Navigating the Identity Constructions-Lived Realities Nexus of International Child Protection: The Global-Local Production of Childhood, Child Rights and Child Domestic Labour in Haiti

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ABSTRACT

NAVIGATING THE IDENTIFY CONSTRUCTIONS-LIVED REALITIES NEXUS OF INTERNATIONAL CHILD PROTECTION: THE GLOBAL-LOCAL PRODUCTION OF CHILDHOOD, CHILD RIGHTS AND CHILD DOMESTIC LABOUR IN HAITI

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This dissertation explores how children navigate the relationship between their varied identities and livelihood experiences in what is termed the identity constructions-lived realities nexus. It does so within the field of international child protection where both Global and Local perspectives are responsible for producing the framing and experience of childhood, child rights and child domestic labour in Haiti. It is important to note that as childhood and child rights are socially-constructed concepts, they vary across time and space. However, the construction of these concepts does not transpire distinct from one another. Rather, a precise notion of these concepts emerges when examined at what is defined as the Global-Local interface. This is because an assessment of the international child protection literature reveals both a Global Childhood framework consisting of its Global Childhood model and Global Rights-Bearing Child approach and a Local Childhood framework made up of its Local Childhood model and its Local Rights-Bearing Child approach. Therefore, it is only through applying this scalar dynamic that the dissertation aims to traverse this scholarly divide and reveal what is in fact the dynamic interaction of these childhood frameworks responsible for the production and reproduction of Haitian childhood and child rights that shape Haitian child domestic labour. The results from this study show that such interactivity generates a spectrum of positive, negative and challenging experiences along which Haitian child domestic labourers’ identities are constructed and lived realities transpire. As a result, these children demonstrate both awareness of a need for more
rights but also an acknowledgement, appreciation and desire to obtain rights through fulfilling their interdependent obligations as agents for helping to gain improvement for their families and their own future. It is in this spectrum of identities and lived realities that practitioners may find strategies that are better targeted to more positive outcomes. Therefore, this dissertation shows both the theoretical necessity to analyze how the interaction of competing childhood frameworks shape Haitian child domestic labourers’ identity constructions and the practical importance of consulting these children as they navigate the diverse impacts that advocates of each framework have upon their unique lived realities.
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Chapter 1 – Introduction – Navigating the Identity Constructions-Lived Realities Nexus of International Child Protection in Haiti

Academic study into the relationship between identity constructions and lived realities is of vital importance for the field of international child protection. This is because conceptions of childhood and child rights vary across time and space. Such variance shapes individual and organizational viewpoints for the livelihoods that children realize. This can consist of a multitude of experiences including child domestic labour in Haiti that will be specifically addressed in this study. Therefore, in the contemporary hyper-globalized world where people are connected with one another unlike any previous period, our present reality sees these alternative conceptions as being readily known to one another. For instance, an examination into the international child protection literature shows the presence of a universal child rights regime that has emerged from the minority world.¹ Advocates representative of this universal regime are committed to a definitively homogeneous conception of childhood and child rights that is to be spread through multiple channels of globalization so that all of humanity may adapt this view. These advocates advance what is termed the Global Childhood framework. This Global framework consists of a Global Childhood model conceptualizing childhood as a universal experience and a Global Rights-Bearing Child approach that views children as independent rights-bearers. Since the advent of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) in 1989, these Global framework advocates have been further supported in their promotion of a uniform view of childhood and child rights toward upholding children’s protection worldwide. Therefore, when applied to the practice of child domestic labour, Global framework advocates² contend that children who conduct domestic labour are denied a proper childhood and are the victims of rights violations. Further supported by the International Labour Organization’s (ILO) Convention

¹ Countries with a minority of the world’s population, poverty and land mass (Panelli, Punch & Robson, 2007, 13).
Number 182 in 1999 on the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour, that includes domestic labour, these Global framework advocates argue that children need to be protected from such labour. Overall, with ratification of the UNCRC by 194 countries and ILO Convention 182 by 179 countries, the reach of this Global Childhood framework is clearly significant. Given this impressive international law consensus, one may infer agreement exists over conceptions of childhood and child rights. However, this would prove a problematic assumption as the majority of children’s childhoods and as such their child rights throughout many signatory states fail to align with the Global Childhood framework.

This discrepancy between international law and many children’s livelihoods is a product of the challenge posed by a Local Childhood framework situated within the majority world. Proponents of the Local Childhood framework caution the universalizing zeal of Global Childhood framework advocates contending instead that heterogeneous conceptions of childhood and child rights should legitimately operate across the world. These proponents staunchly defend a Local Childhood framework that is made up of a Local Childhood model conceptualizing childhood as a variable experience and a Local Rights-Bearing Child approach that views children as interdependent rights-bearers. Therefore, when proponents of the Local Childhood framework examine the issue of child domestic labour, they contend that children’s childhoods may include the conducting of such labour as this could facilitate securing their child rights. Consequently, this leads to Local framework proponents’ position that children may participate in domestic labour. What materializes from the clear outlining of these alternative positions is that not only are there varying conceptions of childhood and child rights that emerge from differing individuals and institutions operating across the minority and majority worlds, but that

3 This term is used for countries with a majority of the world’s population, poverty and land mass (Panelli, Punch and Robson, 2007, 13).
4 See Tatek Abebe (2013) and Morten Skovdal and Eleni Andreouli (2011). Chapter 4 offers an in-depth discussion.
they offer the distinct means by which to facilitate international child protection. Therefore, with the intention to provide a comprehensive overview for how actors and institutions promoting the Global and Local Childhood frameworks\textsuperscript{5} impact international child protection in Haiti, this dissertation asks how their conceptions of childhood and child rights, including child domestic labourers themselves, influence these Haitian children’s identities and impact their livelihoods.

**The Historical Trajectory of the Universal Child Rights Regime**

To address this research question, it is essential to first situate the historical trajectory of the universal child rights regime that shapes the Global Childhood framework. What becomes evident in this process is that the 20\textsuperscript{th} century witnessed a significant shift in the conception of childhood and its direct affect on child rights. For instance, in the aftermath of the First World War, international actors and institutions highlighted the plight that children had endured in an effort to avoid repeating such tragic experiences. The result saw Eglantyne Jebb spearhead the League of Nations’ Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child in 1924 advancing a five-point commitment through which adults must ensure children’s right to life, survival and development (League of Nations, 1924). About three and a half decades later, the now United Nations reconfirmed their pledge through advancing the rights of all children to protection by situating it within their “right to equality without distinction on account of race, religion or national origin” (United Nations, 1959). What is critical to note in both these international declarations is their conception of the child “as particularly defenceless, innocent, and ‘worthy’ of protection as representative of a future generation” (Holzschieter, 2011, 11). This line of thinking saw “the gradual prominence of a specifically Western, liberal concept of ‘happy childhood’ which comprised as its core components love, care, education, play, recreation, personal development,

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\textsuperscript{5} See Appendix A: The Global Childhood Framework and Local Childhood Framework for a succinct guide on what constitutes these frameworks. While these respective frameworks will be outlined, analyzed and applied to the Haitian context over the course of the dissertation, it may be helpful to revisit the appendix from time to time.
furthering of talents and protection from work” (Holzscheiter, 2011, 11). This materialized in a situation where despite the notion of children’s rights being used in these international declarations, the conception of childhood as a protective space led to envisioning child rights not with the “aim at empowering the child … [but rather] the term [child rights] designated a moral obligation of society as a whole towards children as a whole” (Holzscheiter, 2011, 12).

The conception of childhood and its ensuing affect on child rights would, however, be revolutionized with the developing notion of children’s evolving capacities by the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s onward. This conception witnessed children no longer completely situated within their family realm, but simultaneously acknowledged as autonomous actors. Therefore, the child could be engaged on matters that affected their lives based upon their development stage (Holzscheiter, 2011, 12). The growing awareness for the principle of children’s evolving capacities from the 1970s onward, dovetailed with the United Nations’ Decade of the Child in 1979 that spurred a ten-year long drafting period for what would ultimately become the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. This convention maintained the principles of children’s right to life, survival and development as well as non-discrimination. However, it proceeded to situate these rights in light of children’s autonomous status through advancing both the best interest of the child principle and a respect for the views of the child on matters affecting their lives (United Nations, 1989). In essence, the latter enshrines children’s right to voice their opinions on issues that they engage, while the former mandates that adult actors include the child’s viewpoint in determining what is the ideal course of action for the child. As a result, the universal child rights regime has shaped a Global Childhood framework that promotes “children as a special class of people requiring special consideration and the dignity of the individual child should be recognized in his or her own unique situation” (Cohen and Naimark, 1991, 63).
Transmitting the Universal Child Rights Regime to the Haitian Context

Transmitting the universal child rights regime to the majority world broadly and the Haitian context specifically, raises important questions over the impact of the Global Childhood framework within a setting largely practicing the Local Childhood framework. This is because in summarizing arguments first published by Jo Boyden on the globalization of childhood, William E. Myers explains that the universal child rights regime problematically promotes, European and North American urban, middle-class concepts of children and childhood … as a standardized universal model of childhood assumed … applicable also to societies of developing countries whose economic conditions, social structures and cultural and religious traditions are vastly different (2001, 41).

In the Haitian case study for instance, one witnesses a situation where international and national elites authoritatively utilize the power of the state to accumulate wealth by repressing and in so doing increasing the vulnerability of the predominantly rural population. This political economic nature of the Haitian state emerged from the French colonial structure that imposed upon the African-descendent population the political mandate of slavery and economic plantation system (Fatton Jr., 2007, vii). Such circumstances have proceeded to characterize much of Haiti’s political history where leaders have used the state apparatus to “neutralize [opposition] politically or exterminate [them] physically” (Dupuy, 2007, 28) and economic history of capitalist development that generated a small elite closely connected to the state and a predominantly impoverished citizenry (Fatton Jr., 2007, 16). This has all led to a present day situation where despite operating within a democratic transition period, Haiti faces significant development challenges as indicated by their 168th ranking out of 187 countries on the United Nations Human Development Index of 2013 (UNDP, 2014, n/a). Given these political and economic circumstances, the expectation of facilitating the Global Childhood framework within the Haitian context creates significant debate.
The Interaction of the Global and Local Childhood Frameworks in Haiti

Despite transmission challenges, Haitian society does in fact include the active operation of both the Global Childhood framework and Local Childhood framework. However, here, the divide between these alternative frameworks is evident. On the one hand, having been strongly influenced by the universal child rights regime, the Haitian state has declared itself committed to the Global Childhood framework. This is clear in its ratification of both the UNCRC in 1995 (United Nations Treaty Collection, 2015) and ILO Convention No 182 in 2007 (ILO No. 182, 2015). At the same time, the Local Childhood framework remains the predominant childhood experience for the majority of Haitian children. This specifically includes child domestic labourers who are estimated to make up between 8-10% of the entire child population (Smucker and Murray, 2004, 21; Sommerfelt, 2002, 6). These children are defined as ranging in age from 5-17 years old, are from poor socio-economic families and who have left their original home to live and work in a separate household (Hatloy, 2005, 13). In their position as domestic labourers, these children are entitled to housing, food and education. However, research findings suggest that the latter goes largely unfulfilled while the former two elements tend to be sub-standard to what the rest of the family has (Blagbrough, 2008, 185-186; Kolbe and Hutson, 2006, 874). Despite this set of circumstances, these children perform a multitude of tasks and experience their lives according to distinct gender dynamics. For boys, there exists a greater potential for exercising agency in this position. This emerges from their tendency to conceptualize their migration from the rural areas to the urban centres as shedding themselves of their perceived vagabond status (Hoffman, 2011, 6; Sommerfelt, 2002, 60). This transpires through taking up tasks for the household largely related to retrieving water and supporting market activity.
Moreover, such activities situate them as better positioned vis-à-vis girls to seek reciprocity by placing demands upon the head of the household to potentially secure improvements to their livelihoods that include access to education (Sommerfelt, 2002, 65). If such demands are not met, these boys are also more capable of contesting exploitative work and may seek out different opportunities (Sommerfelt, 2002, 65). Alternatively, girl child domestic labourers are disproportionately burdened by the expectation that they complete many more tasks including the laundry, cooking and cleaning for the household. Additionally, girls are not necessarily afforded upward social mobility as their limited options largely see them remain in a domestic position into their adult lives (Sommerfelt, 2002, 63). Overall, for Global Childhood framework advocates, the child domestic labour experience is viewed as violating these children’s rights. This is because not only are these children involved in labour but they also depart from their family home. While sympathetic to the challenges that these children face, Local Childhood framework proponents caution the assumptions of Global Childhood framework advocates. They contend that participating in labour and migration should not automatically be deemed incompatible with childhood. In fact, through such a position, the possibility exists that children may be able to secure improvements not only in their lives but potentially the lives of their families. Therefore, given the operation of these alternative viewpoints and the debate that they spur over Haitian childhood, child rights and their specific application to child domestic labour, there exist justifiable grounds for conducting an in-depth academic investigation into this issue.

Therefore, recognizing the presence of the Global Childhood framework and Local Childhood framework in Haiti, this dissertation aspires to go beyond a singular lens of analysis by also revealing their interaction. While independent of one another, the Global and Local Childhood frameworks offer different conceptions into childhood, child rights and child
domestic labour. However, adapting only one or the other framework leads to polemical debating that fails to engage the other view. Doing so problematically renders each perspective static when in reality they are dynamically shaped by their interactivity. It is precisely this interaction as experienced by Haitian child domestic labourers that is the focus of this study. I take this position being theoretically informed by combining Edward Said’s critical cosmopolitan theory and Arjun Appadurai’s disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy theory. First, Said’s critical cosmopolitanism informs his contrapuntal method that builds “a simultaneous awareness both of the metropolitan [view] that is narrated and of those other [views] against which (and together with which) the dominating discourse acts” (1993, 52). Moreover, this theory is complimented by Arjun Appadurai’s concept of disjuncture and difference. Despite global ideas being dominantly positioned in comparison with local ideas, Appadurai argues that while the former utilizes homogenizing instruments to undermine the latter, its diffusion is not inevitable. Rather, it is at this Global-Local interface where actors and institutions negotiate to develop heterogeneous outcomes (Appadurai, 1990, 307). Applied to the international child protection literature, the Global Childhood framework is more strongly promoted vis-à-vis the Local Childhood framework. However, the former does not operate independent of but exists in relation with the latter to produce a range of results. This dissertation will therefore explore how conceptions of childhood and child rights reflective of these frameworks influence the identities and impact the livelihoods of Haitian child domestic labourers at the Global-Local nexus.

In so doing, the significance of this study lies in examining the interaction of Global and Local Childhood framework advocate’s conceptions of childhood and child rights in Haiti that influence the identities and impact the livelihoods of Haitian child domestic labourers. This occurs through conveying the importance of applying a scalar dynamic that can account for how
ideas traverse multiple levels of analysis. It also transpires as the dissertation outlines the alternative theoretical childhood frameworks and highlights how advocates of each act in relation to one another. Moreover, the dissertation reveals how the positionality and perspectives held by various actors and institutions are advanced through negotiation. Overall, the dissertation aims to contribute to the international child protection literature the way in which geographic location and theoretical perspectives are reflected in various actors’ and institutions’ viewpoints. It is in holding these positions that individuals engage in a negotiating process that ultimately shapes the conceptions of childhood and child rights influencing the identities and impacting the livelihoods of Haitian child domestic labourers. The results of this study show that this approach accounts for the interactivity of advocates representing both the Global and Local Childhood frameworks to reveal how such dynamic relationships are responsible for the production and reproduction of Haitian childhood, child rights and child domestic labour. What this above all demonstrates is the existence of a spectrum of positive, challenging and negative experiences along which Haitian child domestic labourers’ identities are constructed and lived realities experienced. As a result, these children demonstrate both awareness of a need for more rights but also an acknowledgement, appreciation and desire to obtain rights through fulfilling their interdependent obligations as agents for helping to gain improvement for their families and their own future. It is in this spectrum of identities and lived realities that practitioners may find strategies that are better targeted to more positive outcomes. Therefore, this dissertation has both theoretical and tangible implications for the academic study and on-the-ground practice of international child protection. It shows that because the Global framework, although well-intentioned, can cause complications for children in pursuit of securing their rights while the Local framework may not bring about the alleviation of children’s vulnerabilities, there exists a theoretical necessity to
analyze how both frameworks interact so as to capture the nuance necessary for discovering a process that positively shapes their identity constructions. Moreover, and related to the above, it also demonstrates the practical importance of consulting these children for the collective international child protection objective of best child protection practices due to their active exercising of agency as they navigate their lived realities.

**Outline of the Study**

Over the course of this study’s exploration into how Global and Local conceptions of childhood and child rights influence the identities and impact the livelihoods of Haitian child domestic labourers, I contend that advocates of these distinct Global and Local frameworks, including children themselves, dynamically interact to produce a spectrum of identity constructions and lived realities experiences. Therefore, I advance a theoretical argument requiring the examination of international child protection with a scalar dynamic and a practical argument of consulting child domestic labourers themselves for best protection practices. To do this, the dissertation will move on to chapter 2 with the intention to first contextualize the political and economic history of Haiti and how it has impacted upon child domestic labour in the country. This transpires through providing a political economy approach utilizing the theory of habitus to the historical origins and contemporary setting of Haitian child domestic labour. It specifically reveals how repression and resistance has marred state-society relations that have and continue to shape the character of Haitian child domestic labour. Once establishing the past and present context within which Haitian child domestic labour has and continues to transpire, chapters 3 and 4 will outline the methodological and theoretical approach to the study respectively. First, the methods chapter will reveal the inductive qualitative methodology that I have used and the important self-reflexive processes I have undergone over the course of researching, reflecting upon and
composing the dissertation. Next, the theory chapter will consist of laying out the theorization of childhood and child rights reflective of both Global and Local Childhood framework advocates and then proceed to implement a theoretical framework that institutes Edward Said’s critical cosmopolitanism and is guided by Arjun Appadurai’s disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy so as to produce a distinct contribution to the wider childhood and child rights literature that uses this theoretical approach to advance the importance of conducting a Global-Local analysis. Chapter 5 will then proceed to offer an examination into the academic literature both on child domestic labourers around the world as well as within the specific context of Haiti. This is done with a particular focus for the competing arguments reflective of Global and Local Childhood framework proponents as it relates to child domestic labourers’ labour, migrant and citizenship identities that will in turn be specifically addressed vis-à-vis my findings in Haiti throughout chapters 7 and 8 respectively. Taken together, the introductory, historical, methodological, theoretical and literature review chapters therefore pave the way for chapters 6 through 8 where the findings of a Global-Local analysis into childhood and child rights in Haiti (chapter 6) and its influence on the identity constructions and lived realities as advanced by adult actors and institutions (chapter 7) as well as by Haitian children themselves (chapter 8), will reveal the existence of a spectrum along which Haitian child domestic labourers’ identities are constructed and lived realities experienced necessitating consultation with these children as actors in navigating their unique livelihoods. Finally, the concluding chapter 9 summarizes the findings of the dissertation by highlighting the interaction of the Global and Local Childhood frameworks’ shaping of Haitian child domestic labourers’ identity constructions and lived realities and culminating with the important recommendation of advancing a dialogical approach to international child protection practices.
Chapter 2 - Repression and Resistance in the Political Economy of Haiti and its Impact upon the Historical Origins and Contemporary Setting of Haitian Child Domestic Labour

In order to situate the universal child rights regime’s Global Childhood framework and its interaction with the widely practiced Local Childhood framework in Haiti, this chapter will offer a historical and contemporary analysis for critical political economic events in the country while simultaneously demonstrating their impact in shaping the practice of child domestic labour. To do so, I will utilize Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of habitus for analyzing the state-society relations shaping the historical origins and contemporary setting of Haitian child domestic labour. Producing this political economy analysis through the theory of habitus captures how agent-structure relations inform the political and economic decisions responsible for Haiti’s past and present status. What materializes through this theory is a political economy story of state repression and citizen resistance in Haiti. The country’s contentious state-society relations stem from international and national elites habitually utilizing the power of the state to accumulate wealth by repressing the predominantly rural population. Despite their resistance through living in the solidarity-based Haitian lakou system, rural Haitian citizens have been made increasingly vulnerable by the state that in turn has undermined their unity. The result of such circumstances witnessed Haitian child domestic labour shift from transpiring in close geographic communal solidarity to becoming based upon rural to urban patron-client relationships. With the subsiding of state repression in Haiti’s current democratic transition period, Haitian child domestic labour has transformed once more. This democratic era has facilitated the universal child rights regime’s norm prohibiting child domestic labour that has largely diffused among bourgeois households. It has led Haitian child domestic labourers to now work predominantly in poor urban settings. Therefore, this chapter is tasked with thoroughly unpacking how state repression and citizen resistance has transpired over the course of important periods in Haitian history. The
process of doing so will demonstrate the way in which such state-society relations have and continue to structure the respective historical origins and contemporary setting of child domestic labour in Haiti. It therefore importantly situates the context for future chapters to examine how Global and Local Childhood framework advocates’ conceptions of childhood and child rights influence the identities and impact the livelihoods of Haitian child domestic labourers.

**The Political Economy of Haiti as Understood Through the Theory of Habitus**

A political economy analysis of Haiti that utilizes Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of habitus can account for both agency and structure in the attempt to connect Haiti’s past to its present. According to Joy Moncrieffe, Bourdieu’s theoretical concept of habitus postulates that decision-making processes “are patterned off the social structures that spawned them” (2006, 37). The theory therefore gives significant weight to the past in its structuring of the present. However, at the same time, the past should not be a guarantor of the present. This is because “socially derived dispositions can be challenged, eroded, and even dismantled when there is exposure to effective counteracting influences” (Moncrieffe, 2006, 37). Therefore, while historical structures are considerably influential in shaping the current state of affairs, they should not be viewed as producing an inevitable choice. Thus, a dynamic decision-making process is possible. But because the past serves as a powerful “frame of reference to ‘filter’ subsequent experiences,” it weighs heavily on decision-making process (Moncrieffe, 2006, 37). As such, habitus shows that in the exercising of agency, agents are disproportionately influenced by how structures shape the course of action that they choose. This reflects Karl Marx’s position that “[w]omen make their own history, but not of their own free will; not under circumstances they themselves have chosen but under the inherited circumstances with which they are directly confronted” (1973, 146). This is demonstrably apparent in the historical and contemporary state of Haiti’s political economy.
A political economy analysis of Haiti utilizing the theory of habitus reveals the continuity of an authoritarian state structure that emerged in the country’s formative years and still persists to a degree despite its current democratic state. The result has seen the authoritarian state repress the vast majority of its citizenry. This has manifested in acts of resistance by Haitian citizens. Such circumstances have led to a palpable tension between the Haitian state and the wider society. Drawing on the theory of habitus, Robert Fatton Jr. reveals the underlying cause of such strife. By demonstrating the inextricable interconnectivity between political legislation and the economic system in Haiti, he argues that the French colonial structure imposed upon Haiti the political mandate of slavery and the economic plantation system. It was the coalescing of these political and economic elements that marks the genesis of Haiti’s authoritarian governance structure (2007, vii). While such a mandate and system has been challenged by the Haitian citizens that have altered it over time, the vestiges of colonialism still perpetuate authoritarian tendencies. Such predispositions have penetrated multiple state apparatuses and formulated an authoritarian governance structure that continues to show its influence upon Haitian politics today. A political economy approach that examines critical junctures in Haiti’s historical trajectory will therefore reveal the consistency with which Haitian governments authoritatively rule. Fatton Jr. once more attributes this state of affairs to the colonial imposition of the Haitian state because it led to incoming state leaders being forced to “narrow further [their] future choices and outcomes” (2007, 1). The result has witnessed Haitian leaders perpetuating the politics of despotic rule and enacting economic policies contributing to the country’s underdevelopment (Fatton Jr., 2007, 1). As such, Haiti’s authoritarian governing structure informing its decision-making processes has greatly curtailed its prospect for a robust democracy.
Historically, Haitian leaders have shown a deeply rooted propensity to centralize command through the state so as to secure significant benefits. Moreover, these leaders have frequently aimed to extend their terms in office so as to prolong such benefits acquired in their position. The process by which Haitian leaders have sought to accomplish this feat consistently requires that they invest in and collaborate with the armed forces. As such, Haitian leaders routinely perpetuate state violence to maintain the authoritarian structure. Despite resistance from the Haitian citizenry, Haitian leaders have utilized the state to “neutralize [opposition] politically or exterminate [them] physically” (Dupuy, 2007, 28). In addition, there has been little chance for change as historically the authoritarian state “structures effectively blocked the creation of a public sphere where differences … could be articulated and mediated institutionally” (Dupuy, 2007, 28). Such experiences have led to immense state-society conflict.

This authoritarian state structure that characterizes Haitian politics is mutually reinforced through the economic class structure of Haitian society. For Fatton Jr., the inability to achieve democracy is rooted in how capitalism developed in Haiti (2007, 16). This is because democratic theory views capitalism as producing a robust and materially powerful bourgeoisie and working class that is capable of holding the state to account and therefore securing their rights within a democratic setting. However, the distorted character of Haitian capitalist development generated a small elite closely connected to the state and a predominantly impoverished citizenry. Therefore, the critical “balance of power has not crystallized because capitalist development has produced a bourgeoisie and a working class that are both at best utterly small, embryonic, and fragile” (Fatton Jr., 2007, 16). As a result, the authoritarian rule of Haitian state leaders can marginalize the population while perpetuating its self-interest. In so doing, it reveals itself as both antidemocratic and anti-developmental.
The Political Economy of Haiti and the Historical Origins of Child Domestic Labour

The political economy of Haiti reflects the state’s habitus to repress its citizens who in turn have met such conditions with their own forms of resistance. This has created a set of circumstances that are inextricably interconnected to the historical origins of child domestic labour. Both international and national elites have used the state to their benefit by repressively constructing an exploitative political economy. Faced with such conditions, Haitian citizens and particularly those in the rural areas have resisted the state’s manipulative encroachment. This has specifically been the case through the Haitian lakou system; “a set of social and cultural practices intended to secure … land ownership over time and guarantee every rural resident a measure of autonomy” (Dubois, 2012, 107). Despite rural Haitian citizens’ best efforts, living within the lakou has been destabilized by the exploitative Haitian economy. This is because the Haitian state’s economic policies have reduced realization for living in this way of life. As a result, it has significantly increased the vulnerability of Haitian citizen’s livelihoods. This predominantly emerges from its undermining of the solidarity that characterizes Haiti’s rural lakou communities. Such a state of affairs has not only produced conflictual state-society relations but also seen the proliferation of numerous coping mechanisms including the practice of child domestic labour that have become increasingly precarious. Such circumstances arise from the fact that child domestic labour has devolved from a communal solidarity-based relationship into a rural-to-urban patron-client relationship materializing in diverse livelihood experiences. This will become evident through demonstrating the historical development of child domestic labour in conjunction with the authoritarian state and a weak economy over the course of Haiti’s revolutionary/early independence era, through Haitian-American relations from independence to occupation and during Haiti’s dictatorship of Francois Duvalier as well as his son Jean-Claude Duvalier.


*Haiti’s Revolutionary/Early Independence Era*

The origins of Haiti’s authoritarian state that has caused so much conflict across Haitian society can be traced back to the country’s revolutionary/early independence era. As the French colony of Saint Domingue, the African descendant population was subject to slavery and forced to produce primary commodities for sale on the global market. The authoritarian means by which colonists induced the population to labour generated significant wealth for the French state. Conditions were so intense that by the mid-to-late 18th century, Saint Domingue was the most profitable colony in the world (Dubois, 2012, 19). In fact, the wealth generated in the colony made up one-third of France’s entire commerce (Aristide, 2000, 29). This level of production was so immense that it generated more wealth than all of the thirteen North American colonies combined (Dubois, 2012, 19). Such was the colonial state’s authoritarian capacity to force the African-descendant population into enduring such intense labour conditions (Dubois, 2012, 4).

The enactment of extremely authoritarian practices by state officials was rooted in the racist beliefs of the French colonizers that dehumanized the African-descendant population and in turn perpetuated violations against them. For instance, one colonist’s memoir frames the African-descendant population as being “unjust, cruel, barbarous, half-human, treacherous, deceitful, thieves, drunkards, lazy, unclean, shameless, jealous to fury, and cowards” (James, 1980, 17). By conceptualizing the population in this way, it served to deplorably substantiate the brutal manner in which the colonists treated them. Moreover, in constructing a narrative whereby the African-descendent population served as a threat to the colonists, the colonial population felt validated in taking authoritative measures against them to assert their control. This is demonstrable in a letter written by the Governor of Martinique to the Colonial Minister of Saint Domingue where he states, “the safety of the whites demands that we … treat the Negroes as one
treats beasts” (James, 1980, 17). In such a profoundly racist climate, authoritarian state practices found fertile grounds upon which to grow.

The French colonist’s authoritarian governing of the African-descendent population was resisted and ultimately overcome through revolution. By the late 18th century, 40,000 French colonists aspired to keep their control over 500,000 African-descendants (Minnesota Lawyers IHRC, 1990, 5-6). However, in a political context of the abolition movement and blossoming ideals on the democratic rights of man, changes to France’s colonial policy were on the horizon. Nevertheless, while such ideas played a part, Laurent DuBois contends that they did little to create change in the colonies. This is because the authoritarian state had no intention to depart from its character. Instead, DuBois argues that abolishing slavery in Saint Domingue “was the direct result of the 1791 slave uprising and the successful military campaign waged over the course of two years by an army of determined insurgents” (2012, 28). Such warfare would be required for more than a decade to ensure the liberty of all African-descendants in Saint Domingue. This is because despite France’s overtures to the former slaves’ citizenship aspirations, “the citizenship it gave to blacks it was prepared to take away and replace with slavery” (Fatton Jr., 2007, 56). Fatton Jr. bases this claim on the contention that “French imperialism had no universal vocation. … [Rather,] France granted [citizenship] to [Haitians] for purely strategic reasons. The whole exercise was built not on mutual loyalty but on mercenary relations” (2007, 55-56). Therefore, fighting would continue throughout the 1790s and into the early 1800s. After defeating the French colonial army at the Battle of Vertières, Jean-Jacques Dessalines would declare on January 1st, 1804 that the people of the new nation of Haiti “must live independent or die” (Dubois, 2012, 15). With that, the first Afro-Caribbean-led nation emerged by its resistance and ultimate overcoming of an authoritarian colonist power.
Despite the euphoria of a newly independent status, the authoritarian habitus would manage to infiltrate the post-colonial Haitian state. Once control of the state rested in the hands of Haitian citizens, their leaders were tasked with creating a political and economic system for the nation. The contention of Haiti’s revolutionary leader Toussaint L’Ouverture was that Haiti’s progress lay in the restoration of plantation agriculture. Therefore, a return to the plantation economy that had previously been forced upon the African-descendent population by the French could ensure the productive development of agriculture to generate Haiti’s economic growth (James, 1980, 155). Having become the leader of Haiti following L’Ouverture, Jean-Jacques Dessalines sought to fulfill his predecessor’s vision. However, enlisting labourers to work on plantations did not appeal to the newly freed population. This mandate, among other centralizing initiatives, was vehemently resisted by Haiti’s rural population. Such contestation culminated in the assassination of Dessalines less than three years after Haitian independence (Dubois, 2012, 49-50). This and other acts of resistance showed the commitment of the Haitian population to contesting an authoritarian Haitian state. However, the instability that Dessalines’ assassination generated marked a significant precedent moving forward. Political violence would continue to beget political violence as the habitus for capturing the state. At the same time, the citizenry consistently resisted state plantation policy in their efforts to preserve their liberty. This tension would continue to characterize Haiti’s state-society relations for many years to come.

As Haiti’s revolutionary era came to a close and its early years of independence unfolded, its state-society relations entered a period of flux. This was particularly the case in light of the question over land title. The assassination of Dessalines led to a power struggle between Henry Christophe’s kingdom in the north and Alexander Petion’s restricted liberal democracy in the south. While a multitude of differences marked each leader’s governance structure, it was this
question over land that would have the biggest impact on Haiti’s history. Whereas Christophe’s strong state restricted land ownership to a small elite, Petion’s relatively weaker state offered land ownership to the peasantry (Dubois, 2012, 88). Both leaders proceeded to implement their respective land ownership practices. Over time, the divide between a significantly larger number of Haitian land owners in the south perpetuated unease among the northern citizens. Buoyed by support from Petion’s democracy in the south, citizens under Christophe’s rule resisted the centralization of his kingdom. Despite Petion’s death in 1818, both northern citizens and the army of Petion’s successor, Jean-Pierre Boyer, would bring Christophe’s kingdom to an end with his death in 1820 (Dubois, 2012, 86). After close to two decades as an independent yet divided country, Haiti had now been united under Boyer. However, in unifying the country, Boyer once more revealed the authoritarian habitus of the Haitian state. Despite proclaiming the limited liberal aims of his predecessor, Boyer moved to once more enhance state control over the rural areas and repress all forms of opposition (Dubois, 2012, 96-97). Operating as Haitian president, Boyer worried that appointed governors of districts throughout Haiti “living long enough in a particular region often led these officers to develop divided loyalties. … In times of political crisis, the very generals who were the foundation of their power could easily become leaders of insurrections” (Dubois, 2012, 96). Consequently, Boyer went back on his liberal claims in order to direct Haitian society from the capital of Port-au-Prince. Such anti-democratic initiatives found a sympathetic response from many, including French abolitionist Victor Schoelcher. He states that “the glorious people of Haiti had given to their executive the task of bringing the country toward civilization, but they had been betrayed by their leader. The people did everything a people could do. Shame on those in power. Not on the people” (Dubois, 2012, 95). Schoelcher’s position demonstrates that the promise of Haiti’s democracy was corrupted by its
leadership. This speaks to the impact of the Haitian citizenries’ resistance against its colonial state. However, the controlling measures that the government initiated aimed to fulfill their interests at the expense of the population. It is important to note that such measures were not new in the short history of Haiti. They once more reflect the authoritarian habitus of Haitian leaders. However, Boyer’s intensification of centralized power throughout his twenty-five year rule cultivated the Haitian state’s authoritarian character. For Haitian intellectual Antenor Firmin, Boyer was the “true creator of the militaristic regime whose wounds, un-healable, still poisons our national organism” (Dubois, 2012, 97). Therefore, the impact of Boyer’s leadership clearly enhanced the authoritarian nature of the Haitian state well into the future.

While the authoritarian practices under Boyer stemmed from a multitude of factors, such centralizing measures need to be seen within the context of Haiti’s payment of an indemnity to France. Despite officially securing independence in 1804, Haiti remained ever-conscious of their potential re-colonization. As such, although Haitian leaders including Boyer were wary of internal opposition, they were arguably more concerned with international threats. After twenty years of holding tenuous independent status, the French government offered to recognize Haiti as a fully autonomous country. In return, they expected Haiti to pay them a 150 million franc indemnity for their economic losses following the revolution (Aristide, 2000, 30). It is critical to note that the capacity for Boyer to negotiate the indemnity was significantly challenged by the French warships stationed to reoccupy Haiti at a moment’s notice (Dubois, 2012, 99). In this light, Boyer was significantly pressured into the agreement that he made. At the same time, in agreeing to pay the indemnity, Boyer felt that Haiti would be capable of generating such wealth through reinstalling the plantation economy. Moreover, such an agreement could finally assure Haiti of its independent status (Dubois, 2012, 101). The reality, however, was that Haiti became
significantly indebted due to the indemnity which irrevocably compromised their future development.

While the terms of the French indemnity contributed to the Haitian state’s authoritarian measures, they were resisted by the rural social practice of the *lakou*. With the aim of meeting the requirements of the French indemnity, Jean-Pierre Boyer established the Rural Code of 1826 to revive the plantation economy. The Rural Code would force “the overwhelming majority of the population [to] be legally attached to a plantation and watched and disciplined by a rural police. … Those who refused their ‘obligation’ to work the soil would be severely punished and incarcerated” (Fatton Jr., 2007, 92). Consequently, Boyer’s Rural Code demonstrably violated the autonomous right of rural citizens to own land, work in cooperatives and sell what they produced (Dubois, 2012, 105). Despite his authoritarian measures, the rural Haitian population resisted such initiatives through the *lakou*. The *lakou* is a Haitian communal way of life usually consisting of “a group of houses – sometimes including a dozen or more structures, and usually owned by an extended family – gathered around a common yard” (Dubois, 2012, 107). It provides an egalitarian land distribution system permitting each individual or family who held a particular plot of land to cultivate and sell what they produced (Dubois, 2012, 108). In this way, it is designed to “guarantee each person equal access to dignity and individual freedom” (Dubois, 2012, 107). It was in the post-revolutionary period that Petion distributed land giving “some Haitians … legal access to small farm plots; [while] others simply squatted on privately-owned or state-owned land” (Dubois, 2012, 104-105). Such land ownership arrangements that were inextricably interconnected to realizing the aim of the revolution, set off a cascade of landowners negotiating with rural citizens to buy and/or lease land to farmers so long as they shared half the crops produced (Dubois, 2012, 105). Within such a setting, the principles and values
characterizing the *lakou* were actively being enjoyed. These were consistent with the democratic basis of Haiti’s origin. Therefore, the centralizing stipulations of the Rural Code were confronted by “rural residents [who had] created, as one scholar put it, ‘an egalitarian system *without a state*’” (Dubois, 2012, 108 emphasis in original). Such acts of resistance were so strong that while “landowners could legally have tried using force against the labourers who resisted them, most of them realized that in practice, any deployment of police or soldiers against the local population would result in at best only a temporary victory” (Dubois, 2012, 106-107). Although Boyer’s Rural Code may have been among the strongest post-independence attempts to centralize the political economy of Haiti, it certainly would not be the last. The rural population had indicated many times in Haiti’s early years that their desire was for land title from which they could produce for themselves and their communities. While some leaders would continue to press authoritatively for the plantation system, others resolved to accept mass land ownership (Dubois, 2012, 107). Such circumstances resulted in many looking for alternative means by which to accumulate wealth.

In the absence of generating significant private wealth through agricultural production, the state became the most profitable means through which individuals could prosper. Rather than establishing a state system capable of facilitating the development of society as a whole, the Haitian state became the vehicle through which those in power could amass wealth. This, however, necessitated exploiting the wider population and with doing so came significant repression of the masses; once again reflecting the authoritarian habitus first developed in the colonial period and continuing into Haiti’s early years as a country. What materializes from such circumstances was a particularly noteworthy urban/rural and elite/marginal divide where the former attained it’s wealth at the expense of the latter. Urban elites largely within government
circles controlled the points of access to international markets and at such locations would tax
the sale of rural producers of goods (Dubois, 2012, 115). Therefore, the state apparatus was not
only used to accumulate wealth through exploiting the rural population, but it furthermore led to
a wider problem for Haiti’s political economy as a whole. Rather than generating wealth through
the productivity of goods, Haiti’s political economy was primarily built upon the circulation of
goods (Dupuy, 2007, 47). This meant that Haiti’s political economic structure saw elite actors
aiming to “retain their positions of wealth and power, but only by abandoning the drive for
equality and liberty that had inspired Haiti’s revolution” (Dubois, 2012, 115-116). Such
circumstances reveal an inherently unjust state-society structure. The Haitian state therefore
sought to preserve such political economic arrangements through spending significant portions
of their earnings on military protection (Dubois, 2012, 117). The result was the militarization of
politics to repress the wider population and insulate Haitian leaders from other members of
society seeking to infiltrate the state. This political economic organization diametrically opposed
the possibility for sustained democratic practices. This in turn resulted in perpetuating hostile
state-society relations. Consequently, leaders of the Haitian state maintained a political economy
that required them to authoritatively eliminate all threats to their position. This method of dealing
with resistance had been invoked by previous state officials and was once more practiced, further
demonstrating the reduction in choices that an authoritarian habitus has to offer. As a result, the
second half of the nineteenth century witnessed multiple coup d’états that fostered continuous
political unrest. While urban elites wrestled control of the state from one another, each would
maintain the political economic system exploiting the rural population for their own advantage.
This led to a deepening divide along government/citizen, rural/urban and elite/marginal lines.
Child Domestic Labour as a Communal Solidarity-Based Practice

The political economy of Haiti’s revolutionary/early independence era clearly shaped the practice of child domestic labour. The character that child domestic labour took on in this period transpired by and large within a close geographical proximity that is rooted in the solidarity-based living of the lakou. The hostile political environment strengthened the communal lakou system as rural Haitian citizens sought dignity through these clusters of households where they lived and worked cooperatively. According to Yanique M. Edmond, Suzanne M. Randolph and Guylaine L. Richard, living in the lakou requires a shared commitment to “farming, building new houses, and caring for the children” (2007, 23). The completion of such tasks was sustained by social support in the form of “provid[ing] guidance and perspectives until issues are resolved, and [it is] these relationships [that] supply the final safety net during hard times” (Edmond et al., 2007, 23). Integral to these household tasks that sustained all livelihoods are children. It is the capacities that children contribute to the lakou that prove instrumental for its functioning. Thus, as Mildred Aristide notes, “the practice of child domestic service runs deep in Haiti’s history. The Creole expression petit se riches (children are wealth) speaks to the fact that children are considered as workers and contributors to the family’s economy” (2004, 138). It is clear then that children’s labour is fundamental to living in lakou that includes their “participat[ion] in agriculture … retrieving water, gathering firewood, cooking, and tending livestock” (Schwartz, 2009, 123). It is also important to note that these children make significant indirect contributions by “free[ing up] adults to focus on productive income generating activities such as gardening and commerce” (Schwartz, 2009, 140). Therefore, seeing the child in such a way is fundamental to maintaining the Haitian lakou as they vitally contribute to the lakou way of life. As such, child domestic labour is inextricably interconnected to the well-being of all members within the lakou.
A critical aspect of children’s contribution to the lakou system is their instrumental role in developing kinship ties. This is because the protection of the original lakou can be further cemented through the building of relationships outside of the lakou in the form of godparents. This special bond sees elderly members take in children on account of their reliance upon them to assist with a multitude of tasks. In return, children are fed and cared for in their godparent’s home (Schwartz, 2009, 167). As a result, children living with their godparents advanced kinship ties through reciprocity both among the sending family and receiving family as well as for children themselves. Anthropologist Charles MacKenzie, writing in the early 19th century reveals how children in such relationships supported the wider well-being of the lakou. His research demonstrates that godparenthood served as a means by which to secure labour for harvesting the fields. The fruits of such labour would then be distributed among the individual and the child’s lakou (Sommerfelt, 2002, 20). More than a century later, Melville Herskovits elaborated on this practice conceptualizing it as quasi-adoption. He notes that,

children who are called ‘ti moun qui rete a caille ‘oun – small folk who stay at your house,’ or, more briefly, ‘ti moun … are the children, often of peasants, “given” to friends. … To ‘give’ a person a child in this manner … is regarded as a token of friendship … When the ‘ti moun grows older, he leaves and returns to his own home, though the relationship between foster-father and child may continue friendly (as cited in Sommerfelt, 2002, 20-21).

Therefore, through children establishing such kinship ties, the lakou is seeking to preserve itself, proving children’s labour as once more demonstrably vital to the well-being of all parties. Overall, confronted by the challenges posed by the Haitian state to its rural citizens in the revolutionary/early independence era, child domestic labour reflected close geographic communal solidarity that would aid the lakou in overcoming precarious livelihood circumstances.
Haitian-American Relations from Independence through to Occupation

The authoritarian habitus of the Haitian state is revealed once more through its relations with the United States of America from its independence era through to its American occupation. The character of these relations saw the U.S. project its assumed superiority vis-à-vis Haiti to detrimental effect for Haitian state-society relations. This was based upon racist thinking that witnessed six decades pass before the former formally recognized the latter’s independence. As slavery remained prevalent in many American states, leaders specifically in the southern U.S. remained indignant toward Haiti’s existence (Minnesota Lawyers IHRC, 1990, 5-6). Despite Jean-Jacques Dessalines’ articulation that Haiti had no intention of exporting revolutions abroad, Haitian independence struck at the core of the racist slave-holding practices of the southern United States. The challenge that Haiti posed to racist state policies led officials including Senator James Jackson of Georgia to exclaim that the “government of that unfortunate island [Haiti] must be destroyed” (Fatton Jr., 2007, 136). Nevertheless, for much of the 19th century, Haiti was among the United States’ top ten trading partners because, as the only independent country in the Caribbean, U.S. merchants could trade directly with Haitians rather than a colonial official (Dubois, 2012, 139). These relations would continue without formal recognition of Haiti’s independent status until 1862 when President Lincoln announced that there was “no good reason why the United States should persevere longer in withholding [their] recognition of the independence and sovereignty of its Caribbean neighbour” (Dubois, 2012, 152). Having abolished slavery in the U.S., the racist justification for denying recognition to the Afro-Caribbean democracy subsided. Nevertheless, the racial pretense under which the U.S. engaged Haiti would change little as they continued to exploit the country which facilitated increased tension between the Haitian state and wider society.
As the United States and Haiti’s relationship developed, the former proved significantly influential in intensifying the latter’s authoritarian practices that in turn fueled tense state-society relations. For instance, in the early 20th century, the United States grew increasingly concerned by Haiti’s inability to repay the debts they had accumulated through trade. This served as the pretext for U.S. authorities to invade Haiti in 1914, take $500,000 of the Haitian Government’s gold from the National Bank of Haiti and occupy the country until 1934 (Dubois, 2012, 204). During this occupation, the U.S. exacerbated the authoritarian habitus through a variety of state development practices designed to generate wealth through commodity extraction and trade on the international market. Fatton Jr. argues that the U.S. implementation of “methods of command and control to achieve their project … centralized power, militarized politics, and reinforced the patterns of unaccountable and undemocratic governance” in Haiti (2007, 182). This included American investor James P. MacDonald’s aim to construct a railroad with the intention of transporting bananas for export who was provided with land and resources by the U.S.-occupied Haitian government. However, such actions were reviled by the rural population who remembered the old plantation system (Dubois, 2012, 208). Despite this outrage, the U.S.-occupied Haitian Government continued state-directed initiatives such as the Haitian American Development Corporation’s sugar production company. To facilitate this objective, the state went so far as to change the constitution by permitting foreign ownership of Haitian land (Dubois, 2012, 269). In addition, the state conscripted men as labourers by using articles from the Code Rural that had not been employed since the early-to-mid 1800s (Dubois, 2012, 239). Thus, the state habitus of exploiting the rural communities intensified through these U.S. mandated state-led initiatives that perpetuated Haitian state-society conflict.
As the U.S. occupied Haitian Government’s development projects met fierce resistance from rural Haitians, the militarization of state-society relations intensified through both the presence of American armed forces and the development of a vastly better-equipped Haitian military. In the face of state-led development projects that were commanded by both American and Haitian armed forces, many rural Haitian citizens viewed such actions as a new form of slavery. As such, recalling the historical resistance of their ancestors, they felt justified in their revolt (Dubois, 2012, 243). This continuous encroachment of the state’s repressive measures motivated rural residents’ to form resistance groups, including the Cacos, to engage in guerrilla warfare tactics for combating these state-led projects (Buss and Gardner, 2008, 24). However, with increased confrontations came additional deployments of U.S. and Haitian armed forces perpetuating violence throughout the country. By the end of the occupation, conservative estimates state that over 3,000 Haitian citizens were killed by the joint U.S.-Haitian army (Buss and Gardner, 2008, 24). Over the course of occupying Haiti to enforce these state-led development initiatives, the U.S. forces had also facilitated the creation of a modern Haitian army. Not only would this Haitian Army come to supersede any regional law enforcement, but in so doing, it would fulfill the centralized mandate of Haitian leadership in the capital of Port-au-Prince (Lundhal, 2011, 10). Moreover, the Haitian army became so powerful that following the American occupation, they would determine the length that presidents remained in office all the way up to the election of 1957 (Lundhal, 2011, 10). The American occupation had therefore strengthened the reach and centralized the power of the Haitian state. Doing so would lead once more to perpetuating the authoritarian governance habitus which in turn facilitated the intensification of state-society conflict.
Haiti’s Dictatorship of Francois and Jean-Claude Duvalier

Haiti’s dictatorships of Francois Duvalier as well as his son Jean-Claude Duvalier witnessed the pinnacle of Haitian state-society conflict. This is because it marked the peak of the Haitian state’s authoritarian habitus by uniting political and military interests the likes of which had never been seen before to exploit the Haitian citizenry. Fatton Jr. argues that the process of doing so facilitated “a period of extremism” in Haitian politics where the father and later his son “patrimonialized and centralized power beyond any past experiences, … systematized coercive repression as the method of governance, and … extended the scope of the state to spheres that had hitherto been impervious to its reach” (2007, 193 emphasis in original). This was accomplished by advancing their doctrine of Noirisme that anchored their control over Haiti’s political economy. Francois Duvalier’s Noirisme targeted the Haitian black population toward supporting his presidency through exploiting the racial divide between Haiti’s light-skinned and dark-skinned citizens. Duvalier proclaimed that Haiti’s future required removing the former population from power and replacing them with the latter. To justify his Noirist project, Duvalier drew on Arthur de Gobineau’s racist theories that biological differences exist across racial groups (Dubois, 2012, 323). He specifically spoke to the distinction between Western culture’s individualism and African (and by extension Haitian) culture’s communal living. Utilizing this narrative, Duvalier pronounced that Haiti’s ‘natural’ communal culture requires a strong leader like himself and in granting him authority he could promote the collective rather than individual good (Dubois, 2012, 323). In this way, Francois Duvalier became the father of Haitian society and all citizens were his children. Framing state-society relations in this manner aimed to quell citizen protestation because Duvalier could retort that ‘father knows best’ (Quinn and Sutton, 2013, 65). Nevertheless, within such paternalism, Duvalier would strategically offer citizens a
superficial sense of participating in politics that included organizing mass rallies to advance populist rhetoric and initiating the *Volontaires de la Securité Nationale* program that offered select rural citizens community leadership roles to advance his Noirist project (Quinn and Sutton, 2013, 78). At the same time, Duvalier perpetuated authoritarian practices through “expropriating peasants’ lands, taxing their produce, and ignoring the right to education and health care” (Quinn and Sutton, 2013, 82). In this way, Duvalier was continuing the historical experience of Haiti’s rural citizens from independence onwards. Haiti’s urban centre of Port-au-Prince continued to exploit the rural masses under Duvalier’s regime. Through the mirage of hope that his Noirist framework offered the rural citizens, Duvalier would centralize power to an extent that had not previously transpired in Haiti. This included ruling by decree, setting up his own private guard and controlling the media (Dupuy, 2007, 34). Overall, the success of Duvalier’s Noirist project rested upon the strictest of control measures which only benefitted himself and his inner circle while marginalizing the wider society and specifically the majority rural population. Maintaining this project, however, also necessitated economic support. While the exploitative political economy of Haiti saw the state accumulate wealth at the expense of its rural citizens, the state also ramped up its demands for international aid that was made all the more accessible within the Cold War context.

The political economy of Haiti saw the perpetuation of its authoritarian state habitus through its shared economic interest with the United States. Duvalier’s dictatorship aligned with U.S. capital for the purpose of promoting both international and state elite interest through the exploitation of the wider Haitian citizenry (Dupuy, 2007, 55). The first pillar in this economic policy was ensuring a monopoly over Haitian industries. Haitian production of goods including
alcohol, sugar and automobiles were all tied to members within the government. This structure permitted Duvalier to accrue significant revenues from such products for his advantage (Dubois, 2012, 346). The second pillar to this economic policy was the push toward urbanization into the Haitian capital of Port-au-Prince. Determined to facilitate export processing zones in the urban centres, the Haitian state and USAID partnered to import massive amounts of rice. The process of doing so significantly undermined rural farmer’s livelihood prospects and forced a mass exodus from the country-side in search of employment (Lunde, 2010, 115). It cannot be understated how debilitating such measures were on the livelihoods of Haitian citizens. Up until this point, rural residents activated mechanisms including living in the lakou system to uphold their livelihoods. But as prominent anti-Duvalier activist Jean Dominique explains, the “dictatorship … systematically organized the pillage, exploitation, spoliation and dispossession of the poor” (Dubois, 2012, 347). Such actions made rural living highly precarious. Stemming from these circumstances, this second pillar led to the third in that U.S. businesses could set up manufacturing plants for exporting processed goods on the global market. With funding from the U.S. Government, Duvalier’s authoritarian state promised a controlled labour force and generous tax policies. This led to hundreds of foreign companies installing manufacturing plants in Haiti in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Dupuy, 2007, 42). Duvalier’s exploitative economic policy allowed both U.S. business and Duvalier to prosper at the expense of Haiti’s economy and particularly by devastating rural livelihoods. With the passing of Francois in 1972 and the coming to power of his son Jean-Claude, profits continued to either leave the country in the hands of U.S. business or remain with Duvalier and his inner circle. Such authoritarian economic policies would render Haiti the most impoverished country in the Western hemisphere by the mid 1980s (Dupuy, 2007, 50).
The Duvalier dictatorships’ exploitative economic system was maintained through clientelistic relationships that invoked the habitus of perpetual political violence that resulted in considerable loss of life throughout the country. Both Francois and Jean-Claude had created such an unjust society that they persistently relied upon both the Haitian military and the Volontaires de la Securité Nationale to quell citizen resistance. By engaging the black Haitian population, Duvalier’s voluntaires were strategically selected individuals who “were not accustomed to receiving many benefits from the state and their loyalty could therefore be purchased at a modest price” (Quinn and Sutton, 2013, 8). This clientelistic system underlined the perpetration of an estimated 40,000 to 60,000 civilian deaths according to Human Rights Watch (Erikson, Grant, Braun, Hall, Bain, Mattner, Kuttner and Egset, 2007, 68). Over the course of such tragedy, the resistance of the Haitian population persisted. It was aided by the global human rights approach promulgated by Jimmy Carter. It moreover found support through Pope John Paul II’s 1983 visit to Haiti where speaking out on the authoritarian rule of Jean-Claude Duvalier declared “things must change in Haiti” (Dupuy, 2007, 53). Such international influence aided multiple civil society groups in Haiti including Jean-Bertrand Aristide’s liberation theology-inspired Ti Legliz (Little Church) to demand a democratic Haiti. This movement forced Jean-Claude Duvalier to flee the country in 1986 and paved the way for a return to civilian governance in Haiti (Fatton Jr., 2007, 196). While state-society conflict had reached its peak in the dictatorial era, citizen resistance had ushered in democratic possibilities.

