

THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY
SCHREYER HONORS COLLEGE

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR AND EMPLOYMENT RELATIONS

EDUCATION IN HAITI: AN ANALYSIS OF HOW POVERTY AND CHILD LABOR
ARE RELATED TO EDUCATION

ELIZABETH ANN ROCKEY
SPRING 2014

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements
for baccalaureate degrees
in Psychology and Labor Studies and Employment Relations
with honors in Labor Studies and Employment Relations

Reviewed and approved* by the following:

J. Ryan Lamare
Assistant Professor of Labor Studies and Employment Relations
Thesis Supervisor

Alan Derickson
Professor of Labor Studies and History
Honors Adviser

* Signatures are on file in the Schreyer Honors College.

ABSTRACT

Haiti is the poorest country in the western hemisphere and suffers many social and economic hardships, severely impacting Haitian children. This study aims to find fundamental relationships between different social phenomena in Haiti to help with policy analysis, formation, and application regarding poverty alleviation, education systems, and child labor laws. This paper provides an overview of Haiti's history, present-day conditions, child labor issues, and education system. The objective of this study is to investigate relationships between poverty, child labor, and education in Haiti. My primary question is whether poverty is related to an increase in child labor and also a decrease in education. Data were used from the World Bank to analyze these relationships and was supplemented with a case study interview. Results suggest that strong relationships exist between education, poverty, and child labor. Findings indicate that poverty and child labor are not positively related, child labor and education are negatively related, and poverty and education have mixed results that point towards a net negative relationship. I draw connections between the data results and the case study. I present possible explanations of my findings and limitations of the study. I also provide suggestions for future research.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures	iv
List of Tables	v
Acknowledgements	vi
Chapter 1 Introduction and Profile of Haiti	1
Key Definitions	1
Country Profile of Haiti	5
Historical Overview	5
Present-Day Haiti	8
Child Labor in Haiti	10
Haitian Education System	14
Chapter 2 Literature Review and Hypotheses	18
Introduction	18
Sociological Perspective	19
Political Perspectives	22
Political Perspective Regarding Child Labor	22
Political Perspective Regarding Education	24
Economic Perspective	26
Poverty as a Determinant of Child Labor	26
Association Between Education and Child Labor	28
Chapter 3 Material and Methods	33
Sample	33
Model	33
Variables and Descriptive Statistics	34
Analyses	37
Case Study Methods	37
Chapter 4 Results	39
Child Labor as Related to Poverty	39
Education as Related to Child labor	40
Education as Related to Poverty	41
Case Study of Haiti: Interview	43
Chapter 5 Discussion	46
Child Labor Significantly Related to Poverty	46

Child Labor Inversely Related to Education.....	47
Poverty Significantly Related to Education.	48
Limitations	50
Implications for Future Research.....	53
Implications for Application	54
Conclusion	57
Appendix A Worst Forms of Child Labor Convention.....	58
Appendix B Informed Consent Form.....	59
Appendix C Semi-Structured Interview Guide.....	61
References.....	62

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Hypothesized Relationships..... 34

LIST OF TABLES

<i>Table 1: Variables and Descriptive Statistics</i>	36
<i>Table 2: Child Labor and Poverty Correlations</i>	40
<i>Table 3: Child Labor and Education Correlations</i>	41
<i>Table 4: Poverty and Education Correlations, Model 1</i>	42
<i>Table 5: Poverty and Education Correlations, Model 2</i>	43

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to thank the School of Labor and Employment Relations, whose terrific faculty and staff have truly contributed to my academic and professional growth during my time at Penn State. It is because of this department that I have gained knowledge and passion about my academic pursuits. Specifically, I want to thank my Honors Adviser, Dr. Alan Derickson. His constant patience, guidance, and feedback helped me to strengthen my abilities as a writer, student, and young professional. I also want to acknowledge the Schreyer Honors College, which has provided me with the necessary resources and support as a scholar to meet all of my goals.

Most importantly, I want to thank my Thesis Supervisor Dr. Ryan Lamare, who supported my research in addition to my academic and professional interests and pursuits. Dr. Lamare provided guidance in my first real experience with quantitative research. He also spent time providing me with valuable feedback and suggestions to help me reach my highest potential, and ultimately create a better paper. His constant support and confidence in my work as a student and scholar propelled me to complete this thesis project.

Jacquelyn Borst deserves huge thanks. Jacquelyn's work in Haiti is inspiring and selfless. The blend of her experience in and passion for Haiti made her a remarkable reference while writing this paper to help provide context to the findings.

Lastly, I would like to thank my friends and family, and all of the people who read some former draft of this paper. Their positive attitudes and encouraging spirits gave me continued motivation to complete such an extensive project to my satisfaction.

Chapter 1

Introduction and Profile of Haiti

Haiti, recently named the poorest country in the world, has been the focus of surprisingly little research regarding domestic issues ranging from medical and health services to economic opportunities for its citizens. Haiti's economic conditions of impoverished households force very real tradeoffs between child labor and education. In this sense, poverty impacts educational priorities on the household level. This paper will examine the relationship between poverty and education in Haiti and how these two variables may exacerbate and/or prevent the incidence of widespread child labor. By studying such relationships, findings can contribute to multifaceted approaches to policy-making and improve general understanding of associations between these social phenomena.

This chapter will first define key aspects of the paper, including poverty, child labor, and education. It will briefly review Haitian history and provide an overview of Haiti's current economic condition, education system, and child labor concerns. The paper will use data from the World Bank and a case study interview to investigate the relationship between poverty, education, and child labor in Haiti. The paper will discuss relevant education and policy implications and future research.

Key Definitions

This section provides detailed definitions of essential terms and concepts. Clear definitions enable consistent and specific interpretations of complex phenomena.

Poverty

Poverty indexes reflect quality of life through use of various measures, such as income levels or poverty lines (e.g., income quintiles), gross domestic product (GDP) per capita, or more indirect factors, such as housing quality (OECD, 2003; ILO, 2013). The World Bank (2008) establishes the international poverty line as any household earning less than \$1.25 a day at the 2005 purchasing power parity (PPP). PPP exchange rates measure relative values of goods within domestic markets and not solely international exchange rates. In other words, the poverty line is drawing comparisons based on the standards of living between countries, rather than price differentials. Other poverty-related factors are often considered in research, such as life expectancy, infant mortality rates, child mortality rates, and fertility rates. “Absolute poverty refers to a poverty line that usually captures the minimum cost for a person or household to satisfy its basic needs” (ILO, 2013, p. 41). This paper will use the United Nations’ broad definition of poverty:

... a denial of choices and opportunities, a violation of human dignity. It means a lack of basic capacity to participate effectively in society. It means not having enough to feed and clothe a family, not having a school or clinic to go to, not having the land on which to grow one’s food or a job to earn one’s living, not having access to credit. It means insecurity, powerlessness and exclusion of individuals, households and communities. It means susceptibility to violence, and it often implies living on marginal or fragile environments, without access to clean water or sanitation (United Nations, 1998, p. 1).

Intergenerational Poverty Transmission

Poverty transmission can be familial (microeconomic) or public (macroeconomic). Familial perpetuation of poverty stems from close relationships and dependence on people through generations. Public resources (or a lack of resources) transferred between individuals (e.g., taxes or local job opportunities) cause the public perpetuation of poverty. Overall social relations (encompassing anything from family structure to community connections) are a substantial factor in hindering or facilitating poverty transmission. Without anyone to offer teaching, advice, or guidance, the likelihood of an individual succeeding in breaking out of the poverty cycle is low.

Transmission of resources, wealth, and opportunities may either enable or disable an individual to increase his/her income. Factors related to poverty also affect economic development (e.g., health, nutrition, emotional stability, and environment). For example, malnutrition is often transmitted intergenerationally due to its close relationship with poverty and individuals' inability to afford food. However, malnutrition also results in an increased risk of becoming ill and in premature deaths, leaving younger people responsible to care for families because older generations are unable to work (Harper & Marcus, 2003).

Child and Childhood

According to the International Labor Organization (ILO) Conventions Nos. 138 and 182, childhood and adulthood are distinguished chronologically. Any individual under the age of eighteen is considered a child. This is a universal benchmark to ensure that all individuals under the age of eighteen receive the proper protection and care deemed appropriate for children (IPEC, 2011). While this universal definition has an important function, it is also important to consider the regional and cultural differences regarding attitudes towards children. Rodgers and Standing (1981) discuss the differences in the conceptualization of childhood. Some cultures believe it is relatively short whereas others believe childhood extends into an individual's twenties. Differences are also determined by the parameters by which "childhood" is defined. The ILO determines childhood by an individual's age; however, many cultures may consider other factors such as social status (Rodgers & Standing, 1981). For the purposes of this paper, a child is any individual under the age of eighteen.

Child Labor

The concept of "work" or "labor" is challenging to define because of the myriad of work activities an individual may undertake. Work may range from household tasks and chores to agricultural, factory, artisanal, or office work. Workload may vary as well (e.g., work hours per week, work difficulty, work stress, etc.). Child labor is defined differently from "work" in

general due to the increased risk of physical, emotional, and cognitive harm. It is often conceptualized as work that robs children of their childhood (purity), their potential, their dignity, and that harms their physical and/or mental wellbeing, including hampering their education. The ILO Convention No. 138 defines child labor by an individual's age and nature of the work (or workload) being performed (See Appendix A; IPEC, 2011). Child labor for ordinary work is any individual under the age of fifteen, child labor for hazardous work is any individual under the age of eighteen, and child labor for light work is any individual under the age of thirteen (International Labour Organization [ILO], 1973). Any of these forms of work is considered child labor regardless the presence of formal contracts, an employer, form of payment, seasonal employment, or legal or illegal industries (IPEC, 2011).

ILO Convention No. 182 declares hazardous forms of child labor that are invariably bad. Hazardous child labor is designated as “the worst forms of child labor” and consists of these categories:

- (a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory [labor], including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;
- (b) the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances;
- (c) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties;
- (d) work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children (ILO, 1999, article 3).

It is universally thought that the worst forms of child labor are “odious and immoral” in nature (Baland & Robinson, 2012, p. 663). In 1999, when Convention No. 182 was passed, these forms of child labor did not completely vanish and still persist today.

Education

Education is widely accepted as a basic human right and as an effective method for child labor reduction (Lieten, 2002; Schimmel, 2007). While education systems are not universal in their structure or their curriculum (Ladd, 2012; Santos, 2011), education itself is an investment in the development of an individual, ideally resulting in the maturity of intellectual, social and moral knowledge (Psacharopoulos & Patrinos, 2004; Smyth & McCoy, 2009). The International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) attempts to make international education statistics as comparable as possible across the world to enable policymakers to measure progress and changes.¹ According to ISCED, an educational program focuses on learning objectives for the development of skills/competencies and future academic preparation and requires that certification is provided upon fulfillment of the learning objectives (UNESCO, 2011). For the purpose of this paper, education, educational programs (formal and non-formal), and subsequent qualifications and classifications (e.g., early childhood education, primary education, and lower secondary education) will be defined according to ISCED.

Country Profile of Haiti

Historical Overview

Discovered in 1492, Columbus established Navidad on the north end of Hispaniola and later established the Spanish colony Santo Domingo, encompassing present-day Haiti (Lundhal, 2011). Santo Domingo became a popular trading post for supply shipments to Mexico and the North American colonies. After the conquest of Mexico, the economic activity at Santo Domingo declined and by the end of the 16th century, French, Dutch, and British forces were controlling the

¹ United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) established ISCED along with many other pro-education movements (most notably the Education For All movement) (Allais & Hagemann, 2008).

surrounding seas (Library of Congress, 2006). In 1697, Spain relinquished the western third of Hispaniola (present day Haiti) to the French through the Treaty of Ryswyck (Santo Domingo was renamed Saint-Domingue; Lundhal, 2011). During the 18th century, the French colony became known as “the Pearl of the Antilles,” the most prosperous colony in the world, due to massive African slave trading operations (Bracken, 2006; Library of Congress, 2006). By the time of the French Revolution, the slave population in Haiti had reached between 500,000 and 700,000 (Library of Congress, 2006). However, in 1793, the French administrator of Haiti was pressured into abolishing slavery due to slave revolts and internal conflict (Lundhal, 2011). By 1803, when Napoleon sold land to the United States in the Louisiana Purchase, Haiti was no longer advantageous for France’s trade policy, as the continued revolts and internal war were becoming costly (Library of Congress, 2006). After Napoleon was defeated in Europe and exiled to Saint Helena, Haiti was declared an independent nation on January 1st, 1804 (Bracken, 2006; Lundhal, 2011). Haiti became the first “black republic” in history (Pederson & Hatley, 2002).

Haiti’s economic history revolved around sugar plantations and coffee; other major exports included cotton, cocoa, and indigo. During the period of French control in Haiti, plantation operations were extremely profitable due to the use of slavery, and the island led the world in sugar and coffee exports. After earning its independence, Haiti’s export industry declined. Haiti was divided into small farms; and the colonial plantation model was rendered obsolete (Library of Congress, 2006). Due to the worsening of its economy, leaders began enforcing working conditions and arrangements reminiscent of slavery and negated the very inspiration for independence in the first place. The government forced Haitian families to work in fields under military supervision (Lundhal, 2011).

For over 200 years, Haitians blamed their government for being misrepresentative of the people’s best interest and for segregating the elite from the poor (Lundhal, 2011; McNulty, 2011). The country struggled under political instability. Between 1804 and 1915, Haiti had 33 different

leaders, six of whom were between 1911 and 1915. Due to the political instability, the United States intervened in 1915, providing some stabilization through budget and debt management and the creation of infrastructure, though those actions had few lasting outcomes (Library of Congress, 2006).

