

Pan American Development Foundation
U.S. Agency For International Development / Haiti Mission

Lost Childhoods in Haiti

Quantifying Child Trafficking, *Restavèks* & Victims of Violence



FINAL REPORT

November 2009
Port-au-Prince, Haiti



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Quantifying Child Trafficking, *Restavèks & Victims of Violence*

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Pwoje Kore Dwa Moun / Protecting Human Rights Project
Pan American Development Foundation
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FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

For a majority of Haiti's children, life is marked by hardship as a result of the country's miserable economic conditions. The life of children called restavèks is worse. Restavèks—extremely poor children who are sent to other homes to work as unpaid domestic servants—are prone to beatings, sexual assaults and other abuses by host families. As restavèk teens get older, they are commonly tossed to the street to fend for themselves and become victims of other types of abuse.

Although the plight of restavèk children, as well as overall saga of child trafficking and violence, is not new, there is little reliable information on the prevalence of such human rights violations within the general population. In order to address the problem, the Pan American Development Foundation decided that is critical to understand the scale of victimization.

With support from the U.S. Agency for International Development's Haiti Mission, PADF conducted the largest field survey of on human rights violations, with an emphasis on child trafficking, abuse and violence. The 1,458 door-to-door surveys in troubled urban neighborhoods of Port-au-Prince, Cap-Haïtien, Gonaïves, Saint-Marc and Petit-Gôave revealed details about the restavèk situation:

- Children are moving from very-poor homes to less-poor households—with a vast majority having kinship ties
- In urban areas, PADF estimates that 225,000 children are restavèks, with two-thirds of this group comprised of girls
- Port-au-Prince and St. Marc had higher percentages of households with restavèk children, with more than one-third reporting servant children in their homes

- The impoverished and violent Port-au-Prince neighborhood of Cité Soleil had the highest percentage — an amazing 44 percent—of restavèk children
- Families living in the southern peninsula communities of Les Cayes, Jacmel, Jérémie and Léogane are the most important suppliers of restavèk children to Port-au-Prince
- Some children sent to live with families in order to go to school are not classified as restavèks but end up performing similar duties, though they retain a higher social status

Independent of the restavèk issue, the survey also revealed details about the extent of violence in urban areas. More than 7 percent of urban households report incidents of rape, murder, kidnapping or gang involvement. In terms of incidents of physical assault, Port-au-Prince households had more than double the average (nearly 16 percent) than the other cities. Overall, respondents attribute the vast majority of rapes, murders and kidnappings to armed authorities and politically partisan groups, including gangs. A majority of victims do not file a complaint with authorities.

Conclusion: Based on this in-depth survey and analysis, PADF makes nine recommendations to deal with the tragic situation of restavèks, support for victims of violence and abatement of child trafficking. For example, the vast majority of restavèks are girls, yet more social services (such as shelters) are available to boys.

About the Project: PADF is in the third year of a USAID-funded project called Protecting Human Rights, the largest program of its type in Haiti. PADF, a non-profit with nearly 30 years of on-the-ground experience in Haiti, focuses on economic development, enhancing civil society and responding to natural disasters.



Introduction



INTRODUCTION

Objective of study

The primary objective of study was to better quantify the prevalence of child trafficking, the use of children as unpaid domestic servants and the prevalence of victims of organized violence and torture within the general population of urban neighborhoods targeted for study. There has been considerable news reporting on organized violence and child trafficking in urban Haiti. However, there is little reliable information on the prevalence of such violations within the general population, especially with regard to restavèk servant children. Therefore, this report focuses primarily on the following question: What is the scale of victimization?

The household survey

In December 2007 and January 2008, PADF's Protecting Human Rights Project conducted a quantitative field survey of the prevalence of human rights violations in troubled urban neighborhoods of Port-au-Prince, Cap-Haïtien, Gonaïves, Saint-Marc and Petit-Goâve. The PHR survey was based on a random sample of 1,458 households.

