



**CHILD PROTECTION AND FAMILY  
SERVICES AGENCY**  
(An Executive Agency of the  
Ministry of Education, Youth and Information)

**FINAL REPORT**

**STUDY OF CHILDREN LIVING  
AND WORKING ON THE STREETS  
IN JAMAICA**

SUBMITTED BY : DR. JOY M. MONCRIEFFE, PRINCIPAL DIRECTOR



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	6
1. INTRODUCTION	10
3. JAMAICA: SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND AND STATUS	22
4. BACKGROUND STUDIES ON STREET AND WORKING CHILDREN	28
5. STRUCTURAL INEQUALITIES, FACTORS AND FORCES THAT UNDERPIN CHILD WORK ON THE STREETS	32
6. DISSECTING CHILDREN'S ACTIVITIES ON THE STREETS	65
7. EFFECTIVENESS OF LEGISLATIONS	75
8. EFFECTIVENESS OF POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES	87
9. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR A PACKAGE OF CARE	110
10. ANNEX 1: STUDY OF CHILDREN WORKING ON THE STREETS IN JAMAICA: PSYCHOSOCIAL AND ACADEMIC COMPONENT	115
11. ANNEX 2 - SOURCES	124
12. ANNEX 3: TERMS OF REFERENCE	127
13. ANNEX 4: STAKEHOLDERS AND THEIR INPUTS	132
14. ANNEX 5: ETHICAL APPROVAL LETTER	133



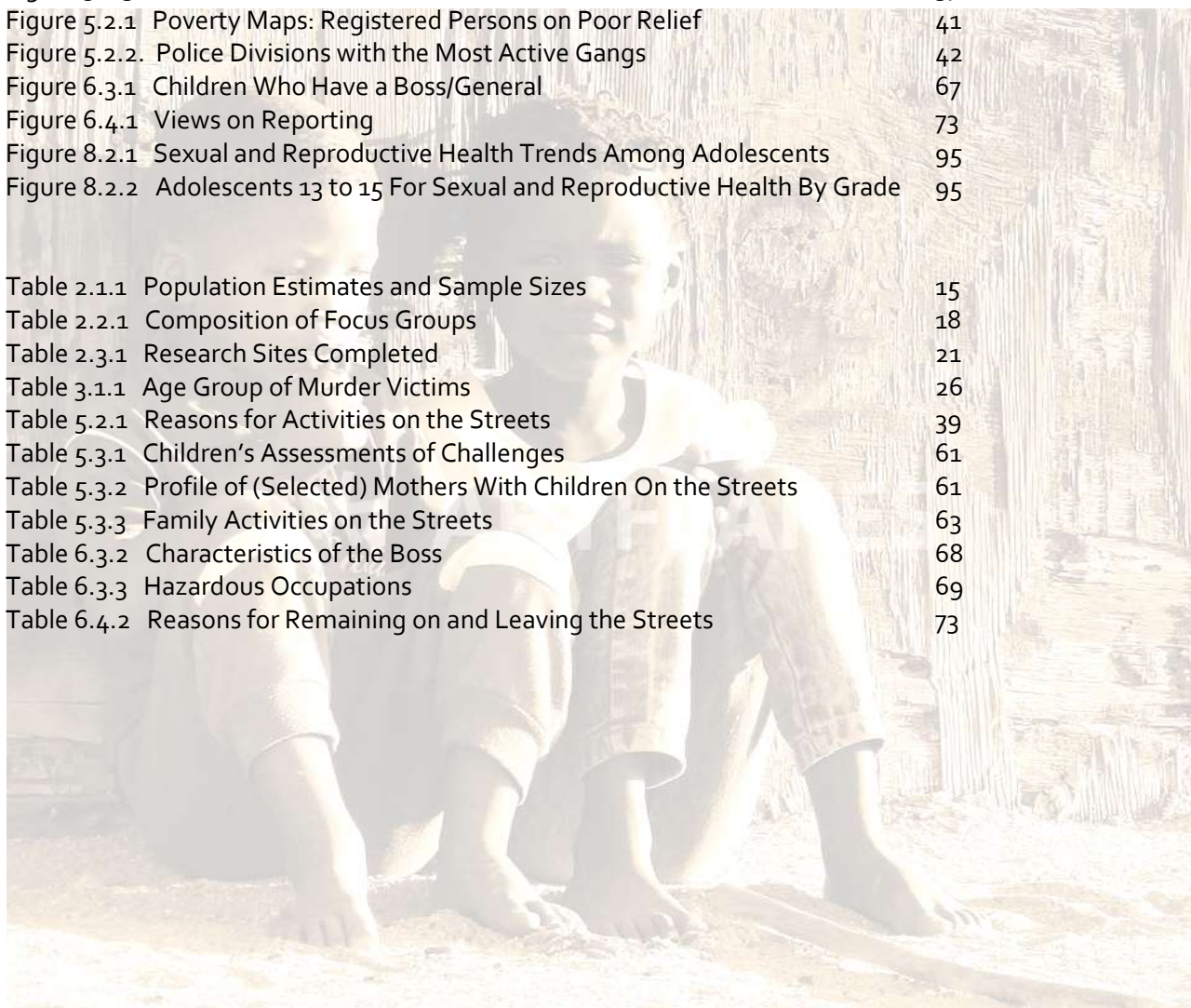
## ACRONYMS



Addiction Alert Organization	AAO
Behaviour Change Programme	BCP
Child Care and Protection Act	CCPA
Child Protection Compact	CPC
Child Protection and Family Services Agency	CPFSA
Children's Advocate	CA
Children's Registry	CR
Child Resiliency	CR
Civil Society Organizations	CSOs
Convention on the Rights of the Child	CRC
Dream a World	DAW
Economic Development Committee	EDC
Government of Jamaica	GOJ
International Development Partners	IDPs
International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour	IPEC
Irie Classroom	IC
Jamaica Constabulary Force	JCF
Jamaica National Youth Activity Survey	JYAS
Jamaica Survey of Living Conditions	JSLC
Jamaica Social Investment Fund	JSIF
Kingston and Metropolitan Area	KMA
Medium Term Socio-Economic Policy Frameworks	MTFs
Millennium Development Goals	MDGs
Ministries, Departments and Agencies	MDAs
Ministry of Education, Youth and Information	MOEYI
Ministry of Health and Wellness	MOHW
Ministry of Local Government	MLG
Ministry of Labour and Social Security	MLSS
Missing Person Monitoring Unit	MPMU
National Development Plan	NDP
National Plan of Action	NPA
National Taskforce Against Trafficking in Persons	NATFATIP
Office of the Prime Minister	OPM
Peace and Love in Society	PALS
Private Sector Organization of Jamaica	PSOJ
Programme for the Advancement of Health and Education	PATH
Persons with Disabilities	PWDs
Reaching Individuals through Skills and Education	RISE
Tackling Child Labour through Education	TACKLE
Task Force on Child Abuse Prevention	TFCAP
Terms of Reference	TOR
Trafficking in Person	TIP
United Nations General Assembly Special Session for Children	UNASS
Violence Against Women and Girls	VAWG
Young Men's Christian Association	YMCA
Young Women's Christian Association	YWCA
Youth Innovation Centres	YICs

## FIGURES AND TABLES

Figure 3.1.1	Prevalence of Poverty in Jamaica (by Region), 1990-2015	22
Figure 3.2.1	Prevalence of Poverty in Jamaica (by Age Groups), 2015.	23
Figure 4.1.1	Diagrammatic Presentation of Concentration of Child Labour	30
Figure 5.1.1	Numbers of Children Who Sleep on the Streets	33
Figure 5.1.2	Children Who Work or Hustle on the Streets (1)	35
Figure 5.1.2	Children Who Work or Hustle on the Streets (2)	36
Figure 5.1.3	Children Who Attend School	37
Figure 5.2.1	Poverty Maps: Registered Persons on Poor Relief	41
Figure 5.2.2	Police Divisions with the Most Active Gangs	42
Figure 6.3.1	Children Who Have a Boss/General	67
Figure 6.4.1	Views on Reporting	73
Figure 8.2.1	Sexual and Reproductive Health Trends Among Adolescents	95
Figure 8.2.2	Adolescents 13 to 15 For Sexual and Reproductive Health By Grade	95
Table 2.1.1	Population Estimates and Sample Sizes	15
Table 2.2.1	Composition of Focus Groups	18
Table 2.3.1	Research Sites Completed	21
Table 3.1.1	Age Group of Murder Victims	26
Table 5.2.1	Reasons for Activities on the Streets	39
Table 5.3.1	Children's Assessments of Challenges	61
Table 5.3.2	Profile of (Selected) Mothers With Children On the Streets	61
Table 5.3.3	Family Activities on the Streets	63
Table 6.3.2	Characteristics of the Boss	68
Table 6.3.3	Hazardous Occupations	69
Table 6.4.2	Reasons for Remaining on and Leaving the Streets	73

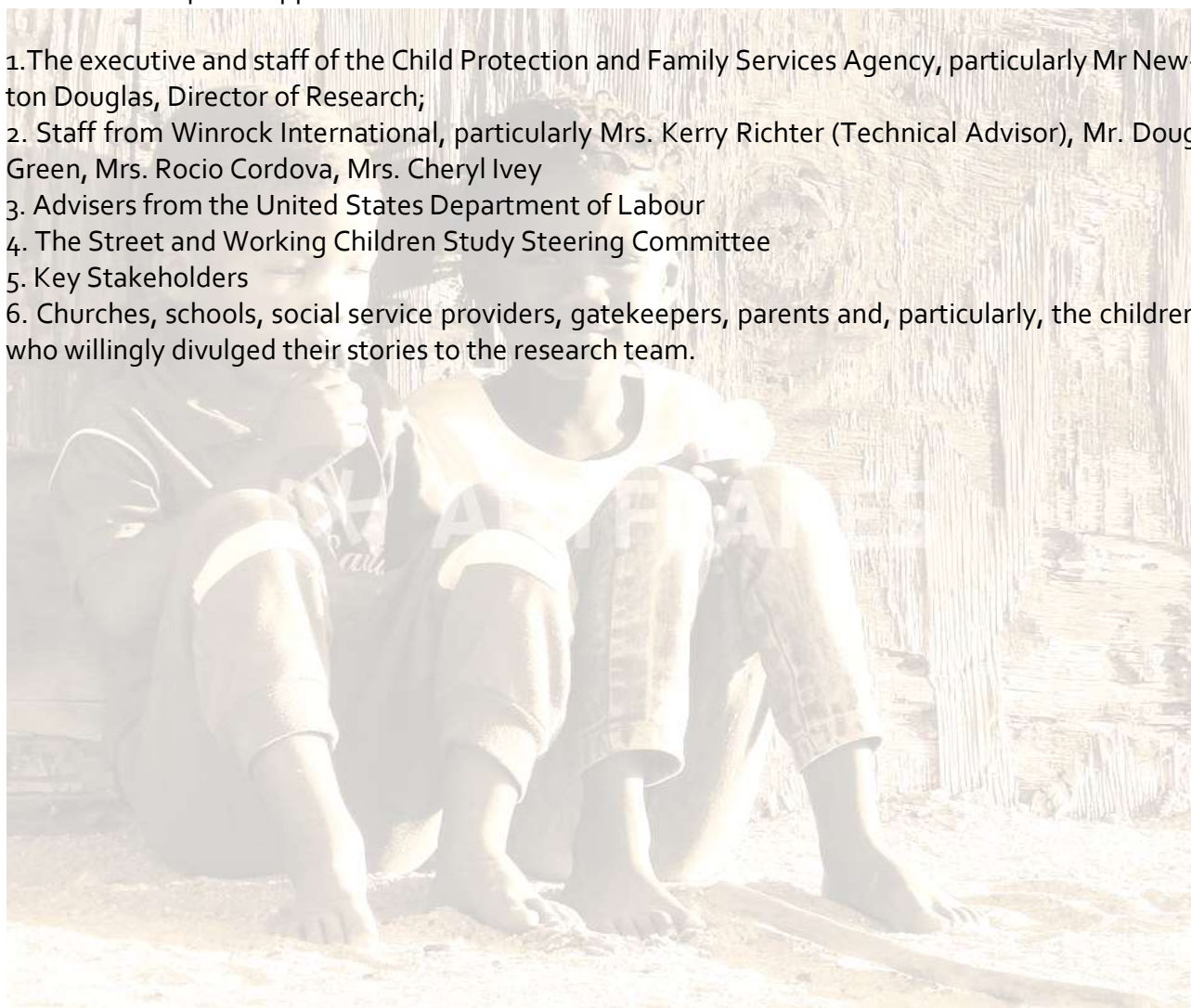


## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

The IASR team would like to thank all the persons who contributed to this Study of Children who Living and/or Working on the Streets. We recognise and value the considerable time and insights provided.

IASR extends special appreciation to:

1. The executive and staff of the Child Protection and Family Services Agency, particularly Mr Newton Douglas, Director of Research;
2. Staff from Winrock International, particularly Mrs. Kerry Richter (Technical Advisor), Mr. Doug Green, Mrs. Rocio Cordova, Mrs. Cheryl Ivey
3. Advisers from the United States Department of Labour
4. The Street and Working Children Study Steering Committee
5. Key Stakeholders
6. Churches, schools, social service providers, gatekeepers, parents and, particularly, the children who willingly divulged their stories to the research team.





## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Government of Jamaica's Child Protection and Family Services Agency, which operates under the portfolio of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Information is, with technical assistance from Winrock International, seeking to "determine the factors that predispose children to be living and working on the streets (inclusive of trafficking victims that may be invisible), and to identify gaps in the provision of care and social protection services that impede an effective response to addressing street children." The Terms of Reference for this study notes that "the results and recommendations ... will be used by the Child Protection and Family Services Agency and the Ministry of Education, Youth and Information to inform policies, programming, and interventions related to children on the streets in Jamaica." The research was conducted in the following phases:

Phase 1: Literature Review

Phase 2: Scoping Study

Phase 3: Quantitative surveys with children and qualitative studies (Interviews with key stakeholders, parents and children; and focus groups and life stories with parents and children).

### 1. PROFILE OF CHILDREN ON AND OFF THE STREETS

The Terms of Reference for the Child Protection and Family Services Agency (CPFSA)'s Study of Children Living and Working on the Streets noted that the research objectives ("to determine the factors which predispose children to be living and working on the streets—inclusive of trafficking victims that may be invisible—and to identify gaps in the provision of care and social protection services that impede an effective response to addressing street children") are best achieved through mixed, qualitative and quantitative methodologies: secondary data reviews, surveys, interviews and focus group consultations. Consistent with the TOR, the Research Methodology was designed to achieve this; thus, this study of children who are working on the streets used mixed methodologies (quantitative surveys with children and qualitative studies, which included interviews with key stakeholders, parents and children; and focus groups and life stories with parents and children).

Four hundred and thirteen questionnaires were administered to children across the 9 parishes: Kingston, St Andrew, St Catherine, Clarendon, Westmoreland, St James, St Ann, St Mary and St Thomas. Three hundred seventy-three (373) of these quantitative responses were analyzed; forty questionnaires were considered incomplete to a level where they could not be used. These particular questionnaires comprised those where children ran off prior to completion and where children were involved in child labour but were not on the streets.

Of the 373 respondents, 63% (230) were males and 37% (137) females. While the proportion of females is, as expected, less than that of males, this finding is critical as it is normally assumed that girls do not work or hustle on the streets.

The highest proportion of children on the streets were 12 and 13 years old respectively. Twelve year olds comprised 15.72% of the sample while 13 year olds comprised 14.63%. Thirty-eight ten year olds were interviewed; these comprised 10% of the sample while children between 15 and 17 years comprised 28%. Children between 5 and 9 years constituted 10% of the sample.

The majority of respondents were located in Kingston and St Andrew (108), followed by St Catherine (85); St Ann (50); Westmoreland (42) and St Thomas (37). Stakeholders suggest that, in St James, more children and adolescents may be involved in or taken care of by scamming; thus, fewer are on the streets. Only 11 children were interviewed in Clarendon; however, this was a direct outcome of the upsurge of violence in that area.

Only a small proportion (5%: 18) of the children sleep on the streets; 94% (319) return home to sleep. Note that children were largely hesitant to acknowledge that they “work”; however, they agreed that their activities could be considered ‘hustling’. In some communities, parents and children were proud to be labelled as hustlers. The major proportion (35%:101) ‘hustle’, work or beg each day of the week while 16% (46), hustle four days per week and 18% (54) hustle three days in the course of the week

Significantly, the majority of children in the sample (72%:260) attended school most days; 18% (65) attended sometimes; 9.4% (34) used to attend but no longer do, while the remainder (less than 1%) never attended school.

## **2. ANALYSIS OF ROOT CAUSES**

The evidence indicates that consumption poverty is the most obvious push factor for child labour on the streets and the potential for quick monetary gains is the most significant pull factor. However, when poverty is understood in its multidimensional sense, the research reveals the wider range of factors that cause poverty and, in turn, push children to the streets. Therefore, addressing consumption poverty alone will not solve the root issues. Conversely, attention must be paid to the added burdens, which come from family break up or dislocation; gaps in the provision of quality education; limitations from learning challenges; adverse peer influence; the growing hustling culture; the inadequacy of safety nets; various forms of insecurity (economic, political, social, relational, food); the weights and limitations of common practices, such as witchcraft; power relations and dynamics that produce mindsets that cannot be solved by behaviour change programmes alone.

## **3. DISSECTING CHILDREN'S ACTIVITIES ON THE STREETS**

The majority of respondents hustles/works or begs on the streets in the daytime only; approximately one quarter of the children sampled are on the streets in both the day and night. Of those who hustle during the daytime, over 57% do so after school. This pattern is consistent with that observed in the 2002 study: the majority of children on the streets attend school and are seeking funds to support themselves and their families.

The common daytime activities include selling snacks, ground provisions and newspapers. Over one quarter of the sample wipe car glass and wash cars while a smaller proportion (12%) hustles in night clubs and at parties.



Beyond these, there are differing patterns of activity across the communities. In Kingston and St. Andrew and St. James, children who live off the dump also sell scrap metal, loom and copper. Children from one particular community collect money from sponsorship papers. There are reports that children are involved in prostitution, particularly in Kingston and St Andrew, St James, St Ann, St Mary and Westmoreland. Children who reside within fishing villages in St. Catherine and Clarendon are occupied with various tasks in the boating business. However, some girls are involved in prostitution and/or beg for a living. As in select communities in Kingston and St Andrew, prostitution appears to be learnt/observed behaviour. There is the tendency to consider this a rational response to poverty; therefore, one's body is a 'good' that can be bartered for an income; at least in conversation, the girls or women involved explain that prostitution does not affect them internally.

The study also documented the prevalence of risky sexual practices among children on the streets. Children contend that bigger men proposition young boys and have sexual relations with them. Meanwhile, boys traverse the streets in particular areas and are involved in homosexual and bisexual relationships. Their approach to boys and men on the streets is often threatening. There is also a pocket of youth and boys who, allegedly, are known for their involvement in aggravated assaults.

There were children who acknowledged their participation in violent activities, although subsequent interviews revealed that the actual proportions of these children are likely to be higher than the survey findings present.

#### **4. THREATS TO CHILDREN**

While the majority of children who hustles on the streets do not feel threatened or pose threats, there are significant segments who threaten citizens and are, themselves at high risk of rape, assaults, abduction and death. Children and their parents are aware of this. Thus, those who venture to the major streets now comprise older and more hardened children who know the rules of the road.

#### **5. COMMENTS ON THE EFFECTIVENESS OF LEGISLATIONS**

There is consensus that the body of legislations has led to significant improvements in children's welfare. However, the 2018 Situation Analysis of Children notes that "the expansion of the legislative framework to support the child protection sector has outpaced the strengthening of institutions that are intended to operationalize, implement, monitor and enforce the various pieces of legislation".

The earlier 2010 Situation Assessment of the Rights of Children and Adolescents had also pointed to pervasive implementation gaps, particularly in the following areas: child labour; sexual offenses against children; physical violence against children; defending the rights of specific categories of vulnerable children; and securing the best interests of children in need of care and protection and of children in lock ups. Therefore, high rates of offences against children continue despite the enactment of differing legislations. Situations are compounded for children on the streets, who are among the most marginalised of vulnerable groups.



## 6. COMMENTS ON THE EFFECTIVENESS OF POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES

Together, State and Non-State organisations in Jamaica have documented and/or employed a wide range of interventions that are meant to protect children. As these actors work to fulfil their mandates, the proportion of children at risk has decreased. However, there are longstanding factors, such as severe resource constraints, deficits in organisation and management, inadequate co-ordination with other agencies, that undermine implementation processes and expected outcomes.

The available assessments concur that despite the gains:

1. Child poverty levels are high; approximately one quarter of Jamaican children still subsist in conditions of poverty;
2. Children continue to suffer unacceptably high and egregious forms of violence;
3. "Jamaica's response to violence against children is fragmented across various national strategies, different uncoordinated policy interventions; unconsolidated and poorly-enforced legislation";<sup>1</sup> and
4. Child services are fragmented and there is no strong coordinating agency, sufficiently resourced to monitor and evaluate interventions.

## 7. RECOMMENDATIONS

The factors and forces that pull children to the streets are complex and interrelated. The major challenge to addressing them lies not in defining the appropriate policy and programme but in collaborating effectively across agencies, where competition, different levels of commitment, variations in technical knowledge and lack of accountability have long undermined the concerted approach required to address the problems. Any purposive programme of action should begin with defining and determining effective methods for managing implementation processes. Arguably, an effective programme requires deep and comprehensive interventions that are designed to achieve the following:

1. Acknowledge and address the norms, beliefs and values that influence choices, including for child work on the streets, across and within communities;
2. Stem intergenerational inequalities, such that families can transcend those conditions of poverty that underpin child work on the streets. This necessarily involves (a) implementing an aggressive, transformative, income generation programme for parents and guardians; and (b) arresting low educational achievement across generations;
3. Address learning and psychological challenges among children on the streets;
4. Urgently tackle the factors that push children to the streets, including within the education system;
5. Expand the programme to effectively prevent new cohorts of children from entering the streets;
6. Implement child labour legislations in order to address children's work on the streets; and
7. Develop an effective marketing programme that will advocate against child work on the streets while presenting credible options. Further, ensure that families are aware of available facilities, including the Ministry of Labour and Social Security's Education and Social Intervention Grant and the Steps to Work project.

---

<sup>1</sup> UNICEF, CAPRI, Situation Analysis of Jamaican Children, p. 23

# 1. INTRODUCTION

This study of **Children Who are Living and Working on the Streets of Jamaica** was conducted across 9 parishes: Kingston and St Andrew, St Catherine, Clarendon, Westmoreland, St James, St Ann, St Mary and St Thomas. The justifications for this GoJ commissioned research are these:

1. The Government of Jamaica (GoJ) is accountable to the citizens of Jamaica for the protection of all children and, accordingly, is required to act urgently and effectively in the interests of children who currently live and work on the streets.
2. The GoJ has made international commitments that reinforce its obligations to identify and address the needs of children who are at risk, in its diverse forms. Specifically, Jamaica is a signatory to the major human rights instruments that are concerned with protecting children from violence. Apart from the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), Jamaica observes the Optional Protocol to the CRC on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict and is signatory to the Optional Protocol to the CRC on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography. Jamaica is also signatory to the Convention on the Eradication of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (including girls); The Beijing Rules (UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Justice); The Riyadh Guidelines (UN Guidelines for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency); UN Rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived of their Liberty); Declaration on the Survival, Protection and Development of Children. The Government of Jamaica (GoJ) has expressed its commitment to eradicating child labour, particularly in its worst forms. Correspondingly, the GoJ has ratified ILO Conventions 138 (on the minimum age for admission to employment) and 182 (which calls for international cooperation on the elimination of the worst forms of Child Labour).

Against this backdrop, the GoJ's Child Protection and Family Services Agency (CPFSA), which operates under the portfolio of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Information (MOEYI) is now, with technical assistance from Winrock International, seeking to "determine the factors which predispose children to be living and working on the streets (inclusive of trafficking victims that may be invisible), and to identify gaps in the provision of care and social protection services that impede an effective response to addressing street children." The Terms of Reference for this study notes that "the results and recommendations ... will be used by the Child Protection and Family Services Agency (CPFSA) and MOEYI to inform policies, programming, and interventions related to children on the streets in Jamaica."

