

DEMOGRAPHIC & ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

The survey population is located in low income urban neighborhoods. The study elicited household demographics including gender, age, household size and composition, level of education and economic indicators. The respondents interviewed were heads of household, or in their absence, another adult resident of the household.

Gender of respondents and heads of household.

The survey sample included 1,458 households. In terms of the gender of interviewees, there are no significant differences among cities and neighborhoods surveyed. The vast majority of respondents were women (73%). See Table 2.

Table 2: Gender of interviewee by city

	CITY					Total
	Port-au-Prince	Cap-Haïtien	Gonaïves	Saint-Marc	Petit-Goâve	#
Gender of interviewee	778	268	168	124	120	1,458
Men	25%	28%	33%	23%	33%	27%
Women	75%	72%	67%	77%	67%	73%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As shown in Table 3 below, survey households in all cities are overwhelmingly female headed households (76%), and the five neighborhoods surveyed in the Port-au-Prince metropolitan area have by far the highest rate of female headed households (79%). The lowest rate is Gonaïves (65%) which still has nearly two-thirds of households headed by women. In general, urban areas of Haiti have far higher rates of female headed households than rural areas; however, the low income “hotspot” neighborhoods selected for the PHR survey show even higher rates of female headed households than other published data for the overall metropolitan area.¹⁹

Table 3: Percent of women interviewees and heads of households by city

CITY	Female interviewees		Women heads of households	
	%	N*	%	N
Port-au-Prince	75	778	79	521
Cap-Haïtien	72	268	74	199
Gonaïves	67	168	65	103
Saint-Marc	77	124	78	112
Petit-Goâve	67	120	68	77
Total	73	1,458	76	1,012

*N refers to both genders and the total number of interviewees and women heads of households.

Age of respondents. As shown in Table 4, the majority of interviewees are between the ages of 26 and 55 (79%) with percentages declining with age. The average age by site varies from 36 to 39 and there is no significant statistical difference between sites.

Table 4: Age of interviewees by city

	CITY					Total
Age of Interviewees	Port-au-Prince	Cap-Haïtien	Gonaïves	Saint-Marc	Petit-Goâve	
17 - 25	11%	12%	16%	13%	18%	12%
26 - 35	34%	30%	35%	35%	32%	33%
36 - 45	28%	32%	30%	36%	27%	30%
46 - 55	17%	17%	13%	13%	16%	16%
56+	9%	9%	6%	3%	8%	8%
Total	773	267	167	124	120	1451
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Average Age	39	39	36	36	37	38

Household size. If we define the household as the number of people who eat and sleep in one dwelling, average household size in the PHR survey is 6.2 people (see Table 5). There are also variations by site studied, ranging from 5.9 in Petit-Goâve to a high of 6.9 people per household in Gonaïves. For the Port-au-Prince metropolitan area, the PHR

¹⁹ The EMMUS survey found 39% female heads of household in rural areas nationally, and 53% in the Port-au-Prince area. See IHE, 2007, EMMUS-IV, Haiti, 2005-2006, Table 2.3, Composition des ménages (p. 11).

survey shows 6.2 people per household, much higher than the EMMUS figure of 4.9 per household (ibid., 11). The significantly higher figure shown for PHR households may reflect the high density of low income neighborhoods selected for PHR study.

Table 5: Number of people who eat and sleep in the house

CITY	Average	N
Port-au-Prince	6.2	777
Cap-Haitien	6.2	267
Gonaïves	6.9	166
Saint-Marc	6.5	123
Petit-Goâve	5.9	120
Total	6.3	1453

Socio-economic characteristics. Table 6 shows household belongings as indicators of economic level. Only 26% of households have access to running water or well water, 20% a flush toilet, 30% a refrigerator, and 11% land line phones. Only 12% of households surveyed owned vehicles, though this degree of vehicle ownership indicates a certain range and variation in economic levels within these vulnerable neighborhoods.

There are significant differences by site. Access to vehicles is significantly higher in Port-au-Prince, Gonaïves and Saint-Marc than other study sites, and flush toilets are more common in Port-au-Prince and Petit-Goâve than other sites.

The vast majority of households surveyed lack

toilets, running water or wells, although 87% have cellular phones and 72% televisions. The ownership rate for cell phones and televisions was much higher than that found in an earlier national survey of all urban areas. The higher rate of cell phone in the PHR survey undoubtedly reflects the rapid expansion of cell phones among the poor since 2005 due to intensive marketing efforts by cell phone companies.