Restavèk children

The term restavèk child is defined here as an unpaid child servant living and working away from home. The most salient identifying feature is that restavèk children are treated in a manner distinctly different from children born to the household. In principle, parental placement of a restavèk child involves turns over childrearing responsibility to another household in exchange for the child's unpaid domestic service. The traditional expectation is that the "caretaker" household will cover the cost of sending the restavèk child to school.

Survey methodology

Interviewers administered a total of 1,464 questionnaires, more than half of them in the Port-au-Prince metropolitan area. Cluster samples were drawn from troubled urban neighborhoods including five areas of in Port-au-Prince, three in Cap-Haïtien, and Gonaïves, Saint-Marc and Petit-Goâve. Port-au-Prince neighborhoods studied included Carrefour-Feuilles, Fontamara, Martissant, Solino, Bel-Air, Cité Soleil, Delmas, Tabarre, Mon Repos, and Lamentin.

SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

The survey identified three distinct categories of children:

1. Children labeled as restavèks
2. Other outside children living as boarders
3. An intermediate category classified here as “restavèk-boarders”

Overall, the PHR survey found an astonishingly high percentage of the 3,188 children surveyed living away from their homes of origin. Over 22% of children surveyed were living away from home; 32% of the children were not born to the heads of household of survey households, including children born to other household residents.

The survey found that 30% of all survey households had restavèk children present, 16% of all children surveyed were placed as restavèk, and 22% of all children were treated as restavèk servants, including a remarkably high 44% of all children in Cité Soleil.

How many restavèk children are there?

National census projections for 2010 show 21% of the urban population of Haiti composed of children between the ages of 5 and 14. Therefore, using PHR survey findings as a basis for extrapolation, children subject to restavèk treatment in urban areas could be as many as 225,000 children.

Gender is a dominant feature of restavèk recruitment.

Two-thirds of restavèk children are girls.

Restavèk placement and its very high prevalence are deeply marked by poverty, and the movement of children from poor to less poor households.

An important new finding from this survey is that a significant minority of households with restavèk children present (11%) had also sent its own children into restavèk placement.

The magnitude of intra-urban movement of children within the metropolitan area is significant new development in the reporting on restavèk placement. Not surprisingly, the majority of urban restavek children were born in rural Haiti; however, households in the Port-au-Prince metropolitan demonstrate a new variant in published findings on restavèk recruitment: the largest single recruitment source is other urban households in the metropolitan area. Therefore, recruitment of restavèk children can no longer be viewed solely as a rural to urban phenomenon.

Geographically, Port-au-Prince and St. Marc had a significantly higher proportion of households with restavèk children present - well over a third of households surveyed. Cité Soleil at 44% had the highest proportion of restavèk children.

The Port-au-Prince metropolitan area houses by far the densest concentration of restavèk children the country. The most important municipalities supplying restavèk children to Port-au-Prince, aside

from the metropolitan area itself, are Les Cayes, Jacmel, Jérémie and Léogane.

Kinship ties to host household heads do not necessarily shield children from restavèk treatment or status. Kinship ties and student board and room arrangements often camouflage treatment that is little different from restavèk servant children. The vast majority of restavèk children surveyed are related to host family household heads. Therefore, family ties serve as a transmission belt for child placement.

The PHR study sheds important new light on the vulnerability of students sent to live with relatives who provide board and room during the school year. The survey indicates that the vast majority of such boarding students are treated similarly to restavèk children but without the restavèk label.

Although the majority of all boarding students had kinship ties with the host household, some 35% of "restavèk-boarders" had no kin ties to the head of household, whereas boarding students not treated as restavèk were all related to the household head. This suggests that the absence of kinship ties may increase the risk of abuse and child domesticity, although it is also abundantly clear that kin ties are not a barrier to restavèk treatment.

There is some evidence from field interviews that the proportion of restavèk without kin ties to host households may be growing, especially in the Port-au-Prince metropolitan area. Given evidence of heightened risk of mistreatment for unrelated

restavèk children, it is important to monitor this trend over time.

