private school; expecting foster children to do more errands, child care, kitchen work, or other forms of domestic labor; giving foster children hand-me-down clothes, etc. In this mode, more is expected of the foster child than biological children in the household; however, the child may still be better off than with the biological family, at least in an economic sense. These differences are not inherently abusive in nature.
3. Abusive treatment, e.g., regular physical beatings, sexual abuse, feeding with leftover scraps, not sending the child to school, etc. Prevailing Dominican norms would classify failure to send the child to school as a form of abuse.

Among Dominicans interviewed, *equal treatment with biological children* was by far the most frequently mentioned pattern of treatment. This is not surprising since a high percentage of Dominican child placements are into the homes of near kin, including grandmothers who raise the children of daughters working in a distant city.

Dominican informants also report a high incidence of option two, *differential but adequate treatment*. Differential educational treatment of biological and foster children is more likely to occur in middle or upper class homes that send their own children to study in very expensive private *colegios*, but send foster children to less expensive *colegios*.

In the homes of the poor where all children in the household attend public school, differential educational treatment between biological and foster children is less common. In the homes of the poor, if a foster child is brought in at an older age (seven or eight years old) with an explicit view to domestic labor, such as caring for younger children, that child may be given more tasks than biological children. There are strong cultural norms, however, to keep such differences to a minimum.

The third situation, abusive treatment of a foster child or barring a child from school does happen but it is quite unusual. In this matter, the accounts of Dominican informants concerning treatment of children placed outside the home were quite different from Haitian informants who talked eloquently of substandard treatment of *restavek* servant children in Haiti.

The theme of sexual abuse. Some Dominican informants mentioned that the risk of sexual abuse of adolescent girls is higher in the case of a female foster child than a biological sibling or daughter of the abuser. The cultural theme of the sexually abused *trabajadora doméstica*, paid female domestic worker, is also prevalent in Dominican society. The *hija de crianza* foster child, who may not be in frequent touch with her biological family, is more vulnerable than the paid *trabajadora*, many of whom commute and all of whom can easily leave the home in the case of abusive behavior.

COMPARING HAITIAN RESTAVÈK WITH DOMINICAN HIJO DE CRIANZA

SIMILARITIES

Extrafamilial placement. In both countries children are placed outside the home in other households where neither biological parent lives. This is the central feature of both systems.

Customary arrangements. In both countries child placement is done on an informal or customary basis. The arrangement does not violate any laws in either country but it has an extralegal character. In general, it tends to be the customary equivalent of foster home placement rather than legal adoption.

Financial arrangements. There is no exchange of money between sending and receiving households in either country. In both countries the notion of selling one's child like a mule or goat would be viewed as aberrant or criminal behavior.

In both countries the movement of the child is generally toward an urban milieu. Upward social mobility generally entails moving from rural to urban areas.

Preference for female children. To the extent that domestic labor plays a role in child recruitment, especially in urban households, there is far greater demand for girls. In rural areas there's some demand for boys to assist with agricultural tasks.

Slightly older children are preferred over neonates. To the degree that domestic labor requirements play a role in child recruitment, the most desirable age is 7 or 8 in both countries. Empty-nesters may be motivated by the desire for company or help in the house. Receiving households generally prefer a child old enough to do useful work, but not so old as to be behaviorally problematic or excessively independent.

Children are generally placed in households with a higher economic status than the sending households. In both countries the traditional cultural theory is that the giving of children should be of some benefit to the child placed. This usually entails moving the child to a household with more resources. There are important exceptions to this on both sides of the border. For example, itinerant working mothers who leave their children with grandparents are likely placing the children in homes of comparable socioeconomic status, or, a Haitian child may live with a nearby aging aunt or grandparent to keep them company. Nevertheless, it is a common practice for children to be placed in homes where they stand to gain material benefits, upward social mobility, and the opportunity to attend school.

Contact is generally maintained with biological parents. Traditionally, there is an expectation that children in placement will have some continued contact with biological parents, including visits back home or parental visits to children in placement.

Biological parents are not expected to provide child support payments. Once children are placed, primary economic support of the child becomes the responsibility of

the caretaker family. Biological parents from the rural areas may send or bring occasional food gifts, but these are voluntary gifts rather than required support payments.

Biological parents are free to withdraw the child from placement. The most frequent reason for withdrawal is probably abuse. We are also familiar with cases where the biological parents changed their minds and wanted their child back, needed the child at home, or had recovered the means once again to adequately support the child at home.

The child is expected to do labor in the house. The requirement to do household chores is incumbent on biological children as well as children placed outside of the home. It is commonly alleged that children in placement do more household work than biological children, although this is not invariably the case.

There is strong emphasis on the obligation of receiving households to send relocated children to school. In both countries, placement of rural children in urban households was traditionally an educational strategy for rural parents of limited means, and also a strategy for upward mobility.

Child rearing. Aside from schooling, it is also a standard expectation that receiving households provide food, shelter, clothing, and medical care, i.e., that host parents assume primary responsibility for rearing the child.

Parallel trends. Aside from the customary rules of child placement in both countries, there are certain broader range social trends that are clearly having an impact on both placement systems. One is the inexorable long-term trend toward urbanization. This has an important impact on both the supply of rural children and the scale of urban demand for outside children. Secondly, less affluent urban households in both countries may consider the foster child option in light of their domestic labor requirements and may actively recruit a foster child as a cost-effective alternative to hiring salaried domestic servants.

DIFFERENCES

There are many similarities in the culturally mediated patterns of giving and taking children in the two countries. These elements provide a conceptual baseline to take note of emergent differences between the two systems. To some extent the two child placement systems have tended to evolve in different directions.

Dominican child placement uses an idiom of nuclear family kinship terminology. For the most part Dominican foster children call the caretaker parents *mamá* and *papa*, even when they are not biologically related. The Haitian system also operates in kinship mode, but tends to use a more distant idiom of collateral kinship (*matant*, “auntie”) or ritual kinship (*marenn*, “godmother”). To some extent, this reflects the common placement of Haitian children with extended family members and godparents; however, these terminological differences may also reflect differences in treatment, especially when children are placed with more distant relatives or strangers (non-kin).

The schooling of children placed outside the home. There's evidence from field interviews that host family obligations to send foster children to school are more widely

honored in the DR than Haiti. The phenomenon of the unschooled *hijo de crianza* does occur, particularly with male children placed in rural households; however, most children placed in Dominican households attend school, and there's a great deal of social pressure to send foster children to school. There's also social pressure on Haitian households to send *restavèk* servant children to school, especially in urban areas. Many *restavèk* servant children in Haiti, however, do not attend school, and if they do attend, they almost invariably go to inferior schools or afternoon or evening sessions of limited duration.

The higher incidence of Dominican foster children attending school derives at least in part from the greater availability of free public schools in the DR. Half of all Haitian children of school age are not in school at all, and less than 10 percent of Haitian primary students go to public schools. In contrast, 70 percent Dominican schoolchildren attend free public schools. Under the circumstances, it is perhaps not surprising that the working poor in urban Haiti are somewhat less inclined than more affluent Dominican families to send outside children to school.

Contrasting themes: exploiting children or rendering a service? Dominican discourse about child placement tends to emphasize the advantages to the children. The *hijo de crianza* system of informal foster child placement is viewed generally as a benevolent element in their social system – an adaptive, positive response to problems of poverty or a lack of access to education. This has also long been the case in Haiti, especially for traditional forms of placement with close extended family members or with trusted well-to-do urban families. Benevolent forms of child placement are still very much a part of the story in Haiti.

In addition, however, there is an emergent, identifiable subset of Haitian children placed with others who are openly treated as unpaid servant children rather than as foster children. In contrast to the standard Dominican discourse of foster child placement, the Haitian theme of the exploited outside child is linguistically encoded as *restavèk* – unpaid servant children who are sometimes described as *ti èsklav* ("little slaves"). No analogous pejorative term comparable to *restavèk* emerged from field interviews in the Dominican Republic. There does not appear to be a Dominican social equivalent to Haiti's unpaid *restavèk* servant children whereas Haitians automatically identify the *restavèk* child with grinding poverty on the part of sending families and child labor exploitation on the part of receiving families.

Closely related to this point is the element of short-term versus long-term calculus in taking children. In field interviews, Dominican families stress the long-term benefits of foster child support in sickness and old age. In contrast, exploitative child labor arrangements for *restavèk* servant children in Haiti clearly emphasize the near-term benefits of domestic household labor rather than a permanent long-term relationship.

The two systems appear to have been driven into distinct trajectories by significant differences in the levels of poverty between the two countries and to some extent by differences in class structure. Unlike the Dominican Republic, the economic situation of Haiti has long been in severe decline, especially since the early 1990s and especially in rural Haiti. Haiti continues to be sharply marked by acute class stratification, a relatively small middle class (in contrast to the Dominican Republic) and in the past twenty years by the phenomenal growth of sprawling urban slums with few public services.

Children of the poorest households in Haiti, especially the rural poor, are largely excluded from a formal education. The economic forces generating acute stress in both rural and urban Haiti created a social context for the emergence of child placement cut off from traditional forms of parental involvement and bereft of some of the protections of the Dominican system. Placement patterns with wealthy urban families in Haiti have long gone by the way. They have been supplanted in growing measure by placement with strangers, the working poor in high-stress urban slums. In contrast, the placement of Haitian children with Dominican families, as observed in Dominican border areas, is from the rural poor to the middle class – families considerably more affluent than the working poor of Cité Soleil, Carrefour, or Belaire.

THE PLACEMENT OF HAITIAN CHILDREN IN DOMINICAN HOMES.

Up to now we have been concerned with the operation of child placement arrangements within each of the two national groups. For purposes of the present study, it is of particular interest to examine a newly evolved bi-ethnic mode in which Haitian children are placed with Dominican households.

Haitian child placement into Dominican homes as a subsystem. As the availability of Dominican children for placement in Dominican homes has dwindled and the availability of Haitian children has increased, Dominican households have begun to recruit Haitian children as foster children. In effect, the placement of Haitian children in Dominican homes integrates Haitian children into the preexisting *Dominican* system.

Each national group follows its own rules. Dominicans have their own longstanding rules and practices governing child placement. Therefore, Dominican rules, customs, and traditions govern their treatment of Haitian children rather than the Haitian rules of the game. Most in fact are unaware of the Haitian practices. Haitian parents or surrogates who give up children for placement in Dominican households thus negotiate as aliens on Dominican soil, and it is the Dominican rules of the game that prevail.

Why have Dominicans begun adopting Haitian foster children? All other things being equal, Haitians express a preference for placing children in Haitian homes rather than Dominican homes. Dominicans are on the whole more prosperous but there are more unknowns, and Haitians express a fear of losing track of children in placement. Dominicans note that it would be easier to take in a Dominican *hijo de crianza*, especially in the case of an older child, due to the differences in language and culture when taking a Haitian child.

Diminished supply. So why have Dominicans turned to Haitian children? The supply of available Dominican children has dwindled in past decades. The spread of free public schools in rural areas has tended to undercut a major motivation for placing children with others. Furthermore, the population of the rural areas has declined significantly. In contrast to Haiti, less than one third of the Dominican population lives in rural areas. Both of these trends – rural school building and rural exodus – have undercut the once-frequent phenomenon of the rural Dominican families seeking urban homes for placement of *school-age* children.

Heightened demand. On the other hand, the demand for foster children has at least remained constant and probably increased. Urbanization has changed the nature of the domestic labor for which children are valued. There are still rural girls who search for water or firewood, and rural boys working in the fields or moving family cattle from pasture to pasture or from pasture to water; however, there's growing demand for domestic labor in urban areas. Sweeping and mopping, washing clothes, kitchen tasks, caring for infants, and going on errands to the corner store are still tasks which school-age children are expected to perform. Some tasks are restricted to young daughters. There is greater demand for girls than boys to meet the domestic labor requirements of urban households.

In short, the supply of Dominican children has decreased while the demand for foster children has remained constant or even increased. A new supply of children has opened up with nearly one million Haitians now residing within the DR. In addition, Haitian children are readily available in border areas including border markets, as discussed in Chapter IV.

Decline in the supply of Dominican domestic workers. The paid *trabajadora doméstica*, the hired female domestic servant who cooks, washes and irons clothes, takes care of infants, and does many other domestic tasks, is still a common actor in urban areas of the Dominican Republic. Most middle-class households have *trabajadora doméstica*. Dominican architects continue to consider the *cuarto de servicio*, servants quarters, as essential as a laundry room in any new apartment or condo; however fewer and fewer Dominican girls are willing to work for the low wages typically paid to the *trabajadora doméstica*. With the growth of free trade zones there are other more lucrative sources of employment available to females.

There have been two responses to the slow retreat of the Dominican *trabajadora doméstica*. One is the hiring of an increasing number of Haitian girls as paid domestic workers. Another is the search for an *hija de crianza*, a foster daughter who provides domestic labor in exchange for educational support. This is more common among in poorer households unable to meet the more stringent wage demands of *trabajadora domésticas*.

Haitian domestic workers have tended to displace Dominican *trabajadora doméstica* to a considerable extent. There is a similar shift presently underway in the supply and demand of Dominican versus Haitian foster children, but this shift is in much earlier stages of evolution compared to paid domestic servants. In general, urban Dominicans continue to rely on foster children to help meet domestic labor requirements, especially in light of the retreating *trabajadora doméstica*.

Regional differences. We did not yet find yet a strong presence of Haitian children placed as *hijos de crianzas* in Dominican homes. This appears to be much more frequent in border areas compared to other regions of the DR. For example, most households in the border town of Restauración reportedly have Haitian girls working as paid domestic servants and a significant number of local households have Haitian foster children.

Why a Haitian foster child rather than a Haitian domestic? In the border area, the option of the Haitian foster child is more cost effective than paying an older domestic

worker. The border area is among the poorest area in the DR. Few families can afford the going wage for a Dominican domestic worker. Haitian domestics are willing to work for perhaps half the price. Those reluctant to pay for a Haitian domestic worker might well consider raising a Haitian foster child. Furthermore, Haitian children are readily available in border areas.

In comparison to border areas, there appears to be greater reluctance to recruit Haitian foster children in Santo Domingo or Santiago. In border areas the transition from Dominican to Haitian foster children is easier for a variety of reasons. The Haitian presence in the border area has created a much greater sense of familiarity between Dominicans and Haitians than elsewhere in the Dominican Republic. Haitians in border areas do not constitute a mysterious and dangerous underclass as they do in the *bateyes* of sugar plantations or the *barrios* of Santo Domingo. Furthermore, widespread patterns of intermarriage in border areas create a social environment more conducive to taking in Haitian foster children compared to Santo Domingo.

Major disadvantage of the Haitian child. The major drawback to recruiting Haitian children is the ambiguous legal status of Haitians in the Dominican Republic. In Dominican practice, Haitian children do not have access to Dominican birth certificates even if Dominican born. Without a Dominican birth certificate, Haitian foster children are restricted from more advanced educational opportunities and are denied the *cédula*, the ID card issued at age 18 that assures access to civil and economic rights in the Dominican Republic. Dominican households might prefer to take in a Dominican child specifically because of these legal problems; however, in view of the shortage of Dominican children, a growing number of Dominican families are willing to take a Haitian child.

Why would Haitians choose to place a child with Dominicans rather than Haitians?

Haitian parents might well prefer to place their children with Haitian families; however, due to poverty, child placement in a Dominican home offers greater opportunity for socioeconomic ascent.

For example, in contrasting interviews, Dominican informants noted that placing a daughter with a non-relative would tend to increase her vulnerability to sexual abuse. In contrast, a Haitian informant in Elias Piña noted that placing a poor Haitian girl in a more affluent Dominican household could actually *decrease* her vulnerability to sexual abuse, basically for economic reasons. She pointed out that young Haitian girls from marginal Haitian families run the risk of being drawn into prostitution, whereas placement with middle class Dominicans might reduce the likelihood of sexual escapades for girls or a life of thievery for boys from such families.

Do Dominican ground rules in child placement apply equally to Haitian children?

Dominicans incorporating a Haitian child into their family do so on the basis of culturally defined arrangements for doing so. There's every indication from fieldwork that the rules operate the same for a Haitian foster child as for a Dominican foster child.

Dominican sensitivities. The representative of a Haitian advocacy group interviewed in Santo Domingo has asserted that many Haitian children are kept in Dominican homes as "slaves," especially in border areas; however, fieldwork in border areas and elsewhere in the Dominican Republic uncovered absolutely no evidence of such treatment. There is

evidence that foster children in the DR may be treated somewhat differently from biological children in terms of work schedules and quality of schooling. It's also clear that foster children and other children in the DR are sometimes abused by caretaker adults; however, there's no evidence from fieldwork in this study that Dominicans treat Haitian foster children any differently from Dominican foster children.

Is there "trafficking" in Haitian children or minors in the DR? We saw no evidence that money ever changes hands in the placement of children with Dominican families. Parents do not "sell" their children to Dominican foster parents. Furthermore, we found no evidence of dedicated, organized circuits for the transnational movement of Haitian children to Dominican homes. This is in stark contrast to the market for sugar cane laborers where there are active and voluminous networks to supply Haitian workers, including some minors, to sugar cane fields.

Trafficking of Haitian children within Haitian networks in the Dominican Republic. As discussed in the Chapter IV section on Trafficking and Abuse, we did uncover reliable firsthand evidence that Haitian children are recruited in Haiti for placement with Haitian households in the Dominican Republic as *restavèk* servant children. We also uncovered direct evidence of *restavèk* children recruited in rural Haiti specifically with a view to generate revenues for Haitian adults in the DR, generally from begging, shining shoes or agricultural labor. Intermediaries sometimes play a role in these arrangements. Clearly, these circumstances, linked to economic opportunity, constitute a very high risk of attracting fee-collecting agents or brokers, comparable to broker-related recruitment of children in Haiti for Port-au-Prince households. We encountered no evidence that ethnically Dominican brokers or traffickers participate in these inter-Haitian arrangements, except to facilitate the travel of illicit migrants within the Dominican Republic.

International adoptions in the DR. Some informants in the DR mentioned a "child selling" practice deemed barbaric. A Dominican woman made the following comment regarding money exchanged in international adoptions:

*I've heard it mentioned. And Dominicans have done it too. I haven't seen it but people have told me about it. In the DR there hasn't been much of that. But you hear it mentioned. The parents who buy the child come and take him to another country. And you never see him again. Because if those people are mean, they'll never show him to you. Especially if they laid out their own money. A child like that, they'll never let his family see him again. A good human being will always take the child back to see his mother.*⁴⁰

The barbaric practice in question is of course the practice of foreign couples paying money to an agency to adopt a Dominican child and bringing the child back to their own country – i.e. the conventional international adoption procedure. The woman mentions it as though it were a savage practice that treats the child like a commercial object and

⁴⁰ "Yo lo he oído mencionar. Y dominicano' lo han hecho también. No lo he visto pero me lo han dicho. En el dominicano se ha vi'to poco eso. Pero también se oye mencionar. Lo' padre que compran el niño se lo llevan p' afuera. Y uno no lo ve ma. Porque sí esa gente e' mala no se lo enseña. Y máximamente si fué que dió su dinero, porque ese niño así no lo van a poner que su gente lo vean. Una gente buena siempre se lo lleva a su mamá."

separates him permanently from his parents. If such an exchange of money between the recipient of the child and the supplier of the child constitutes trafficking in children, then professionals concerned with child trafficking will find more fodder for their mission in the analysis of international adoption circuits than in the traditional child placement customs of Dominican or Haitian parents.

CHAPTER VII CANE FIELDS AND RESIDENTIAL BATEYES

SYMBIOSIS OF SUGAR AND SMUGGLING

There are well organized, dedicated smuggling circuits that supply Haitian labor to Dominican sugar cane fields. The Dominican sugar industry is in fact highly dependent on illegal imported labor including child laborers, and on the smugglers who assure the recruitment and passage of Haitian migrants.

Historical background. The destiny of Haitian migrants has been heavily influenced by the withdrawal of Dominican and Haitian governments from the organized supply of Haitian labor to Dominican sugar fields. During the era of government regulation of labor flow under Trujillo and Balaguer, and on the Haitian side under the Duvaliers, there was little smuggling of workers. The Haitian government recruited and transported young men to the border. Workers spent several months in Dominican cane fields and returned home at the end of the harvest.

Emergence of smuggling. With the disappearance of the Duvaliers, the regulated flow of labor ceased. The entire sugar industry, from the mills to the laborers, then resorted to cross-border human smuggling. Dominican mill owners and potential Haitian workers found themselves at the mercy of two types of profit-oriented and frequently unsavory actors: (1) the cross-border smuggler and trafficker in persons, and (2) the armed uniformed soldier whose permission and greased palm facilitated the illegal movement of labor across the border.

The vast majority of smugglers are Haitian. The vast majority of the intervening soldiery is Dominican since the Haitian border police and military presence virtually disappeared with the overthrow of Duvalier in 1986. Dominicans and Haitians now take for granted the inter-dependence of the Dominican sugar industry and illegal smuggling of labor. For example, the Central Sugar Consortium, the Guatemalan-led investment group presently in charge of the Barahona sugar mill, requires the labor of about 1,200 workers in the cane each year. These workers are all Haitians, many of them recent migrants.

THE MIGRANTS

An excellent study of sugar cane cutters on the *bateyes* of Barahona was done under the auspices of Plataforma Vida and GARR, and under the supervision of Fr. Pierre Ruquoy, CICM, a Missionhurst priest from Belgium who lives and works in the Barahona *bateyes*. The study, *Tras las Huellas de los Braceros*, published in 2002, is based on a survey of 815 sugar cane cutters in the *bateyes* of Barahona.⁴¹

Place of origin. The Barahona *bateyes* draw Haitians from all over the country. Only about half of the migrants are from southern Haiti. We interviewed several from Ile de laTortue and Port de Paix on Haiti's northern coast. The entire sugar industry of the Dominican Republic, including those of the north coast, is serviced largely by the flow of

⁴¹ Many written documents mention the residential *bateyes* associated with cane fields. The earliest multidisciplinary study of the *batey* is the study by Moya Pons *et al* (1986).