Table 6: Distribution of furnishings owned by households

Types of furnishings owned	VILLE					
	Port-au-Prince N=774	Cap-Haitien N=268	Gonaïves N=168	Saint-Marc N=122	Petit-Goâve N=120	Total N=1452
Running water or wells	25%	22%	42%	12%	31%	26%
Flush toilet	25%	13%	13%	16%	25%	20%
Television	77%	62%	63%	73%	68%	72%
Refrigerator	34%	20%	10%	41%	48%	30%
Telephone (land line)	9%	5%	7%	16%	35%	11%
Telephone (cellular)	89%	85%	90%	83%	84%	87%
Washing machine	1%	0%	1%	2%	0%	1%
Oven	11%	4%	7%	7%	8%	9%
Motorcycle	2%	5%	13%	20%	8%	6%
Shower	38%	20%	38%	21%	31%	33%
Computer	5%	2%	4%	5%	5%	4%
Car	14%	6%	16%	16%	8%	12%

Fig. 1. Intensity of household economic activity by city

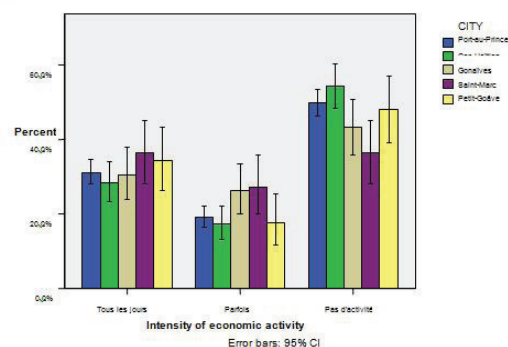


Table 7 and Figure 1 show percentage of people actively engaged in making a living. This includes salaried employment but is far more often petty commerce, daily wage labor or other activities commonly identified with the informal economic sector. There is some variation by site in that Cap-Haïtien has a significantly higher rate of unemployment (54%), followed by Port-au-Prince (50%) and Petit-Gôave (48%). Less than one third of respondents report steady income from economic endeavors,

Table 7: Intensity of household economic activity by city

		CITY					Total
		Port-au-Prince	Cap-Haïtien	Gonaïves	Saint-Marc	Petit-Gôave	
Intensity of economic activity	Every day	31%	28%	30%	36%	34%	31%
	Sometimes	19%	17%	26%	27%	18%	20%
	No activity	50%	54%	43%	36%	48%	49%
Total	N	771	267	167	121	119	1445
		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

RESTAVÈK SERVANT CHILDREN

Child servants. The household survey distinguishes children used as household servants from other children based on indicators of differential treatment, particularly school enrollment and the amount of work assigned. Data analysis suggests that the use of children as domestic servants takes a variety of forms; kinship ties and boarding arrangements may serve to camouflage restavèk treatment that extends beyond the children labeled as restavèk children. For example, a large number of children are boarders who come from a distance to go to school while living with a family (yo fè la desant), often in the homes of relatives. These children are not classified nor labeled as restavèk children, but in some cases they perform the full range of household chores associated with restavèk servant children.

Schooling for boarding children is paid by their parents, and their living arrangements are temporary, based on the school year. The actual treatment of boarding children depends in part on the extent of parental contribution to their upkeep, including money, food or supplies sent on a regular or occasional basis. When parents do not contribute enough, host households may impose greater work expectations on the children. Some of these children are treated little different from restavèk servant children, though they generally retain a higher social status. They may for example sit at the table for meals, unlike restavèk children. Thus, survey findings point to an intermediary category of “restavèk-boarders” midway between servant children and regular boarders, and distinctly different from the household’s own children (pitit kay).

Restavèk Servant Children by Gender and Site.

Household composition studies in Haiti show a remarkably high rate of children living away from their homes of origin. In the PHR household study, nearly a third (32%) of all children surveyed were not born to the household heads. Table 8 below shows the percentage of restavèk children in relation to all children surveyed. Children classified as restavèk account for 16% of all children. When lumped together with “restavèk-boarders,” children treated as restavèk accounted for 22% of all 3,188 children surveyed in 1,450 households in five Haitian cities.

Table 8: Percentage of restavèk servant children by site

Sites of study	%	N
Port-au-Prince	28	1669
Carrefour Feuilles / Fontamara / Martissant	26	300
Solino / Bel-Air	27	482
Cité Soleil	44	257
Delmas / Tabarre	22	292
Mon Repos / Lamentin	23	298
Cap Haitian	14	590
Bassin Rodo	13	194
Centre Ville	16	229
Petite Anse	14	167
Gonaïves	11	416
St-Marc	18	317
Pt-Goâve	20	236
Total	22	3188

In the five neighborhoods of Port-au-Prince, 28% of the children surveyed are restavèk or restavèk-boarders, with Cité Soleil by far the highest at 44%. Sites outside Port-au-Prince have a much lower

overall percentage of restavèk/restavèk-boarders compared to Port-au-Prince although St. Marc (18%) and Petit-Goâve (20%) have higher rates than other cities, and Gonaïves only 11% of children surveyed.