A significant factor in the treatment of boarding children is the economic situation of families placing their children in such boarding arrangements. There is evidence from field interviews that boarding students whose families contribute more to the host family, such as food, tend to be treated better.

In short, restavèk treatment varies along a continuum rather than being sharply defined by overt placement as restavèk.

For other forms of victimization, the survey shows some 7 percent of survey households marked by incidents of rape, murder, kidnapping, or gang involvement. Respondents attribute the vast majority of rapes, murders and kidnappings to armed authorities and politically partisan groups including gangs. In terms of incidents of physical assault, Port-au-Prince households ranked much higher (nearly 16%) than the other cities.

The majority of victims did not register attacks with the authorities. Victims that did report assaults were far more inclined to register complaints with the police and courts than other institutions.

Households in survey target cities away from the Port-au-Prince metropolitan area had higher rates of children-in-the-street, and higher rates of children sent to the Dominican Republic or deported from there.

In terms of associational life, the overwhelming majority of households are active participants in religious activities and institutions. Among secular associations, the highest level of participation is with rotating credit groups and credit unions.

High ownership rates for radio, television, and cell phones in these urban neighborhoods suggest growing opportunities for dissemination of media messages via radio and television, and for telephone response to such messages or telephone communications related to victim services. For example, cell phones offer the potential for improved communications within grassroots organizations in urban neighborhoods, including neighborhood watch, conflict monitoring, conflict mediation, and watchdog roles in response to organized violence or child trafficking.

Such efforts would require a significant investment in community organization and outreach in urban areas since urban neighborhoods are generally less well organized (fewer and less well developed grassroots organizations) than most rural areas of Haiti. Furthermore, the most densely populated urban neighborhoods tend to have higher proportions of recent immigrants than other neighborhoods.

DEFINING TERMS

Guiding Concepts of Victimization

The principal target groups for PHR study are victims of trafficking in persons, organized violence, torture, and cross border smuggling of migrants. In the present report, these concepts are defined with reference to the following US legislation and UN conventions.

Trafficking in persons. The concept of human trafficking is based on the US Trafficking Victims Protection Act and the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime. This legislation defines severe trafficking in terms of the use of threats, violence and intimidation to obtain labor or services:

- 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.

According to the language of US legislation, threats, physical coercion, or abuse of the legal process serve as the basis 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.” Children are

defined as persons under age 18. Trafficking in persons includes children recruited for domestic service as unpaid child servants, and minors recruited for the sex trade.

Torture. In 1984, the United Nations, in the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, adopted the following definition:

“...the term ‘torture means any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person for such purpose as obtaining from him or a third person information or a confession, punishing him for an act he or a third person has committed, or is suspected of having committed, or intimidating or coercing him or a third person, or for any reason based on discrimination of any kind, when such pain or suffering is inflicted by, or at the instigation of, or with the consent or acquiescence of, a public official or other person acting in an official capacity. It does not include pain or suffering arising only from, inherent in, or incidental to lawful sanctions.”

As defined here, the concept of torture has a political character comparable to the definition of organized violence.

Organized violence. The term organized violence refers to violence committed by agents of the state for political, racial, religious, ethnic, social, sexual or other reasons. This includes violence by armed gangs or political groups protected by their ties to

public authorities, and groups struggling to attain political power.

Human smuggling. Unlike trafficking in persons, which implies non-consensual exploitation of the victim, human smuggling breaks the law but generally does so with the consent of the person smuggled. The UN protocol against the smuggling of migrants uses the following definition:

- (a) “Smuggling of migrants” shall mean the procurement in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit, of the illegal entry of a person into a state party of which the person is not a national or a permanent resident.
- (b) “Illegal entry” shall mean crossing borders without complying with the necessary requirements for legal entry into the receiving state.

Glossary of Socio-Cultural Terms

Specialized terms used in this report are defined as follows:

Boarders and boarding students – children housed with another family under temporary board and room arrangements to facilitate, for example, school attendance away from home, i.e., fè la desant (temporary lodging) or pansyonè (boarder).