In more recent history, Haiti only had one decade with a positive GDP per capita growth rate between 1960 and 2000. The main contributors to growth have been trade, education, and easier access to credit in the private sector. In 1971, Haiti made policy changes favoring exports and facilitating growth in the assembly sector. A reform in 1972 encouraged credit to the private sector by giving banks the ability to extend medium-term credit to industrial and export sectors. In 1978, the Haitian government reformed its educational system (focusing on primary education reform) and unified the educational administration. Haitian Creole was declared the single language of instruction for primary school, and nutrition programs were implemented to help improve school enrollment (Jaramillo & Sancak, 2007).

Haiti was hit by a magnitude 7.0 earthquake on January 12, 2010. The earthquake claimed over 230,000 lives and ruined 245,000 structures throughout the country. Close to one-third of the government was lost. Haiti was in a state of distress and international aid arrived. Paris Club voted to relieve Haiti's debt (equivalent to USD 36 million), and debt was canceled (IDA & IMF, 2011).

With nearly \$3 billion total pledged towards relief efforts, the Haitian government had to decide how to allocate the aid. The government outlined an effort to strategize the allocation of foreign aid during the recovery period. The international community's goal was to help Haiti recover from the devastating earthquake, but also to assist in the development of long-term economic growth. The damage of the earthquake affected more than basic needs of the Haitians; it upset entire operating systems within the country. Hospitals, schools, governmental buildings, and businesses were destroyed, and much of the country was rendered non-operational.

Estimates reveal that the private sector lost \$2 billion as a result of the earthquake, 75 percent of which was sustained by small and medium-sized businesses (World Bank, 2013). With increased attention from the earthquake, remittances to Haiti from Haitians abroad had positive effects in low-income households because they helped alleviate budget constraints (Bredl, 2011).

Present-Day Haiti

Currently, Haiti is the most impoverished country in the Western Hemisphere, with 80 percent of its population living on two US dollars a day or less and with a GDP of the equivalent of USD 700 per capita in 2011. Over half of all Haitians live on less than USD 1 a day. While there was a bump in GDP in 2010 and 2011 due to incoming funding and infrastructure from the 2010 earthquake, the increase quickly dissipated; GDP is not expected to increase in the coming years (World Bank, 2013). More than two-thirds of the population is without formal jobs, resulting in a huge informal economy that is difficult to measure (CIA, 2010).

Not only is Haiti poor, it has extreme inequality, with a Gini coefficient (an indicator of variability among frequency distribution and general inequality) of 0.59 in 2001 (World Bank, 2013). “It is this glaring inequality that creates a breeding ground for instability” (McNulty, 2011, p. 6). The Human Development Index (HDI), an indicator of life expectancy, education, and income, ranked Haiti as 161 out of 187 countries in 2013, worse than its Latin American and Caribbean neighbors. The Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) indicates acute multidimensional poverty with the same indicators as the HDI (i.e., life expectancy, education, and income); Haiti’s MPI indicates 56.4 percent of Haiti’s population are MPI poor (International Human Development Indicators, 2013). As of 2011, the life expectancy at birth is 62.06 years (World Bank, 2013).

A study investigating state functioning reported that Haiti's short-term approaches to rectifying poverty issues are unsuccessful, according to Haiti's developmental potential under the dimension of state and administrative capabilities (e.g., policing, security, and regulation). Scholars expect Haiti to take decades or more to develop its state capabilities. To expedite development, international collaborative measures towards development are encouraged (Pritchett, Woolcock, & Andrews, 2012). Shamsie (2008) analyzed Haiti's economic development plans and expressed the need for Haiti to update their economic approach away from its previous neo-liberal and 'trickle-down' approaches, and focus on direct poverty reduction instead. Zoellick (2010), president of the World Bank Group, emphasizes the need for foreign aid to coordinate and work with the Haitian government, to build its capacity, and to teach Haiti to be a self-sustaining nation.

Socially, Haiti is divided by language (i.e., French and Creole), religion (i.e., Catholicism and Voodoo), and race (Pederson & Hatley, 2002). Schools and other formal institutions are primarily French operating (despite having Haitian Creole as the declared language of instruction). This policy limits 95 percent of the population who are monolingual in Creole (Hebblethwaite, 2012; Janak, 2000). Parents face communication barriers with schools, while children face the additional stress of learning a new language. Furthermore, inadequate teaching can create a learning gap between French and Creole speakers, and open up potential for educational discrimination against Creole speakers. The national literacy rate in 2012 was 49 percent (Howell, 2012), significantly lower than the global literacy rate of 84.1 percent (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2012). Children's literature has only developed in the last twenty years, and there are now between 350 and 400 titles available for Haitian children, with recent works written in or translated into Creole (Lehman & Logan, 2011).

It is not uncommon in Haiti for women to bear 4 to 6 children, and for the eldest daughter to stay home from school to care for her siblings. Haitian women are generally less educated than

men (Gordon, 2009). Haiti is a relatively young nation with roughly half of the Haitian population below the age of 20 and one third below the age of 15 (McNulty, 2011). In the 1987 Constitution (Articles 259 through 262), parents are declared responsible for their children's health, education, environment, and development; if a child is abandoned, the parent(s) is/are subject to penalties (Government of the Republic of Haiti, 1987).

Child Labor in Haiti

In 1998, the ILO estimated that 24 percent of Haitian children between ages of 10 and 14 were working (Department of Labor, 2013). In 2005, according to data from the World Bank, it was estimated that 29 percent of children between ages of 7 and 14 were working full-time, and another 27.5 percent are both working and attending school (World Bank, 2013). The type of work that children in Haiti perform is primarily domestic work, street trading, working for family or community subsistence agriculture, and sexual exploitation. Generally, children are not used for labor in the industrial and commercial agriculture sectors because of the surplus of adult workers. A large percentage of Haitian child labor is in the form of *restaveks* (Department of Labor, 2013). Between 5.9 and 8.2 percent of children between ages 5 and 17 work as *restaveks* (Pederson & Hatley, 2002). Eighty percent of *restaveks* are female (Department of Labor, 2013). UNICEF estimated that 300,000 children were working as domestic servants—known as *restaveks* (derived from the Haitian Creole word for “to stay with”)—in Haiti in 1997 (Department of Labor, 2013). *Restaveks* are children from low-income households who are sent to live with another family and work as a domestic worker in exchange for food, housing, and education (Pederson & Hatley, 2002). Additionally, an estimated 2,000 to 3,000 Haitian children are sent to the neighboring Dominican Republic to work on sugarcane farms and in construction, domestic work, street work, and sex tourism (Department of Labor, 2001; Department of Labor,

2013). Haitian children are exposed to the worst forms of child labor, especially child trafficking from rural to urban areas (Department of Labor, 2001).

Some scholars have argued that the employment of *restaveks* and similar domestic child labor work (e.g., housework and caretaking) are justifiable and survive because of indigenous cultural roots. However, a 2002 report provides a caveat that *restaveks* and similar household jobs for children are the responses to multiple influences (i.e., culture, economy, society, and religion). These influences cultivate an economic environment where it becomes a necessary part of rearing children to have them either sent away to be a domestic worker or contribute to household work (Pederson & Hatley, 2002). Unfortunately for *restaveks*, exploitation frequently occurs in the host household (Faedi, 2008) and most families fail to let a child attend school; the majority of *restaveks* at age 15 have never been to school (Department of Labor, 2013; Faedi, 2008). Furthermore, most households overwork *restaveks* between 10 to 14 hours a day and maltreatment (e.g., physical, psychological, and/or sexual abuse) is a common occurrence (Department of Labor, 2013). Adverse working conditions, similar to *restaveks*’, also occur among children who work at home for their biological family, either performing housework or caretaking. And so, in extreme and exploited circumstances adverse effects emerge from culturally accepted forms child labor.

While the incidence of child labor in Haiti is staggering, adopted initiatives and policies seek to alleviate child labor (Department of Labor, 2013). Haiti’s labor code of 1984 (Articles 335 and 341) states that the minimum age of employment is 15, unless the labor is domestic work, in which case the minimum age is 12. Additionally, all children working between ages of 15 and 18 must be registered at the Ministry of Social Affairs, the organization responsible for the enforcement of child labor legislation. All persons under the age of 18 are prohibited from working in dangerous or nighttime conditions (Department of Labor, 2001; Department of Labor, 2013). The Act on the Prohibition and Elimination of All Forms of Abuse, Violence, III

Treatment or Inhuman Treatment Against Children of 2003 banned the use of forced or compulsory labor and servitude. It also prohibited the use of children in any work involving criminal activity or armed conflict, trafficking of children, and use of children in sexual-related and illicit activity (Department of Labor, 2011).

Further initiatives include those undertaken by international organizations and agreements. In the 1999 Memorandum of Understanding, Haiti joined ILO-IPEC in their cause of eliminating child labor (Department of Labor, 2001; Department of Labor, 2013). Haiti ratified ILO Convention 182 in 2007 and Convention 138 in 2009 (ILO, 2012b). With funding from the United States' Department of Labor, IPEC is designing a special program targeted to help *restaveks* in Haiti (Department of Labor, 2013). The Ministry of Social Affairs implemented the SOS Timoun, an anonymous hotline that provides a method of reporting child maltreatment. Haiti's *Institut du Bien Etre Social et de Recherches* (IBESR; Institute of Welfare and Research) has the authority to separate children from their abusive caregivers (Department of Labor, 2001). IBESR is a department in the Ministry of Social Affairs that enforces child labor laws. However, limited funding, resources, and staff restrain its effectiveness (Department of Labor, 2011). The ILO and various NGOs are also raising funds for a *restavek* survey for better understanding of domestic child labor's occurrence to be able to design a national plan of action (Department of Labor, 2013). Religious and humanitarian centers have been created to provide food and shelter for street children; however, their success is limited because children are unaware that such resources exist (Howell, 2012).

Despite the policy intentions, enforcement is an issue. The Port au Prince area has only 12 social service workers, and the Ministry of Social Affairs removed 760 children from abusive homes in 2000 and a mere 158 children in 2001 (Department of Labor, 2001; Department of Labor, 2013). Child labor laws, especially those referencing domestic work, are not enforced. The IBESR fails to issue necessary work permits to families, and all the labor inspections that

have resulted in the removal of a child from an abusive home have not included any fines or legal penalties for the caregiver. While trafficking is a sizable concern in the child labor sector, especially near Port au Prince and the Dominican Republic, no government investigations have taken place and no prosecutions of traffickers have occurred (Department of Labor, 2001). Haiti has no legal repercussions for employing *restaveks*, unless the conditions of work violate other legislation (Department of Labor, 2011).

Income levels reported by children vary from no wage to USD 12 a day. Similarly, the portion of income that a child is personally entitled to varies, as *restaveks* are typically expected to support caregivers or other family members. Nevertheless, most children report using at least some of their income to purchase food and basic necessities. General working hours for child laborers are between 8 and 12 hours a day. Some experts, however, argue a better estimate is between 10 and 15 hours a day. A large study of urban child laborers by ICF International in 2012 found that the reasons behind children working are nearly always related to a deficient economic means and poverty. A common response from children explaining why they work was that their parents did not have the means to help them, and thus the children had to help themselves. Another common condition reported was parental deaths, or desertion, leaving children with increased household responsibility (e.g., helping out with younger sibling, household chores, and family agricultural work). Some parents rationalized that work provides children with important skills. Children explained that their motivation behind working was to avoid hunger or because of parental and/or peer pressure (Howell, 2012).

Since the 2010 earthquake, transnational adoption of Haitian children has become a controversial issue because of the large numbers of displaced children and simultaneous media attention (Hearst, 2010; Leeds, Ebgek, Derby, Kapadia, Chery, & Bhatt, 2010). The need for orphans and deserted children to be adopted by a caregiver is substantial, but the post-earthquake adoption frenzy led to child trafficking and illegal adoptions. Hoffman (2011) discusses the

misportrayal of children's need and desire to be 'saved' via transnational adoption. Transnational adoption from Haiti since has become a very complex and rigid process that takes years to complete (Hearst, 2010).

Haitian Education System

Despite the forthright acknowledgment of education's importance and Haiti's declaration of the basic right to education in their constitution (Government of the Republic of Haiti, 1987), 45 percent of primary school-aged children in Haiti do not attend school (Department of Labor, 2011). Beyond Haiti's constitution, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR); the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR); and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) all protect the international right to an education (Kim, 2013). The 2001 national budget distributed 16 percent of its funds to education (the average international education expenditure is 6.1 %, suggesting a higher priority in Haiti on education; OECD, 2003), and President Martelly has expressed his intention of increase education's spending (Department of Labor, 2013). The allocation of education expenditures causes additional concern for policymakers. Urban areas receive greater funding for education; rural areas, where 70 percent of Haiti's population resides, receive only 20 percent of total education expenditures (Luzincourt & Gutbrandson, 2010).

The Haitian education system is organized into three components: preschool, fundamental education that lasts nine years, and secondary education. Students receive a *Brevet* diploma at the completion of their fundamental education (Howell, 2012). The Haitian Ministry of National Education and Professional Training maintains and regulates the system (Luzincourt & Gutbrandson, 2010). Related fees (e.g., school uniform and books), equivalent to USD2, disable some lower-income children from attending, something that is more common in rural areas

(Department of Labor, 2001; Department of Labor, 2013). Primary school (preschool and fundamental) is intended to be free and compulsory (Government of the Republic of Haiti, 1987); however, an exemption is granted in rural areas where the absence of proximate schools prohibits attendance (Weil, 1986). Though education is required between the ages of 6 and 15, almost two-thirds of children drop out before completing their fundamental education (Department of Labor, 2001). The average eighteen year old has achieved six years of education (Department of Labor, 2013). Data reveals that in 1997, only 47.76 percent of children who were in primary school completed at least six years (World Bank, 2013). UNICEF estimates over one million children do not have access to primary school (Department of Labor, 2001). Moreover, only twenty-three percent of children who complete primary schooling go on to pursue secondary school (Department of Labor, 2013). Haitian education facilities are primarily private, and Haiti's high poverty rate indicates that budget constraints are likely to play an important role in future educational outcomes (Bredl, 2011). Current school enrollment and school completion data are not available.