Haitian workers that enter the country in the region of Barahona. These southern circuits are the oldest in the country. The northern smuggling circuits that supply Haitians to the area of Santiago are much more recent and apparently handle only a fraction of the flow sustained by the southern circuits, especially for the recruitment of cane cutters.

Age of migrants. According to the Barahona survey, three percent of Haitian cane cutters were between the ages of 10 and 15. The next age group was the 16-to-25 cohort that accounted for 34 percent of the cane cutters. The important cutoff point in TIP studies is the age of 18. Extrapolating from the 16-to-25 cohort along with the age 10-to-15 cohort, we can estimate that roughly one out of every ten Haitian workers in the cane is under age 18. This means that the circuits pumping Haitian labor to the Dominican sugar industry include an annual flow of illegally smuggled Haitian children. There's no evidence that smugglers specifically target children for the cane harvest, but children do enter the flow.

Gender. All the cane cutters interviewed in the survey were male. Women also join groups crossing into the Dominican Republic from the Haitian Massif de la Selle, but they are a minority.

Occupational background. In the Barahona survey, eight out of ten migrants claimed agriculture as their occupation back in Haiti. One out of ten were masons, a skill that will almost certainly earn them eventual freedom from the sugar cane fields to work in the better paying construction industry. There were also teachers, students, and other occupations represented in the survey sample. This latter group included cases of deceitful recruitment, one of the criteria for trafficking. We interviewed Haitian workers in the *bateyes* who did not have an agrarian background and who stated that smugglers recruited them without indicating that they were destined to cut cane.

Education. Six out of ten surveyed had never been to school and admitted being unable to read or write.

Reasons for coming. Economic reasons were, as might be expected, the dominant stated motive for crossing the border. Many answers indicated the temporary nature of commitment to the cane fields. Several respondents indicated that they needed funds to send their children to school in Haiti. Others needed money to get married in Haiti or to fund other personal projects back home. Some respondents left Haiti due to economic crisis – crop failure, the theft of livestock, or business debt. Others fled political turbulence, and still others were trying to locate kin who had come earlier. This latter motive is particularly interesting.

The major predictor of whether a Haitian will “make it” in the DR, i.e., escape from the cane fields into an economically more comfortable niche, is the presence of a kin support network already present in the DR. Those who have kin or at least friends from their hometown stand a good chance of breaking out of the cane fields. Those who do not may have to spend much of their lives cutting cane. We interviewed Haitians who had broken out of the cane fields into construction or tourism. They talked patronizingly of their fellow Haitians who were foolish or unimaginative enough to spend their lives in the cane.

Short term goals. Life in the cane fields is rarely viewed as a full time career. It is either a stepping stone back to a more solid economic situation in Haiti, or for others a stepping stone to more highly paid work in the construction industry, the tourist sector, or as a night watchman – niches in which Haitian males have been playing an increasingly prominent role.

Experience in cane. Two out of three workers in the cane had also cut cane in earlier year. Some claimed to have been in the cane fields since the 1950's. One out of every three were experiencing their first season in the cane fields. Whatever the short-term nature of the initial work, there are Haitians who end up spending most of their lives in the cane fields. We can assume that most of those working in the fields for many years have set up long term residence in the *bateyes* rather than coming across annually to cut cane

THE SMUGGLERS

Different terms for a Haitian smuggler appear in the literature.⁴² The most common word encountered in the Dominican Republic is *boukoug*, a Creole rendering of the Dominican Spanish term *buscón*, somebody who “searches.”⁴³ In Dominican Spanish, this refers to a generic type of actor involved in all sorts of facilitating activities. The Dominican *buscón* searches out agricultural produce for intermediaries, helps people accelerate the process of getting a driver’s licence or a passport, and helps a businessman clear his merchandise through customs more quickly and more cheaply. In the present report, the *boukoug* is the agent, almost always Haitian, who recruits other Haitians to undertake a clandestine journey to the DR.

Two types of *boukoug*. Two major subcategories of *boukoug* emerged during research on the Dominican side of the border: (1) the *smuggling boukoug* and (2) the *labor-recruiting boukoug*. The *smuggling boukoug* brings people across the border and drops them off as agreed. He may then leave them on their own or pass them on to another *boukoug*.

The *labor-recruiting boukoug* is the agent of an employer in the DR, in this case sugar mills. Potential Dominican employers send out their own *buscones* to areas of the DR known as drop-off points for employment-seeking Haitians who have just crossed the border.

The cross-border *smuggling boukoug* derives his income from recruiting prospective laborers, charging them a fee to bring them across the border. In contrast, the *labor-recruiting boukoug* is paid by the company seeking to recruit laborers. The *smuggling boukoug* operates in both countries and crosses the border. The *labor-recruiting boukoug* may cross the border but more typically operates only within the DR.

The *smuggling boukoug* and the *bya*. To maximize his income, the *smuggling boukoug* rarely if ever crosses the border with only one or two people. The ordinary

⁴² See the discussion of lexicon in the section on Migrants and Smugglers in Chapter IV.

⁴³ The pre-consonantal “s” in Dominican Spanish often disappears, and the word’s final “n” is a velar nasal rather than an alveolar nasal (i.e. the “ng” as pronounced in “wrong” rather than the “n” in “Ron”). The result is the Creole word *boukoug* derived from *buscón*.

mode is for the *boukong* to organize a *bya*, a creolized form of the Spanish word *viaje* (“trip”). The term *bya* has taken on the specialized meaning of a smuggling trip, generally including some travel by motor vehicle. In the area of Barahona, the *bya* also includes a nocturnal border crossing on foot through forested border regions where the Haitian border juts furthest eastward into the DR. Because of the perilous and exhausting nocturnal foot journey, and the need to slip unseen past Dominican border guards, a border-crossing *bya* generally has fewer than a dozen people.⁴⁴ On the other hand, within the Dominican Republic, fully motorized labor-recruiting *bya* can easily have 80 or 100 people.

Different fee regimes. The smuggling *boukong* charges a fee, payable in advance in Haitian money, to Haitians who want to come over. The fee covers the services of the *boukong*, vehicle transport costs to the vicinity of the clandestine crossover point, a meal at the point of arrival, and, at least in principle, any pre-arranged payoffs with Dominican military personnel. Firsthand accounts indicate that not all *boukong* have pre-established agreements with Dominican border guards, and there are moments of tension when crossing the border.

The in-country labor recruiting *boukong* derives his income from per-capita fees paid to him by the company. When the migrants arrive at their drop-off point in the DR, they are often left on their own. In some instances, the smuggling *boukong* “sells them” to an in-country labor-recruiting *boukong*. Although the smuggler has already collected his fees from his own customers, he will often attempt to augment his income by charging the labor-recruiter an additional per-capita commission for the Haitians whom he delivers for work in the cane fields. An experienced labor-recruiter will turn him down. If the cross-border smuggler has an attractively large quantity of migrants, and if there are competing in-country labor-recruiters, the latter may offer the smuggling *boukong* an economic incentive to “sell” his laborers to them. It will usually be a bonus of RD\$1,000 (pesos) or RD\$2,000.

The timing of the *bya* – synchronized to sugar harvest. Haitians are now smuggled across the border at all times of the year, but the heaviest volume of crossing is still directly related to the Dominican sugar cane economy. The sugar mills in the east (e.g., La Romana, Boca Chica, Consuelo) and north (Puerto Plata) all depend on rainfall. Therefore, the *zafra* begins in November or December. Because of the aridity of the Barahona area, the American company that established large-scale sugar production in the early twentieth century dug irrigation canals. Therefore, the harvesting of Barahona cane begins in Spring rather than Winter.

The southerly Puerto Escondido trajectory is the major supplier for the eastern and northern mills as well as Barahona. So there is a fairly constant smuggling of young Haitians through this gateway all year. Those crossing in Fall or Winter are sent to the eastern or Puerto Plata (northern) sugar mills. Those crossing in Spring are directed to the Barahona *bateyes*. Of the 680 cane cutters interviewed in the Ruquoy study (2001), 22 percent came in March, 35 percent in April, and 33 percent in May.)

⁴⁴ Fieldwork in northern Haiti also documented the use of small *bya* groups, but some northern *bya* are as large as two dozen people according to interviews with northern *boukong* and migrants.

Geographic affinity of *bya* companions. In most cases, the members of border crossing *bya* are from the same general region of Haiti. This is due to the mechanics of labor recruitment. The *boukong* tends to seek clients in his home region where he has pre-existing kinship and social networks. The *boukong* may also extend his geographic reach and customer base by commissioning other people in his region to recruit members for his *bya*.

The launching of a typical *bya*. In a common scenario described by several Haitians in Barahona *bateyes*, the *bya* is announced for a particular date, town, and address. The *boukong* meets there with those he has personally recruited and also with others brought by his own recruiting agents. The recruiting agents drop off the customers, collect their pre-arranged per capita fee from the *boukong*, and withdraw.

Some young men interviewed in Barahona came from northern Haiti, one as far away as Ile de la Tortue. The meeting place for the initiation of the *bya* was in Gonaives,. The *bya* members arrived with a light suitcase, changes of clothing, good walking shoes, a portable supply of bread and other light snacks, and the agreed on sum for the *boukong*. Upon reaching the meeting place, the travelers paid the *boukong* his fee up front. The entire group traveled by bus or truck to Port-au-Prince, then transferred to other vehicles going to a border town. From there, the journey to the border continued on foot.

The Dominican *chèf* – the most dangerous stage of *bya* travel. *Chèf* is the Creole term for soldier, policeman, or other armed and uniformed agent. Since the departure of Duvalier, the Haitian government presence on the border has virtually disappeared except in formal crossing areas. Therefore, the only uniformed agent that the smuggler and his group may encounter on the border is the Dominican *chef*.

The most dangerous stage of border-crossing occurs when approaching Dominican military outposts. The soldiers have automatic rifles and dogs whose barking signals that the *bya* is approaching a dangerous moment. If the *boukong* has made preliminary pay arrangements with the soldiers, the group will be waved by. In smaller *bya* composed of people from distant parts of Haiti, the *boukong* is unlikely to make preliminary deals with Dominican guards. Such groups must slip by clandestinely. If the *bya* is captured by soldiers, its members will be stripped of any remaining money and attractive clothes. Those with sturdy walking shoes are likely to have them traded for broken sandals. They are then waved on into the DR rather than sent back to Haiti.

The most heavily traveled route. The foot journey in the southern tier of the border may pass through high mountains of the Massif de la Selle. There are many entry points into the DR, but one of the most heavily traveled circuits passes near the border post of El Aguacate. The smuggler and his clients generally pass within a few kilometers of the post. Many choose to pass at night to avoid being seen by the guards.

The final destination mentioned by several informants, and the drop-off point at which the *boukong* has liquidated his responsibilities and leaves his customers, is the town Haitians call Polkond, the Dominican town of Puerto Escondido, "Hidden Port." It is located some 10 kilometers due east of the border post at El Aguacate. Another important drop-off point is the town of Polo, around 40 kilometers southwest of Puerto Escondido. It is another reception center for those who have just crossed the border.

In looking at Haiti as a whole, the southern routes are the oldest and most heavily used crossing points for human smuggling. It is likely that the El Aguacate/Puerto Escondido trajectory channels more Haitians across the border than any other route.

Different crossing points. Aside from Puerto Escondido, there are other southerly border crossings and other modes of passage.⁴⁵ The survey data from Barahona *bateyes* identifies nine points of passage in this southern region. In order of volume they are Puerto Escondido (39%), Fond Verrettes (17%), Limón (13%), Anse-à-Pitre (8%), Elias Piña (6%), Cacique (5%), Jimaní (4%), and other places (9%). Perhaps not surprisingly, Jimani, the primary official crossing point in the region, is the one least used by smugglers of persons. Sites that are the least accessible to vehicles and Dominican authorities are the ones most used by smugglers.

To cut cane or not to cut cane. Having crossed the border on foot in small groups, the travelers must now reach a *batey*. Why a *batey*? Most who have come this far, if asked, would much rather find a job in the construction industry or any other sector than sugar cane, the most poorly paid sector of all. When they are safely in Puerto Escondido, and have recovered from the trauma of the crossing (several reported being terrified and depressed by the experience), they are technically free to go wherever they want. They are on Dominican soil. The smuggling *boukong* will have said goodbye and returned to Haiti. There is no authority controlling the movements of the new arrivals. In theory they are free.

In practice, however, they are generally terrified, particularly if this was their first trip. They may speak little or no Spanish. They have no documents. They may have no contacts in country. There are a string of checkpoints on the roads in this heavily Haitianized part of the country manned by soldiers who stop any car with black passengers and demand to see ID cards. The goal is to capture and shake down or deport undocumented Haitians. The “free man” is actually an endangered prisoner in an alien, hostile environment unless he has a friend or relative waiting for him at the dropoff point, a contact who will whisk him away from the sugar cane area and set him up in more pleasant circumstances. Otherwise, he must go along with the cane-cutting crowd and hope to find a place with that crowd on some *batey*

Being critically examined by the labor-recruiter. The smuggling *boukong* may turn labor migrants over to another labor-recruiting *boukong* on the Dominican side. The function of the labor-recruiting *boukong* is to truck individuals from their reception point to the *batey* where they will work. To be cost effective for the labor-recruiter, the *bya* from reception point to *batey* may have 80 to 100 people in one group.

The new *boukong* will thoroughly look over a new prospective worker and pay particular attention to his hands to see if they are hardened from labor in the fields. By careful examination, a skilled labor-recruiting *boukong* can tell the difference between someone with rough hands who will cut cane, and someone who has never held a machete and will run off at the first opportunity.

The next dangerous stage of passage – military checkpoints. When the labor-recruiter has his complement of cane cutters, he will phone his company and have them

⁴⁵ See the section on The Border in Chapter IV, including description of northern as well as southern routes.

send a truck. We were told by a labor-recruiting *boukong* that there is no charge to the cane cutter; however, others said there was often an additional charge for this last leg of the journey.

This stage of travel is not as strenuous as crossing the border but it can be just as stressful. One hundred men may be packed into a truck designed for 50. If they are going to nearby *bateyes* of Barahona, the trip will last an hour or two. If they are going to more distant *bateyes* in the east, the trip can last a day. It is not only the sardine-like packing but also the danger of being stopped at military checkpoints, then being identified as illegal and deported. The labor-recruiter will have made some arrangements with military personnel to facilitate travel, but there are many checkpoints and many uniformed palms to be greased. The greasing must be done by the *boukong*, not by the now impoverished migrants. To minimize military detection, the migrants may make the whole trip crouched under a tarpaulin.

MAJOR FORMS OF ABUSE ON THE BATEYES

There are numerous abusive conditions that can be identified and possibly rectified.

PROBLEMS WITH PAY

Low pay. The major problems concern payment for work on the *bateyes*. By far the most important problem concerns the level of pay. The daily wage for higher level employees who do more skilled tasks is RD\$118 per day, which at the current exchange rate is about US\$2.40. Cane cutters, however, are paid by the quantity of cane cut rather than by the day. The unit of measure is a quantity of cane called the *bocado*, the amount that one of the forks can lift. Cane cutters are paid 10 pesos per *bocao*. With superhuman effort, a skilled cutter could cut 10 *bocao*, the equivalent of about two US dollars. Others may do only half that amount.

The study of Barahona *bateyes* noted earlier found that two out of every three cane cutters averaged 40 pesos a day, or eighty American cents at current exchange rates. That is about \$25.00 U.S. dollars a month. As a point of comparison, the ordinary cane cutter may earn less than half of what a domestic servant earns in a Dominican home in Santo Domingo, while working an exhausting 6:00 AM to late afternoon workday.

No verification of the amount of cane cut. The above rate of pay would be the amount earned if the money actually corresponded to the amount of cane cut. There are no scales in the fields, and local foremen have full discretion to guess how much cane a person cuts. There are angry complaints that migrant cane cutters do not receive full credit for the amount of cane that they actually cut.

Cheating on the pay. The final straw comes when a man approaches the pay window and finds that somebody else has collected his pay. Every knowledgeable person is fully aware that migrant Haitian cane cutters are systematically cheated. The prevailing system of underpaying cane cutters – illegal workers who are subject to deportation at every turn, is highly deceptive in the way it operates and appears to fit the criteria for trafficking. In any case, problems with pay constitute a systematic pattern of abuse of Haitian cane cutters.

SUBSTANDARD LIVING CONDITIONS

The living conditions of migrant cane cutters are abominable and shocking, even to anthropologists used to the poverty of Haiti.

Crowding. The migrants are housed in *barracones*, long structures containing two rows of rooms with ten rooms on each row. Four bunk beds are placed in each of the small windowless rooms. When filled to capacity, the *barracón* houses over 150 men.

No water, electricity, or toilets. There are no water, electricity, or toilet facilities on the typical *barracón*. Men wash in the irrigation canals and relieve themselves in the fields.

No cooking facilities. Each man cooks his own food with firewood or charcoal. If it rains, the charcoal grill must be put inside the room itself. There are rumors that some men cook inside, rather than outside on the patio, to avoid social pressure to share food with the other 149 men in the *barracón*.

No medical care. There are no adequate medical facilities for the workers. For serious illnesses a man may be taken to the hospital in Barahona. Ordinary work injuries go untreated.

Nobody is legally responsible. Despite the inhumanity of these living conditions, no legal entity or governing body claims any responsibility. The mill in Barahona has long passed from public to private hands. The investors now managing the mill refused to take over the *bateyes*. They wanted no responsibility for the living conditions of workers. Nobody is therefore technically responsible for the improvement of living conditions on the *bateyes*.

SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OF HAITIAN WOMEN AND GIRLS

Several interviews unearthed possible sexual entrapment and exploitation of young Haitian women on the *bateyes*. Three situations were described:

1. **Women removed from their husbands by *vyewo*.** The rare Haitian women who come to the *barracones* of the *bateyes* generally arrive with their spouses. If the woman is attractive, the newly arrived and impoverished *kongo* husband may lose her to a higher status Dominican-Haitian *batey* resident, often a store or bar owner. When the new partner tires of her, he may “rent her out” to customers.
2. **Women locked in *barracones* or in rooms.** Haitian women are reportedly brought by a Haitian pimp to sexually service the residents of the virtually all-male *barracones*.
3. **Dominico-Haitian girls explicitly solicited by Dominicans.** There are highly credible reports of a pattern of “sexual slumming” in which Dominican males with motor vehicles seek out “filete” – tender meat – in the form of young, preferably virgin Haitian girls on the *bateyes*. The principal occasions for these adventures are festivals of *nueve días*, festive celebrations that occur nine days after a funeral. On these occasions, young girls from cities and towns briefly congregate in their home *bateyes*. In response, the roadside is filled with Dominican cars

whose male occupants dangle much needed money in front of penniless young girls whose parents cannot afford to buy them the shoes and clothes that better off girls of their age wear. In field interviews, Haitian males reported with anger and shame of the humiliating frequency with which their daughters, nieces, and young neighbors succumb to these enticements and sell sexual services to Dominicans.

PROBLEMS CREATED BY THE ILLEGALITY OF THE WHOLE SYSTEM

The preceding section takes note of a series of specific problems; however, there is an overriding structural problem in Dominican cane fields and residential quarters. Many Haitians, Dominicans, and outside observers have become so accustomed to these conditions as to view them as normal. The underlying problem is an industry that is structurally dependent on illegal smuggling for its entire menial workforce. This level of dependence on illegality may be unique in the world.

The U.S. has migrant workers and Europe its guest workers, but the comings, goings, work routines and wage levels of these workers are generally governed by law. In contrast, the Dominican sugar industry relies entirely on an illegal work force. The illegality of their situation creates intolerable conditions for the workers.

Dangerous passage in the mountains. Workers are in the strange and intolerable position of having to undergo a dangerous trip through the Pine Forest for the privilege of working 10 hours a day at \$25 USD a month. They do so “voluntarily” because they have few or no other economic options due the poverty of their own country.

Vulnerable to abuse by Dominican soldiers. The Dominican sugar industry depends on an imported workforce that has to dodge armed soldiers and their dogs to gain access to the workplace. Illegality and abuse by soldiers are defining elements of the workforce yet cross-border travel is generally done with the full connivance of Dominican military authorities. In fact, uniformed Dominican border guards are active participants in this process and would not be punished if caught.

Vulnerable to abuse by *boukong*. The Dominican sugar industry functions on the basis of a workforce that is openly illegal and depends on smugglers and traffickers. Smugglers make a living by providing valued services to an industry in one country and to a workforce drawn from another country; however, the illegality and physical dangers of cross-border travel render Haitian migrants, especially minors, vulnerable to smuggler abuse.

THE QUESTION OF TRAFFICKING

The use of deception in labor recruitment. We came across instances of smuggling that entailed apparent deception on the part of smugglers. For example, we interviewed young urban Haitian high school graduates on Dominican *bateyes* who had never wielded a hoe. They were recruited by a smuggling agent who stated that with their skills they would find well paying clerical jobs in the DR. They were shocked to find themselves dumped in a *barracón*, given a machete, and told to go to the cane fields if they expected to eat.

Most cross-border smuggling of Haitian cane workers does not entail such deceit. Furthermore, many Haitians initially dumped off in *bateyes* have later succeeded in getting more attractive jobs away from the *batey*, often in the construction or tourist industry. We can provisionally conclude that there is widespread smuggling of Haitians to Dominican sugar cane fields, and in some cases the level of deceit may justify the label of trafficking.

Absence of coercive labor mechanisms. We found no currently operative coercive mechanisms for forcing Haitians to stay on the cane fields once they arrive. There were credible reports of coercive enforcement of Haitian cane-cutter work schedules under previous governments, particularly during the era of Trujillo. Cane cutters and other credible sources report that these coercive mechanisms no longer exist.