Boukong also pasè – cross-border guides, recruiters, intermediaries, traffickers, and human smugglers.

Chèf katye or chèf baz – neighborhood boss, somewhat veiled reference to a gang leader in formerly gang dominated neighborhoods.

Children in domesticity, child domesticity or child servitude – synonyms for restavèk children used as unpaid domestic servants. Haitian law recognized this practice by name - “enfants en service” – as used in chapter 9 of the 1961 labor code, an article later annulled (2003).

Chimè – armed political pressure groups supporting Lavalas in certain urban slum districts.

Fè la desant – Staying with others, temporary living arrangements, temporary room and board (boarders, boarding students). When children fè la desant, they live with others temporarily for reasons such as a family crisis, or to attend school at a distance. It is generally understood that sending parents will send food and actively defray costs.

Grassroots Organizations – local level member-based organizations operating through volunteer efforts, the equivalent of community based organizations.

Household – The number of people eating and sleeping under the same roof. The household is the basic unit of analysis of this survey. Responses to survey questions are analyzed from a household composition perspective. Some urban households in Haiti provide shelter for people who sleep but

do not eat there; others include members who eat there but do not sleep under one roof. Therefore the present study takes these variants into account by interpreting the number of people eating/sleeping as the number of mouths fed and the number of spaces used for sleeping.

Komite katye - neighborhood committees in urban slum districts that emerged after the fall of Duvalier in 1986 and tended to become political pressure groups

Militan – armed political pressure groups supporting the opposition (“Convergence”) during the second Aristide administration (Petit-Goâve).

NGO Service Providers – non-governmental and non-profit organizations that provide services using a salaried staff rather than relying primarily or solely on volunteers.

Organizasyon popilè (OP) – grassroots organizations in urban slum districts, including pro-Lavalas pressure groups called chimè with a reputation for violent political demonstrations.

Pansyonè, or, pansyonè ki fè la desant – a boarder, a child or adult living with others temporarily in a board and room arrangement.

Pitit kay, or, pitit zantray – literally “children of the house” or children biologically born to the household, i.e., children who “belong” to the household, especially children of the heads of household. The

term may also be used to refer to others accepted as household members even if not born to heads of household. This might include, for example, children present who are born to other adults living in the households. Such children might be nieces, nephews, or grandchildren of household heads.

Restavèk – Unpaid child servant living and working away from home. Closely related terms include children in domesticity or child servitude. The most salient identifying feature of restavèk children is that they are treated in a manner distinctly different from pitit kay, i.e., children born to the household or who belong to the household. In principle, parental placement of a restavèk child involves turns over childrearing responsibility to another household in exchange for the child’s unpaid domestic service. Restavèk placement is generally viewed as a long term arrangement that may last for several years. The traditional expectation is that the “caretaker” household will cover the cost of sending the restavèk child to school.

The Crèole term restavèk literally means someone who lives with another; however, in popular parlance the word is a pejorative reference to servile dependence and is categorically demeaning. Less pejorative synonyms of restavèk include timoun rann sèvis (children who render service), timoun rete kay moun (children living with others), or simply timoun (literally “child”) in which the connotation is one of an outside child rather than one’s own child (pitit or pitit zantray).

Restavèk-boarders – children placed outside the home under temporary board and room arrangements and treated in a manner akin to restavèk children but without the label. In the present study, restavèk-boarders are an intermediate category, and retain a somewhat higher social status in the household than children consciously placed into restavèk service. Nevertheless, restavèk-boarders are outside children treated distinctly different from the household's own children (*pitit kay*).

Sang, sabotay, sol – indigenous, self-organized rotating credit groups.

Street children – children who rely on various activities in the street as a survival or livelihood strategy in urban areas. There are two major variants of street children,

(1) *enfants de la rue* (children of the street) without a family and no place to sleep who live in the streets day and night, and (2) *enfants dans la rue* (children in the street), children who spend days and perhaps evenings in the streets but maintain active family ties and have a place to sleep at night.