Within the scope of this study, children (between 5 - 17 years) who live and work on the streets are taken to comprise:

1. those who sleep in public spaces, without their families (children "of the street")
2. those who work on the streets during the day and return to their family home to sleep at nights (children "on the streets");
3. those who live with their family on the streets ("street family children") at the time of the study; and
4. youth who were living / working on the streets before they attained the age of maturity (18 years).

The specific research questions are these:



## Effectiveness of legislations

- a. What is the status of the legislative framework that pertains to child protection broadly and, child labour, specifically?
- b. What are the inherent and contingent limitations to these legislations?
- c. What are the inherent and contingent strengths of these legislations?
- d. How much impact have the legislations had on child work on the streets?

## Effectiveness of policy framework

- a. What is the status of the policy framework that pertains to child protection, broadly, and child labour, specifically?
- b. What are the inherent and contingent limitations to these policies and corresponding programmes and projects?
- c. What are the inherent and contingent strengths these policies, programmes and projects?
- d. How much impact have these policies, programmes and projects had on child work on the streets?

## Structural inequalities, factors and forces that underpin child work on the streets

- a. What are the roots to child work on the streets?
- b. Define the factors that push and pull children to live and work on the streets?
- c. To what extent do (a) poverty and (b) inequality contribute to child work on the streets?
- d. How has the nature of child work on the streets changed over time, across sexes, across rural and urban areas of the selected parishes?
- e. Describe the governance structures that operate on the streets?
- f. What are the risks that children encounter on the streets? How have the nature of risks changed over time? How do experiences of risk differ depending on sex, age, location

## Effectiveness of protective processes and mechanisms

- a. What is the status of the protective processes and mechanisms that are, in principle, afforded under the CPFSA?
- b. What are the inherent and contingent limitations to these processes and mechanisms?
- c. What are the inherent and contingent strengths of these processes and mechanisms?
- d. How much impact have the processes and mechanisms had on child work on the streets? Qualify the perceived impact.

## Recommendations

- a. What do the findings suggest are the legislative, policy and programming changes necessary for reaching and transforming the lives of children who live and work on the streets?
- b. What (provisions, mechanisms, relations across agencies, systems) do the findings suggest are critical for effective package of care for children who live and work on the streets?

## 2. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The Terms of Reference for the Child Protection and Family Services Agency (CPFSA)'s Study of Children Living and Working on the Streets noted that the research objectives ("to determine the factors that predispose children to be living and working on the streets—inclusive of trafficking victims that may be invisible—and to identify gaps in the provision of care and social protection services that impede an effective response to addressing street children") are best achieved through mixed, qualitative and quantitative methodologies: secondary data reviews, surveys, interviews and group consultations. Consistent with the TOR, the Research Methodology was designed to achieve this; thus, this study of children who are working on the streets used mixed methodologies.

There were a number of considerations that guided the research design:

First, whereas earlier reports included studies on children on the streets within a more comprehensive investigation of child labour, this analysis was to concentrate on children who live and work on the streets, specifically. Therefore, it was important to distinguish between the broad categorization of child labour (which encompasses work in diverse places: on farms, within establishments, on the streets etc) and the more specific issue of child labour on the streets. In other terms, child labour on the streets is one specific dimension of child labour; child labour on the streets has unique features; it presents particular challenges.

Second, it was important to identify what is meant by 'the streets'. Traditionally, studies focus principally on the major thoroughfares and, accordingly, research methodologies concentrate on capturing the children who occupy different locations at varying periods. Less attention is paid to child work on community lanes, where the dynamics differ considerably. In these communities, child work on lanes/minor streets is regarded as more protected/safe. Respondents suggest that, often, it is the more seasoned practitioners who migrate to the major streets. This research pays attention to child work in both contexts: on the lanes and on major streets.

Third, comparative analyses of the methodologies used to capture data on children on the streets in Jamaica and other country contexts indicated that among the major challenges were (a) contacting children who do not remain in fixed locations but who shift positions and appear elusive; and (b) completing questionnaires and interviews in contexts where children are reluctant to devote the time required, particularly where their regular activities are being interrupted. As Vijay Virma notes, children on the streets are a "rare" and "difficult to access" population. Children on the streets are regarded as "rare" because they represent a very small proportion of the overall child population and as "difficult to access" because they tend to be elusive and to hide when they are not working. Sampling for such a population is, therefore, challenging and require special techniques to make it reproducible and less vulnerable to external manipulation (Ahmed, 2003).



## **RESEARCH LIMITATIONS, OPPORTUNITIES AND ADAPTATIONS TO THE METHODOLOGY**

### **A. Changes to the Capture-Recapture Method**

The TOR proposed that the “capture – recapture” methodology should be used to estimate the numbers of children who live and/or work on the streets. The first stage of the capture-recapture method should involve selection of areas referred to as “hot spots”, where children are mostly seen working and hustling during the days, such as at major intersections, tourist spots, market areas, bus depots and garbage dump areas. The second stage of the research would involve making two visits to each of the selected areas identified in the first stage. On the first visit, referred to as “Capture 1”, all children found in the selected areas were to be interviewed by trained researchers who would record basic Information such as their first name, family name, nick names, age and sex. The second visit, referred to as “Capture 2” should have been done four to five days after the first visit (Capture 1). In this visit, a similar exercise would be done where the interviewers record the basic information of all the ‘Street Children’ found. Street Children found in “Capture 1” would be matched against those found in “Capture 2” on at least two of the basic variables that were collected.

There were 5 key factors that had direct impact on the feasibility of conducting the capture-recapture exercise; these are presented below.

#### **Real and perceived threats that have caused children to retreat from the streets**

- a. At the time of the research, practitioners and other stakeholders on the ground, noted that the Child Protection and Family Services Agency (CPFSA), with support from the JCF, was in the process of removing children from the streets. Thus, both parents and children were more reluctant to ply the conventional areas. Children were less visible than anticipated because of the fear of being placed in a state facility;
- b. Street men, some perceived as threats to the children, have now taken over positions that were once occupied by children. According to the rules on the road, children can be chased or hurt if they venture in areas that are now “owned” by these men. Children on the streets dread beatings and attacks, particularly from the older youth and big men who now occupy areas that they (the children) used to frequent;
- c. There is a strong perception that the major thoroughfares are considerably more dangerous, as the threats of drive by shootings, kidnapping, murder, rape, extortion and thefts increase. Thus, children are less reluctant to venture into the traditional areas, without support. Key informant interviews suggested (and the first stage of fieldwork confirmed) that many children had retreated from the major thoroughfares to areas closer to their communities, where they felt safer.
- d. During the period of the study, violent flare-ups in Clarendon (murders in May Pen) prompted children and youth to retreat from the streets;
- e. The imposition of the Law Reform (Zones of Special Operations, ZOSO) (Special Security and Community Development Measures) in areas designated for the study also meant that immediate changes had to be made to the Methodology. The ZOSO Act, which was

passed in 2017, aims to contain crime and violence through security-force occupation of vulnerable communities, the imposition of cordons and curfews, and economic and social welfare projects. It also aims to preserve human rights during the period of occupation. The ZOSO Act has been implemented in St James, St Catherine and Kingston and St Andrew.

Given these caveats, the research team recognized that the capture-recapture method was unsuitable for this context; that is, given the conditions outlined, it could not be used to estimate the numbers of children who are living and/or working on the streets.

The literature pinpoints reservations that researchers have expressed, having tried to use the capture-recapture method in particularly challenging contexts. The following comments are noteworthy:

"Capture-recapture and multiplier methods are standard tools for inference of hidden population sizes, but they require random sampling of target population members, which is rarely possible." In other terms, the capture-recapture method presents a dilemma that is familiar to statisticians that are concerned with reaching 'hard to reach' populations<sup>2</sup>. As described, "the dilemma is that if a study focuses only on the most accessible part of the target population, standard probability sampling methods can be used but coverage of the target population is limited. For example, drug injectors can be sampled from needle exchanges and from the streets on which drugs are sold, but this approach misses many women, youth, and those who only recently started injecting. Therefore, a statistically representative sample is drawn of an unrepresentative part of the target population, so conclusions cannot be validly made about the entirety of the target population."<sup>3</sup>

The revised research strategy proceeded as follows:

### **Estimating the numbers of children who are living and/or working on the streets**

- During the scoping phase of the study, key informants provided estimates of the numbers of children who work on the streets and lanes in each area. However, as the literature acknowledges, key informant sampling can add a professional bias (their "professional orientation may bias their responses"); key informants may also lack detailed knowledge, particularly of those persons who are not within their scope of works. Correspondingly, the research team consulted with at least five key informants in each area (principally, parents or guardians, teachers, religious leaders, community activists and social workers). Researchers then balanced the data provided by these key informants with estimates from peers. Often, it was discovered that children were more aware of the numbers of their peers who were involved in work on the streets and lanes.
- In order to corroborate the data, researchers conducted transect walks and observation throughout all communities and urban centres (traditional and non-traditional zones), making

<sup>2</sup> Hard to reach groups are defined as 'groups that are small relative to the general population, and for which no exhaustive list of population members is available. This includes groups relevant to public health, such as drug injectors, prostitutes, and gay men, groups relevant to public policy such as street youth and the homeless, and groups relevant to arts and culture such as jazz musicians and other performance and expressive artists. <http://www.respondentdrivensampling.org>

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.respondentdrivensampling.org>



a record of numbers of children seen and reported as working. Children located in the zones were immediately interviewed, if willing. Children also provided links /chain referrals to their peers who were similarly occupied

### Determining the sample size

- Using all these data sources, researchers were able to reliably estimate the numbers working in each area and to define the sample sizes.
- Across the 9 parishes selected for study, it is estimated that at least 890 children work on the streets and lanes. Furthermore, it is estimated that, island-wide, between 1140 and 2000 children live and/or work on the streets. The lower figure is found by adding reported estimates from the remaining parishes: Portland: 40; Trelawny: 30; St Elizabeth: 50; Hanover: 80; and Manchester: 50. The higher figure (2000) allows for the children who may have been missed from the reported estimates because they work, below the radar, on the community lanes and those who assist their parents with selling on the streets in and around the markets; researchers recognise that the latter category is often not seen as working on the streets because they are being supervised by their parents.)
- The study used the reported estimates (which were corroborated by transect walks and observation) to calculate the sample sizes. Therefore, given an estimated population size (for the 9 parishes) of 890, the overall sample size, calculated at 95% confidence level and +/-5% confidence interval, is 269. However, the research team opted to oversample and, particularly, to sample by parish estimates in order to make inferences at this micro level.

**TABLE 2.1.1 POPULATION ESTIMATES AND SAMPLE SIZES**

Parish	Communities	Estimate of children working on streets	Sample size	Numbers reached	Response rate	Reason(s) for Response rate
KSA	Trench Town	70				
	Majesty Gardens	30				
	Jones Town	70				
	Riverton City and Shanty Town	30				
	Callaloo Mews	30				
	Other communities	100				
<b>Estimated Total</b>		<b>330</b>	<b>178</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>61%</b>	Community personnel reluctant to participate given fears of retribution
St. Catherine	Tawes Meadows	20				
	Ellerslie Meadows	30				
	Linstead	15				
	Ewarton	10				
	Old Harbour	20				
<b>Estimated total</b>		<b>95</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>112%</b>	
St. James	Montego Bay Centre (Market and surrounds)	15				
	Retirement and Gutters	40				
	Spot Valley	20				
	Other towns	20				

TABLE 2.1.1 POPULATION ESTIMATES AND SAMPLE SIZES						Reason(s) for Response rate
Parish	Communities	Estimate of children working on streets	Sample size	Numbers reached	Re-sponse rate	
<b>Estimated total</b>		<b>95</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>37%</b>	Key stakeholders reluctant to participate given fears of retribution; key stakeholders also believe that research will be used to separate families.
St. Ann	Seaview Heights	40				
	Parry Town	20				
	Ocho Rios	20				
	St Ann's Bay Centre	10				
<b>Estimated total</b>		<b>90</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>63%</b>	Difficulties with locating respondents
St. Mary	Islington	15				
	Whitehall	20				
	Port Maria	20				
	Oracabessa	15				
<b>Estimated total</b>		<b>70</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>27%</b>	Key stakeholders believed that research will be used to separate families. Therefore withdrew initial support.
Westmoreland	Whitehall	20				
	Red Ground	20				
	Savanna La Mar	20				
	Other towns	20				
<b>Estimated total</b>		<b>80</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>64%</b>	Key stakeholders believed that research will be used to separate families.
Clarendon	Rocky Point	20				
	May Pen	15				
	Lionel Town	10				
	Other towns	10				
<b>Estimated total</b>		<b>55</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>23%</b>	Spate of murders during research period. On the ground personnel unable to mobilise the children
St Thomas	Hampstead	20				
	Lyssons	15				
	Yallahs	40				
	Other towns					
<b>Estimated total</b>		<b>75</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>59%</b>	



## Recruiting the sample

- Researchers recognized that sampling methods, such as snowballing, key-informant and other chain referral approaches are at risk of introducing bias in the samples. Therefore, in order to recruit the sample, researchers opted to combine a system of providing incentives for recruitment<sup>4</sup> with systematic snowballing.
- Key community personnel were rewarded (materially) for recruiting children who work on community lanes and major thoroughfares as well as the parents and guardians of these children, where feasible. In order to minimize the potential for bias, researchers engaged multiple recruiters, particularly in large communities.
- Teachers facilitated interviews with students who worked or hustled on the streets; their rewards were non-material;
- Church groups and missions who serve children who work or hustle on the streets considered the prospect of help for these children sufficient incentive to participate;
- Children received diverse rewards for participating. In some contexts, children received (unexpected) snacks; one group was invited to a children's treat after participating. For some children, the rewards were non-material. Specifically, they were satisfied with facilitating a process that had the potential to assist their peers.

### B. Alternatives to Focus Groups with Parents

Given the perception that both the police and the CPFSA are actively involved in a campaign to remove the children from the streets and place them in state homes, many key stakeholders were reluctant to assist with facilitating entry to the communities because they (a) disagreed with the Police/CPFSA response and (b) feared backlash from parents, who would be aggrieved if their children were identified. Families also provided reports of children from the streets who had been placed in children's homes. Particularly in the urban centres of Kingston and St Andrew, St James, St Mary and Westmoreland, respondents viewed the team with skepticism. The team realised that the research could not be executed as initially planned.

In addition, parents/guardians and children were, largely, reluctant to participate in group discussions, given the sensitivity of the issues. Parents are aware of the legal implications of child work on the streets and the majority did not wish to discuss this publicly. Critically, they also did not wish to expose specific family information to community members, given what they described as the 'fractious' nature of community dynamics and relations. In all communities, respondents described

<sup>4</sup> Note that the Respondent-Driven Sampling method outlines a structured system of providing incentives. This research did not adopt all the recommended components and, is therefore, not labelled as 'respondent driven sampling'. However, for references on the methodology, see: Hecakthorn, D. (1997) Respondent Driven Sampling: A New Approach to the Study of Hidden Populations University of Connecticut, p.177. Handcock, M. K. Gile, C, Mar (2014) Estimating hidden population size using Respondent-Driven Sampling data, *Electron J Stat.* 2014; 8(1): 1491–1521.; [McLaughlin KR](#), [Johnston LG](#), [Gamble LJ](#) [Grigoryan T](#). [Papoyan A](#) [Grigoryan S](#), (2019) Population Size Estimations Among Hidden Populations Using Respondent-Driven Sampling Surveys: Case Studies From Armenia, *JMIR Public Health Surveill.* 2019 Mar 14;5(1):e12034. doi: 10.2196/12034.

longstanding social divisions, which seem to frustrate community-based solutions. Thus, researchers prioritised individual interviews with parents and guardians. Seventy-five of these individual interviews with parents were completed.

<b>TABLE 2.2.1 - COMPOSITION OF FOCUS GROUPS</b>			
<b>Parish</b>	<b>Communities</b>	<b>FGDs with Parents/Guardians</b>	<b>FGDs with Children</b>
KSA	Trench Town	1 fgd: 10 females	1 fgd: 3 females; 1 male
	Majesty Gardens	1fgd: 3 females 1fgd: 3 males	1 fgd: 2 males; 2 females
	Jones Town	1 fgd: 2 females, 1 male	1 fgd: 3 females
	Riverton City and Shanty Town	1 fgd: 2 females, 1 male	1 fgd: 6 males
	Callaloo Mews		1 fgd: 3 females; 2 males
St Catherine	Tawes Meadows	1 fgd: 3 females	1 fgd: 4males; 2 females
	Ellerslie Meadows	1 fgd: 3 females	
	Old Harbour	1 fgd: 2 females; 2 males	
St James	Retirement	1 fgd: 3 males; 2 females	
	Barrett Town	1 fgd: 3 females	
	Spot Valley		1 fgd: 9 males; 6 females
St Ann	Seaview Heights	1 fgd: 5 females 1 fgd: 2 males; 5 females	
	Parry Town	1 fgd: 3 females	
	Windsor	1 fgd: 2 males; 2 females	1 fgd: 7 males; 8 females
St Mary	Islington		
	Whitehall	1 fgd: 3 females; 1 male	
	Colour Rain	1 fgd: 2 males; 1 female	
Westmoreland	Whitehall	1 fgd: 6 females; 4 males	1 fgd: 3 males 1 fgd: 5 males
	Red Ground	1 fgd: 5 females	1 fgd: 3 males; 2 females
	Negril Town Centre and beaches	1 fgd: 4 females; 1 male 1 fgd: 10 females 1 fgd: 2 females; 1 male	
Clarendon	Rocky Point	1 fgd: 3 females 1 fgd: 4 females; 1 male	1 fgd: 6 males; 5 females 1 fgd: 5 males; 5 females
St Thomas	Yallahs	1 fgd: 4 males	1 fgd: 3 males; 2 females



## C. SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH STRATEGY AND TOOLS

The research was conducted in the following phases:

### **P**hase 1: Literature Review

1. The literature review included analyses of the legislative and policy frameworks; Jamaica Youth Activity Survey 2016; ILO reports on child labour, with specific reference to Jamaica; situation assessments of children, adolescents and youth; pertinent sector papers; reports from NGOs who have worked with children who live and work on the streets.

### **P**hase 2: Scoping Study

2. The CPFSA provided an initial listing of purposively selected parishes: Kingston and St Andrew, St Catherine, Clarendon, Westmoreland, St James, St Ann, St Elizabeth and St Thomas. These parishes comprised those where, given available data, it was believed that children were most likely to live and work on the streets. (Note that a decision was taken (in collaboration with the CPFSA) to replace St Elizabeth with St Mary. Initial attempts at field-work in St. Elizabeth confirmed that while children are engaged in farm labour, they are rarely seen on the streets. In St Mary, in contrast, more children are visible on the streets, particularly in the communities of Islington, Heywood Hall, Harmony Hall and Whitehall.)
3. Correspondingly, the preliminary 'scoping study' focused on these parishes. The key objective of the scoping study was to secure a reliable mapping of children who live and work on the streets (where children are located; types of occupations; the hours and likely days when children are located in particular places; the estimated numbers of participants; differences in "work" depending on variables such as gender, age, educational levels; differences in "work" depending on 'enterprise').
4. The preliminary 'scoping study' included interviews with practitioners/service providers within ministries, departments and agencies. These agency representatives were asked to provide assessments of the numbers of children who live and work on the streets; meanings of "child work; the factors and forces that push/pull children to live and work on the streets; perceptions of risks; dynamics of risks; typologies of children who live and work on the streets; content, impact and effectiveness of prior and existing responses; perceptions of mechanisms and processes for child protection; programme recommendations.
5. Upon completing the interviews, the questionnaires were revised in order to ensure that the key (policy relevant) thematic issues raised in the scoping exercise are thoroughly investigated.
6. The 'scoping study' also facilitated pilot testing of the revised questionnaire. Interviewers who would be engaged for the larger study participated in the pilot testing, as part of their training.

## Phase 3: Quantitative Surveys and Qualitative Studies (Interviews, Focus Groups Case Studies, Life Stories)

1. Stakeholder interviews were conducted with representatives from key ministries, departments and agencies (See Annex 4)
2. Four hundred and thirteen questionnaires were administered across the 9 parishes: Kingston and St. Andrew; St. Thomas; Clarendon; St. Mary; Westmoreland; St Catherine; St. James and St. Ann. Three hundred seventy three (373) of these quantitative responses are analysed; forty questionnaires were considered unfit for use. These 'unfit' questionnaires comprised those where children ran off at early stages of administration and where children were involved in child labour but not on the streets.
3. Consistent with the terms specified in the Ethical Clearance agreement, as many children and parents or guardians who could be asked to sign consent forms. The consent forms specified that the research involved an interview and a questionnaire. Further, some children would be invited to participate in a group discussion, which would take approximately one hour. Where it was not feasible to secure signed consent forms---such as in contexts where parents or guardians were inaccessible---it was understood that the CPFSA assumed responsibility. Note the following excerpt from the submission to the Ministry of Health Ethics Board:

*As in other country contexts, children on the streets lack proper care and supervision and are, therefore, in need of care and protection as outlined in Section 8 of the Child Care and Protection Act. It is because children on the streets lack parental care that this research has been designed to capture the causes of their condition and seek to provide solutions. Invariably, it would be almost impossible to obtain permission from parents who may, themselves, prove to be among the perpetrators of child work on the streets. In the absence of parental supervision and care, the Child Protection & Family Services Agency is obligated to commission this study as part of its overall mandate to identify and provide interventions for vulnerable children.*

4. Given the real fears and reservations expressed, the research team opted to conduct focus groups only in the communities where these were feasible. Thus, twenty-four focus groups (24) were conducted with parents and guardians in Trench Town, Majesty Gardens, Jones Town and Riverton City (Kingston and St Andrew); Tawes Meadows and Ellerslie Meadows (St Catherine); Retirement and Barrett Town (St James); Seaview Heights, Windsor and Parry Town (St Ann); Islington and Colour Rain (St Mary); Red Ground and Whitehall (Westmoreland), and Yallahs (St Thomas) (see table 2.2.1 for FGD compositions).
5. Fourteen focus groups (14) were conducted with children in Spot Valley (St James), Windsor and Seaview Heights (St Ann), Majesty Gardens, Jones Town and Riverton City (Kingston and St. Andrew), Rocky Point (Clarendon), Whitehall and Red Ground (Westmoreland), Yallahs, St Thomas (see table 2.2.1 for FGD compositions).
6. In all communities, researchers facilitated personal interviews with parents and guardians (as noted, seventy-five of these were completed). Brief individual interviews were conducted with approximately 50 children at the end of the quantitative surveys. Life stories were also conducted with selected parents and children.



7. A smaller cohort of twenty children was selected for psychological and educational testing and for formulating programmatic responses. The findings are included in the 'package of care' that is presented in Section 9 of this report.

Although the research strategy was now more challenging and complex, it allowed investigators to develop a more precise mapping of areas of activity within the parishes. The table below lists the areas in which research was successfully conducted.

**TABLE 2.3.1 - RESEARCH SITES COMPLETED**

Parish	Urban Centres	Additional Urban Locations
Kingston and St Andrew	Parade King Street Cross Roads Half-way Tree Liguanea Constant Spring Dunrobin Three Mile intersections New Kingston Manor Park Cnr. Hope Rd and Trafalgar Molynes / Washington Boulevard intersection. Papine Kingston Waterfront	Majesty Gardens Market District Jones Town Riverton City Callaloo Mews
St Thomas	Morant Bay Yallahs	Hampstead, Lyssons Bull Bay
St. Ann	Ocho Rios St. Ann's Bay	Parry Town, Seaview Heights Windsor
St. James	Montego Bay	Spot Valley; Retirement Gutters
Westmoreland	Savanna-la-mar Negril	Dexter Street, Darling Street Bethel Town, Russia
St Catherine	Spanish Town - Railway Lane; Oasis Old Harbour - Portmore Linstead Ewarton	Ellerslie Meadows, Tawes Meadows Jones Avenue, Angels
Clarendon	May Pen Town Centre	Rocky Point
St Mary	Oracabessa Port Maria	Islington, Colour Rain Gardner. Heywood Harmony Hall, Whitehall

### 3. JAMAICA: SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND AND STATUS

Jamaica is the third largest island in the English-speaking Caribbean. Formerly a British colony, Jamaica gained independence in 1962. The country is approximately 11,244 square kilometers, with a population of 2 726 70 million in 2018 (Economic and Social Survey, ESSJ, 2018). In 2011, close to half of this population lived in the Kingston and Metropolitan Area (KMA). Over the past three decades, the age profile of the population has changed. Now with an ageing population structure, the 2018 statistics indicate a “declining child population (0–14 years); a relatively large working age group (15– 64 years) and an increase in the dependent elderly population (65+ years).” Currently, the median age is 31 years (Overview, Economic and Social Survey 2018).