On the other hand, during the *redadas* – periodic roundups and forced repatriation of Haitians that regularly occur, the people rounded up are on occasion sent to sugar fields rather than to the border. This is undoubtedly a form of coercion; however, such workers rarely stay for more than a few days before slipping away, and they are paid a salary while there.

Is there trafficking in cross-border sugar cane labor? In some respects, the conditions described in this chapter may not technically qualify as trafficking. Haitian migrant workers knowingly cross the border illegally and they do so voluntarily. Furthermore, most workers in the cane are not brought to the DR under false pretenses, and they are technically free to leave the work site. In the present era, there are no armed guards to prevent Haitian workers from walking off and searching for employment elsewhere.

Nevertheless, the cane workers are categorically illegal. The underlying illegality of the workforce renders it docile and without recourse. The Dominican practice of openly tolerating smuggling and actively recruiting illegal workers, and doing so on a massive scale, has created working conditions that are severely abusive. This may constitute one of the poorest and most dehumanizing situations that can be found in any sector of our entire species. These conditions affect adults, almost entirely men, and a subset of cane workers who are underage, including children as young as age 10 – perhaps 10 percent of the workforce in Barahona cane fields.

In short, an entire industry is structurally dependent on smuggling and illegal workers. It is a system defined by institutionalized deception and unbridled hypocrisy. Workers including minors are freely employed though highly vulnerable to wage fraud, arbitrary deportation, and the loss of their savings via outright theft by public officials. These conditions may not qualify as severe trafficking, but they are perhaps its equivalent in view of the severity of abuse.

CHAPTER VIII

OTHER SECTORS USING HAITIAN LABOR

The primary sectors of interest for child labor in the Dominican Republic are the placement of children in other households away from home and the employment of Haitian laborers to cut cane. For the cane harvest, minors are in fact a subset of primarily young adult laborers. There are other sectors where under-age laborers play a role including the following: agricultural work on small farms, the harvest of green peppers on large holdings in the north, unskilled labor in urban construction, and children working the streets through activities such as begging, shining shoes, ambulatory commerce (peddling), unloading and carrying merchandise, especially in border markets, and the sex trade.

HAITIANS IN THE FIELDS OF DOMINICAN FARMERS

Relative decline of household labor on small peasant farms. The use of unpaid child labor is a standard feature on small farms throughout the world. In both Haiti and the Dominican Republic child agricultural labor is an important element of the traditional family structure, but the relative importance of agrarian child labor is tending to decline in both countries.

Shift into a wage-based labor. To meet their labor needs during peak agricultural seasons, smallholders have long relied heavily on outside exchange labor arrangements to supplement family labor. Farmers with sufficient income have also come to depend more and more on wage labor arrangements, especially in the Dominican Republic.

Shift into the use of Haitian adult labor. In general, Dominican farmers have now shifted away from hiring Dominicans to hiring Haitian agricultural workers. Haitians generally work for lower wages than Dominicans. In some areas, Haitians have reportedly become so crucial to local agrarian labor markets that they can command the going rate of pay. Both Dominican and Haitian farmers report that Haitians work harder than Dominican field hands and work for lower wages. In near border areas, Haitians perform nearly all of the field labor required on Dominican farms. On large northern holdings, there is high demand for Haitian field laborers to harvest sweet peppers. Overall, there are few regions where Haitian agricultural laborers are not present at least on a seasonal basis.

Subtypes of labor arrangements. On large pepper plantations, workers are paid by the volume of produce they harvest. On small Dominican farms, the two primary modes of payment are payment (1) by the day and (2) by the task. We also documented two prevailing contractual modes: the direct hiring of individuals, and the hiring of an entire labor team managed by one of the laborers who serves as labor contractor or team leader.

Preferential mode for hiring Haitians. When Dominican farmers hire Dominican workers, they use daily wage labor arrangements. When they hire Haitian agricultural workers, they tend to avoid one-on-one dealings with Haitian laborers. Instead, they hire labor groups paid by the task. In such cases, a Spanish-fluent organizer enters into an

agreement with a Dominican farmer to carry out a specified task at a fixed price. This Haitian organizer then recruits a number of Haitian workers and subcontracts the work on a task basis. The Dominican landowner deals only with the Haitian team leader. The other laborers are an anonymous work team that has no direct interaction with the landowner. The landowner pays the group leader who in turn pays individual laborers.

Though the group mode is used for peak labor needs, individual Haitians may also establish ongoing, seasonal work relations with specific Dominican landowners. Even in this individual mode, the task-rate mode of payment is more common than daily wage labor.

Openings for fraud: the deadbeat landowner. The illegal and undocumented status of the Haitian workers leaves them vulnerable to non-payment by the Dominican landowner. Undocumented Haitians have no legal recourse if the landowner refuses to pay; however, Dominican farmers who refuse to pay are vulnerable to sabotage and thievery. Livestock theft occurs in border areas even in the absence of mistreatment. A landowner who reneges on payment risks being targeted for theft or other clandestine reprisals. Dominican farmers in border areas now commonly carry shotguns when going to the field, and criticize fellow Dominican farmers who renege on labor agreements with Haitian workers, calling them *abusadores*, abusers of their workers. Such non-payment occasionally occurs with Haitian workers but virtually never with Dominican laborers.

Beware the Haitian team leader. Some comments indicate that Haitian workers are more likely to fear abuse from their own Haitian group leaders than from Dominican landowners. Dominican farmers reported that Haitian team leaders sometimes ask that labor rates be kept a secret. Armed with such secrecy, the Haitian organizer can then give a lower rate to his workers and pocket the difference.

Dominican farmers and Haitian child laborers. Dominican farmers emphatically denied that Haitian children were systematically recruited for field labor. Some Dominican farmers have reportedly been heavily fined if caught with Dominican children working in their fields. Haitian street children claimed to know cases where Haitian children did work for Dominican farmers – moving animals from pasture to pasture or to watering spot was an example cited – without receiving recompense. Nevertheless, field interviews and observations showed no evidence that Haitian children are systematically recruited for agrarian labor gangs on Dominican farms.

Haitian adults and Haitian child laborers. Haitian children working on Dominican farms are commonly brought there by adult Haitian caretakers contracted to supply labor for task-based contract. Therefore, the prevalence of the task-rate rather than a day-rate payment system for hiring Haitians opens the door to child labor. Since the task-mode leaves the timing of the work up to the Haitian worker, he may bring his wife or children to perform less arduous tasks and accelerate the work. Dominican farmers are under some pressure to avoid open violation of laws against child labor that are now occasionally enforced, but the danger of detection is greater on fields abutting main vehicular roads.

While travelling along the Dominican side of the border, we encountered young Haitian children employed by Haitian gardeners working Dominican land. Other local children told us in a somewhat critical tone that these children were not in school. Since

schooling was not as prevalent on the Haitian side of the border, the use of unschooled Haitian children for agricultural work was not surprising, but it was considered a deviation from the Dominican norm.

The reduced role of the smuggler. We found little evidence of organized cross-border smuggling circuits supplying Haitian labor to the Dominican agrarian sector except for the harvest of cane and perhaps for the harvest of coffee in the Barahona area. Dominican farmers do not appear to use the services of *buscones* to recruit Haitian field hands. Instead, Haitians living in Dominican Republic or near the border take direct initiative to seek work on Dominican farms. For example, we observed long processions of machete-wielding Haitians leaving Barahona *bateyes* at dawn to seek work from Dominican farmers along the road to Tamayo.

HAITIANS MALES IN THE DOMINICAN CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY

The desired urban milieu. Interviews on Dominican *bateyes* indicate that labor smugglers recruit unemployed Haitian city-dwellers as well as rural workers to cut cane. Such workers may use cane cutting as a stepping-stone to better paid work in Dominican cities.

The construction industry. A combination of accelerated rural exodus, rapid urbanization, heavy influx of overseas remittances destined for construction, and reportedly an influx of to-be-laundered drug money has produced several decades of feverish urban building in the Dominican Republic. Undocumented Haitians now dominate the lower, menial labor echelons of the urban construction industry almost as firmly as they have traditionally dominated the harvest of sugar cane. The construction industry is to urban Haitians what the cane fields are to rural Haitians.

Desirability of construction jobs. It is more difficult to land a construction job than to find work cutting cane. Healthy adult male Haitians are unlikely to be denied a job in a Dominican cane field; however, Haitians are commonly denied jobs in the construction industry since applicants far outnumber positions available. There may be more Haitians working in construction than cane fields. The enthusiasm for construction jobs contrasts sharply with the reluctance to work in the cane fields, particularly after the migrant has had a first hand view of the *bateyes* and the *barracones*. A beginning laborer in construction can easily earn double the daily rate of a cane cutter, and the daily wage is guaranteed rather than being dependent as in cane on the amount of backbreaking work actually done.

The need for a network. Haitian migrants without connections can walk into a *batey*, find a place to live, and work in the cane fields – indeed may have no other option. An aspirant to an urban construction job, however, generally needs preliminary kinship connections for living arrangements. For job hunting he will need connections or convincing prior experience in more skilled jobs such as bricklaying.

Limited role for women. Women's participation in the construction industry is limited to secretarial work, roles that are allocated to Dominican women. The major niche potentially open to Haitian women is food vending at construction sites. The standard arrangement is for a construction site to permit one woman, as an independent entrepreneur, to enter the site and prepare noontime meals for the entire work crew. A

standard price is charged for the meals, and the women extend credit to Haitian workers until payday.

Credit arrangements and the withholding of wages. Many lower level construction workers, perhaps a majority, live *friendo y comiendo*, in Dominican terminology -- “frying and eating”, i.e., from hand to mouth. They need credit to carry them from one pay period to another. There are few Haitian *colmado* (corner store) owners in the Dominican Republic, and there are, we suspect, few Dominican *colmado* owners who would give credit to Haitians as freely as they give to Dominican customers. Haitian construction workers buy food on credit at construction sites, but for other needs they have to borrow money.

An important source of this credit is the work supervisor. They do not advance the worker money but rather lend the money, ostensibly from their personal funds. For most such lenders, this is reportedly a source of income based on interest rates that are 20 percent of the sum loaned. Payrolls are often delayed by a week or more. Some delays are allegedly engineered by supervisor/loansharks to force workers into deeper debt.

The timed expulsion. A construction company or boss sometimes allows several weeks of payroll delay to build up and then avoid payroll payment altogether by coordinating with the military to round up and expel Haitian workers. Such raids may be an emergency cost saving measure for companies with economic difficulties. It is made possible by the illegal status of undocumented Haitian workers. It is not clear how often such abusive round ups are actually carried out, but they occur with enough frequency to have entered local construction-worker folklore.

Absence of Haitian children. The construction industry is based on a daily rate rather than group labor arrangements as described earlier for agriculture. Any construction site using child labor stands a high risk of receiving a fine. Children are therefore absent from the construction industry except insofar as a 16 or 17 year-old might be hired as a young adult.

The limited role of the human smuggler in the Dominican construction industry. Some Haitian *boukang* use their personal networks to find jobs for Haitian migrants in the construction industry, a job placement service in exchange for a fee paid by the prospective worker. Unlike the sugar industry, the Dominican construction industry is not dependent on cross-border recruiting networks. It finds ample supplies of Haitian labor among Haitians present in the Dominican Republic and already moderately conversant in Spanish. Technically, however, the smuggler does play a facilitating role since most undocumented construction workers entered the country with the help of smugglers.

HAITIANS IN THE DOMINICAN SEX TRADE.

Deceptive or coercive sex trafficking has become a matter of public discussion in the mass media of the Dominican Republic. In the course of the research we interviewed women in three different subsectors of the sex trade in the Dominican Republic.

- (1) Sex workers servicing a working class Dominican clientele (Santiago and Dajabon).
- (2) Sex workers servicing the tourist trade in Boca Chica.

- (3) Sex workers in more expensive, restricted-access houses of prostitution called *salones de masaje*, massage parlors (Santo Domingo and Boca Chica).

Our goal was to garner preliminary impressions on the general role of Haitian women in this sex trade and to explore rumors of the trafficking in Haitian minors. This is a time consuming sector for field research, and more in-depth information would require follow-up research devoted specifically to this sector.

A Haitian majority in the streets. Haitian women outnumbered Dominican women by at least two to one among those observed seeking customers on the streets in Santiago, Dajabón, and Boca Chica. We found little open sidewalk solicitation by either Dominican or Haitian women near the seaside hotels in Santo Domingo. The government has cracked down and the sex trade flourishes in Santo Domingo but has apparently been largely driven indoors. Where sidewalk solicitation occurs outside the capital, Haitian women have apparently come to dominate the trade. This conclusion is based on direct observation as well as field interviews. Dominican sex workers complained of the willingness of Haitian women to sell their services for 100 pesos (\$2 dollars). This fee was verified as the minimum fee by Haitian women interviewed, though they also insisted that they asked for higher prices -- 300 or 400 pesos (6 to 8 US dollars) for a brief encounter or about 25 percent more to spend the night.

Tourist police. More stringent regulations have been implemented, particularly in tourist centers such as Boca Chica where there are Tourist Police empowered to arrest and fine women openly offering sexual services on the streets. As a result, the street trade has to be done discreetly. Women may walk alone or in small groups but may not stop or stand on street corners or in parks without risk of confrontation with authorities. The Haitian women, almost all of them undocumented, are more vulnerable to sanctions than Dominican women. The Haitians can be deported.

Bars and discothèques. Haitian women in tourist centers appeared more at ease in bars and discothèques where contact with clients is more easily made without fear of tourist police intervention. The women are welcomed in such bars as long as they buy an occasional drink or are with males who buy drinks. Unlike the massage parlor that has rooms on site, the women who recruit customers in a bar or discothèque accompany the client to his hotel or more rarely to their own rooms. The sex trade in bars and discothèques is lower profile than the trade on the sidewalks, and Haitian women are found there in abundance.

Massage parlors. A much more elegant and expensive variant of the sex trade is the massage parlor. The term *salón de masaje* has become the euphemistic replacement for older terms such as *prostíbulo* or *casa de citas*, although the women appear to have little formal training (and their clients little immediate interest) in massage therapy. Arrangements in places visited included the following:

- (1) There are rooms on site for sexual encounters. If the woman leaves with the customer a price must be paid to the establishment.
- (2) There is a bar with music. Men may have drinks with no commitment to purchase sexual services. The cost of the drinks is quite high – three or four times what is charged in an ordinary bar or discothèque. Dominican women, most apparently in

- their late teens or early twenties, are present and may be invited to drink. We did not see them aggressively approaching males to propose sexual services.
- (3) The customer interested in sexual services pays a fixed price that includes the room and the price of the service. The going price reported to us in Boca Chica was \$100 U.S. dollars for the *servicio completo*, an hour of massage and genital sex. There are bargain rates for a *servicio económico*, briefer encounters involving only oral sex. Prices quoted in a *salón de masaje* near tourist hotels in Santo Domingo were in Dominican pesos and much cheaper -- 2,000 pesos for the *servicio completo* (\$100 U.S. dollars before the devaluation of the peso), now the equivalent of \$40 U.S. dollars.
 - (4) There is no negotiation of payment with the woman herself. She receives a salary from the *casa*. The customer may give her a gratuity.

There were no Haitian women in *salones de masaje* visited, though a small number of Haitian women reportedly work in such sites. Haitian women appear to be relegated to the lower echelon of the sex industry

Differences in Haitian and Dominican public demeanor. Because of the fear of arrest and deportation, the public demeanor of Haitian women in parks and on sidewalks is more discreet in areas where Tourist Police can suddenly appear. Dominican women in Boca Chica will not stand on a street corner, but they may sit at night on a public bench in the Boca Chica park. If there are no tourist police in sight and if a potential client -- generally a foreigner -- ambles through the park, he may be addressed in broken, descriptively raw terms of speech in Italian or English by a Dominican woman. Haitian women on the back streets of Santiago are equally forthright but less explicit and raw in their proposals. In Boca Chica the more elegant clothes and coiffures of Haitian women, and their more discreet behavior in this center of tourism, set them apart from their Dominican counterparts on the street. The clothing and demeanor of Haitian women on the streets of Boca Chica are comparable to that of Dominican women in the more exclusive massage parlors to which Haitian women are not as easily admitted.

As modest recompense for their willingness to converse, women interviewed were offered food and drink. The Haitian women tended to choose soft drinks rather than beer or rum, and those who chose alcohol sipped rather than guzzled. This discreet behavior was quite different from Dominican women including one who insisted on an entire *pote de Brugal*, a bottle of rum, from which she swigged openly on a park bench during the interview.

There were notable differences in the behavior of Haitian and Dominican women observed. The relative discretion of Haitian women was doubtless a function of their more vulnerable legal and social position, at least in part, but it may also stem from cultural factors.

Public health issues. Haitian women interviewed were aware of HIV and claimed to use two protective measures: regular HIV testing and insistence that their clients use condoms. The women knew the location of vending machines and claimed to stop-off there with the client en route to the hotel or room. In principle, the male client is supposed to supply the condom, but we also observed one scene in which a Haitian woman used her own money to buy condoms from a machine. Haitian women stated that they did thorough genital washing of themselves and their partners before and after

sexual contact, a measure that may have little epidemiological significance but indicates awareness and concern for health issues. In some interviews, it was admitted that women may agree to unprotected sex if the customer refuses the use of a condom. In general, we found widespread awareness of the danger of heterosexual transmission of HIV and the need to take measures.

The question of traffickers and smugglers in the Dominican sex trade. Haitian women in the sex trade may enter the Dominican Republic with the help of cross-border smugglers; however, most do not appear to be recruited by smugglers or labor recruiters for the sex trade. Fieldwork suggests that most Haitian sex workers work on their own in the streets or in open bars.

Nevertheless, there is some evidence of targeted recruitment and smuggling of Haitian women for Dominican sex establishments (see Chapter IV). Field interviews uncovered no evidence of coercion. Information from dozens of Haitian sex workers in the DR suggests that most are adults who entered the sex trade voluntarily. Many lamented that they had to make their living in this fashion. Some saw it as a means of generating enough savings to go into *komès*, i.e., other forms of commerce such as selling clothes.

The question of minors in the sex trade. A number of sources in Boca Chica named a particular establishment where young girls were reportedly available to tourists. One interviewee asked the researcher to turn off the tape recorder when discussing this issue: "If they find out I'm talking about this to an investigator, I'll end up dead on the street (*amane'co muerto en la calle*)."

All sexual activity involving the payment of minors in the Dominican Republic is illegal, but field evidence seems to suggest that the involvement of minors in the sex trade is primarily voluntary. For example, a 14-year old Dominican girl in Boca Chica reported selling sexual favors to tourists for over a year. The girl was working in the kitchen of a restaurant but learned she could make more in one hour with a tourist than one month in the kitchen. This teenager was a young minor in the sex trade, but there was no evidence that she was a victim of coercive trafficking.

Interviews with streetwalkers in Dajabón verified the presence of sex workers 11 to 14 years old including runaway *restavèk* children and young girls without parents. Julianise, a 14-year old sex worker in Dajabón, was living with a 20-year old man that she identified as her "husband." As a younger child she made a living from begging but graduated to trading in sex at age 12. Some young streetwalkers in Dajabón reportedly first traded in sex after having been separated from parents and dropped off at the border during arbitrary round-ups of Haitians.

Informants in Boca Chica noted that young boys in the street sell sex to male tourists, and that there is an establishment that caters to such tourists. We also observed young homeless boys, some of whom sleep in a tree in the Boca Chica park, who reportedly trade in sex.

Coercion of minors in the sex trade. There is some evidence of coercion of minors in the sex trade; however, the parameters of the present study did not allow for more in-depth investigation. For example, there was the case of a 12-year old *batey* child in Barahona recruited under false pretenses, ostensibly for placement with a Dominican

family in Santo Domingo, who was instead turned over to a brothel owner for use as a sex worker.

Also, a smuggler and other informants in Ti Lori reported the recruitment of teenage girls by broker/smugglers as live-in partners of Dominican men, and the recruitment of young Haitian women including teenagers as sex workers for Dominican discothèques in Puerto Plata. At the very least, such recruitment patterns lend themselves to abusive practices and recruitment on the basis of partial or false information. Furthermore, it is inconceivable that Haitian minors recruited in this manner, generally without parental permission, would have access to full information regarding the risks of illicit travel nor of their vulnerability as illegal sex workers in a foreign country.

Sexual exploitation of children. In preliminary exploration of these matters, it appears that the vast majority of minors involved in the sex trade are Dominican rather than Haitian children. Given the growing number of Haitian children now living in the Dominican Republic including street kids, and given the arbitrary deportation procedures of Dominican authorities, including children separated from parents, it is quite probable that more Haitian children will be recruited as sex workers or will resort to trading in sex as a survival strategy. Furthermore, certain patterns in the sexual exploitation of children in *bateyes* are a veritable training ground for child prostitution (see Chapter VII).

HAITIAN CHILDREN ON DOMINICAN STREETS

Minors account for only a small minority of participants in the sex trade in the Dominican Republic; however, there are other street sectors in which minors account for a high percentage of the actors, including Haitian shoeshine boys and beggars.

HAITIAN SHOESHINE BOYS

Part-time male activity. We interviewed over a dozen current and former Haitian shoeshine boys working the streets in Santiago, Dajabón, La Descubierta, Jimani, Restauración, and Boca Chica. Both Dominican and Haitian boys shine shoes. Shoe shining is commonly a part time activity that supplements other activities.

Subgroups of Haitian shoeshine boys. We encountered different categories of shoeshine boys, all from poor sectors of society though not equally poor.

- (1) Children in modest households who attend school and shine shoes to earn money for books and uniforms. Such children will generally be living with at least one of their biological parents, though we have interviewed Haitian shoeshine boys who attend school but do not live with their families.
- (2) Children of poorer households who do not attend school.
- (3) Children placed with in other Haitian households as *restavèk* servant children.
- (4) Homeless children who oscillate between begging and shoe shining.