The quality and quantity of schools is another issue within the education system. The 2010 earthquake left 80 percent of schools destroyed or seriously damaged, upsetting an already struggling education system (ILO, 2012a). Having too few schools leaves 75 percent of students without a classroom seat (Department of Labor, 2001). Due to lack of public schools, most children who attend school go to private schools that charge tuition fees (Department of Labor, 2011). Unlike most countries, Haiti's education is primarily funded through the private sector. Haiti's history of economic turmoil and its inability to sustain a functioning public education system, led religious and private institutions to take over the education system. Today, religious institutions and private operators are primary sources of education, at 75 percent of student enrollment for primary school (Salmi, 2000). Although 81.2 percent of children attend school, 27.5 percent balance school and work, leaving attendance and performance at a disadvantage

(Department of Labor, 2011). Haiti has implemented initiatives to improve the quality and quantity of public education to abate these trends.

The Barnard Reform of 1978 was established to increase the efficiency of the educational system within Haiti, particularly by aligning the current labor market demands to school structure. The reform called for the use of Creole for the beginning of primary school to enable a larger population to attend school. Unfortunately, the Barnard Reform failed, due to inadequate resources and the inability to support the new system. The National Plan of Education and Training (NPET) was created in 1997 to move away from the French education model and tailor curricula to Haitian peoples' educational needs within the economic limitations. NPET has not met all of its goals, especially regarding increasing the accessibility of education (Luzincourt & Gutbrandson, 2010).

“Ed 2004” is funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB), among other donors. Ed 2004 aims to improve the quality of Haitian schools. Ed 2004 acknowledges the dominance of private schools and links public and private schools in Haiti to combine and share resources. Ed 2004 also is intended to target orphans and vulnerable or at-risk children, improve both formal and informal education, and increase the availability of communication and technological resources. One example of efforts Ed 2004 has made in Haiti is a Food Aid program that has been implemented in more than 2000 schools, providing children with nourishment and incentive to attend regular classes (Department of Labor, 2013).

The Ministry of Education receives funds from the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and the World Bank for the Basic Education Project to increase access to education. NGOs and UNICEF are working to build schools and create educational alternatives that are more feasible for families (Department of Labor, 2001). The Ministry of Education also works with NGOs on projects such as *Gestion de Proximité*, which hope to increase education's convenience and

support parents in enrolling their children in school (Department of Labor, 2013). ILO Convention 138 stresses the adverse effect that work can have on a child's education and declares child that work cannot interfere with the child's education (Pederson & Hatley, 2002).

Few Haitians achieve a secondary education, and most of those who do live in more urban areas (Howell, 2012). However, of those secondary education recipients, 80-86 percent leave the country after receiving their education, resulting in a 'brain drain' or deficit of human capital (McNulty, 2011). The labor force is unqualified and uneducated; and all skilled or semi-skilled labor requires workers from other countries, taking stable and high-income jobs from Haitians. Only six out of 1000 workers in the Haitian labor force have the degrees, diplomas, certificates, or technical/professional training required for their jobs (ILO, 2012a).

Generally, work is at the expense of schooling. Haitian children who work are found to be less educated than non-working children (Pederson & Hatley, 2002). The nexus between Haitian child labor and education is apparent, and its consequences devastating.

Chapter 2

Literature Review and Hypotheses

Introduction

Applying knowledge of social, political, and economic literature will allow for exploration of the relationship between poverty incidence and viable educational systems in Haiti and how these two variables may exacerbate and/or prevent the incidence of widespread child labor. These factors are important due to the large number of people currently suffering in harsh conditions and because any information about child labor may be able to contribute to policy-makers' understanding of these issues.

First, this chapter discusses literature on child labor and education from a sociological perspective to provide insight into the social and cultural phenomena that can have a role in major child labor and educational outcomes within a country, as well as important cultural factors to consider (i.e., parental perspectives and language accommodation). The chapter then examines political perspectives of child labor and education through a review of strategies that have been used and policies, programs, and campaigns that have been enacted to help in the reduction of child labor and the promotion of education. Lastly, the chapter assesses literature from economic perspectives: it reviews literature about the connection between poverty and child labor and literature about the connection between child labor and education.

Sociological Perspective

Globalization has exacerbated employers' ability to exploit workers due to the capability of outsourcing low-skilled tasks to low-skilled labor markets. Many economic activities and opportunities for employment in poor areas are from outsourced production coming to a locale for cheap labor. The threat of relocation of the export sector due to an increased cost of labor, which would arise if workers demanded higher wages, pressures workers to submit to poor work conditions, including the use of child labor (Webster, Lambert, & Bezuidenhout, 2008).

Some scholars argue that globalization helps decrease child labor. Globalization promotes a global agreement against child labor (combatting any conflicting cultural norms), and foreign investors would not, according to theory, be interested in investing in unethical business practices (Newmayer & De Soysa, 2005). Additionally, globalization is viewed as promoting economic growth in developing countries. Controversy surrounding both sides of the argument remains; empirical evidence is also inconclusive (Rahman & Khanam, 2012).

Corporate social responsibility (CSR) policies in private industries have become widespread due to pressure from trade unions and society (OECD, 2003). Private initiatives have resulted in industries' and firms' common use of codes of conduct to promote ethical, sustainable, and socially responsibility behavior. These codes and other private enterprise initiatives indirectly and directly ban the use of child labor. Effectiveness of CSR codes is contingent upon the clarity, precision, implementation, and monitoring of the codes (Kolk & Tulder, 2002). However, evidence suggests codes have an impact on the abolishment or alleviation of child labor, but is unclear as to the degree of impact due to CSR codes' limitations in enforcement, regulation, and monitoring (Kolk & Tulder, 2002; and OECD, 2003).

With globalization in mind, it is important to consider that child labor is viewed differently in different regions and cultures (Leiten 2002). Many societies, especially impoverished ones, do not believe that child labor is always inherently bad. Parents of children engaged in the worst forms of child labor have varying reasons for putting their children to work. Gupta (2000) suggests that parents or caregivers sometimes exploit their children and may be ill fitted to be caregivers. Parsons and Goldin (1989) include parents' decisions or preferences for their children to work as a key factor underlying child labor, suggesting that parents endeavor to have their children work. White and Brinkerhoff (1981) found that parents justify their children working through the belief that work teaches them responsibility and other important qualities, such as appreciation or gratitude. Quality of schools impact parents' decisions to send their children to school or withdraw their children from school (Mukherjee & Sinha, 2009).

However, it is unfitting to label all parents as bad for having their children work (Basu & Van, 1998). A parent's income-generating ability is often impaired due to health conditions—an unfortunate commonality in poverty-stricken countries—or due to his/her job in a low-paying job. This makes the child a primary source of income dependence. Parents are often given imperfect information regarding the work nature or the condition where their children work. Additionally, children in “the worst forms of child labor” are often taken against the will of the parents by being kidnapped or abducted. If parents had livable incomes, it is unlikely that they would require their children to work (Basu & Van, 1998; and Salmon, 2005). Salmon (2005) and Delap (2001) found child labor to be a last resort of households.

When looking at the economic well-being of different countries with low child labor rates, it is essential to consider how those economies arose in relation to sociological factors. Conditions of economic prosperity and high education were historically met by a drastic change in social standards and policy that then resulted in the increase in education and increased living standards (Kim, 2009). In previous circumstances when formal education was being introduced as a

modern institution, it was viewed as a drastic shift in norms (Easterly, 2001). Kim (2009) analyzed policymakers' considerations in Cambodia, where child labor is viewed as an inevitable economic phenomenon. In Cambodia, and other countries with a high level of child employment, an integral factor for increasing education and boosting economic growth is literally altering society's view of education to being seen as a form of work (Kim, 2009). Goulart and Bedi (2007) considered unique social factors in North and Central Portugal and concluded that the high use and acceptance of child labor makes it unlikely for alleviation to take place without specifically targeting a change in cultural norms. School and policy changes need to be implemented with careful consideration for the unique economic and cultural contexts where they are being applied (Myers, 1989).

Language is a fundamental aspect of school; however, local language and dialect teaching or translations are often neglected, resulting in a subset of disadvantaged children who are hindered by the native language they were taught (Patrinos & Psacharopoulos, 1995). Schools that design curriculum primarily around indigenous language and relevant issues rather than solely teaching standardized curricula are more effective in teaching (Patrinos & Psacharopoulos, 1997). In French-speaking Africa, dissatisfaction with the education system has influenced parents' decisions to take their children out of school and send them to work; important aspects of their culture are thought to be learned more effectively through working since schools did not consider the local context (Bonnet, 1993b).

Political Perspectives

Political Perspective Regarding Child Labor

Impoverished areas are particularly vulnerable to market forces that drive child labor. Most child labor for profit maximization is in jobs that are already illegal in nature (Hobbs, Lavalette, & McKechnie, 1992) because of existing restrictions and laws regulate the preference of child workers over adult workers (OECD, 2003), creating a paradoxical effect.

Despite legislation and international standards, law and policy enforcement issues are common. Policy-makers have created legislation, policy, and programs to alleviate the presence of child labor. Legislation and policy encompass different potential determinants, different countries, different contingencies, and are all uniquely established and implemented. Over the years, legislature developed a significant role in the international alleviation of child labor. Historically, legislation is the main method used towards tackling child labor issues (Grootaert & Kanbur, 1995).

International institutions have different functions for the cause. International labor organizations, in particular the ILO through its International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), and the World Bank, have worked to increase awareness of child labor and to battle human rights and economic development issues. IPEC promotes ILO child labor standards, such as the ratification of Convention Nos. 138 and 182. Myers (1999) assesses No. 182 as "what may be the most workable strategy at this point in time—a concentration of all effort on the very reduced number of children who are in seriously hazardous and demeaning forms of work" (p. 24). Enforcement and regulation upholds and continuously improves in ratified countries. Supervision and mandated reports are required in ratified countries. The Committee of Experts on the Application

of Conventions and Recommendations (CEACR) collects reports and monitors countries' activities (OECD, 2003). UNICEF promotes human rights and the right to education. The World Bank's Child Labour Programme focuses on poverty alleviation. The ILO, the World Bank, and UNICEF are the most prominent in the fight against child labor.

Other important organizations exist to work towards the international prohibition of child labor and bonded labor, such as the Department of Labor's Bureau of International Labor Affairs (ILAB). The United Nations (UN) established the Conventions on the Rights of the Child (CRC, CROC, or UNCRC) as a legally binding convention that ensures children have their full set of human rights—civil, political, economic, social, health, and cultural—protected. Explicit prohibitions in the protocols are children in the military, selling children, child prostitution, and child pornography (United Nations General Assembly, 1989). Child labor policies, programs, and campaigns can be established at the sector-level. For example, convention No. 188 and Recommendation No. 199, both signed in 2007, include international standards specific to the fishing sector (International Labour Organization, 2007). Similar campaigns and policies exist, raising awareness for labor issues and providing a marginal increase in resources.

At the national level, governments have legislation and policies either placing restrictions on work or providing minimum working ages. However, the CEACR critiques national-level policies and legislations as often either being incoherent, incomplete, or fragmented (OECD, 2003). Labor inspection and enforcement is an integral part of making any child labor regulation effective. However, according to the OECD (2003), issues arise in regulation due to limited resources, obsolete judicial systems, ambiguous age appearances caused by malnutrition (children who are of age may look significantly younger or be as small as a child too young to work), cultural obstacles (use of child labor as a form of socialization), and the inaccessibility of the informal workers. For example, in Haiti the inaccessible public school system may put pressure on families to enroll students in private schools or to withdraw students from school (e.g., due to

too high of school-related expenses), and parents will teach children via work. Furthermore, only 10 percent of Haitian private schools are properly licensed (Salmi, 2000); other similar issues make it difficult to keep a paper trail and enforce labor laws for children and monitor parents/guardians.

Poverty alleviation is a critical step in the long-term objectives for child labor, and breaking out of poverty cycles requires smart investments. Child labor legislation and policies related to educational reforms, compulsory schooling, school quality improvement, and assessable education take steps towards addressing the short-term and long-term objectives. Satz (2003) found that gradual approaches to alleviate child labor will prove more effective and warns against the trajectory of child labor as being pro-cyclical. It is clear that child labor needs “a well-funded global initiative on schooling” (Satz, 2003, p. 308).

Political Perspective Regarding Education

Required commitment from every stakeholder and participant is a contingency of poverty reduction via education. Additionally, educational programs in poverty-stricken areas necessitate more resources and financial support than average educational programs in order to meet international education standards (Smyth & McCoy, 2009). Regulations and legislation can help educational policies with the compliance, attendance, and effectiveness of education systems (Ladd, 2012; Grootaert & Kanbur, 1995; Raffer, 2011).

A basic step in implementing a more rigid education system is enacting compulsory attendance policies and providing every child with an equal and inherent right to education. Compulsory attendance laws are a way of regulating time invested by children in their education. Compulsory attendance laws establish a minimum amount of time that children are permitted to be absent from school, or a maximum amount of time that needs to be attended, in order to

continue with school. These laws help provide a framework that supports develop the discipline needed from families to ensure that children are utilizing schools copiously (Moehling, 1999). Without such regulations, a new school program could crumble under the economic pressures (at the household level) to obtain additional income immediately (Raffer, 2011).

In Britain it took over thirty years to adopt the practice of the full school attendance; policy makers need to have patience waiting for change (Kim, 2009). Mukherjee and Sinha (2009) emphasized the possibility that compulsory attendance policies may result in a significant increase in school drop-out rates (as opposed to attending school infrequently). Edmonds and Pavcnik (2005) warned of the ineffectiveness of school policies due to issues of enforcement, lack of resources, and lack of guaranteed income for families. To help with school attendance, Edmonds, Pavcnik, and Topalova (2009) suggest finding a way to somehow decrease the cost.