Ti paran – distant relative.

Guiding Concepts and the Survey Instrument

Detecting restavèk children. The PHR survey is designed to elicit the prevalence of several categories of victimization in respondent households; however,

the instrument devotes more attention to restavèk servant children than other victims. This is due in part to the emphasis on trafficking in persons in the results framework for the project, and the need to quantify the prevalence of restavèk servant children in neighborhoods targeted for study. The larger number of restavèk questions in the instrument also stems from the heightened risk of biasing responses if the question of restavèk children is raised too directly. Therefore, the instrument broaches the question indirectly, and does so in different ways.

The instrument determines who is present in the household prior to asking more focused questions. The instrument does not mention the term restavèk at all. As a proxy, it uses correlates of restavèk status such as differential school attendance and differences in household work assignments among different categories of children within the household. A guiding assumption of study is that the sheer scale or prevalence of restavèk servant children is much higher than other victim categories queried. Therefore, the scale of victimization justifies heightened attention to detecting the presence of restavèk children.

The survey questionnaire lists restavèk chores, and queries heads of households regarding work assignments for their own children compared to other children living in the home.

In general, leading indicators of restavèk treatment include work expectations equivalent to adult servants and long hours that surpass the cultural

norm for children's work at home, inferior food and clothing compared to other children in the home, sleeping on the floor rather than in a bed, no time out for play, and a common expectation that the restavèk child must use formal terms of address when speaking to social superiors including virtually all other household members. This expectation applies to restavèk relations to other children in the household, even children younger than the restavèk child, e.g., Msye Jak ("Mister Jacques" rather than simply Jacques).

Education is also an important indicator in detecting child domesticity. Children in domesticity may or may not attend school, but when they do attend, it is generally an inferior school compared to other children. Restavek children are also more likely to be overage for their grade level, and their rates of non-enrollment are higher than non-restavèk children in the home.

Child status analyzed in this study includes all children age 5 through 17. The questionnaire uses two approaches to counting children age 5 through 17. First, respondents are asked to identify the number of children under age 18 that are present. Secondly, they are asked to determine how many of these children are under the age of 5 years (see questionnaire page 1, q1d and q1e).

Street children in survey households. The instrument includes questions to elicit the presence of "children in the street" in survey households, that is, children who sleep at home but spend their

days working the streets. To update information on street children, it is essential to carry out a dedicated study of street children based on direct contact with street children and programs providing services to street children; however, the household survey can help to estimate the incidence of "children-in-the-street" within general population, one element of a triangulated approach to gaining better information on street children.

Children and gangs. Questions eliciting adult or child involvement with gangs refer primarily to an earlier time frame when gangs dominated neighborhoods such as Cité Soleil. Gangs no longer dominate Cité Soleil; however, this researcher identified former gang-recruited children in Cité Soleil in August 2008. The PHR household study identified a total of 29 individuals formerly linked to gangs, only one of which was a child.

Cross-border trafficking and smuggling. The survey included questions devised to elicit the incidence of household children sent to or deported from the Dominican Republic. These questions serve as a proxy for rating the relative risk of cross-border trafficking and smuggling of children among cities surveyed. The responses to these questions show notable differences by city.

Violence. The instrument asked household heads if any members of their households were victimized by murder, rape, kidnapping, or other physical attacks during a particular time frame – specifically the period since the end of the Interim Government

(May 2006) up to January 2008. This coincides with the initial 19 months of the Preval government. The survey disaggregates victims of violence by age and gender, and asks respondents to identify different categories of aggressor, including violence by public authorities.

Knowledge of support services in the general population. The survey instrument includes sections on respondent knowledge and use of psychological, medical, policing and legal services. This type of feedback from the general population is useful for determining the coverage of service networks.