Jamaica earns the bulk of its revenues from overseas remittances, tourism, bauxite, agriculture and light manufacturing. The country experienced sluggish economic growth since the end of the 1970s; between 1981 and 2005, the average annual growth rate was merely 0.5%. Thus, one World Bank (2011) report described Jamaica as one of the world’s slowest growing economies (World Bank 2011). However, Jamaica’s macroeconomic performance has improved in recent periods. The Economic and Social Survey (2018) notes that over the reporting period “all the key performance targets were met and several all-time best performances were achieved”. Particularly, the country experienced the highest growth rate since 2006; reduction in unemployment to the lowest level on record (8.4%) and, correspondingly, the “highest ever employment level of 1,222,600 persons during July 2018.”. The Government’s 2019/20 Fiscal Policy Paper projects that economic growth will fall within the range of 1.5 to 2.9 per cent over the next four fiscal years.

#### Prevalence of Poverty

Successive Jamaica Survey of Living Conditions (JSLC) reports indicate a decrease in the prevalence of poverty in Jamaica, from 18.7% in 2002 to 9.9% in 2007. Since 2007, however, poverty prevalence has been increasing, reaching 17.1% in 2016.

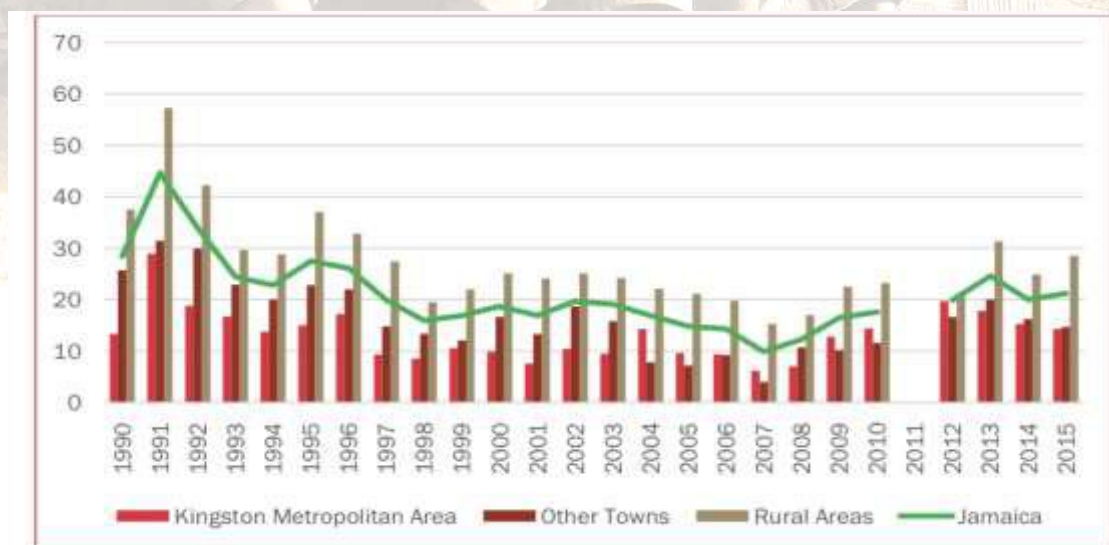


Figure 3.1.1: Prevalence of Poverty in Jamaica (by Region), 1990-2015 (Source: PIOJ, VNR)



Poverty levels are highest in the rural areas (28.5% in 2015 compared with 14.3 per cent in the KMA and 14.7. percent in other urban areas of Jamaica (Other Towns). Studies have shown that various factors underpin rural poverty. Among the more prominent are unemployment and underemployment and low skill levels; comparatively lower educational levels among rural as opposed to urban populations (access to education and the quality of education are lower in rural areas); inadequate access to basic amenities, including piped water, electricity, telephone services, sanitation; inadequate access to reproductive health services; migration of the better trained and educated individuals from the rural to urban areas. Underlying these immediate causes are inadequate opportunities, since most industries are located in the urban centres, the decline of the bauxite industry since 2008 and the lack of attractiveness of the agriculture industry, particularly to the youth.

Poverty presents structural constraints and is transmitted across generations. From children to adolescents, youth and beyond, families who subsist at or below the poverty line are normally engulfed in following causes and consequences of poverty: (1) Inadequate incomes; (2) Low levels of educational achievement; (3) Low skill levels and income earning capacities; (4) Limited access to basic social services; (5) Inadequate economic opportunities, which result in underemployment, unemployment and low wage employment; (6) Low levels of rural development, which undermine the opportunities and livelihoods within households; and (7) High levels of exposure to natural hazards and poor environmental practices (Adapted from Vision 2030 Sector Report: Poverty Reduction, pp. 8-9).

According to 2015 statistics, poverty levels are higher among the younger segments of the population than the older, with adolescents (10-19 years) comprising the most affected age group.

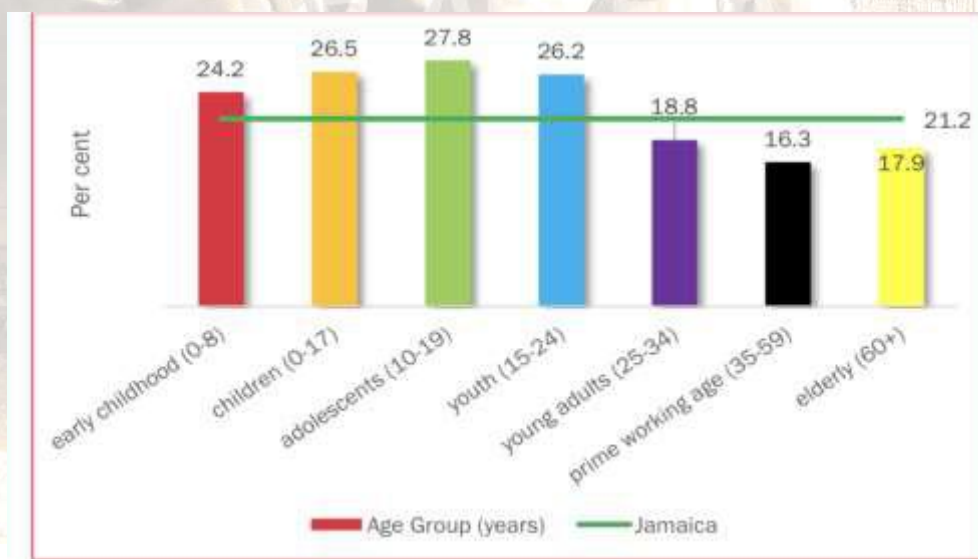


Figure 3.2.1: Prevalence of Poverty in Jamaica (by Age Groups), 2015 (Source: PIOJ, VNR)

## Education

Comparatively, Jamaica has a better record in particular aspects of social than economic development. For example, Goal 1 of the country's National Development Plan, Vision 2030, states that "all girls and boys will complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education, leading to relevant and effective learning outcomes". Jamaica already provides for universal access to primary education and is now focused on increasing retention rates (thus, monitoring the percentage of students starting Grade 1 who reach Grade 5) and improving literacy rates.

According to 2016 statistics, 45.0 per cent of youth (15-24 years old) were enrolled in education or training. In contrast, only 5% adults twenty-five years or older who similarly enrolled.

Serious and longstanding concerns remain about the quality of education. The major problems ascribed to Jamaica's system of education are:

1. The quality of education provision at all levels is compromised by longstanding inequalities;
2. Challenges in governance and management have undermined the quality of provision;
3. The gaps between policy formulation and implementation compromise effectiveness; and
4. Insufficient budget allocation compromises growth and innovation in the sector.

The outcomes of severe inequalities in education provision from the early childhood are certain groups of youth who are stunted, both in terms of education and skills. Many within the category of youth who is labeled as "unattached" are known to be severely affected by lack of/inadequate education, low labour market involvement, particularly among females and high involvement in crime, predominantly among the at-risk males.

## Health

While Jamaica has achieved many of the MDGs, including targets related to HIV and AIDS, poverty reduction, malnutrition and education, the country lags in some critical areas, including MDG 4, which aims to reduce the infant and child mortality rates by two-thirds and MDG 5, which requires that the maternal mortality ratio be reduced by 75%. Therefore, with support from the EU, Jamaica has implemented the Programme for the Reduction of Maternal and Child Mortality.

For the purposes of this analysis, it is important to underscore that, in addition, adolescent health remains of particular concern, for the following reasons:

1. Adolescents suffer some of the most significant costs of the high rate of crime and violence that now seems endemic in Jamaica.
2. An increasing number of adolescents are referred to Child Guidance Clinics for mental health and behavioral problems. Some of the factors contributing to mental breakdown among adolescents include exposure to or being a victim of violence within and/or outside of their families, illicit drug abuse, loss of one or two parents to violence or disease, child-headed households and lack of adequate psychosocial and remedial support.
3. Adolescents are highly vulnerable to factors that promote negative reproductive health outcomes. Early initiation into sexual activities, forced sexual relations, insufficient awareness and skills to protect their health, and lack of youth-friendly services are issues contributing to reproductive ill health among young people in Jamaica.
4. Social norms regarding sexuality and gender issues, such as sexual risk-taking and multiple partnerships have negative implications for the risk-taking behaviours of adolescent males. In response, the Ministry of Health has, in 2017, established the Teen Hub<sup>5</sup> in the Half-Way-

---

<sup>5</sup> Approximately 50 adolescents visit the Teen Hub each day. The Teen Hub provides HIV Counselling and Testing for adolescents 16 years and older; Mental Health Screening and Counselling; Drug Abuse Counselling; Nutritional Counselling; Oral Health Sensitising; Counselling for Interpersonal Conflicts; Assistance with Homework/SBA Assignments; Access to Printing Services (free of cost); and Skills Training.



Tree Transport Centre and the Adolescent Standards and Criteria (which provides guidelines for comprehensive delivery of health services to adolescents) in selected health facilities.

## Crime and Violence

Jamaica is, reputedly, among the most violent countries in the world and analysts have traced the roots to crime and violence to the politically motivated gun battles of the 1970s and 1980s. The causes of crime and violence have, in many respects, mushroomed since the time when gang warfare was tantamount to political warfare. In 2016, the reports indicate that there were 274 gangs; 63% of these are active. It was estimated that the gangs comprised 9000 members, of which 5717 had been active over the last two years (ACP Devon Watkis, 2016, Gang Assessment: The Jamaican Situation).

Such are the destructive effects of gang warfare that the August 23, 2013 "Submission of the Commissioner of Police to the Joint Select Committee of Parliament appointed to consider and report on the Bill entitled *"The Criminal Justice (Suppression of Criminal Organizations) Act 2013"* – September 18, 2013" identified its justifications for the request that the Bill (popularly labelled the Anti-Gang Legislation) be passed as follows:

1. "Between the years 1981 and 2012, Jamaica recorded 28,689 cases of murder; 40,879 cases of shooting by criminals and 115,063 cases of armed robbery. Police crime statistics account for over 80% of all murders committed in Jamaica as gun related."

2. "Between the years 1986 and 2012, the Security Forces seized 12,483 illegal firearms from criminal elements. In a 14 year period, 1999 to 2012, the Security Forces seized over 169,895 rounds of live ammunition from criminal elements. More than 85% of illegal guns seized from criminals in Jamaica are properly manufactured pistols and revolvers (hand guns); light machine guns; shot guns and rifles, of foreign origin, imported illegally by criminal organizations. In a ten-year period (1999-2008), the police made just under 22,000 arrests for gun related crimes."

3. In 2011, Jamaica had the fourth highest murder rate in the world and the second highest rate of gun murders.

That 2013 submission recounted the history of violence in Jamaica, tracing the evolution from "a relatively peaceful country" at Independence in 1962 (recording, on average, 100 murders per year); the moderate increase in the 1970s (on average, 500 murders per year); the 'politics-incited' upsurge in the 1980s (peaking at 890 in that decade). It underscored the weight of the transition from individualistic crime to group-based actions, as individuals saw the profit of combining efforts in a framework/structure, some of which were more loose than others.

It is important to emphasise the high prevalence of crime and violence among youth.

Table 3.1.1 Age Group of Murder Victims

Age Group of Murder Victims for Years 2009 - 2018

Age Group	2009			2010			2011			2012			2013			2014			2015			2016			2017			2018		
	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total
0-4	1	4	5	0	3	3	2	1	3	0	0	0	5	4	9	1	3	4	2	1	3	5	3	8	0	2	2	3	2	5
5-9	1	3	4	3	5	8	3	4	7	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	1	3	2	1	3	0	1	1	1	2	3	3	1	4
10-14	7	7	14	2	3	5	1	6	7	2	3	5	4	3	7	3	8	11	4	8	12	0	6	6	5	5	10	4	4	8
15-19	15	144	159	11	101	112	7	88	95	9	74	83	12	67	79	5	70	75	14	87	101	9	68	77	21	70	91	7	62	69
20-24	20	251	271	22	194	216	14	147	161	17	161	178	22	144	166	14	128	142	18	200	218	14	199	212	20	222	242	12	202	214
25-29	23	292	315	21	234	255	12	143	155	21	149	170	11	171	182	13	131	144	14	174	188	18	219	237	19	239	258	14	175	189
30-34	13	199	212	16	171	187	11	141	152	13	137	150	13	142	155	15	134	149	6	156	162	14	185	199	16	222	238	16	159	175
35-39	17	140	157	16	154	170	12	121	133	11	91	102	8	108	116	9	88	97	12	110	122	13	140	153	16	159	175	11	116	127
40-44	19	143	162	17	117	134	12	106	118	12	77	89	17	104	121	8	85	93	9	98	107	14	100	114	15	152	167	13	101	114
45-49	11	99	110	10	87	97	9	79	88	9	79	88	7	97	104	6	63	69	8	75	83	10	75	85	11	98	109	12	75	87
50-54	6	57	63	11	69	80	9	54	63	12	55	67	7	62	69	8	54	62	7	52	59	13	53	66	14	71	85	12	63	75
55-59	6	50	56	6	36	42	7	24	31	4	29	33	5	43	48	3	34	37	7	37	44	9	38	47	11	48	59	6	36	42
60-64	4	25	29	0	27	27	5	15	20	4	20	24	4	18	22	2	22	24	6	30	36	4	28	32	1	37	38	1	31	32
65 & Over	10	42	52	8	34	42	11	30	41	7	21	28	10	33	43	8	33	41	4	21	25	8	35	43	7	56	63	9	28	37
Unknown	3	71	74	2	64	66	4	55	59	6	52	58	4	76	80	3	91	94	3	41	44	4	70	74	3	104	107	6	103	109
Grand Total	156	1527	1683	145	1301	1446	119	1014	1133	127	972	1099	130	1072	1202	100	905	1005	116	1092	1207	135	1219	1354	140	1487	1647	129	1158	1287

NB: The 2018 figures are PRELIMINARY

Source: Jamaica Constabulary Force, Statistics Division



It is also important to underscore the increased rates of domestic violence. In Jamaica, the evidence suggests that the predominant forms of violence against women and girls (VAWG) are patterning societal norms. Rates of sexual violence are underreported; however, despite this, the Caribbean region has among the highest recorded numbers of incidents in the world. Robinson (2017) notes that while the global average is 15/1000; Jamaica's rate of sexual violence is 51/1000. The Caribbean also has among the highest rates of sexual initiation in the world. Baumgartner et al (2009) reported that of their sample of 500 sexually experienced youth (15-19 years) in Jamaica, 49% had been coerced to have sex while 27% had experienced sexual violence. Here, sexual coercion was defined as an "act of forcing (or attempting to force) another individual through violence, threats, verbal insistence, deception, cultural expectations or economic circumstance to engage in sexual behaviour against his or her will." Sexual violence was defined as being forced or raped (that is, as physically forced, held down, hit or threatened) or degrading sex (The study did not provide a definition of 'degrading'). Other forms of violence (financial, emotional, mental) are rampant but not quantified.

Domestic violence takes other forms. While the Millennium Declaration requires the protection of children against abuse, exploitation and violence, the Jamaica Multiple Indicator Cluster survey indicates the following:

1. Over seventy percent (71.9%) "of children age 2-14 years were subjected to at least one form of psychological punishment by their mothers/caretakers or other household members".
2. "While 27% of respondents believed that children need to be physically punished, the per cent of children who were subjected to any physical punishment more than doubled this rate (68.4%) and only 5.7 per cent were subjected to severe physical punishment."
3. "Children within the poorest quintile were more likely to experience any physical punishment (79.0%) and severe physical punishment (9.9%) than those in the wealthiest quintile".



4. "Male children were more likely to be subjected to both any physical punishment and severe physical punishment (71.4 and 6.7%) than female children (65.2 and 4.7%).
5. "Children from rural areas were most likely to be subjected to any physical punishment (70.4%) while those in the KMA were most likely to be subjected to severe physical punishment (7.6%), compared with other areas."
6. "Children 2-4 years were subjected to more physical punishment (77.9%) while the older children, those 10-14 years were subjected to more severe physical punishment (6.8%)."



### **Norms, Beliefs, Values and Cultures**

The (above) descriptions and analyses of the socio-economic context are important because they help to contextualise and explain the situations of children who live and work on the streets. However, without anthropological approaches that focus on community and family norms, beliefs, values, cultures/systems of meanings and power dynamics and relations, the resulting analyses and policy and programme recommendations would still miss the deep factors that influence the ways in which different categories of children and their guardians opt and/or are compelled to negotiate their socio-cultural contexts (Moncrieffe (2011), *Relational Accountability: Complexities of Structural Injustice*, p. 45). This deeper thrust is critical for policy.



## 4. **B**ACKGROUND STUDIES ON STREET AND WORKING CHILDREN

The GoJ has commissioned prior studies of child labour, broadly, and of children on the streets, specifically. This section provides an overview of the 2016 Jamaica National Youth Activity Survey and the 2002, National Study of Street and Working Children, which aimed to assess the “nature, magnitude, conditions, causes and consequences of child labour in Jamaica.”

### A. The 2016 Jamaica National Youth Activity Survey (JYAS)

The 2016 Jamaica National Youth Activity Survey (JYAS) focused, explicitly, on child labour. This study was conducted through partnership between the Statistical Institute of Jamaica and the International Labour Organization (ILO). It used international standards of measuring child work.

Using the 2011 Population and Housing Census, the JYAS targeted 8820 households, which had children from 5 to 17 years. The survey was conducted across all parishes. Notably, the JYAS focused on children “who were usual residents of households living in private dwellings”. Consequently, it did not include children who live and work on the streets. This is critical in evaluating the findings.

The following is a summary of the JYAS’ principal conclusions:

1. The JYAS estimated “that there were 657,697 children aged 5-17 years old; of this number, 334,603 were boys (50.9 per cent) and 323,094 were girls (49.1 per cent).”
2. “Approximately one half of the children aged 5-17 (50.3 per cent) resided in the urban areas of the island. Approximately 56.3 per cent of children were between the ages of 5-12 years, 17.3 per cent were 13-14 years and 26.4 per cent were 15-17 years.”
3. “The majority of Jamaican children aged 5-17 years, 506,462 (77.0 per cent) performed some type of household chores during the week prior to the survey. The results further indicated that the percentage of girls that did household chores (78.8 per cent) was slightly higher when compared to boys (75.3 per cent) and a greater share of rural area children performed some form of household chores (79.6 per cent) than urban area children (74.4 per cent).”
4. “Of the children who participated in household chores, the majority were occupied with cleaning the house or yard (80.6 per cent) and washing dishes (76.3 per cent).” Others participated in “washing clothes (51.2 per cent) and shopping for their household (40.1 per cent).”
5. “Of children aged 5-17 years who did household chores, females spent slightly more time (0.6 hours) involved in such activities during the reference week than their male counterparts.”
6. “In Jamaica, 8.1 per cent or 53,274 children aged 5-17 years were engaged in economic activities for at least one hour during the week prior to the interview. Of these children, 33,436 were males (62.8 per cent) and 19,838 were females (37.2 per cent).”



7. "The percentage of working children was higher in rural areas (10.5 per cent) when compared to working children in urban areas (5.7 per cent)."

8. "The percentage share of working children within each age group increases as children get older; 5.0 per cent of children aged 5-12 years (18,402) qualified as working children compared to 10.3 per cent of those 13-14 years (11,708) and 13.3 per cent of those aged 15-17 years (23,163)."

9. "Children aged 5-17 years were mostly employed in private households (50.1 per cent), followed by wholesale and retail (20.7 per cent) and agriculture and fishing industries (17.4 per cent). More than half of employed girls worked in private households (56.2 per cent) and less than a third in wholesale and retail trade (29.6 per cent). Approximately five out of every ten employed boys worked in private households (46.6 per cent) and two out of every ten in agriculture and fishing (22.3 per cent)."

10. "Of the 53,274 children in Jamaica who were involved in economic activities during the reference period, a total of 37,965 children (71.3 per cent) were engaged in child labour; this number represented 5.8 per cent of Jamaican children aged 5-17 years. Hazardous work is defined as work which is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children."

11. "Of the children engaged in child labour, 26,053 were involved in hazardous work and 11,912 in child labour other than hazardous work. The estimates revealed that 67.9 per cent of children engaged in child labour were boys (25,797) which represents 7.7 per cent of all boys aged 5-17 years in Jamaica. There were 12,168 girls involved in child labour, which constitutes 3.8 per cent of all girls aged 5-17 years."