Subsidies in impoverished areas financially enable school programs to prosper and children to attend (Goulart & Bedi, 2007; Patrinos & Pasacharopoulos, 1997; Ravallion & Wodon, 2000; Psacharopoulos, 1996; Grootaert & Kanbur, 1995). The National Child Labour Project (NCLP) in West Bengal seeks to improve the affordability of school and accommodate household income drops via stipends and assisting in related school costs (e.g., school materials and lunches). The NCLP has made progress towards increasing school attendance rates but is weakened by poor stipend payment enforcement and lack of record keeping (Mukhopadhaya, Bhattacharya, & MacMillan, 2012). The Food-for-Education stipend program in Bangladesh has been successful in procuring school attendance by providing a subsidy for school enrollment and assistance with other costs (Ravallion & Wodon, 2000). In Malaysia, the government prioritizes education with the use of scholarships and subsidies and has had positive outcomes; however, China and India did not benefit from their government subsidies (Grootaert & Kanbur). By encouraging school attendance with subsidies and funding, poor families can break from poverty cycles more easily (Psacharopoulos, 1996). The incorporation of subsidies helps to counter the drop in household

income from losing a child's earned income, but the design of the subsidy must be strategic to create the right incentives (Grootaert & Kanbur, 1995).

Economic Perspective

Poverty as a Determinant of Child Labor

Poverty and the use of child labor is a long-term, intergenerational phenomenon (Santos, 2011). The use of child labor reinforces the cyclical occurrence of poverty by restricting investment and economic growth (ILO, 2003). Child labor is not related to parents' altruism (Basu & Van, 1998). Instead, it results from economic pressure to sustain a livable income (Baland & Robinson, 2012; Dinopoulos & Zhao, 2007; Dumas, 2013; Edmonds & Pavcnik, 2005; Grootaert & Kanbur, 1995; Hosen et al., 2010; Rogers & Swinnerton 2002; Salmon, 2005; Smyth & McCoy, 2009). Ideal economic conditions of supply and demand would have labor and wages sufficient to employ adults and provide them with a livable wage, leaving child labor unnecessary. However, in poverty-stricken areas, wages are low and demand for labor is low.

Basu and Van (1998) establish a model from an employer's perspective, declaring child labor to be a substitute for adult labor, also known as the substitution axiom. Under the assumption that employers seek profit, it is theoretically desirable for employers in an impoverished area to employ children because child labor and adult labor are interchangeable in some low skill jobs (Basu & Van 1998; Hobbs et al., 1992; Webster et al., 2008). Rhaman and Khanam (2012) explain that employers prefer hiring children because they earn comparably lower wages, are more obedient, and are less likely to cause conflict. Hobbs et al. (1992) investigated child labor in Europe and found that children are paid less than adults and function as a reserve army of

labor. To be sure, this may be influenced by the nature of the work (e.g., legal or illegal jobs). Children often worked in jobs that are illegal (Hobbs et al., 1992).

Gupta (2000) alerts that employers' apparent exploitation of children may be a fallacy because children have low efficiency and earn less based, on their low output. While theory implies employers would utilize the available labor, the issue remains unclear.

Research indicates that child labor incidence is positively influenced by poverty and related factors (Amin, Quayes, & Rives, 2004; Cockburn, 2001; Delap, 2001; Maheshwari & Singh, 2009; Ravallion & Wodon, 2000; and Salmon, 2005) and the predictability of child labor is related to family income (Edmonds & Pavcnik, 2005; OECD, 2003). Basu and Van (1998) considered non-work, or leisure time, for children as a luxury and determined that only families with sufficient income can afford this luxury. Thus, children who are more likely to work are below the poverty line or belong to low-income families (Basu & Van, 1998). Amin et al. (2004) later tested the luxury axiom and found that poverty stricken households cannot afford the luxury good (non-working children) and that poverty is a main determinant of child labor. Salmon (2005) found poverty in Bangladesh to be significantly correlated with the likelihood of children to work. In India, Maheshwari and Singh (2009) found that in the more impoverished the area, the incidence of child labor increases, especially in rural regions. Edmonds and Pavcnik (2005) analyzed the Vietnamese household living standards survey of 1993 and 1998 and found that a strong negative correlation between household living standards and child labor. Households with low living standards (e.g., little or no food and shelter) have high rates of involvement in child labor (Duraismy, 1997; and Lieten, 2002). Child labor is more widespread in areas of extreme poverty due to a need to increase overall household income (Grootaert & Kanbur, 1995; Mason, 2012; IPEC, 2011; and ILO, 2003).

Hypothesis 1: The rate of child labor in Haiti is positively related to the prevalence of Haitian poverty.

Following Hypothesis 1, Haiti is expected to have higher rates of child labor (both formal and informal) when its poverty is indicated as being more severe and widespread. This expectation supports existing literature that describes child labor and poverty often coinciding due to economic pressures.

Association Between Education and Child Labor

When a child attends school, he or she is provided an opportunity to break from a poverty cycle by disrupting the inverse association between education and poverty levels and avert financial pressures (Grootaert & Kanbur, 1995; Smyth & McCoy, 2009); the initial break of the cycle is a critical period (Buonomo Zabaleta, 2011). Studies uphold that the more a country invests in education, the larger the overall returns of that investment will be and that the marginal returns on educational investments are highest in the poorest countries (Mason, 2012). However, some studies conclude that economic benefits of education are contingent upon local contexts (Ladd, 2012), family income levels (Santos, 2011), and social factors (ILO, 2013; Mason, 2012; Psacharopoulos & Patrinos, 2004).

Santos (2011) investigates the relationship between poverty and quality of education, and conditional benefits of education. Santos (2011) states, “Those exceeding a certain human capital threshold will invest in education, but as they receive low-quality education they remain trapped at low levels of human capital and income” (p. 40). Thus, education can be beneficial only if the quality is substantial enough to increase human capital levels sufficiently (Santos, 2011). Furthermore, Mason (2012) explains two conditions that must be satisfied for education to yield positive returns: the increase in education results in an increase of human capital, supporting

Santos (2011); and the existence of demand for jobs that utilize the acquired human capital. If those two conditions are met, then there will be a profit from the investment, and there will be additional positive residual effects.

Education has shown to be positively related to economic activity (Knight et al., 2009; ILO, 2013; Santos, 2011). Increasing economic activity is a critical step in breaking out of poverty cycles and in fostering development (ILO, 2003). An increase in economic activity and societal well-being leads to a higher demand for educated individuals to maintain successful and constructive economic growth (Smyth & McCoy, 2009). The increase in human capital helps to sustain economic growth, create employment opportunities and increase incomes (ILO, 2013). Psacharopoulos and Patrinos (2004) explain the positive returns on investment in education as being comparable to physical investments, utilizing human capital theory. Not only does education help to achieve development, it is an integral part of maintaining development for a sustainable solution.

Using data from SIMPOC's National Household Survey, Allais and Hageman (2008) found an inverse correlation between child labor and education variables (i.e., literacy, years in school, dropout rates, school repetition, and attendance). Hours of work is negatively related to reading and math skills, along with overall school performance (Akabayashi & Psacharopoulos, 1999). Zabaleta (2011) evaluated education in Nicaragua and its relationship to child labor as substitutes; with fewer years in school and more time spent working, it is more likely future earnings would be limited, stagnant or decline, thus perpetuating poverty cycles (Zabaleta, 2011). Psacharopoulos (1996) managed to quantify the substitution of child labor and education for children in Bolivia and Venezuela and found that children who work (even minimal hours) receive an average of two years less education than the non-working children. In Bangladesh, Hosen et al. (2010) argue that children compromise their education to work because of poverty. Approximately 26.2 percent of

Bangladeshi children in a garment factory reported their primary reason for not attending school was because of their obligation to work (Hosen et al., 2010). In Peru and Pakistan (socioeconomically and demographically very different from each other), Ray (2000) tested Basu and Van's (1998) luxury axiom and found a negative correlation between income levels and child schooling. Impoverished Pakistani households had 500 hours of child labor per annum more compared to non-impooverished households, as well as a significant decrease in schooling rates (Ray, 2000). Any time spent working is not spent learning, inhibiting optimal growth in human capital (Zabaleta, 2011); children distribute and substitute their time between school and work to ease household financial pressures (Akabayashi & Psacharopoulos, 1999; Ravallion & Wodon, 2000; Zabaleta, 2011).

Hypothesis 2: In Haiti, children's participation in school is negatively related to the incidence of child labor.

Following Hypothesis 2, Haiti is expected to have higher rates of child labor (both formal and informal) when education and schooling levels are low. This expectation supports previous literature that suggests child labor and education are tradeoffs between children's time.

From an investors' perspective, education programs differ from work because they require the discipline to forfeit income today for more income tomorrow. This discipline is difficult in extreme poverty, when the benefits from education can seem unobtainable or overly distant, and skipping school to enable children to work seems to be an easy and rewarding alternative (Moehling, 1999). Relative returns for working may be higher because the schools are of poor quality and will yield low returns. A solution to this issue is to enhance the quality of schools and to increase the returns until returns to education exceed those of child labor (Edmonds & Pavcnik, 2005). The more effective and structured the education system is, the higher returns to education will be (Ladd, 2012; Patrinos & Psacharopoulos, 1995; Raffer, 2011).

Zabaleta (2011), in a study in Nicaragua, found that to increase a society's overall standard of living, the principal obstacle was achieving standard completion of secondary education (equivalent to a high school education level). Psacharopoulos and Patrinos (2004) and Grootaert and Kanbur (1995) explain spillover effects (or positive externalities) that education can have on a community, referred to as 'social rates of return.' Researchers have found increased social rates of return from education, but, unfortunately, need more information to identify all externalities (Psacharopoulos & Patrinos, 2004). More information is needed to conclude if social rates of return are larger or smaller in comparison to private rates of returns

Low-income families experience lower quality education, and their children spend more time on non-school (work) activities (Knight et al., 2009). Impoverished children are at a developmental disadvantage (Allais and Hageman, 2008). Higher quality of education is more common in wealthier communities (Knight et al., 2009; ILO, 2013; Santos, 2011). Thus, "When the poor can access only poor-quality education, this can lead to poverty traps" (Santos, 2011, p. 40). Examining the most powerful and economically influential countries in the world affirms that educational levels and economic growth are positively correlated; the top schools in the world are associated with the wealthiest countries, typifying the relationship between education and economic well-being (Ladd, 2012). One means to reduce poverty is through education (Ceroni, 2001; Smyth & McCoy, 2009; Psacharopoulos and Patrinos, 2004; Knight et al., 2009; and Santos, 2011).

Hypothesis 3: Haiti's education level is negatively related to its poverty incidence.

Expanding on previous literature and following Hypothesis 3, Haiti is expected to have higher levels of education and schooling when poverty is indicated as being less severe. Examining social, political, and economic literature regarding child labor, poverty, and education clarifies the different relationships among and between these social phenomena. Specifically, education is a unique investment that holds potential for sizeable rewards in the long run and can

help individuals break out of poverty, to increase standards of living, and to reduce the use of child labor.

Chapter 3

Material and Methods

Sample

The data set is compiled using the World Development Indicators (WDI) from the World Bank and contains information about 214 economies. For the purposes of this paper, only data pertaining to Haiti will be examined. Data have been collected since 1960 through 2013, however indicators have not been collected consistently and collectively through the 53 years leaving many of the cases incomplete, fragmentary, and intermittent (World Bank, 2013).

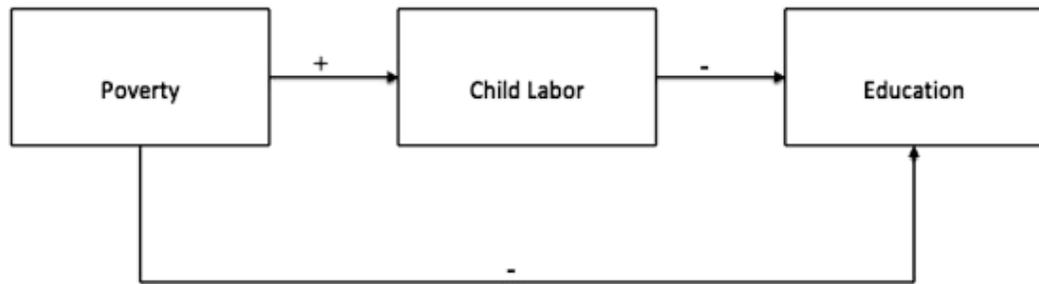
Model

A sequence of three models has been prepared to test the hypotheses for this paper. The models suggest that Haitian poverty is associated with high rates of child labor, higher rates of child labor are associated with lower school participation and resources, and poverty is associated with low school participation and resources. Child labor may be an indicator of poverty and a mechanism to help explain poverty's relationship with education in Haiti (See Figure 1).

The first model measures the relationship between child labor and poverty, under the assumption that higher prevalence of poverty will be associated with higher rates of child labor. Thus, the independent variable in the first model is poverty and the dependent variable is child labor. The second model tests the relationship between child labor and education, under the assumption that higher rates of child labor will influence the school participation and allocated resources. The independent variable for the second model is child labor and the dependent

variable is education. The third model tests the relationship between poverty and education, under the assumption that higher prevalence of poverty is associated with low levels of education. The third model's independent variable is poverty and its dependent variable is education. Figure 1 shows the hypothesized relationship between poverty, child labor, and education.

Figure 1: Hypothesized Relationships



Note. The figure represents hypothesized associations between poverty, child labor, and education. It is recognized that the study is limited in inferring causality.

Variables and Descriptive Statistics

In model 1, to measure the relationship between child labor and poverty, child labor is explained using a proxy of the total number of primary-school-aged children who are not enrolled in primary or secondary school, based on the assumption that children's time at work and school act as substitutes. Poverty is explained by infant mortality rate, mortality rate for people under-five years old (the probability out of 1,000 newborns that a baby/child will die prior to five years old), and life expectancy for people at birth. The aforementioned poverty variables are commonplace indicators for public health (Schell, Reilly, Rosling, Peterson, & Ekstrom, 2007) and are used as proxies for poverty based on HDI's recognition of health as a marker of poverty (OECD, 2003). Data are used from the year 1980 through 1987 and 1997 (N=9).