Involvement with civil society organizations and public authorities. The questionnaire elicits respondent levels of participation or membership in civil society organizations, and respondent interactions with government authorities. The assumption is that participation in organizations, including virtually any type of organized group, has an impact on the relative vulnerability of households including the benefit of strength in numbers, recourse in the face of victimization, access to hidden victims, and identifying institutional networks or channels of communication regarding services available to victims and other human rights messages.

Child prostitution. Questions pertaining to household prevalence of children in prostitution were pretested in the initial survey instrument. These questions were removed when statistical analysis indicated that questions pertaining to prostitution tended to bias responses to other questions in

the instrument. Clearly, the dynamics of child prostitution are a high priority but require a dedicated study using qualitative methodologies, collaboration with institutions in contact with prostitutes including health and police services, and direct contact with minors, patrons, and businesses linked to the sex trade.

Socio-Economic Status. The survey estimates the economic status of households based on such indicators as household furnishings, house characteristics, home ownership or rental, and employment (see Annex III). Questions seeking to quantify household income were dropped after pretesting due to a high rate of non-response.

e The survey identified three distinct categories of children:

1. Children labeled as restavèks
2. Other outside children living as boarders
3. An intermediate category classified here as “restavèk-boarders”

Overall, the PHR survey found an astonishingly high percentage of the 3,188 children surveyed living away from their homes of origin. Over 22% of children surveyed were living away from home; 32% of the children were not born to the heads of household of survey households, including children born to other household residents.

The survey found that 30% of all survey households

had restavèk children present, 16% of all children surveyed were placed as restavèk, and 22% of all children were treated as restavèk servants, including a remarkably high 44% of all children in Cité Soleil.

How many restavèk children are there?

National census projections for 2010 show 21% of the urban population of Haiti composed of children between the ages of 5 and 14. Therefore, using PHR survey findings as a basis for extrapolation, children subject to restavèk treatment in urban areas could be as many as 225,000 children.

Gender is a dominant feature of restavèk recruitment. Two-thirds of restavèk children are girls.

Restavèk placement and its very high prevalence are deeply marked by poverty, and the movement of children from poor to less poor households.

An important new finding from this survey is that a significant minority of households with restavèk children present (11%) had also sent its own children into restavèk placement.

The magnitude of intra-urban movement of children within the metropolitan area is significant new development in the reporting on restavèk placement. Not surprisingly, the majority of urban restavek children were born in rural Haiti; however, households in the Port-au-Prince metropolitan demonstrate a new variant in published findings on restavèk recruitment: the largest single recruitment

source is other urban households in the metropolitan area. Therefore, recruitment of restavèk children can no longer be viewed solely as a rural to urban phenomenon.

Geographically, Port-au-Prince and St. Marc had a significantly higher proportion of households with restavèk children present - well over a third of households surveyed. Cité Soleil at 44% had the highest proportion of restavèk children.

The Port-au-Prince metropolitan area houses by far the densest concentration of restavèk children the country. The most important municipalities supplying restavèk children to Port-au-Prince, aside service as unpaid child servants, and minors recruited for the sex trade.

CENTRAL THEMES

A very large number of Haitian children live away from their homes of origin. In terms of the sheer scale of victimization, restavèk treatment affects far more children than other forms of victimization studied. The vast scale of restavèk victimization also has significant social consequences for the next generation, including a growing number of young adults traumatized by a history of restavèk abuse and by the absence of affection during childhood.

There is an important gender component to restavèk placement. The vast majority of children subject to restavèk treatment are girls.

The movement of restavèk children is from poor to somewhat less poor households.

Port-au-Prince houses by far the densest concentration of restavèk children in the country.

The majority of urban restavek children were born in rural Haiti; however, the largest single recruitment source is other urban households in the metropolitan area. Therefore, recruitment of restavèk children cannot simply be viewed as a rural to urban phenomenon.

All regions of the country supply restavèk children to the metropolitan area; however, the most important supply region outside of the metropolitan area is the southern peninsula.

A significant minority of urban households with restavèk children present also send children of their

own into restavèk placement.

The vast majority of restavèk children have kinship ties to host family household heads. There is also some evidence of a growing number of restavèk children without kinship ties to household heads.