Table 9 demonstrates that the vast majority of restavèk servant children are girls. Nearly two thirds of restavèk children (65%) are girls compared to 53% of non-restavèk children surveyed. Reliance on girls as servant children reflects the sexual division of labor in Haiti whereby most household chores are performed by girls.

Table 9: Percent of restavèk and non-restavèk children by gender

Gender	% of restavèk children (n = 677)	% of other children n = 2,471
Boys	35	47
Girls	65	53
Total	100	100

Servant children by age and location. The survey is based on children age 5 through 17 for a total of 3,188 children surveyed. The average age of restavèk children in the study is 12.3 years versus 11.6 years for other children surveyed (see Table 10).

Table 10: Average age of restavèk and non-restavèk children

Status	Average age	Number of children surveyed
Restavèk children	12.3	684
Other children	11.6	2,504
Total	11.7	3,188

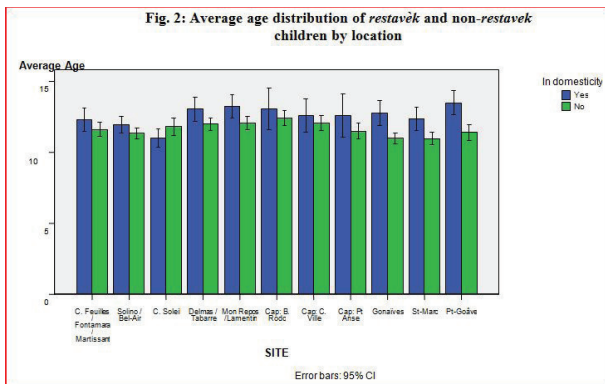


Figure 2 illustrates that in the larger cities (Port-au-Prince and Cap-Haïtien) there is little difference in the average age of *restavèk* versus other children. On the other hand, in Gonaïves, Saint Marc and Petit-Goâve, age differences are more noticeable.

Servant children by household and location.
Overall, 30% of survey households have *restavèk*

servant children present; however, the Carrefour Feuilles/Fontamara/Martissant survey site has by far the highest proportion of households with *restavèk* children (46%), and Cap-Haïtien the lowest (21%). Other sites with a high proportion of households with *restavèk* servant children include Solino/Belair (35%) and Delmas/Tabarre (37%).

Some survey households have more than one *restavèk* child servant, although this is a relatively small minority of households (see Table 11). For example, 38% of households in Carrefour Feuilles/Fontamara/Martissant have a *restavèk* servant child; however, another 9% of households at this site have at least two *restavèk* children, and 9% of Delmas/Tabarre households also have at least two *restavèk* servant children present.

Table 11: Number of *restavèk* servant children by household and site

No. of Restavèk	SITE											
	Carrefour Feuilles Fontamara Martissant	Solino/ Bel-Air	Cité Soleil	Delmas Tabarre	Mon Repos / Lament	Cap: Bassin Rodo	Cap: Centre Ville	Cap: Petite Anse	Gonaïves	Saint-Marc	Petit-Goâve	Total
0	54%	65%	73%	63%	72%	76%	79%	81%	77%	63%	78%	70%
1	38%	29%	23%	28%	25%	22%	20%	15%	21%	32%	18%	25%
2 +	9%	6%	4%	9%	3%	2%	1%	4%	2%	5%	4%	5%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	130	234	125	138	130	83	108	72	166	118	119	1423

RESTAVÈK CHILDREN & HOUSEHOLD ECONOMIC STATUS

Economic status of sending and receiving households. To what extent does restavèk sending and receiving cut across different economic levels in low income urban neighborhoods studied? The basic assumption of restavèk placement is that wealthier households are less likely to send away their own children, and more likely to recruit restavèk children for their own use. To test this assumption, the study assesses the economic status of households to test correlations between varying economic levels and the propensity to send out or receive restavèk children.

The findings in Tables 12-14 suggest that the use of servant children is a more generalized practice than expected. First of all, a certain percentage of households with restavèk children have also placed their own children in domestic service, and on a scale roughly comparable to households without restavèk children (11% versus 14%), and this was true for all study sites (see Table 12).

Table 12: Households sending and receiving *restavèk* children

Households placing their own children elsewhere as <i>restavèk</i>	Households receiving <i>restavèk</i> children		Total households
	No	Yes	
No	86%	89%	87%
Yes	14%	11%	13%
Total	100%	100%	100%
N	993	430	1423

In other words, the fact of having a restavèk child does not mean a household will not place its own children as restavèk servant children. The data also reveal that 70% of the children sent into restavèk placement from these households were sent to other urban households.