Poorer shoeshine boys may themselves be barefoot. School children living with parents tend to be better dressed and have better constructed boxes well stocked with cleaning materials.

Costs and profits. With the devaluation of the peso and inflation the current capital investment is about 50 pesos in materials. On weekends a shoeshine boy can gross at least 100 pesos and sometimes more; however, the average daily gross on ordinary days was estimated at closer to 20 or 30 pesos.

More profitable in the Dominican Republic. There are shoeshine boys in Haiti, but shining shoes is more profitable in the DR. The going rate in a tourist center such as Boca Chica is 10 pesos (\$.20 U.S. cents), though the national rate may be closer to 5 pesos. In Dajabón there were shoeshine boys from Ouanaminthe looking for customers in Dajabón on a Sunday afternoon. They were well dressed and all attended school. They simply walked across the border and patrolled the streets of Dajabón rather than Ouanaminthe.

The domestic context of shoeshining. Because they are all minors, generally under 12 years old, shoeshine boys are not autonomous service providers. They are working under some level of permission and perhaps control of adults. According to different accounts, at least part of the proceeds will be turned over to parents or parent surrogates, and the rest kept by the child himself or shared with siblings. In cases where the child is in school, the portion turned over to the parents is viewed as a contribution to books and uniforms.

Haitian *restavèk* children shining shoes in the DR. In its most benign form, shining shoes is a part-time job on weekends or after school as a voluntary contribution to family income. As discussed in Chapter IV, however, some *restavèk* servant children placed in Haitian households in the DR may be sent out to shine shoes instead of going to school or doing household chores.

In some respects, hustling the streets to shine shoes is preferable to doing household work. It entails greater autonomy, involves social interaction and mutual aid with other shoeshine boys, and offers some opportunity for personal income, even if most of the income is turned over to adults.

Is there cross-border trafficking of Haitian children for coercive shoe shining? In the present study, there's no field evidence of organized shoeshine rings. There's good evidence, however, that some Haitian households in Santiago recruit *restavèk* servant children in Haiti specifically for the purpose of generating income from child labor.

This constitutes an adaptation of the Haitian unpaid child-servant role applied to commercial endeavors. In Haiti *restavèk* child labor is used primarily for domestic household chores and in some cases for agricultural labor or commerce. In Santiago, Haitian *restavèk* arrangements take advantage of the higher availability of cash options. In this case, children are used in a variety of income-generating pursuits, not just shining shoes. Another option is street begging which may well be more lucrative than shining shoes, especially for younger children.

HAITIAN STREET BEGGARS

Greener begging pastures in the Dominican Republic. In the past decade, the country has experienced a blossoming – some say an epidemic – of begging by Haitians on the streets of large Dominican cities. The recent influx of Haitian migrants, however,

has transformed the begging industry and has led to the transfer of Haitian begging patterns into the DR.

Dominican vs. Haitian begging. Dominicans practice begging, but it is different in many aspects from Haitian begging. There are also similarities. As in Haiti, begging by Dominicans occurs in front of churches by elderly women or other adults with obvious physical handicaps. A small amount of Dominican begging also occurs at traffic lights on major street intersections.

Healthy adult women. In contrast with the DR, it is culturally permissible in Haiti for a healthy adult woman to beg on the basis of her poverty. If a woman has children but no husband and has no source of income, it will be said that begging is a more honorable option than becoming a thief or a prostitute. This income-generating option is not on the menu of culturally acceptable Dominican practices. A Dominican woman should be elderly and/or physically handicapped – not merely poor and husbandless and jobless -- before taking to begging. There are Dominican women with children who beg, but it is usually done going from house to house rather than standing on a street corner, and it is also quite rare and somewhat hidden. Among Haitian women in the Dominican Republic, begging in urban areas is common and totally open.

The Haitian female begging stance. The begging routine of elderly Haitian women contains four standard elements: (a) tattered or at least unattractive clothes, (b) an outstretched hand, (c) a face with a pained look, and (d) a pleading vocal tone. The outstretched hand has replaced the *kwi*, the open gourde container that was the traditional receptacle of elderly Haitian beggars standing in front of Haitian churches.

Women with children in arms. Younger Haitian women add a fifth element to this theatrical routine: a baby cradled in one of her arms, or at least a young child. The baby is such an important element that a Haitian female beggar in the Dominican Republic who has no infant child may borrow one from a relative or acquaintance in exchange for a part of the begging proceeds – a de-facto rent-a-baby scheme. Infant girls appear to be rented with greater frequency than infant boys. The babe-in-arms has a dual function. She legitimizes the beggar status of a woman who is young enough to be actively working, and she evokes greater pity and thus generosity on the part of strangers. Some Dominican women do this, but it is rare and considered culturally shameful. In contrast, among Haitian beggar women of childbearing age, the babe-in-arms appears to have become a culturally acceptable norm for street-corner begging.

Pity vs. skepticism. We encountered a Haitian beggar woman with a baby at a Santo Domingo traffic light, the corner of Sarasota and Winston Churchill. The woman was wearing a head kerchief but the baby was bareheaded in the noontime sun. In this scenario, a person has to decide which of two risks is more dangerous: the risk of not giving anything to an impoverished mother who genuinely needs it, or the risk of supporting a theatrical begging role that includes child abuse.

Begging among street children. Another variation is the phenomenon of street children who are not under the control of adults. Independent street children survive through a variety of activities such as unloading and carrying produce at markets. Such children also beg, but it is simply one element in a diversified income-seeking repertoire. These children are literally and painfully on their own in mean streets; however, they

report sharing income or food voluntarily with each other and sometimes with elderly or blind beggars.

Begging under parental control. The vast majority of child beggars operate with parental permission or under the supervision and insistence of adult caretakers. Most appear to be sent out by a biological parent, usually the mother in a single-parent households. Some are *restavèk* children recruited specifically for this purpose, although this appears to be only a small minority of beggar children. Haitian women begging with babes-in-arms seem to prefer female children. Most full-time child beggars, in contrast, appear to be males.

Begging as a family enterprise. Interviews in northern Haiti also documented cases of whole families, including young children and their biological parents, who emigrated to the DR specifically to beg as one of several possible income-generating activities. These were impoverished farm families who had some land and gardens in Haiti and had never begged in Haiti. They were not professional beggars seeking better begging sites, but rather poor farm families seizing a new economic opportunity as a survival strategy.

Begging in this sense was viewed as a family enterprise, a commercial opportunity akin to street vending or menial employment in other sectors. Begging is hard work and costs money. It entails transport costs to prime begging sites, and may include travel away from home overnight or even longer on begging expeditions to distant urban areas. As noted in Chapter IV, the proceeds from begging, especially for babies and young children, compare favorably to shining shoes in Dominican cities or even to the prevailing daily wage for agricultural labor in parts of rural Haiti.

The splitting of the proceeds. In the case of beggar children, the prevailing pattern appears to be that a Haitian child beggar turns over his proceeds to the parent or other adult caretaker but may retain a portion for his own use. The caretaker will enquire about the proceeds of the begging and expect a daily minimum.

Child beggars and schooling. Beggar children generally do not attend school. Younger children who are not of school age tend to be more successful as beggars than older children. Shoeshine boys tend to be older and sometimes attend school, using income from shining shoes to defray the cost of books or other school materials.

The *restavek* child as beggar. Since begging is more lucrative in the Dominican Republic than Haiti, there is an economic incentive for Haitians in the Dominican Republic to use *restavèk* servant children as beggars. In Haiti the child-servant is first and foremost a supplier of domestic labor. In the Dominican Republic, there may be emergent expansion of the abusive *restavek* arrangement into a new sector – that of coercive child begging.

The organization of begging. The “domestic mode of begging” continues to be the dominant mode, i.e., begging as an individual or household activity. In addition, there is strong evidence that at least some of the begging done by Haitians in the Dominican Republic, particularly in Santiago, but also in Santo Domingo, has evolved organizationally beyond the household level.

- (1) **The beggar's syndicate of Santiago.** Long before the influx of Haitians, the beggars of Santiago had organized themselves into a *sindicato*. These beggars were virtually all Dominican males with physical handicaps. They set territorial rules, specifying which days particular beggars had the right to beg at lucrative sites, generally in front of churches. The existence of a Dominican union of beggars cautions us against attributing all begging to the Haitian influx. What the Haitian influx has done is to expand the cast of characters from the elderly and handicapped to include women in the prime of life and large numbers of children.
- (2) **Intentional recruitment of Haitian children for begging.** Accounts from *boukoug* talk of parents in Haiti allowing young children to go to Santiago, ostensibly to be placed in homes where they would be educated in exchange for domestic labor. Instead the children are turned over to a Haitian woman who forces them to beg on the streets of Santiago. Such deceptive movement of children goes beyond smuggling into the realm of cross-border trafficking.
- (3) **The renting of infants.** This entails an organizational level above that of the family unit or a single household. Two families or households collaborate. The woman of one does the actual begging. The woman of the other supplies the child.
- (4) **The deployment of secretly supervised beggars.** Several field sources reported that Haitian women in Santo Domingo appear to be dropped off in a vehicle at begging intersections every morning and picked up every afternoon. This could simply be a case of autonomous beggars deciding to pool transportation resources; however, a knowledgeable source stated that these women are quasi-employees of an organized begging operation. A spy or monitor, according to this account, is also deployed to supervise these women from a distance and ensure compliance with their role. This type of operation thus goes beyond the household level of organization.

Dangerous trend: The cultural legitimization of begging. The proliferation of Haitian street begging in the Dominican Republic is obviously linked to the poverty of the social groups that practice it. Most Haitians go to the Dominican Republic to find work. A small minority migrates with a view to begging in Dominican cities. As a result, the widespread incorporation of Haitian children into the begging economy runs the risk of intergenerational transmission of street-begging as a way of life rather than as a temporary emergency measure.

Begging as child abuse. In the end, the primary focus of this report is on different forms of child abuse rather than trafficking per se. Most forms of child abuse examined in this study are linked to acute poverty. Poverty significantly heightens the risk of child abuse. Concerns about trafficking should thus be placed in the broader context of child abuse and the social conditions that promote it.

From the point of view of an exploited beggar child on a street corner, the question of who sent him there – his own parents or surrogate caretakers – seems to be of secondary importance. And whether the Haitian woman at the Dominican street intersection was working on her own or had been placed there by somebody else, the abuse suffered by the infant girl exposed to the noontime sun with an uncovered head was the same. And it

seems to be of secondary importance whether this infant girl was the daughter of the woman or instead was borrowed from a neighbor, or was trafficked directly into the Dominican Republic from Haiti. Her suffering was the same. The overriding issue is not cross border smuggling but the systematic abuse of children including begging, and the factors that give rise to these forms of child abuse.

CHAPTER IX SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

FINDINGS: RESTAVÈK CHILDREN IN HAITI

A child treatment continuum. There is a wide-ranging continuum in the treatment of children who live with others. Some are treated kindly as though they were adopted into the family. Some are treated as kinfolk according to the norms of a culturally mediated practice of giving and taking children among extended family members. Others are treated with respect but differently from biological children in the household. At the other end of the spectrum, children are sent to live with strangers as unpaid servant children and are subject to severe abuse. The sheer range of treatment confronted by children living outside of their homes is a complicating factor in the design of targeted programs capable of impact.

As a program strategy, it would be culturally inappropriate to insist that Haitian children live solely within the confines of households defined by the biological nuclear family. Parents place children to solve problems and do so in keeping with longstanding cultural traditions of giving and taking children. These problems are not trivial. Parents may send away a child for schooling or as a survival strategy for both the child and the child's family. Viewing various forms of child placement along a continuum helps clarify the driving elements of *restavèk* practice. It also serves to identify prospective points of intervention with the greatest potential to alleviate misery, and, by extension, to diminish long-term social repercussions that flow from the failure of socialization when sizeable numbers of children are cut off from nurturing ties and condemned to hard labor.

Children living with others may be treated well and children living at home may be treated badly; however, children who live away from home tend overall to be more vulnerable to mistreatment than children who live at home. In a large and apparently growing number of cases, *restavèk* servant children are severely mistreated. Some children are subject to trafficking, kidnapping, and placement for a fee as domestic servants. In short, children in large numbers and apparently growing numbers are treated as second-class citizens and domestic servants under abusive conditions.

An index of vulnerability to placement outside the home: The following elements or presenting circumstances tend to create a heightened risk of recruitment or trafficking:

- Rural households marked by acute poverty
- Households where water is located at a long distance, e.g., an hour's walk or more.
- A major life crisis, particularly the death or illness of a parent.
- Hunger seasons or periods of food shortage.
- Families of five to ten children.
- Children who have only one contributing parent.
- Children between the ages of six and twelve.
- Girls are more vulnerable to placement than boys, especially for urban households.
- Children born outside of stable conjugal unions, e.g., *pitit deyo* (outside children) or children born to passing (non-enduring) unions.

- Children of school age who are not in school or can't afford school costs.
- Runaway children seeking a place to stay.
- Orphans including AIDS orphans.
- Presenting opportunity for placement outside the home, i.e., households that have contact with prospective receiving households or their representatives or other intermediaries, for example,
 - urban-based relatives and godparents,
 - market traders who travel back and forth between rural and urban areas,
 - brokers (traffickers) who actively recruit children, including some who resort to kidnapping,
 - young people from the area who have moved away and who might encourage children to leave home without parental permission.

Education as a pivotal factor.

- Access to education is a dominant motivation for placing rural children in urban households as *restavèk* servant children.
- Servant children are generally expected to go to school, but they go less often than others, and they go to less desirable schools – generally foreshortened afternoon or evening sessions.
- Boys placed as field hands with farm families, including families that live in small towns, are less likely than girls to be sent to school.
- Large numbers of rural and small town children are sent away to distant schools, especially secondary schools, and require local housing arrangements.
- Street kids and runaways are drawn from the ranks of school-age children not in school and also disproportionately from *restavèk* placement offering limited or poor quality schooling.
- Sending children across the border is viewed as an alternative to schooling when a family can't afford school costs.

Quantifying the problem. There are no reliable data on the number of *restavèk* children in Haiti; however, national level data indicate that 25 percent of all households in Haiti include children living away from parents. Furthermore, about one-fifth of all children under age 15 live away from both parents – perhaps 750,000 or more children in 2004. It is important to note that a significant percentage of children living outside the home *cannot* be classified as *restavèk* servant children. Nevertheless, these survey data are consistent with field interviews and suggest the following:

- In survey data on Haitian households, it is difficult to distinguish servant children from other categories of extra-familial placement, including school children.
- As an order of magnitude, it appears realistic to assume that there are hundreds of thousands rather than tens of thousands of *restavèk* servant children in Haiti.
- In view of persistent evidence of abuse, the sheer magnitude of *restavèk* servant children is a social problem of major proportions.
- Proportionately, more children who live in urban areas are living away from their parents compared to rural areas.
- Girls are more likely to live with others than boys.

Centers of supply and demand for servant children.

- The Port-au-Prince metropolitan area is the single most important center of demand for *restavèk* servant children.

- Rural areas are the primary supply centers for child recruitment.
- Many small-town households have *restavèk* children.
- Rural areas have relatively fewer *restavèk* children, but there is a somewhat higher demand for boys assigned to agricultural tasks.
- Towns near the border appear to have fewer *restavèk* children due to more favorable opportunities for child labor across the border, including paid labor.
- Runaway children who live near the border sometimes cross the border to seek work or a place to live.

Current trends in child placement.

1. Significant growth in the numbers of children placed in large urban areas.
2. Reduced contact with parents:
 - There has been a dramatic increase in big city placement of children from distant rural areas under circumstances that allow little or no ongoing contact between the children and their parents.
 - Rural children continue to be placed as *restavèk* servant children in nearby small towns; however, there's some evidence of a shift away from small towns to big cities.
 - In principle, kinship ties protect children, but there's ample evidence that kinfolk also mistreat children.
 - There's strong evidence that the highest risk of abuse takes place in situations where children have little or no contact, or only infrequent contact, with their parents. This holds for placements with kinfolk as well as strangers.
 - There's an increase in placement of children with strangers (non-kin).
 - Intermediaries facilitate placement of rural children with urban strangers.
3. Class dynamics:
 - There's been a shift away from placing peasant children with bourgeois families.
 - The pattern of placing children with more affluent households still holds.
 - The current pattern is from the rural poor to the less poor residing in urban areas.
 - There's been a steady increase in demand for servant children among the working poor in populous urban neighborhoods and slums in Port-au-Prince and other large urban centers such as Cap-Haitien and Gonaïves.
3. In the past decade, growing numbers of children are travelling across the border instead of going to school or instead of living in other households in Haiti.
4. In the past six months, children have been negatively affected by the political crisis including street violence and rape, guns issued to minors, extended periods of school closings, and food shortages. This has presumably heightened the vulnerability of *restavèk* children to mistreatment due to their marginal social status.⁴⁶
5. There's evidence of trafficking although this appears to affect a minority of children placed as *restavèk* servant children.
6. In terms of numbers, the primary presenting problem is the growing incidence of *restavèk* servant children rather than trafficking *per se*.

⁴⁶ Rapid assessment by UNICEF (March 2004) based, however, primarily on indirect sources of information, seems to suggest that children have been more affected by these conditions in border regions – North, Center, Artibonite, West and South-East.

Trafficking.

- Large-scale increase in big city placement of children from distant rural areas is transforming the process of child placement.
- Heightened demand for child servants has created an opening for child brokers, and the emergence of severe forms of trafficking.
- Intermediaries facilitate child placement voluntarily as a service, but some also serve as labor brokers for strangers rather than relatives of the child, and extract fees from receiving households.
- People desiring child servants may advance funds to an intermediary to defray recruitment costs, and pay a fee for successful recruitment.
- Intermediaries also recruit rural teenage girls (minors) as salaried domestic servants.
- Child recruiters sometimes bypass the parents and deal directly with children under false pretenses, or resort to kidnapping, especially if parents are reluctant to give up a child.
- Forced child recruitment and harsh treatment contribute to the flow of runaway children in Haiti's urban streets.
- Children who run away from *restavèk* placement may be unable to locate their parents, a factor that tends to increase the number of street kids.

PROGRAMMATIC IMPLICATIONS: RESTAVÈK CHILDREN IN HAITI

An overall strategy for alleviating the risk of trafficking should be guided by the following general premises:

- The problem of *restavèk* servant children – a particular subset of children who live with others in Haiti – is intimately linked to poverty on the part of both sending and receiving households.
- The children of the poor tend to replicate the poverty of their parents as they come of age. Therefore, donor programs directed at poverty alleviation should actively seek to maximize impact on children and young adults, including broader access to better quality education.
- Program interventions directed at trafficking in children should retain a broader focus on child abuse and child labor exploitation rather than focusing solely on trafficking *per se*.

We have found that only a portion of Haitian children living outside the home are *restavèk* servant children. As a program strategy it would be culturally inappropriate to insist that Haitian children live solely within the confines of households defined by the biological nuclear family. In view of the precarious circumstances of such a large number of households, we do not advocate the legal elimination of traditional forms of child placement since such placement can be an adaptive familial strategy. .

The *restavèk* issue itself can be attacked simultaneously on several fronts. Some are inherent to the program initiatives of other sectors, including those already underway, and some are specific to the concerns of children. In general, pertinent program areas include the following:

- poverty alleviation, especially in rural areas,
- broader access to public services, especially education and potable water,

- general mass media campaigns promoting humane treatment of children and opposing the use of children as unpaid child servants,
- local level initiatives including neighborhood campaigns to complement such media campaigns,
- investigation to fill in the still serious gaps in our knowledge, including better information on household composition and more precise quantification of the use of children as unpaid child-servants,
- legal reforms and improved law enforcement on behalf of children and against child abusers and the users of children as servants.

Supply side. In terms of the supply of children, the factors rendering children vulnerable to *restavèk* placement argue strongly in favor of poverty alleviation in rural areas. This is hardly surprising. It's even a cliché. Nevertheless, economic conditions or programs that genuinely increase household food security, nearby access to potable water, family planning, and schooling unquestionably have the effect of reducing household incentive to give away children.

Source families living on the edge have very little margin for crop failure or any other crisis in the household economy; however, not all households of the rural poor place children outside of the home. Among the rural poor as a social category, exceptionally high risk factors include the following:

- large family size,
- children between the ages of 6 and 12 who are not in school,
- households with only one contributing parent.

Broad sector investments that have an impact on the risk of giving away children include the following:

1. The economy. In the medium to long term, every effort should be made to rebuild the devastated Haitian economy and create jobs. In so doing, it is essential to create viable alternatives to peasant agriculture, and job opportunities outside of the Port-au-Prince metropolitan area.
2. Food security. In the short term, every effort should be made to maintain and expand food security programming in rural areas.
3. Jobs. Large scale short-term jobs programs have worked successfully in the past and should be renewed.
4. Targeting of jobs programs. Jobs programs should target labor recruitment, as feasible, to benefit large families and poor households. For maximum impact on families, jobs programs should adjust their timing to take into account hunger seasons, slack seasons in the agricultural calendar, and times and places marked by crop failure or natural disaster.
5. Potable water. Most rural families carry water on foot for household use. This constitutes a huge investment of labor value. The families most at risk have the fewest resources, the largest families, and the greatest needs for water. Potable water campaigns would tend to decrease the risk of giving away children.
6. Primary Schooling: According to the national education plan (MENJS 1995), the majority of school age children in Haiti do not attend school. Children of primary school age in rural areas who are not in school or who can't afford school are at risk

- of external placement. This argues for a concerted effort to increase access to primary education among the *rural* poor.
7. Secondary schooling. The problem of rural access is even greater for secondary schooling. Rural children attending secondary school are far more likely than urban children to live with others in order to attend school. Many small towns in Haiti do not have secondary schools, and there are virtually none in rural areas. This argues strongly for deconcentration of secondary schooling.