**Child Domestic Labour as a Rural to Urban Patron-Client Practice**

The political economy of Haiti as shaped by Haitian-American relations from independence through to occupation and under the dictatorship of Francois Duvalier and later his son, Jean-Claude Duvalier, significantly structured child domestic labour practices. This is because the
infiltration of the state augmented first through U.S. influence and later their occupation that led to further enhancement under both Duvalier dictatorships, significantly damaged the rural population’s lakou system. In making the livelihoods of the rural lakou citizens more and more tenuous, it fundamentally changed the character of child domestic labour. The practice of child domestic labour as based upon geographically communal solidarity relations faded because the principles of living in lakou whereby members could come to rely upon one another witnessed evaporating support. Due to their collective impoverishment, families within the lakou were forced to look beyond their immediate community. In so doing, this system of child domestic labour changed so significantly that it necessitated rural to urban migration for patron-client relationships. The result of which significantly changed the experience of child domestic labour.

The diminishing feasibility of living in lakou produced a novel character to child domestic labour in Haiti. According to anthropologist George Eaton Simpson, this new child domestic labour arrangement witnessed “children [move] … 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” (as cited in Smucker and Murray, 2004, 28). Understanding this changing dynamic to child domestic labour requires recognizing its emphasis upon facilitating upward social mobility. Within this new context where adult’s own livelihoods and therefore their children’s grew more and more precarious, the child became the potential driver of the entire household’s economic status. By serving an elite family, it is believed that the child will receive “better care, better clothes, and better schooling” (Schwartz, 2009, 165). In the short-term, such an arrangement would permit the child to return home on a regular basis and provide the sending family with gifts of money or provisions (Smucker and Murray, 2004, 27). Doing so can prove imperative for
securing the livelihoods of the rural families in the interim. In addition, there are also long-term benefits within this relationship as fulfilling the responsibilities of a child domestic labourer can serve as an investment in the child and therefore the family’s future because it may facilitate “fwotman (literally ‘rubbing,’ i.e., advantageous contact with social and economic superiors) or gran relasyon (influential ties)” (Smucker and Murray, 2004, 27). Overall, the transition of child domestic labour into a form of patron-client relationships was intended to “leve tet nou (raise up our heads)” (Smucker and Murray, 2004, 27). Therefore, the basis of child domestic labour in this period of increasingly precarious rural livelihoods is demonstrably designed to advance patron-client relationships.

While the new character of child domestic labour in Haiti as described above appears to potentially address the precariousness of rural livelihoods, there remain significant problems associated with this practice. In transitioning from solidarity to patron-client relationships, the transparency of child domestic labourers’ experiences is less clear. It is important to note, however, that this system of child domestic labour “is not inherently abusive: it purports to place children who would not otherwise be properly fed or educated in homes that are willing to take on these responsibilities” (Abrams, 2010, 451). However, for many including Jennifer Abrams, “in practice, the system breeds exploitation [and] this exploitation creates a number of problems” (2010, 451). For instance, despite the affluence of many receiving households, there is little to guarantee that patrons fulfill all terms of the agreement. Given the disproportionate wealth and resources held by the receiving household vis-à-vis the sending household, simply assuring the child a few necessities may be enough to maintain the relationship. In fact, “many households try to get children for the specific purpose of getting access to their labour … [while] provid[ing] nothing else than food and shelter” (Sommerfelt, 2002, 24). The experience of child domestic
labour within such patron-client relationships will no doubt vary. However, both the potential for
and realization of these children to face exploitation in domesticity is evident.

Together, the growing population of rural to urban child domestic labourers and their
various livelihood experiences prompted the Haitian Government to address child domestic
labour. In the mid 20th century, the government formulated a law designed to regulate the
practice. The law proposed a number of requirements stipulating that “a child could not be
placed in domestic service before the age of twelve, [and] that the employer had to be at least
twenty years old, of ‘sound moral character’ and earn[ing] enough to fulfill all legal obligations
to the child” (Aristide, 2004, 146). Such responsibilities included assuring the child proper food,
clothing and shelter, that they attended school each day and that they were protected from work
beyond their physical capacity (Aristide, 2004, 146). These principles would be later codified in
the Haitian Labour Code of 1984. While government enforcement of such rules was highly
suspect, the legislation demonstrably sanctioned the practice of child domestic labour for
children twelve years of age or older. Therefore, in the context of rural Haitian citizen’s
increasingly precarious livelihoods, the sending of children to urban households became a new
livelihood strategy that characterized child domestic labour as a patron-client relationship.

**Haiti’s Democratic Transition**

The political economic structure of Haiti’s dictatorship ultimately gave way to the resistance
clamouring for democratic rights. However, despite the state’s positive democratic reforms, it
remains hindered by its authoritarian habitus. In this light, while repressive state actions have
subsided, many of the conflicts afflicting state-society relations remain unaddressed. Of
paramount concern to problematic state-society relations is the centralization of power that
remains with the Haitian state. Efforts aimed at ushering in a new democratic era for Haiti
therefore recognized the imperative need to decentralize political power. Such decentralization was necessary both within the central state institutions and as it relates to departmental governance across the country (Egset and Kuttner, 2007, 49). This is because doing so is required such that Haitian citizens realize their rights as set forth by the Haitian Constitution of 1987. These include “health care, housing, education, food, and social security [as] fundamental human rights, in addition to those of personal liberty and freedom of thought, religion and political association” (Dupuy, 2007, 60). Therefore, for the purpose of ensuring democratic governance, these constitutional laws set in place for all citizens necessitated internal checks and balances as well as local governance structures (World Bank, 2005, 17). However, realizing many of these constitutional measures are impeded by the remnants of Haiti’s authoritarian state. Its deeply-rooted centralizing dictates seek to constrain such democratic principles. The most prominent institution to do so was the Haitian military who viewed these changes as a threat to their power. Michel-Rolph Trouillot has coined this experience as “‘Duvalierism after Duvalier’: the dictator was gone, but his generals and his tactics were still in place” (Dubois, 2012, 361). This inability to purge the Haitian state of its authoritarian tendencies therefore clearly demonstrates its repressive habitus that in turn calls into question a genuine realization of the country’s democratic aspirations.

While Haiti’s early democratic transition period witnessed some actors deploy political violence, it also provided space within which a Liberation Theology-inspired priest could aspire to the Haitian presidency. Jean-Bertrande Aristide and his Ti Legliz movement were monumental in the resistance to Duvalier’s dictatorship. In fact, in his first sermon as an ordained priest, Aristide decried the exploitative nature of “this regime where the donkeys do all the work and horses prance in the sunshine” (Dubois, 2012, 356). Throughout the early to mid
1980s, Aristide was the face of a movement committed to ousting Jean-Claude Duvalier from power. Having played a prominent role alongside countless grassroots actors in Duvalier’s eventual departure, Aristide now sought the presidency of the nation. With the onset of a democratic election, he brought his religious movement into the realm of politics through the Lavalas (the flood) party. Promoting the fundamental tenet of Liberation Theology’s ‘preferential option for the poor’ and advancing the principle tout moun se moun (all people are people), Aristide aimed to shape a socially just Haitian society. Running on the platform that all human beings share equal dignity and therefore all are entitled to securing their rights, supporters flocked to his message. In particular, the rural population and lower socio-economic classes came out in droves to support him. The result witnessed Aristide attain the presidency with close to 70% of the electorate’s support (Lunde, 2012, 16). While this democratic transition was a remarkable feat for Haitian society, it would remain short-lived. Despite possessing a strong mandate from the people, Aristide was under constant pressure from the military and other elite officials. So much so that after less than a year as president, General Raoul Cedras staged a military coup while Aristide was visiting the United Nations that ousted Aristide from office (Buss and Gardner, 2008, 30-31). Consequently, the wrestling of the Haitian state away from its democratic leader once more revealed the country’s authoritarian habitus. Doing so returned Haiti to a military state leadership which once more invoked authoritarian tendencies that stifled the country’s democratic transition.

The authoritarian politics that Haiti quickly came back under also had economic ramifications. As a result of Cedras’ coup d’état, the U.S. Government established an economic embargo upon the country. The result of which further eroded the already precarious Haitian economy (Dubois, 2012, 363). While the U.S. supported Aristide’s return to the presidency so as
to make good on the Haitian population’s democratic selection, it would only do so if its economic interest were met. This consisted of engaging in negotiations to return Aristide to the presidency as long as he followed neoliberal economic policies (Dubois, 2012, 363). This is a shocking example of the limitations placed upon Haitian leaders at the helm of a majority world state confronted by international economic interests. Despite democratically securing the presidency of Haiti, U.S. and international financial institutions’ influences were forcing Aristide into a compromising position. Having come to power with the objective of ensuring economic sufficiency for all citizens, Aristide was now required to endorse the same financial programs he vehemently chastised as responsible for undermining the well-being of all citizens. Such circumstances led him to significantly alter at least his outward position on neoliberal economic policy. He now had to implement a moderate tone with the Haitian bourgeois by promoting neoliberal capitalism while only being capable of arguing that an ethical dimension is added to it (Dupuy, 2007, 142). Despite aspiring to improve the economic situation of marginalized Haitian citizens, the U.S. Government, international financial institutions and the Haitian bourgeois revived the state’s authoritarian habitus by setting policies designed to once more secure benefits through exploiting the wider Haitian population. In so doing, they denied Aristide of his aspiration to advance a more socially just economic system.

Upon returning to complete his presidential mandate and even more so during his second term as president, Aristide would adopt authoritarian measures himself. The first coup experience and the demands international financial institutions placed on him to permit his return hardened Aristide. His initial action upon returning from exile was to disband the Haitian army. Failing to accomplish this goal, Aristide set up an informal protective structure that was loyal only to him (Lunde, 2012, 16). He furthermore developed his Organisations Populaires who
took increasing control of neighbourhoods and served to advance Aristide’s mandate (Erikson et al., 2007, 71). This included the perpetuation of significant violence against opposing politicians, human rights activists and journalists among others (Erikson et al., 2007, 72). Just as authoritarian rulers had done before him, Aristide’s Lavalas regime was becoming the new “grands mangeurs, who are literally getting fat through the corrupt exploitation of their public offices for private gains” (Fatton Jr., 2002, 10). While such corruption did not meet the levels of the Duvalier regime, it demonstrated the susceptibility to and perpetuation of Haiti’s authoritarian state habitus (Fatton Jr., 2002, 11). Overall, the democratic promise that Aristide offered was prohibited by the vestiges of an authoritarian Haitian state influenced by both international and national actors.

Amidst political unrest, Aristide would once again be forced from power in February 2004. Since such time, Haiti continues its democratic transition under the guard of the United Nation’s Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH). As such, the state of Haitian democracy remains incomplete and therefore vulnerable to authoritarian rule. Consequently, the authoritarian habitus of the Haitian state is perhaps best articulated by Michel Rolph-Trouillot when he explains that the “state had chosen to live at the expense of the nation, and in this choice laid the seeds of future divisions” (Trouillot, 1990, 64). Such circumstances have materialized in Haiti’s current political and economic conditions of perpetual conflict between state and society.

Child Domestic Labour and the Norm Cascade of the Universal Child Rights Regime

The political economy of Haiti that developed through its democratic transition once more brought about important changes to the practice of child domestic labour. Underlying the movement for democratically elected representative government is the powerful presence of the human rights regime. It proved demonstrably critical in toppling the Duvalier dictatorship and
ushering back in civilian rule of the country by the early 1990s. The return to democracy in Haiti dovetailed with a growing emphasis on the rights of children globally. It was over the course of the 1980s that a decade-long commitment to the writing of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child would culminate with its formal introduction in 1989. Therefore, just as Haiti aimed to reassert its democratic institutions, ensuring the rights of its youngest citizens through such international laws proved important for the country’s democracy. While concerned for the rights of all Haitian children, the child rights regime was particularly troubled by the lack of rights held by child domestic labourers. Advocacy contesting the practice pushed the Haitian Government to sign a multitude of international laws designed to eliminate the involvement of children in domestic labour altogether. What materialized in Haiti’s democratic transition period was a general acceptance of such laws by bourgeois families. The norm against using child domestic labourers successfully cascaded among elite households and therefore once more changed the character of the practice in Haiti.

Significant legal advancements in the rights of Haitian children and specifically child domestic labourers transpired during the country’s democratic transition period. However, despite the promulgation of Haiti’s 1987 constitution (which was suspended from June 1988 to March 1989 and only fully reinstated in October 1994) and specifically article X that “guarantees all children equal protection of the law and the rights contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights” (Aristide, 2004, 146), child rights in practice is very limited, especially for child domestic labourers. Speaking to the plight of these children, the United Nations’ Special Rapporteur on Contemporary Forms of Slavery states,
the practice [of child domestic labour] is a severe violation of the most fundamental rights of the child. … [This is because] the system deprives children of their family environment and violates their most basic rights such as the rights to education, health, and food as well as subjecting them to multiple forms of abuse including economic exploitation, sexual violence and corporal punishment, violating their fundamental right to protection from all forms of violence (Abrams, 2010, 253).

Conceptualizing child domestic labour in such a manner, the push for and signing of international legislation that has included the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1995 aimed to curtail the practice in Haiti. According to the CRC, child domestic labour compromises children’s right to protection, excludes their right to participation and calls into question the provisioning of their lives (Abrams, 2010, 460-461). In signing this legislation, however, there remained a contradiction between Haiti’s international and national laws. Despite agreeing to the CRC’s prohibition of children’s labour, chapter nine of Haiti’s Labour Code continued to regulate the participation of those 12 years of age and older in domestic work. However, almost a decade after signing the CRC, Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide signed into law the 2003 Act on the Prohibition and Elimination of All Forms of Abuse, Violence, Ill Treatment or Inhuman Treatment Against Children whose article two prohibiting forced labour legally abolished child domestic labour (Aristide, 2004, 139). Subsequent Haitian governments would continue to sign international laws strengthening the state’s resolve against child domestic labour. This included the 2007 signing of the International Labour Organization’s Convention No 182 Concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour (Abrams, 2010, 460). Overall, the democratic transition period paved the way for a growing opposition to the practice of child domestic labour. Such concern from particular segments of the Haitian population and members of the international community had significant implications for child domestic labour in Haiti.
Within Haiti’s new democratic era, the universal child rights regime has by and large successfully convinced bourgeoisie households to end their involvement in the practice of child domestic labour. Through the promulgation of international and national laws prohibiting child domestic labour, the patron-client relationship of a rural child migrating to the urban centre living with an elite household became less and less common. In fact, not only do elite families predominantly eschew the practice of child domestic labour, they also loathe those who continue to perpetuate the practice (Smucker and Murray, 2004, 30). According to a respondent of Glenn Smucker and Gerald Murray’s field work study on the uses of children in Haiti,

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 [them]. Use of servant children is not well regarded in bourgeois homes. It is almost an evil behaviour. You don’t want to have anything to do with it! (2004, 30).

Clearly, the universal child rights regime’s push for advancing the rights of children in Haiti and specifically addressing rights violations against child domestic labourers has seen a successful norm diffusion amongst the bourgeois. This segment of the population has proceeded to hire adult household workers in order to complete the tasks once the domain of child domestic labourers. In this light, the child rights regime has clearly found success. However, despite this achievement, the practice of child domestic labour remains prevalent. Even with the legislation and advocacy measures, the universal child rights regime has not quelled the tide of children seeking domestic labour positions. In this light, the character of child domestic labour has once more changed because in elite households the prospect for children to secure their livelihoods was available. However, in the contemporary setting where many of these children are now occupying, this is much less likely to occur. This state of affairs will be elaborated upon toward the conclusion of the proceeding section.
The Political Economy of Haiti and the Contemporary Setting of Child Domestic Labour

The political economy of Haiti is also inextricably interconnected with the contemporary setting of child domestic labour. Despite operating in a democratic country, the Haitian state’s authoritarian habitus continues to limit political decentralization. In so doing, Haiti’s political economy persists in benefitting a small urban elite at the expense of the larger Haitian population. This unequal set of circumstances has produced conflictual state-society relations. It is within such conditions that child domestic labour has proliferated. The final section of this chapter will therefore aim to provide a comprehensive political economy analysis into crucial factors that are currently responsible for producing such outcomes. It will first situate Haiti’s political economy within its democratic transition in a post-dictatorship, post-earthquake and post-cholera outbreak setting. It will then proceed to examine Haiti’s political economy specific to the state and how it creates an urban-rural divide. Last, it will show how such circumstances perpetuate poverty and in turn facilitate tense state-society relations producing these numerous societal challenges all of which contribute to child domestic labour.

The political economy of Haiti requires being contextualized within state-society relations transpiring in a post-dictatorship, post-earthquake, and post-cholera setting. While post-dictatorship Haiti has witnessed a reduction in the exercising of the state’s authoritarian habitus, its vestiges remain very much apparent. Such centralization of power and wealth has created a state that lives at the expense of rather than to benefit the citizenry. The results of such circumstances perpetuate Haiti’s economic inequality today. This is revealed in the United Nation’s Human Development Index of 2013 where Haiti is ranked 168th out of 187 countries (UNDP, 2014, n/a). Haiti’s disproportionate concentration of wealth sees 80% of the population living below the poverty line (less than $2 a day) including 54% of whom are in abject poverty.
(less than $1 a day) (Cooper, Diego-Rosell, and Gogue, 2012, 3). Not only do such large numbers of Haitian citizens live in poverty, but the wealth that does exist in the country is disproportionately held by a small elite. In measuring the income distribution across the nation, Haiti holds a 0.65 Gini Coefficient. This indicator ranks the country among the most unequal distributors of wealth throughout the world (Sletten and Egset, 2004, 9). As such, the economic inequality that exists in present-day Haiti is strongly attributable to the vestiges of its authoritarian state that prevents political decentralization for a fairer distribution of wealth.

Haiti’s current political economy also needs to be seen within the natural disaster and health events of 2010 onward and how in the absence of positive state-society relations they may perpetuate tense circumstances. On January 12th, 2010, Haiti endured a magnitude 7.0 earthquake whose epicentre was roughly 25 km west of the capital of Port-au-Prince. It resulted in “between 250,000 – 300,000 dead, 300,000 injured, [and] 1.3 million living in temporary shelters in the capital” (Lundhal, 2011, xiii). Such loss of life has had a traumatic impact upon Haiti’s collective psyche. Moreover, its effect on the political economy of the nation sees estimates placing the total cost of damages and losses at $7.9 billion. This amounts to 120% of the Haitian GDP of 2009 (Lundhal, 2011, xiii). Comparatively speaking, Haiti’s 2010 earthquake was “the most destructive event a country … [had] ever experienced when measured in terms of the number of people killed as a share of the country’s population” since 1970 (Lundhal, 2011, xiii). Not only have Haitians had to deal with a devastating natural disaster, but ten months later, Haiti was subject to a deadly public health emergency. October 2010 saw Haiti experience a cholera outbreak that has left 8,665 dead as of 2014 (United Nations in Haiti, 2014, 1). The loss of life is once more incredibly traumatic for the population as a whole. Moreover, such experiences are also impeding Haiti’s economic development. Operating within both a national
and international capitalist realm, it is clear that in the absence of advancing the economic
growth of the country, there remain significant challenges to improving citizens’ livelihoods.

The political economy of Haiti also requires being situated within the context of its
contemporary state structure. As currently composed, the Haitian state remains deeply influenced
by authoritarian tendencies that perpetuate state-society conflict and specifically an urban-rural
divide. In the absence of democratic apparatuses to improve state accountability, the Haitian
state remains prone to corrupt actions. In fact, according to the World Bank Institute’s Aggregate
Governance Indicators, Haiti “ranks among the bottom 5% of countries in … voice and
accountability, political stability, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law and
control of corruption” (Egset and Kuttner, 2007, 45). Such status calls into question the capacity
and/or willingness of the state to serve its citizens. These indicators once more reflect the
authoritarian habitus that characterizes the Haitian state to this day. By the same token, it is also
important to note the degree of material resources that the state can mobilize. For instance,
Haitian “government revenues were only 9% of GDP, compared to an average of 18% among
other low-income countries. [Add to this the] volatility in external assistance” and there are
demonstrable limits to how effectively the Haitian state can serve its citizens (Egset and Kuttner,
2007, 45). Overall, it is imperative to show both the internal corruption that exists in governance
but also the limited material resources the state has at its disposal. This is because at the heart of
addressing both of these elements is establishing the principle of state decentralization. As the
Haitian Government’s activity remains largely concentrated in Port-au-Prince, the
decentralization process is hampered and as such reduces the prospect of improved transparency.
Moreover, aversion to this process further limits the amount of international aid secured as
decentralization is often used as a prominent condition for financial support. Therefore, the
current Haitian state continues to perpetuate its authoritarian character and is kept from improving its democratic principles that hampers state-society relations specific to urban and rural citizens.

Haiti’s authoritarian state habitus therefore further continues to characterize the Haitian state’s actions in perpetuating rural-urban divisions. There exists significant state-society unrest on account of the tension between rural and urban citizens over decision-making processes and infrastructure support within Haiti’s capital of Port-au-Prince (Lunde, 2010, 19). This is highly problematic due to the disproportionate experience of poverty endured by the rural citizens in comparison to the urban citizens. Moreover, the poverty of rural citizens proves disproportionate to the poverty of urban citizens (Sletten and Egset, 2002, 10). This is not to diminish the state of poverty throughout the entire country. However, according to the World Bank, Haitian cities contain 14% of extremely poor citizens whereas rural areas consist of 77% of extremely poor citizens (Verner, 2008, 21). In this light, it is clear that Haiti’s centralized state is ignoring the rights of its rural population. Due to the absence of engaging and offering greater regional autonomy, the plight of Haiti’s rural impoverished citizens is frequently left unaddressed. For instance, Haiti’s authoritarian state practices perpetuate rural/urban divisions through its unequal distribution of social services. Despite relative parity in the urban and rural population, the centralization of governance has led to the share of public investments being made in urban centres to stand at 80% while only 20% remains for rural areas (World Bank, 2005, 23). Whereas public infrastructure should be equally considered among the population at large, it is demonstrably clear that the Haitian government continues to prioritize the urban centre. For instance, whereas 91% of Haiti’s urban population has access to safe drinking water, only 59% of Haiti’s rural population can claim the same (World Bank, 2005, 23). Moreover, the rural
population is continually less capable of securing basic infrastructure relative to the urban centres. This includes the former’s access to “electricity (9.8%), paved road (5.0%), dirt road (32.8%), landline telephone (0.8%), mobile phones (0.3%) and trash collection (2.2%)” (World Bank, 2005, 23). The significant difference in infrastructural funding lends itself to very dissimilar livelihood experiences. By not offering a secure standard of living to each citizen through electing to concentrate support in the urban centres, tensions from the rural areas spark justifiable consternation with the current state of Haitian democracy. In this light, the centralization of the Haitian state that continues to focus disproportionately on the urban centre requires significant attention. By not addressing the infrastructural needs of the rural population, the state is fanning the flames of state-society unrest. Despite constitutionally mandating equal rights for all citizens, the rural Haitian citizenry is forced to seek out opportunities to realize such rights through migration. As such, this continual concentration of public support in the urban centres only leads to fuel such migration and in turn expand rural-urban divisions. Overall, it perpetuates state-society tension further.

The political economy of Haiti therefore clearly reflects authoritarian practices that impoverish not only the vast majority of the population but specifically its rural citizens. This is reflected by the country’s environmental, migration, education and employment challenges. Regularly forced to cultivate agricultural goods for the urban and global markets, Haitian soil has become increasingly exhausted and consequently generates smaller yields (World Bank, 2005, 15). Such demands placed on the rural population have increased the vulnerability of their livelihoods. This stems from such circumstances forcing rural citizens into short-term decision-making that proves highly unsustainable. Most prominent among these is the massive deforestation and in turn soil erosion that characterizes rural Haiti (Verner, 2008, 18). In the late
1950s, half the country consisted of a tropical rainforest. Today, however, only 2% of that forest remains as 40 million tons of fertile top soil is lost every year (Lunde, 2010, 116). Such massive deforestation is particularly attributable to a failure to address the energy requirements of the population. As more than 90% of Haitian citizens utilize charcoal for cooking, rural populations have moved to cut down trees and sell the wood for their livelihoods (Lunde, 2010, 116). This unsustainable practice has diminished the agricultural capacity of the country and in so doing diminished their prospects of securing a livelihood through farming the land. As a result, there are fewer and fewer youths inheriting their family’s farms. Instead, such rural vulnerability is forcing youths to search for building a livelihood in the urban centres.

The authoritarian habitus of the Haitian state that furthermore neglects the needs of the rural Haitian population proves a leading factor in the mass migration of Haiti’s rural citizens. Unable to secure either an environmentally or economically sustainable livelihood, rural Haitians have migrated in significant numbers to the cities and in particular to Haiti’s capital of Port-au-Prince (Verner and Heinemann, 2006, 2). Such transformation in the geographic make-up of the Haitian population is astounding. In the early 1980s, Haiti’s urban population stood at only 25%. However, thirty years later, that number has more than doubled to just over 52% (Verner, 2008, 6). This significant wave of migration has led to dramatic changes in family structures. As the Haitian family unit collectively seeks to support one another, migration is viewed as a collaborative strategic endeavour. In so doing, the Haitian family may potentially survive on the remittances that a migrating family member or members may bring (Lunde, 2010, 109). In this light, the migration of citizens from rural areas to the urban centres is a coping mechanism in response to the lack of opportunities present in the rural areas. While such migration cuts across the Haitian population as a whole, it is particularly evident in the 1/5th of the Haitian youth...
population that have migrated to Port-au-Prince (World Bank, 2005, 23). However, in search of improved livelihoods, such massive migration to the capital has revealed an inability on the part of the city’s infrastructure to fulfill its citizen’s needs.

The Haitian state’s authoritarian vestiges once more reveal themselves in the centralization of educational institutions in the urban centres and particularly in Port-au-Prince. According to the Haitian Constitution of 1987, every child is entitled to nine years of free education (Lunde, 2010, 66). However, this entitlement goes largely unfulfilled for the vast majority of Haitian children and particularly those children living in rural areas. In fact, despite the majority of children living in the rural areas, only 20% of the public expenditure on education has been put into such areas (Smucker and Murray, 2004, 14). Realizing the right of a child to an education is therefore largely dependent upon migrating to the urban centres. However, if the family decides to make this transition, they must also hold the financial means necessary to enrol their child or children in school. This is because the Haitian state is either unable and/or unwilling to make the necessary investments into education. Such actions have witnessed a significantly disproportionate number of private schools relative to their public counterparts. The history of schooling in Haiti reveals a concerted marginalization of rural and public education in favour of urban and private education. This has led to the present situation where 92% of schools in Haiti are private institutions (Lunde, 2010, 20). These significant constraints on access to education significantly reduce the development prospects of the country. It has materialized in a situation where “71% of Haitian children aged 12 to 18 had not completed 6 years of primary school and only 28% …were enrolled in secondary school” (Lunde, 2010, 65). Therefore, while the centralized Haitian state avoids addressing the needs of

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6 See Mildred Aristide’s *Haiti: Commemorating 200 Years of Independence and the Fight to End Child Domestic Servitude* where she demonstrates the historical marginalization of rural children’s education and how it has perpetuated the practice of child domestic labour in Haiti.
the rural population, it also evades its responsibilities to the urban centres. In so doing, it reveals that in perpetuating migration to largely Port-au-Prince, it remains unable to meet the educational rights of its citizens.

The Haitian state also proves unable to facilitate employment opportunities for its citizens. By not investing in the necessary infrastructure, there exist few chances for youth to secure jobs (Justesen and Verner, 2007, 9). With the significant migration of rural citizens to the urban centres, there is a massive amount of citizens competing for few opportunities that drives down wages and limits growth. For youth in particular, jobs are incredibly challenging to secure. The unemployment rate for Haitians between the age of 20 and 30 years old ranges from 45% to 55% (Justesen and Verner, 2007, 15). This set of circumstances reveals that the Haitian state is incapable of meeting its citizen’s needs. While responsible for the exploitation of the rural citizenry that leads them to migrate in massive numbers, the state does little to support their educational and employment aspirations. Overall, the Haitian state increases the vulnerability of rural and urban livelihoods alike which perpetuates conflictual state-society relations. This has witnessed a burgeoning in the population of child domestic labourers throughout the country.

*Child Domestic Labour as Requiring Rural to Urban Migration within Poor Households*

The political economy of contemporary Haiti that underlies state-society unrest has therefore heightened the precariousness of the vast majority of Haitian citizen’s livelihoods and in particular that of Haitian child domestic labourers. As the state continues to live at the expense of society and specifically its rural citizens, more and more children are migrating to become domestic labourers. While exact figures of child domestic labourers has always been difficult to obtain, the first such report published in 1984 estimated there to be 240,000 across Haiti (Aristide, 2004, 138). Subsequent reports have revealed an upward trend where experts suggest
that number may have reached as high as 400,000 within a twenty year period (Aristide, 2004, 138). With the increasing precariousness of Haitian citizen’s livelihoods and particularly within the context of post-earthquake Haiti, there is much evidence to suggest that child domestic labour numbers are growing (Cooper et al., 2012, 6). This remains many Haitian children’s reality despite the existing laws and norms prohibiting the practice.

While the child rights regime was successful in disseminating the norm against the practice of child domestic labour among elite households, the underlying causes that sent children outside of their homes in the first place remains very much unaddressed. The result has witnessed these barriers to wealthy households close off children and has in turn funneled them to lower socio-economic households. In this light, the new path along which child domestic labourers are traveling is from a poor rural household to a slightly less poor urban household (Abrams, 2010, 455; Smucker and Murray, 2004, 20; Sommerfelt, 2002, 16). The change in the livelihood experience of Haiti’s child domestic labourers sees a new reality where “very few of the ‘positive’ features of this … practice” remain (Ordonez and Preilon, 2003, 8). Therefore, there exists a strong correlation between the growing impoverishment of Haitian society and increasing numbers of child domestic labourers who are prevented from working in elite households. This in turn channels these children into poor households making their lives more and more precarious. Such a set of circumstances is confirmed by a joint Pan-American Development Fund-USAID report that found “the impoverished and violent Port-au-Prince neighbourhood of Cité Soleil had the highest percentage — an amazing 44 percent—of child [domestic labourers]” (Smucker, Pierre and Tardieu, 2009, 6). The changing character of child domestic labourers’ locations is filling a particular household need. One of the most prominent of these children’s tasks is to support households in the greater Port-au-Prince area because less
than 30% of households have access to running water (Smucker and Murray, 2004, 29). Children are therefore instrumental because “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” (Smucker and Murray, 2004, 29). In this light, more and more child domestic labourers are populating the poor urban centres reflecting the political economic impact upon the changing nature of the practice.

Haiti’s political economic structure impoverishing the rural Haitian citizenry is also changing the migratory character of child domestic labour. In so doing, it is placing children in more precarious circumstances. Rather than formulating kinship ties through the sending of children to other households, rural children are being transported through intermediaries to homes unbeknownst to the sending family. According to Jennifer Abrams, there exists a significant “increase [in the] placement of children with strangers [and this] placement of children with strangers [is] facilitated by intermediaries” (2010, 454). Such sharp cutting of ties between the child and their original household results in “little or no ongoing contact with their parents” (Abrams, 2010, 454). These findings are supported by a 2012 ICF International study of child labour in Haiti documenting that,

the formal experts overwhelmingly agreed that formal agreements between sending and receiving families were uncommon. … Sending families would generally expect to hear that their children would be cared for, but these wishes were rarely, if ever, in the form of an agreement to which both parties could be held (Cooper et al., 2012, 23).

Moreover, not only do Haiti’s contemporary dire economic conditions in both rural and urban settings perpetuate a desire for child domestic labour, such settings also breed a market for child traffickers. According to Abrams, despite the limited means that many receiving households possess, they are willing to part with their finances in order to fund an intermediary for their recruitment of a child domestic labourer (2010, 454). Overall, for many scholars including
Abrams, this set of circumstances which child domestic labourers face is tantamount to internal trafficking. The transporting of a child for the purpose of exploitation that is furthermore predicated upon false promises and ultimately denies the child and their family to remain in contact demonstrably justifies the label of trafficking. As such, there is clearly a connection between the political economic setting of Haiti and the heightened precariousness of child domestic labour experiences.

Despite growing awareness for the changing character of child domestic labour in Haiti, the practice persists. While rural Haitian parents are becoming more cognizant of the circumstances that many children face, the immense poverty that they and their children endure remains the overriding reason for sending their child (Cooper et al., 2012, iv). Within such circumstances, a multitude of reports including ICF International found that the opinions of sending families are “divided broadly among those who thought that sending a child to work in domestic service was something to be avoided, and those who recognize that, as undesirable as it might be, … it was the only available solution to their economic problems” (Cooper et al., 2012, 35). This significant tension therefore characterizes the decision-making processes of Haitian parents. It moreover reveals the inextricable interconnection between Haiti’s political economy and it’s structuring of conflictual state-society relations that have generated the impoverishment of Haitian livelihoods. Taken together, these elements shape the contemporary setting of child domestic labour that finds it to be an increasingly precarious experience in Haiti.

**Conclusion**

A political economy analysis of Haiti through the theory of habitus demonstrates its inextricable interconnection to the historical origins and contemporary setting of child domestic labour. Securing such a comprehensive account requires recognizing the historical trajectory that is
responsible for generating current conditions. Therefore, examining Haiti’s political and economic context through the theory of habitus importantly captures such dynamics. This is because it demonstrates both the impact of structures and exercising of agency that account for Haiti’s political economic circumstances and how they have shaped child domestic labour in the country. Haiti’s history is marked by the operation of its authoritarian state habitus that despite being exercised to varying degrees has perpetuated repressive tactics reflecting a lack of democratic accountability and developmental aims. Parallel with the Haitian state’s authoritarian actions has been the Haitian population and specifically it’s rural citizens’ resistance through their commitment to living in *lakou*. Over the course of the country’s history, such circumstances have found state-society relations to be highly conflictual. This is because the authoritarian state has perpetually sought to undermine the rural *lakou*. In the process of doing so, the state served its own interest through exploiting the largely rural population to such an extent that their livelihoods became less and less sustainable. Such a historical experience resulted specifically in undermining one of the *lakou*’s principle sustainability mechanisms in the form of sending children as domestic labourers. Whereas Haiti’s early history witnessed geographic solidarity relationships through the sending of children to kin relatives, growing poverty meant that such circumstances were found untenable. The result forced rural parents to look elsewhere. This led to the practice of child domestic labour transitioning to become based upon patron-client relations where rural children migrated to the urban centres to live with elite families. Despite a diversity of experiences transpiring, such mobilization became less accepted with the democratic transition in Haiti and its accompanying universal child rights regime advocating against the use of children as domestic labourers. While strong child rights laws and norms exist in Haiti, the contemporary context has witnessed significant limitations to their implementation as poor rural
children moving to slightly less poor urban households is resulting in heightened levels of precariousness to their livelihoods. It is within this current state of affairs that child domestic labour in Haiti is transpiring. Consequently, this chapter has set forth to reveal the repression and resistance in the political economy of Haiti for the purpose of providing a comprehensive accounting for its impact upon the historical origins and contemporary setting of child domestic labour in Haiti.

This chapter presents the methodological approach implemented for conducting the dissertation research into how the Global Childhood framework and Local Childhood framework influence the identity constructions and impact the livelihoods of Haitian child domestic labourers. This chapter will begin with my explanation for implementing an interpretive worldview and in turn outlining how it informed my qualitative methodological research design to the study. Next, as the interpretive paradigm necessitates scholarly reflexivity, the chapter will proceed to include a critical self-assessment of my research experience. Overall, this methodology chapter will lay out the academic paradigm that I operate within, methods that I have used and the self-reflexive processes I have undergone to advance understanding for how conceptions of childhood and child rights reflecting both the Global and Local Childhood frameworks shape Haitian child domestic labourers’ identity constructs and lived realities.

Methodological Approach to Conducting Research

The ontological and epistemological worldview that I hold informs the selection of a Global-Local methodological research design for examining how conceptions of childhood and child rights impact child domestic labour in Haiti. This has materialized in an interpretive research design capable of conveying how the meaning-making processes of childhood and child rights construct the identities and structure the livelihoods of Haitian child domestic labourers. Arriving at this stage, however, requires important consideration for ontology and epistemology. First, the concept of ontology challenges scholars to address what is the nature of existence in the world (Marsh and Furlong, 2002, 18)? Therefore, the ontological requirement of this study seeks to determine the nature of childhood and child rights as they inform child domestic labour. This
ontological response is inextricably interconnected to the epistemological query that asks what knowledge can we decipher about the world and upon what basis will it be confirmed (Marsh and Furlong, 2002, 18-19)? Therefore, the epistemological requirement of this study aims to shed light upon how we come to know the way in which childhood and child rights are experienced and their subsequent impact upon child domestic labour in Haiti.

The Ontological and Epistemological Approach to the Methodological Research Design

These ontological and epistemological demands placed upon scholars have emerged through the positivist and interpretive theoretical paradigms. Ontologically, positivism contends that an external state of being does in fact exist. Therefore, positivism advances an epistemological belief that because human subjects are positioned separate from the object of study, empirical observation through scientific rigour can establish verifiable knowledge (Stoker and Marsh, 2002, 11). Diametrically opposed to the position of positivism is an interpretive paradigm. Ontologically, interpretivism views the subject and object as inextricably interlinked. Therefore, interpretivism advances an epistemological belief that because human beings interpret the world in order to formulate knowledge, our understanding of the world is subject to variability (Stoker and Marsh, 2002, 11). These ontological and epistemological positions manifest in once more opposing paradigmatic research aims. While positivists aspire to causal relations for making generalizable claims, interpretivists seek situational understanding so as to make claims about a unique context (Marsh and Furlong, 2002, 21). Overall then, the ontological and epistemological currents of interpretivism rather than positivism align much more productively with the methodological research design. This is because interpretivism is better equipped to capture the subjectivity that characterizes concepts including childhood and child rights. Such a state of affairs is brought to light most eloquently by Clifford Geertz’s view of the interpretive paradigm.
in relation to the social sciences as “not an experimental science in search of laws but an interpretative science in search of meaning” (as cited in Della Porta and Keating, 2008, 25). Therefore, the methodological research design proves consistent with the research aim to acquire in-depth understanding for how conceptions of childhood and child rights influence the identity constructions and impact the lived experiences of Haitian child domestic labourers.

Implementing the interpretive paradigm is therefore demonstrably advantageous toward constructing a methodological research design that is capable of comprehensively addressing the research question. This transpires first through interpretivism’s conceptualization of each individual actor as possessing situated agency (Bevir and Rhodes, 2006, 175). Moreover, this capacity to act transpires within social processes that are in a constant state of flux (Bevir and Rhodes, 2006, 171). Consequently, actors possess the ability to engage, think through and finally pursue novel ends. This proves particularly useful in the case of examining issues involving distinct power asymmetries that in this case include conceptions reflecting the Global Childhood framework vis-à-vis the Local Childhood framework at the macro level as well as conceptions held by adult actors and institutions vis-à-vis child actors at the micro level. Therefore, as the interpretive paradigm is importantly placed to seek out marginalized perspectives, the approach can reveal how such actors’ exercising of agency translates into realized or constrained outcomes.

Moreover, the interpretive paradigm facilitates scholarly engagement through what George Atwood and Robert Stolorow term sustained emphatic inquiry (as cited in Yanow, 2014, 23). This is a research approach characterized by humility and empathy where the researcher aspires to reduce power asymmetries. In so doing, it challenges the assumptions found at traditional sites of power by elevating marginalized views (Yanow, 2014, 23). As such, it is an
ideal approach for conducting interviews so as to demonstrate the importance of attaining perspectives from the actors most closely affected by the phenomena and bringing them to the attention to powerful actors and institutions who possess a less direct understanding of the issue. Therefore, interpretivism can prioritize the views of marginalized actors and in so doing prove strongly positioned to provide a more balanced account of childhood, child rights and child domestic labour in Haiti.

Overall, the interpretive paradigm is implemented as it welcomes an inductive qualitative method of research to understand how relevant actors and institutions reflecting the Global and Local Childhood frameworks impact Haitian child domestic labourers’ identity constructions and lived realities. Pursuing this method is based upon an ontological commitment to interpretivism that maintains how one thinks about an issue will determine the manner in which they act on it (Foddy, 1993, 15). I therefore conducted qualitative interviews with a range of key informants to understand how they construct childhood and child rights and how this in turn led to their viewpoint on child domestic labourers’ identities. This transpired with the intention of following an inductive program designed to build original theory. The result of which materialized through conveying how such reflections relate vis-à-vis the Global and Local Childhood frameworks that proceed to demonstrate the impact that their interaction ultimately has on Haitian child domestic labourers’ identity constructions and lived realities.

Study Area

As the qualitative research design seeks to secure understanding for childhood, child rights and child domestic labour in Haiti, I implemented my qualitative methodological research program through conducting field work in the country. I elected to carry out a single case study in order to make claims concerning childhood, child rights and child domestic labour that are specific to the

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7 See Appendix B: Maps Indicating Field Work Location
Haitian context. In this light, I strove to fulfill Adrian Holliday’s contention that the research setting should attain “cultural boundedness … so that the readers of the research can be clear about exactly what is going on and in what sort of context” (2002, 37). For Holliday, this importantly “enables the data to be interconnected” (2002, 38). Heeding Holliday’s instruction, the qualitative research design was carried out through conducting field work in Haiti between May 2013 and October 2013. Throughout my field work, it was vital to explore urban, peri-urban and rural areas of the country so as to generate a comprehensive account for the different conceptions and experiences of childhood, child rights and child domestic labour in Haiti. This resulted in travelling specifically to the country’s North-West, Artibonite, West and South-East Departments where I conducted a total of 100 interviews with elite officials working for the Government of Haiti, expert professionals representing NGOs and CBOs, as well as children (between the ages of 10 – 17 years old) including current and former child domestic labourers along with those living in rural areas. The majority of interviews with elites and experts transpired in government and NGO/CBO offices while interviews also took place with rural children and former child domestic labourers in school and community organization locations. For the purpose of upholding the security of current child domestic labourers, they were never interviewed in their receiving family’s home. Overall, this stated study area includes all of the actors who inform my Global-Local analysis into how conceptions of childhood and child rights influence the identities and impact the livelihoods of Haitian child domestic labourers.

Data Collection

The data collection process sought information on the Global-Local construction of Haitian childhood, child rights and child domestic labourers’ identity constructions and lived realities through selective sampling, conducting interviews and engaging in participant observation. The

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8 Refer to Appendix C: List of Interviews.
sampling approach consisted of both purposive and snowball sampling. This combination allowed me to pursue interviews with individuals I believed most relevant to my research while also receiving their support to find further informants. As purposive sampling encourages researchers to choose respondents based upon their research aim (Babbie and Benaquisto, 2002, 165), I elected to speak with government, NGO and CBO representatives as well as children who may be affiliated with or directly participate in child domestic labour. In my research with government, NGO and CBO officials, I utilized snowball sampling that often generated further contacts from within the target population (Babbie and Benaquisto, 2002, 166). I did not, however, use snowball sampling with child participants so as to ensure their protection.

To better understand the Global-Local constructions of Haitian childhood, child rights and child domestic labour, it required that I implemented an interview approach that does not seek to ‘mine’ information from but rather ‘travel’ with the respondent in order to understand how they arrive at and share their unique view (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009, 48). This requires a flexible and dynamic dialogue such that researchers resist a narrow interpretation to answering their questions. Instead, it asks that researchers listen deeply to how their respondents expand upon their situation. In so doing, the researcher adopts a much more fluid approach in connecting such responses to the research questions. This methodological approach stems from its underlying interpretive worldview that searches for individual meaning-making processes. As generating individual conceptions to determine how they are experienced is fundamental to the dissertation, I implemented the travel interview with elites, experts and child respondents.

Due to the fact that elite government representatives occupy prominent places in Haitian society, they prove powerfully positioned in constructing Haitian childhood, child rights and child domestic labour. This is because elites operate within a privileged space of society from
which they may disproportionately impact the politics of a country (Flick, 2014, 23). On account of these circumstances, I conducted six semi-structured open ended interviews with Haitian Government representatives from the Institute for Social Well-Being and Research (IBERS), the Ministry for Social Affairs and Labour (MAST) and the Office for the Protection of Citizens (OPC) as well as the Ministry of Education and Professional Formation (MENFP), the Ministry on the Condition of Women and the Rights of Women (MCFDF) and the Ministry of Justice and the Security of Persons (MJSP). These interviews generated data from the multiple state institutions that could be assessed both across state departments and in comparison to NGO/CBO actors and child respondents.

Another set of representatives actively contributing to the Global-Local production of childhood, child rights and child domestic labour in Haiti are expert representatives of NGOs and CBOs. There is significant diversity amongst this target population. These actors range from policy analysts and social justice activists to educators and social workers. They have been selected because their positions have afforded them expertise on childhood, child rights and child domestic labour. As a result, I conducted 44 semi structured open ended interviews with leading experts on childhood, child rights and child domestic labour that included representatives from UN agencies [United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH), UNICEF, the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the International Labour Organization (ILO)], NGOs (World Vision, Care, Plan, Save the Children), and CBOs (Fondation Maurice Sixto, Timou Zimoun, Aba Systeme Restavek, Foyer Maurice Sixto). This diverse set of actors shared their in-depth opinions proving advantageous for examination in relation to government actors, other NGOs and CBOs as well as child informants.
Children who are current or former child domestic labourers as well as rural children susceptible to involvement in domestic labour are a third group of respondents actively contributing to the Global-Local production of childhood, child rights and child domestic labour in Haiti. As such, I conducted 50 interviews with these unique children populations. This target population is essential to the study as it seeks to advance their unique voices so as to facilitate dialogue with adult actors. However, attaining information from this group requires using interview techniques that are accessible to their emerging capacities. Therefore, children were engaged in semi structured life world interviews that allowed them to describe on their terms the meaning-making processes they develop. As such, this technique is designed to attain understanding for how children conceptualize and experience social phenomena (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009, 3). This required the interviewer to follow the child as they explored the concepts of childhood, child rights and child domestic labour that could be interpreted vis-à-vis current and former domestic labourers and rural children as well as Haitian Government, NGO and CBO members.

Conducting research with children requires reflecting upon additional considerations. For Pia Christensen and Allison James, a vital child research exercise is to acknowledge that, children are not adults. Researchers need therefore, not to adopt different methods per se, but to adopt practices that resonate with the children’s own concerns and routines. This is what makes the research participant friendly, rather than child friendly (2008, 8-9 emphasis in original).

Through implementing accessible methodological tools, the interview process sought to overcome the fallacy of conducting research on children. Rather, in doing so it aspired to conduct research with children (Christensen and James, 2008, 9 emphasis in original). This occurred by securing permission from NGOs/CBOs to speak with children and discuss the emerging capacities of each respondent. It also occurred through my research colleague Louicéus
Ozias’ leading role interviewing children based upon the interview guide and translating the responses from Haitian Creole to English. Overall, this informed the interview process for how children construct their notions of childhood, child rights and child domestic labour.

The data collection process also engaged in participant observation toward furthering knowledge for childhood, child rights and child domestic labour in Haiti. However, it is important to note that the type of participant observation that I engaged in was chosen to protect children. The broad definition of participant observation implies that the researcher is “observing events in a natural situation” (Babbie and Benaquisto, 2002, 307). Within the literature, some scholars tend to equate participant observation with the much more involved process of ethnography (Babbie and Benaquisto, 2002, 307). However, doing so fails to consider the variety that exists within and between each data collection method. As such, I have adopted the observatory portion of Stephen L. Schensul, Jean J. Schensul and Margaret D. LeCompte’s participant observation definition as “the process of learning through exposure to or involvement in the day-to-day or routine activities of participants in the research setting” (as cited in Flick, 2014, 296 emphasis mine). Over the course of analyzing current child domestic labourers’ lives, I positioned myself so as to be exposed to rather than involved in their activities. As such, I occupied the role of Participant-as-Observer rather than the Observer-as-Participant (Flick, 2014, 309). To do so, I spent time with local Haitian organizations and Haitian families privileging my research status with the former and my educator status with the latter as the reasons for why I was in Haiti. I accessed these spaces through emailing organizations, making acquaintances as a university course instructor and simply through meeting people in my travels. Once again, my research colleague Louicéus Ozias was instrumental in facilitating these opportunities to witness this range of children in their day-to-day lives. In the case of observing child domestic labourers,
I specifically withheld the topic of my research. This was done due to the stigma surrounding child domestic labour and therefore my acknowledgement of studying this population could negatively impact their lives. Therefore, I was able to engage in this unique form of participant observation while prioritizing the security of children. As the protection of informants is paramount to accessing information, I believe this course of action was the most ethical means by which to research the Global-Local production of Haitian childhood, child rights and child domestic labour.

**Data Analysis**

The data analysis process aligns with the interpretive approach and qualitative methodology as it aims to develop grounded theoretical accounts for the Global-Local construction of childhood, child rights and child domestic labour in Haiti. As such, it seeks to build theory by observation that is “systematically gathered and analyzed through the research process” (Babbie and Benaquisto, 2002, 378). Therefore, qualitative tools are required to access and examine informants’ meaning-making experiences. However, it is important to note that these data analysis and collection processes are not a consecutive exercise but rather prove to be concurrent undertakings (Flick, 2014, 371). Therefore, although the majority of coding, content and discourse analysis followed the conclusion of field work, in actuality, they continuously unfold throughout my interpretive research and writing endeavours.

The grounded analysis that emerges on how Global and Local conceptions of childhood and child rights influence the identities and impact the livelihoods of child domestic labourers in Haiti results from coding, content and discourse analysis. I initially established particular themes informing the interview questions that were deemed most important to answering my research question. These themes were designated as codes that I would search for in my data. In this light,
the coding process provides coherence and order to distinguishable topics viewed as significant to the research design (Babbie and Benaquisto, 2002, 381-382). For my purpose, my initial coding process sought information relative to childhood, child rights and child domestic labour as well as the latter’s specific labour, migrant, and citizenship identities. It also encompasses the structural forces impacting livelihoods such as political, economic and social factors. Upon establishing such codes, I engaged in content analysis to decipher the perspectives held by respondents and the basis upon which they made such claims. This coding procedure offers such an opportunity through reducing the sheer volume of information and affording a systematic method of analysis (Flick, 2014, 430). To accomplish this, I used NVivo computer software programming as a means by which to better organize and cluster important codes. This content analysis process is further supported through critical discourse analysis. My decision to do so emerges from the fact that critical discourse analysis recognizes that meaning cannot simply be arrived at without understanding how language is used to convey it (de Moura, 2002, 354). Moreover, discourse analysis implementation requires the researcher to ask what types of assumptions underline the argument being made (Flick, 2014, 447). Therefore, in assessing the collected information, I remain consciously aware of the positionality held by each informant. Doing so can advance understanding for why each actor constructs conceptions of childhood, child rights and child domestic labour in their unique manner and how this affects their life. Overall, this data analysis approach is well placed to generate grounded theory through coding, content and discourse analysis of the material collected from a range of relevant informants.

Taken together, the interpretive paradigm aligns with an inductive qualitative method that I believe is most beneficial for researching how a Global-Local analysis of childhood and child rights influences the identities and impacts the livelihoods of Haitian child domestic labourers.
This research process is deemed most capable of developing grounded theory to advance knowledge for how Global-Local conceptions of childhood and child rights influence the identity constructions and impact the lives of Haitian child domestic labourers.