Secondly, Table 13 shows the relative economic status of households that have sent their own children into restavèk placement. These households show relatively little difference by economic status: 11% of more affluent households have sent away children compared to 15% and 13% of low and middle level households. Therefore, the practice is cross-cutting in relation to the relative economic status of households studied.

Table 13: Economic Status of Households Placing their Children as *restavèk*

Households placing their own children elsewhere as <i>restavèk</i>	Socio-economic status of households			Total Households
	Low	Average	High	
No	88%	85%	89%	87%
Yes	13%	15%	11%	13%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 14 shows a neat correlation between the percent of households with *restavèk* children and their relative economic status. Higher income households show a higher *restavèk* rate (36%) compared to 24% for the lower tier, and 31% for mid-range households. The differences are especially significant between the upper and lower economic tiers. This finding supports the longstanding hypothesis that the flow of *restavèk* children is from the less affluent to more affluent households, and from poor households to the less poor.

Table 14: Economic Status of Households with *Restavèk* Children

Presence of <i>restavèk</i> children in the household	Economic status of household			Total
	Low	Medium	High	
No	76%	69%	64%	70%
Yes	24%	31%	36%	30%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	461	654	282	1397

Table 15 shows the same overall tendency for all cities although Gonaïves has a 6% difference in the opposite direction for the relatively more affluent households, but this is statistically not very significant. In Saint-Marc, the link between *restavèk* presence and more affluent economic status is even higher; only 23% of low income households have a *restavèk* versus 61% for high income households. A similar pattern holds for Petit-Goâve.

Table 15: Economic Status of *Restavèk* Households by city

CITY		Socio-economic status			Total
		Low	Medium	High	
Port-au-Prince		n=243	n=347	n=153	n=743
	Presence of <i>restavèk</i> child in the household				
	No	71%	62%	63%	65%
	Yes	29%	38%	37%	35%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Cap-Haïtien		n=109	n=111	n=41	n=261
	Presence of <i>restavèk</i> child in the household				
	No	84%	78%	66%	78%
	Yes	16%	22%	34%	22%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Gonaïves		n=48	n=88	n=29	n=165
	Presence of <i>restavèk</i> child in the household				
	No	77%	76%	83%	78%
	Yes	23%	24%	17%	22%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Saint-Marc		n=30	n=57	n=23	n=110
	Presence of <i>restavèk</i> child in the household				
	No	77%	65%	39%	63%
	Yes	23%	35%	61%	37%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Petit-Goâve		n=31	n=51	n=36	n=118
	Presence of <i>restavèk</i> child in the household				
	No	81%	88%	64%	79%
	Yes	19%	12%	36%	21%
Total		100%	100%	100%	100%

SERVANT CHILDREN AND KINSHIP TIES

What role does kinship play in restavèk placement? The absence of close kin ties is decidedly not an identifying feature of restavèk placement, as some have presumed. On the contrary, the data show that kinship is a prime recruiting ground for restavèk children. Furthermore, child boarding arrangements based on kinship ties are socially more acceptable than restavèk placement; however, the data show that kinship ties may camouflage restavèk treatment when children are sent to live others during the school year.

Table 16 shows kin ties between restavèk children and heads of households. The table also shows a substantial minority (22%) of restavèk children with no kin ties to the head of household. On the other hand, two-thirds of restavèk children in the survey are related to household heads, predominantly as nieces or nephews; however, these children are treated as domestic servants. In short, child domesticity cannot be understood without taking into account its frequent link to family ties.

Table 16: Restavèk kin ties to household heads

	Frequency	%
Nephew/niece	366	54
God son or daughter	17	3
Other relative	146	21
None	151	22
Total	680	100

Earlier discussion pointed to a recent trend toward more generalized patterns of restavèk placement.

Kinship analysis tends to support this observation. Survey data show evidence of a chain of family ties and obligations whereby restavèk children are supplied by lower income households to higher income households. Therefore, family ties serve as the transmission belt for child placement. Furthermore, there is evidence of kin-based social pressure for more affluent family members, including households that are only a little less poor than sending households, to accept children, and criticism if they decline to do so, since placement is perceived by sending households as an opportunity for schooling and upward mobility – in exchange for unpaid child labor. These pressures may come from more distant relatives (ti paran) as well as close relatives.