More specific sectors that could serve as points of entrée for *restavék*-oriented programming include the following:

8. Family planning and public health. Programs in family planning should maintain and expand efforts to *target large rural families* with messages and services.
9. Restavék as health risk. Working as a servant child constitutes a serious health risk. Family planning and public health media campaigns should include information on the plight of *restavék* children and the negative consequences of giving away children.
10. Media campaigns in rural areas: Media campaigns should target rural areas and potential source families with information on the plight of *restavék* children, risks of trafficking, and risks of placing children in distant urban areas without parental contact, even placement situations with relatives.
11. Community radio. Media campaigns should take advantage of radio, including the community radio network, to reach source households in rural areas.
12. Radio plays. The practice of giving children as servants lends itself to dramatic treatment based on real life experiences. In view of the impressive success of the RAMAK soap opera series, *Kadejak nan Ans Mari*, media campaigns should include the production and distribution of radio plays or soap operas dramatizing the importance of children's rights and the plight of servant children.
13. Ti Sentaniz. Such a series and related commentaries could also be aired in conjunction with broadcast of the Maurice Sixto story, *Sentaniz*.
14. Messages: The most important messages are (a) to promote humane treatment of children, including other people's children, and (b) to categorically oppose the use and abuse of children as unpaid and underage child servants.
15. Create climate of social pressure. Media campaigns should seek to create a general climate of social pressure against the use of child servants.
16. Risks of placing children away from home. Media campaigns should promote keeping children at home and point out the risks of sending children away; however, it would be neither effective nor culturally appropriate to denounce the placement of children outside of the home.
17. Parental monitoring of children in placement. A principal finding from the present study is that more humane treatment of children living outside the home absolutely requires ongoing contact and monitoring by parents, i.e., social controls and social pressure. Therefore, messages should stress the critical importance of maintaining close personal contact with any children living outside the home, including children living with relatives.
18. Children's rights. Messages should diffuse information on the rights of children, and legal sanctions or recourse in cases of child abuse.
19. Corporal punishment. Commentaries and other programming should directly address the issue of corporal punishment and child abuse.

20. Risk of sexual abuse of children in placement. Programming should address the problem of sexual abuse of children, including the heightened risk for servant children.

Demand side. *Restavèk* servant children are placed primarily though not exclusively in urban areas. Arguments favoring larger sector investments in potable water, education, and poverty alleviation also apply on the child placement side of the issue although with certain differences in emphasis. The working poor of Port-au-Prince generate high demand for child servants. The city's working poor are perhaps doing better, at least economically, than the majority of their rural compatriots; however, they are still poor and most have limited access to potable water.

21. Potable water: Significantly increasing the distribution and quality of water in poor and working class neighborhoods would tend to diminish demand for servant children – much of whose labor time is devoted to supplying water.
22. Public fountains as point of contact. Water fountains are also a central point of contact with *restavèk* children and a means of monitoring the presence of servant children in the neighborhood who are not in school.
23. Assess status of locally based water distribution programs as prospective partners. Child advocacy programs should assess the current status of urban neighborhood-based water distribution programs such as those fostered in the 1990s by GRET, and recruit viable neighborhood-level water distribution groups as partners in programming on behalf of *restavèk* servant children.
24. Schooling: Servant children in Port-au-Prince almost invariably attend poor quality schools with short sessions. Their work obligations provide little time and energy for study. Many do not go to school. Greater efforts to target servant children for schooling, and better quality schooling, would notably enhance their life chances.
25. Assumptions in designing media campaigns: Assume some degree of popular *knowledge* of the exploitation of *restavèk* servant children. Assume popular *ignorance* of the laws on children, children's rights, and child labor. See Annex IV.
26. Media message - education: Media campaigns should insist that all children attend a regular school, including *restavèk* children, and should reinforce already existing social pressures to that effect.
27. Media campaigns to heighten social pressures against *restavèk* child abuse. Media campaigns in urban areas should include messages geared to receiving families and their neighbors. Such campaigns should openly identify the domestic use of *restavèk* children as a widespread social problem, and create a media-generated expectation that recruiting and using children as domestic servants is illegal, abusive, a violation of children's rights, and socially unacceptable.
28. Media message – humane treatment of all children. Media campaigns should promote humane treatment of children – including other people's children, and touch on issues noted earlier: children's rights, corporal punishment, and legal sanctions for child abuse including sexual abuse.
29. Soap operas and skits. Radio plays and soap operas on these topics would work well with both urban and rural audiences, including real life stories as points of reference in writing skits.
30. Positive stories as well as case studies of abusive placements. If child placement is sometimes an adaptive familial strategy, radio plays or discussions might include cases where child placement results in positive benefits – aired as a contrast to exploitation of *restavèk* child servants.

31. Referral information for victims. Messages should also target child victims of abuse or *restavèk* placement, including referral and contact information for credible social service agencies, especially private agencies.
32. Build on existing social role of particular radio stations. Radio stations are an influential but underutilized resource for children's issues. For example, Radio Ginen advertises lost children, and, perhaps by default, plays a referral role for children in need of a safe haven, some of whom come physically to the station or are brought to the station.
33. Market child-advocacy to radio stations. Child advocates should actively reach out to radio and television stations, including community radio as well as media trade associations, to promote a community service role and public service announcements on behalf of children. This could be promoted in part as a marketing strategy that could help expand listenership or viewership, depending on how its done. Programming child-advocacy also complements a station's commercial role through buying air time for spots or radio plays produced by child advocates.
34. Marketing child protection services. A judge handling children's cases in Cap-Haitien has discussed children's rights and problems in weekly radio transmissions. Listeners have responded by seeking the judge's advice or referral services as a direct result. This suggests a fruitful area of programming: marketing child protection services over the airwaves.
35. Build social pressure from the bottom up as a complement to top down media campaigns. Media campaigns can diffuse information and help set the tone for social pressures against child abuse and the exploitation of servant children; however, stand-alone media campaigns are not enough.
36. Tools of local social pressure: Program interventions should foster concrete, personalized efforts at the level of neighborhoods and schools as a complement to more impersonal mass-market strategies (see Annex IV).
37. Build on existing neighborhood level social pressures. There is ample precedent for neighborhood-level social pressures against child abuse, and spontaneous assistance or rescue by the neighbors of abused servant children. Field inquiry for the present study discovered cases where neighbors in poor urban neighborhoods surreptitiously collected funds to send abused *restavèk* servant children home to their rural families, and also where neighbors have reported child abuse to sympathetic authorities.
38. Combat urban anonymity. A well-designed neighborhood-based program should demolish the anonymity of abuse against specific children in specific urban households, create greater local awareness of their situation, and increase local social pressures against their abuse as servant children, and against their abusers.
39. *Chante pwen*, social satire, mocking songs: A powerful influence for social control is the harnessing of gutsy traditional forms of social pressure including gossip and *chante pwen*. This might include the composition and public use of *chante pwen* to target adults and households that exploit servant children. This could be done at both the neighborhood level as well as the broader public.
40. Urban neighborhood campaigns against child abuse and use of *restavèk* child-servants. At neighborhood levels this would require active partnerships with grassroots organizations, neighborhood citizens groups, schools, churches, water distribution associations, and NGOs that work with such organizations.
41. *Mardi Gras* and *rara* societies. *Chante pwen* are effective with local and wider audiences through such formats as *kanaval* and *rara* bands that have always used

- chante pwen* for social and political commentaries, and generally have unencumbered social and political license to do so.
42. Program outreach and partnership with ritual specialists and societies. Program interventions should therefore reach out to *kanaval* and *rara* bands and their ritual leaders and financial patrons including *houngan* ritual specialists, to solicit their support and creative partnership.
 43. Law enforcement, Intermediaries, and traffickers: As stated repeatedly in reports, the legal framework pertaining to children's rights and trafficking is inadequate; however, as in other domains of the law, the most intractable problem is one of law enforcement. The national police force is in utter disarray and the minors protection service of IBESR barely functions. The governmental system remains in an overall state of acute crisis; however, there may now be increased latitude for reform.
 44. Promoting reform. An effective program response to the problem of *restavèk* servant children and trafficking cannot and should not rely on reforms of the legal system; however, advocates on behalf of children should continue efforts to reform the system, including social services as well as law enforcement.
 45. Police reform, police procedures, and child protective services. Upcoming efforts to rebuild the police must include training in children's rights, and humane strategies and *specific procedures* for dealing with runaway children, rape and other forms of child abuse, and child trafficking.
 46. Donor assistance and government commitment. Donor assistance for police training should be conditioned on government willingness to increase law enforcement efforts in these areas, including police investigation and arrest of traffickers and their clientèle (receiving households).
 47. Training judicial branch. Reforms in this area should include training of prosecutors, judges, and courts assigned to children's issues.
 48. Identify specific individuals as committed partners in the enforcement system. Advocates should actively identify and support *specific individuals* in the enforcement system who demonstrate personal interest and commitment to children's issues including sitting judges, prosecutors, and law enforcement personnel.
 49. Group homes for runaway *restavèk* children. There are a very limited number of safe havens or group homes that take in runaway *restavèk* children or other victims of child abuse. There is in fact a shortage of such facilities. A more adequate social service response to these needs would require additional slots or units. Bona fide centers deserve full support and there is a need for more.
 50. Group homes and the police. Group homes provide an extremely important service; however, they are unable to work at underlying causes of the problem. One way of expanding their role and influence would be to promote regular contact between group homes and the police as a way of increasing police referrals of runaway or abused children to group homes, and more sensitive police behavior toward runaway and abused children.
 51. Staff support and deconcentration of IBESR. For the enforcement system to work on behalf of children, IBESR should have increased staff and training in order to play its prescribed role as protector of children. Furthermore, its service network should be selectively deconcentrated, based on prioritizing large urban centers with higher concentration of *restavèk* children.
 52. Grooming candidates. None of these reforms will come to fruition unless there are candidates for office that actively support these issues. Therefore, interested citizens and groups, including human rights groups, must address child protection issues with potential candidates for public office.

53. Documenting violations of children's rights. Human rights organizations have not given high priority to children's issues. None of these reforms will be implemented unless individual citizens, human rights groups, and other civil society organizations lobby on behalf of children's rights and actively document specific cases of child trafficking, placement of children as servants, and other forms of child abuse.
54. Use the internet for international audiences as well as Haitian audiences. There appears to be more public discussion of the *restavèk* problem outside of Haiti than in Haiti itself, and the discussion is heavily sensationalized. It would be helpful to create a topically focused website dedicated to Haitian child issues, including documentation on the plight of *restavek* servant children as an important social problem. A web site could provide easy access to solid research on these issues (see Annex IV).
55. Hard data on *restavèk* children. More effective targeting and program planning requires better statistics on *restavèk* children and other categories of child placement. This would require local household composition surveys in rural areas, small towns, and cities. This could be done as a series of local household composition surveys rather than as a national survey.
56. Distinguishing servant children from other children. Household composition studies should be designed to distinguish servant children from other types of extra-familial child placement.
57. Culturally appropriate questions. Such studies should document the *giving* and *taking* of children in each household surveyed, using carefully tailored questions to bypass *restavèk* sensitivities.
58. Geographic origins. Household composition studies in Port-au-Prince should elicit the geographic origins of children with a view to better targeting of media campaigns in major child supply zones such as Grand'Anse and the South?
59. Targeted qualitative studies designed to complement statistical surveys. Household composition studies should be complemented by case study follow-up of children placed outside the home, especially children from specific rural areas placed in specific urban households. This is feasible with the active collaboration of sending families.
60. Case studies of positive outcomes in child placement. Some attention should be given to documenting cases where child placement results in positive benefits. Investigate conditions that lead some households to healthy outcomes and others to suffering.

FINDINGS: OTHER CATEGORIES OF HAITIAN CHILD LABOR

Child Labor in Haiti. There's a pattern of paid and unpaid labor for similar types of work that distinguishes adults from children, whereby children do work similar to adults, and sometimes a greater volume of work, but without being paid.

- There's every indication that the largest single sector utilizing child labor in Haiti is unpaid domestic service related to household chores.
- Aside from domestic service, the other large-scale centers of demand for child labor in Haiti are petty commerce and agricultural labor.
- In all three cases, younger children are placed with others as unpaid child laborers.

Petty commerce. Both girls and boys are in demand as street vendors, carriers, marketing aides for travelling market intermediaries, and sellers in small household stores or street markets.

- Demand for child workers in this sphere is higher for girls than boys.
- Some children buy and sell their own produce.
- Boys carry produce to market or unload goods at the bus station for money, a phenomenon highly visible at border crossings and border markets.

Coming of age. If children are not in school and not needed at home, they tend to take on adult roles at an early age beginning at age fifteen or even younger, and they actively seek work for pay.

- A common shift among *restavèk* children at this age is a shift from unpaid domestic labor to wage labor beginning around age fifteen.
- Girls placed as *restavèk* children in Port-au-Prince may run away or arrange to leave, especially if they can locate jobs as servants.
- Boys placed as fieldhands may be allowed to have their own gardens or they may leave their placement and return from time to time as hired hands.
- Girls age ten and above who are neglected by parents or are in *restavèk* placement are prime candidates for occasional earnings from sex work.

FINDINGS: CHILDREN AND THE BORDER

The border.

- Border area localities are distinctly different in many respects from regions further afield on either side of the border.
- In border area localities there is considerable cross-border movement between neighboring localities.
- In contrast to this local traffic, the border also attracts strangers from literally all regions of Haiti, primarily labor migrants seeking to cross the border.
- There are many repeat travelers back and forth across the border, including thousands of people who are *not* from border areas.
- Dominican medical services attract many Haitian clients, including children, especially Haitians from near border areas.
- Haitian workers in border areas provide most of the agricultural labor required by Dominican farmers.
- Border area farmers in Haiti also seek access to garden land in Dominican border areas in the form of rental or sharecropping arrangements.

Minors crossing the border. Much of the cross border travel of Haitian children is a subset of adults seeking work across the border. The movement of labor is linked in part to the slack season for agriculture in Haiti.

- Haitian child laborers in the DR are more often boys than girls.
- Children may cross the border to work. This course of action is viewed as an alternative to school and to some extent as an alternative to *restavèk* placement.
- As a corollary, children attending school in Haiti are less likely to cross the border.
- Some children in border areas live with Dominican families as a strategy for attending school.
- Runaway children, especially children running away from *restavèk* situations, may seek to cross the border.
- Border area children as young as 8 to 10 years old cross the border to work as day laborers while living at home in Haiti.

Children and border markets. Children are much in evidence at border markets.

- Hundreds of Haitian children work in Dominican border markets as carriers, peddlers, and aides to market traders.
- Haitian children sometimes serve as interpreters in small Dominican shops that cater to Haitian customers on market days.
- Border markets serve as points of contact for Dominican recruitment of Haitian agricultural laborers including adults and children
- Border markets serve as points of contact for Dominicans to recruit Haitian children as foster children, and for children to directly offer themselves for placement in Dominican homes.

Haitian children placed with Dominican families as foster children. There is demand for Haitian children as foster children in Dominican households, especially in border areas.

- Dominican families actively recruit Haitian children to live with them when their own children are older and out of the house.
- Dominican farm families who hire agricultural workers ask Haitian workers for children.
- There's greater demand for girls; however, boys are sometimes recruited to help with agricultural work.
- There's no evidence of trafficking in foster child placement in Dominican households.

Cross border placement of *restavèk* children in Haitian households.

- There is a growing incidence of child recruitment for *restavèk* placement with Haitian households in the DR.
- Children are often recruited by individuals who are known to the sending families; however, rural Haitian children may be placed in Haitian households and locations in the DR that are not known to the sending parents.
- Haitian children placed in such households may work (a) as domestic servant children, and/or (b) may earn money from such activities as begging, shining shoes, or agricultural day labor.
- In the latter case, children may be recruited specifically for the purpose of generating revenues for adult caretakers.

- Children may retain some degree of control over earnings during the time they are in the street or working; however, they are expected to turn over a significant portion of their earnings to caretaker adults.
- Haitian child recruiters contact rural children and their parents in poor families, offering to pay travel fees for child migration, including the guide or smuggler's fee.
- Some individuals recruit several *restavèk* children for placement in a single household, using them to generate income for the household.
- In short, the recruitment process includes the use of intermediaries under social and economic circumstances that lend themselves to trafficking and exploitation of child labor.

Begging. There are growing numbers of Haitian beggars in Dominican cities, most commonly women and children. The significant growth in numbers coincides with political turbulence and the protracted economic decline afflicting Haiti since the early 1990s.

- Some Haitian families emigrate to the DR specifically to beg without any prior experience as professional beggars in Haiti.
- Begging is viewed by its practitioners as a category of work.
- It may be an individual activity or a group or family endeavor in which Haitians who reside in outlying areas or slum districts of the DR travel by public transport to central city areas and major intersections where begging is more lucrative.
- Haitian beggar families in the DR organize periodic begging expeditions for the day or over night or for several days.
- Beggar children may be borrowed in exchange for a gift or share of receipts.
- The use of babies and young children significantly increases income from begging.
- Babies and younger children may garner more income in a day from begging than older boys who shine shoes.
- Begging may also be more lucrative than the prevailing wage for agricultural day labor for adults in rural Haiti.
- In *restavèk* placement under these circumstances – if parents are aware of begging arrangements, there is a common understanding that a portion of money earned by young children should be set aside as savings for the children and their biological parents.
- In actual fact, field interviews suggest that the children may well receive only a small portion of these savings or perhaps none at all, and may return to Haiti with few or no savings.
- In some cases, neither the children recruited in Haiti nor their parents are aware of the begging arrangement when the children are recruited for household placement as *restavèk* children in the DR.

Shoe shine boys. Haitian boys age ten and above, including young men in their twenties, commonly work as shoe shine boys. There's no evidence from field interviews that shoe shine boys work in organized groups, except in the case of *restavèk* children whose income is controlled by adults in the receiving household. There's good evidence that Haitian shoe shine boys commonly work together in small informal groups or a buddy system that includes mutual aid, walking together in the street, assistance in acquiring materials for shining shoes, friendly loans, and shared food and lodging.

Deportation. Haitians without travel documents run a high risk of being deported. New arrivals run a much higher risk than those who have lived in the Dominican Republic for many years due to language skills, local knowledge, and presentation of self.

- Haitians are periodically rounded up and dropped off at the border.
- Dominican guards commonly take their money and anything of value including clothing when they are picked up or dropped at the border.
- Deportees, including children, are subject to brief periods of imprisonment prior to being dropped at the border. Families may be separated during round-ups. Children separated from adult caretakers are dropped at the border and left to fend for themselves.
- The risk of deportation is much higher when Haitian children live with undocumented Haitians in the DR, compared to placement in Dominican families.
- Deported Haitians without money sometimes seek assistance from mayors in Haitian border areas, including a place to sleep over night, food, and bus fare.

Risk in the process of child migration. This includes the difficult and sometimes traumatic circumstance of illicit cross-border travel into the DR, and also deportation from the DR.

- First time labor migrants are not fully aware of the risks when recruited by labor broker or smugglers.
- Children placed across the border, and their biological parents – especially sending households located in areas distant from the border, are not fully aware of the risks that accompany illicit cross border travel, including theft and armed robbery, rape and other forms of physical abuse, and the risk of lost children.

Abuse and trafficking. In sum, there's ample evidence of abuse and some evidence of trafficking in cross border labor recruitment, including children.

- There's evidence of trafficking in recruitment of *restavèk* children for begging and other revenue generating activities.
- There's some evidence that laborers in the construction industry, including Haitian minors, are forced to pay kickbacks out of their paychecks in exchange for work.
- The *boukong* system of labor smugglers includes the use of abusive arrangements such as dropping off undocumented Haitians, including children, in remote areas where they are exposed to the elements and risk death.
- Illegally border crossing into the DR carries with it the risk of theft and rape by armed robbers and by Dominican guards.
- Labor smugglers reportedly make false promises of work and provide misinformation about the type of work available.
- There's field evidence of labor smugglers recruiting Haitian minors for the sex trade in urban discothèques and also for placement of underage Haitian females as domestic partners for rural Dominican men.
- Some of the worst forms of systematic mistreatment of children stem from current Dominican practices relating to round-up and deportation of Haitians. The process is inherently abusive and violates human rights. It is deemed acceptable, apparently, because of the illegal status of most Haitians residing in the Dominican Republic. It is particularly damaging to children.

PROGRAMMATIC IMPLICATIONS: CHILDREN AND THE BORDER

Child supply side. The basic strategy noted earlier (findings for *restavèk* children in Haiti) also apply generally to the source households in cross-border child migration, i.e., programs that support poverty alleviation, jobs, and schools, family planning and public health, and media campaigns. In addition, it would be useful to target some program interventions specifically at border area populations and problems.

Border area localities. Children not in school are prime candidates for cross-border migration as well as for placement outside the home. Furthermore, children in border areas are more likely than other children to cross the border. In terms of priorities, it could be argued that children from border areas who cross over into neighboring localities are not the crux of the problem of child exploitation since they are closer to home and are somewhat less likely to be trafficked or deported. Furthermore, they are unlikely to cross the border with labor smugglers. If they are placed as foster children with more affluent Dominican households, they are quite likely to be well treated. If they live with Dominican foster parents close to the border, such children may well keep in touch with biological relatives nearby in Haiti.

Children from further away. It's very clear that parents in child sending households in rural Haiti lack adequate information about the conditions of cross-border travel and child placement in the DR. *High priority should be accorded to the plight of Haitian children recruited from areas more distant from the border.* Such children are particularly susceptible to the following scenarios:

- placement – sometimes by intermediaries – as *restavèk* servant children whose destiny is to generate revenues in the street for marginal Haitian households in Dominican cities;
- victimization by unscrupulous labor smugglers who
 - (a) make false promises,
 - (b) drop off unknowing adults and children in remote areas, leaving them vulnerable to theft, rape, and exposure to the elements,
 - (c) recruit Haitian minors for the sex trade;
- children picked up through arbitrary round-up, imprisonment, and deportation by Dominican authorities without regard to the children's legal status or rights, or the presence or absence of adult caretakers.