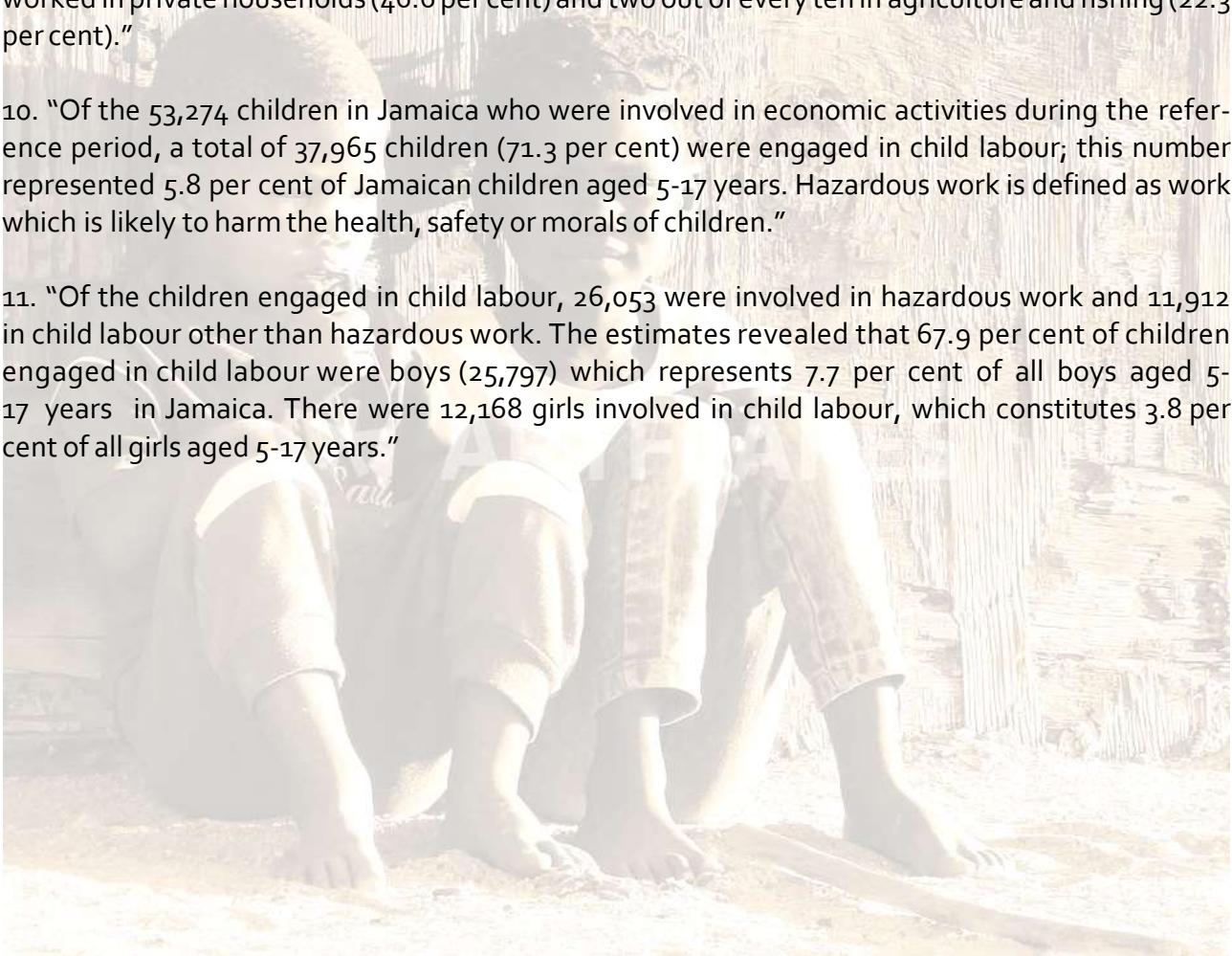
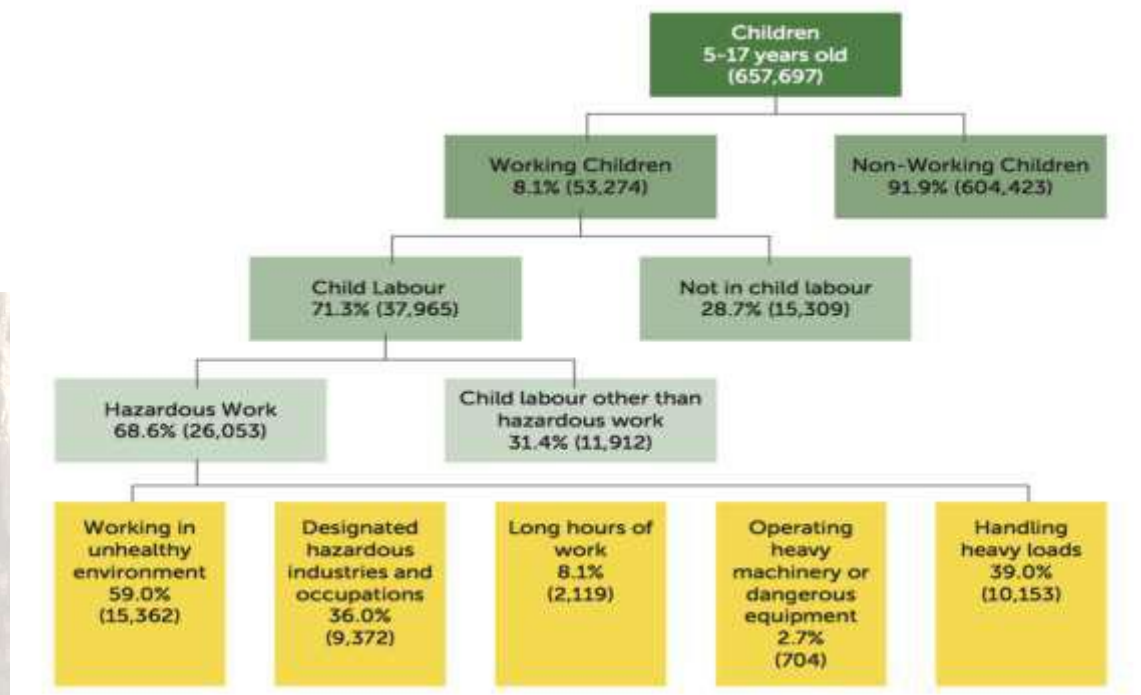


Figure 4.1.1 Diagrammatic Presentation of Concentration of Child Labour



Source: Jamaica National Youth Activity Survey, 2016

### The 2002 National Study of Street and Working Children

The 2002 National Study of Street and Working Children examined the conditions of children of and on the streets under the broader framework of working children. It places children on the streets within the following categories: children of the streets; children on the streets; beach children; market children and bush children. The report explains:

"Children on the street refers to children who work on the street but go home to sleep. They constitute the majority of all working children (53%). Children of the street, on the other hand, refers to children who both work and live on the streets. They constitute 5% of all working children. A large proportion of street children work in the markets (20%), many assisting their parents, surrogate parents or other relatives to sell their produce or transport goods for vendors or customers. The sample of beach children, 3.4% of the sample, may be understated. On the contrary, the sample shows that the phenomenon of bush children is statistically insignificant."

The significant findings from that study are as follows:

1. "The typical street child is a thirteen year old boy from a female headed household of five, where his guardian is marginally employed as a vendor, domestic helper, self-employed or unskilled worker".
2. "Boys on the streets outnumber girls by a proportion of 70:30".



3. "Children are engaged in child labour on the streets, at home or in commercial establishments from as young as three or four years old but the vast majority (83%) are in the 11-17 age group; the remaining 17% being below this age."
4. The average age at which the children in the sample started working is just before their eleventh birthday".
5. Among child labourers, the model income is \$500 per day. Further, reported earnings ranging from a low of \$20 to a high of \$7,000.
6. "Forty three percent of child labourers spend their income on basic necessities such as food and clothes."
7. "Child labour in Jamaica remains primarily a part-time activity, taking place outside of school hours, for the most part."
8. "The vast majority of child labourers work with the consent of their parents or guardians including street children."
9. "From the data, one can assert that there is a minimum of 2,818 street and working children in the areas of concentration across the island, however, the total number may be as high as 6,448, based on informed estimates." Of these, the study estimated that there were 799 children on the streets in the sample investigated.
10. "Street Children are mainly involved in vending activities (42%), selling various services (15%), such as handcart deliveries, car tending and windshield wiping, and in begging (4%). Other activities take on greater importance in particular geographic regions, for example, fishing in Downtown Kingston and in the fishing villages, sexual exploitation in the tourist centres and Uptown Kingston, and odd jobs in the rural townships."
11. "The fact that 19% of street children claimed to fear no one and 10% nothing, attests to their acquired hardiness and bravado, in order to be able to survive on the street. However, they are not immune to the ills of the society, as 18% of them state their main fear to be of attack by gunmen on the street. Bullies who prey on them for their 'hustlings', pickpockets among their number and bad men hold out the greatest terror to 20% of street children. The national security forces, metro (metropolitan police) and the fear of their goods being seized by the latter constitute the greatest fear of 15.5% of them."

Both the Youth Activity Survey and the earlier National Street and Working Children study present findings that indicate the need for comprehensive social interventions, focused on remedial education, income generation and behaviour change.

## 5. **STRUCTURAL INEQUALITIES, FACTORS AND FORCES THAT UNDERPIN CHILD WORK ON THE STREETS**

Section 5 of this report examines the factors and forces that underpin child work on the streets. The 2002 study had identified the roles of chronic poverty and inequality and suggested recommendations for addressing these. The findings from the current 2019 study achieve the following:

- a) They highlight the factors and forces that underpin child life and work on the streets;
- b) They examine the extent to which the nature of child work, as well as the contributing factors and forces, have evolved over time;
- c) They explore changes in the types and effects of risks encountered;
- d) They allow for reflection on the impact of the responses that were implemented in the aftermath of the 2002 study.

### **Key questions:**

- a. What are the roots to child work on the streets?
- b. Define the factors that push and pull children to live and work on the streets?
- c. How much weight do (a) poverty and (b) inequality have on
- d. How has the nature of child work on the streets changed over time, across sexes, across rural and urban areas of the selected parishes?
- e. Describe the governance structures that operate on the streets?
- f. What are the risks that children encounter on the streets? How have the nature of risks changed over time? How do experiences of risk differ depending on sex, age, location?

### **5.1. PROFILE OF CHILDREN OF AND ON THE STREETS**

Four hundred and thirteen questionnaires were administered across the 9 parishes. Three hundred seventy-three (373) of these quantitative responses are analysed; forty questionnaires were considered incomplete and were, therefore, not used. On examination, the incomplete questionnaires comprised those where children ran off prior to completion and where children were involved in child labour but not on the streets.

Of the 373 respondents, 63% (230) were males and 37% (137) females. While the proportion of females is, as expected, less than that of males, this finding is critical as it is normally assumed that girls do not work or hustle on the streets. The 2002 National Study of Street and Working Children Study reported that boys on the streets outnumber girls by a proportion of 70:30; in this sample, the ratio is approximately 2:1. Therefore, particularly within communities, notable proportions of girls were found plying the streets for income. In comparison, girls are considerably less visible on the major thoroughfares.

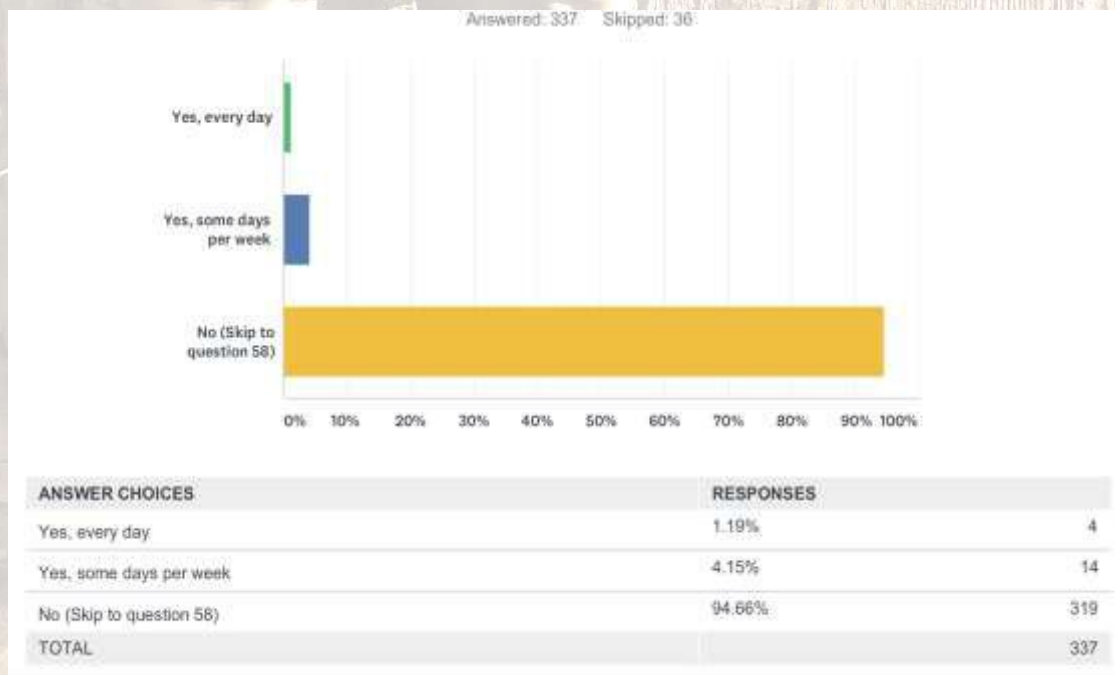
The highest proportion of children on the streets were 12 and 13 years old respectively. Twelve year olds comprised 15.72% of the sample while 13 year olds comprised 14.63%. Thirty-eight ten year olds were interviewed; these comprised 10% of the sample while children between 15 and 17 years comprised 28%. Children between 5 and 9 years constituted 10% of the sample.

As noted, the majority of respondents were located in Kingston and St Andrew (108), followed by St Catherine (85); St Ann (50); Westmoreland (42) and St Thomas (37); St Mary (16) and St James (28). Stakeholders suggest that, particularly in St James, more children and adolescents may be involved in or taken care of by scamming; thus, less are on the streets. Only 11 children were interviewed in Clarendon; however, this was a direct outcome of the upsurge of violence in that area.

### 5.1.1 Children of the Streets

Only a small proportion (5%:18) of the children sleep on the streets; 94% (319) return home. Of the eighteen who sleep on the streets, 15 were boys and the remainder, girls.

**Figure 5.1.1 Numbers of Children Who Sleep on the Streets**



Children were asked to identify where on the streets they sleep. The following is a selection of the responses:

- (1) In the stalls;
- (2) I stay with a youth on a step;
- (3).When my mother gambles and bleaches (stays out) all night I lay down on a table so that I am not alone at home;
- (4) On a shop plaza;
- (5) In a car;
- (6) On the road side by the market;
- (7) In a truck on the open road;
- (8) In Sam Sharpe square



## (9) Gas Station

Forty two percent (8) of this category of respondents feel entirely unsafe sleeping on the streets. Those who felt unsafe recognised the possibility of being raped, killed or beaten:

*"Man can drive up and take me away"*

*"People may draw me away"*

*"I'm afraid of getting killed"*

*"I am afraid of attacks"*

*"I can get raped (Findings from Questionnaires)"*

Sixty percent (11) ranged between feeling somewhat safe to very safe because "no one troubles me" or "Mommy is there".

The reasons for sleeping on the streets were, largely, related to interpersonal relations; for example: "my stepfather has problems with me"; "sometimes I stay out too late and am afraid to go in"; "I don't feel like going home sometimes".

One child frequently accompanied her mother when she goes out to party and sleeps on the streets while she waits on her (10 year old female). This girl reports that she frequently hustles at these parties, which include picking up bottles for resale. There were also respondents who had to sleep on the streets because of other work obligations (13 year old male; 10 year old male) and another who simply had no home (16 year old male with learning disability.)

### 5.1.2 Children on the Streets

Consistent with the 2002 study, a majority of children work on the streets and return home. Across communities, persons were hesitant to employ the term, 'work', given that child labour/work is prohibited, regarded as more permanent and involving a contractual obligation, verbal and non-verbal. Hustling, however, had a different, and more celebrated, connotation. Generally, hustling is regarded as a necessity for getting by and thriving to the extent feasible. Hustling, for many is justified; it is a way of defying the system, eking a living out of 'nothingness'. For some respondents, hustling demonstrated their skill at dealing with the myriad circumstances that appeared to oppose their growth and development. Persons who hustled for their children were, therefore, resilient and purposeful. In other terms, hustling is deemed 'good parenting'. Like parents, many of the children interviewed had favourable views of hustling.

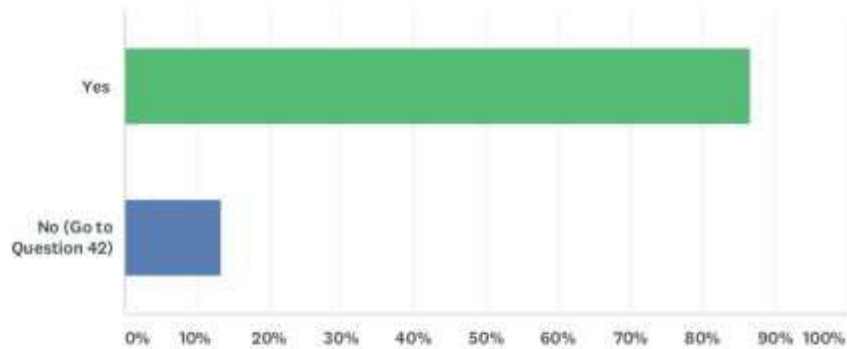
In administering the survey, the questions below were, therefore, modified to include hustling and begging. Note that over 86% (88% of males and 82% of females) of respondents (304) acknowledged that they have done something to earn money or in exchange for other rewards. Eighty two percent (84%: 172 males and 77%: 90 females) had done these activities for at least one hour in the past week.

The largest single proportion of girls (18%: 21) started hustling at ten years while the largest single proportion of boys (13%: 27) started hustling at 9 and 12 years, respectively. Six percent of girls (7) and 4% (9) of boys stated that they started hustling when they were less than 5 years.

**Figure 5.1.2 Children Who Work or Hustle on the Street (1)**

**Q28 Do you do anything on the streets to earn money or in exchange for other rewards, such as school fees, food, clothes etc?**

Answered: 358 Skipped: 15



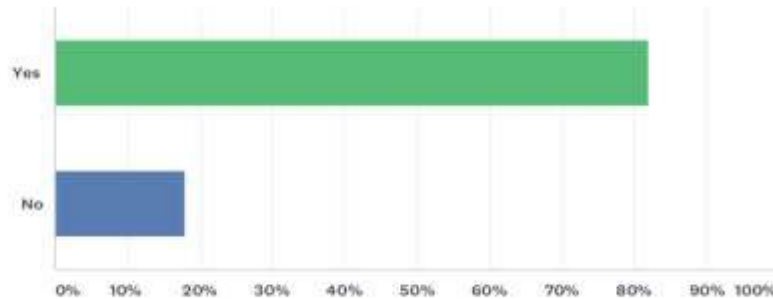
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Yes	86.59%	310
No (Go to Question 42)	13.41%	48
TOTAL		358



Figure 5.1.2 Children Who Work or Hustle on the Street (2)

Q29 Have you worked (earned money or other rewards, such as school fees, food or clothes, on the streets) for at least an hour in the last week?

Answered: 327 Skipped: 46



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Yes	81.96%	268
No	18.04%	59
TOTAL		327

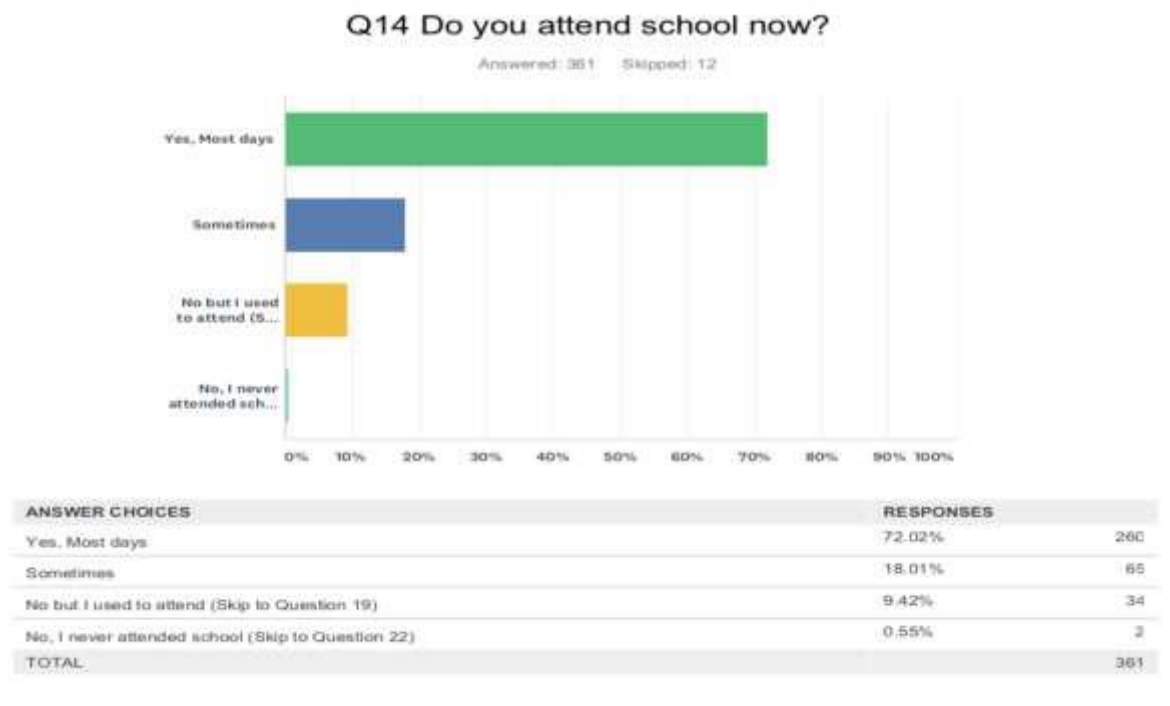
The major proportion (35%:101) 'hustle', work or beg each day of the week while 16% (46), hustle four days per week and 18% (54) hustle three days in the course of the week.

Children who claimed not to hustle or work for pay nevertheless admitted to assisting caregivers and community residents in various ways on the streets. It is notable that when probed, this 'assistance' included running errands in exchange for money or selling on the streets. Other tasks are in support of caregivers who were working; thus, children were occupied with pushing handcarts, taking care of siblings, carrying bags, washing clothes for others in the community.

Significantly, the majority of children in the sample (72%: 260) attend school most days; 18%: 65 attend sometimes; 9.4%: 34 used to attend but no longer do while the remainder (less than 1%) never attended school. The observation is important since the majority of respondents were mobilised within the communities rather than through the schools. Therefore, the sampling approach was not skewed towards children in school.



Figure 5.1.3 Children Who Attend School



Fifty-five percent of respondents (183) stated that they attend school each day in the past week; a slightly higher percentage of boys (57%) than girls (53%) had attended each day. However, 45% had not attended for a portion of, or in 17.5% (57) of the cases, all week. The largest single proportion did not attend on Friday. Here, it is known that many parents withdraw their children on Fridays (or children opt not to attend), as this is the day for preparation for market and other activities.

The survey was administered both during and after the school term; therefore, 23% (38) explained that they did not attend because school was not in session. It is significant that 29% (48) stated that they did not attend because they did not have the funds needed to purchase books, lunches or school clothes (Of this, 31%:28 were boys and 29%:20 were girls). It is also noteworthy that 18% (16) of boys and 12% (8) of girls stated that they were too ill to attend school. (Throughout the research, parents and children spoke frequently about ill health within the family; this also was presented as a push factor for children.)

Other reasons were given for non-attendance at school. These included financial difficulties (6 of the 19 responses), as well as critical factors, such as violence within the homes and communities. Thus:

*"I got in a fight with another boy and his father threatened to kill me." (Finding from questionnaire)*

*"I had to stay with mom because of domestic violence.." (Finding from questionnaire)*

Another respondent was now out of school because he was not readmitted after a long absence:

*"I went to live with mother in another community. When I went back to live with my father, the principal said I was away for too long so could not be readmitted." (Finding from questionnaire)*

Another prioritised making money over school attendance:

*"I wanted to buy sweets to sell and make money." (Finding from questionnaire)*

Overall, forty two percent (129) of the children confirmed that they did not attend school at particular periods of the month. Note that a higher proportion of girls (48%:55) than boys (39%:72) reported that they miss school on specific days of the month. The principal reasons given were sickness<sup>6</sup>, no money for lunch and the need to hustle:

*"I hustle bottle and go on the dump to do some hustling to help my grandparents." (Finding from questionnaire)*

*"I hustle on Friday to help my aunt so that we can have food on the table." (Finding from questionnaire)*

*"I have to sell in the street." (Finding from questionnaire)*

*"Sometimes, I have no money and I have to help my mother to sell. I hold up a bag of mangoes and sell". (Finding from questionnaire)*

Among children who no longer attend school is a cohort who had been expelled for behavioural issues, such as fighting. The danger is that without a recourse, these children are at high risk of involvement in gangs.

Children gave other reasons for leaving school, which also point to the lack of an effective safety net for children who are at risk:

*"Did not do subjects; hardly went to school because of money issues; needed \$20,000 for all subjects" (Finding from questionnaire)*

*"Both parents died" (Finding from questionnaire)*

*"I was threatened by a parent that I would be shot". (Finding from questionnaire)*

*"I stayed away from school for too long and could not re-attend". (Finding from questionnaire)*

---

<sup>6</sup> Researchers observed that within some communities, children were not being properly fed. Sodas, bag juice, sweet snacks, box lunches bought on the corner and fast food appeared the norm. When this is compounded by poor environmental conditions, including low levels of sanitation, it is not surprising that children complained that they were sometimes too ill to attend to school.

## 5.2. ANALYSIS OF ROOT CAUSES

### 5.2.1. Poverty as Major Push Factor

The evidence indicates that consumption poverty is the most obvious push factor for child labour on the streets while the potential for quick monetary gains is the most significant pull factor.