This pressure for social promotion does not apply only to restavèk placement. It also applies to child boarding arrangements to facilitate access to education and learn a trade away from home. Under these arrangements, the status and treatment of child boarders depends heavily on the economic status and financial resources of the sending parents. Boarding children are generally expected to perform chores consistent with the level of support or non-support from their own parents. Therefore, a boarding child accompanied by material support may perform few or no household chores, whereas boarding children without family support may pay their way through unpaid child labor.

Discerning the overlap between kinship and social status of outside children in the household helps

to clarify what actually happens under the cover of family ties. It is important then to examine the living conditions and work expectations of boarding children (pansyonè ki fè la desant) including chores and schooling, in comparison to children born to the household (pitit kay), as well as children directly identified as restavèk servant children. Data analysis resulted in three distinct categories including (i) children labeled as restavèk children, (ii) boarding children, and (iii) an intermediate category that may be called “restavèk-boarders.”

In effect, the status of restavèk and boarder are not mutually exclusive in the various sites surveyed. The survey instrument elicits information on children in the household deemed to be boarders, and then asks what is expected of them in terms of children’s work. Table 17 demonstrates that the vast majority of restavèk children (83%) and nearly two-thirds of restavèk-boarders are related to household heads; however, 18% of restavèk children and 35% of “restavèk-boarders” do not have kin ties to household heads.

Table 17: Kin ties to the head of household by child status in the household

Relationship to the head of household	Status of the child				Total
	Restavèk	Restavèk/Boarder	Boarder	Other	
Son/daughter	.0%	.0%	.0%	88%	68%
Niece/nephew	60%	35%	61%	7%	17%
Other/godchild	22%	31%	39%	5%	10%
None	18%	35%	.0%	.2%	5%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	501	174	33	2456	3164

In sum, the table illustrates the role of kinship as a transmission belt for child labor, including restavèk

children as well as restavèk-boarders. Therefore, the data suggest that restavèk treatment is more fluid than generally reported, and not defined simply by public defined restavèk status.

See Table 18 for restavèk and boarding status of children by survey site. The percentage of restavèk children (40%) in Cité Soleil is far higher than all other areas surveyed, attaining a phenomenal 44% when taken together with restavèk-boarders. In general, the rate of boarding children is higher in Port-au-Prince than other cities surveyed, especially in Carrefour Feuilles/Fontamara/Martissant. The Port-au-Prince metropolitan area also has higher rates of restavèk placement than other cities surveyed.

School and Work as Restavèk Indicators

The survey instrument relies primarily on the analysis of differences in work assignments and schooling as indicators of restavèk status. Table 19 compares children’s work by restavèk and non-restavèk status (pitit kay) in the home. The instrument includes a listing of chores such as carrying water, going to market, doing dishes and laundry, and cleaning house. Table 19 shows a statistically significant distinction in the assignment of chores.

In general, all children are expected to do household chores; however, according to the survey, which may tend to underreport the intensity of work assignments, restavèk children are expected to do nearly twice as much work as children born to the household (pitit kay). Figure 3 graphs these differences dramatically by site. Furthermore, Table

20 indicates that work expectations of restavèk-boarders are similar to restavèk children. In short, the assumption that restavèk-boarders work less intensively than regular restavèk children does not hold. Age is also not a factor since the two groups of children average the same age (13). Furthermore, there is little difference in education level between the two groups.

This suggests that the primary factor affecting treatment of boarding children is the economic contribution of the children's families to host households, and not their privileged status as boarders compared to restavèk children. In short, the less their families contribute, the more likely

child boarders will be treated as restavèk children. It can be inferred that restavèk treatment of child boarders also reflects the relative poverty of families that board their children with other households that are less poor.

Schooling as indicator of child status. Another indicator of restavèk status is the level of schooling in relation to age, and the quality of schooling. The data in Table 21 support the hypothesis that restavèk children on average have a lower level of education than other children in the household. Figure 4 demonstrates the difference graphically by site.

Table 18: Child status by survey site

Status of the child	SITE										
	Carrf. Feuilles, Fontamara Martissant.	Solino Bel-Air	Cité. Soleil	Delmas Tabarre	Mon Repos Lamntin	Cap: Rodo	Cap: Ville	Cap: Petite-Anse	Gonaïv	St-Marc	Petit-Goâve
N	298	481	257	291	297	194	229	182	415	315	233
Restavèk	15%	20%	40%	17%	19%	7%	14%	10%	6%	12%	13%
Restavèk/Boarder	11%	7%	4%	5%	4%	6%	2%	2%	5%	6%	7%
Boarder	0%	1%	.0%	2%	3%	1%	.0%	1%	0%	2%	.0%
Other	74%	72%	56%	76%	74%	87%	84%	86%	89%	80%	80%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 19: Average number of *restavèk* and non-*restavèk* chores by site