Recommendations:

1. **Schooling.** Better access to education in border communes, including secondary schooling, would tend to reduce or at least delay the incidence of cross border movement of local children. For example, in Savanette local people report that fewer young people from the area travel to the DR in search of work in the period since a secondary school was built in recent years.
2. **Medical services.** Public medical services in Dominican border municipalities are a medical magnet for Haitian clients from across the border, including children. A possible link between crossing the border occasionally for medical services and crossing for migration argues in favor of targeting Haitian border communes for better medical services, especially for basic medical needs, as opposed to more specialized medical services.

3. Local cross-border collaboration. Neighboring municipalities in border areas share common interests related to proximity, markets, and border traffic. It would be useful to foster cross-border contact between neighboring municipalities at the level of local municipal governments. This should include ceremonial occasions as well as concrete, problem-solving efforts related to very specific issues of joint concern.
4. Cross border collaboration around animal theft. This has been done successfully in Savanette and Hondo Valle and to some extent elsewhere, but not everywhere. In Savanette/Hondo Valle, for example, collaborative efforts have had the effect of decreasing the incidence of animal theft – a common problem in rural Haiti/DR border areas.
5. Targeted cross-border collaboration around children's issues at high volume repatriation sites. Local cross-border collaboration could also be applied to children's issues, including Haitian runaways or lost children in the DR, and shared vested interests in the plight of children dropped at border crossings, especially Dajabón/Ouanaminthe, Elias Piña/Belladère, and Pedernales/Anse à Pitre (and Thiotte by extension) where children, sometimes unaccompanied by adults, are repatriated.
6. Developing habits of cross-border inter-municipal collaboration around a broad range of shared issues. There is a whole range of border issues that touch on children's lives but do not focus specifically on children, including border markets, medical services, and land and labor arrangements. Therefore, objectives of collaboration would be to solve specific problems or mitigate conflicts, including for example border area criminal behavior or disputes over cross-border land rental.
7. Collaboration around varied issues, including concerns not directly related to children, has a positive impact on child-specific issues. The greater the level of local collaboration and joint contact around a range of issues, the greater the likelihood of concerted effort around issues that effect the welfare of children. This might also include cultural exchanges, student field visits, and cross-border participation in special holiday events or festivals.
8. Growing cross-border program experience by NGOs. These efforts should build on growing levels of experience among NGOs with programs or counterpart organizations operating on both sides of the border, e.g., Save the Children, World Vision, Catholic Relief Services, and the Pan American Development Foundation. GARR has collaborated with counterpart organizations in the DR, and successfully promoted the development of local committees in Haitian border areas affected by repatriation.
9. Enhance positive role played by Haitian mayors in border areas affected by large scale repatriation. Mayors and municipal government in Haitian border areas have played an active role in assisting repatriated Haitians in need of food and shelter.
10. Promote NGO partnerships at the *commune* level. NGOs providing services to children should collaborate with local mayors and municipal governments as feasible. This could take the form of informal partnerships similar to the approach of the local GARR committee in Thiotte where needy repatriated Haitians regularly contact both the mayor and the GARR committee to request assistance.
11. Promote cross-border civic committees focused on specific issues of joint concern. Local cross-border collaboration should also be more actively promoted at the level of other non-governmental citizen's groups, e.g., neighboring Red Cross committees or Chambers of Commerce. This might also include cross-border civic committees or special interests such as fishermen's associations with a shared vested interest in

- managing commons and assuring sustainable fish harvest in Anse à Pitre and Pedernales.
12. Media campaigns. Media recommendations noted earlier apply generally to border related issues in the recruitment of children, especially for children recruited in areas distant from the border.
 13. Media message – risks of cross-border child placement. In addition to messages noted earlier, media campaigns in Haiti should directly address the special risks of child placement with marginal Haitian households in Dominican cities.
 14. Media message – risks of trafficking in cross-border recruitment. Messages should take note of the vulnerability of children to elements of trafficking in cross-border recruitment, including abusive or unreliable labor smugglers, and the risks of deportation including problems of lost children and the separation of children from adult caretakers.
 15. Difficulty of cross-border monitoring of child placement. Messages should emphasize the difficulty of parents being able to communicate with children or to look out for their interests when they are placed across the border, even if sent to live with relatives.
 16. Creole language media campaigns in Dominican cities. Media campaigns might include Creole language messages or broadcasts targeting Dominican cities with high concentrations of Haitians, including information about agencies that provide services to children, especially in border towns where Haitians are repatriated and children are deposited without adult caretakers.
 17. Targeting border-area radio stations. Radio stations in border areas, including community radio stations served by the RAMAK project, would have a vested interest in these and other border related issues and programming.
 18. Outreach to smugglers. Some effort might be made to contact labor guides and smugglers informally (in Haiti) to create social pressures against child abuse related to illicit cross border travel. Such efforts would communicate the concerns of NGOs and citizen groups seeking to monitor the conditions of cross border travel. This effort would work best as a complement to media campaigns.
 19. Hire ex-smugglers for more effective outreach. The identity of local labor smugglers is generally known to the local public. The present study demonstrates the feasibility of interviewing smugglers and openly discussing the issues. Outreach initiatives targeting smugglers should actively consider hiring ex-smugglers.
 20. How to approach smugglers. Smugglers could conceivably be open to such encounters if they had access to alternative employment, or if smugglers understood that lack of concern for these issues would threaten their livelihood due to bad publicity, public outcry, or arrest; and if the apparent focus of interest were the welfare of children rather than the illegality of cross border travel.

DOMINICAN SENSITIVITIES AND THE PLIGHT OF HAITIANS

There tends to be a one-sided anti-Dominican tone in much of pro-Haitian human rights advocacy in the Dominican Republic.

Recognize the poverty and vulnerability of the Dominican Republic. Ordinary Dominican citizens are fearful of their unique vulnerability to an uncontrolled Haitian “invasion.” Haitian migration and the dilemma of the Dominican Republic as a country are rarely if ever discussed.

Desist from confusing Dominican people with the Dominican military. Reporting tends to caricature Haitians in the Dominican Republic as collective victims and the Dominicans as a nation of collective villains.

Desist from global generalizations about “Dominican racism.” There are standard allusions in human rights reports regarding the generalized anti-Haitian racism of Dominicans. Unqualified accusations of national racism are in effect stereotypes rather than bona-fide research findings. Field interviews in the present study elicited some expression of traditional stereotypes, but Dominican views of Haitians tended to be much more complicated than that, including reverse stereotypes alleging higher levels of intelligence and work energy among Haitians. Most Haitians interviewed expressed balanced or even positive views of their treatment by ordinary Dominicans, though certainly not by military personnel.

Recognize the potentially catastrophic consequences of one-sided reporting. The most serious human rights abuses against Haitians -- collective street roundups and no-questions-asked collective expulsions -- began in 1990 under Balaguer as a direct response to a one-sided attack by an international human rights report. Within the next decade tens of thousands of Haitians were rounded up and summarily expelled. In effect, reporting on a nationally sensitive issue had unintended consequences in the form of highly abusive expulsions. Dominican soldiers, not human rights authors, were and are the agents of these abuses; however, many Dominican intellectuals and professionals who could be allies in human rights struggles react negatively to pro-Haitian activism that doesn't take into account closely related concerns of Dominicans.

Tone down the language of Haitian victimization in the Dominican Republic. Anti-Dominican elements are one side of the coin. “Poor Haiti” discourse is the other. The guiding agenda should be a mature mutually respectful dialog between two countries with serious economic dilemmas.

Avoid sole identification of Haitians with problems of unemployment, sexual exploitation, child abuse, and poverty that also afflict Dominicans. Many of the problems suffered by Haitians in the Dominican Republic are not a product of direct anti-Haitian discrimination. They may be generic problems suffered by all impoverished social groups in the Dominican Republic

Focus on four genuine domains of anti-Haitian abuse:

- Economically-motivated collusion of the Dominican military in the smuggling trade.
- Sudden street roundups and forced repatriations by the Dominican military, including the separation of children from parents or other adult caretakers.
- Discriminatory withholding of birth certificates.
- Classification of Dominico-Haitians as aliens and targeting them for deportation or other abusive behaviors.

THE CROSS-BORDER SMUGGLING INDUSTRY

Reinstitute the legalized guest-worker arrangement that prevails on sugar plantations in other countries and that once prevailed in the Dominican Republic. The best way to undercut the demand for human smugglers would be to legalize and regulate the flow of workers in the cane. This goal should be broached with the new

Haitian government and the newly elected Dominican government. Though there is much smuggling unrelated to the sugar industry, the heaviest volume and best organized modes of smuggling are linked to cane fields. Legalization and regulation of the flow would give unemployed Haitians access to seasonal labor without the need to pay off Haitian smugglers or dodge Dominican soldiers in nighttime journeys through mountain pine forests.

This legalization can be done without reinstating the corrupt government-to-government kickbacks that prevailed during the Trujillo and Duvalier regimes. The Dominican government could take the initiative in legalizing the flow of guest workers from Haiti. Haitian government collaboration would also be required, as Haitians would not be able to re-enter the country legally without Haitian documents.

Eliminate Haitian child labor in the sugar industry through regulated labor flows.

Some degree of child labor occurs when young Haitians join the flow of smuggled labor during the cane harvest. Regulation would allow screening of minors.

Reduce collusion in human smuggling by the Dominican military. Involvement of the Dominican military in the illegal introduction of Haitians into the Dominican Republic has been an element of corruption. The current arrangement converts many Dominican soldiers into exploiters and abusers of migrants and collaborators with human smugglers and traffickers. Legalization of the labor flow would reduce the corrupt and abusive role of the Dominican military.

COLLECTIVE EXPULSIONS

Standard recommendations. Lists of specific recommendations with respect to collective expulsions appear in different reports.⁴⁷ Among them are:

- (1) Allow detainees to contact their families and to collect belongings. Current procedure is to grab Haitians during roundups, load them onto buses, and ship them to the border with no chance to advise their spouses and children, collect their belongings, and/or retrieve documents that would prove their right to be in the country.
- (2) Establish and follow procedures for deportation that give the detainees adequate opportunity to document their status.
- (3) Do not insist on official *cédulas* as the only form of identification. As many as half of Haitians born in the Dominican Republic have been refused *cédulas*. Many of these speak no Creole and have never been in Haiti.
- (4) Remove the Dominican army from involvement in deportations. It should be a matter for *Migración*, not for the *Ejército Nacional*. The army has not restricted itself to acting on behalf of Migration. It also actively initiates roundups and expulsions. Lower level soldiers serve as judge and jury for persons detained.
- (5) Aside from the provisions of Dominican law, remind the authorities of international agreements to which the Dominican Republic is signatory that concern human rights and migrants.

⁴⁷ See especially HRW (2002), Plataforma Vida – GARR (2002), and IHRLC (2002).

International development organizations in the Dominican Republic should be cautious about prioritizing “the problems of Haitians.” Dominican sectors, both public and private, react negatively to programs targeting Haitian beneficiaries in the Dominican Republic. In view of national anger at perceived anti-Dominican and pro-Haitian bias, international agencies should reconsider explicitly pro-Haitian initiatives. On the other hand, Dominican NGOs and the public sector are open to bilateral, cross-border initiatives, and to poverty alleviation, educational, and health-care initiatives which benefit local Haitians as well as Dominicans.

Explore several mass media initiatives concerning Haitians in the Dominican Republic. Some mass-media initiatives regarding Haitians in the Dominican Republic could provoke interest if they are done in a balanced manner that tell a human “tale of two cities.” Possible topics of interest might be a comparison of the fate of Haitian migrants in the Dominican Republic with Dominican migrants in Puerto Rico or the US, or reporting on the behavior of the Dominican military during roundups. Ordinary Dominicans would be offended by the specter of Haitian mothers pulled off the street and sent to the border while their young children are left alone at home. The theme of such a documentary should be that undocumented Haitians in Santo Domingo merit the same procedural protections that undocumented Dominicans are given in New York City.

Such honest and balanced mass media initiatives would, we believe, be received sympathetically in the Dominican Republic. At the moment the airwaves are dominated instead by two groups of extremists: angry pro-Haitian activists that can see little good in the behavior of Dominicans, and Dominican nationalists who would be happy if all 800,000 Haitians or more were rounded up and dumped on the other side of the border.

Assist the small number of NGOs in the Dominican Republic and Haiti who are involved in refugee operations. Donors should be very cautious about NGOs claiming involvement with Haitians in the Dominican Republic and should verify whether or not their claims are genuine. There are a small number of NGOs actively involved in anti-trafficking whose human rights advocacy goes beyond documentation and denunciation into actual support. These groups should be assessed in more detail for possible support.

CANE FIELDS AND BATEYES

Discussion of sugar mills and *bateyes* in this report is based on information collected in six *bateyes* in the area of Barahona. Findings do not necessarily apply to other mills and *bateyes*. We will make some generic recommendations about the *bateyes* and the condition of the cane cutters.

Encourage wage rates and work conditions comparable to other private-sector agrarian operations in the Dominican Republic. Many of the most serious problems found in the *bateyes* are the result of earlier decades of incompetent management by the State, especially the failure to create humane labor conditions in the sugar industry. The most promising approach to dealing with the dilemma of Haitian adults and children on the *bateyes* is to promote labor arrangements comparable to other sectors of the economy.

Give improvement of work conditions equal priority with technological innovation. The recent privatization and internationalization of the management of Dominican sugar mills could have led to substantial improvement in the living conditions of workers as well as improved performance of the industry. In fact, the universal impression of *batey* residents interviewed suggests that the opposite has occurred. Deterioration of life in the *bateyes* and canefields cannot be attributed primarily to privatization of the industry. On the contrary, government-run mills were disastrous technically, economically, and socially. There was no option but to privatize or shut down the industry.

In the wake of privatization, the emphasis of the Barahona consortium has been to improve irrigation systems and some mechanization of harvesting. The consortium has shown awareness of dangers to the entire industry if worker conditions were not addressed, but these changes were given lower priority than technical changes. Lack of local experience by the new management opened the door to unsavory maneuvers by local vested interests, hangovers from the period of State control.

Raise wages! The outrageously low wage rates set by the Dominican State for its mills were adopted and continued by the new managers. These wages are far beneath wages paid, for example, by construction companies or private agro-industrial concerns. The poverty of Haiti creates a situation in which young men gladly come to earn the equivalent of \$2.50 dollars per day. With the devaluation of the peso and the low tonnage rates, the ordinary cane worker is now making closer to \$0.80 U.S. cents a day for 12 hours or more of exhausting work. The sine-qua-non of *any* improvement of the situation of the cane worker is an increase in tonnage rates beyond those set by the Dominican state.

The new managers have not done that. Could they do it? Yes, judging from parallel agrarian industries. Other agrarian and industrial sectors pay higher wages. The low wages paid by the cane consortia are simply a continuation of earlier State practice. If management cannot establish a reasonable living daily wage, then the Dominican sugar industry – which relies on human smuggling, undocumented workers, and below market wages - is unfit to survive.

Re-establish a transparent weighing system. Even a decent per-ton rate generating several dollars a day would be ineffective unless current weighing practices were eliminated. The weighing of cane used to be done publicly. Those able to cut more cane were paid more money. Since privatization, foreign managers in the Barahona *bateyes*, possibly unfamiliar with local dog-eat-dog traditions, have allowed Dominican subordinates to change the weighing procedure and use an arbitrary guesstimate of how much each worker has cut.

The company itself does not profit from these deceptive weighing maneuvers since the cane is carefully weighed when it reaches the *ingenio*, and the agreed sum is paid to local managers. By underestimating the amount that each worker has cut, local vested interests, mostly Dominican middle managers, can pocket a percentage for themselves. This also reflects poor management at the highest level and generates legitimate anger and hatred against the company, and a call for the return of the bad old days when the government ran things. This problem could readily be defused by simply reinstating a transparent weighing system whereby the worker receives a chit at the end of each day or two specifying how much cane he has cut. If the institution of an honest weighing

system were accompanied by a higher tonnage rate, the impact both on the economics and morale of Haitian workers would be enormous.

Reinstitute the provision-plot arrangement. Even from colonial times the practice of the “provision plot” was an essential and strategic economic element on many Caribbean plantations. When the Dominican government managed the sugar mills, cane workers were routinely given access to their own personal garden land. The foreign managers have put all the land in sugar cane and forbidden the planting of private gardens on their land. They have even destroyed gardens that exist. The traditional beneficiaries of provision plots were not newly arrived migrants but rather Haitian residents of the *bateyes*. The anger generated by these expropriations has been fierce and produced organized, violent, and successful resistance.

The small amounts of land the consortium recuperated for cane production cannot possibly compensate for the ill will and anger engendered by eliminating traditional Haitian provision plots. The provision plot should be viewed as a part of the compensation package to longstanding workers. There is no conventional way that a Haitian cane cutter can “get a raise.” There are no tonnage differentials between what is paid to somebody who has cut cane for 30 years and a newly arrived Haitian migrant. The provision plot thus can serve as a surrogate wage increment, a bonus to the longstanding Haitian resident and cane worker.

BIRTH CERTIFICATES AND ID CARDS FOR HAITIANS BORN IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Bring practice into conformity with law, or change the law to mesh with current practice. The Dominican constitution mandates citizenship for any person born on Dominican soil; however, when an undocumented Haitian woman delivers a child in a Dominican hospital, no maternity or birth certificate is issued. The child remains an alien with no written record of his or her birth. Thousands of Haitian women deliver children every year free of charge in Dominican hospitals. Under the circumstances, Dominican reluctance to issue birth certificates that endow automatic citizenship is understandable. There seem to be three options with respect to Dominican law.

- (1) Respect the constitution. Deliver Haitian babies and give them automatic Dominican citizenship.
- (2) Respect the constitution by avoiding the situation where it would apply. Refuse to deliver the babies of any undocumented Haitian. Require a high standard of proof for children born in private homes.
- (3) Ignore the law. Deliver the babies out of compassion for the mothers and children, but avoid giving birth certificates.

Hesitate before insisting on literal compliance with the Dominican constitution. In the past, injudiciously worded human rights documents have provoked the expulsion of perhaps 100,000 Haitians. Likewise, hard-line insistence on issuing maternity certificates could provoke the exclusion of undocumented Haitian women from access to prenatal and obstetrical services that they now enjoy in Dominican hospitals.

Endow citizenship to all children with one Dominican parent. Many children are now born of mixed parentage, particularly border areas. In current practice, the child of a

Haitian man and a Dominican woman is given a birth certificate, but not the child of a Dominican man and a Haitian woman. This appears to be an extension of the longstanding practice in which Dominican women declare children born out of legal wedlock. This inconsistent practice should be replaced by a policy that endows citizenship to all children with one Dominican parent.

Take immediate action to endow Dominico-Haitians with documents. There are many *batey* residents born in the Dominican Republic who have never been to Haiti, may speak no Creole, and have no Dominican documents. This subgroup should become the immediate object of human rights attention.

Eliminate the municipal whimsy factor. There is evidence of arbitrary decision making at local levels regarding Haitian access to birth certificates, schools, and health care. A hospital director in an important Dominican border town reportedly decided that he would no longer admit Haitian women for delivery.⁴⁸ Furthermore, field interviews indicated that issuance of a birth certificate to a child of mixed parents depends on the whimsy of local officials. Personal whimsy should not play a role in determining the legal status of a person and should be eliminated by law.

HAITIANS IN THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY

Explore temporary guest worker arrangements for Haitians in the Dominican construction industry. The Dominican construction industry is as heavily dependent on illegal border crossings and smugglers as the sugar cane industry. The smuggling is indirect since construction employers do not recruit across the border, but the industry is dependent on a menial workforce that is nearly 100 percent Haitian, and probably less than 10 or 15 percent have legal documents. Haitian construction workers receive much higher wages for much less physical exertion than cane cutters; however, their illegal status makes them vulnerable to abusive deportations. A range of options should be considered, including temporary guest worker passes for the construction industry.

Carry out research into the construction industry. In order to formulate more specific program interventions in this important but unstudied sector, we need a better knowledge base analogous to the now somewhat voluminous literature on Haitians in the *bateyes*. Extended interviews should be carried out with Haitian workers, Dominican owners and supervisors of construction companies, and groups of urban Dominicans to better understand current practices and sentiments in this sector.

TYPES OF TRAFFICKING ENCOUNTERED IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Absence of dedicated child smuggling circuits. There's abundant evidence of human smuggling networks, the highest volume and level of organization being found in the circuits supplying young adult labor to Dominican cane fields. Field inquiry found no evidence of organized smuggling circuits that secretly shuttle busloads or truckloads of Haitian children into the Dominican Republic. There's ample reason to study the uses of Haitian children in the Dominican Republic, since there are systematic patterns of severe abuse. Most of these forms of abuse do not fit neatly into the categories of trafficking or circumstances resembling slavery.

⁴⁸ We were unable to verify this.

Some observations do meet the criterion of trafficking.

- There's evidence of cross-border trafficking of Haitian cane cutters. Though most cane cutters are young adults who come explicitly to work in the cane fields, a subset of these young men is composed of minors under the age of 18.
- Another subset of cane cutters report that they were recruited on the basis of erroneous information from the cross-border smuggler concerning the nature of the work to which they are being taken.
- There are numerous reports of smugglers dropping off undocumented Haitians, including children, in remote areas where they are exposed to the elements and risk death, instead of leading them to work opportunities as promised.
- There are also confirmed reports of children brought by Haitian smugglers from Haiti to Santiago for the purpose of organized begging under the control of Haitian adults in Santiago. The parents of such children did not necessarily have full awareness of the begging arrangement or the details of *restavèk* placement when agreeing to place their children in Haitian households in the DR.
- There are numerous credible reports of "rent-a-child" arrangements by which Haitian female beggars in Santiago and Santo Domingo augment their income by begging with young children in their arms. If they do not have children of their own, they borrow those of relatives or acquaintances in return for a portion of the begging proceeds.
- There are reports of young Haitian women on the *bateyes* of Barahona locked in a room and forced into prostitution services for Haitian cane cutters.
- There are reports of young Haitian *batey* girls turned over by their parents to Haitian intermediaries promising placement of the girls in Dominican homes. Instead, the girls were locked up and forced into prostitution.
- There's field evidence of labor smugglers recruiting Haitian women including minors for the sex trade in urban discothèques and also for placement of underage Haitian females as domestic partners for rural Dominican men.