Thus, children explained that they work at various spots on the lanes in their communities and on major streets, including areas in proximity of the markets. Some children had no preferred spot; they explained that they simply 'walk up and down the road'.

**Table 5.2.1 Reasons for Activities on the Streets**

	QUITE TIME	PARTIALLY TRUE	NOT TRUE	NOT SURE/I DON'T REMEMBER	TOTAL
I work/help on the streets because I (or my family) need the money to survive	56.94% 197	17.34% 60	23.70% 82	2.02% 7	346
I work/help on the streets because my parents or guardians CANNOT take care of me	9.83% 34	29.48% 102	57.51% 199	3.18% 11	346
I work/help on the streets because (although they can) my parents or guardians do not take care of me	3.45% 12	5.46% 19	83.62% 291	7.47% 26	348
I work/'help' on the streets because my parent/guardian told me to do so	26.98% 92	7.62% 26	60.12% 205	5.28% 18	341
I work/'help' on the streets because my friends encouraged me to do so	26.09% 90	5.51% 19	62.90% 217	5.51% 19	345
I was forced to work/'help' on the streets	8.09% 28	3.18% 11	80.64% 279	8.09% 28	346
I work/help on the streets because I was abused and ran away	3.47% 12	2.02% 7	85.55% 296	8.96% 31	346
Some persons force me to work/'help' on the streets	6.71% 23	1.75% 6	83.38% 286	8.16% 28	343
I work/help on the streets because I (and/or my family) want to make quick money	57.35% 195	9.71% 33	28.82% 98	4.12% 14	340

When asked to provide reasons for working on the streets, over 73% (257) stated that it was 'quite' or 'partially' true that they needed the money in order to survive. Fifty seven percent (199) refuted the view that their parents cannot take care of them; 29% stated that this was quite or partially true. According to 84% (291) of respondents, it was not the case that their parents did not take care of them, even though they could do so.

Thirty five percent (118) had been encouraged (either fully or partially) by parents and 31% (119) by their friends. A lower 11% (19) felt forced to work/hustle on the streets. Despite the source of the influence, 57% (196) said it was quite true that they work on the streets because they wanted to make 'quick money.'



### 5.2.2. Poverty and Its Manifestations across Communities

Theorists and practitioners largely concur that it is prudent to adopt a broad conceptualization of poverty and inequality, paying adequate attention to their 'multidimensional nature'.

Amartya Sen has been instrumental in broadening and deepening economic understandings of inequality. Sen contends that poverty reflects deprivation in income and consumption, as well as in capabilities, such as health, education and civil liberties. Capabilities such as these allow persons to convert their incomes into well-being; that is, to establish personal goals and have realistic means of attaining them. Capabilities also have instrumental worth, since they contribute to economic growth and enhanced incomes (Sen, 1993; 1999). While monetary resources are important for improving capabilities, there are other factors that are influential, including age, gender, physical capacities and the social context. (Ruggeri, Laderchi et al, 2003). Nussbaum (1995) agrees that public policy should be geared at securing and protecting certain capabilities. She outlines core functional capabilities and notes that the state has the responsibility for ensuring that these are provided.

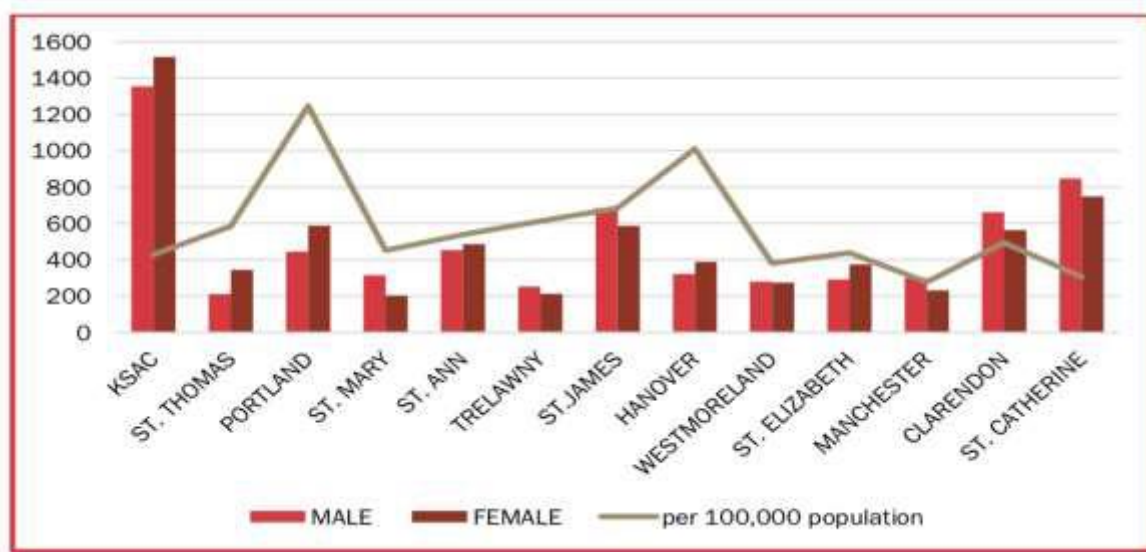
Currently, livelihoods frameworks are popular tools for poverty analysis. These frameworks concentrate on people in conditions of vulnerability. They evaluate the assets that people have access to within these contexts and study how the social, institutional and organizational environment mediate asset accumulation. Livelihoods approaches are, therefore, historical, multilevel and multi-sectoral; they are widely commended for their broad approach to understanding poverty.

However, these approaches do not focus on relations of power. Asset accumulation processes seem to progress or depreciate without due regard to how these result from the relations between people. Thus, there is need for 'detailed qualitative and relational understanding of social processes' (DuToit, 2003:8). Therefore, policies and programmes that focus solely on consumption poverty are likely to have limited effect since they do not recognise the other tangible and intangible factors that generate poverty traps and bonds.

This multidimensional approach is critical for analysing root factors, the weight of relational factors and forces within families and across and the cumulative impact of these on the children who live and work on the streets.

#### Exploring Multidimensional Poverty

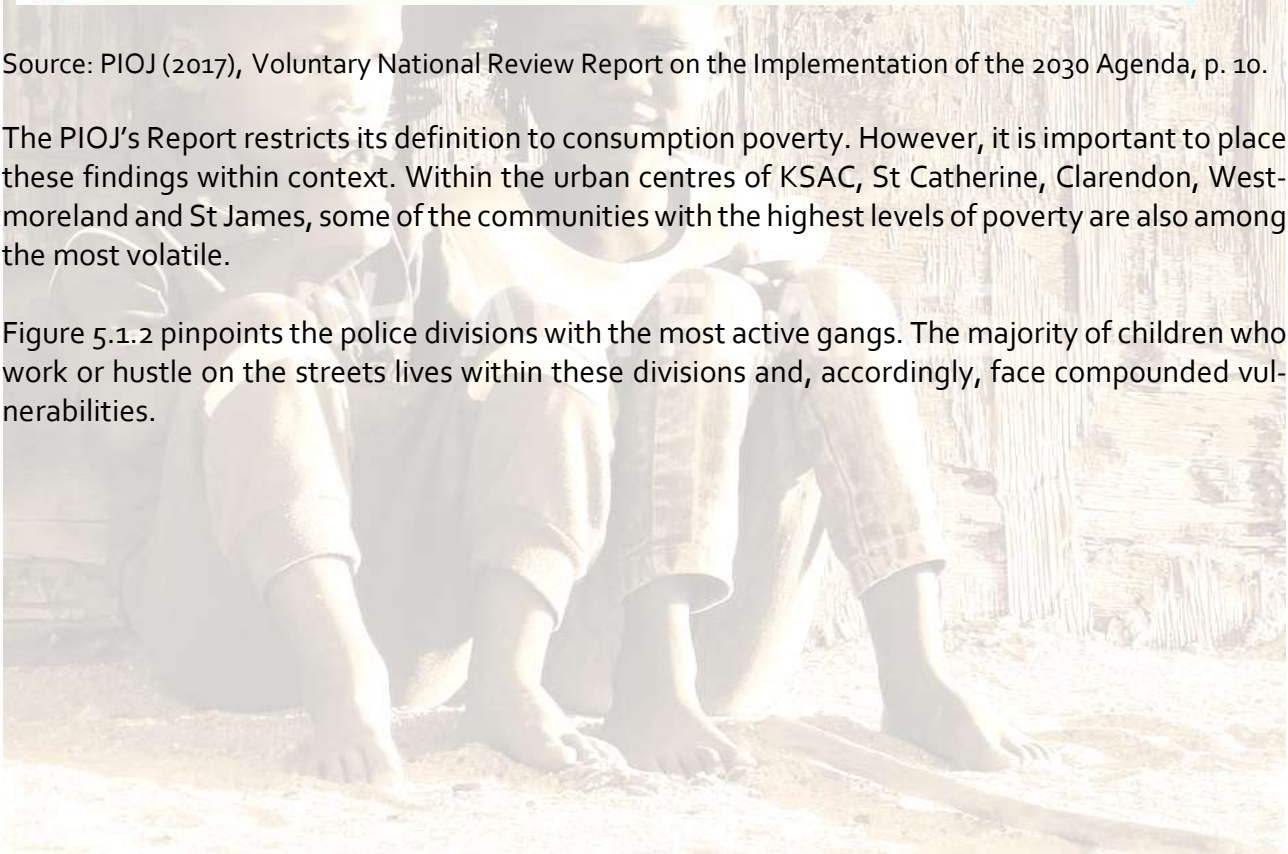
The PIOJ's Voluntary National Review Report on the Implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development notes that, at the end of 2017, 12,938 persons were registered as being poor on the Poor Relief Programme; 6,420 of these persons were males and 6,518 females. Kingston and St. Andrew registered the largest number of poor persons while Trelawny recorded the lowest number. Portland and Hanover had the highest per capita registered persons in poverty, while Manchester had the lowest.

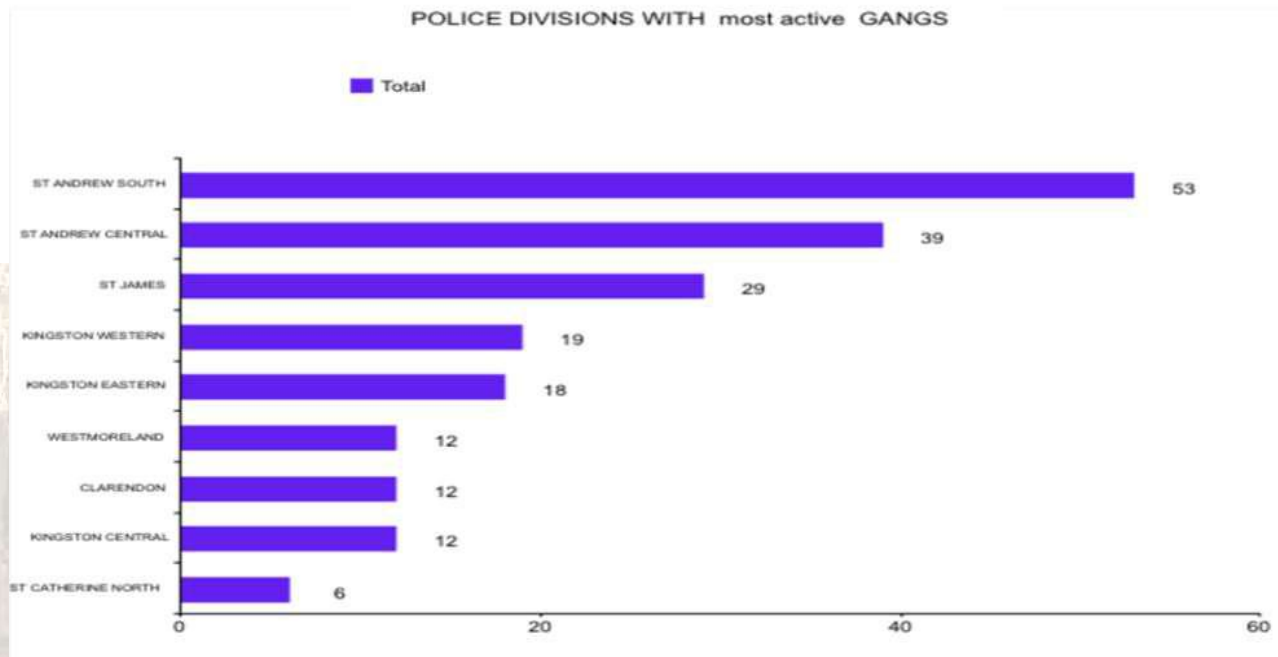
**Figure 5.2.1. Poverty Maps: Registered Persons on Poor Relief**

Source: PIOJ (2017), Voluntary National Review Report on the Implementation of the 2030 Agenda, p. 10.

The PIOJ's Report restricts its definition to consumption poverty. However, it is important to place these findings within context. Within the urban centres of KSAC, St Catherine, Clarendon, Westmoreland and St James, some of the communities with the highest levels of poverty are also among the most volatile.

Figure 5.1.2 pinpoints the police divisions with the most active gangs. The majority of children who work or hustle on the streets lives within these divisions and, accordingly, face compounded vulnerabilities.



**Figure 5.2.2. Police Divisions With the Most Active Gangs**

Resilience takes on specific hues within these violent contexts. With those semi-urban and rural areas, where violence is not as rampant, vulnerability poses different types of challenges: the options for poverty alleviation, the community structures, household dynamics and social mores are not the same. It is through understanding these multiple and over-lapping vulnerabilities that policymakers and practitioners can address the full range of issues that constitute 'child poverty'.

The value of the community-based approach to the study is that it allows for analysis of how the nature of child work and life on the streets varies and is coloured by the structural constraints, norms and values within their communities. The selected disaggregated qualitative findings presented below are critical for policymakers and practitioners.

## **K**INGSTON AND ST. ANDREW

Kingston and St. Andrew are normally paired for social, political and economic analyses although they are distinct parishes. Interviewees suggested that there are specific communities within Kingston and St Andrew, where child work on the streets was common. These included Majesty Gardens, Riverton City, Callaloo Mews, Shanty/Crime Town, Trench Town and Jones Town.

Researchers worked with select churches, guidance counsellors, police, community practitioners, youth groups and other stakeholders to identify children who are currently 'hustling', 'working' or 'begging' on the streets.



## Majesty Gardens

Majesty Gardens, formerly Majesty Pen, is within the constituency of South West St Andrew. The 'community', which is located in the Three Miles Development area, began in 1951 as an informal settlement. There are four main sections within Majesty Gardens: High Rise, Townhouses, Habitat and Back To.

The community comprises 710 households (containing, on average, 3.7 persons) and has a population of 2739 persons. Ninety five percent of residents have lived in Majesty Gardens for more than ten years.

The community has long been fractured into Top and Bottom Majesty Gardens. As in other communities, the "Top" is regarded as the more developed area because it has concrete high rise apartments. Generally, the housing infrastructure is poor; overcrowding is common (approximately 13 persons live in one dwelling); sanitation, including garbage disposal, remains substandard despite interventions. The majority of residents benefit from illegal electricity connections; that is, with the exception of the St. Andrew Settlement.

Seventy six percent of the residents in Majesty Gardens are below 50 years; the average age is 39 years. Over half of households are female - headed; the majority subsist at low income levels. Over 91% of residents have no academic qualifications.

Majesty Gardens has remained a People's National Party (PNP) stronghold since Independence. It is currently represented by Member of Parliament, Dr. Angela Brown-Burke. Former Prime Minister, Portia Simpson Miller, was the Member of Parliament for approximately 40 years.

Insufficient consideration is given to the power relations and dynamics that hold political strongholds in place and, moreover, to the compounded oppressions of also subsisting under the control of violent gangs. Furthermore, residents within Majesty Gardens point to the oppressions (real and perceived) meted out by practitioners of witchcraft.

In 2012, one commentator described the context in Majesty Gardens as follows:

Where the absence of basic amenities is not the subject of residents' gloom, the wanton gang warfare in the area - which has, on occasion, accounted for the largest number of deaths in the St Andrew South Police Division, suffices.

Majesty Gardens has been ranked among Jamaica's poorest communities. Comprising mostly board dwellings, its squalid conditions rob residents of their dignity, forcing the more impoverished to use nearby gullies, filled with debris and flies, as makeshift bathrooms.<sup>7</sup>

In 2012, the National Housing Trust, under its Inner-City Housing Project, invested into housing development in Majesty Gardens. That housing construction has served Top Majesty Gardens, leaving residents of Bottom Majesty (Back To) aggrieved by this perception of compounded discrimination. At the time of the research, Bottom Majesty Gardens, still bore the features observed

<sup>7</sup> <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20120603/focus/focus8.html>

in 2012: lack of basic amenities; children and adults bathing in the open; inadequate sewage facilities; women traversing the streets with breasts bare; rampant prostitution, gambling, alcoholism; daily flare ups; police incursions.

In 2012, the Planning Institute of Jamaica selected Majesty Gardens to pilot the Community Renewal Programme (CRP). Using its index of vulnerability, the CRP ranked Majesty Gardens fourth on list of vulnerable and volatile communities.

The CRP's pilot programme had the following objectives:

1. Improve the physical infrastructure by provision of housing solutions;
2. Build social capital through existing networks, specifically parenting;
3. Improve community cohesion;
4. Improve access to social and economic opportunities; and
5. Strengthen legitimate and participatory governance.

The CRP's 2013 report on current achievements in Majesty Gardens include the following:

1. Community census and profile completed (National Housing Trust and Social Development Commission)
2. Community priority plan complete (Social Development Commission and Citizen Security and Justice Programme)
3. Profile of males at risk (Peace Management Initiative)
4. Physical plan of overall development (Urban Development Corporation)
5. Business survey (Jamaica Business Development Corporation)
6. Development and registration of the Community Development Committee
7. Provision of Tax Registration and National Insurance numbers to over 150 residents.
8. Establishment of Majesty Gardens Community Education Development Programme
9. Promotion of Community events
10. Reduction in tensions across Top and Bottom Majesty Gardens.<sup>8</sup>

The stated gains, thus far, appear to have had minimal impact on the children's welfare. Interviews with community leaders revealed the disorder, disrespect, lack of control that seem to characterise children's behaviour. Researchers were struck by one mothers' admission that her underage son leaves home for days or weeks whenever he is reprimanded, in many cases for insulting older members of the community. Researchers were also very concerned by the willingness of many parents to allow their children to leave the community with adults with whom they were not familiar.

Older children from Majesty Gardens, particularly from Bottom Majesty/Back To, regularly hustle on the streets in the Three Miles area. Hustling on lanes is common and there is ample evidence that "hustling involves some hazardous pursuits".

Researchers asked the children to explain why such a notable proportion of their peers are involved in hustling. Children did not hesitate to respond. While the parents appeared not to acknowledge their role in cultivating children's behaviour, children were adamant that they resorted to the streets because of parental neglect and irresponsibility:

---

<sup>8</sup> Report on Community Renewal Programme (CRP)\_Majesty Gardens pilot\_August\_18 2013



*"Parents don't business (care) 'bout them. Parents only care about themselves"* (Focus Group, May 20, 2019).

*"Miss, some parents breed too much (have too many children)"* (Focus Group, May 20, 2019).

Children were then asked to explain the different ways in which children hustle, particularly the less visible forms.

*"Miss, sometimes from you reach thirteen, parents don't business with you. Many children have stopped working on the streets and are now selling their vaginas. That's why you don't see them on the major roads"*. (Focus Group, May 20, 2019)

*"Some of us go by the stoplights and beg. Each day, we make between \$500 and \$600. Not all of us are involved in prostitution. We go to school sometimes"*. (Focus Group, May 20, 2019)

As the children suggested, the majority of their peers who were interviewed appeared to exist without strong parental direction and support. Children frequently begged researchers for money to buy food or asked them to take them for car rides away from the community. There were parents who also encouraged team members to take the children away and keep them as long as desired. Researchers were concerned that the nonchalance that some parents demonstrated could easily allow for child trafficking. Notably, there were children who explained that their own parents were indifferent. Some indicated that their fathers are around sometimes, although others were quick to qualify that "all these fathers nowadays are careless."

In one transect walk, researchers observed a young child of approximately 9 months, propped beside his mother with a "spliff" (marijuana) in his mouth. In one subsequent interview, the respondent explained that this may have occurred because the child had breathing problems. There is a long-standing belief that marijuana, given in this way or in teas, is able to cure bronchial conditions. While marijuana has proven medical benefits, there are negative side-effects; for example, studies show the effects of these early 'unregulated' practices on children's cognitive and emotional development<sup>9</sup>. Therefore, there is a possible correlation between early drug use, educational outcomes and cycles of poverty.

Children were clear that they need all types of help in order to purchase lunch, uniforms and books. Older youth explained that they were unable to complete school because their parents could not afford to pay the examination fees; therefore, like their mothers and fathers, they also have no qualifications.

However, school does not provide adequate solutions since they are "surrounded by irresponsible children." Furthermore, the community context fails to nurture them. As the children explained:

*"It's pure (there is a lot of) war inna (in) Majesty; there is civil war; old people war; there is pure (a lot of) cursing"*. (Focus Group, May 20, 2019)

---

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, [Rebecca D. Crean](#), Ph.D., [Natania A. Crane](#), B.A., and [Barbara J. Mason](#), Ph.D., An Evidence Based Review of Acute and Long-Term Effects of Cannabis Use on Executive Cognitive Functions, *J Addict Med.* 2011 Mar 1; 5(1): 1–8 and Jager G, Block RI, Luijten M, Ramsey NF. *J Am Acad Child Adolesc Psychiatry.* 2010 Jun; 49(6):561-72, 572.e1-3. Epub 2010 Apr 14.



Children from Majesty Gardens accompanied researchers to differing sites where their peers were hustling and 'working' on the streets. Researchers interviewed one mother who considered it prudent to have her young girls sell on the streets just before the shop in which she had just been employed. This 'deployment' had two benefits: first, the family would be able to earn the money needed to fund school transportation and lunch; second, she would be able to supervise her children as they would be at more risk if they remained at home.

The following is an excerpt from the conversation with this mother.

"Can you tell us why your children are selling on the street?"

*"Overall, it's a circle of circumstances. I am in a critical situation. Their father is not taking care, of even half his responsibilities. I have to send the children to school and find their meals. I have three children. I only carry them with me on Saturdays. I started this job in February. They sell outside, where I can see them."*

"Did you apply for assistance from PATH?"

*"Ninety nine percent of persons on PATH do not use the money to send their children to school. However, I signed up for PATH four years ago but have not got through. It's like a friend thing (an arrangement among friends)."*

"How do the children manage?"

*"They are alright. They do not make the amount of money I want but I am able to buy things and put in the house and to buy back stock. The girls work from 8 am to 2 pm. They just do it to help out with their needs." (Interview, May 22, 2019)*

There are mothers in other contexts who concur that the prudent strategy is to have the children accompany them when they sell on the streets:

*"They are safer with us and so we carry them sometimes. Things sell quicker with children. When they start begging persons to buy, they do not stop". (Focus group, June 1, 2019)*

This mother's viewpoint is representative of many throughout the communities: children are safer when they are in full view of their parents, even where this means working on the streets. For mothers such as these, legislation concerning child work is meaningless unless the GoJ is able to effectively protect children who are left at home. Furthermore, without sufficient family income, all household members, including children, must assist to ensure basic subsistence. Children, these parents contend, are especially adept at persuasion and marketing.

It is noteworthy that children in Majesty Gardens do not use all their earnings to fund schoolbooks, uniforms and lunch. Gambling is a popular past-time among children and parents; indeed, children were observed returning from the streets to try to build on their earnings at the gambling tables dotted throughout the community. Drinking alcohol was the expected accompaniment and even young children took pleasure in purchasing "boom and rum". Therefore, the qualitative findings indicated that not all children on the streets use their earnings for the purposes they report, formally.

Consumption poverty, as this discussion underscores, is one---a-political and a-social---variable in a much more complex context where dislocated families, sub-optimal parental relations, practices such as gambling, unfavourable school contexts, pervasive insecurity, lack of acceptable basic amenities, poor environmental conditions all help to shape experiences of poverty and push children to the streets.

## Riverton City

Riverton City, St Andrew is a 119 hectare landfill site, which is located on the outskirts of Kingston. The landfill, which receives 60% of the waste generated in Jamaica, is both a threat to health and a source of economic gain for residents within the area and those who travel from differing parishes to hunt for articles that may be of some value.