**Self-Reflexivity in the Research Process**

Practicing scholarly self-reflexivity affords academics the opportunity to acknowledge their perceived impact upon the research process. Such a critical undertaking once more aligns with the interpretive paradigm that guides this study. This is because for interpretive scholars, the production of knowledge transpires through human interpretation. Therefore, the impact researchers have on the study cannot be scientifically isolated from the study. This does not, however, preclude interpretive scholars from conducting rigorous academic scholarship. In fact, interpretivism encourages scholars to recognize their influence on the research. In so doing, scholars are able to think through how their conducting of research influences their findings (Holliday, 2002, 146). Such an approach demonstrably strengthens rather than weakens the academic rigour of interpretive scholarship. Toward this aim, scholarly self-reflexivity is a vital endeavour for attaining such important insight. For Adrian Holliday, the process of conducting scholarly self-reflexivity offers “the way in which researchers come to terms with and indeed capitalize on the complexities of their presence within the research setting” (Holliday, 2002, 146). This process therefore proves to be a demonstrably vital scholarly undertaking in upholding the interpretive requirement of academically rigorous research. Recognizing this, the reflexivity section will proceed to address my own positionality vis-à-vis the identity I possess, how this influences the research and interview processes I was involved in as well as its impact in ensuring I conducted ethical field work.
Positional Identity and Selected Methodology

Interpretivism’s facilitation of self-reflexivity requires that I critically examine my positionality in researching the Global-Local production of childhood, child rights and child domestic labour in Haiti. This is because interpretivism contests the positivist conception that the qualitative researcher is “an objective, authoritative, politically neutral observer standing outside and above the text” (Flick, 2014, 517). Rather, interpretivism situates scholars as “entangled with the politics of the social world they study” (Holliday, 2002, 146). Therefore, recognizing the scholar’s impact upon the research requires a thorough understanding for who one is and how they influence others. This can be operationalized by accounting for both one’s internal belief system as well as the multiple outward identities projected in the conducting of research (Grbich, 2013, 113). Therefore, this self-reflexive section outlines the impact that I have made in the production of knowledge. I will demonstrate such influence through both a critical assessment of my positional identity as well as my methodological selection. Taken together, these elements can provide a comprehensive self-reflexive account of my positionality in the research process.

Scholarly self-reflexivity requires personal consideration for how my positional identity influences the research process. Undertaking such an approach reveals that my interpretation of the collected data is inextricably interconnected to my own identities. Donna Haraway refers to this self-reflexive practice as the researcher’s “maps of consciousness” (as cited in Mullings, 1999, 337). Such maps are influenced by multiple attributes including ethnicity, race, gender and class that inform the constructing of data and materialize in a uniquely situated understanding of social processes (Mullings, 1999, 337). Therefore, as an Anglophone Caucasian male of middle class status, I bring with me particular experiences that shape my interpretation of the world. Moreover, my multiple identities shape how people perceive me and how they will not only
respond to my interview questions but further still react to my very presence. This set of circumstances significantly influences the information that is secured. As a result, positional identities clearly affect the research process. While such an assumption remains constant, particular identities do not. This is because identities are not only multiple but also fluctuating in a process of negotiation between interviewer and interviewee (Shehata, 2014, 222). The worldviews held by each inevitably shapes research developments by influencing the production of information and ultimately the construction of knowledge. Therefore, self-reflexivity of positional identity is vital for recognizing its impact upon the research.

While self-reflexivity is predominantly associated with assessing one’s positional identity, it proves an even more rigorously beneficial tool when encompassing the selection of methods. In this light, critical consideration for the methodological approach deepens understanding for how the research process develops and what this means for the eventual generation of knowledge. For Pierre Bourdieu, the “primary target [of reflexive analysis] is not the individual analyst but the social and intellectual unconscious embedded in analytic tools and categories” (as cited in Wilkinson, 390, 2014 emphasis original). His insistence on prioritizing epistemological reflexivity offers a demonstrable capacity for understanding why certain types of knowledge are secured. Moreover, by critically assessing one’s methodological selection, it may lead to democratizing the tools chosen for research. According to Cai Wilkinson, such rethinking can better “manage the problems of combining forms of knowledge that have by convention been kept separate and to move beyond the automatic prioritization of expert forms of knowledge” (2014, 391). As this dissertation seeks to facilitate dialogue with elite, expert and children as key informants, such epistemological reflexivity is an essential undertaking in the
methodological process. In so doing, I may strive to secure a diverse range of important insights from these actors through the use of demonstrably accessible methodological tools.

Displacement and Betweenness Toward Positional Spaces in the Interview Process

The academic practice of displacement and betweenness is a vital self-reflexive process. This is because within Western Cartesian thought exists a binary view of the field as the ‘exotic other’ that contains particular values and attributes (Scheyvens and Storey, 2003, 9). Such a notion of spatiality problematically compartmentalizes locales and peoples while simultaneously denying the social processes that link such partitions together. Therefore, practicing displacement and betweenness within the Haitian context importantly contests the problematic conceptualizing of ‘the field’ as a fixed localized entity. Instead, implementing this approach reveals both the limits to and damaging impact of such dualistic thinking. As a result, it is important to heed Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson’s argument that scholars,

... [This would demonstrate that] the ‘field’ is not naturalized in terms of ‘a place’ or ‘a people’; rather it is located and defined in terms of specific political objectives” (as cited in Scheyvens and Storey, 2003, 8-9).

Therefore, social processes are not restricted to particular sites but rather they take on both similar and dissimilar forms across space. As such, structures including patriarchy, racism and capitalism cannot be fully accounted for without implementing an intersectional approach that reveals their global and local dimensions. In this light, scholars are instructed with the task not to “altruistically sav[e] an exoticized ‘other’ … [but] instead stress the importance of identifying objectives based upon concerns to overcome shared experiences of oppression” (Scheyvens and Storey, 2003, 9). Rather than viewing themselves as either inside or outside of the field, scholars

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9 Arguably the most important work on this subject is Edward Said’s 1978 publication Orientalism. Here, Said identifies the discursive practices that allow the Occident to construct the Orient in a process that simultaneously builds up the Occident at the expense of the Orient.
are conceptualized as consistently interconnected to these pervasive structures (Katz, 1996, 67). Acknowledging the interwoven nature of such structures provides the basis upon which the methodological practice of displacement and betweenness can commence. By implementing displacement, scholars counteract attributing particular characteristics solely to a locale. This is done through revealing its interconnections to a larger whole.\textsuperscript{10} In this light, displacement recognizes that scholars investigate unique contexts for the sake of manageability. However, attaining explanatory richness requires that the study area is understood in relation to larger social processes. So for example, structures including international law and economic capitalism are transnational entities experienced in a variety of ways. Displacement requires scholars to recognize the similarities and dissimilarities that characterize their impact. As such, by displacing the physical site of field work, scholars may than proceed to enter a position of betweenness. Through operating within this space, one can demonstrate the penetration of various social processes vis-à-vis the unique study area. This allows the researcher “to frame questions that are at once of substantive and theoretical interest as well as of practical significance to those with whom we work” (Katz, 1994, 72). By doing so, the researcher’s “scholarship … [possesses] a clear politics that works against the forces of oppression” (Katz, 1994, 67). Such an approach informs my research and interview processes designed to advance understanding for how the Global-Local production of childhood and child rights influence the identities and impact the livelihoods of Haitian child domestic labourers.

The practicing of displacement and betweenness can in turn lead to accessing positional spaces through which optimal information can be secured. Reaching this state, however, can prove challenging. Nevertheless, enhancing the prospects of doing so requires scholars to

\textsuperscript{10} Cindi Katz’ \textit{Growing Up Global: Economic Restructuring and Children’s Everyday Lives} is considered a watershed work in demonstrating the global interconnections between children’s experiences with globalization in New York City and Sudan.
critically reflect upon multiple aspects in their interview relationships. For example, as power is omnipresent, it permeates the interviewer-interviewee relationship. While it is often assumed that the interviewer is more powerfully positioned than their interviewee, this is a problematic perspective to take based on the fact that the interview process is more accurately understood as an exchange characterized by a “shifting matrix of power relations” (Miraftab, 2008, 601). This means that power will fluctuate over the course of the interview. Researchers should never assume then that their work would take priority in the lives of respondents but rather they should consider the dependent state they occupy in relation to their informants. In so doing, researchers may proceed in a more humble manner by recognizing the fluid character of power relations.

Researchers also need to consider their positionality vis-à-vis respondents so as to strive toward reaching positional spaces. Such an approach critiques the binary of insider/outsider status that “freeze positionalities in place, and assumes that being an ‘insider’ or ‘outsider’ is a fixed attribute” (Mullings, 1990, 340). For Regina Scheyvens and Donovan Storey, insider and outsider status is “more accurately understood as existing on a sliding scale” (2003, 186). This fluid notion of positionality moves closer to Barbara Mullings’ dynamic view of positional spaces. She argues that it must reach a point where researchers can “engender a level of trust and cooperation” through striving for a more authentic basis from which to connect with their respondents (1990, 340). In this light, the insider/outsider dichotomy can be overcome toward occupying positional spaces of shared awareness. The process of doing so can vitally advance the prospects for researchers as they aim to secure the most constructive responses.

While researchers endeavour to attain important information, they also require reflecting upon its validity. This self-reflexive process crucially identifies the influences of the interviewer and interviewee in the construction of knowledge. For Laura MacLean, this is critical to ensure
scholarly validity because it can “illuminat[e] the power dynamics and biases involved in the process of conducting interview[s]” (2013, 68). Therefore, such self reflection of the interview process improves its validity through enhancing transparency.

Having critically theorized self-reflexivity of the research process and how it informs the practice of displacement and betweenness, I will examine in the proceeding section how I specifically sought to occupy positional spaces from which to reduce power asymmetries, overcome the insider/outsider binary and assess the validity of my interview data. These are key features that will be revealed within the ethical conducting of research below.

**Ethical Approach**

The research process also requires critical self-reflexivity of my ethical practices. It is not only important to acknowledge the ethical questions related to the study area but also the individual informants that one engages with. This is required for both the conducting of field work in a majority world country such as Haiti as well as interviewing political actors from government and NGOs/CBOs as well as potentially vulnerable actors in children. This self-reflexivity is imperative as ethical procedures take precedence over securing information. It is therefore vital that scholars assess their ethical approach to both conducting field work and publishing findings.

The decision to conduct field work in a majority world country requires important self-reflexivity in light of the state’s social, political and economic conditions. This is important for understanding the positionality of the researcher. In recognizing the significant challenges that such conditions pose for the majority of the citizenry, researchers need to ethically consider what their presence will mean (Scheyvens and Storey, 2003, 2). This question emerged prior to, remained constant throughout and continues to circulate after my field work experience. Although consistently wrestling with this situation, I contend that humility and cross-cultural
understanding are the primary principles that must inform all interactions. While resolved to my potential missteps, I keep such awareness at the forefront of my thinking so as to reinforce the importance of conducting ethical research and to reflect my appreciation of key informants.

The ethical conducting of research with key informants requires that researchers prioritize their protection throughout the research and writing processes. Therefore, any decision rooted in ethics “must ensure the participant’s dignity, privacy and safety” (Scheyvens, Nowak and Scheyvens, 2003, 140). The implementation of best ethical practices can be aspired toward through attaining both institutional and informed consent for the research project. Therefore, while the university Research Ethics Board (REB) is a necessary and important first step, researchers should seek out similar agencies in the country of study (Burke, 2013, 51). In the process of fulfilling my ethical requirements, I attained REB approval from both the University of Guelph as well as the Institute of Social Work and Social Sciences in Haiti. This institutional consent requires being complemented through the informed consent of research participants. It necessitates that the participant fully understands the purpose of the research and freely chooses to participate in it (Scheyvens, Nowak and Scheyvens, 2003, 142). Accomplishing this aim requires the “power relationship [to] be shifted to a two-way flow of information to ensure participant understanding rather than a top-down delivery of information” (MacLean, 2013, 74). I sought to confirm understanding prior to requesting consent through offering to provide a written explanation upon request, ensuring the respondent’s preferred language was used and re-confirming permission through follow-up questions. As such, it is believed that institutional and informed consent was secured in an ethical manner.

Self-reflexivity of research ethics also requires considering how the publication findings will represent the study area. On the one hand, researchers must guard against implementing a
universal lens as it may prove heavily Westernized (Mohanty, 63, 1984). On the other hand, scholars must refrain from a relativist view that leaves local knowledge unquestioned (Scheyvens and Storey, 2003, 4). Neither of these dichotomous positions can adequately address the challenges of conducting cross-cultural research. Rather than relying upon essentialized identities, Regina Scheyvens and Donovan Storey contend that making informed statements about cross-cultural research should depend upon “how well informed, how politically aware and how sensitive the researcher is to the topic in question and to the local context” (2003, 8). This approach finds resonance with Edward Said’s call for scholarship in exile. In this model, the researcher possesses a nomadic character never viewing social processes in isolation but rather always drawing connections across inextricably interconnected sites (Ashcroft and Ahluwalia, 1999, 51). In this light, scholarly self-reflexivity consists of both contesting ethnocentrism while critically considering local viewpoints all the while accounting for the multiple influences that produce diverse responses. This approach reveals that there are significant benefits to conducting cross-cultural research. Due to the interdependent nature of the world, addressing structural problems across multiple locations requires simultaneous contributions from people throughout the world (Scheyvens and Storey, 2003, 6). In this light, Clare Madge contends that ethical considerations for conducting research in a majority world country “should not only do no harm but also have [the] potential to do good” (as cited in Scheyvens, Nowak and Scheyvens, 2003, 139). Therefore, researchers conducting field work in a majority world country are called to embrace a moral imperative. Their academic publications should aim to provide support for people living under challenging circumstances. In this light, the dissertation is designed to present multiple perspectives for childhood, child rights and child domestic labour in a respectful and responsible manner. It is intended to draw awareness to the challenges that these actors face
and the means by which a multitude of actors and institutions contribute to and/or seek to redress such circumstances. Over the course of conducting self-reflexivity for my positionality, interview processes and ethical considerations, I have aspired to demonstrate the theoretical assumptions and their practical implications for field work in Haiti. Therefore, in exploring my research with elites, experts and children and proceeding to compose my findings, I have sought to “allow vulnerability into [my] own research and writing, being ready to admit [my] own intellectual vulnerability in the face of – even as a mark of respect for – the grounded vulnerabilities coming before [my] scrutiny” (Swanson, 2008, 55).

Field Work Interviewing

Over the course of conducting field work, I interviewed elites, experts and children to develop a comprehensive account of the Global-Local production of childhood, child rights and child domestic labour in Haiti. Through drawing these perspectives into closer contact, I believe it may advance understanding specifically for how these identity constructions impact the livelihoods of child domestic labourers. In interviewing these respondents, I have been guided by feminist interview techniques of commitment, self-identification and empathy. This has led to contesting the notion of detachment by conducting research with a political commitment (Kezar, 2003, 401). It has also meant challenging personal assumptions to facilitate the self-identification of informants (Kezar, 2003, 408). This approach moreover listens to interviewees intently toward practicing empathy for their positionality (Kezar, 2003, 401). Taken together, this feminist framework will influence my positional identity, practicing of displacement and betweenness for positional spaces and ensure ethical conducting of interviews with elites, experts and children.
Elite Interviewing

Elite interviews with members from the Haitian Government provide insight into policy formulation and implementation addressing childhood, child rights and child domestic labour. This is because elite actors are powerfully positioned to disproportionately impact societal issues (Flick, 2014, 230; Mikecz, 2012, 485). Consequently, these actors play a significant role in constructing the identities that impact the livelihoods of Haitian child domestic labourers. As such, I actively sought and secured interviews with these key informants. However, the process of conducting elite interviews generated both challenges and opportunities. Therefore, it is vital that I reflect upon these interview experiences toward understanding how they influence the collected information from elite government actors.

The interviewing of government elites saw my positionality fluctuating in its influence of the collected interview responses. This process generated both openings and closings as I sought to understand how these actors and the institutions they represent contribute to the construction of child domestic labourers’ identities. While certainly interested in learning the practicality of public policy, I aimed to attain their theoretical conceptions of childhood and child rights that informed such approaches to child domestic labour as well. This approach heeds the call for a more ethnographic understanding of elite activity by accounting for their interpretation of social phenomena (Scheyvens, Scheyvens and Murray, 2003, 183). However, this methodological direction frequently puzzled government officials. In fact, they were often times taken aback by such a request. In my opinion, I believe that such an approach would allow government representatives to consider the theoretical basis informing their actions. In this light, I strove to understand the particulars of the individual rather than delving immediately into the perspective of their institutional affiliation. Such an approach may improve the research findings by
affording interviewee’s enhanced autonomy (Beckmann and Hall, 2013, 198). However, in my experience with government officials, this process did not always materialize in the reflectivity that I had hoped for. Rather than working through their individual thought-process on how they conceptualize child domestic labourers, the question appeared to be a fait accompli. It was clear that their view aligned explicitly with the institutional mandate. This was prominently conveying that child domestic labour was a problem in Haitian society and that the state uses laws to restrict its practice. While the willingness to critically engage the issue showed some variance across government representatives, it was clear that the institutional view became more entrenched the higher the position of the respondent. As a result, I believe that I was often viewed by the elite interviewee as asking the wrong questions. Once this occurred, I could feel my ability to guide the interview slipping away. It resulted in falling into the unenviable position of an ill-informed researcher that many interviewers experience with elite actors (Beckmann and Hall, 2013, 202; Mikecz, 2012, 484). My interviewee would than proceed to dominate the proceedings and tell me what I really needed to know. This resulted in the interview quickly becoming a monologue rather than the dialogue I had hoped for. As a result, I frequently received what Robert Mikecz calls “the ‘public relations’ version of events instead of their personal account of events” (2012, 484). Despite this set of circumstances, I embraced Darren Lilleker’s call to show that I would “not acquiesce by returning to [my intended] set of questions” (2003, 211). Such an approach sometimes materialized in an enhanced respect for my interviewing techniques. However, at other times it drew greater ire from the interviewee. Nevertheless, despite limited attainment for the critically reflective insight of elite government actors, I was still able to secure important data. Moreover, I believe that this limited elite reflexivity speaks volumes as to how such a fixed conception of child domestic labour significantly impacts their livelihoods. In this light, my
approach brought forth challenges and opportunities to attaining important information on how conceptions of childhood and child rights influence the identities and impact the livelihoods of Haitian child domestic labourers.

Over the course of interviewing elite actors, I believed it is vital to practice displacement and betweenness toward attaining positional spaces. Such an approach requires understanding the unique positionality that these elite actors occupy. According to Regina Scheyvens, Henry Scheyvens and Warwick E. Murray, “elite networks are increasingly glocally constituted … operat[ing] in both global and local spaces and that the separation of the two is problematic” (2003, 183 emphasis mine). As a researcher, I remain steadfastly cognizant of how these elites are more closely connected to global norms and the position they occupy in embracing, resisting and/or practicing a hybrid understanding of their meaning. Consequently, I utilized our shared exposure to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child to occupy a positional space from which to ask questions. Recognizing their exposure to the international realm, I was not necessarily surprised by their identity constructions of childhood and child rights that informed their view on child domestic labour. This is because it aligned precisely with the Global Childhood framework inherent in the CRC. Reflecting upon the interview process, I believe that the identity I possess as a Caucasian researcher from the minority world may have left government officials perplexed as to why I desired a critical examining of this mainstream conception. This is because the interviewee may have assumed my position based upon my race and nationality. Nevertheless, I do maintain that recognizing global and local forces toward sharing this positional space offered insight into elite views. However, the findings are mindful of how the respondents’ perceived underlying assumptions may or may not have been influenced by our positional identities.
The interviewing of elites also sought their ethical consideration vis-à-vis non-elite actors’ views on childhood, child rights and their specific informing of child domestic labourers’ identities. As Scheyvens, Scheyvens and Murray argue, coherent understanding requires considering the position of both elites and non-elites (2008, 183). Through this multi-vocal interview technique, I encouraged government representatives to consider the position of Haitian families and children who are specifically involved with domestic labour. While sharing concerns stemming from child domestic labour, I encouraged these actors to think through the conditions under which families and children conduct their decision-making processes as it relates to participating in domestic labour. This can serve to stimulate critical reflection and potentially lead to reconsideration of one’s own worldview (Kezar, 2003, 410). As the power held by elite actors significantly shapes the world, multivocality may “chang[e] the nature of interview discourses … [that] might also alter inequalities” (Kezar, 2003, 411). Such a process may encourage government action for improved measures to assist children and their families who are involved in domestic labour arrangements and therefore serve the ethical commitment to a politics of change in their lives. By engaging in such a process, government officials sympathized with the plight of these children’s livelihoods and spoke to how they address their circumstances so as to prevent involvement in domestic labour. By the same token, they also recognized the eventual elimination of child domestic labour as a long-term undertaking.

**Expert Interviewing**

Expert interviews with NGO and CBO representatives also serve to advance knowledge for childhood, child rights and their relationship to the identity constructions and lived realities of Haitian child domestic labourers. The day to day involvement of these experts with children generates indispensable insight into the latter’s lives. It is not only the proximity that they possess
but moreover the opportunity their position affords in developing the trust specifically of child domestic labourers. For Rosalind Edwards and Janet Holland, their unique relationship means that these “key informants can help illuminate situations, behaviours and attitudes that researchers otherwise could not access or understand” (2013, 31). Therefore, experts can offer significant insight into the personal challenges that child domestic labourers may be understandably hesitant to divulge or altogether unwilling to share with the researcher. Consequently, I conducted numerous interviews with these experts that require significant reflection so as to understand the relationship between the identity constructs and lived realities of Haitian child domestic labourers.

The interviewing of experts working for NGOs saw my approach secure a more stable presence in the interview experience. For my purposes, I conceptualize NGOs as important producers of child domestic labourers’ identities who “operate on a scale larger than the community or village [and are] … international, national or regional in scope” (Desai and Potter, 2006, 95). In seeking to understand their theoretical construction of childhood, child rights and child domestic labourers and how this impacts their livelihoods, I once more aligned the desire to connect underlying beliefs with social action (Desai and Potter, 2006, 146). In stark contrast to government officials, NGO representatives were much more open to critically reflecting upon their views of child domestic labourers. While it once more varied by NGO, I believe that the power asymmetries were significantly reduced in comparison to elite interviewing. This likely resulted from their actual interaction with child domestic labourers. Therefore, while it certainly did not hold in all cases, the majority of NGO representatives were much more open to my academic inquiry and therefore willing to theoretically reflect upon child domestic labourers’
identities. This resulted in the dialogical interview I so deeply aspired to guide and proved critical in attaining more useful information.

The practicing of displacement and betweenness toward securing positional spaces was also more readily available through interviews with NGO experts. There were multiple commonalities that we shared which may include living in/visiting the minority world, attaining a similar level of education and possessing comparable socio-economic status. Such mutual qualities fostered enhanced comfort by which to commence dialogue. As NGO experts are guided by the Convention on the Rights of the Child, I once more chose to advance discussion surrounding its impact while remaining cognizant of the shared experiences between interviewer and interviewee. Despite the important cautioning of researchers that NGOs may respond to questions in a manner that upholds their image (Desai and Potter, 2006, 98), I found that the NGO experts more often than not engaged in critically reflective thought where they proved very open to self-critique. This is because NGO experts were readily challenging a literal reading of the CRC. These actors expressed that international law requires adaptation to local conditions. This is not to necessarily deny its applicability but rather to understand the structural forces that may impede immediate realization. I found this incredibly informative as such sentiments reveal differences in relation to specific organizational mandates. However, it does speak to the NGO position that such experience has led them to address child domestic labourers’ livelihoods within their contextual realities.

Expert NGO interviews also inquired into the ethical considerations for families and children involved in and/or participating as child domestic labourers. Given these actors’ significant experience with the target population, they are generally well-versed in important cultural sensitivities (Desai and Potter, 2006, 98). Therefore, they may convey a much greater
empathy for Haitian families and the children they have sent into domesticity. This is accompanied by a larger frustration with the inaction and/or unaccountability of the government in addressing children’s citizenship rights. NGO experts simultaneously expressed significant disdain for the role of international financial institutions in compounding the challenges faced by Haiti’s impoverished citizens. Therefore, NGO experts show that the constructing of childhood, child rights and child domestic labourers’ identities as it relates to their lives requires consideration for the structural forces they operate within.

The interviewing of experts working for CBOs witnessed my approach fluctuating once more in the process of conducting research. I conceptualize CBOs as less powerful but clearly important in constructing childhood, child rights and specifically child domestic labourers’ identities. These organizations “operate at a smaller scale, often in one or two villages only [and] are usually dependent upon local residents” (Desai and Potter, 2006, 95). As these actors frequently work and live alongside vulnerable children such as domestic labourers, they possess significant insight into their livelihood conditions. As a foreign researcher entering poor socio-economic urban and rural areas, I agree with Kate Swanson when she states that “I brought forth imagery of profound difference, colonialism and mistrust” (2008, 57). Recognizing my positionality, I sought to reduce cross-cultural challenges by affiliating myself with a Haitian university and working with a Haitian research colleague named Louicéus Ozias, a social work student attending the institution. This proved effective in the conducting of field work throughout Haiti and most beneficial when working with CBOs. Having my research colleague Louicéus was significant in creating the conditions under which CBO directors may feel more comfortable reflecting upon childhood, child rights and child domestic labour. I found that this created an environment where these interviewees could provide a grassroots understanding specifically for
the child domestic labour phenomena. Therefore, I believe that my positional identity took on a
degree of locality through working with my research colleague and led to securing culturally in-
depth information.

Through localizing my positional identity by working with my research colleague, I
sought to practice displacement and betweenness for the purpose of securing positional spaces of
interaction. Louicéus clearly proved critical in this process for interviewing CBO representatives.
However, as CBO directors act as guardians of children, this was also vital toward attaining
access to child respondents. In this manner, CBO heads were not only key informants but also
gatekeepers. For both of these positional identities, working alongside Louicéus proved once
more indispensible. For instance, during interviews with CBO directors, Louicéus bridged cross-
cultural relations between me as the interviewer and our interviewee. He facilitated discussion
for all three of us in examining the Global-Local constructions of Haitian childhood, child rights
and child domestic labour in a more open forum. While this certainly does not prevent our
respective identities from influencing the interview discussions, I believe that Louicéus’ presence
brought both a local comfort and culturally informed opinion in assessing the interviewee’s
response. Moreover, Louicéus would also share with me his assessment of the interviewee’s
remarks upon concluding the interview. In addition, through the process of engaging CBO
gatekeepers toward speaking with children, Louicéus proved once more instrumental to the
research aim. Not only could Louicéus facilitate cross-cultural relations, but he was also able to
negotiate the sample of children selected along with the privacy that we required in conducting
ethical interviews. This is critical to the information collected because gatekeepers may “direct
[the researcher] to a narrow selection of members and discourage [the researcher] from talking to
others” (Scheyvens, Scheyvens, and Murray 2008, 153). The requests made led to the ethical
attainment of interviewing children. Overall, Louicéus was essential to creating the positional spaces from which both he and I as the interviewers and CBO directors as interviewees and gatekeepers could collectively research the Global-Local production of childhood and child rights that influence the identity constructions and impact the livelihoods of Haitian child domestic labourers.

The conducting of research with CBOs requires ethical considerations of practices. As these actors are participants and not subjects of the research, it is incumbent upon the researcher to provide a form of reciprocity. I share the research reflections acknowledged by Kate Swanson where she states, “I continue to ask myself who will gain more from this research: them or me? I suspect it may be me” (2008, 57). However, I also agree that “the fact that we will gain more from our field work than those who we study should not deter us from embarking on our research programs” (Scheyvens, Nowak, and Scheyvens, 2003, 155). Therefore, determining how reciprocity may transpire is imperative prior to confirming participants in the research process. Once more, my research colleague Louicéus proved instrumental in clearly articulating our research purpose and how we intended to compensate the organization for their insight. In conducting interviews with CBOs, we endeavoured to learn from the organizational director and access potential child respondents while supplementing their time with meals that would be shared equally among all the organizational members. This method was based upon recognizing CBO-affiliated respondents operating with socio-economically poor and marginalized populations and therefore aspiring to build a relationship of reciprocity through such exchange. Therefore, while cognizant of the disproportionate benefit I hold relative to the informants, this reciprocal relationship secured a consensus that proved vital for interview participation.
Child Interviews

Interviews with current and former child domestic labourers as well as children living in rural areas susceptible to becoming domestic labourers are indispensible to the research aim. This is because these interviews can attain knowledge directly from the actors of the study. However, accessing their views requires conceptualizing children as active rather than passive agents. In so doing, scholars may attain information from children’s unique positionality. While cognizant of the multiple challenges conducting research with children pose, this framing of children is essential for enhanced explanatory richness. Therefore, I embrace the notion that research concerning childhood “is now quite correctly understood as being carried out with children rather than on children, with children’s participation in the research processes foregrounded and acknowledged” (James, 2007, 262). However, while the research design incorporates children, it only does so once having assessed their evolving capacities. Both my research colleague and I utilize ethical questions in determining whether to request their participation. If all parties agree to proceed with the research, children can offer a unique contribution. For Nadine Schafer and Richard Yarwood, this is because “children ask different questions, have different priorities and concerns and see the world through different eyes” (2013, 122). Such theorizing has advanced understanding for how children engage with the world around them. However, Allison James warns of essentializing children’s voices rather than practicing multivocality whereby children speak with a multitude of voices (2007, 262). Therefore, the responses from current and former child domestic labourers as well as children living in rural areas for this study are uniquely interpreted rather than collectively presented. Overall, I will proceed to consider reflexivity of positionality, positional spaces and ethics in the interviewing of these children.
The conducting of interviews with current and former child domestic labourers as well as children in rural areas saw my research colleague Louicéus and I seek to advance understanding for the Global-Local production of childhood, child rights and their effect upon Haitian child domestic labourers. We discussed how the interview questions could fulfill the research aim and sought alignment through the interview process. To attain our goal, I requested that Louicéus pose the questions, support interviewees and orally translate their responses for me to write down. This research process saw the both of us in unique positions within a research team. This was done due in part to recognizing that children sometimes held reservations about my presence as a foreign researcher. However, at other times, they saw me as a novelty and were content to share their life experiences. Therefore, Louicéus was vital to facilitating a middle path where he could address the concerns held by respondents while also serving as a cultural check on their responses. As a result, I encouraged Louicéus to explore issues in greater depth where he believed it may prove beneficial to our research. His leading role was proscribed to reduce power asymmetries on two fronts. First, it could position Louicéus in an equal and/or potentially more powerful position vis-à-vis myself. Second, it would reduce the power asymmetries between our positionality as adult researchers and the child respondent (Christensen and James, 2008, 126). Both Louicéus and I agreed this could improve interview relations for securing quality responses. However, we remained aware that our perceived position of power vis-à-vis the child respondents was certainly challenged at times. Much like Tobias Hecht’s experience with Brazilian street children, we too found ourselves more dependent in relation to children (Swanson, 2008, 57). However, balancing these power relations through reflecting upon our positionality reveals the challenges and opportunities that research with current and former child domestic labourers as well as rural children susceptible to entry into domestic labour can afford.
The practicing of displacement and betweenness for positional spaces was once more implemented through working with Louicéus. In interviewing child informants, Louicéus’ proved essential for occupying positional spaces through shared cultural experiences. The most important of these similarities for the research purpose was conversing through the language of Haitian Creole. While over time I became capable of sharing small conversations in the local language, I regretfully did not have the time or resources to commit to developing proficiency. There are certainly strong arguments within the literature that researchers should speak the interviewee’s language. This is because language provides entry into the interviewee’s life. It can therefore improve trust, advance cultural sensitivities and avoid third person influence on the research (Fuji, 2013, 145-146). Nevertheless, conducting translated interviews with a research colleague can act as a bridge to secure trust, develop cultural sensitivities and improve research analysis. In conducting interviews with children, Louicéus activated multiple identities to connect with respondents. Moreover, as a social worker, he is familiar with strategies specific to working with potentially vulnerable populations such as children. Furthermore, Louicéus’ cultural knowledge of the Haitian population guarded me from committing cultural faux pas in meeting with a variety of children. Lastly, having the privilege of a research colleague adds significant depth to the data collected (Fuji, 2013, 158). This is because Louicéus went far beyond translating to me from Haitian Creole to English during our interviews with children, but he also shared with me his reflections on interviewee responses following the conclusion of the interview. This culturally sensitive set of eyes led to attaining a more complete understanding of current and former child domestic labourers’ as well as rural children’s perspectives. Therefore, working with Louicéus as he secured positional space with the interviewees resulted in “benefits that even the most fluent scholars will find valuable” (Fuji, 2013, 158).
The conducting of research with current and former child domestic labourers as well as rural children requires significant ethical considerations. As these actors occupy a vulnerable position, care needs to be prioritized in upholding their ethical protection. In the past, children were ethically accessed through adults. However, emerging conceptions of children’s personhood has led to advances in ethical interviewing practices. This is first demonstrable in how Louicéus and I secured children’s informed consent. Tracey Skelton outlines the dilemma between international and national laws governing children’s consent. She references the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child in relation to children’s right to express themselves. However, they are also restricted by national laws requiring guardian consent (2008, 27-28). We therefore sought to fulfill both laws where applicable. When requesting access to children through CBOs as guardians of the children, we first asked for the consent of CBO directors prior to consulting children. When requesting the consent of children outside of such monitored settings, we viewed these informants as emancipated minors. In both cases, Louicéus followed Scheyvens, Scheyvens and Warwick’s best practices for research with children (2008, 174). He ensured understanding through speaking in Haitian Creole, afforded them the autonomy to participate without pressure and assured them of their confidentiality. Upon attaining children’s informed consent, we interviewed them with a keen awareness for their vulnerability as respondents. This is because researchers must be aware that “pointing out the inequity that the interviewee has … can be extremely damaging to his or her self-esteem” (Kezar, 2003, 410). Therefore, Louicéus and I felt as though we approached children in a respectful manner toward developing our understanding for childhood, child rights and child domestic labour in Haiti.

Conclusion

This research methodology chapter has revealed the effective alignment of an interpretive
paradigm that informs a qualitative methodological approach deemed most effective for building an inductive account for how Global-Local conceptions of childhood and child rights influence the identity constructions and impact the lived realities of Haitian child domestic labourers. These complimentary approaches have materialized in an important self-reflexivity of the research process to reveal its influence upon the conducting of interviews. It was essential to first demonstrate how the interpretive paradigm informed a qualitative methodological approach. Such an undertaking consisted of data collection methods that included purposive and snowball sampling, qualitative interviewing and participant observation. The collected data was then analyzed for the purpose of formulating grounded theory through coding, content and discourse analysis. As the interpretive framework requires scholarly self-reflexivity of the research experience, I assessed how my positional reflexivity, practicing of displacement and betweenness toward operating in positional spaces and ethical considerations impacted the research process. This was implemented through a steadfast commitment to feminist interviewing techniques that facilitate commitment, self-identification and empathy with the informant. Such an approach was instituted in relation to the research participants that included elite government actors, expert NGO and CBO representatives as well as children including current and former child domestic labourers and those living in rural areas who may be susceptible to becoming domestic labourers. Overall, as the interpretive paradigm that informs a qualitative methodological approach is ideally suited to capturing meaning-making processes, it proves to be the most effective research inquiry design. This is because it can advance an inductive project capable of demonstrating how the perspectives of relevant actors reflect the Global and Local Childhood frameworks concerning childhood and child rights influence the identities and impact the livelihoods of Haitian child domestic labourers.
Chapter 4 – The Constructing of a Global-Local Theoretical Framework Toward Exploring Childhood and Child Rights in Haiti

This chapter presents the theoretical framework of an inductive qualitative research design that examines how conceptions of childhood and child rights reflective of the Global and Local Childhood framework influence the identity constructs and impact the livelihoods of Haitian child domestic labourers. To do so, it begins with an in-depth theorization of childhood and child rights. The process of doing so offers readers a concerted understanding for how such theories shape the conceptions of childhood and child rights that construct the Global Childhood framework and Local Childhood framework respectively. Next, it advances its unique theoretical framework that is based in Edward Said’s critical cosmopolitanism and guided by Arjun Appadurai’s disjunction and difference in the global cultural economy. The result of doing so is designed to holistically examine the Global and Local Childhood frameworks as they dynamically interact at the Global-Local nexus. This process can produce novel conceptions of Haitian childhood, child rights and child domestic labour that will be analyzed throughout the dissertation’s findings chapters. This chapter therefore shows the value of implementing a Global-Local theoretical framework toward developing a comprehensive understanding for childhood, child rights and their application to child domestic labour in Haiti.

The Influence of the Conventional and New Social Studies of Childhood in the Shaping of the Global and Local Childhood Frameworks

The Global Childhood framework and Local Childhood framework consist of their respective Childhood models that advance important theoretical contributions within the childhood literature. This section of the chapter reveals the operation of what are the conventional social studies of childhood and new social studies of childhood paradigms and then examines their influence upon both the Global Childhood model and Local Childhood model. This will in turn
be applied specifically to the case study of childhood, child agency and children’s lives in Haiti.
The result of which is intended to situate the dissertation’s theoretical exploration into how both
global and local forces interact to produce childhood.

**The Conventional Social Studies of Childhood and New Social Studies of Childhood**

Scholars contributing to the conventional social studies of childhood and new social studies of
childhood paradigms represent alternative theorizing on childhood. In their critique of scholars
within the conventional social studies of childhood, new social studies of childhood scholars
have importantly advanced thinking on childhood. However, while this critique can be accurately
characterized as a paradigmatic shift, it remains clear that the vestiges of the conventional
paradigm’s principles still shape childhood conceptions. Therefore, it is important to first situate
the foundational assumptions of both the conventional social studies and new social studies of
childhood and then to apply them to the context of Haitian childhood. This in turn reveals their
theoretical connections to the Global and Local Childhood models.

Scholars within the conventional social studies of childhood utilize the scientific theories
of development psychology and socialization to argue that childhood is a universal experience.
Operating within the ontological and epistemological assumptions of positivism, the
conventional paradigm offers a linear projection of human development that is distinctly defined
by childhood and adulthood (James and Prout, 2005, 10). As such, the conventional approach
clearly constructs a dichotomous conception of human progression. The result of doing so
precludes these identities from possessing shared attributes. Instead, it reinforces their fixed
status as affiliated with either position. For instance, Allison James and Alan Prout demonstrate
that the conventional perspective renders childhood as a period of irrationality while its opposite
adulthood is defined as a period of rationality (2005, 11). This approach therefore leads to
situating childhood as a particular developmental stage that is reserved exclusively for learning. This is deemed to be most advantageous for the healthy development of the child. In so doing, it conveys that an irrational child will experience a proper upbringing that will eventually give way to a rational adult. As such, scholars within the conventional social studies of childhood argue that childhood is a demonstrably universal stage that all children experience on their way to adulthood.

This conventional paradigm has, however, come under challenge from interpretivist scholarship. As the predominant position of positivism facilitates consensus around the conventional worldview, interpretive assumptions question its universal validity. While cognizant of human beings shared biology, David Ingleby explains that a multitude of disciplines have challenged the conventional paradigm’s singular “notions of maturity, attachment, abilities [and] stages of development” (1986, 301). In fact, critics of the conventional paradigm maintain that “the biological facts of life, birth and infancy, were constantly used to explain [what are in actuality] the social facts of childhood” (James and Prout, 2005, 14). This ground-breaking development provided a foundation for the critique of the conventional paradigm. Watershed contributions from historian Philippe Ariès’ Centuries of Childhood and anthropologist Margaret Mead’s Childhood in Contemporary Culture, illuminated the conventional paradigm’s failure to consider the cultural influences that shape childhood. These works demonstrably advance the argument that as culture exists in multiple forms, childhood is experienced in a multitude of ways. Consequently, the positivist-inspired conventional paradigm’s static conception of childhood clearly fails to account for how childhood differs across time and space. Therefore, its inability to capture the complexities of childhood leaves scholars searching for alternatives.
Such an alternative has materialized through interpretivist-inspired scholarly convergence that has produced the new social studies of childhood paradigm. Scholars within this paradigm have significantly advanced the conceptualization of childhood as an “an actively negotiated set of social relationships within which the early years of human life are constituted” (James and Prout, 2005, 7). Alan Prout and Allison James clearly articulate the new paradigm’s position arguing that, “Childhood, as distinct from biological immaturity, is neither a natural nor universal feature of human groups but appears as a specific structural and cultural component of many societies” (2005, 8). Viewed in this way, the new social studies of childhood situates childhood as a fluid concept. In this light, childhood proves a socially constructed manifestation. Conceived as such, the active development of childhood need not necessarily conform to a singular model. Rather, it may in fact be experienced in a wide variety of ways. Therefore, scholars within the new social studies of childhood advance childhood as an idea that may materialize in a number of unique possibilities. This contextual understanding proves imperative such that a comprehensive understanding of childhood can be arrived at.

Scholars operating within the conventional social studies of childhood and new social studies of childhood paradigms also generate alternative theorizing on child agency. As the conventional paradigm situates childhood as a period of socialization, it advances a static conception of children as passive agents. With its strict separation of childhood from adulthood, scholars adopting the conventional approach conceptualize children as passive actors who are shaped by adults on their path to reaching adulthood (James and Prout, 2005, 13). Therefore, as it is adulthood rather than childhood where individuals attain active actor status, Allison James, Chris Jenks and Alan Prout show that the conventional paradigm situates children as “the defective form of adult, social only in their future potential but not in their present being” (2004,
6). Thus, scholars advancing this conventional paradigm relegate children to a dependent state of passivity where they are neither seen nor heard but remain veiled from scholarly examination. Consequently, the paradigm does little to advance knowledge of children’s agency.

While cognizant of the power asymmetries that characterize children’s relationships vis-à-vis adults, scholars advancing the conventional paradigm’s passive construction of child agency have been called into question. For instance, Jens Qvortrop reveals that the conventional paradigm upholds a vision of the child as a “human becoming rather than [a] human being” (as cited in Woodhead, 2009, 54). In so doing, there remains limited recognition for how child agency transpires. It is assumed then that children are precluded from exercising agency until such time as they reach adulthood status. However, for Qvortrop, this conceptualization requires contestation such that the exercising of child agency may be revealed. In fact, it has in turn created significant room for the further theorizing of child agency and competency that has materialized in the new social studies of childhood. From this vantage point, Ian Hutchby and Jo Morgan Ellis contend that rather than “asking how children are socialized into adult ways … attention to the present, lived and collective experience of children [should be] prioritize[d]” (1998, 10). Positioning the child as a competent actor leads to advancing understanding for children’s exercising of agency in their relations with others (Hutchby and Moran-Ellis, 1998, 9). This opens the way for specifically examining children’s lives based upon recognizing that “children’s social relationships and cultures are worthy of study in their own right, independent of the perspective and concerns of adults” (James and Prout, 2005, 8). However, arriving at this line of thinking requires delving into the protective impetus involved in adult-child relationships. This is because such circumstances more often than not serve as the basis upon which children are denied the capacity to exercise their agency. Within the new social studies of childhood,
“save for the child liberationist, no one is arguing that children are identical to adults. … What is being argued [however] is that children are social beings too, they are social actors and have much to contribute here and now” (Roche, 1999, 487). Therefore, while adults clearly play an important protective role for children, they should not automatically exclude the child from exercising their agency. In this light, Jens Qvortrup, William A. Corsaro and Michael-Sebastian Honig explain that the new social studies of childhood is designed to challenge such incidences of what Leena Alanen terms generationing; the act of denying children a voice in matters affecting their lives based upon their child status (2009, 5). Therefore, these scholars aspire to capture children's agency “because nobody would deny, of course, that children … possess resources, creativity and inventiveness” (Qvortrop et al., 2009, 5). Consequently, scholars within the new social studies of childhood importantly situate the child as possessing the ability to exercise agency. In so doing, a much more holistic understanding for how the child in fact puts their agency into practice may materialize.

Scholars advancing the conventional social studies of childhood and new social studies of childhood paradigms also offer alternative theorizing on children’s lives. As the conventional paradigm constructs childhood as a dependent stage where children occupy passive actor status, children’s lives are significantly restricted by adult action. According to David Archard, the conventional approach strictly divides adult and child worlds: in the former, one sees rational adults engaged in work while in the latter one observes innocent children participating in play (2004, 37). In this light, children’s lives are seen as rightly transpiring within contained and protective spaces. This is once again a product of facilitating proper socialization such that children may one day come to positively participate in the adult world (Honig, 2009, 66). Therefore, the basis upon which the conventional paradigm’s arguments for how children’s lives
should in fact transpire is once more informed by the developmental approach to child socialization.

By advancing a conception of children’s lives as properly unfolding within protective settings, scholars operating according to the conventional social studies of childhood paradigm significantly restrict understanding for children’s experiences. By relegating children’s lives to spaces deemed secure such as the family realm, the conventional paradigm is once more generating a narrow accounting of their lives. In critiquing this predominant element of the conventional paradigm, scholars such as Kurt Danziger argue that children’s lives are actively shaped by a vast array of structures that go far beyond a child’s immediate family (1970, 18). Therefore, Danziger argues that advancing understanding for children’s lives requires that their interaction with various structures is recognized vis-à-vis the time during which and space where such interactivity transpires (Danziger, 1970, 19). As such, it is clear that the conventional paradigm is limited in its narrow conception. On the other hand, the new social studies of childhood’s conception of children’s lives provide a significantly enhanced account for their experiences in comparison to the conventional social studies of childhood. In the new paradigm, Allison James and Alan Prout situate children “as active in the construction and determination of their own social lives, the lives of those around them and of the societies in which they live” (2005, 8). In this light, children are not subsumed within the family collective nor consigned to private spaces. Rather, the new paradigm institutes a child-centric framework that advances understanding for children’s lives vis-à-vis their social worlds and conceptualizes children as dynamically interacting with the multitude of processes that shape their lives. For instance, Qvortrop et al.’s work demonstrates that in analyzing children vis-à-vis the structures of “economics, technology, urbanization and even globalization … [they] have been found to be not
only victims but also actors and participants for better or worse” (2009. 6). Therefore, if advancing understanding for children’s lives is to transpire, scholars must be open to the diverse forms which children’s lives take. There is a demonstrable requirement for enhanced flexibility over defining the inextricably interconnected notions of childhood, child agency and children’s lives. Toward fulfilling this aim, the new paradigm positions children as participants in the wider society that proves capable of producing a child-centric understanding for these notions. In this light, a richer understanding clearly comes to fruition. Overall, while scholars within the conventional social studies of childhood continue to exert their presence in childhood thinking, the shift advanced by scholars within the new social studies of childhood brings childhood theorizing to a vital new level.

While this paradigmatic shift marks advancement in the theorization of childhood studies, it would be ill-informed to conceptualize this transition as a zero-sum process. As evolution in thinking opens up new domains for academic theorization, previous paradigms should not necessarily be dismissed. Reflecting upon the historical trajectory of childhood studies, both Allison James and Alan Prout as well as Martin Woodhead offer important considerations for the field as it moves forward. For James and Prout, the historical knowledge of childhood amassed through the conventional social studies of childhood has certainly advanced thinking on childhood. However, the new social studies of childhood will challenge its “salience … [as] for the first time, a reconstituted sociology of childhood has become more than the promise of a possibility” (2005, 10). For James and Prout, the critique of the developmental approach to child socialization is as formidable as it has ever been. Likewise, Woodhead shares James and Prout’s enthusiasm for this present challenge. However, he would caution against “discard[ing] a field as diverse as developmental psychology to the dustbin of history” (2009, 56). This is because
childhood is both a transitional stage and a cultural construct (2009, 56). As such, he contends that comprehensive approaches to childhood studies necessitate awareness for the knowledge offered by both paradigms. What is evident from Woodhead’s assertion is that both the conventional social studies of childhood and new social studies of childhood paradigms continue to shape theoretical approaches to the study of childhood. This is perhaps made most clear through examining childhood as existing in both a Global Childhood model and Local Childhood model. Toward this end, having divulged the antecedents of both the conventional social studies of childhood and new social studies of childhood paradigms, this chapter will now turn to how such approaches influence the shaping of both the Global Childhood model and Local Childhood model.

**The Global Childhood Model and Local Childhood Model**

Both the conventional social studies of childhood and new social studies of childhood paradigms inform the Global Childhood model and Local Childhood model. The Global Childhood model consists of elements from the conventional social studies of childhood paradigm. However, it is essential to note that this paradigm has extended qualified liberal rights to children. This childhood reflects the minority world conception of childhood that has been projected as a universal experience. In contrast, the Local Childhood model consists of elements that make up the new social studies of childhood paradigm. This childhood is largely informed by the majority world conception of childhood that indicates it is experienced in a multitude of ways. With the intensification of global interconnectivity through a multitude of different channels, these alternative conceptions of childhood have come into closer proximity with one another. Therefore, it is essential that one establishes these differing notions of childhood. In so doing, the grounds for producing a more robust understanding for childhood can be attained.
In examining conceptions of childhood during this contemporary period of hyper-globalization, one inevitably encounters the Global-Local dichotomy of childhood. Martin Liebel explains, that this Global Childhood model is problematically upheld as the benchmark for the Local Childhood model to follow (2012, 20). Sharing Liebel’s perspective is William E. Myers who states that as the Global Childhood model’s cultural construction emerged at a particular time and place, it may not necessarily prove realistic or potentially better for children across the world (2001, 41). Therefore, in endeavouring to explore how childhood transpires at the Global-Local nexus, it is vital to assess both the Global Childhood model and Local Childhood model based upon their conceptions of childhood, child transitions and children’s lives.

The Global Childhood model is rooted in children’s shared biological attributes. Murli Desai explains that this foundational assumption of the Global model leads to the belief that childhood is a universal phenomena (2010, 17). In this light, it is clearly intended to be a transferable experience across the globe. Moreover, Jean Grugel and Nicola Piper reveal that the Global model frames children as possessors of personhood status (2007, 112). As such, childhood warrants children’s consultation on matters affecting their lives. However, as David Archard points out, such contributions remain subject to the approval of adults and institutions (2004, 38-39). Overall, the Global Childhood model constructs a singular vision of childhood that invites children’s input which will be adhered to only in so far as it is able to secure adult consent.

This Global Childhood model is to be attained through a particular form of child-rearing practices. For instance, Helen Penn explains that the Global model envisions “a young child [as] taught to expect that it is natural for [them] to be the exclusive focus of attention” (2005, 50). This transpires through “child development [practices that are] dominated by the individual and
self-contained child” (2005, 58). In this light, the Global model clearly promotes a nurturing and caring environment for all children to grow up in. Arguably a natural outgrowth within this model is the democratization of child-parent relations. Berry Mayall explains that whereas children were previously expected to “obey [their parents] without question [and] were not asked for or allowed to express their views … nowadays, children can discuss with parents [as they exercise] more intellectual freedom” (2009, 182). Taken together, these principles of child-raising inform the Global Childhood model in advancing its view of what is the optimum childhood.

The universal frame which characterizes the Global Childhood model is subject to critique from the Local Childhood model. This is because the former’s contention for worldwide adaptability does not recognize what the latter reveals: that childhood consists of a multitude of differences that are structured by time and space. While recognizing children’s biological commonalities, James Prout and Allison James show that the Local Childhood model reveals childhood as a cultural production (2005, 3). In this light, the Local model can expose the Global model’s claim of basing itself in developmental child socialization principles. This is because their model is likewise a cultural interpretation. Karen Wells reveals that the Global Childhood model promotes liberal ethics which emerged in the minority world that not only go unrealized for a proportion of children in its societies, but may in fact prove unattainable or inconsistent with the majority world (2009, 166).

Scholars within the Local Childhood model also argue that children’s individualization process is inextricably interconnected to their familial and societal interdependencies. For example, Bame Nsamengang explains that this relational mode of child development transpires as “children are initiated into and actively engage in cultural life [where] they gradually and
systematically individuate into and assume particular levels of personhood, identity, and being” (2006, 295). Moreover, Welshman Ncube demonstrates that it is within this interdependent relationship that the Local Childhood model reveals child-parent relations characterized by “intergenerational obligations of support and reciprocity” (as cited in Freeman, 2009, 384). As such, consideration of the Local Childhood model offers an opportunity for investigating and understanding different child-rearing practices within particular cultural constructions of childhood. It therefore serves to critique the universalizing tendency of the Global Childhood model through offering a contextually-based Local Childhood model.

The Global and Local Childhood models also offer distinct perspectives on child transitions. The Global Childhood model’s chronological age approach to child transitions reveals limited flexibility within the theory. On the one hand, life course thinking on child transitions suggests that children should be treated unequally because it is only through judiciously constraining their actions that they will arrive at the ideal decisions for ensuring their positive action as adults (Olk, 2009, 192). As such action is deemed best for the child, it “fits the criteria of justice” (Olk, 2009, 192). On the other hand, the Global Childhood model’s conception of children as possessing personhood suggests that a chronological age determination to their transitions shows some flexibility. As Martin Woodhead explains, children’s transitions “are much more fluid and varied than a … rigid age-based hierarch[y]. … [Therefore,] concepts and tools are still needed that acknowledge children[’s] [evolving capacities]” (2009, 57). In this light, it is unjust to keep children from being consulted in matters affecting them. Therefore, in the Global Childhood model there is some nuance added to a strict chronological age definition for child transitions. Nevertheless, the Global Childhood model predominantly restricts children’s autonomous action until such time as they reach adulthood at the age of eighteen.
While global instruments like the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child recognizes the differing age of majority across countries, eighteen remains stipulated as the globally advocated benchmark. In this manner, Hans Skott-Myhre and Donato Tarulli point out that the biological maturation process is once more invoked to promote a chronological determination of age: while children do in fact possess the capacity to exercise agency, it is only once this age has been reached that they are viewed as adults and therefore able to exercise greater autonomy (2008, 72).