SITE	Number of chores assigned to the "pitit kay"		Number of chores assigned to "restavèk"	
	Average	N	Average	N
Carf. Feuilles / Fontamara / Martissant	3.2	109	5.7	41
Solino / Bel-Air	2.4	205	5.4	50
Cité Soleil	3.2	114	5.8	24
Delmas / Tabarre	2.8	122	5.6	35
Mon Repos / Lamentin	3.2	114	5.5	24
Cap-Haitien	3.6	246	5.8	46
Gonaïves	4.4	152	6.6	27
Saint-Marc	3.8	111	5.6	37
Petit-Goâve	3.0	111	4.9	17
Total	3.3	1284	5.7	301

Table 20: Average number of chores assigned by status of child

Status	Average number of chores	Number of children surveyed
<i>Restavèk</i> Children	5.5	124
<i>Restavèk</i> -boarders	5.8	103
Pitit Kay	3.3	1288

Table 21: Average years of schooling of children by household status and site

CITY	Average schooling of a non- <i>restavèk</i> child (pitit kay)	Number of non- <i>restavèk</i> children (pitit kay)	Average schooling for <i>restavèk</i>	Number of <i>restavèk</i> children
Carrefour Feuilles / Fontamara / Martissant	6.0	117	4.0	76
Solino / Bel-Air	6.3	212	4.0	96
Cité Soleil	5.5	115	4.5	34
Delmas / Tabarre	6.5	123	4.4	50
Mon Repos / Lamentin	7.7	116	5.5	37
Cap-Haïtien	6.3	245	4.4	61
Gonaïves	5.9	153	4.7	39
Saint-Marc	5.8	116	4.7	45
Petit-Goâve	6.0	111	4.0	25
Total	6.22	1308	4.37	463

ORIGINS OF RESTAVÈK CHILDREN

Departmental origin of survey respondents.

As shown in Table 22, most of the respondents interviewed are from the same department as the survey sites chosen for study. For example, 92% of respondents in Cap-Haïtien are from the northern department, 90% of those in Gonaïves from the Artibonite, 88% of those in St. Marc from the Artibonite, and 93% of those in Petit-Goâve from the Ouest. In stark contrast, only 37% of respondents in Port-au-Prince are from the Ouest department. In addition to the Ouest, respondents in Port-au-Prince come from all other departments, but especially the South (19%), Sud-Est (10%), and Grande Anse (10%).

Table 22: *Département of origin of respondents by city surveyed*

Respondents		Survey Cities				
Département of origin		Port-au-Prince	Cap-Haitian	Gonaïves	Saint-Marc	Petit-Goâve
Artibonite		7%	1%	90%	88%	.0%
Centre		5%	1%	.6%	.0%	.0%
Grande-Anse		10%	.0%	.0%	.0%	2%
Nippes		4%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.8%
Nord		5.0%	92%	7%	5%	.0%
Nord-Est		1%	4%	.0%	.0%	.0%
Nord-Ouest		1%	.4%	2%	2%	.0%
Ouest		37.4%	.8%	.0%	5%	93%
Sud		19.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.8%
Sud-Est		11%	.0%	.0%	.0%	4%
St. Domingue		.1%	.4%	.0%	.0%	.0%
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total		773	265	169	124	120

Origins of restavèk children. The inter-departmental flow of restavèk is predominantly towards Port-au-Prince, as shown in Table 23. In the other cities surveyed, most restavèk children live in their département of origin. For example, only 32% of restavèk children in Port-au-Prince are from the Ouest; however, 82% of restavèk children in

Cap-Haïtien are from the Nord; 83% in St. Marc and Gonaïves are from the Artibonite, and 88% in Petit-Goâve are from the Ouest.

Table 23: *Département of origin restavèk children by city surveyed*

Restavèk Children		Survey City				
Département of origin		Port-au-Prince	Cap-Haitien	Gonaïves	Saint-Marc	Petit-Goâve
Artibonite		8%		83%	83%	
Centre		5%	4%		2%	
Grande-Anse		10%				
Nippes		5%				4.0%
Nord		4%	82%	6%	4%	
Nord-Est		3%	9%			
Nord-Ouest		2%	2%	9%		
Ouest		32%	4%	3%	11%	88.0%
Sud		21%				
Sud-Est		11%				8.0%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	N	252	56	35	46	25

Port-au-Prince is a special case. In view of the concentration and high demand for restavèk children in Port-au-Prince, there are important programmatic reasons to identify the most important supply centers for restavèk children to the Port-au-Prince metropolitan area. The most important département of origin is the Ouest (32%); however, another 42% originate overall in the Sud (21%), Sud-Est (11%), and Grande-Anse (10%).