Studies have enumerated the public health risks of residing on and near the landfill. These include 'pollution of the rivers which are used for drinking and bathing' and 'heavy metal contamination from cadmium, manganese, lead and pesticides'.

In March 2015, Riverton City was the site of a major fire. The National Environmental Protection Agency is concerned that the toxic



smoke could have caused major risks from air pollutants. Landfill fires occur frequently.

There are reports that animals are being raised on the landfill. The risks are that persons who consume the meat from those that are slaughtered for sale could be affected by the bioaccumulation of heavy metals, such as lead and mercury, to which the animals have been exposed.

Like Majesty Gardens, Riverton City has, historically, been plagued by gang warfare. Recent reports suggest that not all the murders that occur are reported. Thus, residents live in perpetual fear, community divisions, tense relations within families and, as reported in Majesty Gardens, curses from witchcraft (perceived and real).

The landfill in Majesty Gardens has negative health risks; however, the landfill offers modest opportunities for hustling, which allows for subsistence. Persons from differing parishes search the Riverton City Dump for valuables, however modest, to meet their family needs. The excerpts below present vivid images of the complex factors and forces that cause child work/hustling and/or begging on the streets.





### Excerpt 1

*I was born in Spanish Town. I have four children. The father lives here and so I moved here when my daughter was three. The children's father is a good person but his mother is not nice. She tries to have her way. Whenever, he tries to give me something, her face turns a different way. She treated me badly. She is a witch. I caught her working witchcraft. She gave him a bottle to bring into my house.*

*I decided to stay by myself and hustle when I can. However, I am stressed, so much that sometimes I cannot sleep. Two of my children go to school and two don't. I need the help; my daughter helps me to sell. (Interview, June 4, 2019)*

### Excerpt 2

*"I am the father of six children. They are 19, 17, 15, 13, 11 and 4 years. I work on the landfill and also do construction work sometimes. I live with my wife. She is pregnant now. We once left the community and went to live in St. Thomas. However, since we returned, none of the children have gone to school. My eleven year old picks up bottles and scrap metal and sells these. We use the money to buy food. I need a job in construction or anything that comes up." (Interview, June 4, 2019)*

### Excerpt 3

*I have six children (3 boys and 3 girls). I survive by hustling; I love to hustle. I buy a big bag of fab for \$700 and then sell it in small portions. I sell fab, cake soap and Fabulous. I make a small profit from that. I then buy food. Down here, we have no bills.*

*The children's father is not working. I live with him. He doesn't treat me good (well). He used to beat me. He gives me money then comes back for it. He curses me.*

*My daughter has 5 children. Only the policeman father (the father who is a policeman) is responsible. She had three men (fathers for the children) but only one helps. Her little boy helps her to hustle. He is 12 years. She gets treated badly too. Her man curses her.*

*Down here, there is plenty witchcraft. People are wicked all over. (Interview, June 4, 2019)*

### Excerpt 4

*I was born in Riverton. I have 5 children. I am not married. The landfill supports me. I hustle bottles, wash them and carry them to the market. My youngest girl goes to school but not every day. The 9 year old boy got shot in his head. The one shot in his head hit out his two eyes. It's rough here. There is a lot of witchcraft and killing. (Interview, June 4, 2019)*



### Excerpt 5

*I have 3 children and my sister has 5. I grew up in Kingston. I finished Tivoli High but I got no subjects. I gave a lot of trouble at school. The children's father does not support them. He gives money sometimes but there are strings attached. If he gives me, he wants something in return. I just bear it out.*

*I suffer a lot of abuse, not physical but verbal. I have a hand to mouth existence. I "juggle" (hustle) mosquito destroyer, soap powder and balls. The money run down (has decreased). The children help me juggle. The youngest one is the best at it. She calls out "three soap for \$100!".*

*The children don't go to school every day as we have no money now. My sister is at the landfill now, as she needs to juggle/hustle. (Interview, June 4, 2019)*

### Excerpt 6

*I am 34 years old. I have 6 children. Five of them live with me. All of them go to school although sometimes they have to stop. I sell at the markets on Saturdays. My 11 year old walks on the road and sells too. I didn't finish school but I would if I got the opportunity. (Interview, June 4, 2019)*

### Excerpt 7

*I am 24 years old and have three children. I didn't finish school as there was no money to pay for the subjects. My daughter's father is gone. My son's father helps. We sell bleach and polish. We walk and sell in the community. The children walk and sell when they come home. They go to school in Seaview, which is a very violent area. I need employment. Most times, I cannot find the means to send them to school. (Interview, June 4, 2019)*

Notably, relations between children and parents appeared different from those in Majesty Gardens. In Riverton City, there were parents who explained that they work on and from the dump in order to ensure that their children attend school. One focus group with boys in Riverton revealed a number of successful youth who currently attend traditional high schools.

### Shanty/Crime Town (Riverton)

Shanty, called Crime Town, is located to the south, defined as the "bottom" of Riverton. At the time of the study, there was 'war' across both divisions. Children were quick to explain that the torn metal on the exterior of one woman's shop actually was the result of the attack.

Children within Shanty/Crime Town collect scrap metals and other “spoils” from compatriots at the dump and, in turn, sell these for profit. Yet, these children suffer multiple forms of discrimination, as they are regarded and treated as the “very bottom” of an area that is already marginalised and disregarded.

**Callaloo Mews** is located across from Riverton City. It was formed out of the GoJ’s 1990 Operation Pride housing project. Callaloo Mews is a small area, with a population of approximately 500 residents.



Locked within the confines of these communities, the level of desperation is escalated. For these children, just yards from upper Riverton, finding and selling scrap metal and copper is a regular activity, including among the very young.

Callaloo Mews is underdeveloped; it lacks many of the basic amenities required for communities to thrive. Yet, even within the small space occupied, relations are fractured; physical and social borders have been imposed to cement divisions.

### **Trench Town**

In the 1930s, Trench Pen, southern St. Andrew, was a squatter settlement, which helped to house the growing numbers of rural to urban migrants. The community was named Trench Town after the Central Housing Authority (CHA) built, among others, family housing, schools, a theatre, park health clinic and fire station. Housing, constructed between 1940 and 1949, was designed to facilitate communal living. Thus, houses in the U block had shared sanitary and cooking facilities. Thereafter, approximately 200 acres (81 hectares) was converted to build Trench Town; the remaining lands formed Rose Town.

By the 1960s, Trench Town (which comprises the communities of Wilton Gardens [Rema], Federal Gardens, Arnett Gardens [Jungle], Havana, Buckers) was dubbed the Hollywood of Jamaica. Trench Town’s Culture Yard was housed in this block. Culture Yard remains a prominent tourist destination, given that Trench Town is Bob Marley’s original home.

However, Trench Town has been described as “one of Jamaica’s toughest inner-city communities”. Like other inner-city communities, the area was politicised in the 1970s. Gang warfare continues in spates; however, levels of violence have, overall, ebbed since the 1990s.

Trench Town retains many of the assets, which are uncommon in other contexts. These include community organizations such as Boys Town [YMCA] and Joy Town [YWCA], as AIR (Agency for Inner-city Renewal), the Trench Town Reading Centre [FACE Jamaica], and the Trench Town Development Association. These agencies can provide avenues through which children who work on the streets can be reached. Note, however, that none of these agencies were able to assist with locating the children.



SDC reports indicate that the **Trench Town** area currently has a population of approximately 27,284. There are about 7220 households, with an average of 3.8 persons per household. Sixty per cent of homes are female-headed; 45% are headed by unemployed persons. Findings from Trench Town mimic those from the other inner-city communities:

*"It's like a season. The majority of girls do not go back to school from thirteen years. They get pregnant and cannot go. Most of the fathers play no role. Many fathers have died and who is not dead (those who are not dead) are in prison." (Focus Group, June 1, 2019)*

*"Sometimes we need a break from them. The school environment is not good. There is no order so we ship them out and they ramp (play) until night comes. When they come home, they are hungry. Children up town are locked in houses and abandoned. Downtown, they are on the streets". (Focus Group, June 1, 2019)*

Researchers asked a group of parents who had gathered for a focus group discussion to estimate the number of children who hustle or work on the streets. In response, they exclaimed:

*"We can't count the number of children who hustle. We think there must be between fifty and one hundred children. Nuff gone (Many have gone) to town now fi look it (to try to make money). We would be there too if we didn't have this meeting. Even ten-year olds have to go to town to sell bag juice and water". (Focus Group, June 1, 2019).*

Findings from focus groups show that while the vast majority of children who are involved in hustling/working or begging on the streets do so because of perceived and actual needs, others were influenced by friends without the knowledge of their parents while some are motivated by the desire for additional material benefits, beyond those their parents provide. Thus, children found it convenient, for example, to hustle and save funds for the purchase of cell phones and clothing. Further, earnings are not always used for food and books; rather, like their parents, many children gamble their earnings with the aim of accumulating more funds.

*"We shuffle the card pack and buy cash pot. We play cut and throw Ludo for money. We also play dominoes. Our children gamble too." (Focus Group, June 1, 2019)*

Researchers asked women in Trench Town to indicate any business plans they had that, with support, could transform their circumstances. All opted for injections of capital that would improve their returns on hustling.

*"We are all hustlers but we hustle in different ways. We have to grab a little every day. We will buy crab, take them to town and sell. We sell grabber and wizzla. When we can't bother, we send the children out". (Focus Group, June 1, 2019)*

## **Jones Town**

Jones Town neighbours Trench Town, yet there are distinctions across the communities. Formerly known as a prime area for criminality and violence, there are residents who now describe the community as safe.



Hustling is also common in Jones Town; however, here, children report using sponsorship sheets to scam “clients”. Normally, these sponsorship forms would be designed to request support for school activities; however, all the gains would accrue to the child and/or his or her family.

There were more reports in Jones Town, than in other KSAC communities, of children being drafted into illegal activities.

## **ST CATHERINE AND CLARENDON**

St. Catherine is located between the parishes of St. Andrew to the east, Clarendon to the west, and St. Ann and St. Mary to the north. St Catherine is among the largest parishes and has a growing economy. However, Spanish Town, the capital, has long been affected by warfare between rival gangs.

In the Spanish Town area, researchers focused on two of the more fragile communities: Tawes Meadows and Ellerslie Pen. However, as much work was conducted via the schools, the children came from diverse parts of the parish. The other areas that were recommended for investigation are Portmore, Linstead and Ewarton. In years prior, the back road of Portmore was known for prostitution. However, the police have conducted operations in that area, which has reduced the numbers of prostitutes seen on the streets. The JCF confirmed that there were no children on streets in the area.

Particularly in Tawes Meadows and Ellerslie Pen, hustling on the streets constitutes a “way of life”. Mothers in Tawes Meadows explained that most women in the area left school at 16 years, before completing studies. They underscored that in Tawes Meadows, girls who reach 16 years without having a child feel entirely “out of place”. By 19 years, young women are expected to have had three children, perhaps with three different men. Problems are compounded when women have learning and other disabilities.

*“My children’s father doesn’t support them. He handles me badly. He orders me around. If I don’t cook in the way he wants, he disgraces me. Today, he told me that I am ungrateful and that “front nuh deh pon nutten” (I am not good at sex). I started to cry. I live in a family yard with his mother, aunt and cousins. I cannot read so well and I cannot manage crowds. I am nervous in front of crowds. All men I have met treat me badly. I was tricked before. I was raped and almost died” (Excerpt from Life story, (May 28, 2019),*

Such was this mother’s agony that she described her attempts to abort her last pregnancy. On her mother’s instruction, she drank a mixture to get rid of the child. Instead, she recounts, she got an infection and had to be taken to a place in Portland, where one woman gave her “salt and leaf of life” and told her that “spirits had been sent after her”. Her daughter of six years and son of 11 years both hustle in order to survive.

Within these homes, children report that they feel sad most times. The reasons include the abuse they are meted out from frustrated mothers; their feelings of incapacity and sense of responsibility for the burdens their parents, particular mothers, face.

Practitioners who work on the ground in Ellerslie Pen emphasized that many mothers refuse to accept assistance despite the desperate situations they encounter:

*"They have children who need help but they say no. There is intense pride. They have no furniture and the children hardly go to school."* (Interview, May 28, 2019)

Among some of these desperate mothers, they contend, prostitution, gambling and alcoholism are common.

One mother explained that she has lived in Ellerslie Pen all her life, having left school at 16 years. As with other accounts, her mother could not finance her education. She contends that her children now have to hustle:

*"The bigger ones go out and work with the Chinese. The Chinese used to employ children to work in their wholesales. My children go into school poor because I have no money to send them"*. (Interview, May 28, 2019)

Interviews were conducted at the fishing village in Old Harbour Bay. Again, mothers recounted their experiences of raising children without support and, importantly, without the educational qualifications that would allow them the chance of gaining decent employment.

*"I cook at a prep school. I finished school but did not get subjects. My mother had no money for me to do the subjects. None of my children have subjects."* (Excerpt from Life story, May 28, 2019),

This mother was in danger of repeating, with her child, the experience she had during childhood. (These patterns describe intergenerational transmissions of poverty):

*"I live up the top there. I came to see whether her father has any money but he is mending nets. He only caught two pounds of fish; he has no money"*.

*"Sometimes I cannot send my child to school because of lack of money. If I don't have it, I won't send them as I do not want them to look at people (ask persons for money, food etc.)"* (Excerpt from Life story, May 26, 2019),

Old Harbour Bay was described as area with regular bouts of violence, low literacy and levels of reasoning. According to one mother:

*"Plenty of them cannot read and write. If you put a book before them, they don't understand but if you give them a knife, they understand right away. They know how to break down a gun but not spell their own names"*. (Interview, May 20, 2019)

In addition, fishermen described how mothers used sex for subsistence:

*"Nuff (many) of them walk and get pickney (children) and then let them go like race course. Most don't have jobs. We come from sea and we have to give them fish to cook and sell. They take set (prey) on fishermen. Most don't work; they hustle."* (Interview, May 28, 2019)



In Old Harbour Bay, children work on the boats: carrying water, assisting with nets. Some sell petty goods in the lanes.

## ST ANN AND ST MARY

St Ann's estimated population size is 5124. There are approximately 1439 households; 77.9% of these are headed by unemployed individuals. Sixty two percent of household heads have academic qualifications.

St Mary, which is bordered by Portland in the East, St. Ann in the West, and parts of St. Catherine and St. Andrew in the South, has a population size of 114,227.

Children from St Mary and rural St Ann venture to Ocho Rios, the capital city of St Ann, to work on the streets and in the markets. One guidance counsellor noted that girls regularly sell their bodies in the popular tourist area. This was their mode of "hustling". Numerous attempts were made to secure interviews with these girls; they were unsuccessful.

In the rural parts of St Ann, specifically Parry Town and Windsor, residents who have captured these lands appear to have even less opportunities to thrive. In these areas, the majority of children are forced to hustle. One child explained that her mother has been ill for years and that it was now her responsibility to take care of her family. Another ten-year old saw the queries as an opportunity to seek assistance:

*"Miss, my mother has 5 children and my bigger brother is in prison. Can you give me a job so that I can take care of my family?" (Interview, May 18, 2019*

*"Miss, I want some help. I want some help to go to school. The school fee is \$14,000". (Interview, May 18, 2019*

## WESTMORELAND

Westmoreland, which is located on the south side of Jamaica, is bordered by Hanover, Saint James and Saint Elizabeth. The capital town, Savanna-la-Mar, has an estimated population size of 2804 and 701 households; 30% of these households are headed by unemployed persons.

Negril, Westmoreland is prominent for tourism. However, there are areas of Negril, such as Red Ground and Whitehall, that are known for levels of poverty and high crime rates. Research was conducted in Savanna-la-Mar, Negril (and within this town, Red Ground and Whitehall).

In order to complete the research in Westmoreland, researchers had to convince the youth who guarded, particularly one of the communities, that they were not operating on behalf of the police. Conversations with mothers in Negril confirmed that within this context, they had little control of their sons. There are particular crews who are based on the beaches and employed by tourists to run errands or perform exhibition diving. The mothers interviewed expressed pride in the industry of their "little men". The conversations revealed that there are mothers who rely on their sons, as they would men. As one mother said of her twelve-year old son:



*"It is clear that he wanted to be a man from a very young age. He is an old soul. He doesn't want to take up the book. The book is his enemy. He feels he needs to provide but sometimes when I ask him for money, he doesn't give it to me". (Interview, May 27, 2019)*

Another mother complained:

*"My son just leaves out and doesn't say where he is going. He is 14. I have three children and he is the only one who gives trouble. The problem with him is that he was very close to his father. His father was shot. We then moved here where he met with these children. There are 7 of them in the group. In the evenings they all go to a certain place and the white people give them money. He makes money but he doesn't give it to me; he keeps it for himself and buys juice and biscuits. His father used to support me." (Interview, May 27, 2019)*

In one section of Negril, one Islamic group has been operating. Their focus is on boys 4 to 12 years who have been abandoned and/or feel neglected by the state and family. According to the convenor, children on the streets are invited to receive training in the Quran and well as basic education. Where a child shows promise, he or she is sent for further training in another Caribbean country. One mother described her son who had been sent for training:

*"My son went to a Muslim school in Guyana. He went with an older boy. They taught him Arabic. He enjoyed that. He gave trouble over there and he got lashes. Now that he is back, he goes to swim every day. He dives off the cliffs and the tourists pay him. He gets US\$20 per jump. It's the lifestyle here. Children love it. They harass the tourists." (Interview, May 27, 2019)*

## ST JAMES

St James is located to the North West end of the island of Jamaica. The capital city, Montego Bay, is a popular tourist destination; many businesses in that parish are designed to service this industry. However, St James has also been disadvantaged by skewed development interventions, which have resulted in low wages and high living costs. In recent periods, youth have developed their own alternate industry: scamming.

Lottery scamming is a substantial transnational fraud scheme, which, though largely concentrated in the Western parishes of Jamaica: St James, Westmoreland, Hanover and Trelawny, is now spreading beyond them.

For the networks involved, lottery scamming is a profitable, rapidly evolving enterprise. Prior to the Law Reform (Fraudulent Transactions) (Special Provisions) Act 2013, scammers would, illegally, obtain bio data on specially targeted predominantly foreign (from the United States, principally, and also from Canada and the United Kingdom) but also local nationals. These unsuspecting individuals—comprising, for example, elderly pensioners, retirees, persons who use the internet to conduct business, online gamblers and persons in financial difficulties—would then be contacted, advised that they have won prizes and other attractive awards and requested to send money to cover the taxation, legal, transport and other costs required to dispense funds. The United States

Immigration and Customs Enforcement Arm estimates that the costs of scamming to United States citizens is approximately US\$30 million per year.

Scamming produces its own 'insurgencies' (moral, physical etc.), of the sort Manwaring (2014) describes. Crime and violence have escalated in the areas in which scamming is concentrated; crime and violence are now on the sharp upsurge in hitherto dormant, rural areas as scammers invade these communities to escape visibility or as the youth within these "forgotten" areas become attracted to this quick "work" and its apparent profits.

Scamming has generated significant wealth among children and youth in St James. Children benefit when they participate directly or when their relatives are involved. As one student explained:



*"Anytime my brother scams, I get \$5000."* (Group Discussion, High School, St James, June 6, 2019)

The study sought to ascertain whether there are children who work on the streets even though they profit from scamming. In one high school, a group of young boys explained that they hustle on the streets in order to purchase additional amenities, such as I-phones:

*"My people have money but I want my own. There are lots of big houses in my area."* (Group Discussion, High School, St James, June 6, 2019)

Critically, these students are also careful to retain the burgeoning culture among scammers, where they seek the protection of witchcraft practitioners in order to guarantee their security. One child described the nature of the exchange he was asked to make.

Child 1: *"I have a guard ring (allegedly, these are used for protection from evil spirits). One Indian man sold it to me. I sell drugs and the ring helps me to get away from trouble. One Indian man told me to sex monkey (have sex with a monkey) in order to get it. He had 3 or 4 in a cage. I didn't do it. I told him I wouldn't have sex with an animal."* Group Discussion, High School, St James, June 6, 2019)

Child 2: *"I heard that if you kill a obeah<sup>10</sup> man and you don't make a man bathe you, you will go mad"*. Group Discussion, High School, St James, June 6, 2019)

Child 1: *"The Indian man protects me. He sent two spirits to watch over me. They hear everything. My obeah man makes things possible. He makes me bathe in salt and vinegar"*. (Group Discussion, High School, St James, June 6, 2019)

However, the majority of children who reported that they work on the streets in St James state that they do so because of poverty. Interviewees explain that some parents push their children to the streets:

---

<sup>10</sup> Olive Senior in the *Encyclopaedia of Jamaican Heritage* defines obeah as follows: "The word used in Jamaica to denote witchcraft, evil magic or sorcery by which supernatural power is invoked to achieve personal protection or the destruction of enemies".



"Some parents are terrible. They tell the children: "Galang go look work (Go and find work). Some parents are alcoholic. Many children are just neglected." Group Discussion, High School, St James, June 6, 2019)

Further, some parents simply allowed their children to do as they desired:

*"When children have no backative (support), they just do what they want".* (Group Discussion, High School, St James, June 6, 2019)

As in Riverton, there are families in St James who depend on the landfill for survival. There are also reports that persons live on the landfill, using palettes to make housing.

In personal interviews and group discussions, respondents told of generations who had been "raised on the landfill"

*"My grandmother, father, mother and uncle all worked on the landfill. Some of us are trying to break the cycle."* (Interview, June 7, 2019)

*"People find it hard to move from the landfill. Most people lack educations."* Interview, June 7, 2019)

*"Growing up on the landfill enslaves your mentality. Those who come off the landfill go and work for the Chinese."* (Interview, June 7, 2019)

One young woman told of her own experiences on the landfill:

*"For years, people have been coming to the landfill. The people I come here to see have been here for a long time. Everybody in this community is digging for something. When I was younger, I used to wait for the truck that would dump the food from the hotels. That was my dinner."* (Interview, June 7, 2019)

*"People still eat food from the dump. Because of the food they eat, they look smaller than they should. An eighteen-year old can look like 8."* (Interview, June 7, 2019)

Children continue to sell the produce from the landfill. Some of these children do not attend school.

One parent, who works on the landfill, insisted that his children will never be allowed to assist him:

*"I don't want my children here. I don't even want them to follow me. I will do this alone".* (Interview, June 7, 2019)

## ST THOMAS

The parish of St Thomas is 742.2 km<sup>2</sup> (286.5 sq. miles) and has a population of 94,410. The parish is bordered by St. Andrew on the west and Portland on the north. The Caribbean Sea is to its south.

St. Thomas is regarded as an important agricultural parish; a significant percentage of children are occupied in agriculture.

Despite the perception that there are no children who work on the streets in St Thomas, researchers probed communities within Yallahs, Morant Bay, Port Morant and Lyssons and found children, some of whom were involved in hazardous occupations.

The women and children interviewed described the history of the desperation within their families; many attributed the root causes to obeah. There is a tendency to discount the weight of occultic practices on communities and families. However, a deep understanding of this is critical if practitioners are to confront and deal with the seemingly stubborn challenges they encounter on the ground. Interviews with parents indicated that many believed that spells were cast on them and that this caused their misfortune. In particular communities, relations were so fractured by charges of 'bad mind' and witchcraft that group discussions were impossible. Each mother whispered her story outside the earshot of the other.

Where community bonds are severed by witchcraft, mothers operate without the support required (community and family safety net) for their survival.

### 5.3. CHRONIC POVERTY AND ITS WEIGHTS

Chronic forms of poverty are normally anchored by differing weights; the community consultations pinpointed some of these. These weights, which also constitute underpinning factors and forces, are key to understanding and addressing the multi-dimensional nature of poverty across the communities and its impact on the children who live and work on the streets.