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⁴⁹ Citations in this report use acronyms for organizational authors. See listing of acronyms at the beginning of the report.

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ANNEX I
SMUCKER INTERVIEW SITES AND CONTACTS
Glenn R. Smucker

Smucker carried out individual and group interviews with 160 people including 40 interviews in the Dominican Republic, primarily in border areas. Interviewees included 42 females, and 18 current or former *restavèk* children placed with Haitian and Dominican families. In addition, key informants with direct personal knowledge of *restavèk* children, such as neighbors or family members, provided specific information regarding another 51 children, primarily girls, placed in households away from home. The round of interviews included biological parents from sending families, intermediaries or brokers, and adult overseers in households that received children. In addition to *restavèk* child servants, field interviewees included other categories of children living outside of their households of origin, and other categories of child laborers. Most interviews were tape recorded with the permission of those interviewed, and later transcribed.

The range of informants for this study included the following:

- small farmers in rural areas of Haiti and the Dominican Republic,
- members of middle and upper class families in Port-au-Prince and smaller towns,
- low-paid Port-au-Prince workers
- street kids including beggar children and odd jobbers,
- shoe shine boys in border towns,
- Haitian sex workers in the Dominican Republic,
- school teachers on both sides of the border,
- Dominico-Haitians and mixed nationality households along the Dominican border,
- Haitian market traders (*machann*), cross-border street vendors, and market intermediaries (*madansara*) who regularly travel to the DR,
- agricultural day laborers from Haiti who cross the border,
- agriculturalists who live in Haiti and farm land on the Dominican side of the border, including sharecropping (*demwatye*) and rental arrangements in DR border areas,
- Haitian labor smugglers (*pasè* or *boukong*).
- travelling ritual specialists (*houngan*) from Haiti who cater to a clientele in the Dominican Republic,
- local authorities including border guards, customs and immigration personnel, mayors and municipal staff,
- representatives of NGOs in both countries with an interest in *restavèk* children, child laborers, and Haitian workers in the Dominican Republic.

Most interviews were undertaken in November and December 2003 plus some additional interviews in late January and early February 2004. Field research included many brief conversations with people not listed below as key informants. The majority of structured interviews were taped. The following sites and listing of interviewees are in chronological order of field site visits:

Haiti

Port-au-Prince (12 interviews)

- Delens, grew up in a rural area of Les Anglais, presently lives in a marginal working class neighborhood near Croix de Préz, Port-au-Prince, works occasionally as a driver for a law firm
- Marie-Tour, resides in a middle class neighborhood of Port-au-Prince
- Jean-Paul, Thomazeau entrepreneur who grew up in an affluent neighborhood of Port-au-Prince
- Phildère, grew up in a mountain peasant region of Belle Anse (Corail-Lamothe), maintains close ties to this area, presently lives in a marginal working class neighborhood of Pétiion-Ville, works occasionally as a taptap driver
- Viviane, resides in an affluent neighborhood of Pétiion-Ville, raising a child from a poor family
- Two Pétiion-Ville residents employed as maids by a hotel in Pétiion-Ville
- Jenny, a prospective adoptive mother from the United States, Haitian adoption underway for a boy under one year of age from an orphanage near Delmas 31
- Dr. Nadine Burdet, Director of L'Escale, a group home for runaway *restavèk* children, located on the outskirts of Cité Soleil
- Dr. Joseph Faublas, a native of Cerca Carvajal, former resident of Dominican Republic, operates a community health program in Cerca Carvajal
- Joseph Orgella, Director, Centre de Développement Communautaire (CEDEC), interested in *restavèk* children and Haitians repatriated from Dominican Republic
- Martial Bailey, PADF project director for program on trafficking in persons

Cap-Haitien (8)

- Mérilus Telfort, Protestant pastor, Eglises d'Emmaus, school for street kids
- Jacques Jeanty, Centre des fouineurs sans frontières, works with child garbage pickers
- Reno Davilmar, Mouvement d'orientation pr le développement des enfants du nord
- Agr. Joanas Gué, PADF, program outreach in border areas
- Enol Leroy, businessman, travels frequently to DR for cross border trade
- Jean-Ralph Prevost, Juge d'Instruction, children's court, protective services
- Group of street kids who sleep in the main square

Ouanaminthe, Haiti – Dajabon, DR (20)

- Rosny Occéan, Haitian immigration officer
- Haitian Customs officer
- Dominican tour guide at Haitian immigration office
- Jean-Baptiste Bienaimée, Haitian Consul (Dajabon)
- Antonio Vixamar, Centro del Puente/Centre Pont (Dajabon)
- Street vendors, beggars and shoe shine boys (Dajabon)
- Market vendors and carriers (Dajabon)
- Brief interviews at busy border crossing on market day: money changer, Haitian border guard, parents with sick children crossing for Dominican health services, market vendors, children carrying loads.

Minan, a remote area of Plaisance commune (11)

- Wilner Pierre, age 16, shoe shine boy recently returned from DR
- Junior Destilma, age 13, beggar child recently repatriated from DR
- Navo Destilma, age 11, agricultural laborer recently repatriated from DR
- Joseph, age 18, labor smuggler and agricultural worker, ex-shoe shine boy in DR
- Joseph's mother, a market lady
- Joseph's stepfather, a houngan
- Alfarès (Ti Pale), ex-child laborer (beggar) in DR
- Rezi, mother of Alfarès, also gave up another child as *restavèk* in Gonaives
- Junior Sajous, DR child laborer (agriculture) recently repatriated
- Madam Sajous, Junior's mother
- Semwensèl Pierre, age 10, child laborer (shining shoes) recently repatriated from DR

Mirebalais (2)

- Sonsonn, street kid, age 10-19, sometimes lives with others
- Sergo, farmer, agricultural technician, grew up in town of Mirebalais, family history of *restavèk* children of various types

Desvarieux (4)

- Marie-Rose Louis-Jeune, market lady, former Port-au-Prince factory worker
- Fistel Cenoble, cooperative leader, pastor, farmer
- Group interview with local farmers: Marie-Rose Louis-Jeune, Nickés Jean-Louis, and Marc-Aurèle Acéus

Lascahobas (2)

- Romélus (in Juampa, a rural locality), farmer, moto-taxi driver, cross-border commerce, has recruited *restavèk* children
- Clifford, affluent town storeowner, family history of *restavèk* children

Belladère, Haiti – Elias Piña, DR (6)

- Madsen Louis-Jamé, local staff of agricultural ministry
- Child laborers (vendors, produce carriers)
- Guy-Wilner Isidor, Customs Director in Anse à Pitre
- Dominican and Haitian border guards

Savanette and Layay, a border locality (11)

- Emile, peasant farmer, seasonal laborer in DR
- Nelio, peasant farmer, seasonal laborer DR, lived with Dominican family as child
- Saurel, peasant farmer, seasonal laborer DR
- Mario, farmer, school teacher, active in border area advocacy for Haitian rights
- Dony, peasant farmer with *restavèk* child
- Ti Belout, unschooled *restavèk* child who lives with Dony,
- peasant woman of Layay, sells produce in border market
- Vernet Antoine, cooperative manager, farmer, active in cross border relations
- Guerda Bellevue Benjamin, Mayor of Savanette, active in border issues
- Philippe Accilien, economist, son of small peasant farmers in rural Savanette

Fonds Verettes (3)

- Jean-Leristen Teristil, agent de sécurité, Forêt des Pins
- Jérôme Denis, caissier-payeur, mayor's office
- Germilus Germilis, second member of mayoral council (Oriani), hosts 12 *restavèk* children

Boucan Chat, border market in the Forêt des Pins (5)

- Marie-Joseline Joseph, market vendor
- Dieudonné Hyppolite, market vendor
- Mme Jn-Robert Origène, market vendor
- Belo Gesner, teacher
- Louis Ludès, teacher

Savane Zombi (4)

- Yolande Paule, madamsara who buys in Boucan Chat marketplace
- Esperedon Mérisier, peasant farmer, worker at coffee cooperative
- Dieumedonne Mérisier, peasant farmer, worker at coffee cooperative
- Stripler Liance, controller, coffee cooperative

Thiotte (8)

- Group interview: Emilio Dériser, local entrepreneur and farmer, Jean-Marie Lys, Mayor of Thiotte, Carlo Saint-Louis, representative of a human rights committee
- Group interview: Cidoine Joseph and 4 other peasant farmers, an *eskwad* labor group travelling from Mare Brinyol (Belle Anse) to DR
- Carlo Saint-Louis, representative of KADRET, a GARR related committee: Komite pou akeyi ak defann rapatriye ak refijye nan tyot

Anse à Pitre, Haiti – Pedernales, DR (10)

- Phersène Pey, fish merchant, APA leader (fisherman's association) and Red Cross
- René Jasmin, coordinator of APA (fisherman's association)
- Guy-Wilner Isidor, Customs Director
- Group interview with members of two human rights committees serving repatriated Haitian workers: Judith Alexandre and Pastor Pierre Belo (Nan Bananne - Thiotte), Georges and Kellerman (Anse à Pitre), and Dieubon, a GARR animator

Dominican Republic

Santiago (3)

- Haitian sex workers: Jacqueline, Carline, Josiane

Dajabon-La Vigia (11)

- Sonson and Antoine, Haitian labor recruiters and labor foremen for Dominican farmers in the rural village of La Vigia
- John, a Haitian *restavèk* boy (hijo de crianza) living with a Dominican farm family
- Sonia, a Haitian *restavèk* girl (hija de crianza) living with a Dominican farm family
- Roznar, Haitian *restavèk* girl (hija de crianza) living with a Dominican farm family
- Nixon Pierre, teacher in Santo Domingo & Higuey en route to Haiti (Dajabon)
- Haitian sex workers in Barrio Sul (Dajabon): Nana, Magilèn, Julianise
- Street kids near marketplace: Randerson and Estivèns

Lomo de Cabrera (3)

- Jean Simon (Renaud), native of Mont Organisé working with a border area project of Save the Children (FUDECO) operating in Mont Organisé & Santiago de la Cruz
- Rev. John Hyatt, Catholic priest serving border parishes
- Bismarck, Dominican ex-convict repatriated from the United States

La Restauracion (5)

- Christina, age 19, live-in Haitian maid from Capotille working for Dominican family
- Students: Domingo and Mennmèn – Haitian boy and girl, *restavèk* children attending Trinitaria rural school within walking distance of the border
- Two Dominican teachers at Trinitaria school, including the school director

Cruce de Mariano (3)

- Jorel, Haitian seasonal agricultural day laborer from Haiti, seeking work in Cruze
- Jose, Haitiano-Dominican farmer, fled Trujillo massacres in late 1930s
- Maria, native of Ft. Liberté who lives in Cruze, 2 children with Dominican father

Ti Lori, border market (Cerca la Source, Haiti) near Villa Anacaona, DR (3)

- Joseph Anisès, deacon of a local Protestant church, native to the border area
- Clemencia, Haitian nurse operating a local clinic, married to a Dominican, lives in Lomo de Cabrera
- Fransiko, seasoned cross-border entrepreneur and labor smuggler (*boukong*), a former *hijo de crianza* in DR

Elias Piña (6)

- Three Haitian street vendors near marketplace
- Luckner, Derosier, and Moselet: 3 houngan from Ti Riviere with clients in DR

Hondo Valle (3)

- Rezye, a Haitian boy given to Dominican farm family
- Rafael and Lina, Dominico-Haitian farm couple in La Colonia

La Descubierta (6)

- Three Haitian farm kids along mountain border road in DR
- Three Haitian shoe shine boys on the town square

Malpasse, Haiti – Jimani, DR (11)

- Group interview: 5 Haitian street kids on DR side of the border
- Group interview: 5 Haitian shoe shine boys on Haitian side of the border
- Jean-Rosivar, taptap driver from Fond Parisien, has taken in street kids as *restavèk* children

ANNEX II
MURRAY ITINERARY AND CONTACTS
Gerald F. Murray

Interviews as of Dec. 12th were tape recorded with the permission of those being taped.

Wed. Dec. 10, The Nature Conservancy, Dr. Matthew McPherson.

Thu Dec. 11

Haitian Embassy in Santo Domingo

Guy Alexandre, Ambassador (telephone conversation).

Edwin Paraison, Consul General

USAID, David Delgado, Associate Director

PADF, Daniel O'Neil, Director

Government of the Dominican Republic, Dirección General de Desarrollo

Fronterizo, Pedro Cepeda,

Fri. Dec. 12.

Alianza ONG, Eva Perez, Addis Then

Phone interviews:

FUDECO, Sr. Horacio Ornes, Director

Diocese of San Juan de la Maguana

FUNDEPRODE

MOSCHA, Dr. Joseph Cherubin

Visión Mundial, Office coordinating child development activities

Santiago de los Caballeros

Juancito, taxi driver

Several Haitian sex workers

Sat. Dec. 13th

Conversations on road from Santiago to Dajabon

Gas station attendant

Dominican woman who had moved from Santiago

La Vigía, a village outside of Dajabon

Preliminary interviews with several men and women involved or familiar with

Haitian child placement

Dajabón

Three shoeshine boys from Ouanaminthe

Four Haitian street children in Dajabon, interviewed at night.

Three Haitian female sex workers.

Sunday, Dec. 14th

Dajabon

In the hotel interviewed a Haitian school teacher in hotel restaurant,

taking wife to Port-de-Paix

La Vigia

Interviewed a Dominican woman who has a Haitian hija de crianza. I interviewed the girl separately after interviewing the mother.

FUNDEPRODA, Fundación para el Desarrollo de Dajabón, Prof. Amantina
Catholic Parish of Loma de Cabrera, Sr. Ines, Fr. John Wyatt

Monday, Dec. 15th

Interviewed Sra. Iris Ejada and a Dominican woman, Milagros, her sirvienta.

FUDECO – Santiago de la Cruz

Sr. Santiago Bautista

Sr. Isidro Rivas

Haitian Agronome from Ouanaminthe

Loma de Cabrera

Interview with Haitian shoeshine boy.

Cruce de Mariano, on the road to Restauracion.

Interviews in Spanish and Creole with an elderly Dominican campesino couple as well as several Dominico-Haitian neighbors.

Restauracion

Hector Rafael Herrera (Fallé), Member, Civil Defense, Restauracion.

Roquida Gomez, co-president, Red de Protección de Niños, Niñas, y Adolescentes of Restauración

Tuesday Dec. 16th

Trinitaria, a border village outside of Restauración

School director: Ricardo de Jesus Garcia

Profesora: Maritza Mateo

Peace Corps Volunteer Michael Heydt

Restauracion

Ronny Perez, Techniocal Coordinator World Vision/ Loma de Cabrera

Ramon Antonio Rodriguez (Tono) , member of the Civil Defense Network

Ti-Lori

Francius Elminta, Agent de Sante, World Vision, Ti-Lori

Interviewed six Haitian women, and three Haitian men

Peace Corps Volunteer Anne Castelvechi

Peace Corps Volunteer Daniel Hotstream

Haitian Nurse in Ti-Lori

International highway, from Villa Anacaona to Las Matas de Farfan.

Sargent Piña, Commander of outpost in Guayajayuco

Wednesday, Dec. 17th

Las Matas de Farfan, FUNDECO Office

Elias Piña

Conversations in market place with several Haitian and Dominican women.

Interviewed a Dominico-Haitian teenage girl and an elderly Dominican woman from La Meseta, a village outside of Elias Piña.

Interviewed two Haitian refugees: a former mayor of Belladere and a former soldier.

Siembra Vieja, a village outside of El Cercado

Rafael Encarnacion, a Dominican farmer.

El Cercado, Alexandro, hotel owner.

Thursday, Dec. 18th

On the road from El Cercado to Hondo Valle.

Three Dominican women on the way to a clinic in Hondo Valle
Hondo Valle

Prof. Nelson Amador Javier, farmer and former schoolteacher
Sister Juana Reilly

Juana Octaviana, a Haitian woman washing clothes.

Ceneida Valdes, administrator of the hospital of Hondo Valle

Road from Hondo Valle to La Descubierta

Two Dominican soldiers stationed at "la 204", the outpost halfway to La Descubierta.

Five bilingual Dominican and Haitian children on the way home from the fields.

La Descubierta

Four Haitian street children

Fri. Dec. 19th

La Descubierta

Prof. Mercedes, a former schoolteacher and current hotel owner.

Road to Jimani

Haitian street children in vehicle.

Jimani.

Made observations of border crossings

Road from Neiba to Bateyes

Cesar, a Dominico-Haitian who lives in Batey 4 and who agreed to to be my assistant.

Batey 5

Assistant of Fr. Pedro Ruquoy at Batey 5.

Tamayo

Interview in Radio Enriquillo with the woman in charge of childrens' programs
Alberto de Mechy.

Batey IV

Preliminary visit to Batey 4. Arranged focus group interviews with men and women for following day.

A Haitian female batey dweller.

Sat. Dec. 20th

Batey IV

Focus group interview on street with 8 women

A brother and a sister from Thomazeau

Miscellaneous interviews

Batey V

Several Haitians and Dominico-Haitians outside of Padre Pedro's house.

Interviewed Padre Pedro. He invited me to accompany him on trip tomorrow

Batey IV

Two women

Focus group interview in Protestant Church with Haitian pastor and two other men

Sunday, Dec. 21

Tamayo

Alberto M., hotel owner.

Batey V

Six people waiting for P. Pedro's Mass.

P. Pedro

Spanish volunteer couple.

Batey VI.

Attended Dominican-Haitian liturgy in *tonèl* behind a private home.

Batey VII.

Three young male Haitian migrants who want to return to Haiti but cannot.

Road trip.

Padre Pedro.

Road to Enriquillo.

Conversed with Eusebio, director of Plataforma Vida, an activist organization involved with Haitian refugees.

Palmarito, Enriquillo.

About a dozen Haitian villagers living in houses which they were allowed to build and who were farming rented land, planting guandules.

Monday, Dec. 22

Palmar

Visit to housing project w. director of Plataforma Vida..

Batey 1.

Felicia and Michael, two Haitian batey dwellers.

Batey 5

Dominican lawyer working with Padre Ruquoy

Batey Isabela.

Noel, a houngan, and his son Jose.

Batey Los Robles

6 men involved in land dispute and familiar with child prostitution.

Tues. Dec. 23

Tamayo,

Cemetery visit.

Conversation on road with Eli, next to men planting cane.

Road to Batey 1.

Conversation with children on road.

Batey 1.

Felicia, a Haitian batey dweller.

Franco, a Haitian who has worked in the Santo Domingo construction industry.

Batey 6.

4 recently arrived Haitian migrants. .

Wed. Dec 24th

Radio Enriquillo

Reporter Obispo Figuereo and another member of the mobile team.

Batey 4

Fr. Paul, an African (Zairois) pastor of the Catholic Church in Tamayo

Los Robles

Observed delivery of relief food.

Batey 6

Visit to church being finished with P. Ruquoy

Road to Batey 6

Interviewed Jose, son of Noel, the houngan of Isabela

Batey 5

P. Ruquoy and Susana, a Spanish volunteer

Attended Christmas Eve party for *kongos* and Haitian *batey* dwellers.

Interviewed four young *congos*, three of whom wanted to return

Bro. Leon and a diocesan seminarian in charge of coordinating Distrito Nacional Haitian pastoral activities.

Thu. Dec. 25th

Road from Tamayo to Batey 4

A Haitian worker irrigating field

A Radio Enriquillo employee

Batey 6

“Ti-tonton”, the Dominico-Haitian supervisor of Batey 6.

Road to Polo

Trip to Polo with several *kongos* from the *bateyes*.

Polo

Anti-slavery Mass with Dominicans and Haitians

Visit to *barracon* in Los Aguacates with Haitian men, women, and children who were being shipped from Enriquillo to Ingenio Bayaguana.

Nighttime visit to holding station for illegal migrants, side road, Los Aguacates/Polo

Fri. Dec. 26th : Return to Sto. Domingo

Sat. Dec. 27th

Santo Domingo

Conversations in two “massage parlors” near the tourist centers on the *malecón*.

Conversations in a red-light-district bar in Villa Juana.

Sunday Dec. 28th

Boca Chica.

Paul and Jonah, two young Haitians who try to make a living guiding tourists.

Antonine, a Haitian women in the sex trade.

Santo Domingo.

Sra. Maruja Ravelo and Dr. Roberto Ravelo.

Monday Dec. 29th

Santo Domingo

Rafael Antonio, manager of a private sugar cane colony that employs Haitian workers.

Boca Chica.

Antonio, a Dominican tourist guide.

Maria, a Dominican sex worker.
Ledi, a 14 year old Dominican sex worker.
Several street boys.
Several Haitian women

Tuesday Dec. 30th

Boca Chica park

Shoeshine boys
Margrette, a destitute light-skinned Haitian widow with an infant.
A Haitian vendor of cooked fish.

Batey Las Pajas, outside of Guerra.

Julio Sierra, private batey manager.
Several Batey residents.

Wed. Dec. 31

Santo Domingo

Sonya Pierre, Director of MUDHE.
David Delgado and Don Harrington of USAID

Thurs Jan. 1

Santo Domingo

Rafael and companion, two Haitians working as watchmen, familiar with the construction industry,

Fri. Jan 2.