Table 24 compares the origins of survey respondents and restavèk children. Both tend to originate from the same departments. There are no statistically significant differences between the two groups except for Port-au-Prince where 37% of respondents but only 32% of restavèk children originate in the Ouest. In short, most restavèk children are recruited in the departments of origin of household heads, often via kinship and other ties to home town communities.

Table 24: Origins of survey respondents and *restavèk* children in Port-au-Prince

Département of Origin	Respondents	Restavèk
Artibonite	7%	8%
Centre	5%	5%
Grande-Anse	10%	10%
Nippes	4%	5%
Nord	5%	4%
Nord-Est	1%	3%
Nord-Ouest	1%	2%
Ouest	37%	32%
Sud	19%	21%
Sud-Est	10%	11%
TOTAL	100%	100%
N	773	252

Origins of *restavèk* children by survey site. Table 25 shows departmental origins of *restavèk* children for survey sites in the Port-au-Prince metropolitan area. As noted earlier, the Sud, Sud-Est, and Grande-Anse, but especially the Sud, are the primary supply zones for Port-au-Prince *restavèk* children; however, communes of the southern department supply Carrefour Feuilles/Fontamara/Martissant at a much higher rate (86%) than any other metropolitan site surveyed. Secondly, and somewhat unexpectedly, other communes within the Port-au-Prince metropolitan area are the next most important supply zone for *restavèk* children in Port-au-Prince. For Cité Soleil and Lamentin, neighboring communes supply *restavèk* children at a significantly higher rate than other study sites. The magnitude of intra-urban movement of children within the metropolitan area is an important new development in the reporting on *restavèk* placement. Aside from Port-au-Prince itself, the most important communes of origin for *restavèk* children in Port-au-

Prince are Les Cayes (9%), Jacmel (8%), Jérémie (5%) and Léogane (4%).

Table 25: Origins *restavèk* children in Port-au-Prince by study site

Site	Communes of the Sud	Communes of Port-au-Prince	Elsewhere
Carrefour-Feuilles / Fontamara / Martissant (N=62)	86%	8%	6%
Solino / Bel-Air (N=94)	53%	24%	23%
Cité Soleil (N=34)	33%	35%	32%
Delmas / Tabarre (N=56)	43%	21%	36%
Lamentin (N=36)	61%	33%	6%
Total Port-au-Prince (N=282)	57%	22%	21%

Table 26 shows a total of 72% of Cap-Haïtien area *restavèk* children from other communes of the northern department, and the rate of supply from these other communes is highest in Bassin Rodo (80%). Again, there is also heavy reliance in Cap-Haïtien on supplies of *restavèk* children from within the commune, especially for *restavèk* children in Centre-ville (35%) and Petite-Anse (25%). A similar pattern holds in Gonaïves (23%) and St. Marc (33%), and overwhelmingly so in Petit-Goâve (83%), which is a large commune with 10 communal sections. Nevertheless, both Gonaïves and St. Marc rely primarily on other communes within the same département as supply zones for *restavèk* children.

Table 26: Origins of *restavèk* children in Cap-Haïtien by study site

Site	Communes of the Nord except Cap	Commune of Cap	Elsewhere
Bassin Rodo (N=20)	80%	15%	5%
Centre-Ville (N=23)	65%	35%	0%
Petite-Anse (N=16)	63%	25%	12%
Total Cap (N=59)	72%	22%	6%

Table 27: Origins of *restavèk* children in Gonaïves (N=40)

Communes of the Artibonite except Gonaïves	Commune of Gonaïves	Elsewhere
67%	23%	0%

Table 29: Origins of *restavèk* children in Petit Goâve (N=30)

Commune of Petit-Goâve	Elsewhere
83%	17%

Table 28: Origins of *restavèk* children in St-Marc (N=46)

Communes of the Artibonite except St-Marc	Commune of St-Marc	Elsewhere
50%	33%	17%