In model 2, to measure the relationship between child labor and education, child labor is explained using the same proxy as in model 1 (i.e., primary-school-aged children who are not enrolled in primary or secondary school). Education is explained by education expenditure, total primary school enrollment, gross primary school enrollment, net primary school enrollment, and the total number of primary school teachers. Education expenditure data are used as a reference to the total expenditure towards operating expenses for education, and related wages and salaries (excludes capital investments) as a percentage of Haiti's Gross National Income (GNI). Total primary school attendance is measured by the total number of students enrolled in primary school (both public and private school enrollment). Gross primary school enrollment or school attendance regardless of age constraints is measured by the total number of enrolled primary students, regardless of age, as a percentage of Haiti's total primary school-aged kids. Net primary school enrollment or the ratio of children who are attending school that should be in school is measured by the total amount of primary-school-aged children who are currently in primary school as a percentage of total primary-school-aged children. Indicators' data are used from the year 1980 through 1987 and 1997 (N=9).

In model 3, to measure the relationship between poverty and education, two analyses were used. In the first analysis, education is explained by education expenditure, total primary school enrollment, teacher-to-student ratio in primary school (the number of enrolled primary students divided by primary school teachers is used to measure the availability of teachers and a proxy for school quality), gross primary school enrollment, and total primary school teachers. Poverty is explained by the indicators used to measure poverty in model 1 (i.e., infant mortality rate, mortality rate for people under-five years old, and life expectancy). Data are used from the year 1971 through 1998 (N=21) for the first analysis.

In the second analysis for model 3, education is explained using total primary school enrollment, teacher-to-student ratio in primary school, gross primary school enrollment, primary

school enrollment in private schools (percentage of private primary school enrollment from the total primary school enrollment rate is used to measure the non-publically operated educational systems and acts as an indicator of non-governmental involvement in education), and the total number of primary school teachers. Data are used from the year 1992 through 1998 (N=6).

Table 1 provides the descriptive information for the independent and dependent variables, including the mean, median, standard deviation, and range. Labor force participation rate (LFPR) reflects the percentage of the population in Haiti between the ages of 15 and 64 who are working. LFPR is an important indicator when evaluating child labor and future labor supply. Generally, low-development and low-income countries have lower LFPRs than developed and high-income countries (International Labour Office, 2006).

Table 1: Variables and Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Indicator	Mean	Median	SD
Child labor Education	Children Not Enrolled in Primary	521167.333	515107.000	41072.556
	Education Expenditure	1.338	1.186	0.281
	Total Primary Enrollment	807943.111	763412.000	250482.607
	Gross Primary Enrollment	82.667	81.057	11.693
	Net Primary Enrollment	45.076	43.663	6.774
	Primary School Teachers	20469.111	18483.000	8414.402
	Teacher-to-Student Ratio in Primary	22.184	22.710	1.757
Poverty	Infant Mortality Rate	29111.111	30000.000	2848.001
	Under-Five Mortality Rate	165.578	169.800	22.457
	Life Expectancy	52.927	52.532	2.034
	GDP per capita (USD)	451.977	423.869	141.393
	GDS (USD)	-48774532.320	38358974.360	469715369.000
	LFPR	64.467	64.300	1.260

Note. Numbers are rounded to the third decimal place. All statistics are based on nine cases (N=9) except GDP, GDS, and LFPR, which are based on twenty-one cases (N=21).

The table above shows that the mean GDS in Haiti between 1991 and 2011 is negative. Since GDS is calculated as GDP minus total consumption expenditure, a negative GDS implies little bank strength and investment. GDS can also be interpreted as the temporal preference for consumption. Haiti prefers to spend money today rather than money tomorrow. Thus, based on the mean GDS, Haiti is not accumulating wealth, optimizing savings rates, investing, and ultimately improving living standards. However, it is important to note that GDS reflects not

only willingness to save (e.g., inflation rates) but also capacity to save (e.g., per capita income rates, distribution of income, and population growth) which is important for developing and impoverished countries.

Analyses

Because the size of the population is significantly correlated with the indicators, partial correlations with Pearson correlation coefficients are applied to empirically test the relationships between the previously mentioned variables while controlling for population. A partial correlation tests associations between different variables while removing the effect of a third variable (i.e., population). A partial correlation test can identify spurious relationships and examine more concealed relationships compared with a bivariate correlation analysis. Population refers to the total amount of inhabitants of Haiti in a given year. The data set is incomplete and data is not consistently or collectively gathered. Therefore, correlations are based on small case sizes. SPSS, version 21, is used for all statistical analyses.

Case Study Methods

To supplement the findings from the World Bank data set, a semi-structured interview is conducted. This interview is intended to provide context and understanding to the findings through first-hand experiences and exposure from the interviewee. Both accessibility and experience in Haiti were influencing factors for the participant recruitment and selection. For the purposes of this study, Jacquelyn Borst was selected based on her time in Haiti, the wide variety of exposure she has had (i.e., school systems, health clinics, post-earthquake, rural areas, orphanages and adoption processes), and her overall knowledge about Haitian culture and history.

The interview was conducted in the Pennsylvania State University's Pattee Library. The participant completed an informed consent form prior to the start of the interview (See Appendix B). The interview was audio recorded and lasted approximately an hour and a half. An open-ended, semi-structured interview guide was prepared prior to the interview to ensure that all key areas of interest were investigated (See Appendix C). Responses to interview questions are reported in a qualitative section following the results for the data analyses.

Chapter 4

Results

The findings of the study are reported in three sections. In the first section, findings related to the association between child labor and poverty are reported. In the second section, findings related to the association between education and child labor are reported. In the third section, findings related to child labor and education are reported. Additionally, a fourth section details findings from the case study interview to report firsthand perspectives regarding poverty, education, and child labor and provide contextual information surrounding for such issues.

Significance is reported at the $\alpha < .05$ level. The strength of the correlation is determined based on thresholds for Pearson's r correlational coefficient. It should be noted that these thresholds are not absolute or universal classifications. If r equals 1.0, the correlation is perfect. If r is between .80 and .99, the correlation is very strong. If r is between .50 and .79, the correlation is strong. If r is between .30 and .49, the correlation is moderate. If r is between .10 and .29, the correlation is modest. If r is less than .10 the correlation is weak. If r equals 0.0, the correlation is zero (Dancey & Reidy, 2004). For non-significant results, the variability is too high to infer relationships between the variables.

Child Labor as Related to Poverty

The first model tests the relationship between child labor and poverty through a Pearson correlational analysis to examine if poverty is associated with higher rates of child labor in Haiti (See Table 2). The number of children who were not enrolled in primary school is not

significantly correlated with the mortality rate for children under five-years-old or the life expectancy rate. The number of children who were not enrolled in primary school (the proxy for child labor) and the infant mortality rate have a significant, strong, negative correlation ($r=-0.776$, $p<.05$). Thus, as infant mortality rates drop, the out-of-school enrollment rates decrease, implying that child labor also decreases.

Table 2: Child Labor and Poverty Correlations

Variable	1	2	3	4
1. Children Not Enrolled in Primary	1			
2. Infant Mortality Rate	-0.776*	1		
3. Under-Five Mortality Rate	0.441	-0.807*	1	
4. Life Expectancy	-0.429	0.807*	-0.995**	1

Note: * Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level. ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level.

Education as Related to Child labor

The second model used a Pearson correlation to test the relationship between child labor and education and whether the rate of child labor is related to school participation and school quality (See Table 3). The number of children who were not enrolled in primary school is not significantly correlated with Haiti's educational expenditure, the total number of primary school teachers, or the total number of children enrolled in primary school.

The number of children who were not enrolled in primary school and the gross primary school enrollment rates have a significant, very strong, negative correlation ($r=-0.81$, $p<.05$). The number of children who were not enrolled in primary school and the net primary school enrollment rates have a significant, very strong, negative correlation ($r=-0.966$, $p<.01$). Thus, as the rates of gross and net primary school enrollment increases the number of children not enrolled in school, who are presumably working, decreases.

Table 3: Child Labor and Education Correlations

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Children Not Enrolled in Primary	1					
2. Education Expenditure	0.244	1				
3. Total Primary Enrollment	-0.457	-0.819**	1			
4. Gross Primary Enrollment	-0.81*	-0.579	0.803*	1		
5. Net Primary Enrollment	-0.996**	-0.182	0.409	.767*	1	
6. Primary School Teachers	-0.288	-0.509	0.867**	.573	.274	1

Note: * Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level. ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level.

Education as Related to Poverty

A Pearson correlation was used to test the third model for any relationship between poverty and education, specifically whether increases in poverty are associated with changes in education (See Tables 4 and 5)

Education expenditure is not significantly correlated with infant mortality rate, the mortality rate for children under the age of five, or life expectancy. The total number of students enrolled in primary school is not significantly correlated with the infant mortality rate. The teacher-to-student ratio is not significantly correlated with the infant mortality rate, the mortality rate for children under the age of five, or life expectancy. The gross primary school enrollment rate is not significantly correlated with the mortality rate for children under the age of five or life expectancy.

The total number of students enrolled in primary school and the mortality rate for children under the age of five are marginally significant and have a moderately positive correlation ($r=0.387$, $p<.10$). As the number of children attending primary school increases, the mortality rate for children below the age of five increases. The total number of students enrolled in primary school and the average age of life expectancy have a significant, strong, negative correlation ($r=-0.546$, $p<.01$). As the number of children attending primary school increases, the life expectancy rate decreases. The gross primary school enrollment rates and infant mortality rates have a

significant, strong, positive correlation ($r=0.633$, $p<.01$). The number of infants' deaths increase as the rate of school enrollment increases. The number of primary school teachers and infant mortality rate have a significant, strong, negative correlation ($r=-0.518$, $p<.01$). As the number of teachers in primary schools increase, the rate of infant deaths decreases. The number of primary school teachers and the mortality rate for children under the age of five have a significant, strong, positive correlation ($r=0.692$, $p<.01$). As the number of teachers in primary schools increase, the rate of child deaths (under five) also increases. The number of primary school teachers and life expectancy have a significant, strong, negative correlation ($r=-0.731$, $p<.01$). Thus, as the number of teachers in primary school increase, the average age of life expectancy decreases.

Table 4: Poverty and Education Correlations, Model 1

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Education Expenditure	1							
2. Total Primary Enrollment	0.354	1						
3. Teacher-to-Student Ratio in Primary	0.079	0.347	1					
4. Gross Primary Enrollment	0.141	0.737**	0.314	1				
5. Primary School Teachers	0.298	0.741**	-0.121	0.214	1			
6. Infant Mortality Rate	0.156	0.041	0.121	0.633**	-0.518**	1		
7. Under-Five Mortality Rate	0.145	0.387	0.157	-0.293	0.692**	0.87**	1	
8. Life Expectancy	0.083	0.546**	-0.267	0.081	-0.731**	0.742**	-0.959**	1

Note: * Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level. ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level.

GDP per capita is not significantly correlated with the total number of children enrolled in primary school, gross primary school enrollment rate, or private school enrollment in primary school. GDS is not significantly correlated with the total number of children enrolled in primary school, gross primary school enrollment rates, or private school enrollment in primary school.

GDP per capita and the number of primary school teachers have a significant, very strong, negative correlation ($r=-0.908$, $p<.01$). GDP per capita and the teacher-to-student ratio in primary school have a significant, very strong, positive correlation ($r=0.858$, $p<.05$). As GDP per capita increases, Haitian schools have more teachers in proportion to students and their students have more access to teachers. GDS and the number of primary school teachers have a significant, very

strong, negative correlation ($r=-0.877$, $p<.01$). GDS and the teacher-to-student ratio in primary school have a significant, very strong, positive correlation ($r=0.859$, $p<.05$). As GDS increases, Haitian schools have more teachers in proportion to students and their student have more access to teachers.

Table 5: Poverty and Education Correlations, Model 2

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. GDP per capita (USD)	1						
2. GDS (USD)	0.906*	1					
3. Total Primary Enrollment	0.37	0.534	1				
4. Teacher-to-Student Ratio in Primary	0.858*	0.859*	0.768	1			
5. Gross Primary Enrollment	0.541	0.617	0.954**	0.86*	1		
6. Primary Private Enrollment	0.27	-0.001	0.406	0.406	0.556	1	
7. Primary School Teachers	-0.908*	-0.877*	-0.681	-0.992**	-0.795	-0.382	1

Note: * Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level. ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level.

Case Study of Haiti: Interview

To supplement the World Bank data findings, a case study interview was conducted to provide insight on firsthand experiences and observations of child labor and education issues in Haiti. To provide an accurate description of present-day conditions, the interviewee, Jacquelyn, was selected because of her excessive involvement and communication with Haitians and her knowledge of a wide variety of widespread issues facing Haitians. Jacquelyn discussed various experiences and observations of poverty, education, child labor, health concerns, and culture in Haiti.

Jacquelyn has traveled to Haiti over a dozen times in the past few years to share her medical expertise as a Physician's Assistant and help run a clinic outside of Mirebalais. This clinic is partnered with an orphanage and school.

When asked about child labor, based off her observation and experiences in Haiti, Jacquelyn explained that child labor is normative practice within the culture. From a very early age children

are expected to help their family, typically beginning with housework and later expanding into caretaking and/or formal jobs; fetching water, cooking, and caring for younger siblings are common daily responsibilities for children as young as three or four. Children who engage in child labor experience unique adversity that can influence their psychological and cognitive development. When asked about how Haitian children differ from American children, Jacquelyn's prompt reply was, "Children in Haiti are old." She went on to describe how children are often forced to grow up faster than children from developed countries. For example, children at the age of eight years old have taken themselves to visit the clinic without a parent present (most likely the parent is busy working) or a child may take a younger sibling to visit the clinic. Another commonality is the development of "street smarts" from a very early age for basic survival because parental/caregiver protection is not necessarily available. The high autonomy and responsibility for children in Haiti is normative. Therefore, children in Haiti cannot be perfectly compared to children in other countries, especially those in developed countries, due to the vast differences in life experiences and social roles (Borst, 2014).