Proponents of the Local Childhood model challenge the adherence to chronological age. This is because these theorists oppose the biologically informed arguments that shape the Global Childhood model. For instance, Jo Boyden contextualizes the historical development of a chronological age definition and its influence on child transitions. She contends that this age-based approach is informed by the predominance of Judeo-Christian values interacting within advanced capitalist countries (2005, 189). This is highly problematic when considering how such an approach is applied to the majority world population. Christina Clark-Kazak reveals that this evaluation would situate age as devoid of its social meaning (2009, 1309). This clearly demonstrates the inaccuracies that can transpire upon applying the Global Childhood model’s measure to the Local Childhood model. Therefore, it is vital to note that Clark-Kazak’s social rather than biological age analysis demonstrably embodies the Local Childhood model to child transitions. For instance, in her analysis of children in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Clark-Kazak reveals that biological transitions “which mark a natural change, are distinguished from and do not necessarily coincide with, rites of initiation into adulthood, which mark a social change” (2009, 1316). Therefore, a chronological age approach can “infantilize people who are socially recognized as having passed childhood and youth in their communities” (2009, 1309).
One can see in the work of Bame Nsamengang further evidence of this. His scholarship demonstrates that in many “African societies … girls entered adulthood once they became mothers, while boys entered into adulthood only when they could acquire a wife and build their own compounds” (as cited in Apt, Agbnyiga and Ame, 2011, 17). In this light, the Local Childhood model’s social analysis importantly reveals the limitations of the Global Childhood model’s biological approach to child transitions.

The Global and Local Childhood models further provide unique insight into children’s lives. The Global model conceptualizes children’s lives as properly transpiring within private spheres of nurture and care. As such, children are viewed as correctly situated within the family realm. Michael Wyness explains that the Global model is based upon the belief that the family setting will afford children with the necessary support in order that they are prepared to become future moral citizens (2012, 131). In this light, the significant child-rearing responsibility placed upon the family demonstrably impacts the shaping of children’s lives. Given the predominant position of the family in carrying out child-rearing practices, the Global model proscribes particular measures that are believed to be most conducive to the child’s well-being. For instance, Berry Mayall reveals that the Global model advocates for “nuclear families (two-generational) … as the principal site of child socialization, with parents responsible for the moral training, as well as of the health and welfare, of their children” (2009, 175). This principle tenet of the Global model serves to project the ideal fashion by which childhood is to transpire. Moreover, Olga Nieuwenhuys reveals that the family is tasked with facilitating “childhood as a period in life devoted to play, socialization and school” (2009, 289). As such, the Global model views childhood and work as mutually exclusive experiences (Nieuwenhuys, 2009, 289). For Nieuwenhuys, it is the political power and material capacity of the state that proves integral
toward determining whether the Global model’s contestation of labour may be realized. This is because limitations and/or unwillingness on the part of the state to support impoverished families will lead them to rely upon the work of children (2009, 294). In so doing, the Global model will inevitably remain elusive for so many families facing challenging economic circumstances. This Global model therefore differs from the Local model informing children’s lives. Whereas the former offers children significant time for socialization, the latter requires that children contribute to the family from a much earlier age. According to the Global model, such socialization is to transpire within a nuclear family structure. However, the Local model shows that children in the majority world are socialized through a multitude of extended family members (Mayall, 2009, 181). In this light, the Local model reveals that children engage more individuals and are potentially privy to a greater number of public domains from an early age.

Connected to the Global Childhood model’s expectation that children’s lives should transpire within a nuclear family is the critical relationship between parent and child. However, the Local Childhood model has brought such prioritization into dispute. For example, Katie Monaghan suggests that despite the Global model’s “assumptions about the universality of both parent-child play and the importance of secure attachment between the child and his or her primary carer[,] … [both] are socially constructed … ideals” (2012, 61). For Monaghan, the Local model shows that “parental behaviour involved in early attachment are influenced by cultural models of interpersonal relations … [that] gives the infant the tools she needs to be successful within the context of her own culture as she grows” (2012, 63. emphasis in original). Such an approach to child-raising is related to the child’s early participation in labour. This is because it is not solely one parent but in actuality a wide range of members within the kin group that instruct the child so as to develop their skills and in turn contribute to the well-being of the
family (Laird, 2012, 99). In this way, the Global and Local Childhood models construct diverging views on children’s family life and their relationship with labour where the former assumes universality while the latter recognizes what is in fact plurality.

**The Global Childhood Model and Local Childhood Model in Relation to Haitian Children**

The Global Childhood model and the Local Childhood model simultaneously operate in Haiti. The Global model offers a particular conception of childhood deemed to be an ideal standard. This model continues to permeate Haitian society, yet remains largely unrealized by the majority of Haitian children. Conversely, the Local model reflects a conception of childhood that finds greater cultural consistency with Haitian society. Recognizing such a set of circumstances, it presents the opportunity to investigate the experience of Haitian children through both models.

This section will therefore examine the Global and Local Childhood models as they relate to the Haitian context. It will do so by specifically assessing Haitian conceptions of childhood, child-adult transitions and children’s lives. Such a course of action will importantly elucidate what in fact the Global and Local Childhood models disclose about childhood in Haiti.

The Global and Local Childhood models conceptualize childhood in diverging manners. From the Global model perspective, childhood is above all a period of time dedicated to socializing the child in a nurturing environment. While Haitian families are equally concerned with socializing their children, the Local model demonstrates that such socialization transpires amid much greater challenges within the Haitian context. On account of this fact, Lydia De Santis and Doris Ugarriza demonstrate that the Local model for Haitian children’s socialization aims to produce a “strong, responsible, and brave” child equipped to contribute to the family (1995, 357). Toward meeting this objective, De Santis and Ugarriza show that Haitian children’s childhood socialization is characterized by authoritative childrearing practices (1995, 360). This
approach is deemed most conducive to producing the robust child that the Haitian family requires so as to meet the livelihood requirements of individuals within the household.

A second area where the Global and Local Childhood models diverge relates to children’s childhood environment. According to the Global model, childhood largely transpires within a nuclear family setting. However, Sue Wortham demonstrates that the Local model presents the opportunity to situate Haitian childhoods as unfolding amidst members of one’s extended family and kinship (2008, 16). This is reflective of the Haitian lakou system where households may include three-generations of family members as well as kin relatives (Edmond et al., 2007, 22). The result is that Haitian childhoods can be characterized by daily contact with a large number of people outside of their immediate family. Glenn Smucker and Gerald Murray importantly point out that “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” (2004, 15).

The Global and Local Childhood models also conceptualize child transitions in varying ways. For the Global model, childhood is largely understood through biological attributes connected to chronological age. However, the Local model opens up ways of understanding particular stages of childhood in Haiti. For instance, the Local model reveals that the transition of developmental stages transpires through fulfilling particular tasks which are largely related to maintaining the household (Smucker and Murray, 2004, 13). This is based upon the Haitian concept of chape which means ‘to escape’ from reliance upon others and become capable of engaging in independent activity. Upon reaching the stage of chape, Haitian children will demonstrate their independent capacity to perform tasks that can include the making of meals,
washing of clothes and retrieval of water that prove inextricably interconnected to managing the household (Schwartz, 2009, 160).

Just as this conception of chape informs infant-child transition, it also remains applicable in child-adult transitions. According to Catherine Maternowska, it is in fact the producing of a child that signifies one’s admission into adulthood (2006, 52). This affords a person considerably improved respect and jurisdiction in decision-making processes (Smucker and Murray, 2004, 11). However, Timothy Schwartz points out that attaining adulthood requires that childbirth is also accompanied by owning a homestead (2009, 172). If parents raise their child under their grandparent’s roof, it is the elder couple that determine the child’s labour and not their biological parents. Therefore, the new parent’s autonomous actions are restricted and recognition of their adulthood status remains elusive (Schwartz, 2009, 172). Consequently, the Local model shows that both having a child and securing home ownership is fundamental to facilitating children’s transitions.

The Global and Local Childhood models furthermore conceptualize children’s lives in differing ways. The Global model situates children as receivers of their needs within the household. This is reflective of the Global model insisting upon the child’s proper socialization through upholding their protection. However, the Local model clearly reveals children as vital contributors to the household. As one quote by a rural Haitian mother that is reflective of multiple amassed by Timothy Schwartz’s field work in Haiti reveals, “children are everything in a household” (2009, 131). Whether it is in rural or urban locations, Haitian children’s lives consist of tending gardens and fetching water to watching children and preparing meals (Maternowska, 2006, 52; Schwartz, 2009, 132). In this light, Catherine Maternowska explains that “children play vitally important roles in the process of barely sustaining households on the
economic margins” (2006, 52). Therefore, Haitian children’s lives reflect the Local Childhood model by consisting of a wide-range of important activities to preserve the home.

Furthermore, research demonstrates that the Global Childhood model does not capture where Haitian children’s lives transpire. For example, Sue Worthham shows that household poverty may necessitate separate living locations for survival and can render attending school out of reach (2008, 17). In this manner, the challenges confronting Haitian children and their families are in many respects necessitating the roles that they assume. Smucker and Murray indicate that these children are very much viewed as ‘miniature adults’ (2004, 33). Their childhoods may consist of leaving home to rural and/or urban settings where they may work in agriculture or assume a multitude of positions on the streets (2004, 33-34). Overall, the Global Childhood model proves less academically useful than the Local Childhood model as the latter is capable of accounting for many livelihood circumstances that the former may not.

**The Influence of the Global and Local Childhood Models in the Shaping of Global and Local Rights-Bearing Child Approaches**

A product of the Global Childhood model and Local Childhood model are their respective Global Rights-Bearing Child approach and Local Rights-Bearing Child approach in the child rights literature. This section considers the theoretical contributions of the Global and Local Rights-Bearing Child approaches and examines the insights that each provide in relation to the three pillars informing the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child that include protecting childhood, facilitating child participation and upholding the important provisions for children’s lives. It will then in turn consider such insight in relation to child rights in Haiti, the result of which is intended to situate the dissertation’s theoretical exploration into how both Global and Local forces interact to produce child rights.
Theorizing the Global and Local Rights-Bearing Child Approaches

The Global Rights-Bearing Child approach and Local Rights-Bearing Child approach emerge from the two paradigms of childhood discussed in the previous section. The Global approach frames children as independent rights-bearing subjects whose rights are only restricted to the limits of their evolving capacities. This approach is supported by the developmental psychology and socialization as well as the liberal rights-based theories. However, this Global approach is challenged by the Local Rights-Bearing Child approach. Here, the Global approaches’ independent child is confronted with the Local approaches’ interdependent child who is reliant upon their various relations in order to secure collective rights. This Local approach is advanced by both the critical and resiliency theories. The proceeding section therefore analyzes the position of each child rights approach toward situating how both the Global and Local Rights-Bearing Child approaches further knowledge of child rights.

The Global Rights-Bearing Child approach develops out of the Global Childhood model that is advanced through the Convention on the Rights of the Child. This conceptualization of the child as a rights-bearing individual shows a significant transition in thinking on children and rights. In the past, children were viewed as individuals who required having their needs upheld. This meant the responsibility rested with adult actors. While children’s reliance upon adults remains, they are now viewed as individuals capable of independently demanding their rights subject of course to the limits imposed by adults. This means that children are active participants in securing their own rights. An important caveat remains, however, and that is that despite children’s new personhood status, their ability to exercise their rights is subject to their evolving capacities (Holzschieter, 2010, 134). Such a qualification is informed by the development psychology and socialization as well as liberal rights-based schools of thought.
Developmental psychology and socialization theory offers science-based principles that inform the Global Rights-Bearing Child approach. Scholars within this field have been at the forefront of child development and are therefore significantly relied upon to inform a wide range of child studies. Moreover, these science-based principles are held in such high esteem that they have importantly and necessarily structured the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (Goldhagen and Mercer, 2011, 311). As such, a scientifically informed understanding for children’s developmental stages remains fundamental to child legislation and specifically fulfilling the best interest of the child principle (Wingrove and Jarret, 2014, 257). It is these universal science-based principles that are viewed as globally adoptable that motivate developmental psychology and socialization theorists to provide leadership on child rights. They have moreover proven to be a prominent source in the constructing of the Global Rights-Bearing Child approach. It is their ability to traverse science and policy circles where they may draw conclusions concerning the guiding principles of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, including the ‘best interests of the child’ and the ‘evolving capacities of the child’, that makes developmental psychology and socialization theorists so valuable to formulating, interpreting and implementing international law (Flekkoy, 2002, 73). For instance, Malfrid Flekkoy contends that these scholars “can be helpful to policy makers [in] … determining the conditions under which children of different ages may best exercise their participation rights without suffering harm as a consequence” (2002, 85). Overall, developmental psychology and socialization theory offer a scientific basis from which to construct and regulate the Global Rights-Bearing Child approach.

11 See Cynthia Price Cohen and Hedwin Naimark’s United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child: Individual Rights Concepts and Their Significance for Social Scientists in which the authors outline the unique consultative position of psychologists for determining the proper implementation of the convention.
The liberal rights-based theory also advances the universality of the Global Rights-Bearing Child approach. Academics operating in this human rights school maintain that by virtue of their shared humanity, all children are entitled to holding inalienable rights. In light of globally transmitting this view, the liberal rights-based approach recognizes that it will be met with alternative cultural conceptions. Therefore, Philip Alston explains that while these diverse settings may alter the structure under which children’s rights are to be upheld, it is believed that the best interest of the child can ultimately prevail (1994, 5). This is because for liberal rights-based scholars, situating the child as a rights-bearing individual ensures that their opinion is recognized. This act of establishing the Global approach therefore enhances children’s degree of power vis-à-vis adults. While such power is not intended to be superior to that of adults, the liberal rights-based influence in elevating it remains key (Alston, 1994, 5). As Abdullahi An’Na’im explains, this is because it can facilitate adult-child dialogue and may therefore lead to informing exactly what the best interest of the child is so as to subsequently implement it (1994, 66-67). As such, the liberal rights-based theory’s belief in its cultural adaptability is clearly demonstrable in the rights-bearing child of the CRC. For instance, Priscilla Alderson’s examination of the CRC reveals it to be “about broad principles, which can be interpreted and applied in different ways according to local values and traditions” (2008, 19 emphasis in original). However, despite these multiple adaptations, Article 3 states, “in all actions concerning children … the best interest of the child shall be a primary consideration” and Article 12 claims, “the child who is capable of forming his or her own views [has] the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child” (OHCHR, 1989). Together, these two prominent principles mainstream the Global Rights-Bearing Child approach. Therefore, putting the liberal rights-based theory into practice requires that the “child’s view [is] not determinative … but can,
and should, guide adults in their determination of what to do” (Archard, 2012, 330). Taken together than, scholars within the liberal rights-based theory demonstrably promote the Global Rights-Bearing Child approach as a universal entity and therefore possessing worldwide applicability.

The Global Rights-Bearing Child approaches’ promotion through the Convention on the Rights of the Child has found itself confronted by a Local Rights-Bearing Child approach. Proponents of the latter approach argue that the global conceptualization of the child as a rights-bearing individual cannot be said to seamlessly transition into a differently constituted social setting. Most poignant perhaps is the independent status that the Global approach affords children that comes into conflict with the Local Rights-Bearing Child approach. This is because the Local approach frames children as possessing an interdependent status. It is in fact these social relations of dependency that are relied upon in order to generate the collective attainment of rights (Abebe, 2013, 72). Therefore, both the critical and resiliency theories that are responsible for theorizing the Local Rights-Bearing Child approach provide a vital response.

As explained above, critical theory’s questioning of both developmental psychology and socialization theory is taken up in the Local Rights-Bearing Child approach. This Local approach cautions against the influence of developmental psychology and socialization theory in the Global approach. These proponents argue that child rights are a culturally adopted practice and therefore they may materialize through a multitude of forms (Boyden, 2005, 199). This corrective is also applicable to the liberal rights-based claims inherent in the Global approach. On these same grounds of cultural diversity, Martin Liebel challenges the notion that the Local approach should necessarily ‘open-up’ to and progressively adopt the Global approach (2012, 21-22). For Liebel, critical theory questions the contention that all societies inevitably progress
toward liberal principles. Such an assumption can cause an assortment of problematic outcomes. For one, Erica Burman reveals that the Global approach “allows for the naturalization of normative evaluations about what children are, and should be, like … [due to] … the treatment of … psychology as culturally neutral” (1996, 49). This de-contextualization process results in “children and families who fail to conform to [such] models [being] either stigmatized or rendered invisible” (Burman, 1996, 49). On another note, Vanessa Pupavac questions the feasibility of diverse societies adopting the liberal rights-based Global approach. She maintains that there is a significant “problem in global children’s rights advocacy seeking a ‘progressive realization’ of children’s rights if the historical conditions which foster the childhood norms embodied in the CRC are not universally enjoyed” (2011, 289-290). Therefore, as the world is characterized by multiple social, political and economic cleavages, Pupavac would assert that it is not only unrealistic but also exceedingly unfair to expect countries to fulfill all of their obligations under the CRC.

The resiliency school also provides an important challenge to the Global approach while facilitating enhanced understanding for the Local approach. It is essential to first note that resiliency scholars are just as concerned about children’s challenging circumstances as any other child rights scholars. However, these scholars caution against making moral judgements concerning these children’s livelihoods. Instead, they advance an in-depth contextual understanding for children’s lived realities so as to recognize how children strive to alleviate the challenges that they face. Scholars including Martin Skovdal and Eleni Andreouli caution against the morality-based tendencies of the Global approach as it may pathologize many of the activities that children engage in (2011, 615). This is because many practices deemed a violation by the Global approach may in fact be the means by which rights are secured through the Local
approach. Attaining comprehensive insight for this set of circumstances is only made possible, however, through examining children’s agency. In order to assess children’s agency, Elsbeth Robson, Stephen Bell and Natascha Klocker implement a ‘reactive agency’ framework (2007, 140). This resiliency approach upholds a simultaneous commitment to accounting for both structure and agency in social processes. They maintain that it is only through recognizing both the constraining environment within which children operate and the subsequent decision-making process that they partake in that a holistic understanding for how children strive to secure their rights will materialize (2007, 147). Therefore, scholars contributing to resiliency theory prove vitally important to the construction of the Local approach and in so doing create a critical path along which to advance knowledge of children’s rights.

*The Global Rights-Bearing Child Approach and Local Rights-Bearing Child Approach*

Those who position themselves within the Global Rights-Bearing Child approach, consider this approach as the one that can and should protect children best. This belief is based upon the CRC and specifically articulated in its preamble that situates “childhood [as] a separate space, defined differently from adulthood [where] children are entitled to ‘special care and assistance’” (Wyness, 2012, 234). Despite the unique entitlements that children are awarded, the Global approach also contends that children hold a shared value vis-à-vis adults (Wyness, 2012, 234). In this light, this approach promulgates a dual yet holistic vision of the child that is inextricably interconnected rather than mutually exclusive. It promotes a simultaneous recognition for children’s unique and shared values vis-à-vis adults that is deemed indispensable for assuring children’s comprehensive protection. Therefore, Michael Wyness reveals that the CRC’s Global Rights-Bearing Child who is concurrently different and equal “reinforc[es] the notion that children and childhood need to be taken seriously” (2012, 234). This duality finds itself in the
developmental psychology and socialization as well as the liberal rights-based school toward supporting the Global Rights-Bearing Child approach. As these science-based principles of child developmental stages may determine children’s evolving capacities, it can inform best practices for the protection of children. In this vein, Christina M. Bellon contributes to the developmental psychology and socialization school in examining the best interest of the child’s applicability to divorce proceedings. Bellon relies upon socialization theory to consider “the importance of family, of community, and of the social environment in which the child currently exists and will exist in the future” on their lives (2002, 105). At the same time, Bellon maintains “that we recognize and respect the value of liberty for children and secure for them some appropriate degree of … self-determination” in this process (2002, 118). This balance emerges from a scientific understanding for the child’s evolving capacities that will decide their contribution in the divorce proceedings.

Similarly, the Global approach to protecting children is also sustained by the liberal rights-based school of thought. As children hold rights-bearing status, they are entitled to consultation concerning their protection. John Eekelaar argues that this theory should be practiced in any cultural setting. This derives from his belief that the liberal value of equality is a universally practiced principle. Therefore, he explains that while “self-determinism [can] position children to develop their own perceptions of their well-being,” he is concerned that the child will view their best interest in light of their own culture (1994, 57-58). This means that children may accept what childhood consists of in their culture and not aspire to the equality that a liberal childhood offers. Therefore, Eekelaar contends that the remedy lies in dynamic self-determinism; a principle that “appeals directly to each individual child within each culture and demands that such a child, as it develops, be allowed space within the culture to find its own
mode of fulfillment” (1994, 58 emphasis in original). Therefore, Eekelaar surmises that it is incumbent upon all people to realize the universality of a liberal rights-based approach that facilitates child-adult dialogue in order to secure children’s protection.

In comparison to the Global Rights-Bearing Child approach, the Local Rights-Bearing Child approach is equally concerned with the protection of children. However, as the former situates the child as an individual rights-bearer, it conflicts with the latter’s perspective of the child as part of a collective rights-bearing unit. In this light, the Local approach conceptualizes the attainment of rights through interdependent rather independent means (Abebe, 2013, 88). The process of doing so challenges the de-contextualized Global Rights-Bearing Child and instead situates the Local Rights-Bearing Child as linked with their family and community. In so doing, Tatek Abebe argues that the Local approach to protecting children may occur by broadening and deepening the “explor[ation of] rights from the perspective of duties and responsibilities” (2013, 88). This Local approach to protecting children is supported by critical theory because the theory acts as a vital challenge to universal assumptions. For example, in the case of child rights, Rachel Burr reveals the complications that the Global Rights-Bearing Child’s individualistic worldview encounters upon its transmission into communal societies. In assessing how the CRC is promoted in Vietnam, she demonstrates the many challenges it faces amidst societies with “a fundamentally different understanding of family and society” (2006, 17). While the Global approach advocates that individual autonomy can facilitate children’s protection, it proves counterintuitive to a societal belief where communal collaboration seeks to secure the protection of all. Therefore, Burr contends that “individual human rights are still largely subordinate to those of the needs of the family” (2006, 17). As such, the Local approach contends that children’s protection remains dependent upon the overall well-being of the family unit.
The resiliency school also contributes to the Local approaches’ advancement of understanding for how the concept of interdependence furthers children’s protection. As this theory recognizes that both agency and vulnerability co-exist for children in challenging circumstances, it acknowledges how potentially problematic practices may in fact prove the means by which rights are secured. For instance, Elsbeth Robson and Nicola Ansell offer an important example of child protection in the case of Zimbabwean young carers: children who care for other children. These resiliency scholars contribute significant insight into the contextual circumstances that determine such situations and the coping mechanisms these children use to adapt. Listening to the voices of young carers, they convey their position as “separate from the ordinary … [yet] they did not generally imply that caring was a problem” (2000, 175). Therefore, from the Local approach perspective, if children’s protection necessitates children taking on a young carer role, it should not necessarily be prohibited. This is by no means meant to be construed as acceptance of such circumstances. However, it is to recognize how children cope through providing a more nuanced understanding for their agency.

Children’s right to protection is also importantly linked to their right to participation. In this light, the Global Rights-Bearing Child approach also situates itself as a facilitator of children’s views and activity. This is clearly evident in the Preamble of the CRC that guarantees children participation rights that take “due account of the importance of the traditions and cultural values of each people for the protection and harmonious development of the child” (OHCHR, 1989). Therefore, the Global approach promotes children’s right to participation in a multitude of cultural forms. However, it is critical to note the important qualifications to children’s participation. Priscilla Alderson explains that “parents (and other legally responsible adults) … provide [such participation rights] in a manner consistent with the evolving capacities
of the child” (2008, 86). Support for this Global approach emerges from developmental psychology and socialization scholars advancing science-based evidence to support children’s right to participation. For Katherine Covell, these studies have demonstrated that “participat[ion] has the potential for meeting the child’s psychological needs through enabling the development of a positive sense of self, effective decision making, a sense of efficacy, self-confidence, and a sense of belonging to family and community” (2012, 39). In this light, children’s right to participation contributes to realizing a healthy childhood. While such participation remains subject to children’s evolving capacities, it clearly proves an essential part of their development. However, Covell explains that the process through which children come to participate cannot be merely assigned. This act would contradict the essence of children’s rights. Instead, putting the principle of children’s right to participate into practice requires that children “actually be listened to [so as to] … participate meaningfully in … decision making [processes]” (Covell, 2012, 48).

In a related fashion, the Global approach to facilitating children’s participation is also sustained by the liberal rights-based school. Recognizing the personhood status of all children, the liberal rights-based theory has proven instrumental in linking such standing to the child’s right to participate. Emerging from children’s participation scholarship, Virginia Morrow explains that “children can engage with notions of rights, decision-making, and being listened to; that children would like to have a say in decisions and to be heard; and that children can see decision-making from other’s points of view” (2008, 122). However, this liberal rights-based viewpoint is not always given appropriate weight. In her study of children’s civic participation in the United Kingdom, Morrow discovered children wanting a greater “say in the community, ‘because what happens does affect [them] as well as the adults [yet the adults] don’t seem to think about that’”
(2008, 127). In this light, Morrow’s contribution to the liberal rights-based theory vitally underlies the Global approach toward enhancing children’s right to participation.

While the Global Rights-Bearing Child approach theoretically advances child participation, the Local Rights-Bearing Child approach is less inclined to afford children such autonomy. Within the Local approach, children do participate in a multitude of ways. However, such participation is connected to a family/community unit. Within this structure, children find themselves subordinate to adults and therefore subject to their instruction. As such, the Global approach that promotes child-adult dialogue is countered by the Local approach that identifies the importance of child compliance (Monaghan, 2012, 65). According to Sara Harkness and Charles Super, this Local approach views children’s development “not [through] self-expression, but rather [by] the acquisition of obedient and respectful responsibility” (as cited in Monaghan, 2012, 65). The Local approach therefore clearly advances a different form of children’s participation with the use of critical theory whose proponents argue that power asymmetries promote universality rather than respecting diversity. As opposed to individualistic societies, many communal societies are characterized by the curtailment of children’s participation. This transpires due to the importance of maintaining the family and community well-being. For instance, Afua Twum-Danso Imoh’s exploration of childhood in Ghana reveals that they “are trained from a very early age that they must respect and obey all elders, be humble towards adults, and take their advice” (2009, 420). This stems from the importance that “children have a responsibility to … work for the cohesion of the family … and to assist [parents and elders] in cases of need” (2009, 420). The ties that bind children to their families and communities therefore structures the type of participation that they may engage in. As a result, the Local approach presents an opportunity to explore children’s participation in roles that contribute to the
family/community that is believed most conducive to securing their rights. The Local approach is also supported by resiliency theory that offers an enhanced understanding for children’s context and the actions they take to advance their rights. For instance, Cyndi Banks reveals the challenges to participation for Bangladeshi children due to their family and community obligations. While recognizing that their capacity to participate grows over time, Banks shows that “the family and community expect them to act like adults … on matters such as work and responsibilities towards parents and other family members [while] … they are insufficiently consulted on issues … such as the course of their future studies or career, decisions regarding their marriage and other future plans” (as cited in Wyness, 2012, 238). This Local approach suggests that although children recognize their participation is vital to the well-being of the family/community, limits to their participation remain.

The mutually reinforcing nature of child rights weaves together not only children’s protection and participation, but also the provisioning of their lives. As such, the Global Rights-Bearing Child approach advances children’s right to provisions through the interplay of the family and state. For the Global approach, it is only through family-state collaboration that the provisioning of children’s lives can be realized. This is because the Global approach conceptualizes the family as a collective unit capable of meeting the needs of each member (Wyness, 2012, 133). However, it also recognizes that the global capitalist system creates inequalities and therefore many families require assistance from the state. In acknowledging this set of circumstances, the Global approach gives primacy to the family yet mandates state assistance should the family require it (Wyness, 2013, 234). Therefore, the provisioning of children’s lives relies on either one or the other or on both. This Global approach is once more supported by the developmental psychology and socialization school. Rooted in science-based
evidence, the approach advances the family as best suited to meet the child’s right to provisions. In promoting the child’s right to their family, Marjorie Aunos and Maurice Feldman cite the CRC’s Preamble that states “families should be provided with assistance and protection, as they are the first and primary unit in which children grow, learn, and develop” (2008, 137). As such, Aunos and Feldman concur that “families are the cornerstone of most societies, and it is generally accepted that children do best growing up with their birth parents” (2008, 137). In this light, the science-based principles of socialization have conceptualized the best interest of the child as living within the family. This is because the provisioning of children is to take place within this setting. Consequently, children’s rights and the primacy of the family as an organizational structure go hand-in-hand for the purpose of assuring children their right to essential provisions. Similarly, the Global approach to the provisioning of children’s lives is also upheld by the liberal rights-based school. Situating the child as an entitled citizen, scholars utilizing this theory demonstrate the central role of the state in meeting children’s rights. In assessing the political responsibility of children in poor countries, Stephen L. Esquith promotes the Global approach that is premised upon “State Parties hav[ing] the primary responsibility for the realization of the rights of children. [Therefore, they are] to prepare their own children to participate in their own society and advance their own legitimate interests through a democratic political process” (2012, 177-178). In this light, the liberal rights-based theory informs a Global Rights-Bearing Child who develops democratic values through societal institutions. Such socialization is to in turn advance democratic ethics through which children can place demands upon the state to ensure the provisions of their lives are met.

The Global Rights-Bearing Child approach to provisioning children’s lives is countered by the Local Rights-Bearing Child approach. The Local approach reveals that securing children’s
right to essential provisions relies upon an extended family and/or community system in the face of an unwilling and/or incapable state. In this light, the different contextual circumstances on which the Global and Local approaches are based demonstrably generate alternative experiences in the provisioning of children’s lives. According to Karen Wells, despite the differences that the state in the majority world faces, they still desire to assist the family unit. However, the reality is that they “lack the resources, the will and the legitimacy to intervene directly” (2009, 76). In many respects, the demands placed upon the state by majority world families are not met. As a result, families are largely left to their own devices. Absent the state’s assistance, the Local approach indicates children and their families rely upon societal relationships in order to secure the provisions intended to meet their rights. This Local approach to provisioning children’s lives uses critical theory to challenge the dominant notion that children’s socialization requires passivity within the family. For example, Tatek Abebe’s examination into the lives of rural Ethiopian children reveals that the provisioning of their lives comes through their contribution to the family unit (Abebe, 2013, 72). He shows that within the Local approach, “children are valued for their socio-economic roles and grow up holding complex responsibilities and maintaining reciprocal relationships within the family” (2013, 72). While this means that children’s rights may prove less pronounced, it is in fact these ‘reciprocal relationships’ that seek to sustain all members over generational changes (Abebe, 2013, 73). This approach offers a more in-depth and longer term understanding for how collective societies seek to secure children’s right to essential provisions. Likewise, the Local approach is supported by resiliency scholars who acknowledge the limits of state provisions to its child citizens and the measures that children must take to persevere. Samantha Punch reveals such circumstances in her examination of Bolivian child migrants. Punch finds that the Local Rights-Bearing Child experience sees limited educational
and professional opportunities for rural Bolivian children (2008, 95-96). While some children may migrate to find better schools, their lack of financial capacity renders such plans a challenge. As such, Punch discovers that these children will more often aspire to “the more tangible benefits received by migrating for work … [and] thus the role of education as a site of social change and as a pathway to the increased status of an educated identity is superseded by the role of migration” (2008, 96). In this light, the Local approach shows that securing the provisions for children’s lives may entail assuming a more mature role.

*The Global Rights-Bearing Child Approach and Local Rights-Bearing Child Approach in Relation to Haitian Children*

The Global Rights-Bearing Child approach and Local Rights-Bearing Child approach provide vital analytical value in examining Haitian child rights. This is because the application of these approaches to the lives of Haitian children advances differing experiences with child rights. The Global approach that emerges from the minority world and is promoted via international channels into Haitian society remains largely out of reach for the vast majority of Haitian children. Instead, as Haiti is a part of the majority world where the country fosters their own notion of child rights, it is the Local approach that better illuminates Haitian children’s lives. This section will therefore analyze the Global and Local Rights-Bearing Child approaches specific to the Haitian context. It will do so by assessing Haitian conceptions of protecting childhood, the participation of the child and the provisioning of children’s lives. This will show what both Rights-Bearing Child approaches reveal about child rights in Haiti.

In the Global Rights-Bearing Child approach, the protection of childhood is based upon viewing children as requiring separate space to receive proper care. For Haitian families, there is certainly equivalent concern for protecting their children’s childhoods. As Smucker and Murray reveal, children are “considered a gift from God” (2004, 11). However, these families more
closely resemble the Local approach to children’s childhood because of the short-lived period that characterizes Haitian childhood. This is because once Haitian children build independent capacities, they must contribute to the household (Smucker and Murray, 2004, 13). Timothy Schwartz explains that this stems from the fact that these children play a vital role in the homestead through completing the domestic tasks that enable their parent’s market activities (2009, 179). It is, then, the skills children develop that may facilitate securing the livelihoods of the family and in turn protect their childhood.

Moreover, it is important to recognize how the differing views of children’s rights facilitate different conceptions of childhood protection. According to the Global approach, childhood protection is based upon the view of children as possessing equal value vis-à-vis adults. However, the Local approach takes into consideration how protection is understood in the context of Haiti. Here, children are not afforded equivalent status to adults but rather occupy a particular position within the division of labour. By undertaking this contributory position to the household, it is believed that children will be communally protected. As such, Schwartz shows the interconnectivity between the child and their household’s well-being in that through generational changes, the child will take up a parental and grandparental role where they may support the protection of children within their homestead (2009, 145).

Likewise, the two approaches conceptualize the participating child in varying ways. The Global approach affords children the right to participate in voicing their opinions on matters that affect them. However, using the Local approach, it is clear that Haitian children’s capacity to do so appears much more limited. Lydia De Santis and Doris Ugarriza demonstrate that Haitian “parents [are] responsible for helping children make the ‘right’ decisions and that parents needed to push and pressure children to achieve and obey” (1995, 357). This derives from Haitian
parenting that denies parent-child negotiation but requires the strict obedience of the former to
the latter (1995, 358). In this light, the degree to which children are capable of participation
through self-expression is significantly constrained. In their major report on Haitian child
domestic labour, Smucker and Murray conclude that this respect for authority is rooted in the
Haitian model of child socialization that sees children as untrained beings needing instruction to
fulfill familial responsibilities (2004, 12). Similarly, the competing perspectives of the Global
Rights-Bearing Child approach and Local Rights-Bearing Child approach on children’s right to
voice their opinions, is reflected in their permission to participate in activities. As reflected in the
Global approach, children have the right to request participation in particular activities.
However, such participation is subject to the approval of parental guardians who act with their
conception of the child’s best interest in mind. On the other hand in Haiti where the Local
approach is more capable of illuminating practice, children’s participation is structured by their
parents as they are required to take part in household supporting activities. This, in turn, is
designed to secure their rights. Schwartz’s research demonstrates that children’s labour is to be
reciprocated by parents through providing them with education, animals and farmland (2009,
161). As such, the Local approach clearly indicates that Haitian parenting significantly curtails
children’s interim right to participation. However, such curtailment is deemed a necessity so as
to ensure the household reaches a long-term healthy state during which time it may afford
children improved rights.

The conceptualization of children’s lives also differs as according to the Global approach,
the nuclear family serves as the social unit that is responsible for the provisioning of their
children’s lives; this shares similarities with the Local approaches’ application to Haiti yet there
remain important differences between the two. For instance, Elizabeth Sloand, Bette Gebrian and
Nan Marie Astone importantly reveal that Haitian parents are responsible for feeding their children amidst significant levels of food insecurity (2012, 491). However, on account of such challenges, links between members of rural Haitian villages have been developed where Sloand et al., show there is in fact a communal responsibility to provide this provision for children (2012, 493). Therefore, in the Haitian context, the provisioning of children’s lives often necessitates a community-based response. This also leads to differing views in relation to how members outside of the family and community provide provisions for children’s lives. For instance, the Global approach shows that in the case of families requiring assistance in the provisioning of their children’s lives, they are entitled to receive material support from the state. While the Local approach shows that a similar right exists in Haiti, the state is either unwilling and/or incapable of fulfilling this responsibility to their child citizens. Consequently, Schwartz reveals the Local approach operating in Haiti that sees families relying upon extended relatives and/or godparents to meet their children’s provisions (2009, 162-163). Sommerfelt shows this reality by indicating how children may spend time living with and completing tasks for extended relatives and/or godparents while in return receiving food, lodging and potentially education (2002, 21). Overall, the Global Rights-Bearing Child approach and Local Rights-Bearing Child approach clearly produce differing depictions of Haitian children’s lives.

**Critical Cosmopolitanism and the Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy**

Having definitively outlined the Global Childhood framework consisting of its Global Childhood model and Global Rights-Bearing Child approach as well as the Local Childhood framework made up of its Local Childhood model and Local Rights-Bearing Child approach as well as situating them within the context of Haiti, I will now explain the Global-Local theoretical framework that I will implement in order to understand how such Global and Local conceptions
of childhood and child rights influence the identities and impact the livelihoods of Haitian child
domestic labourers. To do so, I am utilizing Edward Said’s critical cosmopolitan theory and
Arjun Appadurai’s disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy theory. It is thought
that only through combining these theoretical approaches may a comprehensive understanding
emerge.

First, Edward Said’s critical cosmopolitan theory aspires to produce a contrapuntal explanation of social processes. This is because the contrapuntal account possesses “a simultaneous awareness both of the metropolitan [view] that is narrated and of those other [views] against which (and together with which) the dominating discourse acts” (Said, 1993, 52). In this light, the Global Childhood framework occupies the metropolitan position while the Local Childhood framework is situated as its counterpart. Contrapuntalism can therefore be arrived at through implementing Said’s theory of Orientalism that “use[s] humanistic critique to open up the fields of struggle to [contest] a belligerent collective identity … [with] understanding and intellectual exchange” (Said, 2003, xxii). Therefore, the critical aspect of Said’s critical cosmopolitanism challenges the predominant view by interrogating how power relations shape the construction of identity and ultimately influence the exercising of agency that is responsible for producing knowledge. At the same time, the cosmopolitan portion contests fixed dichotomies toward opening up dialogue at a multitude of sites so long as it is “amply situated in history, culture and socioeconomic reality” (Said, 2003, xxiii). Therefore, critical cosmopolitan theory can produce a contrapuntal account that consists “not [of] a single authentic representation … but rather [one that encompasses a] commitment to listen to and think through experiences outside of one’s own” (Telmissany and Schwartz, 2010, xix). The critical cosmopolitan theory thus resonates with the dissertation’s aim for a contrapuntal accounting of how these unique Global
and Local frameworks influence the identities and subsequently impact the livelihoods of Haitian child domestic labourers.

Next, the critical cosmopolitan approach will be complimented through combining it with Arjun Appadurai’s global cultural economy theory. In so doing, the critique that critical cosmopolitanism provides can be effectively operationalized through illuminating the disjuncture and difference of the Global and Local Childhood frameworks. This capacity stems from the global cultural economy’s holistic vision that conceptualizes cultural processes not as bound by constructed borders but rather dispersed and interacting globally. In this light, the “global cultural economy has to be understood as a complex, overlapping, disjunctive order” (Appadurai, 1990, 296). For the purpose of navigating this chaotic flow of cultural conceptions, ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, finanscapes and ideoscapes transmit cultural viewpoints (Appadurai, 1990, 296). In this light, each prefix encourages scholars to examine how categories of people, media, technology, finance and ideas respectively, create disjuncture within and across one another in the production of different cultures. Taken together, “these landscapes thus, are … ‘imagined worlds’\(^{12}\), that is, the multiple worlds which are constituted by the historically situated imaginations of persons and groups spread around the globe” (Appadurai, 1990, 297). However, while such ‘imagined worlds’ continue to be shaped, it is important to note that they are becoming less and less imaginary in this contemporary period of hyper-globalization. Therefore, Appadurai extends Benedict Anderson’s work by moving to highlight the agency of persons across the globe who “are able to contest and sometimes even subvert the ‘imagined worlds’ of the official mind” (1990, 297). This is indicated by Appadurai’s instituting of the suffix *scape* to each vessel through which the global cultural economy interacts. The disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy theory therefore indicates that “perspectival constructs [are]

\(^{12}\) Appadurai references Benedict Anderson’s idea of Imagined Communities and his intent to further the concept.
inflected very much by the historical, linguistic and political situatedness of different sorts of actors … [that range from] nation-states, multinationals, [and] diasporic communities … [to] villages, neighbourhoods and families” (Appadurai, 1990, 297). As a result, disjuncture and difference demonstrably offers a dynamic process through which meaning-making transpires. It proves capable of showing how multiple actors at different levels of analysis share their cultural conceptions. In so doing, it signifies that,

the globalization of culture is not the same as its homogenization, but globalization involves the use of a variety of instruments of homogenization … which are absorbed into local political and cultural economies, only to be repatriated as heterogeneous dialogues (Appadurai, 1990, 307).

In this light, the flow of the global cultural economy clearly transpires at the Global-Local nexus where the Global and Local Childhood frameworks do not operate in isolation but rather dynamically interact to produce a multitude of ideas. Such a theoretical framework can therefore comprehensively account for how conceptions of childhood and child rights influence the identity constructions and impact the livelihoods of Haitian child domestic labourers.

Overall, combing critical cosmopolitan theory with the global cultural economy theory proves ideally suited to capture the interactive processes responsible for examining conceptions of childhood and child rights in relation to Haitian child domestic labourers. This is because within the Haitian context, one observes the Global Childhood framework coming into contact with the Local Childhood framework. Therefore, the merging of critical cosmopolitan theory with disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy can produce a useful theoretical framework. By operating at the Global-Local nexus, a contrapuntal accounting that recognizes disjuncture and difference for how Global and Local conceptions of childhood and child rights interact exposes their influence upon the identity constructs and subsequent impact upon the lived realities of Haitian child domestic labourers.
Implementing a Global-Local theoretical framework based in Said’s critical cosmopolitan theory and guided by Appadurai’s disjuncture and difference to the Haitian context can importantly advance a comprehensive understanding for how the Global Childhood framework and Local Childhood framework dynamically shape one another in what is the constructing and reconstructing of childhood and child rights in Haiti. These theories have been applied to the childhood and child rights literature in order to implement a Global-Local analysis. First, it builds on the childhood literature finding support from Afua Twum-Danso Imoh’s theorizing on the global notion of childhood that “communities do not merely imbibe … passively … [but] instead, they react to [it] according to the framework of their social, economic and cultural conditions” (2012, 4). Second, it advances the child rights literature finding support from Karl Hanson and Olga Nieuwenhuys’ theorizing on child rights that they “have not one but multiple geographical centres [because] … children do not simply discover their rights after exposure to metropolitan rights discourses, but become aware of their rights as they struggle with their families and communities to give meaning to their daily existence” (2014, 4). Thus, this dissertation is based in Said’s critical cosmopolitanism and guided by Appadurai’s disjuncture and difference so as to build upon the specific childhood and child rights work of Imoh as well as Hanson and Nieuwenhuys. Overall, it is at this Global-Local nexus where this study seeks to advance understanding for how the Global and Local Childhood frameworks interact to produce Haitian childhood and child rights. Therefore, this section has developed the Global-Local theoretical framework that will be applied to the Haitian context such that the Global and Local Childhood frameworks dynamically interact in the shaping of the Haitian child domestic labourers’ identity constructs and lived realities.
Conclusion

This chapter has established the importance of advancing a Global-Local analysis into the impact that conceptions of childhood and child rights reflecting the Global Childhood framework and Local Childhood framework have on the identity constructions and livelihoods of Haitian child domestic labourers. To do so, it first comprehensively theorized childhood and child rights by outlining the Global Childhood frameworks’ Global Childhood model and Global Rights-Bearing Child approach as well as the Local Childhood framework’s Local Childhood model and Local Rights-Bearing Child approach. It then proceeded to indicate the theoretical framework as being based in Edward Said’s critical cosmopolitanism and guided by Arjun Appadurai’s disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy toward facilitating a Global-Local analysis. This is on account of the importance of capturing a scalar dynamic in order to reveal how these unique frameworks interact. The result of implementing this Global-Local theoretical framework will in turn be specifically applied to Haitian childhood, child rights and child domestic labour later in the dissertation’s findings chapters.
Chapter 5 – The Global and Local Childhood Frameworks’ Outlining of Child Domestic Labour Internationally and in Haiti

This chapter examines the academic literature for what both the Global Childhood model and its Global Rights-Bearing Child approach termed the Global Childhood framework, as well as the Local Childhood model and its Local Rights-Bearing Child approach, termed the Local Childhood framework, demonstrate about child domestic labour internationally and in Haiti. To do so, it will specifically focus on assessing literatures concerning their labour, migrant and citizenship identities and how this shapes their livelihoods. In so doing, this chapter provides the basis for later chapters where a Global-Local analysis will reveal how the dynamic interaction of these frameworks shows the conceptions of childhood and child rights shaping Haitian child domestic labourers’ identity constructs and lived realities.

The Global and Local Childhood Frameworks as Applied to Child Domestic Labourers’ Labour Identities and Livelihoods

Both the Global Childhood framework as well as the Local Childhood framework offer differing approaches to child labour. Advocates of the Global framework conceptualize childhood as positioning children in protected spheres for ensuring their proper socialization. In so doing, children are conceived as needing protection from labour rather than participating in it. This is because for these Global proponents, such responsibilities may negatively impact upon children’s healthy development (Abebe and Bessell, 2011, 767). In this light, the Global framework demonstrably advances the safeguarding of children from carrying out labour. This idea that childhood and children’s labour are incompatible depicts child labourers as deprived of their childhoods (Abebe and Bessell, 2011, 769). Moreover, this argument put forth by Global framework advocates is frequently based upon children’s right to an education. The result is that it establishes a definitive education/labour dichotomy where childhood is defined by the former
and adulthood is characterized by the latter. According to Ben White, the Global framework’s establishment of compulsory education ensures children possess simultaneous rights in the form of both receiving an education as well as being protected from premature employment (1999, 134). Overall, the Global framework is demonstrably designed to uphold the rights of the child through shielding them from the injustice of conducting labour.

The Local Childhood framework’s conceptualization of childhood offers an alternative view relating to children and labour. While equally concerned for the healthy development of children, proponents of the framework are more open to children’s involvement in labour. This is because of their concern that the Global framework may pathologize children’s experiences due to a lack of consideration for alternative settings and worldviews. Through taking into consideration the wide range of material and cultural factors, the Local framework may suggest that there is in fact room for children to participate in labour (Abebe and Bessell, 2011, 770). Proponents of the Local framework argue that children’s participation in labour may prove “an integral part of everyday life and indispensable to family livelihoods” (Abebe and Bessell, 2011, 770). As the Local framework broadens the experiences that characterize childhood, it in turn expands the concept of children’s rights to require contextualization. This in no way seeks to deny the very real challenges that children’s participation in labour may bring. Rather, it is intended so as to view child labour as a complex social process. For Virginia Morrow and Jo Boyden, the Local framework reveals that children’s labour may prove part of a larger familial household unit’s objective to secure their collective rights (2010, 69). In this light, children’s rights are viewed as existing beyond the individual child and instead in relation to others. Therefore, children’s labour can secure their rights as it may facilitate fulfilment of their familial obligations while also preparing children for their future. As such, the Local framework reveals
that a differing social structure operating in a unique environment may preclude the feasibility and/or desirability of a work-free childhood. Rather, it is such interdependent collaboration that may be vital for both children’s and their family’s rights.

**Child Domestic Labourers’ Labour as Experienced Internationally and in Haiti**

The Global and Local Childhood frameworks offer diverging views concerning the practice of child domestic labour. For advocates of the Global framework, “children [who] work full time in exchange for room, board, care, and sometimes remuneration” are experiencing an abnormal childhood (UNICEF, 1999, 2). Moreover, not only is child domestic labour incompatible with a proper childhood, but the original terms that facilitated such an agreement are largely unfulfilled for children. This is because according to UNICEF, the majority of child domestic labour arrangements are “commercialized … [where] long hours, low rewards, lack of childhood development opportunities, lack of love and affection and other deprivation ensues” (1999, 2). In this light, Global framework advocates contend that child domestic labour violates these children’s rights.

The Global framework’s conception that child domestic labour violates children’s rights is by no means dismissed by proponents of the Local framework. While the latter is equally concerned by its exploitative potential, it challenges the former to approach the practice with a more nuanced reading of the situation. In so doing, Local framework supporters contend that child domestic labour may afford children with a secure environment in which to work to support their families (Gamlin, Camacho, Ong, and Hesketh, 2013, 2). In this light, the Local framework extols the benefits that may emerge from accessing employment and the multiplying effects it can have for the child’s family. As a result, the Local framework advocates advance a rethinking of the Global framework for a more nuanced understanding of child domestic labour.
The Global framework sees Haitian child domestic labour as an exploitative practice deriving from defining many child domestic labour arrangements as *restavek*, meaning those who ‘stay with’. Diane Hoffman reveals that these actors are often referred to as “the ‘children of shadows’, the ‘forgotten children’, or the ‘lost children’ [denoting their] marginalized status in a society where the very word [*restavek*] is considered a term of insult” (2011, 4). In this light, the Global framework importantly reveals what can be the very real exploitative nature of child domestic labour. The Local framework equally identifies the gravity of such child domestic labour relations. However, it argues for the importance of broadening understanding of the practice. For Smucker and Murray, this means recognizing the experience of child domestic labour along a continuum where there are solidarity-based relations and exploitative-based relations with a multitude of experiences in between (2004, 35). Overall, both the Global and Local frameworks offer demonstrable insight into how childhood and child rights shape child domestic labour in Haiti.

The Global and Local frameworks also provide differing perspectives concerning the experiences of child domestic labourers. For instance, the Global framework advocates disdain the unrelenting nature of children’s labour as it impedes their proper development (Camacho, 1999, 63; Thorsen, 2012, 3). Moreover, this contributes to their lower status and in turn makes them susceptible to significant physical punishment (Gamlin et al., 2013, 7; Thorsen, 2012, 7). As such, the Global framework importantly draws attention to the inferiority that characterizes child domestic labourers’ self-perception (Blagbrough, 2010, 90; Ennew, Myers and Plateau, 2005, 41). This is born out in limits placed upon child domestic labourers’ opportunity to attend school, take rest and participate in play (Tetteh, 2011, 222). Melanie Jacquemin reveals these experiences are manifested in children’s limited independent action. Through interviews with
child domestic labourers in Cote d’Ivoire, she found that “as soon as [they] were asked their opinion … lots of them closed up and the initial response was usually ‘I don’t know’” (2004, 387).

While proponents of the Local framework are similarly alarmed by challenging child domestic labour experiences, they respond by asking Global framework advocates to consider the contextual state of affairs. As such, the Local framework shows work can be viewed as a reciprocal relationship between the child and their receiving family (Camacho, 1999, 66; UNICEF, 1999, 2). Moreover, the Local framework shows that employers may ‘just talk to [domestic labourers] when they make a mistake” (Gamlin et al., 2013, 7). At other times, however, physical punishment may be used but it is often based upon securing child discipline; a feature of many local child-raising practices (Thorsen, 2012, 8). These experiences are therefore important to consider in light of the inferiority that can affect child domestic labourers’ lives. However, despite such challenges, Thorsen reveals that it is important to also acknowledge the “pride children [may] take in holding [this] job” (2012, 8).

The Global and Local Childhood framework’s construction of child domestic labourers’ experience is demonstrably operational in the context of Haiti. Global framework advocates reveal that both exploitative labour and physical punishment contribute to child domestic labourers’ developing an inferiority complex. From their perspective, Haitian child domestic labourers are not consulted on their work while being subject to physical abuse. As such, the Global framework situates child domestic labourers as living a life of servitude (Blagbrough, 2008, 182). This has led many to refer to Haitian child domestic labour as a modern day form of slavery (Minnesota Lawyers International Human Rights Committee, 1990, iii; Skinner, 2008,
12). However, the Local framework proponents caution such labelling as child domestic labourers’ livelihoods may reflect a multitude of experiences (Smucker and Murray, 2004, 21).

The Global and Local frameworks furthermore outline differing views in relation to child domestic labourers’ livelihood position. For Global framework advocates, the child domestic labourer is unable to consult on matters in their lives. This is based upon the unequal relations of power that exists between adult and child. In fact, advocates cite a child domestic labourer in Tanzania who explains that children are preferred to adults for domestic labour positions precisely because “it is easier to make children do work more quickly … [and] children are not able to oppose [adults]” (Klocker, 2007, 86). Through such evidence, these advocates clearly support the notion that child domestic labourers’ livelihood positions prevent them from securing important rights. Therefore, Global framework proponents aim to keep children from becoming domestic labourers. While the Local framework advocates certainly recognize the disproportionate power that adults hold over children, these proponents offer a more nuanced understanding for child domestic labourers’ livelihood position. On the one hand, many children contend that they view becoming a child domestic labourer in a positive light (Camacho, 1999, 64; Jacquemin, 2004, 389). While understanding the potential challenges that lay ahead, the Local framework reveals that these children possess a “strong sense of inter-generational responsibility” (Klocker, 2007, 86). Natascha Klocker contends that while child domestic labourers “had not been directly pressured to enter [into domesticity,] their guardians’ reactions to their decision to do so are indicative of the importance of family obligation” (2007, 86-87 emphasis in original). In this light, the Local framework aims to account for both the child domestic labourers’ recognition of the opportunities the position could afford as well as the importance that such a livelihood could mean for their family as well.
The Global and Local frameworks also offer alternative views on the livelihood position of child domestic labourers in Haiti. Global framework advocates stress that this decision is problematic because of the high demands adults place on children to fulfill labour (Sommerfelt, 2002, 92). Moreover, it is complemented by the fact that children will work under conditions that many adults will not (Janak, 2000, 325). In this light, adults possess demonstrably greater power vis-à-vis child domestic labourers and hence the livelihood position of child domestic labourers is highly susceptible to exploitation. However, Local framework proponents argue that child domestic labour may offer children important opportunities for themselves and their families. Recognizing the challenging socio-economic circumstances that these children grow up in, domestic labour positions may afford children with the chance for improved livelihood conditions through many opportunities including the prospect of pursuing an education that is highly valued in Haitian society (Sommerfelt, 2002, 91-92). Therefore, the Local framework demonstrates the livelihood position that Haitian children may secure through becoming domestic labourers.