Table 30: Origins of *restavèk* and non-*restavèk* children by site

	SITE										
	Carrefour Feuilles Fontamara Martissant	Solino Bel-Air	Cité Soleil	Delmas Tabarre	Mon Repos Lamentin	Cap: Bassin Rodo	Cap: Centre Ville	Cap: Petite Anse	Gonaïves	Saint-Marc	Petit-Goâve
Artibonite	7% 2%	6% 1%	27% 3%	7% 5%	5% 1%	1%		3%	86% 95%	82% 92%	
Centre	5%	2%	6%	14%	3%	5%	4%	3%		2%	
Grande-Anse	17%	10%	3%	9%	11%						
Nippes	5%	6%		5%	3%						4%
Nord	2%*	2%	3%	11%		86%	87%	80%	6%	4%	
Nord-Est		7%	3%	3%	1%	5%	4%	20%	1%	2%	
Nord-Ouest	2%	1%	3%	2%			4%		6%	1%	
Ouest	22% 76%	31% 80%	49% 85%	27% 77%	47% 84%	5%		3%	3%	11%	89% 97%
Sud	27% 9%	21% 9%	6% 2%	11% 3%	21% 2%						
Sud-Est	14%	13%	3%	14%	11%						8%
Dominic. Rep.										1%	
St-Martin		1%									
Total N	100% 59 114	100% 82 210	100% 33 109	100% 44 121	100% 38 114	100% 21 79	100% 23 94	100% 15 67	100% 35 151	100% 45 116	100% 26 112

*Bolded numbers refer to *restavèk* children, and non-bolded numbers refer to children born to the household

Origins of *restavèk* versus other children in the home. In study sites away from Port-au-Prince, both *restavèk* and non-*restavèk* children tend overall to come from the same geographic department (see Table 30), although *restavèk* children in Gonaïves (86% *restavèk* vs. 95% pitit kay) and St. Marc (82% vs. 92%) are slightly more likely to come from other areas. In the Port-au-Prince area, the difference between the two categories of children is far more

striking. For example, in Carrefour Feuilles, only 22% of *restavèk* come from the Ouest whereas 76% of pitit kay was born there. The same pattern holds in other Port-au-Prince survey sites, including Bel Air, Cité Soleil, Delmas, and Mon Repos (31% *restavèk* versus 80% pitit kay, 49 versus 85%, 27 versus 77%, 47 versus 84%). In short, as noted earlier, the majority of *restavèk* children have immigrated to Port-au-Prince.

OTHER FORMS OF CHILD VULNERABILITY

Table 31 summarizes rates of child vulnerability to two other categories of victimization, including children who spend their days in the street but have a place to sleep, and children sent to the Dominican Republic or deported.

Table 31: Child vulnerability to street life and transport to Dominican Republic

SITE	Children in percent			N = children age 5 to 17
	Street children	Children to the DR	Deported from DR	
Carrefour Feuilles / Fontamara / Martissant	0	1.0	0	309
Solino / Bel-Air	1.0	1.2	0	484
Cité Soleil	1.8	.7	0	272
Delmas / Tabarre	0	1.6	.3	320
Mon Repos / Lamentin	0.7	0.7	0	303
PORT-AU-PRINCE	0.7	1.1	0.1	1688
Cap: Bassin Rodo	1.1	1.1	1.1	186
Cap: Centre Ville	2.4	1.9	0	207
Cap: Petite Anse	1.9	4.4	0	159
CAP HAÏTIAN	1.8	2.4	0.4	552
Gonaïves	2.9	2.1	0.2	421
Saint-Marc	6.3	2.2	0.9	316
Petit-Goâve	.9	3.4	0	235

Children in the Street

The rate of street children in survey households is highest in St. Marc (6.3%), and also Gonaïves (2.9%) and Cap-Haïtien (1.8%), and much lower in the Port-au-Prince area (0.7%) compared to other cities studied. Within the Port-au-Prince area, the rate is by far the highest in Cité Soleil (1.8), also Solino/Bel-Air (1.0).

These figures support the findings of recent qualitative interviews indicating that growth in numbers of street children is not confined to Port-

au-Prince, and that other towns and cities in Haiti have seen a significant expansion of street children in recent years. The figures shown in Table 31 capture the prevalence of “children in the street” who sleep in survey households. These figures do not of course include other “children of the street,” that is, street children who have no place to sleep at night. The rate of street children appears to be lower in Port-au-Prince than elsewhere, due perhaps to its higher rate of schooling than other areas of Haiti.

Children crossing the Border

The survey instrument uses cross-border travel as a proxy for the risk of trafficking and smuggling. The vast majority of cross border migrants, both children and adults, cross the border illegally and there is demand in the Dominican Republic for child laborers for a variety of purposes.

According to survey data, the number of children sent to the Dominican Republic is far higher in other cities than Port-au-Prince, especially at Petite-Anse (4.4%) in Cap-Haïtien and Petit-Goâve (3.4%), whereas Port-au-Prince shows an overall rate of only 1.1% per thousand. The rate of children deported from the Dominican Republic is also higher in other cities compared to Port-au-Prince.

Qualitative interviews and other reports on migration suggest that cross border migration is closely tied to unskilled agricultural and construction work in the Dominican Republic and that recruitment targets rural areas more than urban centers. There

VIOLENCE, AGGRESSORS, AND RECOURSE

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

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

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

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

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

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