Based off interactions with children at the clinic, orphanage, and schools, generally everyone wants to attend school or receive an education, however conflicting issues often prohibit or lessen their attendance. The highly privatized education system in Haiti has high school expenses and families often cannot afford the extraneous expenses (e.g., uniforms, book bags, paper or notepads, lunches, etc.) and school costs interfere with enrollment or attendance of students. Because of the high cost, children may only attend school part time and miss school to work. In a family with multiple children, parents who are not be able to send all the children at once to school often cut older siblings off at a certain level so the younger siblings can have the same opportunity (Borst, 2014).

School is much less structured than in the United States or most countries. There is generally no curriculum, required guidelines, or aptitude expectations. Although the grade level system is

distinguished nationally, there are inconsistencies in grade levels between schools. It is not uncommon that higher-level grades are nonexistent until enough students surpass the education ceiling (which varies between schools and areas). Generally class sizes start out relatively large (e.g., kindergarten and first grade levels have decent enrollment rates), however as grades progress, enrollment and attendance taper out, with only one-third of the initial students completing fifth grade (Luzincourt & Gulbrandson, 2010). It is also important to note that grade level in Haiti does not correspond with age as uniformly as in other countries. For example, there may be an eighteen-year-old alongside an eight-year-old in third grade. The quality of teachers is low; most teachers have a very limited education and have not been certified or educated in education or teaching. Most teachers only have primary or secondary education themselves and if teachers want to further their education they would likely need to relocate to Port au Prince and fund their advanced degrees themselves (Borst, 2014).

To mitigate the issues posed by high child labor rates and poor attendance, some schools have started implementing half-days (around four hours) to try to work with the culture and provide a practical solution so children are less likely to forfeit education for work. From a healthcare perspective that schools that provide free lunches and check-ups also improve school attendance by lowering potential school fees and improving overall health. Common health issues that Jacquelyn has treated in Haitian school children include: gastrointestinal issues, lung issues (because of the high amount of dust in the air), allergies, ear infections, and malnutrition (Borst, 2014).

Overall, the case study discussed the existing relationships between poverty, child labor, and education and how economic conditions impact school participation and child work expectations. Child labor and poverty coexist and child labor is at the expense of education. Schools need to improve, especially beyond primary education. Haiti needs to shift their mentality towards education as a positive investment (which is occurring gradually; Borst, 2014).

Chapter 5

Discussion

In the current study, links between poverty, education, and child labor in Haiti have been explored using a data set from the World Bank (2013). Literature suggests that poverty and child labor are associated with each other due to economic pressure on household income (e.g., Dumas, 2013; Edmonds & Pavcnik, 2005) and cultural socialization practices (Basu & Van, 1998; Kim, 2009). Literature indicates that child labor and education are substitutes (Akabayashi & Psacharopoulos, 1999; Ravallion & Wodon, 2000; Zabaleta, 2011). Poverty and education are negatively related, implying that higher average levels of education are associated with lower levels of poverty (Santos, 2011; Mason, 2012; Knight et al., 2009; ILO, 2013).

This study is meant to determine whether three such relationships exist in Haiti. This study finds that poverty and child labor are not positively related, and that child labor and education are negatively related. Last, poverty and education relationships have mixed findings that point towards a net negative relationship. Findings are supported and expanded upon by the case study.

Child Labor Significantly Related to Poverty

It is important to note that only one indicator of poverty (i.e., infant mortality rates) was able to be analyzed in relation to the child labor proxy. Findings suggest that as infant mortality rates increase (implying that poverty is more pervasive and intense), the number of children who are not enrolled in school decreases; therefore, as infant mortality rates rise, the number of children who are presumably working rather than attending school decreases. These findings do not

support Hypothesis 1 that predicted that poverty and child labor are positively related to each other.

A possible explanation for these findings is that the high mortality rates may decrease the household size, leading families to have less household economic pressure. In Haiti, mothers sometimes give up or abandon their baby when they feel as though they have no means to care for them, possibly sacrificing the well-being of the baby for the betterment of their other children (BorstMillion Member Assembly, n.d.). Since child labor also includes household and informal work, including caretaking for siblings, a lower household size may correspond with lower need for household caretaking assistance from older siblings. As seen in the previously reviewed literature, economic pressure is a main determinant of child labor (e.g., Baland & Robinson, 2012; Dumas, 2013; Hosen et al., 2010; Rogers & Swinnerton 2002); therefore, a decrease in economic constraints would contribute to a decrease in the demand of child labor.

Interestingly, the case study supported Hypothesis 1, clearly explaining observations of poverty and child labor coinciding, often due to economic household pressure put on children at an early age and expensive school fees (Borst, 2014).

Child Labor Inversely Related to Education

Findings suggest that child labor is negatively related to school enrollment or participation, supporting Hypothesis 2 that children's participation in school is negatively related to the incidence of child labor. The data from Haiti also support existing literature regarding the substitution relationship between child labor and education around the world (e.g., Akabayashi & Psacharopoulos, 1999; Allais & Hageman, 2008; Basu & Van, 1998; Hosen et al., 2010; Psacharopoulos, 1996; Ray, 2000; Zabaleta, 2011) as reflected by the negative relationship

between the child labor proxy and school enrollment. The case study also supported Hypothesis 2 via descriptions of observations of children substituting their time between work and school.

The allocation of time is finite, therefore the distribution of time between work and school directly influence each other and can act as trade-offs or substitutes. As the literature discussed, the essential difference between education and school is the temporal investment of the child and the respective pay-off period. For example, in work, a child is investing time in the short-run to receive an immediate reward (e.g., compensation, food, housing, etc.). Contrasted with when a child (or parent on behalf of the child) invests time in school, the investment is more long-term and the reward is delayed, but promises to be much greater.

Poverty Significantly Related to Education.

The results from Hypothesis3 testing were less straightforward compared to results for hypotheses 1 and 2. Some of the findings were consistent with previous literature and supportive of the Hypothesis and others were surprising.

Life expectancy (used to measure poverty through quality of life) was negatively related to the total numbers of teachers and primary school students, implying that more teachers and students correspond with a shorter life expectancy. These findings are inconsistent with the hypothesis. Results are interesting because they suggest that markers of education are related to worsening displays of poverty (i.e., shortened life expectancy based on current mortality trends). Both infant and below five-years-old mortality rates were positively related to school enrollment rates (both the total number of primary students and the gross enrollment rates) and the mortality rate for children under the age of five was positively rated to the total number of teachers. These results also imply that indicators of poverty worsen (i.e., mortality of infants and children) as school enrollment and total teachers rates rise. Additionally, both GDS and GDP per capita were

negatively related to the total number of teachers, corresponding with the results stating increased education might correspond with increased poverty-conditions. These three findings do not support Hypothesis 3.

One possible explanation for these unexpected associations is similar to the explanation for the negation association between child labor and poverty. With high mortality rates, education enrollment may increase due to a change in household finances resulting from a lower household size. Similarly, it is more likely for children who are not competing with siblings to be able to afford to go to primary and secondary school without having to trade-off with younger siblings. Higher child mortality may lead more individuals to complete higher years of school because they will have fewer siblings, lower household school expenses, and fewer household chores and caretaking responsibilities. If more people are able to complete more school, the applicant pool for eligible teachers increases, possibly contributing to the surprising associations between teachers and life expectancy and between teachers and GDS and GDP per capita.

Infant mortality rate was negatively related to total number of teachers, implying that more access to teachers and education is associated with infant death rates, an extreme gauge of poverty. Increased teachers is associated with less extreme poverty. Similarly, GDS and GDP per capita were positively related to the ratio between students and teachers, indicating that proportionality and accessibility to teachers corresponds with decreased poverty-conditions. More teachers available to students (ratioed) are associated with better economic well being and less poverty. Both of these findings support Hypothesis 3, that education is negatively related to poverty.

Overall, results regarding the relationship between poverty and education in Haiti indicate that quality of education (i.e., student-to-teacher ratio) is negatively related to national poverty indicators and enrollment and teacher rates vary in their relationship to household poverty indicators. Student-to-teacher ratio likely is a more truthful indicator of education compared to

just total number of teachers and students. GDS and GDP per capita likely are more truthful indicators of economic poverty than life expectancy and mortality rates. Altogether, a net effect, or meaningful interpretation of results, supports Hypothesis 3; poverty is negatively related to education. The case study provided additional support for Hypothesis 3 by clearly explaining instances of lower education in more poverty-stricken areas.

Limitations

The biggest limitation of this study is methodological, and relates to the gaps in the data set. Haiti's political, economic, and social conditions make data collection difficult. For example, if only 10 percent of Haitian schools are properly licensed (Salmi, 2000), a lack in records retention, disclosure requirements, and consistent standards limit the accuracy and reliability of data.

When measuring the variable child labor, the only data specifically collected on child labor was in 2005. This data scarcity led to the creation of an indirect proxy to compensate for the lack of consistent data collection. The proxy used was based on the assumption that children's time creates a substitution effect between work and school; to measure child labor this study used a measure of out-of-school rates. Although findings supported the Hypothesis regarding the relationship between child labor and school, the proxy used makes this relationship obvious (i.e., a strong negative relationship between children in versus out of school), and consequently less meaningful. Another possible contribution to this relationship is health and well being, and their influences on school participation and attendance. Given the high mortality rates for infants and small children, and the low life expectancy rates, it is likely that some children are too ill, malnourished, weak, or injured to attend school. Similarly, some children may miss school to tend to unwell or indisposed family members. Health and well being is likely to moderate the relationship between child labor and education. Children who do not attend school, who are also

in good health, are more likely to be working than those who do not attend school who are not in good health.

Another variable that has limited operationalization is school enrollment rates. While there was sufficient data collected over the years on school enrollment rates in Haiti, school attendance rates were not collected. Results therefore cannot account for differences in attendance rates, which would be a more accurate measure for education levels. Some children who were reported as being enrolled in school may have not attended regularly or full-time.

While not examined in this data set, grade repetition rates also reflect the quality of education (Weil, 1986). In 1997, 9.81 percent of secondary school children needed to repeat their grade and 16.70 percent of primary school students repeated their grade (World Bank, 2013); it should be noted that these statistics do not include those students who drop out after each year, suggesting that an even higher amount of children unsuccessfully pass their grade per annum. For comparison, China had a primary school repetition rate of 0.30 percent in 2001 and Bangladesh had a primary school repetition rate of 6.98 percent in 2004 (World Development Indicators Database, 2005).

Infant and child mortality rates are interesting to compare to fertility rates, however data on fertility rates were not available during the same years. Increased infant mortality rates may indicate that families have fewer children than the fertility rate predicts (fertility rates reflect births per woman, not surviving children per woman). Unfortunately, in extreme poverty, parents and guardians abandon or neglect a child when they do not have the financial or physical resources (e.g., adequate health) to care for the child. As previously mentioned, Haiti's constitution includes articles 259 and 262, to specifically protect children from abandonment in these circumstances (Government of the Republic of Haiti, 1987). Not surprisingly, in Haiti infant deaths coincide with poverty (Weil, 1986). Fifteen percent of the infants who die are victims of umbilical tetanus—unhygienic birthing practices—or they are victims of poor maternal

nutrition and hygiene, which causes nutrient deficiencies and possible disease transmissions from breast feeding. Older children also suffer from malnutrition, parasitic infections, disease (e.g., Malaria), Typhoid fever, whooping cough, and other common adversities (Weil, 1986). Furthermore, low socioeconomic status is the main contributing factor for child abandonment (however, findings suggest this is not generalizable to developed countries; Bonnet, 1993a). Studies have also found that low socioeconomic status is linked to all forms of child maltreatment (i.e., sexual abuse, physical abuse, emotional abuse, and neglect; Drake & Pandey, 1996).

The gaps in the data set made analyses difficult to orchestrate and produce small case sizes for correlations, with only being able to use between 6 and 21 cases for analyses. The small number of cases affects the accuracy of the results through relatively wider confidence intervals, larger standard deviations, and potentially imprecise estimates.

Missing information regarding the sampling methods hinders the generalizability of the findings. For example, skewed sampling between rural and urban populations can impact the relevance of these findings between those two populations, given that the poverty rates are lower in rural areas and the nature of work differs (Department of Labor, 2001; Department of Labor, 2013). Another possible issue regarding sampling methods and data collection methods exists in relation to literacy rates. If the main data collection method for a particular indicator is self-report or survey and only 48.69 percent of the population (in 2006) are literate (World Bank, 2013), responses will be biased towards higher educated people, leading to another possible issue with representativeness of the national population.

Overall, this data is limited in its operationalization validity (specifically for the operationalization of child labor through an indirect proxy and the missing data on school enrollment compared to school attendance), small case sizes, and missing sampling information. Literature and research on the country of Haiti is limited in quantity, making comparisons and interpretations of findings more difficult. Lastly, Haiti is a politically and economically unstable

country; given the volatility of Haiti, any findings resulting from data may be challenging to directly relate to a policy or program evaluation.

Some of the aforementioned limitations were mitigated by the inclusion of a qualitative analysis via case study. Specifically, the case study helped to provide additional information about the difference between school enrollment and school attendance, as well as providing information about child labor. The case study is limited in its generalizability due to the small sample size ($n=1$).

Implications for Future Research

The findings suggest that links between poverty and child labor are not positively related, child labor and education are negatively related, and poverty and education are largely negatively related. This study aims to find fundamental relationships and improve understandings between different social factors in Haiti for purposes of policy formation and application regarding poverty alleviation, education system, and child labor laws. Future studies should collect data using more defined and specific measures for the variables and focus on better survey data regarding child labor in rural and urban communities. Studies should also examine school attendance and repetition rates to better assess school quality. To investigate possible moderating factors, such as well-being and health of children and their family members, studies should collect information regarding household well-being and reason behind school absenteeism (e.g., formal work, informal work, household work, unwell/ill, or caretaking). Overall, it is clear that more research is needed to be done in Haiti in general to help the country better understand its obstacles when trying to find options for poverty alleviation.