**1. Family break up/dislocation is one key contributing factor to the levels of poverty that, in the majority of cases, appear to be among the root causes for child work on the streets.**

The family is a key asset in material and non-material ways. There is ample research that proves that female-headed households are at high risk of income and consumption poverty. Psychologists also confirm that children who grow up without their fathers or mothers are likely experience emotional and mental illnesses and are at increased risk of delinquency, early pregnancy, crime<sup>11</sup> and suicide. Certainly, in Jamaica, there is wide agreement, based on empirical evidence, that fatherlessness has consequences "for the majority of social and public health challenges, including crime and violence, mental illness, substance abuse, teen pregnancy, child and adult sexual abuse, gender-based violence, teen suicide, youth incarceration, poor performance in schools, unattached youths, and gang membership."<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> Edward Wells and Joseph Rankin, "Families and Delinquency: A Meta-Analysis of the Impact of Broken Homes," *Social Problems* 38 (1991): 71-89; Cynthia C. Harper and Sara S. McLanahan, "Father Absence and Youth Incarceration," *Journal of Research on Adolescence* 14 (2004): 369-397; Patrick Darby, Wesley Allan, Javad Kashani, Kenneth Hartke and John Reid, "Analysis of 112 Juveniles Who Committed Homicide: Characteristics and a Closer Look at Family Abuse," *Journal of Family Violence* 13 (1998): 365-374.

<sup>12</sup> <https://jamaicans.com/fatherlessness-significant-factor-contributing-broken-families-caribbean-regional-technical-director/>



From this sample, it is noteworthy that while 43% (159) relied on both parents for care when they were younger, only 28% (106) rely on both parents now. Forty six percent (170) rely on their mothers alone and 8% (31) on their grandmother alone. The remainder rely on other family members such as aunts and uncles, sisters and brothers. A small percentage (2.71%:10) stated that they have absolutely no one to rely on. Approximately 84% (274) live with their mothers at home while 46% (109) live with their fathers at home.

Correspondingly, the major single proportion of respondents (48%:175) would go to their mothers, first, for advice; 13%:47 would go to both parents and 12% (44) to their fathers alone. When the findings are disaggregated by gender, they show insignificant variations across boys and girls (49%:109 of boys and 48%:64 of girls would go to their mothers first).

Overall, an even higher proportion (55%:195) would go to their mothers, first, for comfort (of this, 56%:124 of boys and 52%:68 of girls); 12%:43 would go to both parents while 11%:39 would go to their fathers, primarily.

Sixty percent of boys (133) and 59% (79) of girls reported that they are 'sad' most times. Many children were not able to pinpoint the reason for this sadness; however, those who could noted that this concerned "their father who is in prison; sadness because of their circumstances; inability to cope with bullying at school and among their friends; lack of food and abuse from their mothers, who curse and beat them". Harsh responses from abandoned mothers is common and this feeds cycles of poor relationships, family break up and poverty.

## ii. School/the Education System is a Push Factor For Some Children

It is important to emphasise the roles that some schools and teachers play in pushing children from school:

*"Teacher loves to shame me. Children disrespect me so I don't go."* (Survey finding)

Conversely, some teachers have substantial difficulty with relating to the children they are required to teach. Regarding these children as "uncontrollable", the better teachers flee the profession and many others, who have no option but to remain, resign themselves to simply allowing these children to pass through the system. Interviews have been conducted with principals and guidance counsellors in the most troubled schools:

*"This school is located on a former burial ground. We get the bottom of GSAT students; those who scored the lowest 20%. We get what is impossible to do. The children fight a lot. I believe it is haunted."* (Interview, June 6, 2019)

Within these contexts, some children have little interest in school and are reluctant to attend each day.

*"It is unfair to have to attend school five days per week".* (Survey finding)

One child admitted to attending school but skipping the classes. Others are so frustrated or are occupied by other pursuits that they regularly walk out of classes or spend their time on the streets.

Others do not attend on particular days, predominantly Fridays. Therefore, when children were asked whether there were specific days on which they did not attend school, they noted that they are absent when ill and also on Fridays:

*"I hustle on Friday to help my aunt so that we can have food on the table"* (Survey finding)

*"Just Friday when I assist by selling goods"* (Survey finding)

Many of the children interviewed, particularly within select inner-city communities, appear to lack direction from parents or guardians or to receive direction that is contrary to their best interest. Thus, children may be withdrawn from school for very slight reasons. Further, there are reports of parents who complain of lacking the funds required for their children's lunch and books but use the resources available to purchase their own clothing for partying.

In one group discussion, researchers enquired whether children would end their activities on the streets if increased subsidies were provided for their education. At the end of the session, one student confided that her mother would not use the funds to assist with her school expenses but would use it for private purposes. She requested that separate arrangements be made directly with the school. The survey did not probe the numbers of children who were affected in this way.

### iii. Learning Challenges Compound the Problems for Children on the Streets

Children may also be pushed from school because of learning challenges and inadequate provisions to identify and address these. While 98%:281 of the respondents had not received special education, 42%:130 acknowledge that they did not learn as fast as others do; 47%:148 stated that they find it difficult to focus; 52%:164 that they get confused easily. Forty-two percent (150) of the children stated that they found reading somewhat difficult; 53%:191 was at ease with it; 5%:19 confirmed that they could not read.

Forty-eight percent found Math hard sometimes; 52%:187 claimed to master it and 17%:61 had difficulty most times. Meanwhile, 76%:274 were at ease with writing; while 24% (85) found it challenging sometimes. When disaggregating the data by gender, the results show that higher proportions of girls than boys were entirely comfortable with reading (55% of girls compared with 51% of boys) and writing (78% of girls compared with 74% of boys). However, a higher proportion of boys than girls found Mathematics easy (55% of boys compared with 42% of girls).

**Table 5.3.1 Children's Assessments of Challenges**

I do not learn as fast as others do	43.45% 156	56.55% 203	359
I find it difficult to focus on things	47.65% 172	52.35% 189	361
I get confused very easily	50.96% 185	49.04% 178	363
Most times, I am very sad	59.28% 214	40.72% 147	361



It should be expected that the actual proportions of children who have difficulties with learning may be higher than those recorded since not all children are fully aware of the areas in which they require support. Note, too, that a robust analysis of the links between early drug use and cognitive impairment among children on the streets in Jamaica would provide valuable 'action-oriented' data.

#### iv. There are Intergenerational Roots to Poverty, Low Education Levels and Choices

Individual interviews with parents revealed noteworthy intergenerational patterns. Across all communities, the vast majority of mothers had not completed school or had completed primary or secondary school, without gaining qualifications. Similarly, the substantive majority of the mothers interviewed had conceived their first child by the age of 16 years and was raising children, often for multiple partners, without support. Their profiles are consistent with the data presented in the table below.

**Table 5.3.2 Profile of (Selected) Mothers With Children On the Streets**

Parish	Community	Age	Age Left School	Number of Children	Father(s) support Children?	Educational Qualifications	Comments
St Catherine	Ellerslie	54	16	9	No	o	Mother could not finance me to finish school. My children also didn't get subjects as I didn't have the money. Two of my daughters have children. They have now left school without subjects
St Thomas	Lyssons	35	16	3	No	o	I make \$5000 per month. I go to church but the church does not help
Westmoreland	Savanna-La-Mar	42	16	6	No	o	I get a little support from PATH. My children have four different fathers; none of them help. Most mothers are in the same situation. I do not have enough money for the children to complete school.
Kingston	Riverton City	34	16	6	No	o	Five of my children live with me. All are in school but sometimes they have to stop. Children walk and help me to sell.

### v. Ill health as Push Factor

Across communities, a small segment of the children indicated that their mothers' illness was among the factors that forced them to the streets. As the questionnaires did not identify this feature of poverty explicitly, researchers gleaned this information when they asked respondents to state the whereabouts of their parents. After being told that their parent, principally their mother, was ill and at home, interviews were conducted to examine whether the child resorted to earning from the streets in order to take care of his/her parent.

### vi. Peer Influence

Peer pressure is a major push and pull factor. The majority of children who were interviewed for the study testified to following the lead of friends who encouraged them to either engage in unhealthy sexual practices, violent behaviours or hustle on the streets. Fifty-seven percent (185) of the children had best friends who also hustle on the streets.

### vii. Hustling: Burgeoning Family Tradition?

There are deeper reasons for the children's resort to the streets. It is critical to underscore that hustling/begging, working on the streets is now steeped within some families and communities. The table below shows that only 24%:80 of the respondents are the sole children in their families who hustle/work on the streets at all times; 8%:28 hustle without family support/involvement sometimes. In contrast, as much as 65%:218 (of this, 64%:131 boys and 66%:83 have siblings who also hustle work on the streets. Further, 50%:166 have parents 42%:83 boys and 49%:59 girls) who hustle on the streets, at least sometimes. Further, 48%:97 boys and 39%:46 girls have friends who also work/hustle/help on the streets. It is important to recognize and consider the weight of the tradition of hustling across generations and community, including school, networks.

The weight of this tradition is particularly clear when children and parents are asked to suggest avenues for assisting them to improve their circumstances. Invariably, among the common recommendations is that goods be provided such that parents and children can have better means to hustle.

**Table 5.3.3 Family Activities on the Streets**

	TRUE, ALL THE TIME	TRUE, SOMETIMES	NOT TRUE	NOT SURE/I DON'T REMEMBER	TOTAL
From my family, I am the only child who is working/'helping' on the streets	23.88% 80	8.36% 28	65.07% 218	2.69% 9	335
I have sisters and/or brothers who also work/'help' on the streets	48.06% 161	10.75% 36	37.91% 127	3.28% 11	335
My father/mother/caregiver work(s) on the street	44.89% 145	6.50% 21	44.58% 144	4.02% 13	323
My best friends work/'help' on the streets	45.51% 147	11.76% 38	39.01% 126	3.72% 12	323



In contrast, there are other communities (and also, pockets within these very communities), in which parents are adamant that there will never be a circumstance under which they allow their children to hustle/work on the streets.

*"Any hustling, a me fi do it (I am responsible for hustling)." (Interview, June 7, 2019)*

#### **viii. The (In) Adequacy of Safety Nets**

Jamaica's Sector Plan for Social Welfare and Vulnerable Groups identifies the Programme for Advancement of Health and Education (PATH) as one of the key mechanisms and institutions that address the needs of vulnerable children. PATH is a conditional cash transfer facility that seeks to break intergenerational poverty by contributing to human capital development, particularly of children in poor households. Applications to PATH are screened using the Beneficiary Identification System (BIS), which is a proxy means test to determine the neediest households. There are concerns that the "current BIS under-selects certain vulnerable groups"; consequently, one of the core goals (Goal 1) is to create a 'society in which the vulnerable population is identified and included in the social support system'.

Reviews of the PATH indicate that the facility, largely, has a positive impact on families. They also concur with the Sector Report that there are cohorts of the population that are yet to be reached. However, stakeholders suggest that among those families that are reached, the PATH provides some assistance but may not be adequate. The findings from this study suggest that more comprehensive safety nets are required and, also, that differing methods of administration (and systems of accountability) are needed, particularly in those situations where the funds are not being used to benefit the children.

Beyond PATH, the Sector Report identifies other safety net mechanisms, including establishing a pool of funds to enable the provision of regular periodic monetary benefits for children who are not, currently, covered by any other financing mechanism (See Section 7). Again, the findings point to the gaps in provision. Meanwhile, the visions outlined for the Social Welfare and Vulnerable Groups Sector Report appear inconsistent with the reality: some Jamaican children are forced to beg on the streets or to eat the refuse from the dumps in order to guarantee their survival.

#### **ix. (In) Security as Push Factor?**

The provision of safety nets is linked with security, in its broad sense. Security, like poverty, has differing interrelated facets (economic, political, social, relational, food etc). The research findings point to food/consumption and economic insecurities. In some contexts, there are physical insecurities, as crime and violence are commonplace. Insecurities both underpin and result from chronic poverty.

#### **x. The Spiritual Roots and Supports to Chronic Poverty and Family Dislocation**

Human development cannot be restricted to the material; human beings are spiritual. While the GoJ does not dictate spiritual choice, it must be aware of the effects of particular choices.

To that end, witchcraft—using various media—is common across the communities. Persons contend that witchcraft is used to provide protection, impose punishment, stifle life chances and even kill. The witchcraft worker evokes fear across many families and communities. What are the consequences for children? A child who receives protection from a witchcraft worker may indulge in various risks with the law, in sexual practice etc believing that the spirits assigned to warn them will allow them to avoid the consequences of their actions. Witchcraft, used in this way, emboldens and, subsequently, endangers the child. Further, a child/family who has been cursed by witchcraft (perceived or real) may be trapped into particular conditions, such as poverty, believing they have no recourse than the narrow options they have become accustomed to. Where beliefs are fixed in this way, life skills sessions are inadequate to treat deep belief systems and patterns of mind control. Third, witchcraft ruptures the communal bonds that are important for the security of the child. Parents become fearful of leaving their children in homes and communities that are perpetually fractious and potentially harmful to the child. In such situations, mothers opt to keep their children next to them on the streets. One child described the confines of his context:

*"Miss, I live next to two revivalist yards. One obeah woman throw water on me because she didn't want me to enter my Uncle's yard. Plenty people go to the obeah woman to harm other people. She doesn't like my family." (Interview, October 2019)*

#### **xi. Power Relations and Dynamics**

The power relations and dynamics within and across households, families and communities can trap persons in conditions of poverty. The findings highlight the limits imposed when children are compelled to live under the leadership of local strongmen, particularly where this is compounded by the constraints of political boundaries. The resulting physical and psychological boundaries limit family movements.

Child labour on the lanes may appear more familiar or natural to parents, who are reluctant to venture beyond the confines they know to seek opportunities elsewhere. While it is the case that families within particular spaces are denied opportunities because of perceptions of where they reside, it is also true that available opportunities are sometimes rejected where access to them requires going to unfamiliar territory, uptown or mid-town.

#### **xii. Summary**

The evidence indicates that consumption poverty is the most obvious push factor for child labour on the streets and the potential for quick monetary gains, the most significant pull factor. However, when poverty is understood in its multidimensional sense, the research reveals the wider range of factors that cause poverty and, in turn, push children to the streets. In other terms, addressing consumption poverty alone will not solve the root issues. Conversely, attention must be paid to the weights that come from family break up or dislocation; lacks in the school/education systems; early drug use; limitations from learning challenges; peer influence; the growing hustling culture; the inadequacy of safety nets; various forms of insecurity (economic, political, social, relational, food); the weights and limitations of common practices, such as witchcraft; power relations and dynamics that produce mindsets that cannot be solved by behavioural change programmes alone.



## 6. DISSECTING CHILDREN'S ACTIVITIES ON THE STREETS

Given the backgrounds described (family dislocation, poverty, educational challenges, absence of effective safety nets), children have been hustling on the streets for notable periods, the majority for more than one year.

### 6.1 SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES

Sixty-eight percent of the sample of respondents (216) hustle/work or beg on the streets in the daytime only; 26% (82) are on the streets in both the day and night. Fifty-seven percent (166) of those who hustle in the daytime do so after school; 16% (47) on weekends only and 12% (35) both before and after school. Therefore, the pattern is, as observed in the 2002 study, the majority of children on the streets do attend school and are seeking funds, in large part, to support themselves in school or to boost family incomes.

Among the common daytime activities are selling snacks and ground provisions. Sixty-five percent (65%:217) of the children confirmed that they are occupied with selling goods, such as snacks, sweets, newspapers and ground provisions. Twenty-nine percent (93) 'wipe car glass and wash cars'. Twelve percent hustle in night clubs and at parties.

The parish and community analyses (Section 5) help to explain some variations in activities, which are reported in the study. Thus, in Kingston and St. Andrew and St James, children who live off the dump also sell scrap metal, loom and copper. Children from one particular community collect money from sponsorship papers. Prostitution—which appears to be more common among girls but also applies to boys—is mentioned in Kingston and St Andrew, St James, St Ann, St Mary and Westmoreland. In St. Catherine and Clarendon, children who reside within the fishing villages are occupied in the boating business; some girls sell sexual favours to fishermen or, otherwise, beg for a living.

### 6.2. RICH CHILDREN ON THE STREETS

During the course of the study, researchers also met fairly wealthy children who work on the streets, some to make additional money and others to promote their industry.

\*\*

*"I work on the streets. Although my people have money, I want my own."*

*"One day, I was going to a party, The boss saw me and asked if I would like to model. I said yes. He said I should follow the group. We model in bathing suits. People tip us when we model. We are trainees. For tips, we make \$20000. We go all over and model. [This child then produced numerous photographs of partially nude girls who were up to appear as adults]. "* (Interview with High School Student, 15 years old)

Some children are involved in diverse "jobs", including exotic modelling and dancing. Attempts were made to speak to the other girls, whom the respondent estimated were approximately 60 under 16 year olds. However, these were unsuccessful.

### 6.3 **H**AZARDOUS OCCUPATIONS

We asked children whether they had a boss or general who protects and provides for them and to whom they are required to report and submit a portion of their earnings. Respondents had different interpretations of the term, 'boss'. First, some children are employed by adults on construction sites. As noted, there were also reports that the Chinese had employed some children in their Wholesales. Some children were hired by senior family members. There were also children commissioned by gang leaders; in one community, children reported that their 'boss' is a 'youth', who sends them out to work and punishes them when their earnings are low or when they fall out of line. Punishment, here, has involved holding children's heads and knocking them together; cutting the child with knives; and other physical attacks. While these reports are in the minority, they are significant.

Eleven percent (37) of respondents confirmed that they have a 'boss' or general. Of this sub-sample, 81% (30) felt protected by their boss; 62% (23) were provided with jobs; 51% (19) had to submit a portion of their payment to their boss and 11% (4) were punished if he or she does not follow orders.

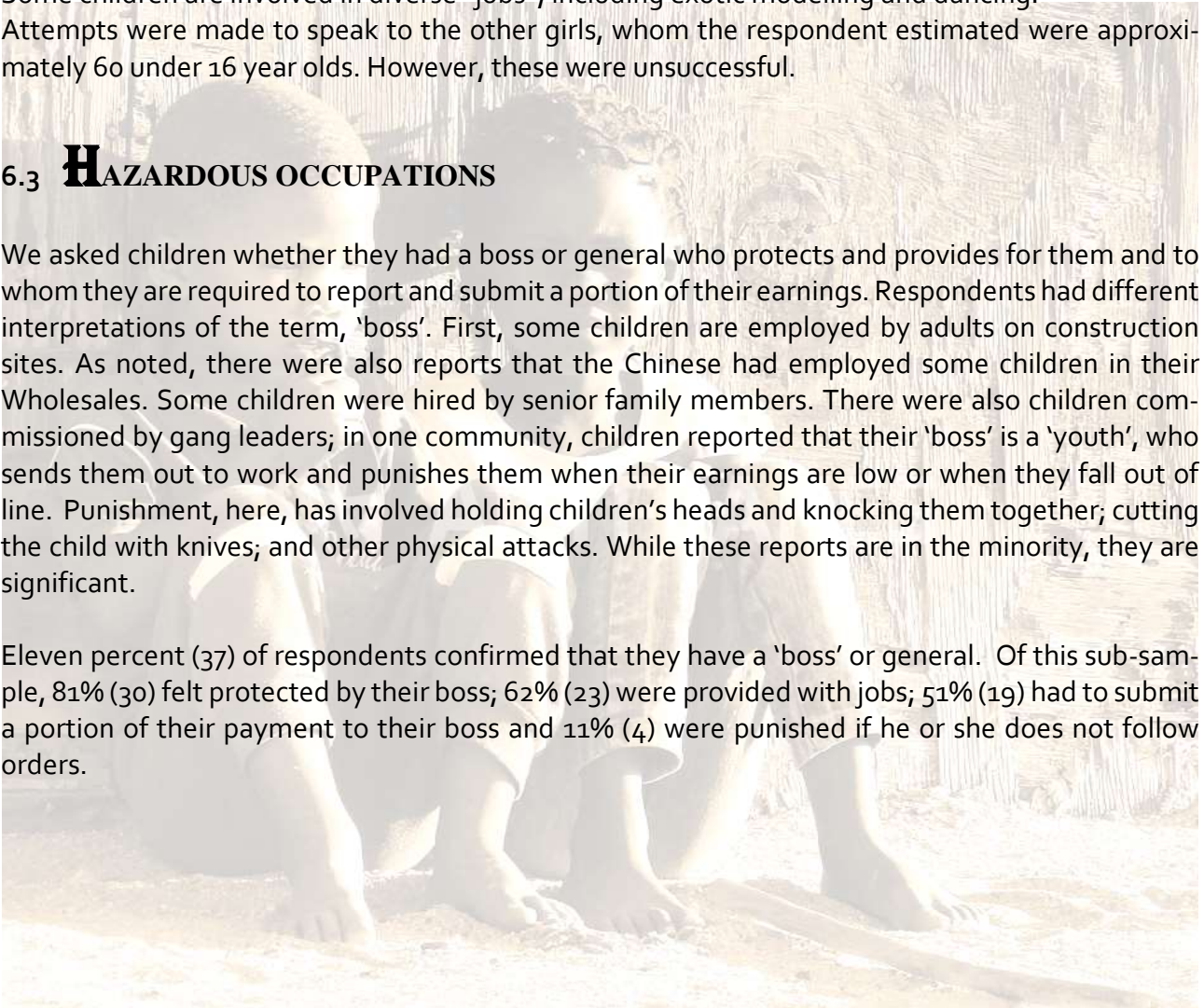
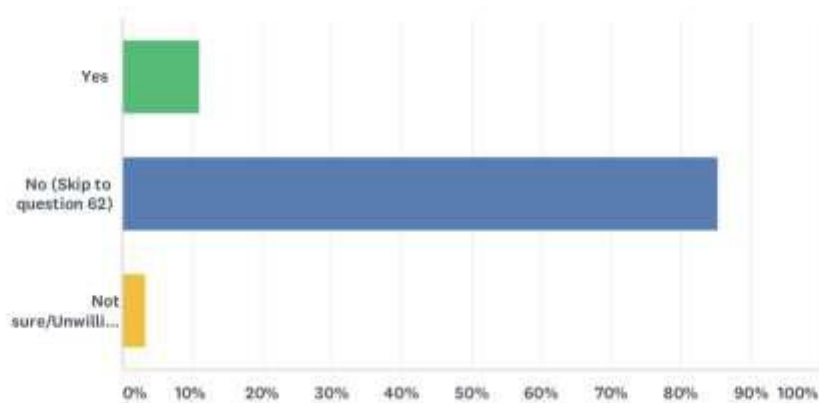




Figure 6.3.1 Children Who Have a Boss/General

Q59 Do you have a 'boss' or 'general' to whom you report?

Answered: 322 Skipped: 51



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Yes	11.18%	36
No (Skip to question 62)	85.40%	275
Not sure/Unwilling to respond (Skip to question 62)	3.42%	11
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>322</b>

Table 6.3.2 Characteristics of the Boss

	ALL THE TIME	SOMETIMES	NOT AT ALL	TOTAL
My 'boss'/'general'/master protects me	81.08% 30	5.41% 2	13.51% 5	37
My 'boss'/'general'/master gets jobs for me	62.16% 23	13.51% 5	24.32% 9	37
My 'boss'/'general'/master gets a portion of my payment	51.35% 19	2.70% 1	45.95% 17	37

The following list provides a profile of children who are employed by persons they define as their 'boss or general':

Male, 9 years - St James - Works in construction; carries drugs; has broken into a house. Boss employs a lot of children (says he cannot count the number of children; there are many)

Male, 9 years - St Thomas - Employed for 3 years. Apart from selling bag juice and sodas, he is employed in construction and has the role of carrying cement and other heav loads. He notes that his boss employs between three and six children

Male, 13 years - Kingston - Begs, sells ackee, guinep, other fruits and produce; lifts heavy loads and mixes cement. This respondent states that his boss employs many children. He is also part of a crew.

Female, 9, Kingston - Sells produce for boss; has broken into a house; Boss employs a number of children

Male, 15, St Catherine - Works in construction; drives a taxi at night; boss employs three children

Female 15, St James - Exotic modelling and dancing, boss employs over 60 girls.

Female 17, St James - Carries drugs, looks out for police while a crime is being committed

The earlier discussions described children's involvement in hazardous occupations: lifting heavy loads, carrying drugs, breaking into houses and mixing cement.