The Global and Local Childhood Frameworks as Applied to Child Domestic Labourers’ Migrant Identities and Livelihoods

Child migration is also of concern to advocates of the Global and Local Childhood frameworks. Advocates of the Global framework view children properly situated within the family. As such, Marjorie Faulstich Orellana, Barrie Thorne, Anna Chee and Wan Lam suggest that child migrants are treated as luggage: “things transported by adults; objects that might weigh on an adult migrant because they are unable to move or look after themselves; and non-persons lacking both feelings and agency of their own” (as cited in Dobson, 2009, 356). Consequently, what is evident from conceptualizing child migrants through the lens of the Global framework is that they are viewed as a source of anxiety for adults (Dobson, 2009, 357). Therefore, in order that
children are socialized properly, child migration is to be prevented so as to ensure their healthy
development. The Global framework’s conceptualization of childhood and migration logically
follows to include its view of their participation in migration. As Global advocates assume
familial instability, these child migrants are believed to have had their rights violated (Gozdziak,
2008, 905). Related to this, Julia O’Connell-Davidson goes so far as to suggest that “the ‘child
migrant’ is … a contradiction in terms … [that] disturbs the victim-agent binary” (2011, 463).
This is because the Global framework’s conception of childhood hastily dismisses the possibility
that children may independently migrate but instead turns directly to framing child migrants as
the victims of abuse (O’Connell-Davidson, 2011, 463). Overall, the expediency with which the
Global framework acts to label children’s migration as a child rights violation is demonstrably
connected to its staunch commitment for protecting children from migrating on their own.

Proponents of the Local framework’s conceptualization of childhood provide a much
more nuanced approach to recognizing how it is experienced. While these scholars are similarly
concerned for the well-being of children, they are much more open to children’s participation in
migration. This is because, rather than being resigned to private spaces, Local framework
adherents contend that children may experience much more of their lives in public spaces. This is
because the Local framework fully embraces analysis into children’s independent exercising of
agency (Huijsmans, 2011, 1310). Therefore, whereas those who use the Global framework focus
only on migration as a negative experience, scholars who use the Local framework demonstrate a
continuum of outcomes (Huijsmans, 2011, 1314-1315). From the Local proponents view,
children’s participation in migration may actually prove critical for improving their livelihood.
Therefore, while remaining cognizant of the challenges to upholding child migrant’s rights,
Local framework supporters seek to uncover how these children negotiate their rights over the
course of migrating. The process of doing so has revealed that mixed outcomes emerge. While Local framework proponents certainly acknowledge that there are many challenges that migrating children face, they also maintain that a blanket condemnation of children’s migration could unjustly prohibit children from securing benefits that are otherwise unavailable to them in their current location (O’Connell Davidson, 2011, 468). Therefore, it is only through the Local framework’s theoretical commitment to examining children’s independent agency that concerted understanding for their experiences in migration may in fact emerge.

**Child Domestic Labourers’ Migration as Experienced Internationally and in Haiti**

The Global and Local frameworks also provide differing perspectives concerning the push and pull factors for child domestic labour migration. Global framework advocates view children as properly situated within their family and therefore they advocate for measures designed to stem the migration of children. Therefore, the Global framework strives to address the push and pull factors that influence children’s migration for domestic labour. For Hans van de Glind, this requires that rural societies secure “broad protection … through programmes that offer rural skills training, microfinance, business development services and job placements services to poor families whose children are at risk of the worst forms of child labour” (2010, 110). In the absence of doing so, Global framework advocates are deeply concerned by the fact that false promises will continue to entice children and their family’s belief in a better life through migration. Local framework proponents clearly welcome improvements in the rural livelihoods of children and their families as well. Nevertheless, they contend that such long-term measures be complimented with the more immediate material gains that children and their families’ may secure through child migration. As Local framework supporters show children play vital roles in maintaining the family unit’s livelihood, their migration may preserve and/or improve the
family’s social standing (Camacho, 1999, 64). In this light, it is important to view migration in its relational context while remaining mindful of the power asymmetries between adult and child. Such an approach resembles Natascha Klocker’s conception of child agency as ‘thin’ that “involve[s] a ‘synthesis of structure, culture and agency’” (2007, 92). This is apparent from Melanie Jacquemin’s study of child domestic labourers in Cote d’Ivoire. Here, she discovers that while children are influenced by their parents and extended family to migrate for domestic labour, many children also elect to go (2004, 389). Therefore, adult influences need to be balanced with child motivations that include the chance for personal growth, money and goods (2004, 389).

Global framework advocates in the Haitian context importantly identify that family’s who believe there are benefits to sending their children to live in better-off homes may not result in the advancement that they seek (Janak, 2000, 326). This is particularly noteworthy in light of Jennifer Abrams findings that Haitian “children are now more likely to move from a very poor family to a slightly less poor one” (2010, 454). It therefore suggests that if the decision for children to migrate for domestic service is based upon economic advancement, it is increasingly unlikely that it may materialize. While the Local framework certainly recognizes the economic impetus for sending children into domestic service, it also seeks to advance the cultural conception of child development that children growing up in another house may bring. Therefore, Haitian parental practices may include “sending a child away … [to] giv[e] [their] child a chance to ‘move up’ in the world and to attain capabilities that cannot be attained if the child remains at home” (Hoffman, 2010, 41). The action of doing so can also reveal that many Haitian child domestic labourers view their entry as shedding their self-perception of being vagabonds toward becoming somebody of importance (Hoffman, 2011, 6; Sommerfelt, 2002,
60). In this light, the Local framework reveals that Haitian child domestic labourers respond to both the push and pull factors in their lives.

The Global and Local frameworks also provide differing perspectives concerning the framing of child domestic labourers’ migration. According to Global framework advocates, children who migrate predominantly from rural areas to urban centres for the purpose of domestic labour are the victims of child trafficking. Advocates of the Global framework argue that the “tradition[al] ... ‘placing’ of children to live with relatives and work in better off households, has created a regional market for child labour” (Gozdziak, 2008, 915). Therefore, from these Global advocates’ perspective, it is the tragic distortion of this practice that results in the severe repercussions which children in turn endure. As sending parents operate according to traditional practices, they therefore fail to recognize this modern day reality that child traffickers recruit children for their own exploitative purposes (Gozdziak, 2008, 915). In this way, Global framework advocates are deeply concerned by the fact that many sending parents are actively seeking child domestic labour opportunities for their children all the while remaining unaware of the significant challenges it would bring to their child (Erulkar and Ab Mekbib, 2007, 247).

While equally concerned by instances of child trafficking, Local framework advocates encourage Global advocates to consider the nature of fostering practices. For instance, factors including household security, socialization and the building of kinship ties all contribute to child fostering (Gozdziak, 2008, 916). Agnes Camacho contends that this has resulted in the building of migratory norms designed to safeguard child migrants (1999, 68). In this light, the fostering of relations over time suggests that in children’s migratory processes, they are frequently accompanied by and secure domestic labour positions within a community of known individuals (Camacho, 1999, 68; Heissler, 2013, 93). As a respondent from Karin Heissler’s study of child
domestic labourers in Bangladesh explains “No one comes (to the city) on their own. Behind them are some known village persons who stay here” (2013, 93).

For Global framework advocates in Haiti, child domestic labour migrants are considered victims of child trafficking. Timothy Janak reveals that Habilitadors (labour traders) connect rural and urban families to facilitate child domestic labourers’ migration (2000, 324). The informal nature of such linkages precludes the sending family’s capacity to keep track of their child. With the removal of this safeguarding measure, children are exclusively dependent upon their employer. This increases the potential for exploitation and therefore constitutes child trafficking (Blagbrough, 2008, 182). However, Local framework proponents such as Sommerfelt caution that such child intermediaries are “a recent phenomenon … though not frequent” (2002, 67). While cognizant that trafficking may transpire in the Haitian context, she maintains that the majority of “children move to new homes following their family’s search … or the potential new caretaker or employer … approaches family members directly” (2002, 64).

The Global and Local frameworks moreover demonstrate differing contentions concerning child domestic labourers’ migration as it relates to their reintegration and resistance. Since Global framework advocates view children’s migration for conducting domestic labour as an exploitative affront to their very well-being, it is imperative that children are sensitively reintegrated into their community of origin. The fact that the child left their surroundings indicates the imperative change that must transpire there (Craig, 2010, 2). Absent doing so, children’s migration will just continue. As such, Global framework advocates call for “rehabilitation [that is] holistic, paying attention to [children’s] social, economic, psychological and physical needs and to providing sustainable alternatives to the context of exploitation from which they have been freed” (Craig, 2010, 5). While equally concerned for child domestic
labourers’ well-being and fully supportive of their reintegration, Local framework proponents argue that child domestic labourers may also migrate as a form of resistance to their conditions. For instance, despite the best efforts of rehabilitation programs in their communities of origin, it is not uncommon for children to migrate once more in search of opportunities (Thorsen, 2012, 12). This is revealed through the Local framework that takes into consideration a balance between children’s agency and vulnerability. Both Melanie Jacquemin and Karin Heissler demonstrate through their research in Cote d’Ivoire and Bangladesh respectively that child domestic labourers who were unsatisfied with their position, resisted against their employers and sought new employment (2004, 390; 2013, 98). It is important to note, however, that both cases required child domestic labourers to build their networks overtime. The decision to ultimately exit their employer’s home meant finding new employment through these developing networks in the hopes of securing an improved livelihood (2004, 390; 2013, 98).

The Global and Local frameworks are made demonstrably clear through the different scholarly approaches to Haitian child domestic labourers’ migration as it relates to their reintegration and resistance. Recognizing the abuses that Haitian child domestic labour migration can materialize in, Global framework advocates promote an anti-trafficking agenda that is designed to reduce poverty and change cultural perceptions of childhood and children’s labour (Abrams, 2010, 468). By bringing such changes to sending communities, former Haitian child domestic labourers may be properly rehabilitated. While Local framework proponents support such measures, they also point to how Haitian child domestic labourers may migrate to resist their current employer. This includes finding another domestic placement or alternative opportunities (Hoffman, 2010, 47). Overall, the Global and Local frameworks demonstrably offer differing insights into children’s migration.
The Global and Local Childhood Frameworks as Applied to Haitian Child Domestic Labourers’ Citizenship Identities and Livelihood

Both the Global Childhood framework and Local Childhood framework present distinctive approaches to child citizenship. The Global framework reveals a conceptualization of child citizenship that aims to balance adult guidance with child autonomy. In so doing, Global framework advocates demonstrate a significant transition in the way that we think about child citizenship. Traditionally, conceptions of the dependent child were juxtaposed with an independent adult and therefore children were excluded from citizenship status (Liebel, 2008, 35). However, as new scholarship affords children an enhanced capacity to share their opinions, there is a growing recognition for the important contribution that their unique perspective offers. Seen this way, children clearly merit citizenship status (Lister, 2008, 11). Therefore, Global framework advocates demonstrably establish childhood as a period inclusive of citizenship. This conceptualization of childhood and citizenship is inextricably intertwined with its view of children’s right to citizenship participation. Global framework advocates importantly situate child citizens and adult citizens as engaging in relations of mutual respect. They invite children to make an active contribution to the world around them. In this way, child citizenship affords children the capacity to participate in decision-making processes that impact upon their lives (Invernizzi and Milne, 2005, 95). However, it must be stated that this view of adult-child relations is an ideal. While children are acknowledged as having independent citizenship rights, these rights remain qualified in that adults are able to limit their exercise of such rights. Therefore, while Global framework advocates vitally offer children the right to voice their opinion, it remains subject to adult approval. This is based upon the Global framework’s view that children require important adult guidance for their healthy development. It is crucial to note that in so doing, Global framework advocates do not necessarily commit the fallacy of seeing
children as becoming (adults) rather than being (children). Instead, they see the child as being and believe that adult guidance is in their best interest. However, toward arriving at the child’s best interest, Global framework supporters contend that children are citizens with self-expression rights designed to play a lead role in the outcome of adult-child dialogue.

Scholars using the Local framework’s conception of child citizenship view children as active participants in a range of activities. However, it is important to note that the Local framework situates children’s citizenship within an interdependent context. This means that the engagement that the child partakes in is interconnected with their familial unit. This draws important awareness to the fact that children’s citizenship needs to be understood relative to its unique context (James, 2011, 178). In many areas throughout the majority world, children’s citizenship is significantly structured by adults as heads of the family. The conception of the child as strongly interrelated with their communal unit can lead to the restriction of their autonomous claims. This derives from the importance of upholding the family’s collective well-being. Moreover, the Local framework’s revelation of diversity in children’s citizenship connects with their rights-bearing position to amplify the importance of viewing citizenship as a lived experience. Therefore, understanding children’s citizenship requires recognizing its active negotiation in a multitude of contexts (James, 2011, 172). For instance, as advocates of the Global framework promote a liberal conception of individual rights, it fails to recognize the interdependency that characterizes children’s lives (Ansell, 2005, 228). Moreover, because the Global framework assumes children’s rights are secured through the family, it may pathologize ‘unchildlike’ actions (including labour) to attain their citizenship rights (Ansell, 2005, 230). Therefore, Local framework proponents show children’s citizenship as simultaneously inhibited
by their familial commitments yet at the same time uninhibited in pursuit of securing theirs and their family’s livelihoods. This reflects both agency and vulnerability in children’s citizenship.

**Child Domestic Labourers’ Citizenship as Experienced Internationally and in Haiti**

The Global and Local frameworks offer diverging views concerning child domestic labourers’ citizenship as it relates to child protection laws. According to Global framework advocates represented by the International Labour Organization, child labour contravenes children’s citizenship rights because it is “work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity and [it] is harmful to [their] physical and mental development” (as cited in Gamlin et al., 2013, 1). While article 12 of the CRC ensures children the right to self-expression in their lives, child domestic labour is considered a worst form of child labour and therefore children are prohibited from participating in it (Gamlin et al., 2013, 1). As such, the child is conceptualized as an autonomous rights-bearing individual who is entitled to protection. Therefore, Global framework supporters contend that the best interest of the child principle must guide their citizenship rights through protecting them from rather than permitting their participation in domestic labour. While Local framework proponents similarly seek to guard these children from exploitative circumstances, it cautions Global proponents’ designs on abolishing the practice. For instance, Melanie Jacquemin’s study of child domestic labourers in Cote d’Ivoire found that the prohibition of paid child domestic work for children under 15 years of age compounded the plight of these young children (2006, 390). Therefore, Local framework proponents warn of the fallacies that may derive from prohibiting the practice. Moreover, Local supporters explain that these children may be able to support their families, attend school and develop new skills and therefore abolition may deny such opportunities (Thorsen, 2012, 12). The result of which Local
framework advocates show that children more often support improvements to rather than the abolition of child domestic labour positions (Klocker, 2011, 211).

These debates over child domestic labourers’ citizenship as it relates to child protection laws play out in Haiti. As a signatory to multiple international and national laws protecting the citizenship rights of children, Global framework advocates point to the support that exists toward eliminating child domestic labour in Haiti (Abrams, 2010, 462; Minnesota Lawyers IHRC, 1990, v-vi). Previous to these more recent measures, however, Local framework proponents show the institution of laws designed to uphold child domestic labourers’ citizenship rights through regulating their practice (Aristide, 2004, 146; Sommerfelt, 2002, 10). While regulation corroborates the Local framework’s position that the act of children labouring is not necessarily exploitative, there is little evidence to suggest, however, that the state fulfilled its protectionist commitment to child domestic labourers’ citizenship rights.

The Global and Local frameworks furthermore outline differing views in relation to the child protection practices of child domestic labourers’ citizenship rights. According to the Global framework view, child protection workers from government and NGOs require adopting a two-pronged approach to protecting child domestic labourers. The first asserts a community-based approach to condemning the practice of child domestic labour where local actors assume a leadership role (Thorsen, 2012, 13, UNICEF, 1999, 11). The second seeks measures to assist child domestic labourers through ensuring they have the opportunity to attend school and receive proper care (Blagbrough and Glynn, 1999, 55; Thorsen, 2012, 16). It is believed that such measures can bring transparency to child domestic labourers’ circumstances and facilitate an

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improved degree of protecting these children’s citizenship rights. Like Global framework advocates, Local framework proponents equally support measures to protect the citizenship rights of child domestic labourers. From their viewpoint, it is important to establish a nuanced understanding for the diverse experiences of child domestic labourers. This is because “removing children from employment can cause more harm than good as children can end up working in more risky situations” (Gamlin et al., 2013, 11-12). Local framework supporters are therefore hesitant to support abolishing the practice of child domestic labour as it may compound rather than alleviate children’s citizenship rights. In fact, Agnes Camacho’s study of child domestic labourers in the Philippines found that amongst these child labourers foremost aspirations was that society’s low perception of domestic work would change (1999, 70). The Local framework thus aims to improve child domestic labourers’ protection by supporting their citizenship rights.

The Global and Local frameworks are made apparent by different scholars assessing the protection practices of Haitian child domestic labourers. As the Global framework promotes the abolition of child domestic labour, it targets these children as being denied their citizenship rights. In so doing, the Global framework may inadvertently stigmatize child domestic labourers and therefore reinforce their negative self-disposition (Moncrieffe, 2006, 41). This may compromise the protection of Haitian child domestic labourers’ citizenship rights. It is therefore essential to develop an understanding of childhood from the Local framework that acknowledges the involvement of Haitian children in mature activities from a young age (Smucker and Murray, 2004, 33). In this way, Schwartz’s Local framework adoption asks that child protection workers conduct “systematic and rigorous self critical practice” of their engagement with child domestic labourers (as cited in Moncrieffe, 2006 43). The process of doing so should reduce stigma and be an improved means by which to facilitate child domestic labourers’ citizenship rights.
The Global and Local frameworks moreover demonstrate differing contentions concerning the political processes structuring child domestic labourers’ citizenship. For Global framework advocates, the state must play the central role in upholding children’s citizenship rights. This is because the CRC legally binds the state as the guarantor for children’s protection, participation and provisioning. In promoting this Global framework worldwide, it reveals that for many states from the majority world, there are significant limitations to ensuring children’s global citizenship rights. While it is mandatory that states have child protection systems in place, they are often underfunded and in turn prove incapable of meeting children’s citizenship rights (Thorsen, 2012, 11). As Global framework proponents cite poverty as the leading cause of child domestic labour, it leads to reason that if the state did in fact meet their political obligations under the CRC, they could usher in the effective elimination of the child domestic labour practice. In so doing, children would no longer occupy child domestic labour positions because their citizenship rights would be secured. Having said this, Local framework proponents do not refute the assertion that poverty plays a significant role in perpetuating the practice of child domestic labour and therefore undermines children’s citizenship rights. However, it does caution against the political ramifications emerging from the Global framework’s impulse to advance all forms of child domestic labour as inherently abusive. This is because the act of doing so frequently positions global institutions upon superior moral grounds in relation to the local population. For Local framework proponents, such power asymmetries therefore deny alternative forms of childhood that are considered to be important socializing experiences (Invernizzi, 2008, 137-138). In this light, these proponents demonstrate the importance of weaving through the politics of child domestic labour in order to understand the best practices through which to improve their citizenship rights.
The Global and Local frameworks are made demonstrably clear through the different scholarly approaches to the politics of Haitian child domestic labourers’ citizenship. The Global framework reveals that the Haitian states’ limited finances see it incapable of upholding children’s citizenship rights. For Global framework advocate Mildred Aristide, she lays blame on the international community for imposing a financial embargo on development aid (2004, 140). In so doing, she connects the deteriorating economic circumstances to an increase in child domestic labour (2004, 140). Local framework proponents once more share similar sentiments with Global framework advocates. However, they caution against how their argument may perpetuate the “maturation motif … [where] the moral hegemony of development and aid discourse … positions the ‘young South’ as ward of the ‘adult North’” (Hoffman, 2011, 9). This is furthered by Local framework proponent’s questioning as to whether funneling financial aid through the Haitian state may actually reach child domestic labourers at all (Chin, 2003, 316).

The Global-Local Interaction of Childhood and Child Rights on Haitian Child Domestic Labourers’ Identity Constructions and Lived Realities

The Global Childhood framework and Local Childhood framework therefore present two unique views through which to analyze Haitian child domestic labourers’ identity constructs and lived realities. As such, the outlining of a precise Global Childhood framework and Local Childhood framework provide vital organizational clarity. However, as these childhood frameworks are socially constructed concepts that do not materialize independent of each other, one must account for how they influence one another. Therefore, in a globalizing world, both the Global and Local frameworks dynamically position one another in what is the constructing and reconstructing of childhood and child rights. Consequently, it is imperative to traverse the differing literatures in order to examine the Global-Local nexus toward generating a Global-Local analysis for their respective influence upon conceptions of Haitian childhood and child
rights that subsequently impact Haitian child domestic labourers’ labour, migrant and citizenship identity constructs and livelihoods.

Conclusion
This chapter has examined both the international child domestic labour literature and the Haitian child domestic labour literature in preparation for advancing a Global-Local analysis into the impact that conceptions of childhood and child rights have on the identity constructions and livelihoods of Haitian child domestic labourers. It began by assessing both the Global Childhood framework as well as the Local Childhood framework particular to the international child domestic labour literature highlighting their labour, migrant, and citizenship identities. Each section was then complemented with a specific examination into the Haitian child domestic labour literature. Taken together, these literatures importantly situate the investigation that will ultimately produce findings in later chapters on how both the Global Childhood framework and Local Childhood framework dynamically interact to produce what are a multitude of Haitian child domestic labourers’ labour, migrant and citizenship identity constructs and lived realities.
Chapter 6 - The Global-Local Production of Childhood and Child Rights in Haiti

The interaction between the Global Childhood framework and the Local Childhood framework in Haiti produces a complex setting within which Haitian children navigate their lives. As I have argued, Edward Said’s critical cosmopolitan theory reveals the operation of both a Global Childhood framework and Local Childhood framework. The Global framework represents the minority world view of childhood. It consists of both its Global Childhood model situating childhood as a universal experience while its Global Rights-Bearing Child approach views the child as an independent rights-bearer whose exercising of their rights is subject to their evolving capacities. In contrast, the Local framework represents the majority world view of childhood. It consists of both its Local Childhood model situating childhood as a variable experience while its Local Rights-Bearing Child approach views the child as an interdependent rights-bearer whose realization of collective rights is dependent upon social relations. Operating within a globalized world, Arjun Appadurai’s disjuncture and difference theory shows how these alternative frameworks come into contact to produce both Haitian childhood and child rights. Therefore, applying the Global-Local theoretical framework to the theorization of childhood and child rights will reveal a dynamic interchange in relation to the three pillars of the UNCRC for the Global-Local production of childhood and child rights. These include child-rearing practices and children’s right to a protected childhood, child transitions and children’s right to participation, and the experience of children’s lives and children’s right to securing their provisions. Such Global-Local analysis reveals that the interaction of Global and Local conceptions of childhood and child rights produce a continuum of outcomes in shaping the lived experiences of Haitian children. The result sees these children playing an active role in this process and thus requires international child protection officers to consult these children as they navigate their lives.
The Global-Local Production of Child-Rearing Practices

The first pillar in the Global-Local production of Haitian childhood is the method of child-rearing practices. In the Haitian setting, both the Global and Local Childhood models influence child-rearing practices. Despite being impacted by promoters of the Global model, it is the message of advocates touting the Local model that remains disproportionately experienced by children in Haiti. Nevertheless, the interaction of individuals and institutions advancing these models produces a fluid experience for the overall nature of child-rearing practices in Haiti.

The Global-Local production of Haitian childhood’s child-rearing practices is developed through advocates of the Global and Local Childhood models to child-parent relations. This Global model to child-rearing practices is disseminated by representatives in the Haitian Government, NGOs and CBOs as these actors promulgate the universal view of childhood and conceptualize childhood as a universal experience wherein all children are viewed for both their present (child) and developing (future adult) character. On this basis, these institutions claim that each individual child should be assured of nurturing child-rearing practices to benefit them now and in the future. However, this conception is largely met with resistance in the Haitian context. As such, the various proponents advocating for the Global model aim to engage Haitian parents so as to promote interaction with their child as based on their simultaneous present and developing status. As a child protection officer working for an international NGO based in Petionville explains,

We want Haitian parents to see their child differently. We believe that if they see them differently, they will treat them differently. But we also understand that this will take time. Parenting is a very sensitive subject matter of course. But over time, this change will be best for child and parent (A20, interview, 2013).

Creating such change lies at the heart of the Global model. Various supporters of the model discuss the impact that one-on-one conversations with Haitian parents can have on their view of
child-parent relations. For example, an international orphanage director based in Gressier explains, “I sit down with parents and I say to them in this orphanage there is no yelling and there is no hitting. Here, we talk about the issue and solve it together” (A26, 2013, interview). The influence of Global model advocates therefore demonstrably prioritizes nurturing and discussion-based child-rearing approaches.

The Global model’s child-rearing practices are also evident in child-community relationships. Promoters of the Global model maintain that children must be seen as valued actors to have a nurturing experience vis-à-vis the adults in their lives but are confronted with significantly different child-community relationships. While recognizing the importance of children’s interaction with adults for proper socialization, these advocates are concerned that Haitian adults within the community do not value children. A Haitian child rights officer working for an international NGO explains that “at [our organization], we take a community-based approach to children. We meet with the parents, the children, the teachers, the leaders and we talk to them about how each child is special and needs to be treated that way” (A15, interview, 2013). Multiple international actors have therefore collaborated with not only the Haitian Government but also leading child rights practitioners working in CBOs to promote nurturing and dialogical child-rearing practices. According to one prominent Haitian CBO leader of educational and community development programming in Port-au-Prince, “more than fifteen years ago, people [started to] look at the kids in different ways, make organizations and … see every child as a child now. … Little by little, th[is] situation is changing” (A10, interview, 2013). While remaining very much the exception to the rule in Haitian society, such child-rearing practices are active in some Haitian children’s childhoods. Despite the significant obstacles that advocates of the Global model face, their work is indeed highly present and operational within
the Haitian context. Not only is this shown prominently through billboards and media within the urban centre of Port-au-Prince but the message has also diffused through community workshops and the distribution of various materials right across the rural areas of the country.

The Global-Local production of Haitian childhood’s child-rearing practices is also evident in Haitian attitudes towards child-parent relations that represent the Local model. These actors promulgate the variability of childhood and opt to focus on the child as a future being that reflecting their reasoning that children are required to adhere to strict child-rearing practices. This Local model view of children is widely shared by Haitian mothers. In discussing their child-rearing practices, one parent in the rural area of Jean-Rabel explains that children are “not grown-up yet and need [adults] to help them get to that stage” (C1, 2013, interview). This is because the parent says that “the child does not understand big [read: adult] things. Therefore, [the parent] will lead the way” (C1, 2013, interview). In this sense, a predominant focus upon children’s future clearly structures the Local model. The logic underlying this model is sustained through the respect that children are taught to have for their parents so as to ensure they develop properly for a bright future. Haitian children hold such a view of their parents that according to one Haitian child rights officer and one international child protection officer working in Tabarre and Port-au-Prince respectively, not only are children “not to make eye contact with [them]” (A7, 2013, interview), but cultural norms contend that “children should not be heard or seen unless [parents] ask for them, want to see them or want to talk to them” (A33, 2013, interview). While the degree to which such measures are practiced will certainly vary, it is apparent that “parents go to great lengths to impose strict standards of obedience and respect [for their] authority” (Smucker and Murray, 2004, 11). Actors and institutions advancing the Local
Childhood model therefore aim to develop an obedient child for their future well-being through strict child-parent relations.

Advocates of the Local model similarly maintain the importance of strict child-rearing practices through child-community bonds. Such norms are deemed essential for the purpose of ensuring the child’s positive future as an adult. This is predicated upon children holding immense respect for adults in their community that one Haitian child protection officer working for an international NGO based in Port-au-Prince explains is the result of children viewing “every woman as [one’s] aunt and every man as [one’s] uncle” (A22, interview, 2013). This designation of respect has ramifications for the cultural norms and values that shape the community’s child-rearing practices. For instance, a prominent Haitian child rights CBO director based in Petionville explains that “every adult can discipline a child in the community” (A5, interview, 2013). This is supported by a leading Haitian anthropologist based in Delmas who elaborates upon this set of circumstances. He describes a situation that sees, the child [as] subsumed within the collectivity. … As the child is subsumed within that collectivity, anybody in that collectivity has right over that child; the right to correct, the right to discipline, the right to orient. So that means, it takes a village to raise that child. … If they are dysfunctional within the system, the child will be the first vulnerable to suffer it (A44, interview, 2013).

Therefore, there exists an adult solidarity for upholding authoritarian child-rearing practices that are designed to facilitate a positive future for the child and this community-wide responsibility demands a clear commitment to strict child-rearing practices within child-community relationships across Haiti.

The presence of actors promoting this Global Childhood model within settings populated by actors practicing the Local Childhood model leads to an interactive process responsible for producing Haitian children’s experiences with child-rearing practices. For instance, discussions with many Haitian parents reveal a staunch resistance to the Global model’s child-rearing
practices. In so doing, there exists a stern maintaining of the Local Childhood model. Through this process, one can decipher Haitian parents invoking their ardent opposition to transitioning toward the Global model’s norms while instead desiring to maintain the Local model’s values. This is because in defining their child-rearing practices, Haitian parents often distinguish themselves positively in opposition to the Global model. As one rural Haitian parent in Jean-Rabel explains, “we don’t want to be talked back to like American [read: Western] parents. We don’t want to be disrespected like American parents. We control our kids to respect our authority” (C2, interview, 2013). Further along these same lines, another rural Haitian parent in Gonaives discloses that “the Western child has no direction but children need direction. As a Haitian mom, I direct my children to be successful in life” (C4, 2013, interview). This clear division of ‘Western’ child-rearing practices and Haitian child-rearing practices shows the interaction of the Global and Local models. What materializes is that in staying consistent with Haiti’s Local model despite influence from the Global model, parents reinforce their belief in the appropriateness of their child-rearing practices. Consequently, the preservation of cultural identity in light of alternative childhood models is tied to Haitian parents’ continued practicing of the Local Haitian Childhood model.

This interaction of advocates espousing the Global Childhood model and Local Childhood model on child-rearing practices produces complex lived realities for Haitian children reflecting a dynamic process in the shaping of their experiences of child-parent and child-community relationships. For many Haitian children, there is respect for the fact that Haitian parents’ authoritative child-rearing practices aim to ensure their positive future standing. In expressing their opinions on what childhood means in Haiti, there is overwhelming consistency for adhering to the established authority of parents and adults. Reflecting the opinion of many of
the respondents, one child living in an orphanage in Petionville defines childhood as “a time to obey” (B16, interview, 2013). The justification rested with what another child living in the same orphanage explained is the “importance [of] respecting parent’s wishes” (B13, interview, 2013). Consequently, there exists a significant level of concern amongst these Haitian children that opposition to their parents would result in disappointing them. Such sentiments furthermore extend to the wider adult community. For instance, the vast majority of children concurred with what one current child domestic labourer in Cité Soleil explains is a situation where children “have to listen to adults [because] they are the ones who look after [us]” (B32, interview, 2013). This testimony demonstrably reflects many Haitian children’s recognition of the Local Childhood model’s strict child-rearing practices. At the same time, some Haitian children express misgivings about such authoritative relationships. In this light, Haitian child respondents often share the Global model’s view. While unsure as to whether such circumstances may transpire, one current child domestic labourer living in Delmas specifically stated that “childhood should be more equal. Childhood is hard because children are not equal” (B40, 2013, interview). The imbalance between adults and children operates at such a disproportionate level that children frequently reveal bewilderment over this state of affairs. Reflective of this view, one child living in an orphanage in Petionville expresses, “I don’t understand why parents aren’t nicer to kids” (B16, interview, 2013). Taken as a whole, the questions that many children have over their treatment may suggest that the Global model has made inroads in the conception that Haitian children hold of childhood. In this interactive process then, the Global model is often utilized toward reducing the authoritativeness of the Local model’s child-rearing practices. Overall, the Global-Local interchange shows a process where Haitian children take in this Global influence and proceed to advance less stringent child-rearing practices. At the same time, there
remains acknowledgement for why parents and the wider community use Local child-rearing practices. The Global-Local nexus is therefore essential for understanding the complex set of circumstances it produces for the negotiation of unequal child-parent and child-adult relations.

**The Global-Local Production of Children’s Right to a Protected Childhood**

Connected to the Global-Local production of Haitian childhood through child-rearing practices is the first pillar in the Global-Local production of Haitian children’s rights. This is stated as children’s right to a protected childhood as experienced through children’s socialization and adult-child relations. In the Haitian experience, both the Global Rights-Bearing Child approach and Local Rights-Bearing Child approach contribute to protecting childhood. However, despite the existence of this Global approach, it is the Local approach that remains disproportionately experienced by children in Haiti. Nevertheless, the interaction of these approaches demonstrably produces a fluid experience for the overall protection of Haitian childhood.

The Global-Local production of Haitian children’s right to a protective childhood is developed through the Global Rights-Bearing Child approach to childhood socialization. These advocates promulgate the independent rights-bearing status of every child to establish the right to a nurturing upbringing. For one international orphanage director based in Les Cayes, it is self-evident that children are “individuals who need to be nurtured and looked after” (A35, interview, 2013). From the Global approaches’ vantage point, the absence of such a childhood experience is conceptualized as a violation of children’s rights and proponents contend that far too many Haitian children are situated in such a victimized state. The framing of this set of circumstances by representatives of the Global approach has materialized in what one child rights CBO director based in Port-au-Prince explains are “institutions and organizations … work[ing] very hard to try to remedy the situation. … [Aspirations to do so are based upon] try[ing] to influence the vision
that people have of children to treat [them] better” (A19, 2013, interview). Clearly, the proponents of this Global approach who view the child as an independent rights-bearer are therefore acting to secure their right to a nurturing and protected childhood.

Promoters of the Global approach also seek to facilitate children’s right to protective childhood socialization through the nature of adult-child relationships. Advocates of this Global approach contend that children must be recognized as independent actors in relations with adults to ensure that they experience a protective upbringing. From the perspective of Global approach promoters, however, there remain significant barriers that undermine their initiatives designed to protect children’s rights in adult-child relationships. For one international orphanage director based in Les Cayes, her experiences in Haiti have led her to believe that “children are seen as less important and taken less seriously” (A35, 2013, interview). Such sentiments are shared by both international and national child rights workers. For one international child protection worker based in Port-au-Prince, the most disconcerting fact related to conceptions of children is that they “are not completely considered as full people” (A33, 2013, interview). She was particularly perplexed by this because in her view, children “should receive extra protection as they are in such a vulnerable position, [but] often it seems to be the opposite” (A33, 2013, interview). Moreover, as a Haitian child rights CBO director based in Delmas explains, “as a young adult [who] grew up in this country, sometime I would say, I don’t see Haitians valuing children that much. It’s really hard to see” (A34, Haiti, interview). Together, these responses construct the Global Rights-Bearing Child approaches’ principal concern in that “among most sectors of Haitian society, there is no clearly recognized status for ‘childhood’ as a distinct category that is entitled to benefit from specific rights” (IPEC, 2003, 12). It is therefore the
objective of Global approach promoters to advance an independent rights-bearing child in adult-child relations so as to facilitate the right of Haitian children to a protected childhood.

The Global-Local production of Haitian children’s right to a protective childhood develops as Haitian parents and even their children assert Local views of childhood socialization along the lines of the Local Rights-Bearing Child approach. Unlike the Global approach, the Local approach conceptualizes the child as an interdependent rights-bearer and this approach is apparent in Haitian children experiencing a significantly shorter period of nurturing. A prominent anthropologist of Haitian childhood explains that Haitian “children are treated with great affection and great attention … but at a certain point when they become economically useful, they are old enough to make a contribution [and] they [will be] treated differently” (A48, 2013, interview). While such transitions are dependent upon each child’s individual capacity, according to a Haitian cultural studies educator, such circumstances habitually “begin around the age of four, five or six years old” (A52, 2013, interview). This finding aligns with anthropologist Remy Bastien’s research indicating that “a conspicuous change in parent-child relations takes place when children are old enough to work. … At this point, parental severity and recourse to corporal punishment supplant the tolerance and pampering more characteristic of early childhood” (as cited in Smucker and Murray, 2004, 13). This Local approach that views the child as an interdependent rights-bearer is concerned with shortening the period because childhood is protected in a different way by Local advocates. Their approach is predicated on the foundation that in equipping the child from an early age, their right to a protective childhood as a contributing member of the family can be secured.

This Local approach to protective childhood socialization also derives from different conceptions of adult-child relationships. Advocates of the Local approach argue that adult-child
relationships must see children as interdependent actors so as to facilitate a protective upbringing. This Local approach aligns more closely with the Haitian conception of adult-child relations. Such circumstances are articulated by a leading Haitian anthropologist based in Delmas. For him, rather than seeing the child through the Global approach that situates, 

the child [as] an individual, a little individual person, that has a number of rights to which institutions and individuals [including parents] have to pay attention to. 

… [In] Haitian culture … the child is not individualized. [S]/He doesn’t have an identity per se; it’s a child who has no formal rights to be defended [because] the child is part of the collectivity (A44, 2013, interview).

It is therefore clear that the interdependent conception that children possess in Haitian society renders them largely acquiescent in relations with adults. Such standing positions the protection of their childhood as connected with the family and wider community and compliant with adult directions so as to work toward a common objective of mutually dependent protection.

The penetration of actors promoting this Global Rights-Bearing Child approach within a setting populated largely by residents practicing the Local Rights-Bearing Child approach leads to an interactive process responsible for shaping parental attitudes on children’s right to the protection of childhood. While both express the sentiment that children have the right to be nurtured by their adult caregivers, conceptions for how this process transpires varies within the Haitian context. As one Haitian child protection officer representing an international NGO explains, Haitian parents “love their children just like any other parent across the world” (A7, 2013, interview). However, in the circulation of the Global approach, it’s interaction with the Local approach encounters significant resistance. For instance, as Haitian parents receive the Global approaches’ message, they are not necessarily unreceptive to it. Nevertheless, there is significant evidence to suggest that most take umbrage with the unfair expectations it places upon them; in fact, they feel criminalized. Identifying the Global approaches’ influence on the protection of childhood, one Haitian parent residing in Jean-Rabel explains that, “they think we
don’t protect our children but this is the way that I know will protect my child” (C3, interview, 2013). This parent is referring to the imperative child socialization process that requires the child to be receptive to and prepared to fulfill the tasks needed to support their family and wider community. Such relations prove necessary due to the contextual circumstances that Haitian families and their children face. Consequently, a Global-Local analysis shows that although Haitian parents share concern for their children’s protection, the strategies that they choose are susceptible to critique from the Global approach. However, what a contextually-sensitive assessment shows is that they prove demonstrably logical.

The interaction of the Global Rights-Bearing Child approach and Local Rights-Bearing Child approach on children’s right to a protected childhood produce a dynamic process in the shaping of Haitian children’s experiences of a protected childhood. For many Haitian children in this study, there is recognition that childhood may not be an explicitly nurturing experience and that their position within the family and community is intended to preserve the well-being of all members. Toward this end, one current child domestic labourer based in Petionville explains that “of course children have rights but they need to listen to their parents” (B10, 2013, interview). Reflective of this sentiment, a child living in an orphanage in Carrefour shares that “I don’t feel comfortable in my conscious if I don’t do [what my parents ask]” (B47, 2013, interview). Despite the acknowledgement of children possessing rights, it is clear that these children experience an interdependent relationship with their parents. At the same time, a longing for greater independence through which to improve children’s rights is present. Demonstrating this position, one current child domestic labourer in Delmas went so far as to say that “childhood is a stage of life that should be more fair. Childhood is hard because children are not treated fairly” (B40, 2013, interview). Therefore, the absence of potential support in a nurturing childhood and
independent adult-child relations are sought-after. Overall though, the Global-Local interchange reveals a unique process where Haitian children absorb the Global influence and recognize a need to extend outward a middle ground on child socialization and adult-child relations. This view recognizes that while aspiring toward improved rights, children also bear responsibility for producing protective childhoods. This is because their interdependent status connects their protection with that of their family. They are therefore tasked with aspiring to greater independence but remain tied by their interdependent relations. Thus, the Global-Local production of children’s right to protecting childhood requires these Haitian children to navigate their childhood socialization and adult-child relations toward securing improved outcomes.

The Global-Local Production of Child Transitions

The second pillar in the Global-Local production of Haitian childhood is the nature of child transitions in which both the Global Childhood model and Local Childhood model influence infant-child and adult-child transitions. The evidence shows that, despite the impact of the Global Model, it is the Local model that remains predominantly experienced by children in Haiti. Nevertheless, the interaction of these models clearly produces a fluid experience for the overall nature of child transitions in Haiti. Global model proponents to infant-child transitions hold a universal view of childhood that situates children as both present and future beings while also setting specific periods in which children are to experience transitions. As I have argued, this is rooted in science-based conceptions of children’s development in which child transitions are viewed largely through chronological age. As a result, when transmitted to the Haitian setting, practitioners of this model are concerned that Haitian children are transitioning at a far too sudden pace and contend that such premature transitions are detrimental to the child. These actors including the director of a Haitian-based child rights CBO frequently bemoan the fact that
Haitian parents seek their child’s early transition from infant to child based “not [upon] who they are [individually] but rather because of who they will be and how that will help the family” (A37, interview, 2013). The goal is therefore to change the vision that Haitian adults have of their children so as to adopt a chronological age-based approach to their transitions. This is what one Haitian child protection CBO director based in Port-au-Prince explains is necessary because, “Haitian children … [are] asked to do so much [so soon], they need more time to grow” (A19, interview, 2013). Thus, these practitioners use a chronological approach.

This approach is also evident in child-adult transitions as advocates of the Global model clearly contend that children must transition to adulthood on a chronological basis. For proponents of the Global model, this transition takes place through the chronological age of eighteen. Based upon this view, child-adult transitions indicate a specific set of rights and obligations for Haitians at both stages in their lives. Under the age of eighteen, Haitian children are to be protected from transitioning to ‘adult-like’ activities from too early an age. In this light, Global model advocates contend that children are to be consulted on matters affecting their lives so that they are not forced to engage in such activities. For one international orphanage director based in Gonaives, this is a critical norm to spread. She explains that, “I see a lot of kids and they really don’t have any choice. They have many responsibilities to the family. In our eyes and in our culture, this is abuse” (A23, 2013, interview). Advocates of the Global model are therefore, deeply concerned once more by the premature transition of children. Related to this, Global model proponents explain that in making the transition to adulthood, an individual’s decision-making process is vastly improved. However, questions remain over the attainability of independent adult rights in Haiti despite reaching the age of eighteen. This is because, according to one Haitian cultural studies educator, “even if you are like 20 or 30 years old, you [can still
be] considered a kid” (A52, 2013, interview). Such a state of affairs reveals that despite the presence of the Global model’s chronological age approach to child-adult transitions in Haiti, it remains far from assured for the majority of Haitians.

The Global–Local production of Haitian childhood’s child transitions is also evident in local Haitians’ attitudes towards infant–child transitions. Parents and even children expressing the Local model place less emphasis upon dialogue with children for their present status. Rather, there exists a fundamental necessity that children abide by the family’s needs with great immediacy. Children are conceptualized as such due to the economic dependency cutting across all members of the Haitian family and wider community. As a result, the Local model establishes child transitions based upon their capacity to participate in family responsibilities. Therefore, advocates of the Local model view infant–child transitions as taking place through social age. Such an approach denotes transition through one’s ability to fulfill responsibilities rather than a standardized age that indicates chronological transitions. This once more reveals the variability reflective of the Local model’s approach to infant–child transitions. Thus, it is clear that child transitions in Haiti are linked with their social relationships. Chief among these relations are those between children and their parents because the former are of vital support to the latter in their old age as social assistance and their quality of life is highly dependent upon children (Verner, 2008, 9). In making this transition, children are fulfilling the common Haitian proverb as expressed by a Haitian child protection officer working for an international NGO stating that “children are the richness out of poverty” (A29, interview, 2013). The existence of such mutual reliance contributes to what an international NGO worker based in Petionville explains is the widespread belief among Haitian parents that “speeding up the child’s development can sustain and potentially elevate the whole family out of poverty” (A20, 2013, interview). With the
pressing needs that exist for the vast majority of families in Haitian society, the sooner children transition to a stage of *chape* (‘to escape’ from reliance upon others and become capable of engaging in independent activity), the better their prospects are. In this light, the promoters of the Local model reveal the importance of Haitian children’s ‘early’ infant-child transition.

Advocates of the Local model also argue that children’s transition to adulthood is based upon social age. Therefore, this transition of children will transpire through their capacities and interaction in social relations in which children are viewed as capable of engaging in adult-like activities from a young age. It is therefore not uncommon for Haitian children to “come of age around fifteen [and] take on adult … roles … at as early an age as ten” (Smucker and Murray, 2004, 33). The Local Haitian childhood experience therefore clearly shows the fluidity of child-adult transitions. Haitian children are not only permitted but encouraged to engage in ‘adult-like’ activities from an early time in their lives. Moreover, their transition to adulthood will ultimately bring about a greater capacity to exercise their agency. This is because as one international child rights worker representing the views of many respondents indicates, in Haitian culture, children “have to grow up first and then once they’re grown up, their voice counts for more” (A33, interview, Haiti). According to one Haitian child protection CBO director based in Port-au-Prince, such a conception of children’s agency stems largely from the familial structure that affords “the head of the family [to] make all the decisions” (A16, interview, Haiti). This is because the head of the household is ultimately responsible for the family’s financial well-being. With such significant responsibility, this person directs their children’s actions. So while the child will be an integral part of supporting the family’s wealth, they are kept under control rather than consulted on matters related to this goal. It is only once the individual finds a partner, secures a homestead and has a child of their own that they are viewed as having made the
transition to adulthood (Smucker and Murray, 2004, 6). As such, the increased rights of children upon reaching adulthood stem from the Local model’s social age-based approach to child-adult transitions.

The presence of actors promoting this Global Childhood model into circumstances where the majority of residents practice the Local Childhood model leads to an interactive process responsible for producing Haitian children’s experiences with child transitions. This is demonstrable in the case of the Global model’s chronological age approach to child transitions that has also penetrated the Haitian state. In so doing, it has come to replace the Local model’s approach to child transitions. With the signing of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, Haiti committed itself to conceptualizing all individuals under the age of eighteen as children. Such circumstances are readily apparent in the viewpoint of many government officials. For instance, a prominent member within the Haitian Government’s Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour explains that,

\begin{quote}
Haiti is fully committed to the principles of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. We consider all citizens under eighteen years of age to be children. The Convention on the Rights of the Child guides our child legislation (A50, 2013, interview).
\end{quote}

In this light, the Global Childhood model’s approach to child transitions has become institutionalized by actors working within the state. Consequently, in the Global-Local interchange, there is proven governmental support for the Global model. However, while such interaction has produced a shift in institutional policy, such change is far from the case for society at large. Acceptance for the Haitian state’s adoption of this chronological age transition has seen little recognition from the majority of the citizenry and, as a result, it remains contested in societal circles by citizens expounding the Local Childhood model.
The promotion of both the Global and Local Childhood models on child transitions by their respective adherents brings to light a dynamic process in the shaping of Haitian children’s experiences of infant-child and child-adult transitions. For many Haitian children, the push to facilitate children’s transition as capable members of the household is an expected childhood experience. It is clear from a range of Haitian child respondents sharing similarly poor socio-economic standing that they recognize their responsibility to their parents and larger family. This is reflected in a view of childhood held by one former child domestic labourer residing in Jean-Rabel as a “stage to … help mom and dad” (B22, interview, 2013). It is moreover noteworthy that for a rural Haitian child in Gonaives, children express their “capa[city] [to] complete multiple tasks to assist [the] family” (B6, interview, 2013). Therefore, the majority of Haitian children who are predominantly impoverished recognize not only the importance of their transition to becoming *chape* but acknowledge such progression as dependent upon their abilities. In so doing, there is a demonstrably apparent Local model conception of child transitions. At the same time, many child respondents showed awareness for and an interest in modifications to children’s transitions and spoke of a specific desire to reduce the haste with which expectations were placed on them. Toward this end, a current Haitian child domestic labourer in Cité Soleil capturing the responses of many children stated, “I do not understand why I have to do so much work” (B27, interview, Haiti). However, in the same breath, this child respondent shared that “I don’t see how it can change in the future” (B27, interview, Haiti). Such sentiments speak to the fact that despite efforts designed to shift the cultural norms concerning Haitian child transitions, the overriding socio-economic circumstances very much preclude such possibilities. Therefore, in the interaction of the Global and Local Childhood models upon child transitions, Haitian children are largely shaped by the latter while remaining only cognizant of
the former. This is a telling experience because it demonstrates the gap between the Haitian state’s promotion of a chronological age-based approach to child transitions and Haitian families and their children’s reality that remains dependent upon a social age-based approach to child transitions. While advocates involved in the Global-Local interchange show the existence of both models, it is largely dependent upon promoters of the Global model (namely the Haitian state in collaboration with international organizations and institutions) to fulfill their commitment to Haitian children and their families’ political and socio-economic rights. In the absence of providing such resources, a more complete transition to the Global Childhood model proves illusive as Haitian families and their children remain operating within a social age approach to child transitions.

**The Global-Local Production of Children’s Right to Participation**

Tied to the Global-Local production of Haitian childhood through child transitions is the second pillar in the Global-Local production of Haitian children’s rights. This is conceived as children’s right to participation in their lives and is based upon both actors who promote the Global Rights-Bearing Child approach and the Local Rights-Bearing Child approach that influence children’s well-being and the well-being of the collective to which they are a part. In the Haitian context, both actors promoting the Global and Local approach contribute to facilitating child participation. Despite influence from advocates of the Global approach, however, it is the promotion of the Local approach that remains predominantly experienced by children in Haiti. Nevertheless, the interaction of these approaches demonstrably produces a fluid experience for the overall participation of Haitian children.

The Global-Local production of Haitian children’s right to participation emerges from Global approach advocates who view the child as an independent rights-bearer. What one
national director of a Haitian child rights CBO based in Petionville faces, however, is the fundamental challenge that is convincing parents to stop seeing “the child [as] someone who does not have rights” (A5, interview, 2013). To do so, she explains that “with the CRC, a new [vision of the] child arrives” (A5, interview, 2013). She readily invokes participatory principles within the CRC to emphasize that “parents must consult with their children for their rights to improve” (A5, interview, 2013). Proponents of the Global approach construct the child as a participatory actor that proves indispensable in the process of advancing children’s well-being. This sentiment is further supported by an international child protection officer based in Petionville. She shares that her organization is committed to mainstreaming child participation in all development initiatives. This stems from the fact that “the voice of children is not known very often because it is a child. … However, improving the protection of the child begins with giving them a voice” (A20, 2013, interview). By not only integrating child rights into development programming but also consulting children in the design and implementation of such projects, there is a clearly identifiable commitment to child rights. Advocates of the Global Rights-Bearing Child approach aiming to facilitate Haitian children’s participation also share that it contributes to positively impacting the society of which the child is a part. This is because Global approach proponents see children as independent actors. This conception of the child is critical for improving their capacity to participate in the decision-making processes that informs their involvement in the wider Haitian society. However, from the viewpoint of actors promoting the Global approach, the Haitian context places significant limitations on children’s ability to consent to participate in certain activities. This is shown in a lack of support for children’s participation rights offered by the family unit. A Haitian program officer representing a leading
international child rights NGO explains that because of such circumstances, we [the child rights community] needs to,

change the social perception, the mentality of the people in the community who believe that all possibilities [for the child] are determined by the family. We must truly work to change the perception of youth and the ideas of developing their potential. Youth have potential to utilize that their parents can prevent (A12, 2013, interview).

From this Global approach, it is clear that Haitian children are curtailed in securing their right to select how they may “participate actively in the life of their community” (A12, 2013, interview). As a result, advocates of the Global approach maintain the imperative to continue awareness campaigns including posting billboards, conducting radio programming and facilitating community events so as to encourage parental consultation with their children.

The Global-Local production of Haitian children’s right to participation also emerges through a Local Rights-Bearing Child approach that promotes its alternative positive impact for the individual child. Advocates espousing this Local approach to facilitating children’s participation are promoted largely by Haitian parents and adults in the extended family and community. Such actors conceptualize the child as an interdependent rights-bearer. In so doing, the Local approach limits their autonomous rights so as to recognize them within the rights of the wider community. Such participation is therefore largely determined by a number of adult figures. According to a prominent Haitian academic, the Local approach reveals that because “the parents have all the will of the child … the child cannot say anything; the child does not have the opinion, the child does not have the sentiment or expression” (A29, 2013, interview). While children may actively participate in a wide range of endeavours, their individual capacity to elect to do so is quite limited. This stems from what one Haitian cultural studies educator explains are “relation[ships that are] not really deep. You don’t talk with the child over [her/]his
opinions, over [her/]his thoughts, over [her/]his experiences, what [s/]he thinks” (A52, interview, 2013). This expert continues by stating that the Haitian child,

\[\text{does not have the habit of expressing themselves because in general, the adult will prevent them from talking. [S/]He does not understand how to express [her/]himself. If [the child] opposes [her/his parent] the life will be difficult and profoundly emotional (A52, interview, 2013).}\]

This study confirms that children’s right to participation is significantly restricted in the Local approach predominantly practiced in the Haitian context. However, it is critical to recognize that parental and/or adult guarding of the child’s individual participation remains tied to an interdependent view of the child with their family and wider community. Such participation transpires largely insofar as parents and/or adults command for the purpose of ensuring the child’s well-being through the family/community unit.