Implications for Application

Overall, results support previous literature and provide deeper understanding into possible mechanisms to allay issues such as abject poverty, deprived education, and child labor.

As previously reviewed, the literature and results indicate that poverty, child labor, and education are all interrelated. Thus, when brainstorming solutions and strategies to remedy Haiti's various issues, it is important to consider indirect consequences that policies can have on other issues as well as their intended purposes. An obvious example is constructing education policies and compulsory attendance laws, there is an intuitive connection between compulsory schooling the regulation of child labor (as well as other non-school activities).

Cultural difference and efforts to combat ethnocentrism towards social roles will continue to be an issue for international help. In Haiti, the view towards women and maltreatment is very different. It is acceptable on a certain level for a man to abuse a woman and to be adulterous. Marriage is not as institutionalized as in the United States. Corporal punishment is accepted as a method to discipline children regardless of connection to the child. Therefore, corporal punishment is commonly used at home, in school, and in church. Blood relation is valued highly in Haiti. Stepchildren are treated much worse than biological children. For example, if a parent has to choose which child will attend school versus work or who will be allowed to eat dinner that night, favoritism will be shown towards biological children. Cultural differences are vital for foreigners to understand when trying to provide assistance because it may be inappropriate and impervious to interfere with normative social practices (Borst, 2014).

Organizations frequently send volunteers to help provide a service in Haiti and the objectives are short-term relief without focus on long term solutions. Focus on short-term relief and quantity perpetuates a dependency on outside help. Jacquelyn supports long term initiatives for chronic issues to work towards self-sustainable institutions. She focuses her efforts on quality of

work and teaching patients about preventative care and general health and well-being education. She also discourages “handouts” that foreigners visiting Haiti are known for because children become dependent on begging instead of being self-sufficient. Jacquelyn hopes that people who go to Haiti to help out and provide a service focus on long term objectives despite delayed gratification. After all, the ultimate goal for most initiatives is to help Haiti be a healthy, independent, and self-sustaining nation (Borst, 2014).

The immediate focus in Haiti needs to be in areas dedicated to improving access and quality of education. Education is a mechanism to reduce both poverty and child labor. Haitians have the basic right to education (Government of the Republic of Haiti, 1987), but 45 percent of primary school-aged children in Haiti still do not attend school (Department of Labor, 2011).

Despite efforts by Haiti and NGOs to improve education, efforts have focused on private education systems and religious institutions. Public versus private school funding and accessibility need to be drastically changed. Haiti’s education system is mainly through private education and there is a huge demand for more public school access. Martelly has expressed interest in improving the education expenditure budget (Department of Labor, 2013). However, fiscal redistribution between rural and urban areas needs to be evaluated to improve education specifically in more impoverished areas. Not only are rural areas more impoverished than urban areas, rural areas also hold 70 percent of the population (Luzincourt & Gutbrandson, 2010). Subsidizing public education in developing countries has proved successful in other areas where child labor is prevalent (e.g., West Bengal, Bangladesh, and Malaysia). A well-established subsidy may allow families who otherwise would not enroll their child in school to be financially able to pull their child from the labor market to attend school, particularly in rural areas (Goulart & Bedi, 2007; Patrinos & Pasacharopoulos, 1997; Ravallion & Wodon, 2000; Psacharopoulos, 1996; Grootaert & Kanbur, 1995). By providing quality and accessible education, low-income

families will experience more immediate returns, resulting in a lower likelihood of children dropping out (Knight et al., 2009).

Schools need to alter curricula to address academic and work-related factors (e.g., basic education and job-related and skill-based training). Any standardization efforts for curricula and school structuring need to be open to public and political debate due to cultural conflict (e.g., language standardization between French, English, and Creole depending on the area; Carlson et al., 2011). Schools need to improve the education of teachers, possibly through public sector regulation or via campaigning. Any existing public school fees needs to be removed and secondary education be made free. Haiti needs a huge public investment in education and more attention to it during public debates (Luzincourt & Gulbrandson, 2010). That being said, Martelly recently implemented new education programs. In an effort to get kids off the streets and combat the high school feeds, education is now free through a free and compulsory school act (Article 32 in Haiti's Constitution; Victor, 2014). Creative solutions to help with higher education are being implemented, such as vocational-technical schools. Technical schools provide a useful and practical degree to individuals in a shorter period of time (Borst, 2014).

Success with the education system has been frustrated because public schools still lack the necessary funding. Private schools receive roughly six times more funding than private schools from *Programme de Scolarization Universelle Gratuite et Obligatoire* (Ross, 2013), strengthening the disparity between public and private schools. To assist in setting priorities and determining budgets and funding, proper and accurate demographic information needs to be collected and international NGO education programs need to be regulated and tracked (Carlson et al., 2011). However, Haiti has rising trends in school enrollment, roughly 329,000 classrooms have been built, and 125 schools have been rebuilt. Additionally, more schools are providing lunches and transportation to students; Victor, 2014). Satz (2003) explained that to alleviate

poverty, a country needs to take a gradual approach for successful and long-term results and the best approach to poverty alleviation is through school.

Conclusion

This study has sought to examine associations between different phenomena in Haiti and improve the understanding of underlying relationships for purposes of policy formation and application regarding poverty alleviation, education system, and child labor laws. Literature concerning social, political, and economic aspects of child labor, poverty, and education has been explored. Based on the existing literature, it was hypothesized that Haiti has a strong relationship between poverty and the educational system and this relationship is mediated by the use of child labor, implying that the more impoverished an area, the higher incidence of child labor, and a lower education level. These factors are important to examine because of the devastating conditions facing Haitians. Findings can shape multifaceted approaches to policy-making and for better general understanding of the inner workings of and associations between these social phenomena.

This study finds that poverty and child labor are not positively related, that child labor and education are negatively related, and poverty and education have a net negative relationship. Data have been supplemented and enhanced by an interview that supported the hypotheses and predicted model. Based on the data analyses and interview, education has sizeable rewards for people in Haiti. Education can help individuals break out of poverty, increase standards of living, and reduce the use of child labor. Overall, the relationships among poverty, child labor, and education in Haiti are apparent, supporting the need of improved education in terms of structure, regulation, and accessibility.

Appendix A

Worst Forms of Child Labor Convention

ILO Convention No. 138 principles (ILO, 1973).

	The minimum age at which children can work.	Possible exceptions for developing countries
<p>Hazardous work Any work which is likely to jeopardize children's physical, mental or moral health, safety or morals should not be done by anyone under the age of 18.</p>	18 (16 under strict conditions)	18 (16 under strict conditions)
<p>Basic Minimum Age The minimum age for work should not be below the age for finishing compulsory schooling, which is generally 15.</p>	15	14
<p>Light work Children between the ages of 13 and 15 years old may do light work, as long as it does not threaten their health and safety, or hinder their education or vocational orientation and training.</p>	13-15	12-14

Appendix B

Informed Consent Form

Date: March 6, 2014

Study: Child Labor in Haiti: An Analysis of How Poverty and Education Are Related to Child Labor

Researcher: Elizabeth A. Rockey
Schreyer Honors College
The Pennsylvania State University
University Park, PA 16801

Purpose of Research: This study aims to explore fundamental relationships between different social phenomena in Haiti related to poverty, education, and child labor.

What you will be asked to do: You will be asked to participate in a semi-structured interview that will last approximately one-and-a-half hours while being audio recorded.

Risks and Discomforts: There are no risks for participating in the research.

Benefits of Research: There is no compensation for participating in this research. However, your participation in this research will help provide subjective supplementary information for the study. Little research has been done on Haiti, so your participation will provide unique insight and context for the country.

Confidentiality: Unless you choose otherwise, all information you supply will be used in the research, including identifiable information (i.e., name). A pseudonym can be supplied at your request. Your interview data will be stored at the Pennsylvania State University Library. All information supplied will remain confidential until consent is given.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation in this research is voluntary, and you can withdraw at any time. Your decision to not volunteer will not influence your relationship with the researcher, the Pennsylvania State University, or any other related groups.

Withdrawal From the Study: You can stop participating in the study at any time, for any reason. Your decision to not participate or answer specific questions will not influence your relationship with the researcher, the Pennsylvania State University, or any other related groups. In the event that you decide to withdraw, any data (i.e., audio recording) will be destroyed.

Questions About the Study: If you have questions about the research in general, or your role in the study, feel free to contact Elizabeth A. Rockey either by telephone at (814) 933-7786 or by email at ear5131@gmail.com

I _____ consent to participate in a semi-structured interview conducted by Elizabeth A. Rockey. I understand the nature of this project and wish to participate. I am not waving any of my legal rights by signing this form. My signature reflects my consent.

Signature _____ **Date** _____
Participant

Signature _____ **Date** _____
Investigator

Appendix C

Semi-Structured Interview Guide

1. Can you briefly tell me about yourself, and your professional and personal experiences with Haiti?
2. As a health professional, what is your impression of Haiti's poverty and possible manifestations of poverty?
3. As a health professional, what is your goal with the clinic, both short-term and long-term?
4. Based on your experience and time in Haiti, can you tell me about your observation of poverty?
5. Did you observe any language barriers between French and Creole speaking people?
6. Did you observe any differences between rural and urban areas? Specifically, any differences in language, culture, poverty, health, and education?
7. Based on your experience and time in Haiti, what can you tell me about Haitian children (e.g., school, parent-child relationships, health, work, orphanages)?
 - a. How might childhood differ in Haiti compared to the US?
 - b. Do you have any knowledge of child labor in Haiti?
 - c. Why do caregivers give children to the orphanage?
 - d. What were the schools like?
8. Based on your personal experience, what is your impression of the adoption process in Haiti?
9. What are some of your biggest concerns facing Haiti?
10. In what areas do you think Haiti should focus on improvement? Any suggestions?

References

- Akabayashi, H., & Psacharopoulos, G. (1999). The trade-off between child labour and human capital formation: A Tanzanian case study. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 35(5), 120-140.
- Alesina, A., Özler, S., Roubini, N., & Swagel, P. (1996). Political instability and economic growth. *Journal of Economic growth*, 1(2), 189-211.
- Allais, F. B., & Hagemann, F. (2008). Child labour and education: Evidence from SIMPOC surveys. Geneva, Switzerland: International Labour Office.
- Amin, S., Quayes, M.S., & Rives, J.M. (2004). Poverty and Other Determinants of Child Labor in Bangladesh. *Southern Economic Journal*, 70(4), 876–92.
- Baland, J., & Robinson, J. A. (2000). Is child labor inefficient? *Journal of the Political Economy*, 108(4), 663-679.
- Basu, K., & Van, P. H. (1998). The economics of child labor. *The American Economic Review*, 88(3), 412-427.
- Bonnet, C. (1993a). Adoption at birth: Prevention against abandonment or neonaticide. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 17(4), 501-513.
- Bonnet, M. (1993b). Child labour in Africa. *International Labour Review*, 132(3), 371-389.
- Borst, J. (2014, March 6). Personal Interview.
- Bracken, A. (2006). Haiti's children pay the price of poverty. *NACLA Report on the Americas*, 39(5), 22.
- Bredl, S. (2011). Migration, remittances and educational outcomes: The case of Haiti. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 31(2), 162-168.

- Buonomo Zabaleta, M. (2011). The impact of child labor on schooling outcomes in Nicaragua. *Economics of Education Review*, 30(6), 1527-1539.
- Carlson, W. L., Désir, A., Goetz, S., Hong, S., Jones, S., & White, J. (2011, May). *The Haitian diaspora and education reform in Haiti: Challenges and Recommendations*. Columbia University, School of International and Public Affairs.
- Ceroni, C. B. (2001). Poverty traps and human capital accumulation, *Economica*, 68, 203–219.
- CIA (2013). *Haiti. The World Factbook*. Retrieved from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ha.html>
- Cockburn, J. (2001). Child labour versus education: Poverty constraints or income opportunities? *Center for the Study of African Economies, Oxford University*.
- Dancey, C. P., & Reidy, J. (2004). *Statistics without maths for psychology*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.
- Delap, E. (2001). Economic and cultural forces in the child labour debate: Evidence from urban Bangladesh. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 37(4), 1–22.
- Department of Labor (2001). *The Department of Labor's 2001 findings on the worst forms of child labor: Trade and Development Act of 2000*. Haiti, 163-165.
- Department of Labor (2011). *Findings on the worst forms of child labor*. Haiti, 385-390.
- Department of Labor (2013). *Haiti*. Retrieved from <http://www.dol.gov/ILAB/media/reports/iclp/Advancing1/html/haiti.htm>
- Dinopoulos, E., & Zhao, L. (2007). Child labor and globalization. *Journal of Labor Economics*, 25(3), 553-579.
- Drake, B., & Pandey, S. (1996). Understanding the relationship between neighborhood poverty and specific types of child maltreatment. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 20(11), 1003-1018.
- Dumas, C. (2011). Market imperfections and child labor. *World Development*, 42, 127-142.

- Duraisamy, M. (1997). Changes in child labor over space and time in India. *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics*, 40(4), 809-818.
- Easterly, W. (2001). *The Elusive Quest for Growth: Economists Adventures and Misadventure in the Tropics*. The MIT press.
- Edmonds, E. V., & Pavcnik, N. (2005). Child labor in the global economy. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 19(1), 199-220.
- Edmonds, E. V., Pavcnik, N., & Topalova, P. (2009). Child labor and schooling in a globalizing world: Some evidence from urban India. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 7(2-3), 498-507.
- Faedi, B. (2008). The double weakness of girls: Discrimination and sexual violence in Haiti. *The Stan. J. Int'l L.*, 44, 147- 204.
- Gordon, R. M. (2009, March). Socio-economic determinants of infant and child mortality in Haiti. *Journal of Eastern Caribbean Studies*, 34(1), 1-19.
- Government of the Republic of Haiti (1987). Constitution of Haiti. Retrieved from <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/constitutions/haiti/haiti1987.html>
- Goulart, P., & Bedi A. S. (2007). Child labour and educational success in Portugal. *Economics of Education Review*, 27, 575-587.
- Grootaert, C., & Kanbur, R. (1995). Child labour: An economic perspective. *International Labor Review*, 134(2), 187-203.
- Gupta, M. R. (2000). Wage determination of a child worker: A theoretical analysis. *Review of Development Economics*, 4(2), 219–228.
- Harper, C. & Marcus, R. (2003). Enduring poverty and the conditions of childhood: Lifecourse and intergenerational poverty transmissions. *World Development*, 31(3), 535-554.
- Hearst, A. (2010) Between *Restavek* and relocation: Children and communities in transnational adoption. *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 3(2), 267-292.