Many households also have children present who are school boarders, and the vast majority of such boarding students is treated in a manner similar to restavèk children but without the restavèk label.

In actual practice, restavèk treatment varies along a continuum rather than being sharply defined by restavèk status.

Kinship ties to host household heads do not shield children from restavèk treatment or status. Kinship ties and student board and room arrangements often camouflage treatment that is little different from restavèk servant children. Nevertheless, there is also evidence that restavèk children without kinship ties are subject to a heightened risk of abuse.

Survey respondents attribute the vast majority of rapes, murders and kidnappings – during the study period – to armed authorities and politically partisan groups including gangs.

In comparison to households in the metropolitan area, households in other survey cities away from Port-au-Prince had higher rates of children-in-the-street, and higher rates of children sent to the Dominican Republic or deported from there.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The majority of victims did not register attacks with the authorities; however, victims are far more inclined to register complaints with the police and courts than other institutions.

Drawing the sample. Cluster samples were drawn from neighborhoods selected for study including five areas of in Port-au-Prince, three in Cap-Haïtien, and Gonaïves, Saint-Marc and Petit-Goâve (see Table 2 below). The cluster sites were drawn from aerial photographs given the unavailability of accurate lists of households or street addresses to establish sampling frames. Sampling was based on three steps:

1. A map of each targeted neighborhood was made using aerial photographs.
2. Within each neighborhood, points corresponding to the number of cluster samples needed were laid out in quincunx (i.e., three neighboring points forming equilateral triangles) thus covering the entire neighborhood selected for study.
3. Around each point, an equal number of households were chosen for the study.

Data collection. Interviewers gathered information using a structured questionnaire based primarily on closed and pre-coded questions (see Annexes I and II). Most of the interviewers had administered similar instruments in earlier surveys in many of the same neighborhoods. Interviewers were given three days of training followed by a pre-test of 42 questionnaires. After the pre-test, certain modifications were made to the questionnaire. Questions on revenue and child prostitution were eliminated due to low response and respondent sensitivity to these questions.

Items added included questions on lodging, the number of rooms, and household items used to establish the economic status of people interviewed. These changes significantly increased the response rate. Interviewers administered a total of 1,464 questionnaires, more than half of them in the Port-au-Prince metropolitan area.

A team of four supervisors supervised groups of 4 to 6 interviewers. Supervisors coded the questions daily. The field survey was implemented in two stages: Port-au-Prince area in December 2008, and other cities between December 2007

and January 2008. Following the initial two days of data collection in Port-au-Prince, researchers halted the field survey for a week to assess data quality. This resulted in modification of certain questions to avoid biasing results, especially questions related to kinship ties and child domesticity service. Supervisors verified and coded questionnaires in the field. Electronic data entry included double entry by two different data entry staff as a cross-check on the quality of data entered.

Table 1: Neighborhood & Household Sample Selected for Study

Neighborhoods chosen for study	Clusters by site	Households Studied		
		Households	Pre-Test	TOTAL
POR-TAU-PRINCE				
Carrefour-Feuilles / Fontamara / Martissant	13	135		135
Solino / Bel-Air	26	247	42	289
Cité Soleil	13	127		127
Delmas / Tabarre	13	138		138
Mon Repos / Lamentin	13	132		132
Total in Port-au-Prince		779	42	821
CAP HAITIEN				
Cap: Bassin Rodo	10	92		
Cap: Centre Ville	12	105		
Cap: Petite Anse	10	72		
Total Cap		269		269
Gonaïves				
Saint-Marc	13	169		169
Petit-Goâve	12	127		127
TOTAL		120		120
		1464	42	1506



Survey Findings and Analysis



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

Gender of interviewee	CITY					Total
	Port-au-Prince	Cap-Haitien	Gonaïves	Saint-Marc	Petit-Goâve	
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-Haitien	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

Age of Interviewees	CITY					Total
	Port-au-Prince	Cap-Haitien	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).