The Global-Local production of Haitian children’s right to participation also emerges through a Local Rights-Bearing Child approach that promotes a conceptualization of children as interdependent actors. This includes Haitian parents constraining their children’s participation so as to fulfill the objectives of the family and wider community who largely live in impoverished settings. The result, according to the head of child protection for a leading child rights NGO in Haiti, sees familial and extended kin networks operating throughout Haitian society that consists of “people being spread around to [hopefully] guarantee [familial] gain” (A32, 2013, interview). Haitian children are critical actors in the process of building such networks. This is confirmed by Haitian studies indicating familial structures where “economic or political alliances may be sought/established by links through children … [as] a means of establishing solidarity in economic, political, and/or other terms” (Sommerfelt, 2002, 21). Therefore, the form of participation that Haitian children experience in the wider society is characterized by collaborative action reflected in the Local approach. A prominent Haitian cultural historian
confirms that “when needs require the family’s attention, children take a particular responsibility for [familial/communal] security” (A36, interview, 2013).

As the Global Rights-Bearing Child approach permeates the Local Rights-Bearing Child approach through their respective promoters in Haiti, they interact with one another to produce Haitian children’s experiences with the right to participation. In so doing, proponents of the Local approach prove considerably different from their Global approach advocates as the former shows significant resistance to the latter. Nevertheless, it is important to note that according to a Haitian child rights CBO director based in Delmas, such opposition is “not because [parents] don’t love their kids (A34, 2013, interview). Rather, it is “because they want the best for their kids” (A34, 2013, interview). Haitian children’s parents predominantly holding a Local approach question the feasibility of implementing the Global approach. This is particularly noteworthy in light of what one Haitian child rights CBO director explains is among the most important values Haitian parents teach their children. She suggests that “there is such a survival instinct now … [which the] family really wants to pass to their children” (A37, 2013, interview). In light of the significant socio-economic challenges that the majority of Haitian families face, Haitian parents conceptualize the Global approaches’ qualified autonomously participating child as problematic. This is because addressing the poverty that the family faces requires a collective response that includes children’s contributions. As such, it is demonstrably clear that in its interaction with the Local approach, the Global approach endures palpable resistance from many Haitian parents as evident from their responses.

The interaction of actors promoting the Global Rights-Bearing Child approach and Local Rights-Bearing Child approach to children’s right to participation, generates complex lived realities for Haitian children. This set of circumstances reveals a dynamic process in the
structuring of these children’s experience with participation. The responses of Haitian children on their right to participate show adult-determined opportunities for interdependent causes but stark limitations for independent purposes. Such results are evident in one current Haitian child domestic labourer residing in Croix-des-Bouquets who encapsulates the view of many that, “children in Haiti are [considered to be] only half humans. We are not full humans like adults [so] [w]e can’t make choices” (B44, 2013, interview). This impression of children’s position within their families’ accords with the Local approaches’ view that children’s participation is shaped by adults for the collective’s well-being. At the same time, there is a definitive awareness offered by actors promoting the Global approaches’ view that children’s participation consists of qualified autonomous decision-making. For one current child domestic labourer in Port-au-Prince, he suggests that “kids have the right to tell their parents how they feel” (B34, 2013, interview). Another current child domestic labourer in Cité Soleil states “children have rights but adults are the ones who make us suffer” (B28, 2013, interview). Examining such responses, one can conclude that there exists a clear tension in children’s right to participation. This manifests in the desire of some children to improve their participatory potential in the face of adult constraints. Taken together, these responses show a spectrum of opinions on children’s right to participation. However, in this Global-Local interchange of children’s participation, the lived realities appear to incorporate a very telling experience. This is because actors promoting the Global approaches’ autonomous right to participation are being taken in by Haitian children who are used to the Local approaches’ adult-constrained right to participation. What is repatriated outward is a dynamic change upon children’s participatory experience. Many children reveal a melding of the respective models’ individualistic and collective perspectives so as to conceptualize children’s right to participation as in fact an entitlement to responsibilities. For
instance, one child domestic labourer in Delmas states that “I have the right to work, I have the right to help people” (B40, 2013, interview). Another child domestic labourer in Tabarre explains “I have the right to learn so that I can help my family” (B41, 2013, interview). Furthermore, yet another child domestic labourer in Croix-des-Bouquets proclaims “I have the right to respect adults” (B43, 2013, interview). What such responses collectively suggest is that these Haitian children operate within a reality where they conceptualize their right to participation as inextricably interconnected with their social relations. This perception of interconnectivity held in relation to their family and wider community makes rights analogous to responsibilities. It is perhaps best summed up by one child domestic labourer in Tabarre indicating that “kids have rights but they are not respected. I will work very hard to show them to respect my rights” (B42, 2013, interview). For advocates of the Local approach, children participate through fulfilling their responsibilities. However, for advocates of the Global approach, they would view such participation as contradicting their autonomous rights. This is because the Global view holds that these children’s actions believed to enhance their rights are by their very nature undercutting such rights. This clearly demonstrates the tension and therefore range of potential outcomes that derive from the production of Haitian children’s right to participation at the Global-Local nexus.

The Global-Local Production of Children’s Lives

The third pillar in the Global-Local production of Haitian childhood is the character of children’s lives in regard to their setting and activities, both of which are influenced by proponents of the Global and Local models. In the Haitian context, these individuals and institutions espousing these two models contribute to the ways in which children experience their lives. Despite influence from the Global Model, it is the Local model that remains the predominant occurrence
for children in Haiti. Nevertheless, the interaction of these models clearly produces a fluid experience for the overall structuring of children’s lives in Haiti.

The Global-Local production of Haitian children’s lives stipulates particular settings in which they are to transpire. Proponents of the Global Childhood model perspective state that the ideal setting for children’s lives is within a nuclear family. This is because advocates of the model maintains that,

separation from parents and family is usually detrimental for the overall well-being and development of the child. [This is because] children without the guidance and protection of their primary caregivers are often more vulnerable and at risk of becoming victims of violence, exploitation, trafficking, discrimination or other abuses (UNICEF, 2011, 5).

Because the Global model wishes to see children situated within their immediate family for a protective upbringing, it is no surprise that Global model advocates are deeply concerned by a present day Haitian reality that sees only 44% of Haitian children living with both their biological parents (MSPP, 2013, 333). On the one hand, advocates of the Global model recognize that desperate socio-economic circumstances may lead to children’s exit from the nuclear family home. However, for one international orphanage director based in Gonaives, there exists deep concern within the child protection community that financial necessity is not always pressing in the decision to send children out of the nuclear family. She explains that,

I can’t understand [sending children]. The structure, its normal in Haiti to give the children to another family that is better than you. … I have a problem to say its only the [financial] need because many families are doing alright but still send their kids” (A23, 2013, interview).

Therefore, actors advocating for the Global model aim to counteract Haitian parent’s practicing of the Local model so as to keep them in their nuclear home setting.

The Global Childhood model to children’s lives is also evident in the activities they are involved in. Promoters of the Global model uphold that children must be viewed as valued actors in their present state and by way of doing so, the main activities in children’s lives should be
play and schooling. Interviews with these proponents demonstrate that they disapprove of the Haitian situation since they view schooling as the proper path and see labour in a negative light. This is because as another international orphanage director based in Les Cayes representing many Global model advocates expresses, it endangers children’s proper socialization by “robbing children of their childhood” (A35, 2013, interview). Therefore, according to a Haitian child protection officer working for a prominent international child rights NGO, their organization clearly states that “the first thing a child needs is to be in school” (A12, 2013, interview). This is because it will allow all children “to develop their potential and become good citizens for Haiti” (A12, 2013, interview). Moreover, there is a working assumption within the Global model that attendance in school can reduce children’s involvement in labour. This is expressed by one international NGO child protection worker with a specific focus on education. Sharing sentiments that are representative of the vast majority of Global model advocates, she states that, “our first objective is to make sure all children fulfill their right to go to school. … Attendance in school, particularly for rural children, will stop them from moving to cities and looking for work” (A20, 2013, interview). In this light, the thinking of Global model advocates remains that not only can Haitian children secure a protected childhood through the activity of school, but it will simultaneously guard them from the dangers involved in labour.14

The Local model’s setting of children’s lives is advanced mainly by Haitian parents and children who challenge the Global model through offering a different perspective. Their alternative view reflects Haitian culture where solidarity across families and their wider communities demands the mobility of children. As discussed above, this staunch solidarity amongst parents that assures them that their child can be raised by a multitude of actors is connected to the idea that children have the capacity to alleviate family and community poverty.

14 See Abebe and Bessell, 2011 as an important critique to the school/labour dichotomy.
As such, a prominent Haitian anthropologist based in Delmas confirms that Haitians see “childhood as a stage of life … [where] particular social duties are to be fulfilled and a range of skills [develop] through their interaction with different people in different settings” (A44, interview, 2013). Children’s activities are therefore connected to the requirements emerging from social relations in these setting. Because of this, school and play are not always possible in the face of collective labour needs. For instance, while it is clear that Haitian families deeply aspire to send their children to school, the feasibility of doing so is not always possible. As one international NGO worker specifically working on stemming child migration explains,

Say I’m a farmer, I have been raising my corn and I have some chickens and now all of the sudden my child is five years old and some person tells me I gotta send him to school. I send him to school, he comes back and says the first day, oh dad, they want 500 Haitian dollars. And I say, oh, wait, what do you mean 500? Surely this is a mistake because you have to remember we’re talking about people that didn’t go to school and three digit numbers, this can be scary. This is more money than they’ve ever seen (A4, interview, 2013).

While the desire holds that Haitian children may be sent to school to assist the larger community, doing so requires significant sacrifice that is not always possible. Not only does the financial cost keep children from the activity of school, but it is also the opportunity cost of how their labour can contribute to the family’s well-being. As one Haitian academic explains, “the child is considered like a natural aide for the parents” (A29, 2013, interview). Toward this end, an international orphanage director based in Les Cayes explains that such assistance involves “carrying water, helping cook [and] helping look after the little children” (A35, 2013, interview). All of this work may also keep children from engaging in play. Advocates explaining the Local model are therefore well-positioned to demonstrate that play is frequently a luxury for some children. A prominent anthropologist studying Haitian childhood explains further that the idea of childhood including play is “more [of a] European orientation. [However,] Haitians play, you see Haitian kids playing, but the opportunity for play is limited because they are very busy” (A48,
In the contemporary Haitian context, labour, as opposed to school and play, is the predominant activity in children’s lives.

The existence of actors promoting this Global Childhood model into circumstances where Haitian residents by and large practice the Local Childhood model leads to an interactive process responsible for producing the setting and activities of Haitian children’s lives. By way of this interchange, one sees how advocates for the Global model can fall victim to improperly presenting Haitian parent’s conceptions on their children’s education. Some Global model respondents assume Haitian parents have limited interest in allowing their children to attend school. However, Haitian parent respondents clearly indicate that they want their children to have educational opportunities. In fact, Henriette Lunde states that “education in Haiti is highly valued and being able to read and write is perceived as much sought-after assets” (2008, 5). As such, interactivity of the Global and Local models reveals that there is demonstrably shared space. For one prominent international organization director, the fact that education is so sought after in Haiti “is something for the child protection community to build on because a respect for what education stands for is not always evident in all societies” (A30, 2013, interview). In this light, the interaction of actors espousing both the Global and Local Childhood models produce a consensus on this aspect of children’s lives. However, realization is limited by the significant political and economic barriers Haitian children and their families face.

The interaction of the Global Childhood model advocates and Local Childhood model advocates produces a dynamic process in the structuring of Haitian children’s experiences of the setting and activities of their live. As confirmed in these interviews, for many Haitian children, the alternative settings of children’s livelihoods reflect children’s belief in their family and community responsibilities. For instance, one child living in the rural areas of Jean-Rabel
indicates that “I have a duty to my family and my community to follow their rules” (B19, interview, 2013). According to another rural child living in Gonaives echoing a common sentiment, “I do not want to leave my family. This is where my family lives and this is where I want to stay. But, if my mother requested me to leave, I would oblige because I trust her” (B6, 2013, interview). Clearly, these children recognize their role may include living in alternative settings beyond the nuclear family. Related to children’s setting is the fact that many children believe in participating in labour prior to school and play. As one former child domestic labourer respondent living in Jean-Rabel indicates, “I need to do whatever my parents tell me to do” (B21, 2013, interview). However, the opportunity to live in these alternative settings is something that some children actually aspire to as some respondents go so far as to say that they initiated their own move. One current child domestic labourer in Cité Soleil explains, “I wanted to go to the city. I asked my parents if I could live somewhere in the city. The move [to my uncle’s house] was my decision” (B31, 2013, interview). What can be delineated from this overall discussion is that the propensity of children living in alternative settings to their nuclear family suggests that the influence of actors promoting the Global model is predominantly constrained by practitioners of the Local model. By the same token, one can see children have in some cases utilized the autonomy inherent in the Global model to make such a move as reflected in the example above. However, this respondent’s example shows contradictory signs between the Global model’s view on children’s independence and living outside of their nuclear family. This is because while the Global model offers greater autonomy, it still would favour children living within their nuclear families prior to taking the independent decision to live outside of them. This would support the best interest of the child principle. Nevertheless, in many cases, children have utilized the Global model to advance their aspirations for attending school. Like many of the children interviewed,
one former Haitian child domestic labourer now living back home in the rural areas of Gonaives indicates the fact that “all children should be in school” (B4, 2013, interview). However, despite the significant number of children living in alternative settings, it is not always clear that children’s educational aspirations are met. Consequently, this suggests that the Local model still remains quite insulated from the Global model as the predominant experience for Haitian children. Having said this, there is a telling experience for the interaction of the Global and Local childhood models upon children’s lives. That is that many child respondents indicate that they would feel bad moving to a better setting and/or being able to attend school with the knowledge that they were not contributing to their family responsibilities or having experiences that others were not sharing with them. It was made exceedingly clear that many children shared the sentiment laid out by one former child domestic labourer living in the rural areas of Gonaives who responds by stating, “I have a responsibility to my family to do my work. But I also wish I could be in school” (B4, 2013, interview). While proponents of the Global model aspire to see children in one activity and not the other, the Global-Local interchange results in children being motivated to combine activities. Therefore, there exists a demonstrable solidarity from Haitian children for not wanting to leave others behind while simultaneously being involved in both schooling and labour that will contribute to the family’s collective well-being. Overall, the Global-Local production of Haitian children’s lives clearly occurs through the dynamic interplay of the Global and Local models producing children’s diverse range of opinions that require close attention in understanding the ultimate experience of their livelihoods.

**The Global-Local Production of Children’s Right to Securing Provisions for their Lives**

Coupled with the Global-Local production of Haitian childhood through children’s lives is the third pillar in the Global-Local production of Haitian children’s rights. This is stipulated as
children’s right to securing the provisions for their lives including food, clothing and shelter and is based upon the advocacy of actors adopting both Global and Local approaches for the child’s relationship with the family as well as the state and/or kin relatives respectively. In the Haitian experience, both the Global and Local approach provide instruction on how to facilitate the provisioning of children’s lives. While those espousing the principles of the Global approach see the right to provision as the responsibility of the parents and/or the state, most Haitians take the view more along the Local approach that provisioning involves children taking responsibility in such processes themselves. However, despite demonstrable influence from the Global approach, it is in fact the Local approach that remains predominantly experienced by children in Haiti. Nevertheless, it is vital to show that these approaches interact with one another to produce a fluid experience for the overall provisioning of children’s lives.

This Global approach to facilitating children’s provisions is encouraged by Global advocates who conceptualize the child as an independent rights-bearer. These actors situate the child as such so as to call forth their families’ responsibilities for provisioning their children’s lives. Haitian parents are therefore expected to engage in all labour activities that will ensure their children are fed, clothed and sheltered. However, while Haitian parents strive to secure the provisions for their children’s lives, they also use their children to contribute to such provisioning. The interviews confirm that from the vantage point of Global approach proponents, this is a violation of children’s rights. Such sentiments are espoused by a Haitian director of an international NGO in explaining that “the system of social protection in Haiti considers the child like an economic producer” (A17, 2013, interview). This problematic set of circumstances says one international orphanage director in Les Cayes stems from the fact that, “get[ting] an income is something that Haitian children are encouraged to do from a very young age” (A35, 2013,
interview). Advocates of the Global approach therefore contend that such actions taken for the sake of provisioning children’s lives is problematic. This is because the act of doing so “entails a profound interruption in the normal cycle of child development and socialization” (Smucker and Murray, 2004, 13). Therefore, for Global approach advocates, should parents be unable to secure the provisions for their children’s lives, it is incumbent upon another institution to do so. This other institution is the Haitian state. However, the Global approach is confronted with a Haitian reality described by one Haitian child rights program officer where “quite simply, children are not the priority in th[e] society” (A12, 2013, interview). The Haitian state’s lack of policy and programming for children are a significant source of contention for both NGOs and CBOs. There exists palpable dissatisfaction expressed by one Haitian child rights CBO director based in Port-au-Prince. She explains that “we are a foundation that works for the protection of children. We conduct advocacy and give information but we are not capable of replacing the state. There is no plan from the government on the protection of children” (A16, 2013, interview). Such frustration with the absence of the Haitian state’s support for children is indeed warranted. Despite ratifying the Convention on the Rights of the Child and in so doing advancing the Global Rights-Bearing Child approach, Haiti has yet to “create a Children’s Code to implement the provisions of the Convention … to ensure the respect of children and fulfillment of their rights” (UNICEF, 2011, 3). Therefore, the legal rights to the provisioning of children’s lives are not enshrined as strongly as needed. Moreover, as a signatory to the CRC, countries are expected to report on their progress to fulfilling the state’s obligation to their children through the Committee on the Rights of the Child. Since signing the Convention in 1995, Haitian Governments have only reported on the state of Haitian children once in 200215 (UNICEF, 2011, 24). According to UNICEF, “the

15 As of 2014, this remains the only time that Haitian Governments have reported to the committee on the Rights of the Child.
delay is a concern as regular, on-schedule reporting is crucial in terms of measuring and monitoring the evolution of Haiti’s compliance to the CRC” (UNICEF, 2011, 24). Such limitations call into question the state of children’s right to the provisioning of their lives. In this context, one director for an international child rights NGO contends that “you can have as many organizations as you want, but as long as you don’t have a well-functioning government, there is only so much you can do. You need to have a good government in place” (A33, 2013, interview). Consequently, those advocating for the Global approach to children’s right to the provisions of their lives see significant barriers in Haiti.

Given this context, the Global-Local production of children’s right to provision is more usefully analyzed through the Local Rights-Bearing Child approach. These actors situate the child as an interdependent rights-bearer and as such as having responsibilities for the provisioning of not only their own but also the lives of their families. Despite the contemporary challenges and consequent changes of living within the lakou system, such norms of reciprocity strive to be maintained if yet on a smaller, more close-knit familial scale. Therefore, in its simplest form, one Haitian cultural studies educator characterizes living within the lakou system through the Haitian proverb that “cooked food has no owner. Meaning, people always want to share. Once there is something available, it’s not for me, it’s for all of us” (A52, 2013, interview). That sense of togetherness is built upon each family and community member (including children) participating in the provisioning of every individual’s life. However, as discussed in chapter 5, the provisioning of Haitian families’ lives has become increasingly difficult in current times and this is confirmed in the interviews. Reflecting on such challenges to Haitian families and communities, one Haitian historian suggests that “the political disturbances in the country over the past 20-30 years created a lack of trust among the people” (A36, 2013,
interview). He adds further that during this same period, “people [have been] becoming so poor, [that] they have to first think of the survival of their own family” (A36, 2013, interview). Similar sentiments are shared by two Haitian child rights workers based in Port-au-Prince and Tabarre respectively. For one, he believes that Haitians “used to have greater solidarity than now. The Haitians are very individualistic compared to in the past. The competition exists and it is because of need when one searches to satisfy their needs before thinking collectively” (A40, 2013, interview). This has resulted in what the other child rights worker quite simply states is that, “people are more likely to say now, my family’s my family” (A7, 2013, interview). This response conveys the idea that family consists largely of individual households rather than extended community members. Such findings should not preclude a Haitian society’s reality where the spirit of solidarity remains strong, but it is to recognize that in securing the provisions for children and their family’s lives, people are forced to be less communal. Proponents of the Local approach therefore show that in the face of increasingly precarious livelihood circumstances, children are tasked with being vital contributors to maintaining the overall well-being of their family that will in turn provide the provisions for their lives.

The Local Rights-Bearing Child approach to provisioning Haitian children’s lives also shows that in the absence of family and community support, children can form an integral part to developing kin relations capable of meeting the provisions of children and their families’ lives. This is reflective of a Haitian context described by one prominent anthropologist of Haitian childhood that compares “a strongly defined sense of solidarity as a geographic community … [to an extended] social solidarity” (A48, 2013, interview). For him, while both forms of solidarity exist, “what trumps it all is family ties and other patron-client relationships through labour arrangements, access to jobs, access to loans and so forth” (A48, 2013, interview). This
opinion is shared by a prominent international child rights director based in Petionville who speaks to the importance of kin relations in the provisioning of children’s and their families’ lives. For her, the “priority is not about people living together or supporting each other on a daily basis, it’s being able to rely on a network, on connections and it’s not necessarily blood connections” (A32, 2013, interview). Solidifying such networks of kin relations frequently involves the migration and ultimately staying of children with kin members for certain periods of time. In so doing, children will complete tasks that will be reciprocated in the form of both meeting the provisions for their own and their family’s lives (Sommerfelt, 2002, 21). Such kin relations therefore clearly characterize the Local Haitian Rights-Bearing Child approach.

As the Global Rights-Bearing Child approach espoused by practitioners penetrates the Local Rights-Bearing Child approach taken by Haitian families, they interact to produce Haitian children’s experience in obtaining provisions for their lives. Although the Local approach makes a significant break from the Global approach, Haitian parents are certainly not altogether opposed to state assistance. However, in experiencing the implementation of this Global approach, Haitian families and their children are aware that they are largely denied what the state had claimed it would support. The limited benefits afforded to Haitian families by the state are revealed in its lack of commitment and/or capacity to serve its rural child citizens in particular. This is demonstrated by the restrictions to accessing birth certificates for Haitian children. The director of an international child rights NGO explains that “it is very hard for parents … [that] live in the country-side because you really have to go to a bigger place to get a birth certificate. In the country-side, you have many children that don’t have [one]” (A33, 2013, interview). This finding is supported by a UNICEF report that determined, “more than half of [Haitian] children lack birth registration, without which they are more vulnerable to exclusion from essential
services” (2006, 3). While advocates of the Global approach espouse the state as the solution to provisioning children’s lives, many Haitian families remain reliant upon practicing their Local approach because in their experiences, they have not witnessed the state even partially implement the Global approach to address their children’s provisions. Therefore they remain highly reluctant to abandon their Local approach.

The interaction of proponents for the Global and Local Rights-Bearing Child approaches on children’s right to the provisions for their lives produces complex lived realities for Haitian children. This situation shows a dynamic process in the shaping of Haitian children’s experience with the provisioning of their lives. In the case of many Haitian children, there is a noticeable understanding that provision for their lives requires significant effort on not only their own but their family and wider community’s part. This is because of the significant challenges to securing their livelihood provisions. For instance, one rural Haitian child residing in Jean-Rabel explains that “children’s lives in Haiti are miserable. We never have enough food” (B19, 2013, interview). Therefore, this absence of sustainable livelihoods shapes rural Haitian children’s views on accumulating their life’s provisions. Toward this end, many children including one current child domestic labourer in Cité Soleil also spoke of the need to “move to the cities to find a job and make business for [their] family so [they] can eat” (B31, interview, 2013). In this light, these Haitian children once more express the interdependent worldview in securing provisions for their own life and that of their families. However, in discussing the provisions of their lives, children also invoke the duties of the state. One rural child in Jean-Rabel expresses that “the politicians should make sure every family has a garden” (B19, 2013, interview). This correlates with the food security challenges that beset the majority of rural Haitian families. Despite the widespread absence of the state for many rural Haitian children, some still identify it as a
responsible apparatus for the provisioning of their lives. Therefore, while there exists clear acknowledgement for the Global approaches’ reliance upon the state, making such an approach tangible goes largely unrealized. Being told by advocates of the Global approach that all children have the right to provisions through their parents and the state but only to see such a right neglected time and again, jeopardizes the sustainability of the approach. Time and again, Haitian child respondents reveal that such ideals resonate with them. In fact, with the influence of NGOs throughout the country, the Global approach is at children’s disposal to invoke in their lives. However, just as often these same Haitian children express that provisions for children’s lives remain largely out of reach. As one child living in an orphanage in Petionville expresses, “Haiti is a tough country. If you don’t have any money though, it’s a nightmare country” (B12, 2013, interview). Therefore, while advocates of the Global approach offer children the capacity to make claims for autonomous provisions, the stark reality is much different and begs for a Local approach of interdependency.

Conclusion

The Global Childhood framework consisting of its Global Childhood model and Global Rights-Bearing Child approach and the Local Childhood framework made up of its Local Childhood model and its Local Rights-Bearing Child approach demonstrably interact to produce a continuum of experiences of childhood and child rights in Haiti. There exists a range of actors promoting either the Global or Local framework conceptualizing childhood as either universal or variable and child rights as either independent or interdependent respectively. In so doing, these conceptualizations create a dynamic state of affairs for building the complex lived realities of Haitian children.
This is clearly evident in Haitian child-rearing practices. Here, advocates of the Global model’s nurturing methods by both parents and community members interacts with promoters of the Local model pushing for strict methods by both parents and community members. Their interaction materializes in Haitian children possessing a negotiated capacity to reduce the strictness of child-rearing practices but remaining mindful for why adults exercise such firm methods. This experience of childhood is connected to children’s right to a protected childhood. Here, proponents of the Global approaches’ nurturing socialization and qualified equivalent value in adult-child relations, interacts with advocates of the Local approach that shortens the child’s time in a nurturing socialization and advocates for different value in adult-child relations. Their interaction materializes in Haitian children conceptualizing their right to a protected childhood as operating within a middle ground of rights and responsibilities.

The dynamic interchange of the Global Childhood model and Local Childhood model is also revealed in Haitian child transitions. Global model promoters see a chronological age approach as fundamental to both infant-child and child-adult transitions while Local model promoters consider a social age approach as essential to infant-child and child-adult transitions. Their interaction shows that while the Haitian state has adopted the Global model, Haitian parents and children are unable to do so without the accompanying improvements to political and economic capacity. Therefore, children remain widely subject to a social age approach to child transitions. This experience of childhood is tied to children’s right to participation. Once more, advocates for the Global approach see positive individual and group benefit from autonomous rights claims while their Local approach counterparts see individual and group benefit through collective rights claims. Their interaction results in Haitian children conceptualizing rights and responsibilities in analogous terms.
Finally, in the setting and activities of Haitian children’s lives, actors promulgating the Global model contend that children live within a nuclear family and engage in school and play while actors advancing the Local model facilitate children living outside of the nuclear family and engaging in labour. Such interaction reveals significant common ground for children’s educational aspirations, but child respondents clearly reveal their desire to combine schooling with work in their objective to continue to contribute to their family’s well-being. This experience of childhood is coupled with children’s right to securing the provisions for their lives. On this matter, the Global approach advocates lay such responsibility with parents and the Haitian state while the Local approach proponents situate it with parents and kinship networks where children play an integral participatory role. Such interaction reveals children’s awareness for autonomous claim-making and its availability to be invoked. However, significant questions emerge over its realization and therefore the Local approaches’ interdependency remains most prominent. Taken as a whole, this chapter reveals that advocates disseminating both Global and Local conceptions of childhood and child rights dynamically interact with one another at the Global-Local nexus to produce the continuum of experiences characterizing Haitian children’s livelihoods. The result of which lends credence to the importance of international child protection actors consulting these children so as to collectively determine the best practice for ensuring positive childhood and child rights experiences.
Chapter 7 - The Global-Local Production of Child Domestic Labourers’ Identities and Livelihoods in Haiti as Advanced by Adult Actors and Institutions

The interaction between the Global Childhood framework and Local Childhood framework in Haiti generates complex conditions within which Haitian child domestic labourers experience their lives. The result of such interaction shapes a multitude of child domestic labourers’ identities that proceed to structure their lived realities. This chapter will specifically explore the influence that the conceptions of childhood and child rights held by adult actors and institutions including the Haitian Government, NGOs and CBOs have on these children. Specifically, as child domestic labourers are profoundly conceptualized by the labour that they engage in, the migration that they partake in and the citizenship status that they hold, this chapter will focus exclusively upon how these adult actors and institutions contribute to shaping their labour, migrant and citizenship identities while proceeding to connect them to how they inform the strategies that are invoked toward addressing these children’s livelihoods. The results of which once more indicate how a Global-Local analysis focusing exclusively upon adult actors’ conceptualizations and actions reveal a continuum of livelihood outcomes for Haitian child domestic labourers.

The Global-Local Production of Child Domestic Labourers’ Labour Identities and Livelihoods

The Global-Local production of child domestic labourers’ labour identities is significantly shaped by the conceptions of childhood and child rights held by adult actors and institutions. This is because they inform the strategies that they invoke in their social relations with these children. In the case of Haitian child domestic labourers’ labour identity, Global framework advocates stress the protection of these children from labour while the Local framework supporters offer a nuanced understanding that also aims to protect children but recognizes labour
as a potential part of sustaining their lives. The product of such views reveals a continuum of outcomes for child domestic labourers as it relates to defining them as restavek, conceptualizing them in a form of slavery, and evaluating their livelihood position.

**Child Domestic Labourers Defined as Restavek**

Proponents of the Global framework use the term *restavek* to demonstrate the exploitation that child domestic labourers can endure. As the global leader in child rights, the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) is a prominent institution in defining child domestic labourers as *restaveks*. According to UNICEF, a *restavek* is,

>a child who is sent to live with a host household, often because the parents/caregivers lack resources required to support the child. … Many parents/caregivers of *restavek* children believe that the move will offer the child better opportunities and a chance for an education. However, in reality the move often lands children in a situation of unpaid domestic service, working long hours, subjected to abuse, and denied the right to an education (2011, 6).

This institutional definition has demonstrable reach, informing the identity construction of child domestic labourers for government officials as well as NGO and CBO workers, Haitian families, child domestic labourers and the wider local and global society. For instance, one international child protection officer working in Haiti highlights three criteria that define child domestic labourers as *restaveks* including, “family separation, mistreatment in the house that includes physical and mental abuse, plus having basic needs go unmet” (A41, interview, 2013). For her, it is the severity that characterizes such circumstances that most poignantly defines the child as a *restavek*. This degree of harshness is clearly brought to light by an international orphanage director working in Gressier as she explains that the *restavek*,

>will work in the worst conditions … [where they suffer] maltreatment, injustice, violations, [and] violence. … They will not go to school, they will not eat well, they will not have an appropriate space to sleep. … In the house, [s/]he works and loses the life of a child because [s/]he never has the chance to be a child, [s/]he doesn’t have the rights, [s/]he works in the house and doesn’t have a childhood (A26, interview, 2013).
In this response, the Global proponent’s conceptualization of child domestic labourers’ identity is advanced as being shaped by a clear violation of their rights.

These actors maintain that advocacy against the practice of child domestic labour requires the term *restavek* to recognize the harshness that it imposes on children. This is true for one international orphanage director working in Gressier who is deeply concerned by the fact that “so many people just tip toe around the word *restavek* and they say domestic servitude, [but for her] the reality is that … it’s a *restavek*, it’s a child staying with a family against their will” (A26, interview, 2013). It is therefore this advocacy-based approach that motivates this international orphanage director to dispel the social acceptance of *restavek* and normalize it for it is precisely, why [our organization] uses *restavek*. We use it in our mission statement, we use it in our school, we use it all the time because yes it’s derogatory and negative but people don’t want to talk about it because it is derogatory instead of the opposite, bringing it to light, having people talk about it, and them realizing its negative so we need to change it. We don’t want to hide from using the word that makes people uncomfortable (A26, interview, 2013).

In this way, the Global Childhood framework as advanced by this actor clearly defines child domestic labourers’ labour identity as a situation of *restavek* so as to get people talking about the issue. In so doing, child protection workers can advocate for the removal of all children from such circumstances.

On the other hand, for the proponents of the Local Childhood framework, the term *restavek* is used in a more nuanced manner. In its most basic iteration, cultural anthropologist Gerald Smucker explains that “the Creole term *restavek* literally means someone who lives with another” (2009, 14). As such, it may demonstrably cover a wide range of children’s living arrangements. For instance, according to an international child rights expert working throughout Haiti to protect children,
the traditional conception of Haitian restavek mean[s] … a child who is not living with its biological family, but the biological family is still alive, so it's non-orphaned and it's a child that works in a household, and that's it. You want it very basic, that is it, there is no indication of abuse, of exploitation in the traditional concept of what the restavek system was and in many cases still is (A4, 2013, interview).

Toward this end, there is a clear indication that child domestic labourers’ labour identity should not be singularly identified as exploitative. However, proponents of the Local Framework also acknowledge the abusive potential that the restavek term conjures up. For one national child rights director working closely with Haitian child domestic labourers, the “daily life of the restavek consists of being mistreated from early in the morning to late at night … [where they do] all the work … [and are subject to] maltreatment” (A5, 2013, interview). Therefore, there certainly exists convergence between both Global and Local actors in the defining of child domestic labourers as restavek. Despite Local advocate calls to recognize the diversity of experiences, there is an increasingly evident tide that suggests the exploitative definition of restavek is largely overshadowing a nuanced understanding in its widespread use of the term across Haiti.

Moreover, in Local Childhood framework proponents’ use of the term restavek to depict the labour identity of child domestic labourers, it is conveyed as harmful due to its pejorative and demeaning impact upon children. Reflecting on this set of circumstances, an international child rights expert working throughout the country suggests that,

the most telling way to understand what [the term restavek] means to Haitians is to see how peers interact with each other. I can tell you that in the school yard when one kid calls another a restavek, it means you're dirty, stupid and not from here. And that's I think, that's the stigma associated with it. You have to remember most restaveks come from rural backgrounds and there are a lot of prejudices against country people in Port-au-Prince (A4, 2013, interview).

In this light, invoking the term restavek to define the child domestic labourers’ labour identity can have demoralizing implications for children in such circumstances. A Haitian cultural
studies educator explains that if you are “not living with your biological parents, going to a crappy school or not wearing decent clothes, automatically people have a view of you [as] restavek. Once you carry that load, you’ll be carrying it for a long time” (A52, 2013, interview). Revealing this Local framework conception of restavek therefore suggests the very real implications that may burden children in such circumstances. As the Local conception of restavek continues to take on this derogatory character, it is important to note that proponents of the Local framework caution such use of the term so as to prevent children from assimilating the negative characteristics of the word. Such Global-Local interaction suggests that the advocacy of Global actors have significantly impacted Local actors in categorizing child domestic labourers as restaveks. However, also evident from such interaction is that Local actors caution Global actors framing all child domestic labourers’ experiences as restavek so as to recognize the spectrum along which their livelihoods are experienced. Some Global framework advocates reveal partial recognition for the Local proponents’ view. For instance, the transnational social justice organization working in Haiti, the United States of America and Canada, the National Coalition for Haitian Rights, admits that “ideally, the term used would reflect on the adult rather than on the child, justly criticizing the practice rather than attenuating its real implications” (McCalla, 2002, 21). However, their institutional mandate reflects the Global framework by holding out the importance of using and “appropriating the term restavek [so that] we can help take away the shame associated with being a child domestic worker and begin transferring it to those who keep restavek instead” (McCalla, 2002, 22). This is because “as long as we continue to use terms that mask the real issues at stake, we will continue to veil the true nature of the problem” (McCalla, 2002, 22). However, proponents of the Local framework maintain that “Haitians recognize that many placements do entail abuse but reject the notion, that the …
arrangement is inherently abusive” as the term *restavek* suggests (Smucker and Murray, 2004, 3). In this light, the interaction of the Global and Local frameworks reveal that the defining feature for conceptualizing whether a child domestic labourers’ experience constitutes the identity of *restavek* should be based upon the extent to which their treatment differs from the biological children in the household. A prominent national child protection officer working for an international NGO in Haiti explains that “displacement is not sufficient for a case of *restavek* because if the family receives the child and treats the child the same as their own children, there is no discrimination and therefore it is not *restavek*” (A17, 2013, interview). Consequently, the Global-Local production of the labour identity of child domestic labourers based upon the definition of *restavek* requires what a Haitian school principal based in the Port-au-Prince suburb of Croix-des-Bouquets suggests is “evaluating each experience along a spectrum. There can be great experiences, fair experiences and extremely tragic experiences. While there is definitely pain throughout the spectrum, using *restavek* needs to be reserved for the specific cases” (A3, 2013, interview). Overall, this interaction between Global and Local framework proponents indicates that the promotion of child domestic labour as at all times a *restavek* by Global advocates significantly influences the Haitian context although Local proponents continue to critique a blanket defining of child domestic labourers’ labour identity as *restavek* due to the variety of experiences that these children may live out.

**Child Domestic Labourers Conceptualized as Modern Day Slaves**

Actors representing the Global framework use slavery to draw attention to the servitude status of many child domestic labourers. For instance, the Walk Free Foundation, one of the main institutions disseminating the enslaved status of these children, collects information and publishes their findings through its Global Slavery Index intended for “citizens, non government
organizations, businesses and public officials to understand the size of the problem, existing responses and contributing factors, so they can build sound policies that will end modern slavery” (Walk Free Foundation, 2014, 10). According to the 2014 index, Haiti’s restavek system is responsible for the country’s third highest worldwide ranking where the percentage of its population is enslaved (Walk Free Foundation, 2014, 18). This institutional recognition of child domestic labourers as slaves is perpetuated through a multitude of Global childhood framework advocates. For instance, a Haitian child protection officer working for a faith-based NGO stationed in Port-au-Prince explains that his organization “wants to eradicate the [child domestic labour] system completely … because it describes the reality of slavery that we need to eliminate” (A15, 2013, interview). This sentiment is echoed by another Haitian child protection officer representing an international NGO also based in Port-au-Prince who shares that his organization “work[s] to fight against all forms of modern slavery … [and] particularly the situation of children in domesticity as a form of modern day slavery” (A17, 2013, interview).

Overall, this conceptualization of child domestic labourers in a form of modern day slavery is necessary for Global framework proponents because as one international orphanage director working in the rural areas of Les Cayes explains, “classifying the system as slavery is not something that most [Haitian citizens] would do” (A35, 2013, interview). Therefore, framing child domestic labour as a form of slavery is deemed imperative so as to advance a strategy that combats societal acceptance of the practice.

Toward this end, these Global Childhood framework advocates associate child domestic labour as a modern day form of slavery to reveal the contradiction of Haiti’s historical contestation of slavery yet modern day practice of enslaving children. The National Coalition for Haitian Rights states that,
the very subject of restavek as a form of slavery continues to be a taboo in Haitian society. Not only is it an embarrassment and a ‘paradox in a country that became the world’s first black republic in 1804 when slaves rebelled and drove out their French masters’, but it is also a situation in which many Haitians have been complicit. Accepting to discuss it now is akin to acknowledging that members of their society have been practicing – or complicit with – slavery, especially as restavek fits many of the conditions for contemporary forms of slavery by most international standards, including ones to which Haiti is a party (McCalla, 2002, 23).

In light of this situation, advocates of the Global framework are intent on drawing parallels between the historical contestation of slavery and the need to renew such fundamental concerns in the present circumstances to eliminate the practice. A prominent Haitian director of an anti-trafficking organization based in Port-au-Prince explains that there is a need to “change this situation utilizing the same word [slavery]; the same strong word because if one says that child domesticity is like modern day slavery, it is a shock. Because it is a shock, it can change the mentality of society” (A19, 2013, interview). Such an advocacy message that frames domestic labour as analogous to slavery is designed to facilitate a questioning of current practices that can in turn lead to eventually eliminating its existence altogether.

In contrast, proponents of the Local Childhood framework contend that the use of slavery is not only incredibly insensitive but also contextually inaccurate. For instance, an international child protection officer operating throughout Haiti explains this through the relationship between Haitian self-identification and the country’s historical experience with slavery arguing that,

the very nature of being Haitian is the fact that you fought for the elimination of slavery. That was the sacrifice that was fought. If slavery still exists, in some sense, that negates your entire identity and it means that everyone, all that blood was spilled, all those people who suffered and died and threw themselves into Napoleon's cannons and went up against bayonettes with rocks, was for nothing, because slavery still exists. What we need to talk about here is not slavery, but exploitation (A4, 2013, interview).

Moreover, drawing this connection proves considerably inaccurate according to a prominent anthropologist of Haitian studies who states that, “it is absolutely wrong to talk about children in
Haiti as slaves. … [Not only is it] disrespectful [but] it [also] distorts the truth of the matter” (A48, 2013, interview). He continues that child domestic labourers are “sent … by and large with the authority of their parents. They are not property [and] they are not chattel that is bought and sold. … [Therefore] accounts that use the term child slaves are just wrong” (A48, 2013, interview). However, according to anthropologists Smucker and Murray,

Haitian society has long been marked by … hierarchical and authoritarian [relations] … [that] date back to colonial Saint-Domingue. … The restavek children of today’s Haiti are not slaves; however, current treatment of restavek children is fully in keeping with old patterns of hierarchy (2004, 11).

Consequently, for many proponents of Haiti’s Local Childhood framework, strict child-rearing practices may prove a vestige of the country’s colonial past. While Haitians recognize that such social processes may bring harm unto a child that goes beyond reasonable disciplining mechanisms, the invocation of slavery is problematic. For proponents of the Local framework, Haitian child domestic labourers are “not remarkable but normal. So normal, in fact, that many people … consider it to be negative only in its most abusive forms” (McCalla, 2002, 13). Consequently, Local framework adherents challenge the conception that the child domestic labour system is a modern day form of slavery acknowledging rather that children may endure abuse particularly when entering a new household. By the same token, the view that these children are slaves is problematic as it masks their diverse realities.

Such Global-Local interaction reveals that Global actors have demonstrably influenced local actors in categorizing child domestic labourers as slaves. However, also made known in such interaction is that while global actors who apply the term slavery to child domestic labourers is viewed as both incorrect and disrespectful to many local actors, it’s diffusion has developed traction with local Haitian actors. These individuals include one social worker within the Haitian Government’s Institute for Social Well-Being and Research who explains that, “the
child domestic labour phenomenon is an ancient phenomenon that is the same as slavery” (A14, 2013, interview). Similar sentiments are shared by a former child domestic labourer and current director of a community-based organization in Port-au-Prince that works exclusively for the protection of child domestic labourers. This director once more draws parallels between Haiti’s colonial history and the current context where he states, “we as Haitians have enslaved ourselves. While the French started our enslavement, after independence we reproduced the same system and continued it along with our children” (A34, 2013, interview). Therefore, this conceptualization of child domestic labour as a modern day form of slavery has permeated into the psyche of many Haitian advocates contesting child domestic labour and has become a part of their awareness raising initiatives. As the leader of one of the foremost community-based organizations located in Petionville that contests child domestic labour explains, “we are the first country, and very proud to have eliminated slavery. But the situation of child domesticity is a form of slavery still in Haiti. It is sad but it is also true” (A5, 2013, interview). What is important to stipulate, however, is that many of these same proponents that conceptualize child domestic labour as a form of modern day slavery emphasize the differences that exist in its current form. For instance, a Haitian child protection officer working for an international NGO based in Port-au-Prince explains that, “certainly, it’s not comparable to slavery from the past, but when you see the child does not have dreams, when they don’t have space, when they are treated like animals, it is clearly approaching slavery” (A17, 2013, interview). These children have therefore become synonymous with what a director of an anti-child trafficking community-based organization in Port-au-Prince explains are, “slaves of another era, slaves of the modern times” (A19, 2013, interview). Overall, the interaction of advocates advancing the Global and Local Childhood frameworks show a dynamic interchange that has witnessed the former’s promotion of child
domestic labour as a form of modern day slavery predominate over much of the latter’s resistance to such framing. This has further informed the Global framework’s strategy for shocking society into stopping the practice of domestic labour despite continued resistance to such measures by Local framework proponents.

*Child Domestic Labourers’ Livelihood Position*

This Global-Local interaction also affects how advocates from each faction frame the livelihood position of child domestic labourers, especially girls. Actors conveying the Global framework focus on both the labour exploitation and false educational promise that many child domestic labourers endure. The collective challenges that all child domestic labourers in Haiti face are a product of what one international child protection officer working throughout the country explains are, “a highly centralized state with a low degree of access to social services in the rural areas [and] a high birth rate” (A4, 2013, interview). It is this context that underpins the exploitation that child domestic labourers are exposed to and leads to their characterization as exploited workers. For instance, many respondents views are reflected in the testimony of one director of a community-based organization based in Petionville that,

> child domestic labourers are mistreated from early in the morning to late at night. He or she is the person who is awake before they others to do all the work like prepare food, clean the house, do dishes, wash the clothes, go to the market, and then, after that, they are mistreated, beaten and talked down to. This is their daily life (A5, 2013, interview).

At the core of such circumstances is the fact that all domestic responsibilities fall upon the shoulders of one child. This differentiated treatment is further revealed as exploitation by a Haitian child protection officer based in Port-au-Prince because “one child is doing all the domestic work in the house and there are other children in the same house playing, studying or doing other activities” (A22, 2013, interview). Not only do proponents of the Global framework denounce such circumstances, but they are specifically concerned by how unfair gender norms
disproportionately affect girl child domestic labourers. While some roles will be completed by
the boy or girl, many respondents including a Haitian child rights officer working for an
international organization based in Port-au-Prince explains that “families have an affinity for the
girl … because the girl can do more than the boy, specifically when it comes to making food”
(A21, 2013, interview). The result of which Global framework advocates warn is a
disproportionate number of girls (59%) to boys (41%) conducting child domestic labour
(Sommerfelt, 2002, 39).

Adherents to the Global Childhood framework also express misgivings over the false
promise that these children often suffer in their frequent denial of an education. For instance, the
Walk Free Foundation’s Global Slavery Index reports that “most [child domestic labourers] …
have been promised free schooling in exchange for their light labour. [But, they] are often
prevented from attending school, or are able only to attend sporadically” (2013, 37). According
to their documented findings, “only 20 percent of [child domestic labourers] are allowed access
to school and only one percent reach secondary school” (2013, 37). For the child domestic
labourers who are permitted to attend school, however, they too experience palpable
discrimination. For instance, one Haitian child protection officer instrumental in the steering
committee on Haitian child rights explains that child domestic labourers,

will take the family’s children to school in the morning, pick them up in the
afternoon, bring them home and then return to the school for their own classes
in the afternoon. People then know that the child is a domestic and [s/he] may
receive a lower quality learning experience” (A11, 2013, interview).

In this light, even if the promise of an education is afforded, it is not equivalent to that enjoyed
by the biological children in the household. Advocates argue that such disparity is once more
compounded by gender. According to an international child protection officer based in
Petionville who focuses on gender and education issues specific to children, the educational
possibilities for a child domestic labourer is often determined by the gender of the child taking up this role. She contends that “having been in the countryside and spoken with parents, it is often the case that they will send boys because they have a better chance at receiving an education than girls” (A20, 2013, interview). Such unequal circumstances once more support the Global Childhood framework advocates’ contention that the lives of children in child domestic labour are based upon exploitative labour practices and false educational promises that become even more pronounced in the girl child domestic labour experience. Such circumstances are importantly brought to light by Global advocates for the expressed purpose of protecting and/or removing children from such circumstances.

Contrary to the Global framework, actors advocating for the Local framework cite the need to evaluate these children’s lives through recognizing the labour responsibilities and household opportunities that the practice of child domestic labour may bring for the family collectively and it is particularly important to recognize this familial consideration and its impact upon girl child domestic labourers. While children face challenging livelihood circumstances, this is even more pronounced of course for those families living in poverty. Consequently, from the Local framework proponents’ viewpoint, the exchange of labour in return for livelihood requirements is not necessarily an exploitative experience. For instance, an international child protection officer working for a faith-based NGO in a suburb of Port-au-Prince explains that because “many of the parents of [child domestic labourers] lack the means to take care of children themselves, these parents view the practice as holding the potential for the child to have a better life” (A33, 2013, interview). In this sense, this child protection officer affirms that for many parents there is “a definitive logic behind the practice” (A33, 2013, interview). Such assumptions are rooted in the Local Childhood framework adherents’ contention that children’s
labour contributes to a collective notion of the household. Each member within the household plays a particular role and has specific responsibilities that all assist in maintaining the familial household. Building from this set of circumstances, there also exists the belief that the child domestic labourer may in fact benefit through the skills that they acquire or opportunities emerging later from such a position. While the skill development is viewed more prominently for girl child domestic labourers who are likely to continue in a domestic role in their future as wives, boy child domestic labourers can utilize the position as a stepping stone for further educational and work-related opportunities. Such circumstances need to be understood within the challenging socio-economic context of Haiti. As the majority of Haitian citizens live under the absolute poverty line, they are simultaneously confronted by the fact that upwards of 80% of Haitian schools are private institutions (Lunde, 2008, 7). Consequently, the Local Childhood framework adherents view child domestic labour as demonstrating the means by which children may work for their education. Moreover, it is seen as a household livelihood strategy where the potential exists for facilitating the educational aspirations of both children and their families. By allowing children to become domestic labourers in the hopes that they will be “sent to school [while] hav[ing] some work at home … it may improve the social safety of the household” (Lunde, 2010, 17). Connected to this, an ICF International research project reported that “wherever possible, … [receiving families] made sure that the children placed in their care received some form of education” (Cooper et al., 2012, 17). Toward this end, one sees a demonstrable logic advanced by proponents of the Local Childhood framework that entry into child domestic labour could advance the livelihoods of both children and their extended family. In the process of doing so, there is both an economic and gender dynamic at play. Recognizing the limited means that families have at their disposal, the collective household reasoning
determines that “rather than attempting to give all … children some education, they prioritized getting a few children as far through the education system as possible” (Lunde, 2008, 23). In so doing, the belief stands that those select children can make stronger contributions to the household for the enjoyment of all members. A Haitian child protection lawyer working on behalf of a prominent international organization explains that in such circumstances, “families will send the boys to school and girls will stay home because they believe the boys can go farther and have more potential than girls” (A47, 2013, interview). Advocates of the Local Childhood framework therefore indicate the logical strategy that lies behind the labour conducted and potential education attained through assuming the role of a child domestic labourer.

The permeation of actors promoting the Global Childhood framework into places populated by actors advancing the Local Childhood framework, leads to an interactive process responsible for generating the labour identity of Haitian child domestic labourers in evaluating their livelihood position. In this interaction of individuals and institutions extending conceptions reflective of Global and Local frameworks, Global actors’ diffusion of evaluating child domestic labourers’ livelihoods as exploitative is an important contribution. Surely awareness for such circumstances is critical for protecting children from abusive circumstances. By the same token, the assumption of Global framework advocates needs to be mindful of the impoverishment that many families face. For instance, as a director of an anti-child trafficking CBO based in Jacmel explains, “Haitian parents love their children, but it is the socio-economic situation that forces them to make this choice” (A46, 2013, interview). In this light, such interaction reveals the importance of the Global proponents that their critique must be mindful that many of these families are being condemned simply because of their poverty. Such recognition must also extend to the situation facing the receiving family households. While the Local Childhood
framework recognizes that exploitative circumstances may ensue, the Global framework must also consider what a Haitian director of a child protection organization explains is a situation where even receiving families’ “own kids may not go to school nor have enough food to eat. It is not because the [receiving] family does not want to provide for their biological children and the child domestic labourer but simply because the family may not be able to afford it” (A37, 2013, interview). Such a set of circumstances has witnessed many Haitian families who receive child domestic labourers indicating that they are now feeling stigmatized over having the child in their homes. The director of a leading international child rights organization based in Petionville explains that despite challenging socio-economic circumstances, “there is a real solidarity that can exist when families are welcoming a child but there is now a tendency where these welcoming families feel the need to hide such placement out of fear of being accused of exploiting the child” (A32, 2013, interview). This interaction of the Global and Local Childhood frameworks can therefore result in disruption of the solidarity-based arrangements that are reflected in the Local framework. Overall, while individuals and organizations advancing the Global framework justly share concern for the livelihood experiences of child domestic labourers that informs the variable strategies that they adopt, they must be cautious of a blanket condemnation of sending and receiving households. This is because it is often the latter’s poverty that prevents upholding domestic labourers livelihoods. Therefore, the interaction of the Global and Local Childhood framework in constructing the labour identity of child domestic labourers through an evaluation of their livelihood position importantly demonstrates their influence in shaping these children’s experiences.
The Global-Local Production of Child Domestic Labourers’ Migrant Identities

In the case of Haitian child domestic labourers’ migrant identity, Global Childhood framework advocates call for prevention while Local Childhood framework proponents support a nuanced understanding that while aiming to protect children also recognizes migration as a potential part of their lives. The product of such views interacting within the Haitian context reveals a continuum of outcomes for child domestic labourers as it relates to the push and pull factors of their migration, the framing of their migration, and the resistance and reintegration following their initial migration.