- Hebblethwaite, B. (2012). French and underdevelopment, Haitian Creole and development. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages*, 27(2), 255-302.
- Hobbs, S., Lavalette, M., & McKenchnie, J. (1992). The emerging problem of child labour. *Critical Social Policy*, 12, 93-105.
- Hoffman, D. M. (2011). Saving children, saving Haiti: Child vulnerability and narratives of the nation. *Childhood*, 19(2), 155-168.
- Hosen, A., Khandoker, M. S. H., & Islam, S. M. M. (2010, April). Child labor and child education in Bangladesh: Issues, consequences and involvements. *International Business Research*, 3(2), 1-9.
- IDA & IMF (2011, November 8). *Heavily indebted poor countries (HIPC) initiative and multilateral debt relief initiative (MDRI): Status of implementation and proposals for the future of the HIPC initiative*. Retrieved from <http://www.imf.org/external/np/pp/eng/2011/110811.pdf>
- ILO (1973). Minimum age convention (No. 138). *58th International Labour Conference session*. June 26, 1973, Geneva, Switzerland.
- ILO (1999). Convention concerning the prohibition and immediate action for the elimination of the worst forms of child labour (No. 182). *87th International Labour Conference session*. June 17, 1999, Geneva, Switzerland.
- ILO (2003). *Working out of poverty*. Geneva, Switzerland: International Labour Office.
- ILO (2007). Work in fishing convention (No. 188). *96th International Labour Conference session*. June 14, 2007, Geneva, Switzerland.
- ILO (2012a) *Building Haiti through training and employability programmes*. Retrieved from http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/features/WCMS_170941/lang-en/index.htm

- ILO (2012b). *Ratification for Haiti*. Retrieved from http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=1000:11200:0::NO::P11200_COUNTRY_ID:102671
- ILO (2013). *Perspectives on labour economics for development*. Geneva, Switzerland: International Labour Office.
- IPEC (2011). *Children in hazardous work: What we need to know, what we need to do*. Geneva, Switzerland: International Labour Office.
- International Human Development Indicators (2013). *Haiti: Country profile: Human development indicators*. Retrieved from <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/HTI.html>
- International Labour Office. (2006). *Key indicators of the labour market*. International Labour Office. Retrieved from <http://kilm.ilo.org/manuscript/kilm01.asp>
- Janak, T. C. (2000). Haiti's "restavec" slave children: Difficult choices, difficult lives...yet... *Lespwa fe Viv. The International Journal of Children's Rights*, 8, 321-331.
- Jaramillo, L., & Sancak, C. (2007, March). *Growth in the Dominican Republic and Haiti: Why has the grass been greener on one side of Hispaniola (Working Paper 07/63)?* International Monetary Fund.
- Kim, C. Y. (2009). Is combining child labour and school education the right approach: Investigating the Cambodian case. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 29(1), 30-38.
- Kim, E. (2013). Smaller steps towards progress in the Dominican Republic: Securing equal access to education for Dominico-Haitian children. *Bu Int'l LJ*, 31, 155-189.
- Knight, J., Shi, L. & Quheng, D. (2009). Education and the poverty trap in rural China: Setting the trap. *Oxford Development Studies*, 37(4), 311-332.
- Kolk, A. & Tulder, R. V. (2002). The effectiveness of self-regulation: Corporate codes of conduct and child labour. *European Management Journal*, 20(3), 260-271.

- Ladd, H. F. (2012). Education and poverty: Confronting the evidence. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 31(2), 203-227.
- Leeds, I., Ebgek, P., Derby, K., Kapadia, S., Chery, M., & Bhatt, A. (2010). Case report: Two cases of *Restavek*-related illness: Clinical implications of foster neglect in Haiti. *Am. J. Trop. Med. Hyg.*, 83(5), 1098–1099.
- Lehman, B. A. & Logan, C. L. (2011, March). Life and literacy in Haiti: A conversation with Jocelyn Trouillot. *Language Arts*, 88(4), 298-303.
- Leiten, G. K. (2002). Child labour in India: Disentangling essence and solutions. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 37(52), 5190-5195.
- Library of Congress (2006). *Country profile: Haiti, May 2006*. Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office. Retrieved from <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/Haiti.pdf>
- Lundahl, M. (2011). *Poverty in Haiti: Essays on underdevelopment and post disaster prospects*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Luzincourt, K., & Gulbrandson, J. (2010, August). Education and conflict in Haiti. United States Institute of Peace, Special Report 245.
- Mason, M. (2012). Education, policy and poverty reduction.
- McNulty, B. (2011). Education of Poverty: Rebuilding Haiti's School System after Its Total Collapse, The. *Fletcher F. World Aff.*, 35, 109.
- Memon, A. P., Memon, K. S., Shaikh, S., & Memon, F. (1994). Political instability: A case study of Pakistan. *Journal of Political Studies*, 18(1), 31-43.
- Million Member Assembly. (n.d.) *Orphanages in Haiti*. Retrieved from <http://www.mma1.org/Orphanages%20in%20Haiti.htm>.
- Moehling, C. M. (1999). State child labor laws and the decline of child labor. *Exploration in Economic History*, 36, 72-106.

- Mukherjee, D., & Sinha, U. B. (2009). Attitude to schooling, wage premium and child labour. *Indian Growth and Development*, 2(2), 113-125.
- Mukhopadhyaya, P., Bhattacharya, U., & MacMillan, C. (2012). Education for child labour: Evaluating the National Child Labor Policy in West Bengal, India. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 42(4), 651-675.
- Myers, W. E. (1989). Urban working children: A comparison of four surveys from South America. *International Labour Review*, 128(3), 321-335.
- Myers, W. E. (1999). Considering child labour: Changing terms, issues and actors at the international level. *Childhood*, 6(1), 13-26.
- Newmayer, E. & De Soysa, I. (2005). Trade openness, foreign direct investment and child labour. *World Development*, 33(1), 43-63.
- OECD (2003). Combating child labour: A review of policies. *Paris, France: OECD Publications*.
- Parsons, D. O., & Goldin C. (1989). Parental altruism and self-interest: Child labor among late nineteenth-century American families. *Economic Inquiry* 27(4), 637-659.
- Patrinos, A. H., & Psacharopoulos, G. (1995). Educational performance and child labor in Paraguay. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 15(1), 47-60.
- Patrinos, H. A., & Psacharopoulos, G. (1997). Family size, schooling and child labor in Peru: An empirical analysis. *Journal of Population Economics*, 10, 387-405.
- Pederson, J., & Hatley, A. (2002). Child domestic labour in Haiti: Characteristics, contexts and organization of children's residence, relocation and work. Fafo Institute for Applied International Studies.
- Pritchett, L., Woolcock, M., & Andrews, M. (2012, July). *Looking like a state: Techniques of persistent failure in state capability for implementation* (Working Paper No. 2012/63). Helsinki, Finland: United Nations University World Institute for Development Economics Research.

- Psacharopoulos, G. (1996). Child labor versus educational attainment: Some evidence from Latin America. *Journal of Population Economics*, 10, 377-386.
- Psacharopoulos, G. & Patrinos, H. A. (2004). Returns to investment in education: A further update. *Educational Economics*, 12(2), 111- 134.
- Raffer, K. (2011, April). Neoliberal capitalism: A time warp backwards to capitalism's origins? *In Forum for Social Economics*, 40(1), 41-62.
- Rahman, M. M., & Khanam, R. (2012). Child Labour: The effects of globalisation. *Journal of Applied Business and Economics*, 13(4), 59-71.
- Ravallion, M., Chen, S., & Sangraula, P. (2009). Dollar a day revisited. *The World Bank Economic Review*, 23(2), 163-184.
- Ravallion, M. & Wodon, Q. (2000). Does Child Labour Displace Schooling? Evidence on Behavioural Responses to an Enrollment Subsidy. *The Economic Journal*, 110, c158–c75.
- Ray, R. (2000). Child labor, child schooling, and their interaction with adult labor: Empirical evidence for Peru and Pakistan. *The World Bank Economic Review*, 14(2), 347–67.
- Rodgers, G. & Standing, G. (1981). *Child work, poverty and underdevelopment*. Geneva, ILO.
- Rogers, C. A. & Swinnerton, K. A. (2004). Does child labor decrease when parental incomes rise? *Journal of Political economy*, 112(4), 939-968.
- Ross, T. (2013, April 9). *Michel Martelly's education plan in Haiti marked by mismanagement and inflated claims*. Retrieved from <http://www.ijdh.org/2013/04/topics/education-topics/michel-martellys-education-plan-in-haiti-marked-by-mismanagement-and-inflated-claims/#.UyI-c1FdX-o>
- Salmi, J. (2000). Equity and quality in private education: The Haitian paradox. *Compare*, 30(2), 163-178.
- Salmon C. (2005). Child labor in Bangladesh: Are children the last economic resource of the household? *Journal of Developing Societies*, 21(33), 33-54.

- Santos, M. E. (2011). Human capital and the quality of education in a poverty trap model. *Oxford Development Studies*, 39(1), 25-47.
- Satz, D. (2003). Child labor: A normative perspective. *The World Bank Economic Review*, 17(2), 297-309.
- Schell, C. O., Reilly, M., Rosling, H., Peterson, S., & Ekstrom, A. M. (2007). Socioeconomic determinants of infant mortality: A worldwide study of 152 low-, middle- and high-income countries. *Scandinavian Journal of Public Health*, 35, 288-297.
- Schimmel, N. (2007). Indigenous education and human rights. *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights*, 14(4), 425-453.
- Shamsie, Y. (2008). Haiti: Appraising two rounds of peacebuilding using a poverty reduction lens. *Civil Wars*, 10(4), 413-430.
- Smyth, E., & McCoy, S. (2009). Investing in education: Combating educational disadvantage. Esri.
- UNESCO (2011). Revision of the International Standard Classification of Education. 36th Session. Paris, France.
- UNESCO Institute for Statistics (2012, September). Adult and youth literacy. *Fact Sheet*, No. 20, 1-4. Retrieved from <http://www.uis.unesco.org/literacy/Documents/fs20-literacy-day-2012-en-v3.pdf>
- United Nations (1998, June 22). Statement of commitment of the administrative commitment on coordination for action to eradicate poverty. New York: United Nations.
- United Nations General Assembly (1989). Convention on the rights of the child. November 20, 1989.
- Victor, E. (2014, February 9). *President of Haiti Holds Forum on Education*. Retrieved from <http://www.thehilltoponline.com/news/president-of-haiti-holds-forum-on-education-1.2855109#.UwznNfRdX-o>

- Webster, E., Lambert, R., & Bezuidenhout, A. (2008). Grounding globalization: Labour in the age of insecurity. *Chapter 3: The return of market despotism*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, (pp. 51-77)
- Weil, T. E. (Ed.). (1986). *Haiti, a country study*. The Studies. Retrieved from <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015012060300;view=1up;seq=19>
- White, L. K. & Brinkerhoff, D. B. (1981). Children's work in the family: Its significance and meaning. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 43(4), 789-798.
- World Bank (2013). *Haiti*. Retrieved from <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/haiti/overview>
- World Development Indicators Database (2005). Repetition rate, primary > % of total enrollment by country. Retrieved from http://www.nationmaster.com/graph/edu_rep_rat_pri_of_tot_enr-repetition-rate-primary-total-enrollment
- Zoellick, R. B. (2010, February 1). How to rebuild Haiti. *Politico*, 34-35.

ACADEMIC VITA

Elizabeth A. Rockey

1811 Walnut Grove Drive ♦ State College, PA 16801 ♦ ear5131@gmail.com

Education

The Pennsylvania State University, Schreyer Honors College, University Park, PA

Bachelor of Science in Labor Studies and Employment Relations with honors

Bachelor of Science in Psychology

Work Experience

Research Assistant at Relationships and Stress Lab

December 2012 – Present

Dr. Amy Marshall principle investigator/lab curator

The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA

- Conducting research studies investigating fear and aggression, spillover effects of intimate partner violence, and PTSD using SPSS and other data tools
- Reviewed and created annotated bibliographies based on literature searches pertaining to child maltreatment for a literature review paper

Human Resources Intern at Rex Energy Corporation

May 2012 – December 2012

State College, PA

- Analyzed employee surveys, generated suggestions for improving employee satisfaction
- Created Managers' Hiring and Onboarding Guide
- Participated in recruiting, interviewing, and hiring processes
- Assisted in enrollment of all employees into newly offered benefit plan

Research Assistant at Leadership and Innovation Lab

October 2011 – August 2012

Dr. Sam Hunter principle investigator/lab curator

The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA

- Performed research studies and coded data in Excel pertaining to leadership errors and consequences
- Responsible for managing team research project as related to coding, analysis, and overall team performance

Involvement

Student AIDS Educator (SAE) Volunteer

September 2006 – December 2010

State College, PA

Salvation Army Volunteer

January 2008 – Present

State College, PA

Founding member and Treasurer for Nittany Entrepreneurs Club

January 2011 – May 2012

The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA

Skills

- Proficient in Microsoft Office Suite (2013), Microsoft Outlook, SPSS, and Internet Explorer
- Experience in Qualtrics, Survey Monkey, Survey Crafter, E-Prime, and Quickbooks
- Window and Mac OSX
- Conversational French