Santo Domingo

Josefa, a domestic employee who was adopted and who has herself adopted a child.
Shelby Smith-Wilson, American Embassy.
Aida-Consuelo Hernandez, director, EDUCA

Sat. Jan. 3

Santo Domingo

Fatima Portorreal, researcher for FLASCO on Haitian migrants.

Sunday Jan. 4th

Return to U.S.A.

ANNEX III

CHILDREN IN HAITIAN CREOLE PROVERBS

Proverbs are a part of the everyday language of most Haitians, especially rural Haitians. What follows is an illustrative collection of proverbs in Haitian Creole that deal with children. See Chapter II discussion of attitudes towards children.⁵⁰

<p><i>Pitit se richès pou malere.</i> <i>Pitit se lajan sere.</i> <i>Pitit se baton vyeyès.</i> <i>Bourik fè pitit pou do l ka poze.</i> <i>Ou fè pitit pou do w poze.</i> <i>Ti moun se ti bèt.</i> <i>Ti moun fèt pou kale.</i> <i>Remèd ti moun radi, se fwèt.</i> <i>Ti moun radi...</i> <i>bab yo pouse nan simityè.</i> <i>Granmoun pa ka met rad ou,</i> <i>men li ka manje manje ou.</i> <i>Granmoun pa bondye,</i> <i>ti moun pa chyen.</i> <i>Moun sèvi ou,</i> <i>men yo pa chyen pou sa.</i> <i>Belmè pa papa,</i> <i>bopè pa papa.</i> <i>Lè wap benyen pitit moun,</i> <i>lave yon bo,</i> <i>kite yon bo.</i> <i>Timoun mande manje cho,</i> <i>ou ba li l nan pla men l.</i> <i>Pitit pa janm mouri pou manman,</i> <i>se manman k mouri pou pitit.</i> <i>Pito pitit kriye</i> <i>manman pa kriye.</i> <i>Ti moun chich kriye de fous.</i> <i>Lè ti moun bezwen kriye,</i> <i>gade ou gade l li kriye.</i> <i>Se maten manchèt ti moun file.</i> <i>Le ou pa gen pitit, ou se chyen.</i> <i>Papa pitit toujou gen tach</i> <i>sou kanson l.</i></p>	<p>Children are the wealth of poor people. Children are savings (money saved). Children are a cane in old age. The donkey has offspring to rest its back. You have children to rest your back. Children are little animals. Children should be beaten. The remedy for an insolent child is the whip. Insolent children... their beards are growing in the cemetery. Adults can't wear your clothes, but they can eat your food. Adults are not god, Children are not dogs. People serve you, but that doesn't mean they're dogs. Your mother-in-law is not your mother, your father-in-law is not your father. When you bathe someone else's child, wash one side, leave the other side unwashed. A child asks for hot food, you give it to him in the palm of his hand. A child never dies for mother, It's the mother who dies for her child. It's better that the children cry rather than their mother. Stingy children cry twice. When a child is ready to cry, just look at him and he bursts into tears. A child's machete is honed in the morning. When you don't have children, you're a dog. A child's father always has a stain on his underpants.</p>
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⁵⁰ These proverbs were collected by Smucker, and also drawn in part from HSI (2002, 74) and Jeanty and Brown (1976, 162-165).

ANNEX IV BRAINSTORMING FOR PROGRAM DESIGN

GENERAL MASS MEDIA CAMPAIGNS FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

Use the internet for international audiences. There appears to be more public discussion of the *restavek* problem outside of Haiti than in Haiti itself, and the discussion is heavily sensationalized. A search on Google for the terms *restavek* and Haiti yields 857 “hits”. (Yahoo yields over 1,000 hits.) Eighty percent of the Google hits also have the word “slavery” or “slave” in them. Much of the well-intentioned but inaccurate and frenzied anti-slave-trade screaming directed toward Haiti on the internet is reminiscent, in its sensationalism, of anti-Voodoo tirades of earlier generations. We recommend the creation of a topically focused website dedicated to Haitian child issues, including the *restavek* issue.

A website will not directly help the tens of thousands of unpaid servant children entrapped in heavily abusive situations, but neither have the transoceanic tirades that currently dominate internet discussions of the *restavek* phenomenon. The current corpus of *restavek* pieces on the internet has the effect of caricaturing the Haitian people as a nation of child-enslavers and child-abusers. In view of the growing importance of the web, we recommend that USAID explore the option of a web site dedicated to this phenomenon. It would provide easy access to solid research on the matter.

Show the anthropologically positive face of child placement. There is an element of Western middle class ethnocentrism in stigmatizing as “child slavery” any and all family systems that place children in homes where they will receive food, clothing, and schooling in exchange for domestic labor. Our Dominican and Haiti materials include positive experiences with traditional forms of child placement and force us to recognize that the abusive trajectory into which many Haitian households have veered is not an inevitable outcome of Caribbean child placement practices *per se*. For historical reasons the Haitian variant of that arrangement entails a disturbing number of cases of child abuse, but even in Haiti the frequency of more humane outcomes of child placement outnumber the horror stories; however, such arrangements are rarely if ever mentioned in current public discourse about child placement. A mode of discourse that denigrates all surrogate child caretakers as neo-colonial slave owners, guilty until proven innocent, is not a useful tone for approaching the task of analysis.

Much of the human-rights literature on the Haitian case seems to have succumbed to that bias. Unfortunately, whereas case studies of a system that produces abused children with puffed eyes, bruised backs, swollen underfed bellies, and genitals rubbed with red peppers will evoke shock and attract an avid readership, stories of a system whose foster children become architects or schoolteachers will evoke either yawns or suspicions of sugar-coating. Nasty news is much more interesting than good news.

In this our conclusions may differ from those of others. We have found that only a portion of Haitian children living outside the home are relegated to the ignominious status of *restavèk* servant children. All other things being equal, we recognize that children placed outside the home are exposed to a higher risk of abuse than children living at home with

biological parents. All other things, however, are far from equal, and placing children outside the home continues to be, in many cases, a viable traditional strategy for meeting the needs of extended families and for relieving the sometimes life-threatening problems of poor households under severe stress. Therefore, we do *not* advocate the legal elimination of traditional forms of child placement. Furthermore, this is neither possible nor desirable, given current economic differentials within Haiti and other Caribbean societies. Rather, we advocate the identification of factors that lead to abusive outcomes and the design of programs that will maximize the likelihood of more positive outcomes.

Give healthy as well as pathological examples of child placements. If our anthropological stance on this is correct, if child placement is an adaptive familial strategy to be improved and not an abuse to be stamped out, then we must move away from a muckraking horror-story approach. The anecdote of a *restavèk* girl who had red pepper smeared on her genitals generates a dozen Google hits. The thousands of child placements that have resulted in school diplomas generate not a single hit. Medical manuals provide instructional diagrams of healthy brains and bones, not merely gruesome pictures of cancerous tumors and fractures. Equal documentary attention should be given to the positive cases in which children placed in other families benefit. Our goal is not to camouflage abuse, but to investigate the conditions that lead in some households to healthy outcomes and in others to child suffering. We cannot do that through a doomsday methodology that gloats in the gruesome.

MASS MEDIA CAMPAIGNS FOR USE IN HAITI

We wish to propose the outlines of a neighborhood-level program approach that would permit local action on the *restavèk* issue based on a model that is free of unreasonable expectations about the current institutional capacity of the Haitian government.

Assume knowledge in the population about the extent of the *restavèk* phenomenon. There is no need to educate the Haitian population about the frequency of the *restavèk* phenomenon. It is well known. Revealing that there are *restavèk* servant children should not be the goal of mass media campaigns in Haiti.

Assume ignorance in the population about child labor laws. It is currently illegal in Haitian law to have someone else's child under 12 years old working in one's home, or to have a child of 15 years old or more working without wages. Child labor laws may be systematically ignored and never enforced, but most Haitians aren't even aware of the existence of such laws. One informational point of entrée could be vividly worded Creole language programs that inform the population of current laws.

Assume public sector absorption in other matters. In the foreseeable future, the Haitian government is unlikely to allocate priority or resources to enforcement of the laws. We should of course routinely urge the enforcement of child labor laws, but if such exhortations constitute the extent of our program creativity, woe to the child servants. *We cannot at this time count on the imposition of legal or economic sanctions against child abusers in Haiti. Other extralegal popular sanctions against child abusers, however, are available in Haiti.* They have to be anthropologically identified and programmatically mobilized.

Goal one: Mobilize outrage and redefine the “normal”. Media campaigns should be dedicated to two goals: (1) challenging current popular assumptions about the “normality” of having unpaid child servants, and (2) retargeting the direction of mockery. Current practice in Haiti (as distinct from the Dominican Republic) has created an unfortunate popular attitude of apparent normality with respect to having an unpaid and unschooled child servant who, among other invidious distinctions, sleeps on the floor in a household where biological children go to school and sleep in beds. This has to be publicly castigated by radio and TV, in classrooms, and from pulpits, as abusive behavior.

This redefinition is feasible. Haitians interviewed recognize the abusive character of what is happening, but such abuse becomes a tolerated option, an item on the cultural menu of options available to Haitian households. Neighbors, especially in the anonymity of the urban milieu, look the other way. Child abuse no longer provokes social outrage. On the other hand, neighbors sometimes take spontaneous measures to assist seriously abused children to escape back to their parents. The mobilization of outrage is not an insurmountable difficult task.

Goal two: Mobilize Haitian traditions of gossip and public mockery. Gossip and mockery are powerful traditional vehicles of social pressure. Unfortunately, in the case of abused *restavek* children, public mockery is currently directed at the child, not at his or her abusers. An aggressive campaign should be launched to *redirect public ridicule to adults and households that use unpaid and unschooled child servants*. It is important that the vast majority of Haitian households do not have unpaid child servant. It would be an enormous step forward if households that do were objects of public mockery, mockery that is too often directed toward abused children.

Should we not rather send out positive exhortations to responsible behavior rather than negative mockery? Positive messages will of course be sent, but in matters of child abuse, they are best backed up by threats of punishment. The legal sanctions that help protect industrial-world children are absent in Haiti. Haiti does have effective informal mechanisms of public sanction, many of which are based on gossip and mockery. In the absence of any real hope of legal or economic sanctions, we recommend that these informal sanctions be mobilized to protect children.

Radio: The major media. The radio is now present in most Haitian households. Creole language radio programs are common vehicles of educational outreach. The *restavek* phenomenon could become a major radio topic.

Genres. There are different genres that could be used in radio programs aimed at the *restavek* issue.

- (1) **Lecture cum exhortation.** Many educational programs simply inform people, in the form of quasi lectures, about a situation. Educational lectures on radio generally have an exhortation component as well.
- (2) **Call-in talk shows.** Educational commentaries should be linked to open discussion of children’s rights and the *restavèk* child-servant syndrome through the format of increasingly popular call-in shows on Haitian radio.
- (3) **Skits.** Information can also be transmitted in the form of skits. The dialogue for the skits would focus on homes with children brought in from other

families. Creole-language skits could be written that parody the couple that trick a poor rural family into giving a child by the promise of schooling and then turn the child into a servant for their own pampered darlings.

- (4) **Chante pwen.** In many areas of the Caribbean people use songs, some commercially prepared but many locally improvised, to praise or criticize individuals. The *calypso* songs of Trinidad were originally aimed at politicians. The Haitian genre is the *chante pwen*, the “point song”. It is used in rural labor work parties and its target was not a politician but the organizer of the work group. Members of the work team sing songs to the rhythm of their rising and falling hoes that praise or critique the owner of the field for his generosity or stinginess in food and drink. The *chante pwen* is also used in urban areas including political satire by carnival (Mardi Gras) bands. Political satire and commentaries are also used by *rara* street bands. In a variety of formats, the *chante pwen* would be a marvelous vehicle for satirizing households or adults who abuse children. An outreach program could, among other things, encourage and competitively award creative *chante pwen* that mock the abusers of *restavek* children. Other songs could also praise couples who take in poor children, rear them as their own, and send them to school own.

SPECIFIC NEIGHBORHOOD INTERVENTIONS

Create neighborhood level programs. Media support is a necessary but not sufficient component of a non-governmental, non-legal, campaign against the practice of using child-servants. Media messages are more likely to produce behavioral results if they are combined with *neighborhood-level programs that target specific households and specific children*. Mass media messages lay the attitudinal groundwork for an attack on the child servant complex. Neighborhood level interventions, however, may be required to effect actual behavioral change.

Support current foyers. There are several foyers and schools that now specialize in attention to street children and abused *restaveks*. The foyer Maurice Sixto, founded by a Catholic priest, is the best known. UNICEF and several NGOs, such as the Swiss Terre des Hommes, support such foyers, including L’Escale. The bona-fide foyers that exist deserve full support (the ever-present danger of sham operations designed principally to attract funds forces us to insert the term “bona-fide”). The creation of more such foyers should also be supported.

Search for structural interventions that strike at the root. The foyers as a group are serving hundreds of children, but they cannot possibly serve the hundreds of thousands of children that may be the victims of substandard treatment by caretakers who are not their parents. Funding should also be allocated to the design of yet untried structural interventions that attempt to detect and minimize child abuse at the source, in the households.

Rely on social sanctions. Because we cannot realistically count on governmental action in the enforcement of existing child-labor legislation, we are proposing a strategy that relies on the power of social pressure.

Combat urban anonymity. Social pressure is particularly powerful in rural Haiti where people are surrounded by kin and where non-kin neighbors know each other's business. The power of social pressure is sabotaged in urban slums by the factor of anonymity. Neighbors may not know each other. A well designed neighborhood-based program can demolish the anonymity surrounding urban child abuse, create social awareness of their status and social pressure for their protection.

Neighborhood-by-neighborhood strategy. Geographically bounded undertakings could be organized on a neighborhood-by-neighborhood basis in which a list can be made of households with abused or vulnerable children living apart from their biological parents. Possible institutional actors in this matter are schools, churches, foyers that currently serve runaway children, and neighborhood water organizations. (The fetching of water probably competes with child-care as the major motive for bringing in outside children into an urban household.)

Identify specific behaviors that classify an adult as an abuser. Sleeping and eating arrangements, as well as internal domestic work schedules, are not visible to neighbors. But there are objectively visible markers that can be used as public indicators of an abusive household:

- (1) **An unschooled child.** A household should be classified as "probably abusive" if it has a school age child in the house who is not being sent to school, particularly if the biological children of that household are going to school. A particularly objectionable behavior is the sending of an unschooled servant child to accompany biological children to school, carrying their bags and books. The argument will be: Your cash-flow dilemma is no excuse. By taking in somebody else's child, you are making a statement that you are better off than the child's parents. You are expected to send the child to school. If you cannot comply with that requirement, you have no business having the child in your house. Put that child in school and adjust her work schedule to her school and study schedule, or send her back home. (The message will not be delivered by police, but by other community members. And the message may be delivered indirectly and politely rather than crudely, as above.)
- (2) **An overworked water-hauling child.** Schooling is not the only public indication of probable abuse. Work schedules should also be examined. Though some tasks are done behind closed doors, others are in the public domain. A major task of servant children is hauling water: making repeated trips to the public water source, standing in line, and hauling water to the house. That is totally visible. A girl in your home who does that *should also be in school*. You have no business assigning that task to someone else's unpaid child while your children are in school. Pay an older servant, have your children haul the water, or haul it yourself. The observation of public water hauling is probably the quickest practical device for identifying unpaid servant children.
- (3) **A shoeless child with rags as clothes.** Abuse is often visible in the form of footwear and clothing.

(4) Public beatings or public signs of physical abuse. Some “caretakers” beat the children in public or leave visible signs of abuse on the child.

In short, empirical criteria can be developed for identifying “suspect” households where children show evidence of substandard treatment. The goal is to identify at least a small number of households where *restavèk* children are known to be treated poorly. For a program to work, gossip, mockery, and social pressure need not necessarily be exerted against every single household with a *restavèk* child. If flagrant offenders are socially targeted, others will get the message and presumably be motivated to take steps to avoid being targeted themselves.

The same probe will also serve to identify “hero” households where someone else’s child is sent to school, well fed and dressed, and treated as a *pitit kay* rather than as a *restavèk*. To repeat a point made earlier, it is important to avoid a muckraking approach that focuses only on villains.

Mechanisms of social pressure. After abused children are identified, there are several types of social and community pressure that can be directed toward abusive households and that presuppose no governmental or police action. Some of the measures noted here may eventually be deemed impractical or unacceptable for other reasons. It would be useful in program preparation to carry out focus group interviews to identify socially acceptable mechanisms of social pressure and anticipate unintended consequences or retaliatory action against servant children. For the present, we merely wish to brainstorm about types of measures which, if deemed feasible and ethically acceptable, would create embarrassment and discomfort for households abusing children.

Ground-laying media campaigns. Any such neighborhood action should be preceded by weeks of intensive radio campaigns and, if possible, messages delivered in schools and religious centers, in which the plight of *restavèk* servant children becomes a topic of indignant national conversation. Households with unschooled servant children should be placed on the defensive by vivid Creole-language media, school, and church based messages even before a specific campaign is launched in their neighborhood.

Tripotay. Gossip (*tripotay*) is a powerful mechanism of social control in Haiti as in many other settings. Gossip about a household that has been identified as having unschooled servant children would affect not only the adults in the household, but also the biological children of the household. Adults who may be indifferent to the gossip of stranger-neighbors can hardly remain indifferent to the embarrassment that their own biological children are suffering from age mates.

Chante pwen. Direct verbal confrontation between neighbors is restricted to certain cultural domains. For criticism and mockery as well as praise, another mechanism is used – *chante pwen*, the social commentary song. There could be a national or neighborhood contest to devise the funniest or most mordant *chante pwen* about the behavior of people with child servants, who beat them, have them sleep on the floor, and keep them out of school while pampering their own children.

Radio programs that “Identify the house.” A devastating type of embarrassment could be created by a “guess the house” radio program announcing that in a particular

neighborhood and street there is a household that has a *ti-èsklav*, a little slave.. Without mentioning the name of the people or any specific street address. clues could be given and neighbors could be invited by the announcer to guess which house is being referred to. If the guessing game is combined with a mordant *chante pwen* on the radio the effect could be socially devastating. Such measures would not only embarrass a flagrantly offending household. They might also trigger preventive behavior – enrolling children in school or ensuring that they are well shod and dressed when they go to the street -- on the part of other *restavèk* households to avoid being targeted.

Encourage children to speak or sing out. Adults may be legitimately reluctant to speak or publicly criticize other adults in abusive households. Nor are they likely to sing *chante pwen* on urban streets. Neighborhood school children however could be invited to construct *chante pwen* about adults (not specifically named, of course) who abuse children and sing them on the street, particularly near households identified as having abused unpaid servant children. The songs could also be sung in the presence of the biological children of these households. The embarrassment created for these children would immediately trickle back to the parents.

Some may find the practice of embarrassing biological children unfair or unethical. That is a judgment call that would have to be discussed in great length. Others may be concerned that such behavior could trigger retaliatory behavior against the *restavèk* children and make their situation more intolerable. That danger must be taken seriously.

Encouragement of children to reach out to *restavek* children. The preceding paragraphs would have children sing out in mockery. More important would be measures to encourage other children to *reach* out to *restavèk* children, to be especially kind to them. Any program designed to create neighborhood awareness of the plight of specific children may either embarrass these *restavèk* children or even subject them to intensified abuse by angry, embarrassed adult caretakers. A horrible dimension of the current situation is that *restavek* children are not only abused by adults. They are also mocked by other children. Any neighborhood program should encourage a shift on the part of other children from mockery to outreach.

Do extended pre-program research using focus groups. We are recommending action without specifying who will organize these actions. This is a matter of project design. And in these delicate matters it is essential to have weeks and months of focus group interviews of urban residents to generate specific ideas and to avoid interventions with a high probability of backfire.

Approach schools, churches, foyers, and water-user groups as educational and recruitment vehicles. Though the research has not yet been done, it is quite likely that schools and churches will emerge as appropriate venues for ventilating these matters, as well as existing foyers.

Some of these measures could easily be rejected during program design as unfeasible, undesirable, dangerously provocative, or even illegal. Our purpose in ventilating these options is simply to engage in brainstorming, to put on the table a yet-untried menu of tactics for mobilizing community opinion and taking action against flagrantly offending households. The final menu of measures adopted will emerge during a length planning phase in which Haitian community members themselves, via focus group or other

mechanisms, will come up with a much a creative and effective menu of community pressure options.

Identify potential retaliatory backfires. Public mockery and criticism could produce four possible responses on the part of abusers. (1) Indifference, or no response. (2) A reduction in abuse and an improvement in food, clothing, work schedules, and above all schooling. (3) Expulsion of the child from the home and return to biological parents or kin. (4) Retention of the child in the home with a punitive increase in abuse. *The potential for retaliation cannot be used as a justification for inactivity.* The danger of backfire can be minimized if the public mockery and criticism of abusers is done in the context of neighborhood based programs able to anticipate possible retaliatory responses. Any program should begin with full awareness of the risks that any such intervention will entail for abused children.

Conclusion. In preliminary brainstorming we are emphasizing the social stick rather than the social carrot. During program design the proper combination of positive and negative sanctions can be discussed.

1. The *restavek* complex will not be solved by piously invoking the government's obligation to enforce child labor laws or even by general radio, classroom, or pulpit exhortations to treat children well, unless the noble exhortations are linked to specific and aggressive community action plans.
2. There are several social pressure mechanisms within Haitian cultural traditions that could be mobilized and brought to bear on the issue of unpaid and unschooled servant children.
3. The emphasis on negative social sanctions does not exclude simultaneous efforts to change behavior through positive educational exhortations, but the impact of these on abusive adults will be weak.

Children in industrialized countries are protected against abuse by the threat of punitive legal sanctions, fines, and jail terms for abusive adults. Because Haitian children do not enjoy these protections, we are simply looking into Haitian traditions for other types of punitive sanctions of a social nature that can be mobilized.