The Push and Pull Factors of Child Domestic Labourers’ Migration

The push and pull factors of child domestic labourers’ migration further contributes to their migrant identity. Actors conveying the Global framework advance the position that while cognizant of push factors, the many pull factors cited are unlikely to materialize. This is because they explain that rather than securing improved livelihood circumstances, child domestic labourers will “spend [their] formative years isolated from parental love and care, … deprived of schooling and subject to long days of work with no pay and living conditions inferior to those of the overseer’s family” (McCalla, 2002, 9). In this light, the individual pull factors go largely unfulfilled. As a result, Global framework advocates aim to spread awareness for the false realization of individual pull factors so as to stem the tide of children migrating. It is this sense of misinformation that can deceive children of the reality of the circumstances that they will be exposed to. Toward this end, Global framework proponents also reveal “that someone else had made the decision for [child domestic labourers] to move into a receiving family’s home. The children often felt like they had no input in the decision-making process. [In fact,] many were not informed at all beforehand” (Cooper et al., 2012, 22). Therefore, the Global Childhood
framework advocates contend that individual push and pull factors of the child domestic labourers themselves are rarely a consideration. Rather, “it was a decision that appeared to rely solely in the hands of the adults in the family, usually a parent” (Cooper et al., 2012, 22). This state of affairs leaves little if any space to facilitate the pull elements of children’s migration that leads to such aspirations going unfulfilled.

Recognizing the significant challenges to securing improved livelihoods through migrating as child domestic labourers, advocates of the Global Childhood framework invoke a strategy that aspires to challenge the dominant Haitian narrative which espouses the value of living in the urban centres. This is because Global framework proponents aim to strategically dispel what they see as the myths surrounding child domestic labourers’ livelihoods and offer instead the reality that would await them. Despite the fact that an international orphanage director representing many Global framework advocates explains that Haitian children and their families “feel like they have more chances of getting aid when they are in the city … [she tries] to reach out to families to explain that this is not necessarily the case” (A35, 2013, interview). Similarly, a Haitian child protection officer working for an international NGO based in Port-au-Prince conveys that these rural children and their families assume that “if [living] in an urban area, the child will have access to electricity, will have water nearby, and will go to school” (A22, 2013, interview). He sympathizes with them because as someone who grew up in the rural areas, he knows that “the living conditions in the country-side are very, very hard” (A22, 2013, interview). However, he continues that “once you go to Port-au-Prince, you have to pay for everything; water, transportation, food” (A22, 2013, interview). As a part of stemming the tide of children migrating to the urban centres and specifically to become child domestic labourers, he
aims to raise awareness about the reality of these particular circumstances. For him, their organizational strategy is to advance understanding for the true nature of such conditions because it is a situation where rural “people don’t have the information to make a balanced decision. … Without informing [children and their families] of this [reality], the child will move to the city” (A22, 2013, interview). Moreover, Global framework advocates indicate the palpable tension that some urban citizens hold vis-à-vis rural citizens. This relates to the prejudice that some urban Haitian citizens invoke against some rural Haitian citizens where according to a Haitian child protection officer working for an International NGO, “people can curse you out [because] you’re from the mountains. … [Some urban] people don’t respect people from the country-side and so when the kids come they put them in their place because of that” (A7, 2013, interview). There is therefore a push by Global framework advocates to reveal these sets of circumstances while simultaneously elaborating upon the value of rural life as strategic measures to stem the tide of children’s rural-to-urban migration. This strategy is of particular importance because as a representative of a foreign embassy working on Haitian development issues explains, “one of the biggest problems is that kids feel it is okay to be abused if they are fed and housed. But we need to recognize this as a criminal activity” (A24, 2013, interview). As such, while advocates of the Global framework are conscious of the push factors impacting child domestic labourers’ migration process, they convey that pull factors are largely unrealized due in no small part to the false promises given to and discrimination against rural children and their families. Overall, the importance lies in explaining to them that children’s migration is a poor decision to make.

Alternatively, actors advocating for the Local framework are more nuanced and contend that vulnerability and agency may in fact co-exist. Such a perspective does not deny the severity of some children’s migratory and subsequent domestic labour experience, but it opens the way
for improved autonomy so as to more comprehensively understand the push and pull factors of children’s migration into domestic labour. For instance, Local Childhood framework proponents recognize the poverty that pushes many children into domestic labour (Cooper et al., 2012, 12). Families facing challenging circumstances in the country-side have therefore relied upon children migrating so as to deal with such issues. These include circumstances that have witnessed “enormous social and economic inequalities [that] reflect [a] history of development neglect of secondary cities and rural areas. … The result is a significantly underdeveloped and impoverished rural sector where basic public goods … are almost entirely absent” (Verner and Heinemann, 2006, 2). According to an international child protection officer working throughout Haiti specifically addressing children’s migration, “the socio-economic situation in the countryside now is the worst it’s ever been” (A4, 2013, interview). All of which has contributed to what a prominent anthropologist of Haitian childhood explains is a situation where children are “sent out when there is crisis in the family; often times a death in the family, a long and debilitating illness or crop failure” (A48, 2013, interview). Therefore, the Local Childhood framework proponents contend that children’s migration is significantly influenced by familial actor’s strategic use of children based upon the household’s economic and social circumstances. Experiencing such circumstances, some children acknowledge migration as a necessary route that will relieve the burden that they place on their parents. This is no doubt challenging for all parties involved. However, it reflects once more how “migration can … be interpreted as a coping strategy responding to shocks or extreme poverty” (Lunde, 2008, 129). The Local framework’s capturing of agency under vulnerable circumstances therefore reveals that while cognizant of the circumstances faced, both family members and children can play roles in the ultimate decision of the child to migrate and assume a domestic labour position.
Additionally, Local Childhood framework proponents suggest that there is demonstrable evidence of children’s independent desire to migrate and acting upon that chance at mobility as domestic labourers. For instance, as elementary schooling regularly ends at the age of twelve, many Haitian children pursue migration to the urban centres as domestic labourers following the conclusion of their studies (Sommerfelt, 2002, 41). As such, “children initiate their moves to new families themselves, and offer their services” (Sommerfelt, 2002, 65). Connected to this decision is the belief held by many rural Haitian children that migrating to the urban centres and taking up a domestic role can shed them of what they perceive to be the potential holding of a vagabond status. This is an important finding that only surfaces with the Local Childhood framework that is capable of facilitating the agency of child domestic labourers. For instance, many children believe “that the move from their original homes had turned them from ‘vagabonds’ without ‘discipline’, who simply used to ‘do nothing’, or ‘simply play’, into more ‘capable’ individuals” (Sommerfelt, 2002, 58). This unique status could only be arrived at through migration as domestic labourers where “they have acquired ‘city habits’ (which may imply the daily implications of living in a house in towns, like making beds, setting tables, etc.)” (Sommerfelt, 2002, 58). Such thinking needs to be situated within the context of how Haitian society operates and its impact upon social mobility. According to Lunde, “Haiti is a patrimonial society where who you know is more important than what you know” (2010, 33). Therefore, Local framework proponents suggest that children migrating to become domestic labourers is based upon their search for “social networks … [because this is] a young person’s most important asset when trying to influence their individual situation” (2010, 33). What materializes from such migration is therefore variable experiences from one child domestic labourer to the next. However, as a Haitian cultural studies educator explains, “the idea of coming to Port-au-Prince is like a dream
for the kids because just by staying in Port-au-Prince means you’re living another life. It means that you are living a better life” (A52, 2013, interview). Overall, advocates of the Local Childhood framework are clearly conscious of the challenges that migration into domestic labour may pose, but they also reveal the agency that children exercise to realize these important pull factors.

In the melding of the Global and Local Childhood frameworks, Global actors have brought awareness for dispelling the pull factors and revealing the discrimination that migration will bring and so promote the value of living in the country-side. However, also demonstrable in such interaction is that many Local actors see migrating as a child domestic labourer offering these children the chance to not only relieve their parents of what children feel is the burden that they place on them, but they can also secure the opportunity to shed their vagabond status. However, in the absence of a fundamental commitment to addressing livelihoods in the country-side, there is little to suggest stemming children from pursuing the hope of an improved childhood will transpire. This is because “Haitian youth strongly feel that they are being marginalized and excluded from access to opportunities in their own country. … When the young people feel that they are leaving nothing behind, the opportunity costs of migrating are considered to be very low” (Lunde, 2010, 31-32). This is not surprising for a Haitian child protection officer working for an international organization based in Petionville who points out, “it is certain that children in the poor rural areas will leave with the promise of work, to eat, to go to school. … Now, it is very difficult to convince a child in the country-side to stay if they have this chance. [S/]he will accept with many difficulties to accompany another person to the city” (A40, 2013, interview). Nevertheless, both the Global and Local framework advocates describe a situation as advanced by a Haitian child protection officer working for an international NGO
that where upon learning that their “child is being exploited … [parents will] go to take the child back, but [they] don’t share the information about it with the community. So these people aren’t aware of the situation [the] child faced in the urban areas and so they will continue to send their children” (A22, 2013, interview). It is such silence that he and his organization aim to address for the purpose of drawing greater awareness for the reality that many child domestic labourers endure in having migrated to take up this position. Therefore, the interaction of the Global and Local Childhood framework in constructing the migrant identity of child domestic labourers through their push and pull factors suggest multiple strategies designed to increase transparency and potentially stem the tide of children’s migration but this remains challenging in the absence of a viable alternative.

**The Framing of Child Domestic Labourers’ Migration**

Further complicating the migration of child domestic labourers is the manner in which it is framed. For instance, actors representing the Global framework frame child migration as trafficking. According to the U.S. Department of State’s Trafficking in Persons Report, Haiti experiences, “recruiters … arrang[ing] for [child domestic labourers] to live with families in other cities and towns” (Cooper et al., 2012, 5). For the Walk Free Foundation, this process involves “a ‘koutchye’ (or middleman/woman) offer[ing] to take [the] child, and transport them to the city where they can work in exchange for food, shelter and education … [leaving the] parent to face an impossible choice” (2013, 37). In so doing, however, a prominent director of an anti-child trafficking organization based in Port-au-Prince explains that the expectations of the child and their sending family go unfulfilled. For her, the “child domestic labour practice is the same as trafficking because … it’s recruitment, false promise and exploitation [as] the child will go to another family who say they will aid the child but they do not” (A16, 2013, interview).
That this recruitment process deceives and exploits the child is clearly articulated by a former child domestic labourer and now director of a boarding school in Port-au-Prince who explains that,

brokers will go to the country-side, they will go to a very poor family and than they'll convince the family, I have a good friend of mine, willing to take care of your kids, school will be paid for, everything will be great. Here is this family that really wants everything for their kids, they trust this guy and they give the kids away. But the families, the peasant, they have no clue what's going to happen once the kids leave their homes. Some of them, they got them at a very young age. And when they get here, their family has no contact with these kids, that's how those kids have been trafficked and enter into a restavek situation (A34, 2013, interview).

In this manner, advocates clearly aim to prevent child migration due to its demonstrable establishment of the practice as a form of child trafficking.

Global framework advocates also draw important awareness to how gender norms increase the vulnerability of girls relative to boys in the trafficking of children into domestic labour. This is because multiple studies indicate that the proportion of girls in domestic labour outnumbers that of boys. According to a joint Pan American Development Fund and United States Agency for International Development study led by anthropologist Gerald Smucker, “nearly two thirds of [child domestic labourers] (65%) are girls. … [This is because] reliance on girls as servant children reflects the sexual division of labour in Haiti whereby most household chores are performed by girls” (2009, 26). These findings are confirmed by a Haitian director of an anti-child trafficking organization in Port-au-Prince who states that “the family that searches for a [child domestic labourer] prefers to have a girl domestic because the girl often is more able than the boy. We find more girls than boys in domesticity and the demands on girls are much more” (A16, 2013, interview). The disproportionate number of girls in domesticity is a product of what a representative for the Haitian Government’s Ministry of Women’s Affairs indicates is “the feminization of poverty” (A51, 2013, interview). She explains that “women and girl’s
second-class status in Haiti means they are vulnerable to the most demeaning jobs like domestic work” (A51, 2013, interview). Moreover, within such work, girl’s significantly increased vulnerability manifests itself in enduring sexual violence. Many girl child domestic labourers are referred to as “‘la pou sa’ (there for that). They are accepted sexual outlets for the men or boys of the household” (McCalla, 2002, 15). Therefore, girl child domestic labourers’ are highly vulnerable to trafficking for sexual abuse. Consequently, intervention to protect these girls is not only imperative to relieve them of the present-day pain they are experiencing but also because failing to do so will perpetuate gender-based violence into the future. This stems from the fact that for many of these girls such abuse is likely to continue into adulthood (McCalla, 2002, 20). In this light, proponents of the Global framework clearly articulate the susceptibility of children and specifically the girl child of being trafficked into child domestic labour.

While proponents of the Local Childhood framework do not necessarily deny that trafficking through intermediary brokers may operate, they contend that it is far more likely the case that children migrate through familial and/or kinship channels. Local framework advocates therefore call attention to the fact that such relationships can be quite close. According to ICF International’s report on child domestic labourers in Haiti, “sending and receiving families were often related or acquainted and there was little evidence indicative of coercion, pressure or involvement of a third party” (Cooper et al., 2012, iv). In fact, the report furthermore indicates “that the sending and receiving families interviewed were adamant that … all arrangements were made directly between the families involved” (Cooper et al., 2012, 27). The Local framework proponents demonstrably offer a critical alternative to framing the migration of child domestic labourers. In so doing, advocates of this approach also highlight the actors involved in the decision-making process to migrate. From the sending family perspective, “some said that the
decision had been entirely theirs; others claimed that relatives or others had offered to take the children off their hands” (Cooper et al, 2012, 20). What is clear from adherents of the Local framework is that the migration of children into forms of domestic labour may be more accurately framed as transpiring within a familial and/or kinship-based relationship. This is not to deny that challenges will not beset the child in their new location. But it is to recognize that as migration transpires within such circumstances, there exists greater familiarity between sending and receiving households than the predominant Global framework advocates would suggest.

In Local Childhood framework proponent’s framing of child domestic labourers’ migrant identity, they connect the familial and/or kin relations to the unique gender aspects of the practice. As revealed previously, girls are much more likely to serve as domestic labourers than boys. The “gendered migration patterns are explained by different sets of opportunities for boys and girls at different destinations. … Female labour was primarily in demand in private households where girls were needed as domestic workers” (Lunde, 2008, 16). According to the Haitian director of a community based organization located in Port-au-Prince that supports child domestic labourers, “cleaning, looking after children, taking kids back and forth to school is more assimilated with women’s responsibilities. So that is why they send girls” (A37, 2013, interview). This association of women and girls with the domestic realm also plays a role in the migrant experiences that these children face. This is because Local framework proponents divulge that because women occupy the domestic responsibilities, they are also largely responsible for the recruitment of children into domestic labour. As a result, “most [child domestic labour] overseers are women, as are those who do the negotiating for their services” (McCalla, 2002, 15). Consequently, it is “almost exclusively … female interaction when discussing the giving and taking of children into [domestic labour]” (McCallas, 2002, 15). What
Local framework proponents deduce from such circumstances is that stronger ties between family and/or kin relations can be established through the predominance of women and girls overseeing the child domestic labour system. Migratory patterns of girls through both familial and kin ties are capable of solidifying continuity between sending and receiving households and/or communities. In this way, proponents of the Local Childhood framework reveals the strategic logic that permeates what in many cases is the enhanced connection between sending and receiving homes shaping child domestic labourers’ migrant identity.

The Global-Local interaction responsible for producing the migrant identity of Haitian child domestic labourers reveals that while Global framework advocates’ determinative association of child domestic labourers as the victims of child trafficking importantly draws attention to such possibilities, it requires consideration from Local framework proponents demonstrating the familial and/or kinship relations that facilitate such migration. The interaction of these frameworks therefore reveals the nuance that exists in constructing child domestic labourers’ migrant identity. For one Haitian child protection officer working for an international NGO, defining this identity is challenging because he sees cases where “there is contact with the two families directly … but in certain cases there is an intermediary” (A17, 2013, interview). However, in a report prepared for the Fafo Institute, Henriette Lunde points out that it is clear that the Global framework advocates require recognizing the Local framework proponents’ contention that defining the child’s migrant identity needs to be done with a “thorough understanding of the strategic role migration plays in [Haitian] society, at the household level and among the youth” (2010, 12). What such interactive consideration has revealed is that such a continuum of experiences requires analyzing each child domestic labourers’ migrant experience
on a case-by-case basis. This is most eloquently conveyed by a prominent director of a leading international child rights organization who states,

> For [our team], it's really important because we won't be able, I mean, I assume we won't be able and we should not aim at stopping children from moving because as you mentioned, it's opportunities but what we want to identify are the risks that children are facing along this road. When are the instances where children are likely to be abused, exploited in order to put in place or to design prevention mechanism and to protect children who have to move and who are going through, trying to accompany them so that at the end of the road, they have positive opportunities only. We will try to keep [children] home if they want to, if the family wants to keep them which I'm sure they do. So let's try to keep their children with them and accompany those who have to go (A32, 2013, interview).

In this statement, one can see the interaction of the Global Childhood framework and Local Childhood framework producing the child domestic labourers’ migrant identity. There exists a commitment to intervening in the case of child trafficking but recognition for children’s migration through familial and kin-based channels. Toward this end, a Haitian child protection officer working exclusively with child domestic labourers explains that she and her organization “focus on the treatment of children because there are many children who leave their home to live with a different family member and don’t get mistreated” (A7, 2013, interview). In this light, interaction of the Global and Local frameworks has enhanced calls by a wide range of actors to increase the capacities of state institutions for the protection of child migrants. A Haitian child protection officer representing an international organization based in Petionville explains that “collectively, the goal needs to be to monitor the demand. This is the responsibility of the Brigade for the Protection of Minors and the National Police. If we do this, the hope is that there will be more cases of family solidarity and less cases of trafficking” (A18, 2013, interview). This demonstrable melding of Global and Local framework advocates’ view of child domestic labourers’ migrant identity can therefore offer diverse strategic responses. This proves essential so as to ensure that clarity concerning the child domestic labourers’ situation results in the appropriate response of either intervening in or withdrawing from their livelihood circumstance.
The Reintegration and Resistance of Child Domestic Labourers’ Migration

The reintegration and resistance strategies advanced by both Global and Local Childhood framework advocates further the migrant identity of child domestic labourers. Actors who promote the Global framework in characterizing child domestic labourers’ migration push for reintegration of children back with their biological families. Such an approach to children’s migration is based upon an anti-child trafficking agenda designed to both reduce the underlying socio-economic causes of such movement while simultaneously promoting the importance of children remaining with their family based upon how their migration damages parent-child relations. Consequently, in the process of reintegrating children who have migrated and served as domestic labourers, a child protection officer working specifically for an international NGO committed to protecting migrants explains their three criteria approach includes a pre-return risk assessment, an income generating activity and monitoring and evaluation (A4, 2013, interview).

For him, it is the income generating activity that proves most crucial as “the root cause of children migrating is that families do not feel they have enough. If we do not give them new skills and a new outlook to change their material situation, we’re going to have the same result” (A4, 2013, interview). Toward this end, the Global framework adherents place emphasis on the importance of children living with their biological families and working toward ensuring the capacity of the parents to provide for their children. Another child protection officer working on behalf of an international NGO based in Petionville explains the importance of also “monitoring the cases [by] going back to the family with social workers and making sure everything is fine, that [the former child domestic labourer] has a proper life and basic standards are met” (A41, 2013, interview). Overall, the Global framework advocates aim to develop a strategy rooted in a
long-term commitment to bringing about the circumstances wherein former child domestic labourers can remain with their families to ensure their healthy development.

Supplementing the material conditions of the families of former child domestic labourers for their reintegration is also complimented by awareness campaigns designed to reveal the problematic circumstances that the original migration of the child can cause. Many Global framework proponents argue that not only does lack of communication between children and their parents damage their relationship, but this is compounded by the cruelty that many child domestic labourers endure. One Haitian child protection officer working for an international NGO explains that because “parents send their children into this abusive situation, the child blames them” (A22, 2013, interview). Another Haitian child rights officer also working for an international NGO discusses further this situation of “betray[al] and that there is no way that [the child] will reconcile with [their parents] because [they] gave her to someone else” (A7, 2013, interview). The result of such circumstances is a stigma that many Global framework proponents contend does and will continue to characterize the parent-child relationship. In this light, the reintegration process for child domestic labourers is about working toward rebuilding this loss of trust. Global framework advocates raise this set of circumstances in the communities that they work within for the purpose of acting as a deterrent to other families in the village who are considering sending their child to become a domestic labourer. Many child rights NGO representatives discussed the valuable preventative tool that such awareness campaign measures can bring so as to avoid child domestic labourer experiences altogether. Overall, the Global Childhood framework advocates attempt to address the underlying socio-economic causes of child domestic labourers so as to improve the chances of positive and long-lasting reintegration while also promoting a vision of the child with their biological family so as to maintain strong
ties. Such an approach is captured by an international orphanage director based in Les Cayes, who explains that the process of doing so recognizes the “inadequate necessities of life in the country-side, but … [emphasizes that] a better quality of life especially with their emotional and development needs [can] be met” (A35, 2013, interview). Therefore, Global framework adherents promote positive reintegration so as to ensure the child remains a former migrant.

In their strategic approach, Local framework proponents observe that these children may challenge reintegration efforts and end up resisting a return home through finding alternative residences. Despite the best efforts of many child protection organizations, children who returned home … [experienced] virtually the same social and economic conditions that precipitated their departure in the first place – poverty, absence of at least one parent, poor nutrition, inability to attend school, etc. (Smucker, 2005, 19).

Consequently, proponents of the Local Childhood framework question the capacity for livelihood circumstances to change enough such that children will be inclined to be reintegrated back into their original familial homes. A Haitian child protection officer working for an international NGO explains that the potential for a positive reintegration process to transpire, depends for all cases. Myself, I made the experience recently to send a child back to their biological family. But when the child arrived to their house, he saw the type of house. At that time, he cried, he did not want to stay because it’s not the same. The child said I would prefer to return to the city (A17, 2013, interview).

Advocates of the Local framework therefore clearly articulate the significant challenges that reintegration poses and the need to recognize agency in the child. Such an approach that facilitates the child’s voice shows that “it’s not because they don’t want to see their parents, [because] most of the time, they will tell you, I want to go visit my parents … but I don’t want to stay there. Why? Because [they] have electricity in Port-au-Prince and in the centres we get to play” (A37, 2013, interview). Consequently, in recognizing the position of former child domestic labourers themselves, adherents of the Local Childhood framework reveal that strategies
developed for the reintegration process are often resisted. These proponents also note that children may seek alternative households to continue as domestic labourers. Similar to Sommerfelt’s findings that children sought improved situations (2002, 65), a Haitian child protection officer explains what many other child protection workers convey in that “when they come to a certain age, [these children] may revolt. They may endure false promises too long and will go somewhere else to find work” (A11, 2013, interview). Such resistance to the reintegration process and/or their receiving households demonstrates the agency that child domestic labourers exercise. Additionally, it is also worth noting that children may elect to depart their position as a child domestic labourer altogether and live their lives on the street. According to “the 2012 US Department of State Trafficking in Person Report … many [Haitian] street children are former [child domestic labourers] who were either dismissed or ran away” (Cooper et al., 2012, 4). While recognizing the significant challenges and dangers that children may face on the street, a Haitian journalist working in Port-au-Prince explains that there also exists the chance for these children to “take part in numerous activities like cleaning cars and loading people onto tap-taps [vans/trucks] to make money” (A31, 2013, interview). Taken together, what Local Childhood framework proponents reveal is that children can operate strategically by potentially working in a number of different homes and/or decide to find opportunities on the street. In so doing, Local framework advocates offer a more complex picture of children’s reintegration and resistance processes.

In the Global-Local interaction that takes place, advocates of the Global framework have been significantly influenced by the realities that shape proponents of the Local framework. For instance, a child protection lawyer representing a prominent international organization based in Tabarre explains that usually, “we have to bring [the child domestic labourer] to their family, but
sometimes we choose not to because it is not necessarily the best thing for the child” (A47, 2013, interview). Having worked “on the issue since 2007 … and hav[ing] made many reintegrations, [she finds that] usually, the child returns back. They might not return exactly to the former families, but they return back in the cities where they used to live” (A47, 2013, interview). As a result, there is a demonstrable combining of the Global Childhood framework that seeks the opinion of the child and a Local Childhood framework that recognizes children’s migration as a potential part of their livelihoods. Towards this end, a more flexible approach is adopted as characterized by this child protection lawyer who explains that, “I ask the child their opinion on where they would like to live? And the child will tell us, ‘maybe I have an auntie in a closer community, not all the way back in the country-side. I would like to go there.’ So we will try and accommodate the child to keep them from returning to domestic labour” (A47, 2013, interview).

In this process, however, the Local framework advocates also need to ensure the transparency demanded of Global framework advocates. One of the most significant concerns of child protection officers is that while children are prone to choose the urban centre locations where they have closer proximity to goods and services, it is not always the case that these will be secured. As a Haitian child protection officer working for an international NGO based in Port-au-Prince explains,

> for the child, you will see within their eyes this kind of hope. [S/]he will say, ‘for now, I have food and a place to stay. I hope they will send me to school next year so I can be patient. I can continue to work harder.’ But when the child is living in this situation, they will not eventually go to school. Things will not change for the child. This is why we need to help the child make the right decision (A22, 2013, interview).

This interaction of the Global and Local Childhood frameworks has created the circumstances wherein a more flexible approach is taken to reintegration strategies. While the migration of children is increasingly understood as a growing part of many Haitian children’s childhood
experiences, their protection still remains paramount. Arriving at this set of circumstances therefore requires child protection strategies committed to securing transparency concerning the child’s life.

The Global-Local Production of Child Domestic Labourers’ Citizenship Identities and Livelihoods

The interaction between the Global Childhood framework and Local Childhood framework in Haiti produces complex conditions within which Haitian child domestic labourers experience the citizenship identity that structures their lives. Global framework advocates contend that these children need to be protected from domestic labour to uphold their citizenship rights. This is deemed the responsibility of the biological family and/or state to implement appropriate strategies deemed capable of assuring these children’s protection. However, Local framework proponents explain that such institutions can be unable and/or unwilling to do so and therefore the children’s rights may actually be secured through a domestic labour position. It is thus viewed as a strategic decision by children and their families to take up such a role due to the fact that children are seen as interdependent citizenship rights holders. The product of such viewpoints interacting within the Haitian context materializes as a continuum of outcomes for child domestic labourers’ citizenship rights in relation to child protection laws, child protection practices and the political processes of the state.

Child Protection Laws Governing Child Domestic Labourers’ Citizenship Rights

The Global-Local production of Haitian child domestic labourers’ citizenship identity emerges through Global and Local Childhood framework advocates’ approaches to child protection laws. Global framework proponents call for the absolute prohibition of child domestic labour and this is the official position of the Haitian state. To this point, a prominent member of the Haitian Government’s Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour explains that the practice “is a violation of
these children’s rights and because of this the Haitian Government is doing everything it can to resolve the problem” (A50, 2013, interview). Similar sentiments are expressed by a child protection officer working for the Haitian Government’s Institute for Social Well-Being and Research. She reveals that,

the Haitian Government recognizes the rights of children, all the rights of children; education, health, live with a family and to be protected as well. There are the institutions close to the family of the country-side who work to protect the children, especially the ones who try to leave to the city to become domestics. There is also the BPM and another office called the Office for the Protection of Citizens who also view children as citizens who need protection (A25, 2013, interview).

Both of these Haitian Government actors reflect the Global Childhood framework through indicating their prioritization of the protection of children. This importance is indicative of the significant international child protection legislation that Haiti has become a state party to over the past two decades.

The Global Childhood framework has been advanced by a multitude of actors in relation to the state of Haiti that first materialized most prominently in the country’s signing of the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1995. This legislation conveys the guiding principles of the Global childhood model. Among many important articles, the convention consists of specific articles applicable to protecting children from serving as domestic labourers. These include the right to an education (article 28), the right to play (article 31) and the right to be free from exploitation (article 32) (OHCHR, 1989). Apprehension over the fact that many child domestic labourers’ livelihoods lacked realization of the above-stated rights among others led the Haitian Government to adopt the Global Childhood framework by signing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime (UNTOC) that includes the Palermo Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children in 2000. By signing these international protocols and applying them to the situation of
child domestic labourers, the Haitian government situates domestic labourers as the victims of trafficking. This is because Article 3 (c) identifies trafficking in persons particular to children as “the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation” (UNTOC, 2004). Similar concerns inform the protective measures that Haiti’s Global framework advocates have advanced through the signing of the International Labour Organization’s (ILO) Convention No 182 (Worst Forms of Child Labour) and No 138 (Minimum Age) in 2007 and 2009 respectively. In signing the first of these conventions the Haitian Government demonstrates that child domestic labour is, “work which … is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children” (ILO, 1999). The second establishes the minimum age of employment at 14 years of age so as to prevent all children under such age “from engaging in work that could be harmful to their health or development” (ILO, 1973). Taken together, the wide-ranging adoption of international child protection legislation reveals the impact that the Global Childhood framework has had upon Haitian law.

Prior to the prominent influence that Global Childhood framework advocates asserted upon the Haitian state, a Local conception of the citizenship right to protection for child domestic labourers was set out in chapter nine of the Haitian Labour Code. The overriding position of chapter nine sought to regulate child domestic labour because the state viewed the practice as a potential avenue through which children and their families may secure their livelihood rights. For instance, article 341 indicated that “no child under twelve years of age can be entrusted to a family to be employed in domestic work [and those who are employed] should not work beyond their strength” (Haiti Labour Code, 1984). The proceeding article 342 sets out a number of regulations for the head of the receiving households that include being “at least twenty-five years of age, of good moral character [and have] proof of sufficient income to meet [their] obligations
[to the child]” (Haiti Labour Code, 1984). Toward this end, families receiving a child into domesticity needed to secure a permit through the Haitian Government’s Institute for Social Well-Being and Research as set forth in article 343 (Haiti Labour Code, 1984). In the process of registering with the state, receiving households required adherence to ensuring that they offered the child domestic labourer “decent housing, adequate clothing, healthy and sufficient food, … enroll[ment] in a school or vocational training centre … and provid[ing] them [with] healthy recreation” (Haiti Labour Code, 1984). Thus, child domestic labour in Haiti could be a part of children’s childhood above the age of twelve and engaging in such labour required close monitoring to ensure the citizenship rights of these children are upheld. As explained by anthropologists Smucker and Murray,

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 (2004, 116).

This demonstrates that child domestic labour can be a practice designed to assist the child in securing their citizenship rights and aiding the sending family by offering them support.

However, it must be stated that questions abound over the historical ability of the government to regulate such practice. According to the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, Article 340 of the Haitian Labor Code “provides for the levying of a fine of 3,000 – 5,000 Haitian Gourdes against any employer who employs a child under 15 … but there is no evidence Article 340 is being enforced” (2012, 24). Therefore, it is clear that such a regulatory approach strategy to domestic labour reflects the state as historically a proponent of the Local Childhood framework and its conception of the child’s citizenship rights being secured through interdependent means.
However, Global-Local interaction has led to a process where the state has strongly aligned with a Global framework’s strategic approach to Haitian child domestic labourers in relation to child protection laws. The Global framework proved instrumental in not only bringing to fruition international child protection laws but in so doing eliminating the regulatory practice of child domestic labour found in chapter nine of the Haitian Labour Code. In 2003, the Haitian Government passed an Act on the Prohibition and Elimination of All Forms of Abuse, Violence and Inhumane Treatment Against Children. Article one clearly states, “Chapter nine of the Labour Code dealing with children in service is annulled” (IBESR, 2012, 165). This is because the law situated child domestic labour as reflecting both Article 2.1 and 2.5 that respectively prohibit “the sale and trafficking of children, servitude and forced or compulsory labour as well as forced service” combined with “work which is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children by their nature or conditions in which they exercise” (IBESR, 2012, 166). According to an international child protection officer working for an international NGO, “when you look back at the 2003 law, it was the creation of a cascade of pressure from the international community about [child domestic labour] that led to the abolition of this chapter of the labour code” (A41, 2013, interview). This finding directly substantiates the notion that Global framework advocates proved instrumental in the Haitian state’s revised child protection legislation. However, while the 2003 law serves as a significant achievement for advocates of the Global framework, it still demonstrates the operation of proponents of the Local framework. This is because, in Article three, the law states that “a child may be placed in a foster home as part of an aid and solidarity relationship. It should enjoy the same privileges and the same rights as other children of the family. It must be treated as a member of this family” (IBESR, 2012, 166). In the coming together of proponents for the Global and Local Childhood frameworks, there exists a shared
desire to prevent abusive treatment of children. However, the practice of children moving from one household to another, living there and completing domestic tasks creates an uncertain reality for the citizenship experiences of these children. Determining the verifiable nature of their livelihoods proves challenging. This is in accordance with the director of a Haitian child protection NGO and serving member of the Haitian child rights steering committee who states, “because there is not a national agreement on who a child domestic labourer is, an exploitative relationship can be hidden as a solidarity-based arrangement. This makes protecting children very difficult” (A37, 2013, interview). Therefore, this inability to define the reality of the circumstances is one of enduring frustration for many in the child protection community. As an international child protection officer working for an NGO based in Port-au-Prince explains, despite the fact that this law,

abolishes regulation of the practice, it doesn’t say what kind of preventative measures will be taken or what kind of sanctions will be taken. So, basically, it just says it’s forbidden, but it doesn’t say if someone is involved in this practice and we define it as a, b and c, then this person will be charged with x, y, and z” (A41, 2013, interview).

This pronouncement by the state therefore reveals that it is legally opposed to child domestic labour but questions remain over the contested nature of its definition and enforcement and this generates a significant gap between legislating and realizing children’s protection from domestic labour.

The challenges of defining and enforcing violations against child domestic labourers have led Global framework advocates promoting child protection legislation to focus on anti-child trafficking measures. As a requirement of signing the Palermo Protocol in 2000, Haiti is responsible for developing national legislation. Absent such legislation, the UN Human Rights Council explains that “the police often have to release suspected traffickers because there is no such offence in the Penal Code. Hitherto, the police have had to treat trafficking as abduction,
which is often difficult to prove when the biological parents have voluntarily handed the child over to the accused” (2013, 13). However, with the approval of a new anti-trafficking bill in 2014, the Haitian Government “commits to establishing a National Counter-Trafficking Committee which will act as the guarantor of the law’s application and ensure institutional coordination in all programs aiming to protect victims of trafficking and prosecute traffickers” (IOM, 2014). Aiming to address the challenges of definition, the international organization Free the Slaves maintains that this new law “confronts [child domestic labour] slavery in that minors are shown as naturally vulnerable, unable to give their voluntary consent to labour and easily put into a position of exploitation” (2014). This conception advanced by Global advocates aims to more clearly define child domestic labourers and in turn mobilize enforcement geared toward protecting their citizenship rights. In such a set of circumstances, Global Childhood framework advocates will continue to be confronted by what Local Childhood framework proponents maintain is a situation where child domestic labour “is so ingrained in Haiti that too many people do not even know they are breaking the law” (UNICEF, 2011). However, according to an international child protection officer working for a leading child rights organization, “collaboration with the government through ratifying this law offers the best way forward” (A33, 2013, interview). In so doing, there is recognition by Global advocates for the views of Local proponents. However, adopting laws consistent with the Global framework sets forth a strategy whereby the country is placed upon a path that aspires to a longer term future where child domestic labour can eventually be eliminated.

**Child Protection Practices Informing Child Domestic Labourers’ Citizenship Rights**

The Global-Local production of Haitian child domestic labourers’ citizenship identity further develops through Global and Local Childhood framework advocates’ approaches to how child
protection practices protect their citizenship rights. Actors conveying the Global framework argue that child domestic labourers require removal from domestic circumstances and rehabilitation to uphold their citizenship rights. This is critical to facilitating the citizenship rights of child domestic labourers because as one director of a Haitian child rights organization explains, these children lack a concept of the future. According to her, she finds that for these children,

\textit{time does not exist. … If you ask them how long they’ve been with a family, they won’t be able to tell you. It’s like they stop existing, so there is no yesterday and there will be no tomorrow (A37, 2013, interview).}

This is a product of the fact, according to another Haitian child protection officer working for an international NGO that child domestic labourers “cannot speak at all. They’re not to be heard whatsoever. They are suffering but they can’t say they are suffering and that’s where we come in to defend them” (A7, 2013, interview). Toward this end, advocates of the Global Childhood framework aim to remove children from the child domestic labourer position and provide rehabilitative support. A Haitian child rights social worker representing an international NGO explains the multitude of programming designed to restore the former domestic labourers’ childhood. He explains that his organization begins by “reconnecting the child and their family. If we can contact the family, we will permit visits between them and their child” (A27, 2013, interview). In so doing, the organizational aim is,

\textit{to give children who were domestics a new image of adults. We use the activities psycho-social. These activities are designed with particular values. We permit an adult to play with their child. This gives them another image of the adult who does not hit their child, an adult who can play with them. It’s normal, it is a good thing. (A27, 2013, interview).}

Such child protection practices implemented by Global framework advocates are intended to restore the child’s citizenship rights.
As Global Childhood framework advocates look to remove child domestic labourers from their abusive circumstances, they also advance a community-based approach. In so doing, these Global framework proponents seek to promote awareness and create ties that will develop a communal responsibility toward upholding child domestic labourers’ citizenship rights.

According to a Haitian child protection officer, this strategy that we use involves several stages and components that include sensitization for the community in terms of the rights of children. There is also the aspect of mobilization. … We believe in our strategy that the community must take charge. We have experience of course, but we must work with the community. This can generate solidarity and is so important for protecting all children (A17, 2013, interview).

A director of an anti-child trafficking CBO in Port-au-Prince echoes such sentiments. For her organization the aim is to, work with adults in poor quarters where we find children in the situation [of child domestic labour]. We provide information and activities … to teach [the community] that the practice is a grave concept and we encourage the community to identify situations so that we can help (A19, 2013, interview).

In this light, Global framework advocates develop important bonds with the community in order to address the citizenship rights of child domestic labourers. Formulating such ties has often been accomplished through connecting with Haitian families in their faith communities. As one Haitian child protection officer working for an international NGO explains, “spirituality is very important and the churches in Haiti have a lot of say in everything” (A7, 2013, interview). On account of this, the organization she represents is “in contact with the pastors of churches in all the departments to sensitize the parents on the question of child domesticity” (A7, 2013, interview). One Haitian pastor based in Port-au-Prince has seen a significant change in his church explaining that in the past, “the Protestant church did not talk about politics and justice. Before we used to go to church, sing alleluia and go home. Now we talk about what our faith tells us to do about our actions. So we now preach that [child domestic labour] needs to stop”
(A38, 2013, interview). Overall, these advocates strategize to build a communal response against the practice of child domesticity so as to facilitate these children’s citizenship rights.

By the same token, Local framework advocates argue that child protection practices can create target populations that generate within the child a negative self-disposition. They are concerned by the fact that the interaction of child protection workers with child domestic labourers may result in the former conditioning the latter to believe that they are in a grievous position when this may not always be accurate. Toward this end, they advise child protection officers to consider children on a case-by-case basis while also indicating that such experts need to practice critical self-reflection of their work with these children so as not to perpetuate negative self-characterizations (Moncrieffe, 2006, 43). As a result, the Local framework adherents not only caution child protection officers’ involvement with the practice of child domestic labourers, but they also warn against such interaction producing problematic outcomes for the child. Furthermore, as has been alluded to previously, within the Local framework, children are not viewed as individuals but rather part of a collective family and extended community. Such connections can prove valuable for future opportunities designed to realize the citizenship rights not only of the child but their larger family/community unit. These circumstances are a reality for large numbers of Haitian children because of what one international child protection officer working for a prominent international NGO explains is a significant “economic need for domestic labour that children are used to fill” (A41, 2013, interview). While children do not receive financial remuneration, Local framework advocates reveal the potential for improved realization of citizenship rights both in the present and for the future.
The permeation of actors promoting the Global Childhood framework into the Haitian context leads to an interactive process responsible for generating the citizenship identity of Haitian child domestic labourers as it relates to how child protection practices protect their citizenship rights. Such Global-Local interaction shows that both frameworks have clearly produced changes in the child protection practices of child domestic labourers. This is particularly evident in the significant growth of Haitian actors and institutions addressing the citizenship rights of these children. The director of a Haitian child rights organization explains that,

I decided with many other experienced colleagues that it was time for us to create a national organization, because, the perception is, and I hate to say it, but I have to say it, I used to use the same language until I didn't agree with it anymore. 'There is no local capacity,' everything has to be done by international organizations. But who are working for international organizations? It's national Haitian people. We are leading that, so why do they say there is no local Haitian capacity? So I said, maybe we need to show people that we have local capacity in Haiti? So that's how [our organization] was created. We [are working hard] to achieve long lasting impact in the lives of children and young people (A37, 2013, interview).

The voice of this director is echoed by and reflects the materialization of numerous organizations addressing child protection in the country. Two of the most prominent organizations who focus closely on child domestic labourers are Foyer L’Escale and Foyer Maurice Sixto. These two organizations are equally committed to the protection of children and specifically child domestic labourers while both reflect how global norms are experienced and then acted upon in the local context. For instance, Foyer L’Escale reflects the diffusion of the Global framework into their operation as the organization “seeks to remove the child from [child domestic labourer] arrangements, provide psychological counselling and reunite the child with [their] parents when possible” (McCalla, 2002, 29). At first glance, this approach appears ideal. However, questions over such complete adaptation of the Global framework strategy emerge when one considers that,
in 2003 a team did a follow-up study of 50 former L’Escale children who had returned home. … The team only found 20 children present out of the 50 households where children had been reinserted back home. Most of the others were once again living outside the home or had been sent back to [child] domestic service in the city (Smucker, 2005, 17).

Therefore, this approach requires consideration in light of the contrasting production by the melding of the Global and Local framework represented by Foyer Maurice Sixto. According to the organization founder Père Miguel,

> our long-term goal is to stop the exodus of children from rural areas to urban centers where they become easy prey for all forms of exploitation. Our short-term objectives are to help the children to overcome the trauma caused by separation from their families; acquire reading and writing skills; discover their talents, abilities and creativity; … become complete human beings with fully-developed personalities aware of their rights and responsibilities; and gain a sense of self-worth through love and encouragement.” (McCalla, 2002, 29).

As a result of this nuanced approach, the organization has witnessed “a marked improvement in the treatment of domestic children enrolled in the program … [and they] attribute this primarily to the children being in school as well as to regular contact with ‘host’ parents by Foyer staffers” (Smucker, 2005, 17). This dialogue between the organization and receiving families is confirmed by what one representative of Foyer Maurice Sixto explains is a situation where “if a child has not come to school for three days, [we] will go to the house and ask why?” (A45, 2013, interview). Such an approach recognizes the challenges that child domestic labourers will face but aims to avoid putting the child in a negative light. Rather, the incidence of children in such a position creates a dialogue and invokes empathy in the community for the purpose of promoting equal treatment of the biological child and the domestic child. Therefore, the interaction of the Global and Local Childhood framework in constructing the citizenship identity of child domestic labourers on how child protection practices protect their citizenship rights suggests the aim of taking children out of their situation and sending them back with their rural family may not always prove a sustainable solution. In the absence of realizing citizenship rights back home,
children and their families may continue to search for opportunities to facilitate such rights in the urban centres. Therefore, there exists demonstrable dynamism in child protection practices of child domestic labourers requiring their consultation for the purposes of advancing their citizenship rights.

**Political Processes Structuring Child Domestic Labourers’ Citizenship Rights**

The Global-Local production of Haitian child domestic labourers’ citizenship identity is extended further through Global and Local Childhood framework advocates’ approaches to the political processes structuring their citizenship rights. Actors who promote the Global framework contend that the realization of child domestic labourers’ citizenship rights requires the Haitian state to provide financial support and protect human rights. Global framework advocates contend then that due to the “economic nature [of the problem], the solution must tackle the pervasive poverty … that foster[s] the practice” (Cooper et al., 2012, 41). For Global framework proponents like the National Coalition for Haitian Rights though, they fear that “simple economic solutions are not forthcoming” (McCalla, 2002, 6). Many of these advocates, however, stress the positive political processes that can be made to address the citizenship rights of domestic labourers. For instance, an anthropologist of Haitian studies explains that “if you were truly to provide universal popular education to all children of school age … and if you were to provide water to all households therefore decreasing the labour demand for carrying water, those two elements alone as public policy would significantly improve the lives of children” (A48, 2013, interview). As a result, Global framework proponents aim to mobilize the state so that it can overcome the many barriers to facilitate such public policy implementation. However, realizing such public policy goals requires significant investment. According to a prominent member of the Haitian Government’s Office for the Protection of Human Rights, “the quality of
life will not improve unless the economy improves” (A43, 2013, interview). While such improvements do not guarantee redistribution of wealth, Global framework advocates clearly view the state as the necessary guarantor of addressing the economic challenges toward reducing children’s involvement in domestic labour. Furthermore, Global advocates are also concerned by a Haitian state that “has done very little over the years to eliminate the [child domestic labour] system” (McCalla, 2002, 6). According to the United States Department of Labour 2010 Findings on the Worst Forms of Child Labour Report, there is “no evidence indicated that the Government of Haiti has established a coordinating mechanism to combat the worst forms of child labour” (Cooper et al., 2012, 6). Nevertheless, a prominent academic professor and activist on child protection based at a university in Port-au-Prince explains that,

> without the state, the actions of NGOs is incoherent. … It is true that each NGO works in compartments but do not work together because everyone is working by themselves. … All NGOs should work together under the leadership of the state but the state capacity needs to be developed. It is the state that is responsible to save energy and work together to fight domesticity” (A29, 2013, interview).

Barriers to this leadership role consist of numerous political, economic and social aspects, but one of the telling challenges for ensuring state leadership and specifically bringing the state on board for the purpose of advancing a human rights culture, is the instability that exists in Haitian politics. An NGO worker for a faith-based international NGO explains that a leading “challenge is that people in government change so much. You build a relationship with one person, for example, the minister of social affairs, and then a few months later there is a new minister of social affairs and you have to start all over again” (A33, 2013, interview). In a sense, creating the conditions of a human rights culture requires finding individuals within the Haitian government that will champion the cause. In response, progressive Haitian governments point to the numerous international laws that they have signed indicating their commitment to the Global
Childhood framework. Nevertheless, maintaining the momentum that has been created and deepening the human rights norms and values over an extended period of time specific for children still lacks the concrete results demanded of Global framework advocates.

Local framework proponents observe the need to consider that the realization of child domestic labourers’ citizenship rights is impeded by the international political economy and contest the liberal expectations within developing a human rights culture. From the Local framework perspective, many of the expectations placed upon the Haitian state are incredibly challenging to realize without addressing its international relations that often find Haiti subject to the dictates of international financial institutions and unequal bilateral relations with various states. While expectations placed upon the state are important, “core state institutions struggle to provide basic conditions for … development … due to financial constraints and volatile aid flows” (Verner and Heinemann, 2006, 3). The circumstances that the Haitian state confronts are that the government is a weak financial actor as “central government revenues [average] 9 percent of GDP” (Verner and Heinemann, 2006, 3). In this light, the hollowing out of the state has created the conditions in which the majority of support is offered by the private sector in the form of NGOs. As such, many Haitian citizens do not see the state as providing for them because it is a societal institution that has in the past and continues to do very little for them, the result of which necessitates livelihood strategies that include children taking on domestic labour positions.

Local framework proponents challenge the assumption of domestic labour as a human rights violation on the grounds that it is a demonstrable social organization technique. This is because such economic circumstances reveal that securing citizenship rights for child domestic labourers is very challenging and therefore adopting a human rights culture can prove highly problematic. With the push for promoting human rights within the Haitian context, Local
proponents challenge the liberal assumptions contained in them. For instance, according to a
Haitian journalist based in Port-au-Prince,

> Generally, one views child domestic labour with someone as something bad. It’s
> a system of maltreatment but it’s not always the case. I am capable of having my
> children, I do not have the time to occupy them. But I am capable of having the
> child grow, to stay with the children very young. In my house, they do the
> housekeeping. But I look after them (A31, 2013, interview).

Therefore, the push for political processes designed to secure Haitian child domestic labourers’
citizenship rights by way of the state taking on a human rights culture is cautioned by Local
framework proponents who practice a different approach to upholding children’s citizenship
rights through engaging in child domestic labour.

The Global-Local interaction shows that both frameworks influence the political process
and in so doing produce unique circumstances in which the Haitian state proves itself to be
Janus-faced. The state itself aims to act in diametrically opposed ways depending upon the
international or national level of analysis that they are operating within. This has materialized in
a state that is hesitant to act on the issue one way or the other but rather will suggest it is giving
support to each while providing little action on either front. For instance, according to a
prominent member of the Haitian Government’s Office for the Protection of Citizens,

> There is not a political appetite to address the child domestic labourer issue. It is
> a sensitive topic because abolishing the practice is an international norm. As
> international initiatives frequently clash with accepted cultural norms, they may
> upset voters and therefore jeopardize electoral victory (A43, 2013, interview).

As a result, this interviewee explains the struggles between elected officials and the government
bureaucracy in aiming to fulfill their function. She states that while her office is “working hard to
increase sanctions against people violating child domestic labourers, it is often a very slow
process that needs greater monitoring and oversight. It is a terrible situation when the state does
not uphold the laws because it contributes to impunity” (A43, 2013, interview). The director of a
Haitian international child rights organization concurs with the variability in the message of the government discourse. She explains that,

> The government talks about addressing the issue. I won’t say they are silent because they talk about it but they are leaving the space to others to solve the issue for them. They’re expecting international organizations, they’re expecting civil society organizations to come with proposed solutions. But for me they are not doing anything. They’re just talking a lot about it, but waiting for others to solve the issue. Sometimes they just want to reduce it to a cultural thing. If it’s cultural, you can’t fight it. But not everything that is cultural, is necessarily good. You have to fight the culture. But I think it’s their excuse (A37, 2013, interview).

This inconsistent political position that the Haitian state takes to the issue of child domestic labourers’ citizenship rights reflects the fact that state responsibility to the child population requires significant investment. As a Haitian child protection officer for an international NGO explains, “if the government talks about helping [child domestic labourers], everything else, the economy, education, development comes in. They will have to do so much more” (A7, 2013, interview). This set of circumstances therefore reveals that in the interaction of the Global and Local Childhood frameworks specific to the political processes responsible for securing child domestic labourers’ citizenship rights, the Haitian state operates as a Janus-faced institution appeasing both the international and domestic realms verbally while limiting the practical initiatives required to truly aid them in securing their citizenship rights.

**Conclusion**

The interaction between the Global Childhood framework and Local Childhood framework in Haiti generate complex conditions within which adult actors and institutions conceptualize and subsequently implement strategies that impact Haitian child domestic labourers’ lives. This has been demonstrated through the Global framework’s insistence on protecting children from labouring in and migrating to such a position as it violates their citizenship rights. However, such a view is confronted by the Local framework’s contention that also aims to protect these children
but argues that involvement in labour and migrating for such a purpose may also secure their citizenship rights. These dualistic positions offer competing strategies as advanced by government officials, international NGOs and CBOs. What becomes apparent, however, is that it is only through revealing the interactive process that both advocates for the Global and Local Childhood frameworks bring forth, that child domestic labourers’ lived realities are experienced. This materializes in what is in actuality a continuum along which a range of experiences transpire that necessitates their active consultation for the purpose of ensuring beneficial international child protection strategies. Therefore, the following chapter will focus exclusively on the perspectives shared by Haitian children so as to importantly respond to the Global-Local production of child domestic labourers’ identities and livelihoods in Haiti as advanced by adult actors and institutions.
Chapter 8 - The Global-Local Production of Child Domestic Labourers’ Identities and Livelihoods in Haiti as Advanced by Children

The interaction between the Global and Local Childhood frameworks in Haiti generate complex conditions within which Haitian child domestic labourers act as agents in determining the experiences of their lives. Set within a historical trajectory where the practice of child domestic labour has largely shifted from a communal solidarity-based relationship to a rural-to-urban patron-client relationship and more recently transitioning from poor rural families to slightly less poor urban families, such social interaction reveals a range of childhood experiences. It is within these conditions that both the Global and Local Childhood frameworks interact to formulate a variety of child domestic labourers’ identities that subsequently structure their lived experiences. Recognizing such diversity calls forth the vital necessity to consult child domestic labourers themselves in pursuit of successful international child protection programming. Therefore, this chapter will explore the specific influence that children’s conceptions of Haitian childhood and child rights have in informing the plans they implement for navigating their livelihoods. To do so, it will revisit the same labour, migrant and citizenship identities discussed in the previous chapter but now proceed to convey how children view the relationship between such identities and their active role in negotiating their lived realities. Overall, this Global-Local analysis of these children’s social relations reveals a continuum of livelihood outcomes and therefore brings forth the importance of their inclusion in international child protection measures.

Child Domestic Labourers’ Contribution to their Labour Identities and Livelihoods

The Global-Local production of Haitian child domestic labourers’ labour identity and lived realities are demonstrably shaped by defining them as restavek, conceptualizing them in a form of slavery and evaluating their livelihood position. The interaction of these contributing factors to their labour identity reveal not only that both a Global Childhood framework aiming to protect
children from domestic labour and a Local Childhood framework recognizing the potential for their inclusion in labour exists, but that these polemics dynamically interact to produce what is a range of experiences within which child domestic labourers themselves navigate such identities in structuring their lived realities.

Haitian child domestic labourers’ own labour identities reflect concerns from the proponents of the Global framework. These children provide accounts lending credence to the Global argument that children need to be protected from engaging in domestic labour. This is because for many children, labour is a central aspect of their lives and they convey such involvement in it results in experiences of hardship and exhaustion. For instance, an ICF International report offers additional insight through life story excerpts of child domestic labourers. One such child respondent in the report explains that,

I generally get up at 5 (a.m.), but if there are still chores remaining from the previous day, I get up earlier, around 4 (a.m.). I’m the first to get up and I have to wake the lady’s daughter since she has to go into the city early. Then I clean the house and put the dishes in the kitchen. After that, I cook the beans so that the daughter can prepare food when she gets back (Cooper et al., 2012, 31).

Similarly, another child respondent’s life story further reinforces the significant labour responsibilities of child domestic labourers. In her case she relays that,

Usually I get up at 7 (a.m.), but when I need to fetch water, the lady wakes me at 5 (a.m.). We are the only ones up at that time. I do the dishes and then, once everyone is out of bed I clean the house, then I go to the market to get things to eat (Cooper et al., 2012, 31).

These life story excerpts clearly convey the significant degree of labour that these children are engaged in. Such sentiments are confirmed by one current child domestic labourer based in Tabarre. She explains that “my aunt wanted me to come join her here. But I didn’t know that I would be doing all this work. I get the water, do the dishes, cook, clean. I work all the time” (B42, 2013, interview). Similar experiences were shared by a former child domestic labourer who had returned to his biological home in the country-side of Haiti. For this child, entry into
service as a domestic labourer brought with it optimism but it quickly dissipated with the onslaught of responsibilities. He explains that, “there, I did all the work in the house and no one helped me. It is not fair. Here, we all do things to help each other. I will not go back there because I am happy here” (B21, 2013, interview). Within such circumstances, child domestic labourers are faced with very few forms of recourse. The sentiments of these children are captured by one current domestic labourer based in Cité Soleil who explains that “life is not very good for me here. I don’t know if it will get better. But I need to keep working. I have to endure” (B27, 2013 interview). There exists a clear adherence to the heads of families that require completion of household responsibilities. Upon being asked if the possibility exists where these children could engage in any form of resistance, it is largely rebuked. Although one current child domestic labourer based in Croix-des-Bouquets did state that “I work slower sometimes when I’m mad. But I don’t do the job bad on purpose because I’ll just have to do it again,” (B43, 2013, interview). These child responses importantly identify with the contention held by Global framework advocates that domestic labour is the pervasive element in their lives. Therefore, it is incumbent upon all relevant parties to recognize such a problematic state of affairs for the expressed purpose of protecting children from engaging in such an intense form of labour.

Haitian child domestic labourers also identify with the Local Childhood framework. These children recognize labour as a potential facet of childhood and therefore are clearly more accepting of the role to serve as a child domestic labourer. This is not to suggest a full embracing of the child domestic labour position. It would be far too simplistic to contend an unqualified acceptance of the practice. It is, however, intended to convey that taking on such responsibilities are not altogether considered exploitative by these children. This is a vital qualification to make because for instance, one current child domestic labourer working in Croix-des-Bouquets
explains that “I clean the house, go to the market and make the meals. I like the work because it makes me feel useful” (B44, 2013, interview). In this response, it is important to recognize how the child identifies with the Local Childhood framework. There is clear recognition for not only labour as being a part of childhood, but potentially a positive aspect of children’s identity that may in fact prove constructive in building the child’s self-esteem. Moreover, among the most significant responsibilities for child domestic labourers is their responsibility to supply the home with water from nearby locations. However, one domestic labourer interviewed by ICF International, explained that, “I like the neighbourhood and the house [I work in because] the house has its own water supply, so I don’t have to go out and fetch it” (Cooper et al., 2012, 30). Such a reflection once more reveals the diversity of experiences that different child domestic labourers may have. In this light, the degree of work conducted may significantly vary across different children’s livelihoods. As work is a significant aspect of not only domestic labourers but also the majority of children’s lives across the country, it is important to recognize this factor. Such understanding is once more conveyed by another respondent interviewed by ICF International. In this child domestic labourers’ experience with labour, the respondent conveys that “I don’t have any problem with the work because I’m used to it” (Cooper et al., 2012, 30). This response is not to deny the very real experience of some children being overburdened by work. However, it is important to note how a former child domestic labourer who returned home to Jean-Rabel explains that he did the “cooking and cleaning in the house. [He] like[s] doing it but sometimes with no time to break it’s too much” (B21, 2013, interview). As a result, it is clear that children identifying with the Local framework reveal how they are able to share that their role can generate positive sentiments, but, the work can in some instances be exceedingly demanding.
The presence of Global Childhood framework advocates in Haiti has significantly shaped how child domestic labourers develop their labour identity constructions and experience their livelihoods. What becomes apparent in this interactive process is that although the vast majority of these children are open to taking on a domestic labour position, they would oppose any such position that devolved into a situation of restavek. This reflects the negative connotation of the situation of restavek and therefore they resist identifying it as such. For instance, a Haitian child living in Jean-Rabel explains, “I want to move to the city and I will do any work in the house to go to school. But I won’t be restavek” (B19, 2013, interview). Such a response indicates the willingness of many children to work. This often times stems from the desire for an improved livelihood. However, there is a clear awareness for the negative outcomes that could potentially face the child and this is not something they would be comfortable experiencing. These sentiments are shared by another child in the same community who explains that “I would accept the chance [to be a child domestic labourer] but if they hurt me, I could not stay. I could not accept a position knowing this” (B18, 2014, interview). In these responses emerge the alternative Global and Local views contributing to the lived realities of child domestic labourers. It is clearly an oversimplification on the part of Global framework advocates to deem all child domestic labourer experiences problematic. This may create barriers to the limited opportunities that many children may wish to explore. By the same token, it is evident that numerous reservations held by Global framework advocates find justifiable grounds upon which to challenge the practice. Far too frequently in the case of child domestic labourers, they are taking on more work than they can handle. Local framework proponents also recognize such circumstances in advancing greater autonomy of children’s activities that include taking on a domestic labour role. However, it is within such circumstances that these child domestic labourers are navigating their own lives. In
so doing, it becomes clear that both proponents of the Global and Local Childhood frameworks affect the lived realities of child domestic labourers and shape their identity constructions as they acknowledge and maneuver throughout the continuum of their livelihood experiences. It therefore leads to reason that international child protection programming takes a more nuanced understanding from the child’s point of view to positively address their diverse livelihoods in the manner consistent with facilitating their protection.

**Child Domestic Labourers’ Contribution to their Migrant Identities and Livelihoods**

The Global-Local production of Haitian child domestic labourers’ migrant identities and lived realities are demonstrably shaped by the push and pull factors of such migration, the framing of their migration and the resistance and reintegration following their initial migration. Such identities support both a Global Childhood framework aiming to prevent these children’s migration to become domestic labourers as well as a Local Childhood framework that recognizes their migration as a potential part of childhood. These self-identities are forged within the respective Global and Local attitudes and values that produce a continuum of experiences within which child domestic labourers navigate such identities in structuring their lived realities.

The advancement of the Global Childhood framework argument by children contends that potential child domestic labourers need to be prevented from migrating to fulfill such a role. This stems from the fact that child domestic labourers identify with the Global framework advocates that contend children have little if any choice in the decision to migrate, that the promises made to them are not kept and as such, children deeply aspire to return home. For instance, a former child domestic labourer now living in the rural areas of Gonaives explains the household economics that clearly reveal children do not have any choice in the decision to migrate and become a domestic labourer. She states very bluntly that “if your parents don’t have
money, they send you to another family” (B4, 2013, interview). This was the case for her and therefore such an experience confirms the Global framework argument. This approach that removes any decision-making process from the child to migrate is further supported by the fact that not only may poor parents actively explore the opportunity to send their children away to be domestic labourers, but moreover, a testimony provided by the Minnesota Lawyers International Human Rights Committee of a former child domestic labourer named Jean indicates that there are many adults looking to find such labour. In his testimony he reveals that “he was twelve but looked much younger. He came from the north, near Cap-Haitien [where] two or three years earlier a woman he had never seen before came to his village and chose him to be her restavek child [and] took him, by himself, to Port-au-Prince” (1990, 12-13). While financial circumstances play perhaps the most significant role in the migration of children, another former child domestic labourer living in the rural areas of Gonaives shares the gender dynamics of her situation. She relays that “my father said that because my mom died, I needed to be raised by a woman. So he found a woman in the city that I would live with. But I never wanted to go” (B4, 2013, interview). Overall, the experiences of these former child domestic labourers align with many other child respondents. They reflect the Global understanding that whether based upon economics or gender discrimination, these children have no input on the decision to migrate and become domestic labourers.

Related to the inability of children to participate in the decision to migrate and become domestic labourers, the Global Childhood framework also reveals that promises that may have been made to the child often times go unfulfilled. It is frequently the case that receiving families will indicate to children and their parents that they can assure them a safe place to stay and that the opportunity to attend school will be made available. However, many child respondents
indicated that this was not the case for them. A former child domestic labourer now back living in the rural areas of Gonaives explains that when “my mom and I came to my aunt’s home, she requested that I stay. I did not want to but she promised to send me to school if I did. This made me happy but I stayed a long time and it never happened” (B3, 2013, interview). A similar experience was conveyed by a former child domestic labourer now once again living with his family in Jean-Rabel. He explained that his “mom told [him] that [he] was going to help [his] aunt in the city. … At first things were okay, but day by day, it got worse. The food [he] was given was not right. They never let [him] leave the house [and] they lied about [him] going to school” (B21, 2013, interview). On the whole, for many of these former child domestic labourers, both the migration and the ensuing experiences of withheld promises including schooling brought significant hardship to these children. Consequently, they clearly identify negatively with the migration experience and so attest to the Global Childhood framework’s contention that children should be prevented from migrating to serve as domestic labourers. As yet another former child domestic labourer who has returned home to live in Jean Rabel explains, “I had a terrible experience leaving my village. I am here, my heart is happy and I don’t want to leave again” (B22, 2013, interview).

Yet, some child domestic labourers also identify with the Local Childhood framework’s attitudes and values generating positive outcomes. These children understand the need for protection but also identify migration as a potential facet of their lives. This is because with migration children themselves may suggest their movement is to both improve their livelihoods and in so doing, their own self-esteem. For instance, a former child domestic labourer now living on the streets of Delmas explains that,
When I was young, my family had very little food. My mom sent me to live with my aunt in Port-au-Prince. I did lots of things in the house for everyone. I went to school sometimes when I wasn’t busy with the house. When I got older, I found an orphanage and stayed there. I was in school more. Plus, in the afternoons, I made some money cleaning cars. I go back to the country-side once a year. I share some money with my family and I spend time with them (B26, 2013, interview).

This experience of a former child domestic labourer reveals how the inclusion of migration in the lives of children can offer opportunities for the child and their families. While migrating to become a domestic labourer did not provide immediate financial support to the child and his family, the position does offer a gateway to living in the urban centres and having proximity to schooling and making money. Such stories shared by children with their peers back in the villages can facilitate further migration. This is the case of another former child domestic labourer now living in a group home in Carrefour who explains, “I wanted to go to Port-au-Prince and live with my aunt. There I had to work hard but now I found an orphanage and am attending school” (B49, 2013, interview). Another former child domestic labourer originally from the rural areas and now living in an orphanage in Petionville explains that, “I wanted to change my life. I cried so that I could go to Port-au-Prince. It’s easier to get food and go to school. I don’t want to go back home” (B30, 2013, interview). These former domestic labourers clearly identify with the Local framework in demonstrating an appreciation for how migration can significantly improve the prospects for their own lives and that of their families. While many respondents indicate that the role of a domestic labourer is not the ideal, migrating to take up this position can serve as an important stepping stone upon which to secure future opportunities.

Intricately connected to the capacity to exercise agency in their own migration to become domestic labourers, many child respondents expressed the personal growth it allowed them to develop. This acknowledgement tends to give more credence to the Local Childhood framework as it facilitates their ability to demonstrate that such migration facilitated the shedding of their
‘vagabondism’ to become ‘more serious’. This sentiment is clearly expressed by a former child
domestic labourer now living in an orphanage. He explains that, “I wanted to go away from
home and work. I felt like a vagabond in the country-side. I wanted to go to Port-au-Prince, learn
skills to get a job. It’s impossible to do this in Jeremie” (B14, 2013, interview). Similar
aspirations for personal development through migration are echoed by the life story testimonies
of child domestic labourers captured by Tone Sommerfelt. In her extensive report, she reveals
the story of Fanfan, a boy whose mother had heard of a family in Les Cayes looking for a child
and decided to send her son to live with the family. According to Fanfan,

prior to moving to Les Cayes … ‘I was a vagabond! I used to roam around
without a purpose’. Presently, he says and laughs, he cannot enjoy this freedom:
‘Now I am not a vagabond. I go to school!’ … Now, things are different. Now,
he has tasks, like getting water, sweeping the backyard, and going to the market.
… [Overall.] these notions, and their inversion in ‘vagabondisme’, suggest
ideals among some young boys living in towns. They also convey the idea that
‘living in towns’ in itself signals certain skills. In turn, such ideals shape
children’s experience of their lives as child domestics (Sommerfelt, 2002, 61-62).

By facilitating the voice of children themselves as it pertains to their migration to become
domestic labourers, it is clear that these children identify with the Local Childhood framework.
Such an approach relays not only the improved opportunities that migration can have upon
children and their families, but also a sense of pride in their own development that these children
can attain.

The presence of Global Childhood framework advocates in Haiti has led to their
interaction with Local Childhood framework advocates that has significantly shaped the
negotiated outcomes of child domestic labourers’ migrant identity constructions and lived
realities of themselves. It is evident that many of these children identify with migration in such a
way that fits with the Global framework to reveal the importance of being prevented from
migrating to become domestic labourers. However, others identify more positively with the
Local framework showing that migration to become a domestic labourer and potentially in time find more opportunities may prove an important part of Haitian children’s childhoods. What becomes apparent in this interactive process, however, is reflected upon by a child living in the rural area of Gonaives who explains, “I would like to move to the city but only with someone in my family, not with someone I didn’t know. I would work because I am with my family and safe” (B6, 2013, interview). Another child from the rural areas of Jean-Rabel explains that if he were to migrate, “[he is] unsure if [his] opinion will be respected or if [he] will be able to make friends, but if [his] mother told [him] to go, [he] would do it because [he] trust[s] her” (B19). At the heart of the decision to migrate lies uncertainty. There is a demonstrable awareness concerning the challenges child domestic labourers face disseminated by the Global framework advocates but also a desire, as reflected in the Local framework proponents’ analysis, to move forward with their lives. Within such circumstances, it is important to note the argument made by Dr. June Kane as editor of the International Labour Organization’s 2004 publication, *Helping Hands or Shackled Lives?: Understanding Child Domestic Labour and Responses to it*. In it, she reveals that,

placement of a child by a poor family with another family that uses the child’s services in the home can turn out well … [as] recent research in Haiti, for example [shows], a young man of 23 … from a poor single parent family, and placed with a family in the capital as a domestic worker, was able to enter university after being provided with education by the family, and considers that he has been given a ‘privileged place’ in the family and has never been treated as in any way subservient. The young man concludes that action against employers who exploit or mistreat children is vital if children who are already in domestic service are to be supported. This example … illustrates the importance of avoiding the temptation to consider children in domestic service as a homogeneous group and to ensure that the best interests of children … informs response[s] (2004, 33).

Therefore, the melding of the two childhood frameworks produce circumstances as explained by a former child domestic labourer who has since returned home to live in her village in Gonaives that the migration of children to become domestic “is like a lottery, I hope and pray to win a
good experience. I had heard of a friend who had a good experience. I wished I would get the same” (B4, 2013, interview). As a result, it becomes evident that both the Global Childhood framework and Local Childhood framework shape the identity constructions that in turn impact the lived realities of child domestic labourers producing what is in fact a range of livelihood experiences. These outcomes require recognition by international child protection officers so as to effectively account for addressing their unique lived realities.

**Child Domestic Labourers’ Contribution to their Citizenship Identities and Livelihoods**

The Global-Local production of Haitian child domestic labourers’ citizenship identity and lived realities are demonstrably shaped by child protection laws, child protection practices and the political processes structuring their citizenship rights. The interaction of these contributing factors to their citizenship identity reveal a Global Childhood framework aspiring to defend children from domestic labour so as to uphold their citizenship rights and a Local Childhood framework that sees the potential for these children’s citizenship rights to be attained through the practice that dynamically interact to produce a continuum of experiences within which child domestic labourers navigate such identities in structuring their lived realities.

Children’s accounts that identify with the Global Childhood framework argue that children need to be defended from domestic labour in order to uphold their citizenship rights. This contention is based upon the fact that many child domestic labourers acknowledge that they are not only vulnerable to differentiated treatment but that the discrimination they endure can carry over into physical abuse. Moreover, the vulnerability of these children is compounded as they often suffer in silence. For instance, a common sentiment shared by some child domestic labourers is revealed by a former domestic now living in an orphanage in Carrefour who explains that, “my aunt treated me badly. It’s because I’m not her child. Things are always different
between me and her children” (B46, 2013, interview). A similar experience is shared by a former child domestic labourer now living in an orphanage in Petionville. In his case, he explains that “my aunt treated me like a thief. She and everyone else blamed me for all the problems even when I never did any of them” (B52, 2013, interview). These sets of circumstances reflect a prominent critique that these children identifying with the Global Childhood framework experience. This is the discrimination they face as child domestic labourers vis-à-vis the biological child or children in the household that lends credence to protecting children from engaging in the practice. Such a contention is further supported by the findings of ICF International interviews with child domestic labourers as it relates to movement and play. In their discussions with these children, one respondent shared that “what I don’t like is that they don’t let me go out” (Cooper et al., 2012, 30) while another similarly explained that “I can only go out when I have to buy something in the street” (Cooper et al., 2012, 32). Moreover, such restriction on children’s movement significantly impedes what the Global framework advances as an integral part of childhood in play. As another child domestic labourer shares, “when the adults go out, I stay. … They don’t let me go out to play” (Cooper et al., 2012, 32). Overall, these child domestic labourers’ responses clearly reveal the significant discrimination that they endure and they demonstrably identify their position as such.

It is within such a discriminatory household environment that these child domestic labourers finding resonance with the Global framework are also the victims of significant physical abuse. Many respondents including a former child domestic labourer now living in an orphanage in Petionville shared that when asked to fulfill a duty, he explains that, “I have to say yes all the time or they will beat me” (B17, 2013, interview). Similar situations where physical abuse is utilized against child domestic labourers to ensure their obedience is revealed in
interviews conducted by Smucker and Murray. Interviewing a child currently living on the street who had previously lived as a domestic with a family in Croix-des-Bouquets, he explains that “when kids go stay with someone, they are badly mistreated. They beat them, make them carry many loads, [and] force them to work” (2004, 26). These children’s testimony give credence to claims of proponents of the Global framework by indicating how many children involved in domestic labour are subject to significant abuse. There remains, however, the contention that access to finances is believed to quell the potential abuse that some child domestic labourers may endure. However, for a former child domestic labourer now living in an orphanage in Petionville, this was not the case. In his situation, his parents sent him to live with his aunt while also providing him with money for his own schooling. Nevertheless, he explains that in his domestic labourer experience,

The first day, I feel like I am in paradise. I am so happy to be in Port-au-Prince. Things are so great. But soon the family started to mistreat me. I even gave my aunt money for school but my aunt did not use the money for school. She kept it herself and I never got to go (B51, 2013, interview).

These children’s experiences once more support the Global framework’s contention that child domestic labourers’ citizenship rights are violated. Making matters worse is the fact that these children are frequently unable to relay their traumatic experiences to someone while in the situation. For instance, a former child domestic labourer now living on the streets of Delmas explained that when he was a domestic, “[He] couldn’t report her because she’s an adult and [he’s] a kid” (B26, 2013, interview). Another former child domestic labourer now living in an orphanage in Carrefour shares similar sentiments in explaining that during his time in domesticity, “I couldn’t tell anyone [of the abuse]. It would just make things worse” (B45, 2013, interview). Overall, it is clear that many child domestic labourers are demonstrably acknowledging their agreement with the Global Childhood framework in stressing the
importance of defending children from such a practice so as to keep them from having their citizenship rights violated.

The Global-Local production of Haitian child domestic labourers’ citizenship identity is also reflected by child domestic labourers that affiliate their experiences more closely to the Local Childhood framework. These children’s views echo the Local framework’s argument that recognizes the challenges some children may face but at the same time the children identify the potential for their citizenship rights to be attained through the practice of domestic labour. On account of the difficult circumstances that so many children living in poverty endure, the opportunity to exchange their labour for shelter and food is very frequently a goal of many children. While differences may exist between the biological child or children in the family and the child domestic labourer, in these children’s eyes, they do not necessitate significant discrimination. For instance, a current child domestic labourer living and working in Cité Soleil explains that, “my aunt, she saved me from the streets. I work hard because I have food and a place to sleep” (A31, 2013, interview). Another present child domestic labourer living and working in Port-au-Prince contends that while there are challenging aspects to his position, he is happy in it because he gets to go to school. He explains that “I wish I could go to school in the morning. I don’t want to go in the afternoon. It is better so I can get home and study my lesson” (B35, 2013, interview). While balancing school and their labour responsibilities means attending classes in the afternoon, this citizenship right remains. This once more supports these children’s affiliation with the Local framework where childhood is more complex requiring greater balancing of multiple responsibilities. This does not in all cases mean that these children will be prevented from attending school. According to ICF International, “a majority of the children interviewed said they were currently going to school. … However, patterns were sometimes
erratic - approximately half of the children said that they were sometimes absent” (Cooper et al., 2012, 18). Their interviews found children explaining their circumstances that range from stating “I’m in the 6th year. I may be late sometimes, but I go to school every day” (Cooper et al., 2012, 18) to “I have just done the 6th year. I often lose several days of class because I have to finish the jobs I’m given” (Cooper et al., 2012, 18). What these children reveal is recognition of the Local Childhood framework where schooling may be made available, but it remains as one element among many that have to be balanced in their commitment to the household tasks. Therefore, securing schooling is a right but that right must also be aspired toward within an interdependent context of significant responsibilities. This ability to find a balance between household responsibilities and getting an education is similarly demonstrated when it comes to the former and its relationship with play. Another two child domestic labourers interviewed by ICF International reveal circumstances where one child explains “when I can, I go out and play with some children who live behind our house” (Cooper et al., 2012, 32) while another shares comparable sentiments that they “go and play sometimes, but not every day. I always have things to do” (Cooper et al., 2012, 32). Taken as a whole, such responses correspond more closely with the Local framework argument that recognizes how child domestic labourers are expected to fulfill their particular roles. In so doing, greater demands are placed on them but such responsibilities do not necessarily deny citizenship rights from being secured.

In a related manner, many child domestic labourer respondents contend that their citizenship right to protection is not necessarily jeopardized as domestic labourers. For instance, additional child domestic labourers interviewed by ICF International reveal that on the subject of physical punishment, some children share that this is not a part of their domestic experience. In fact, one child respondent explains that “I like living here [as a domestic] because I get on well
with the daughter of the lady I work for. I like it when the children play with me” (Cooper et al., 2012, 30). Another child domestic explains that in their experience, “If I have work to do and don’t do it, she gets mad but rarely beats me” (Cooper et al., 2012, 33). In this light, these child responses clearly demonstrate the importance of recognizing child domestic labourers in relationships of solidarity capable of upholding their citizenship rights. Overall, these children’s experiences speak to the Local Childhood framework that contends domestic labour may be the path through which children can secure their citizenship rights to food and lodging, schooling and play, as well as protection. However, these child respondents clearly reveal that such experiences transpire amid certain vulnerabilities that are largely related to the collective nature of households operating in impoverished circumstances.

The presence of Global Childhood framework advocates in Haiti has led to their interaction with Local Childhood framework advocates that has significantly shaped how child domestic labourers develop their own citizenship identities and interpret their lived realities. In this interaction, what becomes evident are circumstances where greater recognition for children’s rights from Global actors is contributing to children identifying with more options. The interaction reveals a context where there is growing acknowledgement that as one former child domestic labourer who exited an abusive home and now lives as a street kid in Petionville explains, “kids have rights and adults should listen to them” (B7, 2013, interview). In this way, the Global Childhood framework is reflected in the comments of this former victim of abuse. Having said this, the Local Childhood framework is also identified with by child domestic labourers who experience solidarity based relationships. Across this continuum, however, there exists significant concern that children may endure abuse for seemingly limited citizenship rights. For instance, a current child domestic labourer living and working in Port-au-Prince
explains that “I don’t have a problem with being punished if I can stay in the house” (B32, 2013, interview). Such sentiments speak to the concern that children placed in vulnerable settings may remain within a household due to having no other options. As such, these interacting experiences demonstrate that closer attention needs to be taken to understand that while rights and vulnerability may exist simultaneously, in severe cases action must be taken to protect children. In the absence of doing so, children may be unwilling and/or unable to negotiate an improved livelihood. For sibling former child domestic labourers now living in Carrefour, they recognized their situation as “grave … [and therefore] me and my sister fled. We went to get help and now we live in this orphanage” (B45, 2013, interview). Therefore, both the Global and Local Childhood frameworks are reflected as influencing the identity constructions and impacting the lived realities of child domestic labourers to produce a continuum of experiences that international child protection officers must consider toward implementing best protection practices.

Conclusion

The interaction between the Global Childhood framework and Local Childhood framework in Haiti generates complex conditions within which Haitian child domestic labourers negotiate their lives. This has been demonstrated through revealing how some children identify with the Global framework for the purpose of protecting themselves from labouring in and migrating to a domestic labour position as it violates their citizenship rights. However, such a view is confronted by other children’s affiliation with the Local framework’s contention that also aims to protect these children but argues that involvement in labour and migrating for such a purpose may also secure their citizenship rights. These diametrically opposed positions provide alternative means by which child domestic labourers will experience their livelihoods. Clearly
demonstrable from facilitating the voices of child domestic labourers themselves, however, is that it is only through revealing the interactive process between both child advocates for the Global and Local frameworks, that one may capture the experiences of their lived realities. This materializes in what is a continuum along which a range of outcomes transpire. In developing international child protection programming, child protection actors would be best served by acknowledging these multiple conceptions of childhood and child rights and specifically their interaction for the purposes of contributing best child protection practices for the unique experience of every child.
Chapter 9 - Conclusion - The Global-Local Production of Childhood, Child Rights and Child Domestic Labour in Haiti

By analyzing the dynamic interaction of a Global Childhood framework and Local Childhood framework, this dissertation advances a comprehensive understanding for how conceptions of childhood and child rights held by various actors and institutions, including child domestic labourers themselves, influence their identities and impact their livelihoods in Haiti. This approach begins by recognizing the alternative views reflected in each framework. For instance, the Global Childhood framework emerges from the minority world promoting universal adoption of its principles across the globe. For Global proponents, childhood is a universal experience and children’s rights are based upon their status as independent rights-bearers. Applied to the context of Haitian child domestic labourers, these children are conceptualized as being denied a ‘proper’ childhood and are the victims of rights from which they must be protected. However, this position is confronted by the Local Childhood framework based in the majority world that advances the diversity of childhood around the globe. For Local advocates, childhood is a variable experience and children’s rights are based upon their status as interdependent rights-bearers. Taken to the situation of Haitian child domestic labourers, these children are viewed as experiencing a culturally consistent childhood that can include engaging in domestic labour as this may prove a means to attain their rights. While conveying these alternative views is a necessary first step, this dissertation travels much further. This is because the unique contribution that it makes to the broader childhood and child rights literatures as well as the specific international child protection literature concerning child domestic labour is that it not only reveals how each framework shapes the identities and livelihoods of Haitian child domestic labourers, but it also proceeds to capture the unique outcomes that their dynamic interaction in fact produces.
To accomplish this objective, I have implemented a Global-Local theoretical framework that is based in Edward Said’s critical cosmopolitan theory and guided by Arjun Appadurai’s disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy theory that have been applied to the Haitian context. First, Said’s critical cosmopolitan theory aspires to produce a contrapuntal account that possesses “a simultaneous awareness both of the metropolitan [view] that is narrated and of those other [views] against which (and together with which) the dominating discourse acts” (Said, 1993, 52). In this light, the Global Childhood framework occupies the metropolitan position while the Local Childhood framework is situated as its counterpart. A contrapuntal account can therefore be arrived at through implementing Said’s theory of Orientalism that critically “use[s] humanistic critique to open up the fields of struggle to [contest] a belligerent collective identity … [with] understanding and intellectual exchange” (Said, 2003, xxii). At the same time, the cosmopolitan portion contests fixed dichotomies toward opening up dialogue at a multitude of sites so long as it is “amply situated in history, culture and socioeconomic reality” (Said, 2003, xxiii). Therefore, applied to the international child protection literature, Said’s critical cosmopolitan theory has not only aided in identifying the active operation of a Global Childhood framework and Local Childhood framework in Haiti, but in so doing, it has been applied to argue that they operate in relation to one another.

Critical cosmopolitanism is effectively operationalized through being complimented with the disjuncture and difference of the Global and Local Childhood frameworks. The capacity to do so stems from the global cultural economy’s holistic vision that conceptualizes cultural processes not as bound by constructed borders but rather dispersed and interacting globally. In this light, the “global cultural economy has to be understood as a complex, overlapping, disjunctive order” (Appadurai, 1990, 296). Therefore, despite global ideas being dominantly
positioned in comparison with local ideas, Appadurai argues that while the former utilizes homogenizing instruments to undermine the latter, there is not inevitable diffusion. Rather, it is at the interface of the global and local that heterogeneous outcomes materialize (Appadurai, 1990, 307). Once more taken to the context of the international child protection literature and the specific setting of Haiti, Appadurai’s theory shows that while the Global Childhood framework is more strongly promoted vis-à-vis the Local Childhood framework, the former does not operate independent of but exists in relation with the latter to produce a range of results. This is because Appadurai highlights the agency of persons across the globe who “are able to contest and sometimes even subvert the ‘imagined worlds’ of the official mind” (1990, 297). This is done through indicating that “perspectival constructs [are] inflected very much by the historical, linguistic and political situatedness of different sorts of actors … [that range from] nation-states, multinationals, [and] diasporic communities … [to] villages, neighbourhoods and families” (Appadurai, 1990, 297). As a result, disjuncture and difference demonstrably offers a dynamic process precisely due to these actors being responsible for the meaning-making processes which transpire. It therefore proves demonstrably capable of showing how multiple actors at different levels of analysis share their cultural conceptions. In this light, the flow of the global cultural economy clearly transpires at the Global-Local nexus where advocates of the Global Childhood framework and Local Childhood framework do not operate in isolation but rather dynamically interact to produce a multitude of outcomes. Such a theoretical framework has therefore aimed at comprehensively accounting for how conceptions of childhood and child rights held by relevant actors and institutions that reflect the Global and Local Childhood frameworks influence the identity constructions and impact the livelihoods of Haitian child domestic labourers.
It is in combining these scholars’ theories, one can operate at the Global-Local nexus to advance understanding for how the Global and Local Childhood frameworks interact to produce Haitian childhood and child rights. Such an approach first builds on the childhood literature finding support from Afua Twum-Danso Imoh’s theorizing on the global notion of childhood that “communities do not merely imbibe … passively … [but] instead, they react to [it] according to the framework of their social, economic and cultural conditions” (2012, 4). Second, it advances the child rights literature finding support from Karl Hanson and Olga Nieuwenhuys’ theorizing on child rights that they “have not one but multiple geographical centres [because] … children do not simply discover their rights after exposure to metropolitan rights discourses, but become aware of their rights as they struggle with their families and communities to give meaning to their daily existence” (2014, 4). Thus, this dissertation is based in Said’s critical cosmopolitanism and guided by Appadurai’s disjuncture and difference so as to build upon the specific childhood and child rights work of Imoh and Hanson and Nieuwenhuys. The result of doing so has specifically enabled my analysis into how conceptions of childhood and child rights uniquely shape the multiple identities of labour, migration, and citizenship. This analysis reveals the operation of a spectrum along which a wide variety of Haitian child domestic labourers’ lived realities are in fact lived out. Recognizing this spectrum in turn opens up the importance of consulting these children on their lives. This is because these children demonstrate both awareness of a need for more rights but also an acknowledgement, appreciation and desire to obtain rights through fulfilling their interdependent obligations as agents for helping to gain improvement for their families and their own future. It is in this spectrum of identities and lived realities that practitioners may find strategies that are better targeted to more positive outcomes.
Therefore, as these children navigate the identity constructions and lived realities that they face, they must be viewed as central actors in the design and implementation of international child protection practices so as to facilitate their own goals for an ideal livelihood.

The Historical Origins and Contemporary Setting of Child Domestic Labour in Haiti

Conducting this Global-Local analysis of childhood, child rights and child domestic labour in Haiti required situating the trajectory that these concepts have taken throughout the historical and contemporary context of the country. In preparation for such analysis, the dissertation provided a political economy approach utilizing the theory of habitus to lay out the Haitian context. This reveals a political economy story of state repression and citizen resistance where global and local elites habitually utilize the power of the state to accumulate wealth by repressing the predominantly rural population. Despite their resistance through living in the solidarity-based Haitian *lakou* system, rural Haitian citizens have been made increasingly vulnerable by the state over time which has resulted in the undermining of rural citizens’ unity. Such state-facilitated vulnerability has clearly altered the livelihoods of Haitian children and particularly child domestic labourers. In fact, whereas the practice of child domestic labour originally consisted of communal solidarity-based relationships, the precariousness of rural livelihoods largely attributable to state actors and institutions witnessed the practice transition into a rural to urban patron-client relationship. These children’s historical migration largely saw them transition from poor rural households to bourgeois urban homes. However, in more recent times, as these children and their families face reduced prospects for creating sustainable rural livelihoods, the influence of the bourgeoning child rights movement of the late 20\textsuperscript{th} and early 21\textsuperscript{st} century saw bourgeois families no longer accepting domestic labourers in their homes. This has resulted in these migrating rural children now staying with urban families slightly less poor than their own.
It is thus critical to recognize the context of child domestic labour as this constitutes the state in which both the Global and Local Childhood framework interact, shaping a multitude of child domestic labourers’ identities that structure their lived experiences.

**The Global-Local Production of Childhood and Child Rights in Haiti**

This dissertation’s Global-Local analysis addresses important debates within the childhood and child rights scholarships by contributing important findings for how these concepts are experienced by Haitian children. It has revealed how the Global Childhood framework advances childhood and child rights as universally experienced while the Local Childhood framework advances childhood and child rights as encompassing a multitude of experiences. Building from these alternative viewpoints, this dissertation has focused on the dynamic interchange between such Global and Local frameworks specifically in relation to the three pillars of childhood and child rights: these include child-rearing practices and children’s right to a protected childhood, child transitions and children’s right to participation and the experience of children’s lives and children’s right to securing their provisions. Focusing on these three pillars the study reveals the production of a continuum of outcomes in the identities and lived experiences of Haitian children.

For instance, in the Global-Local production of child-rearing practices, Global advocates promote nurturing practices but are confronted by Local proponents utilizing more stringent practices from an ‘early’ age to ensure children have direction. From the view of Haitian children, the Global-Local interchange reveals a process in which Haitian children welcome the less stringent child-rearing practices reflected in the Global framework, but also acknowledge the aim of their parents’ local Haitian standards. Moreover, in the Global-Local production of children’s right to a protected childhood, Global advocates aim to keep children from potentially
challenging activities while Local proponents cite the importance of children’s involvement to protect their own and the wider family’s livelihood. When reflected upon by Haitian children, the Global-Local interchange reveals a unique process that finds these children once more aspiring to a middle ground approach but remaining cognizant of their interdependent position within the family. This is because these children recognize that while aspiring toward improved rights, they too bear responsibility for producing a protective childhood through upholding the collective rights of the household and community.

Additionally, in the Global-Local production of child transitions, Global advocates’ chronological age-based approach has successfully penetrated the Haitian state but remains stalled by the wider society’s Local proponents who continue to expound their cultural-based principles particularly in the absence of state support. This is evident in Haitian children’s reflections on child transitions where, despite some reservations about the haste with which this occurs, these children view it as a product of the household’s economic status. Furthermore, the Global-Local production of children’s right to participation sees a Global independent rights-bearing child being frequently viewed as challenging to attain within the Local framework’s interdependent situation. However, from the viewpoints of Haitian children, their interdependent context affords them much more variety in their participation but remains largely adult-determined and based upon an interdependent objective. This shows that children take in the independence afforded by the Global framework and are in turn repatriating outward a view of children’s right to participation as an entitlement to responsibilities. In so doing, they are conceptualizing their right to participate as inextricably interconnected with their responsibilities through social relations. Here we may distinguish between a hybridization of children’s right to participate as espoused by the children themselves.
Also, through the Global-Local production of children’s lives, Global advocates promote school and not labour as the proper activity for children while Local proponents recognize that school and labour may need to be combined. While child respondents utilized the independence afforded by the Global Childhood framework to advocate for attending school, many of these children view themselves in an interdependent light responding more comprehensively that if they were to take up educational opportunities, they would still wish to ensure they were simultaneously contributing to the family household. Moreover, in the Global-Local production of children’s right to securing provisions for their lives, Global advocates placed this responsibility upon the family and the state. While Local proponents were not opposed to such an approach transpiring, given that the state is frequently unable and/or unwilling to provide the necessary social support, they advance the need for Haitian families to remain reliant upon extended family and kin relations that require children’s significant contributions to the household. For many Haitian children, the Global-Local interaction has resulted in some of them finding consensus with the Global framework so as to place demands upon the state as well. However, they too are being let down by the child rights discourse that far too frequently rings hollow and as a result, the sustainability of such a discourse is jeopardized by such aspirations going unrealized.

**The Global-Local Production of Child Domestic Labourers’ Identities and Livelihoods in Haiti as Advanced by Adult Actors and Institutions**

This dissertation’s Global-Local analysis of Haitian childhood and child rights as applied to Haitian child domestic labourers contribute important findings for how these concepts are experienced by these children specific to their labour, migrant and citizenship identities. The initial focus aimed at understanding this relationship as conveyed by adult actors and institutions. I first analyzed how the Global and Local Childhood frameworks interact to produce these
children’s labour identity as defined by the term *restavek*. What transpires is a situation in which the Global framework’s blanket labelling of all domestic labourers as *restavek* receives a caution from proponents of the Local framework who point out the diversity of experiences that children have and who ultimately demonstrate the importance of utilizing the *restavek* term on a case-by-case basis. Next, the Global-Local production of these children’s labour identities is also formed through their conceptualization as modern day slaves. Global actors frame these children as slaves yet face resistance from Local actors challenging the accuracy and negative effect of using such a term. However, in their Global-Local interaction, it is clear that such discourse has found traction with some members within the wider Haitian population who are in agreement with the Global framework’s use of the term so as to shock society into ending the practice of domestic labour. In addition, the Global-Local production of child domestic labourers’ labour identity is further constructed through evaluating their livelihood position. The interactivity of these frameworks witnesses Global actors decrying what can be the exploitative nature of domestic labour but also needing to be mindful of what Local actors view as the potentiality of criminalizing the families of these children due to their poverty. Such interaction shows that even receiving family households may go without necessities and thus the intent to exploit children is not always present.

The evidence also demonstrates the production of a continuum of outcomes in the migrant identities and lived experiences of Haitian children as advanced by a range of factors. For instance, the Global-Local production of these children’s migrant identities encompasses how push and pull factors are viewed. This stems from the fact that child domestic labourers identify with the Global framework advocates who contend that children have little if any choice in the decision to migrate, that the promises made to them are not kept and as such, children
deeply aspire to return home. At the same time however, the Local framework proponents contend that while these children understand the need for protection, they also identify migration as a potential facet of their lives. With migration, children themselves may suggest their movement is to both improve their livelihoods and in so doing, their own self-esteem. At the heart of the decision to migrate lies uncertainty. There is a demonstrable awareness for the challenges promoted by the Global framework advocates but also a desire, as reflected in the Local framework proponents’ analysis, to move forward with their lives creating an uncertain future. Next, while Global framework advocates situate child migrants as victims of trafficking, Local framework proponents reveal the familial/kinship ties facilitating their movement. In their interaction, there is growing understanding of children’s migration by Global advocates that has led to a stronger focus on monitoring demand so as to attain the shared goal of protecting these children. Last, Global-Local interaction concerning the reintegration and resistance of child domestic labourers’ migration finds Global actors rethinking the traditional intervention policies that return these children to their original homes. This is due in part to Local actors who reveal Haitian childhood as a mobile experience. The result of such interaction sees a melding of the Global and Local frameworks where these children are consulted on alternative options such as living with other family members or kin closer to or in urban settings so as to stem repeat migration patterns.

This dissertation has moreover demonstrated the production of a continuum of outcomes in the citizenship identities and lived experiences of Haitian children through a variety of elements. For instance, Global framework advocates call for the prohibition of children from participating in domestic labour. This policy has superseded the Local framework policies that previously witnessed the Haitian state support the legal regulation of domestic labour for
children 12 years of age and older. However, in such Global-Local interaction, despite the
diffusion of this norm as advanced by the state, many Haitian citizens show reluctance to
conform to such laws. As a result, the citizenship rights of children to be protected from child
domestic labour remain unrealized. Next, the Global-Local production of child domestic
labourers’ citizenship identity is further developed by child protection practices informing their
citizenship rights. For instance, in some cases the Global Childhood framework has been fully
embraced by particular organizations and as such they aim to remove children from child
domestic labour. However, other organizations have adapted elements from both frameworks but
in a manner where they work with the child, their family and the wider community to ensure they
are treated in a similar fashion to the household’s biological children. Last, evidence from the
Global-Local interaction concerning the political processes structuring child domestic labourers’
citizenship rights demonstrates that the Haitian state proves Janus-faced. This is because it
follows the interests of the Global actors it encounters at the international level and the interest of
the Local actors it faces at the national level so as to preserve its self-interest. Therefore, the
Haitian state communicates to the international realm that it strives to aid domestic labourers but
to the national context it remains coy due to a limited societal appetite for addressing what is
often perceived as an issue affiliated with the global human rights regime. The result sees
significant questions emerge over the actual impact that the Haitian state has either due to an
inability and/or unwillingness to addressing Haitian child domestic labourers’ citizenship rights.

**The Global-Local Production of Child Domestic Labourers’ Identities and Livelihoods as
Advanced by Children**

This dissertation also importantly provides children’s responses to the construction of their own
conceptions of their identities and the impact this has on their livelihoods based on their lived
experiences. In so doing, it offers a comprehensive advancement for how child domestic
labourers’ proceed to both navigate, respond to and negotiate the structuring of their identities and lived realities across a continuum of outcomes that require close consideration from international child protection officers.

For instance, there are many child respondents who identify with the Global framework conveying children should be protected from domestic labour. On the other hand, other child respondents affiliate themselves more closely with the Local framework contending work and particularly domestic labour is a vital part of their childhood. In the Global-Local interchange, it is evident that the taking on of domestic labour roles by children is something that many children would be open to. However, should such circumstances devolve into an exploitative relationship they would oppose any such position. Given the variable nature of the domestic labour experience for different children, such Global-Local interactivity suggests that while the Global perspective importantly raises awareness for problematic child domestic labourer livelihoods, it requires caution from a Local perspective so as to evaluate each experience on a case by case basis. Next, children furthermore experience a continuum of outcomes through the Global-Local production of their migrant identities and livelihoods. There are many responses by children identifying positively with the Global framework to argue against such migration. At the same time, many other children more closely affiliating with the Local framework explain migrating to become a domestic labourer as not only an opportunity in and of itself, but one that could lead to improved opportunities in the future. In their Global-Local interchange, many respondents reveal that they are very open to migrating to become a domestic labourer, but only if it was with someone who they could trust. This once more points to the importance of evaluating domestic labourer experiences on an individual basis. In the melding of the Global and Local frameworks, it is clear that many children associate their migration as taking a risk in the hopes that a brighter
future lies ahead for both themselves and their families through the connections that they make.

Last, children also identify with experiencing a continuum of outcomes through the Global-Local production of their citizenship identities and livelihoods. There are many children who reveal a conscious awareness for the rights of the child as advanced by the Global framework. They frequently question why such rights are not secured for them as domestic labourers. By the same token, many children find resonance with the Local framework that sees these children attain particular rights through their labour position. Of note, however, is the fact that in their Global-Local interchange, one of the significant problems that can develop is that children may remain in a difficult situation if only a few citizenship rights are offered. For instance, some children spoke of continuing to endure punishment so long as they were able to remain in the house. Consequently, understanding Global-Local interaction is vital such that children develop awareness for all their rights so as to recognize abuse and find negotiation opportunities so as to discover alternative livelihood positions rather than endure citizenship rights abuses.

**A Global-Local Analysis for a Dialogical Approach to International Child Protection**

This dissertation contends that capturing the dynamic interchange between a Global Childhood framework and Local Childhood framework is essential toward understanding the identity constructions and lived realities of Haitian child domestic labourers. Toward this end, it makes the contention that in such interaction exists a continuum of experiences. As such, both scholars and practitioners in international child protection require taking a nuanced approach to childhood, child rights and child domestic labour in Haiti that can best be supported through consultation with children themselves. Arriving at such a scholarly and practical place requires implementing a scalar dynamic that recognizes how ideas traverse multiple levels of analysis, understanding the contexts within which they emerge and that these ideas interact with one
another, as well as recognizing the negotiated process that transpires among the actors and institutions holding these perspectives who are responsible for ultimately producing outcomes. Practicing this framework can facilitate a dialogical approach that is ideally suited for best international child protection practices concerning Haitian child domestic labourers. Therefore, this dissertation confirms the benefits of combining Said’s critical cosmopolitanism and Appadurai’s disjuncture and difference toward facilitating a Global-Local analysis of international child protection. Moving forward, however, further research that accesses the voice of children to an enhanced degree can bring their insights more clearly within development practice. This requires building upon the multi-vocal methods attempted in this dissertation to mainstream the multitude of perspectives held by children that can conduct studies in greater depth specific to one particular aspect of their livelihood experience such as labourer, migrant, or citizen. This is because it is only in facilitating children’s voices in a dialogical manner that best child protection practices will materialize.

Therefore, at its core, the message advanced by this dissertation is the importance of dialogue among the scholars, practitioners, families and children themselves that compose the field of international child protection. What the evidence reveals is that this essential dialogue is most certainly underway. That such dialogue is transpiring speaks to the positive impact that critical cosmopolitan theory pursues. It stresses the importance of recognizing the multitude of frames that exist and the benefits that stem from allowing each individual behind that frame to contribute to an exchange of ideas. One witnesses this in the interaction of actors espousing the Global Childhood framework and Local Childhood framework that at times permits vital dialogue to unfold. While this process remains fraught with conflict, in bringing dialogue to the forefront, and specifically through the voices of children themselves, there is an enhanced
opportunity for improving the livelihood experiences of Haitian children. This is evident in the major contention of this dissertation that local actors, and children specifically do not simply absorb global demands but rather act within their unique context producing a continuum of experiences that range from acceptance, hybridization and resistance.

Thus, as the ultimate objective of the international child protection community is to inquire into enhancing the protection of children, there requires a collective commitment to recognizing the positionality of all proponents and their multiple approaches to securing this aim. As the international child protection community is united in their concern that “allowing world … problems to be taken out on the growing minds and bodies of young children is the antithesis of all civilized behaviour. Nothing can justify it. And it shames and diminishes us all” (Adamson in Lewis, 2005, 25), this dissertation contends that international child protection scholars consider not only the alternative viewpoints on childhood, child rights and child domestic labour that streamlines the opinion of the child in shaping international child protection practices, but pushes further so as to recognize the way that these positions dynamically shape the changing lived experiences of these children. The decision to do so can ultimately materialize in enhanced theoretical and contextual richness that may develop new paths forward. Absent doing so, the scholars, practitioners, families and children involved in international child protection will only prolong the significant challenges that child domestic labourers and their families face. Therefore, advancing this theoretical and practical framework is crucial because there is clearly not a moment to waste.
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http://www.iom.int/news/haiti-moves-towards-adoption-counter-trafficking-law


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## APPENDIX A: THE GLOBAL CHILDHOOD FRAMEWORK AND LOCAL CHILDHOOD FRAMEWORK

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<tr>
<th>GLOBAL CHILDHOOD FRAMEWORK</th>
<th>LOCAL CHILDHOOD FRAMEWORK</th>
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<tr>
<td>Emerges from the Minority World</td>
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<td><strong>Global Childhood Model</strong></td>
<td><strong>Local Childhood Model</strong></td>
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<td>Conventional Social Studies of Childhood Paradigm <em>with qualified liberal rights</em></td>
<td>New Social Studies of Childhood Paradigm</td>
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<td><strong>Child Domestic Labourers’ Labour Identity</strong></td>
<td><strong>Child Domestic Labourers’ Labour Identity</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Protection from labour for healthy development and facilitation of children’s right to an education.</td>
<td>Children’s labour requires contextualization and recognition that involvement in such labour may secure collective rights.</td>
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<td><strong>Child Domestic Labourers’ Migrant Identity</strong></td>
<td><strong>Child Domestic Labourers’ Migrant Identity</strong></td>
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<td>Children are properly viewed as located within the nuclear family and therefore migration suggests a violation of their rights.</td>
<td>Children are located within larger familial and kin networks and therefore their migration may advance their own and that of their familial/kin rights.</td>
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<td><strong>Child Domestic Labourers’ Citizenship Identity</strong></td>
<td><strong>Child Domestic Labourers’ Citizenship Identity</strong></td>
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<td>Children remain framed as dependents, however, their right to participation has been advanced in a qualified form.</td>
<td>Children are able to participate in more citizenship experiences, however, they are not autonomously advanced but rather interdependently aspired to.</td>
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APPENDIX B: MAPS INDICATING FIELD WORK LOCATION

MAP OF HAITI IN THE CARRIBEAN

http://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/namerica/caribb/ht.htm

MAP OF HAITIAN DEPARTMENTS AND CITIES OF FIELD WORK

Artibonite – Gonaives / North-West – Jean Rabel and Port-de-Paix / South-East – Jacmel / West – Port-au-Prince and Croix-des-Bouquets

## APPENDIX C: LIST OF INTERVIEWS

### Elite and Expert Respondents

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APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Research Question: How do conceptions of childhood and child rights held by the Haitian Government, Non-Governmental Organizations and Community-Based Organizations as well as Haitian children including child domestic labourers shape the identities and impact the livelihoods of Haitian child domestic labourers?

Interview Questions: Haitian Government, NGOs and CBOs

Haitian Children and Society
- How are children viewed in Haitian society?
- What is the place of a child in Haitian society?

Haitian Family
- Describe for me your conceptualization of the values and attributes of a Haitian family?

Childhood
- In your opinion, how is the time period of childhood conceptualized in Haitian culture and do you agree with it?
- How would you describe the childhood of a typical Haitian child?

Child Rights
- In your opinion, how are child rights conceptualized in Haiti and do you agree with it?
- How would you describe the child rights of a typical Haitian child?

Child Domestic Labourers’ Labour Identity
- How would you conceptualize a child domestic labourer?
- How are child domestic labourers viewed in Haitian culture?
- What are the labour responsibilities of a child domestic labourer?
- Are boy child domestic labourers and girl child domestic labourers viewed the same way?

Child Domestic Labourers’ Migrant Identity
- Where are child domestic labourers originally located and does taking up the responsibilities of a child domestic labourer require migration?
- If there is migration involved, how does this affect the lives of child domestic labourers?

Child Domestic Labourers’ Citizenship Identity
- What legislation exists related to the human rights of child domestic labourers?
- How does your government/organization uphold/contribute to realizing these laws?

Programming
- Overall, how would you conceptualize the livelihood of a child domestic labourer?
- What types of programming is available to support child domestic labourers?
- How does your government/organization implement such programming?
- What have been the results of implementing the programs?
**Interview Questions:** Former/Current child domestic labourers and rural children susceptible to becoming child domestic labourers?

*Haitian Society*
- What do you think of Haiti?
- What is good/bad about living in Haiti?

*Haitian Family*
- What is a family?
- How many people are in your family?
- What is each person expected to do?

*Childhood*
- Who is a child?
- What should a child do?
- What do Haitian children do?

*Child Rights*
- What are child rights?
- Who helps you with child rights?
- Do Haitian children have rights?

*Child Domestic Labourers’ Labour Identity*
- What is a child domestic labourer?
- What do people in Haiti think of child domestic labourers?
- What are the jobs of a child domestic labourer?
- Do boy and girl child domestic labourers do the same job?

*Child Domestic Labourers’ Migrant Identity*
- Did you grow up in a village or a city?
- Do child domestic labourers move into a new house?
- What do you think of children moving to become domestic labourers?

*Child Domestic Labourers’ Citizenship Identity*
- What legislation exists related to the human rights of child domestic labourers?
- How does your government/organization uphold/contribute to realizing these laws?

*Programming*
- What do you think of your life? What are the good/bad things?
- Who helps you have a good life? What types of things do they do to help you have a good life?