**Table 6.3.3 Hazardous Occupations**

	YES, MANY TIMES	YES, FEW TIMES	YES, BUT ONLY ONCE	NO, NOT AT ALL	TOTAL
Lift heavy loads	21.51% 74	15.70% 54	1.45% 5	61.34% 211	344
Mix cement on a construction site	12.06% 41	11.76% 40	1.47% 5	74.71% 254	340
Work in places where there are dangerous machines/equipment	8.12% 28	3.19% 11	0.58% 2	88.12% 304	345
Break into houses or a business place	0.87% 3	0.29% 1	2.03% 7	96.81% 334	345
Carry a weapon	0.87% 3	1.75% 6	0.87% 3	96.50% 331	343
Carry drugs	0.58% 2	0.58% 2	0.87% 3	97.96% 336	343
Look out for police or soldiers while a crime is being committed	1.75% 6	2.63% 9	1.17% 4	94.44% 323	342
Have sex with someone who is about your age	4.09% 14	2.34% 8	1.75% 6	91.81% 314	342
Have sex with someone who is younger than you are	1.46% 5	0.29% 1	0.29% 1	97.96% 336	343
Have sex with an older man	1.48% 5	1.19% 4	0.30% 1	97.03% 327	337
Have sex with an older woman	2.65% 9	2.94% 10	0.88% 3	93.53% 318	340



The data indicates that while the majority (61%: 211) have never been required to lift heavy loads, 46%:197 of boys and 23%:30 of girls had been paid to lift loads, such as bags of cement, buckets of water, crates filled with bottles, 50 pounds of rice, 120 pounds of carrots, an engine block, iron, bags of lime. Thus, boys were more involved in these activities than were girls.

Similarly, 75%:254 of the children had never mixed cement; however, 34%:70 of boys compared with a considerably lower 8%:10 of girls had done so, at least once; 14%:3 of boys as opposed to 6%:8 of girls had been exposed to dangerous equipment.

Small proportions reported that they had been involved in criminal activities (approximately 2%:7 (4 boys and 3 girls) had carried drugs; approximately 3.5%:12 (6 boys and 6 girls) carried weapons; another 3.5%:11 (of which 7 were boys) had broken into houses or business places and 5%:19 (7 boys and 12 girls) looked out for police or soldiers while a crime was being committed. (note that a higher proportion of girls are used as lookouts) Subsequent interviews revealed that the numbers may underrepresent the children who are actually involved in various criminal activities.

In one high school in St James, one boy (15 years) acknowledged:

*"I am already a don. I am in a crew. Everyone looks up to me. That crew includes boys from several high schools. If one person gets beaten and if someone tried to kill anyone them, we respond. We are used to killing. Where I live, I see people killed a lot. I would do it. If someone threatens me, I would do it first."* (Focus Group Discussion, High School, St James, June 18, 2019)

Twenty-two children had been paid to have sex with an older woman; ten had been paid to have sex with an older man; 28 had sex with someone of their age group and 7 with someone younger. (It is possible that children were not all forthright about their involvement in sexual activities.)

Subsequent interviews revealed that among the girls who asserted they did not have sex for pay were those who regarded their involvement with older men as consensual and built on emotional bonds rather than simply transactional and monetary, as the question appeared to suggest. As these girls admitted, these men, some as old as their fathers, were, in actuality, their 'boyfriends' whom they love and who would take care of their school fees and other expenses, with sex being part of the arrangement. Had the question been asked to probe their perspective, the results would likely have been different.

## INTERGENERATIONAL PROSTITUTION

A series of life stories were conducted in one community, where prostitution is common among older women as well as children as young as ten years. Here, prostitution is not frowned upon but regarded as a rational response to hard times. Most of the older women had started having sex for money trade as teenagers. Three excerpts are presented below to demonstrate the pattern of thought/cultures of meaning that appear to be accepted:

**Young woman, 24 years**

*"I have two sons. My baby father died. I hustle and work in a bar. I also do hair (I am a hairdresser). I left school in Grade 10. I was 16 years. I went to Denham Town High School and got pregnant in school. I started having sex at 15 years. I was in a crew then. I wasn't doing well in school. Schoolwork was not hard but I had no help. My own father died and my mother had 5 children and so it was hard. Some of my siblings finished school but all still work in bars. None got subjects."* (Excerpt from life story, July 31, 2019)

*"I sometimes have sex for money. I go with anybody. Because I have my children, I have to do certain things to finance them. There are many girls who are younger than I am who do it. They just see it as a transaction."* (Excerpt from life story, July 31, 2019)

*"My mother does hairdressing and sells cash pot. She doesn't know what I do."* (Excerpt from life story, July 31, 2019)

**Woman, 38 years**

*"My life is hard. I have six children going to school. I sell my body to help them. I am not working. I started selling my body at 19 years. None of my daughters sell their bodies. I do it for them. In this community, girls at ages 11, 12 and 13 go out to other communities. They go anywhere to have sex; they do it on any corner. If they don't have sex, they have no money."* (Excerpt from life story, July 31, 2019)

*"A lot of men from the upper and middle class come down here. All types of men come.*

*I protect myself. Sex doesn't affect me. I just tell myself what is to be will be. If I can get a work, I will stop. I can do janitorial work, cleaning etc."* (Excerpt from life story, July 31, 2019)

**Young woman, 22 years**

*"I have sex for money and to buy clothes and hype. I started at 18 years. I have a boyfriend. He works and gives me money. My boyfriend has other children. I can do cleaning jobs. I would finish school if I could."* (Excerpt from life story, July 31, 2019)

**Young woman, 27 years**

*"People want jobs and they feel that is all they can do. Sex doesn't affect them because they feel they have to do it. I just want money. I want to go to parties and buy things and so I do it."* (Excerpt from life story, July 31, 2019)

*"Men sometimes insult us. If we have an argument with them, they call us all types of names. Sometimes we get beaten during sex but we keep our minds on what we want".* (Excerpt from life story, July 31, 2019)



## Girl 16 years

*"If I am on the streets, I sit outside. I ask for \$100 or \$200. Sometimes people do not have it. I gamble sometimes. I also smoke cigarettes. I stay out at night. I used to go to Norman Manley High. I followed company and didn't go back to school. A lot of children here do not go to school, especially boys. I realise that what I did was wrong. I want to go back to school.*

*I left school at 8th grade after a fight with a girl.*

*I started having sex at 13 years. I have sex for money. I once had sex with someone I met on the road. Sometimes I sex someone and regret but overall, it doesn't trouble the inside of me. I see it as enjoyment sometimes.*

*My mother took me to a reader woman and I got 2 to 3 baths because they said my stepfather was trying to get back to my mother and she didn't want him. And so he set something for her and I walked over it and so six demons were inside of me. I got the baths at 13-14 and I started having sex after that. Since the baths, I have continued having sex and continued to war.*

*I don't want a disease so I have a relationship. I have a boyfriend but I don't know his age. My boyfriend is a good man. He could be my father but dem man den an di real man. Dem take care. He doesn't hit me. Every day he is here.*

*If you live in this community and you don't have a man, they say no man wants you. If they see a man taking care, they bring you down."* (Excerpt from life story, July 31, 2019)

During the course of this conversation, this child's mother was seated in the yard conversing with the child's boyfriend, whom researchers had assumed was the mother's partner.

## **R**RISKY SEXUAL PRACTICES

The interview findings are consistent with other reports that indicate that children on the streets engage in risky sexual practices. Conversations with boys in the same community confirm that big men also venture in to have sex with some of their peers; they also arrange to meet them on the outskirts of the community. There were other boys across the parishes who maintained that they are involved in two or three sexual relationships, in order to ensure that someone is there if the other leaves.

Finally, groups of boys ply the streets of New Kingston at particular periods in the night and early morning. They regularly—and aggressively—solicit boys and men on the streets. According to commentators, condoms are regularly found in some of the favoured spots.

## 6.4 THREATS TO CHILDREN

Children were asked to identify their worst experiences on the streets. In response, they listed being involved in fights, police taking away their goods, being hurt, being robbed, and involvement in a car accident. Some described the agony of losing the funds they had worked for:

*"I sold all my breadfruits and lost the money on the way home."*

Notably, children are vulnerable to sexual exploitation. Children in Kingston and St. Andrew asserted that they regularly run from sexual predators, principally big men in expensive cars.

Of the boys who hustle on the streets, children highlighted the following threats: they are taken away, they go missing, they get cut, police harasses them, they are beaten, murdered, kidnapped, raped and stabbed. Meanwhile, girls are largely subjected to rape, being kidnapped, being stabbed, quarrels and their goods being stolen.

Given the threats, children prefer to remain close to their communities.

What/who do children see as best recourse if they were hurt on the streets? Fifty-seven percent (57%:193) would go to their families; 29%:100 would report to the police station. Children were least likely to report to the CPFSA, which they associate with removing them from their families.

**Figure 6.4.1. Views on Reporting**



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Police station	29.59%	100
Child Protection and Family Services Agency/CDA	1.18%	4
Boss/General	5.33%	18
Family Members	57.10%	193
Friend	2.66%	9
I would tell no one	2.96%	10
Other (please specify)	2.07%	7
Total Respondents: 338		

Faced with the opportunities and the constraints, do children prefer to continue their work/hustling on the streets? Forty percent (40%:134; 42%:85 boys and 38%:45 girls who responded) would opt to remain on the streets while 51%:170 would prefer not to. The principal reasons for either position are listed below.



**Table 6.4.2 Reasons for Remaining on and Leaving the Streets**

I would remain on the streets because...	I would leave the streets because...
I like it	It's not a nice place for girls
I need to do it	I'm afraid of being kidnapped
I want to get money to buy and sell	I want to graduate high school and get a good job
Our goods are being taken away; we cannot go out as normal	I want a better life
I like having my own money	I need the opportunity to do something else
It's my current job	It makes me sad
When my mother refuses to give me money I have to walk and make money	It is very dangerous
I need the money to go to school	It is possible to beg the wrong people
I have to continue until I finish school	I would like to attend college
Sometimes I have nothing to eat	It's been abusive out there
I love it and the compliments	Its pressuring me
I have no one to discourage me	I want to do my school work

**SUMMARY**

The majority of respondents hustles/works or begs on the streets in the daytime only; approximately one-quarter of the sample are on the streets in both the day and night. Of those who hustle during the daytime, over 57% do so after school. This pattern is consistent with that observed in the 2002 study: the majority of children on the streets attend school and are seeking funds to support themselves and their families.

The common daytime activities include selling snacks and ground provisions, such as sweets, newspapers and ground provisions. Over one-quarter of the sample wipe car glass and wash cars while a smaller proportion (12%) hustle in night clubs and at parties.

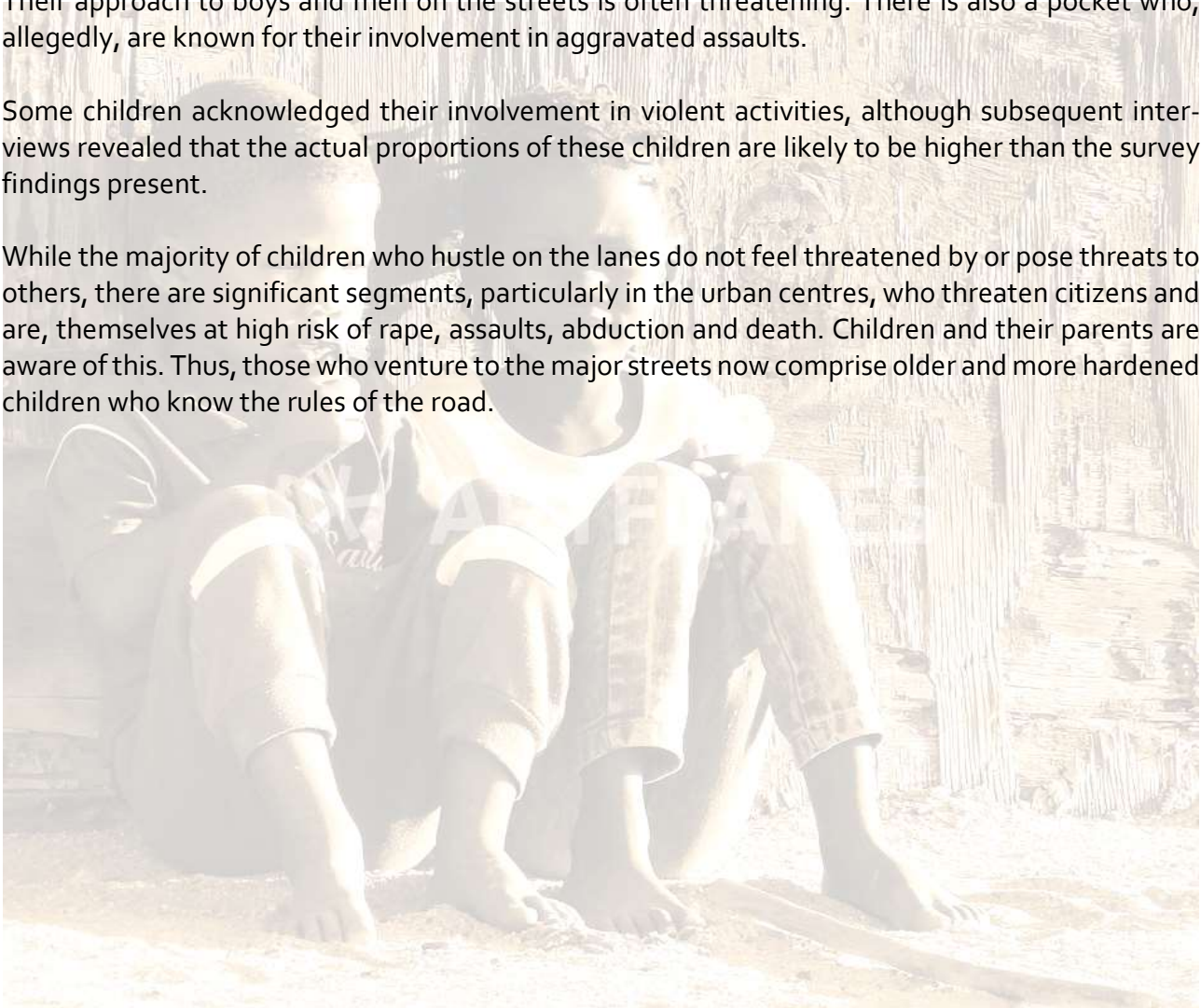
Beyond these, there are varying patterns of activity across the communities. In Kingston and St. Andrew and St. James, children who live off the dump also sell scrap metal, loom and copper. Children from one particular community collect money from sponsorship papers. Reports gathered in the course of this study indicate that children are involved in prostitution, particularly in Kingston and St Andrew, St James, St Ann, St Mary and Westmoreland. Children who reside within fishing

villages in St. Catherine and Clarendon are occupied with various tasks in the boating business. However, some girls are involved in prostitution and/or beg for a living. As in select communities in Kingston and St Andrew, prostitution appears to be learnt/observed behaviour. There is the tendency to consider this a rational response to poverty; therefore, one's body is a 'good' that can be bartered for an income; at least in conversation, the girls or women involved explain that prostitution does not affect them internally.

The study also documented the prevalence of risky sexual practices among children on the streets. Children contend that bigger men proposition young boys and have sexual relations with them. Meanwhile, boys traverse the streets in particular areas and are involved in bisexual relationships. Their approach to boys and men on the streets is often threatening. There is also a pocket who, allegedly, are known for their involvement in aggravated assaults.

Some children acknowledged their involvement in violent activities, although subsequent interviews revealed that the actual proportions of these children are likely to be higher than the survey findings present.

While the majority of children who hustle on the lanes do not feel threatened by or pose threats to others, there are significant segments, particularly in the urban centres, who threaten citizens and are, themselves at high risk of rape, assaults, abduction and death. Children and their parents are aware of this. Thus, those who venture to the major streets now comprise older and more hardened children who know the rules of the road.





## 7. EFFECTIVENESS OF LEGISLATIONS

The situations of children who live and work on the streets force reflection on the content and effectiveness of existing legislations. What is the status of the protective processes and mechanisms that are, in principle, afforded under the existing legal instruments? Are the legislations sufficiently comprehensive, given the range of risks that children are exposed to? How effective is the implementation of the legislations? This section outlines the legislations that are pertinent to the findings in the study: (child protection, trafficking in persons; child labour; sexual violence; children in conflict with the law) and comments on their effectiveness.

### 7.1. Major Human Rights Instruments

Jamaica is a signatory to the major human rights instruments that are concerned with protecting children from violence. Apart from the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), Jamaica observes the Optional Protocol to the CRC on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict and is a signatory to the Optional Protocol to the CRC on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography. Jamaica is also a signatory to the Convention on the Eradication of all Forms of Discrimination against Women; ILO Optional Protocols on Child Labour (Conventions 138 and 182); the Beijing Rules (UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Justice); the Riyadh Guidelines (UN Guidelines for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency); UN Rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived of their Liberty; and the Declaration on Survival, Protection and Development of Children.

In 2003, Jamaica also ratified the Palermo Protocol—that is, the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children. This Protocol recognises that “effective action to prevent and combat trafficking in persons, especially women and children, requires a comprehensive international approach in the countries of origin, transit and destination that includes measures to prevent such trafficking, to punish the traffickers and to protect the victims of such trafficking, including by protecting their internationally recognized human rights” (Preamble).

Article 3 of the Palermo Protocol defines human trafficking and human smuggling as follows:

(a) "Trafficking in persons" shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs;

(b) The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) have been used;

(c) The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered "trafficking in persons" even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article;

(d) "Child" shall mean any person under eighteen years of age.

## 7.2 **The Trafficking in Persons—Prevention, Suppression and Punishment—Act**

Pursuant to ratifying the Palermo Protocol, Jamaica updated anti-trafficking legislation as confirmation of its commitment to eliminate human trafficking. Thus, the Trafficking in Persons—Prevention, Suppression and Punishment—Act, 2007 was amended in 2018; this Act is pertinent to the objective of eliminating the sale of children.

The Trafficking in Persons—Prevention, Suppression and Punishment—Act specifies that a person commits the offence of trafficking in persons "where, for the purposes of exploitation he recruits, transports, transfers, harbours or receives another person within Jamaica; recruits, transports or transfers another person from Jamaica to another country; recruits, transports, transfers, harbours or receives another person from another country into Jamaica". The person who commits the offence of trafficking in persons may have used diverse means, including "threat or use of force or other forms of coercion"; abduction; deception or fraud; the abuse of power or a position of vulnerability; the giving or receiving of a benefit in order to obtain the consent of a person who has control over another person." Nevertheless, a person who recruits, transports, transfers, harbours or receives a child for the purposes of exploitation of that child has still committed the offence of trafficking even where he or she has not used the means specified above. Correspondingly, such a person who purposes to exploit the child cannot claim that the child consented to trafficking; the Act specifies that this does not constitute an acceptable defence. Furthermore, a person who facilitates the offence of trafficking has committed an offence.

Persons who commit the offence of trafficking in persons or who facilitates the offence are "liable on conviction and indictment before a Circuit Court to a fine or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding twenty years or to both such fine and imprisonment". Similarly, persons who facilitate the offence, such as through concealing, withholding, removing or destroying any "travel documents that belong to another person" or documents that identify or confirm the immigration status of another person is liable on conviction and indictment before a Circuit Court to a fine or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding ten years or to both such fine and imprisonment".

Persons who receive financial or other benefits from trafficking in persons and persons who conspire to commit the offence are liable on conviction and indictment before a Circuit Court to a fine or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding twenty years or to both such fine and imprisonment.

Where a person is convicted of the offence of trafficking in persons, the Court shall determine whether particular aggravating circumstances obtained in the process of committing the offence. Should these aggravating circumstances be present, the Court may impose an additional term of imprisonment, not exceeding ten years. The Act identifies the following aggravating circumstances:



1. "The convicted person has already been convicted of an offence under this Act";
2. "The convicted person used, threatened to use or caused another person to use or threaten to use an offensive weapon, an explosive or a biological or chemical agent;
3. "In the course of the offence of trafficking in persons or any subsequent exploitation, the convicted person caused the victim to be exposed to a life-threatening illness";
4. "A wrongful act of a sexual nature was committed against the victim";
5. "Where the trafficking in persons occurred by means of the abuse of power or a position of vulnerability...the abuse was carried out by an adult in authority";
6. "The offence involved serious injury to, or a grave risk of death to another person or caused the death of a victim or another person, including death as the result of suicide";
7. "The victim suffers from a mental disorder or a physical disability";
8. "The offence involved more than one victim";
9. "The offence involved a series of acts";
10. "The offence was part of an activity of a criminal organisation"
11. "Drugs, medication or an offensive weapon were used in the commission of the offence";
12. "The victim is a child";
13. "The convicted person is a public officer and the offence was committed while the officer was acting or purporting to act in his official capacity";
14. "The convicted person has been in an intimate relationship with the victim";
15. "The convicted person has participated in a ceremony with the victim purporting to be a marriage ceremony, whether or not the result of the ceremony is a marriage that is legally valid";
16. "There is another factor that affects the seriousness of the offence" (Trafficking in Persons Act, Part II, Paragraph 4).

Critically, "where a person is convicted of the offence of trafficking in persons, the Court shall, in the same proceedings...order the person to pay restitution to the victim". Restitution shall compensate, for example, for the costs of medical expenses, transportation and temporary housing, lost income, attorney's fees and other legal costs; emotional distress and suffering (Trafficking in Persons Act, Part II, Paragraph 6).

The Trafficking in Persons—Prevention, Suppression and Punishment—Act also commits the GoJ to make all efforts to identify victims of trafficking and to provide the protection needed to prevent them from being recaptured or becoming the victim of reprisals. Further, the GoJ shall, in collaboration with NGOs, carry out programmes to assist in the integration, reintegration or resettlement of such persons" (Trafficking in Persons Act, Part III: Assistance to Victims)

The Offences Against the Person Act (1864), which complements the Trafficking in Persons—Prevention, Suppression and Punishment—Act makes child stealing or kidnapping punishable by imprisonment.

### 7.3 **LEGISLATIONS ADDRESSING ENGAGEMENT OF THE CHILD IN FORCED LABOUR**

Jamaica has several pieces of legislation that are pertinent to involvement in child labour, including hazardous occupations. These include:

1. Article 34(1) of the Child Care and Protection Act, which specifies the minimum age for work: Children ages 13-14 can be engaged in light work; children 15 years in regular work
2. Article 34(3) of the Child Care and Protection Act, which specifies the minimum age for hazardous work: a child age 16-17 can be engaged in some hazardous work with training, proper instruction and supervision. However, children of 18 years can engage in hazardous work without supervision.
3. Articles 34(3) (b) and 41 of the Child Care and Protection Act of 2004; Section 55 of the Factories Act: Docks (Safety, Health and Welfare) Regulations; Section 18 of the Mining Act; Section 49 of the Factories Act: Building Operations and Works of Engineering Construction Regulations, which identifies hazardous occupations or activities prohibited for children;
4. Section 4 of the Trafficking in Persons (Prevention, Suppression and Punishment) Act and Section 10 of the Child Care and Protection Act, which prohibits forced labour;
5. Section 4 of the Trafficking in Persons (Prevention, Suppression and Punishment) Act; Section 3 of the Child Pornography (Prevention) Act; Section 40 of the Sexual Offences Act, which prohibits commercial sexual exploitation of children;
6. Section 4 of the Criminal Justice (Suppression of Criminal Organizations) Act, which prohibits the use of children in illicit activities

### 7.4 **ACTS PERTINENT TO PROHIBITING CHILD PROSTITUTION AND OTHER FORMS OF SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OF THE CHILD**

Jamaica's **Sexual Offences Act** is consistent with Articles 4, 19, 29 and 34 of the CRC. It accomplishes the following:

- Establishes a legal gender-neutral definition of rape
- Stipulates that a boy under 14 years of age is capable of rape and other forms of sexual abuse (Part VI, 24)
- Deals with "sexual grooming, touching or interference" between an adult and child or among children
- Defines the responsibilities of household heads to children (under 16 years of age) who are in their charge
- Provides for a Sexual Offenders Register (Section 29)

In Jamaica, rape is currently defined as non-consensual penetration of a vagina by a penis. This definition excludes male victims of rape; it also does not protect female victims of non-vaginal rape or vaginal penetration with an object or body part other than a penis.

In addition to revising the definition, provisions should be strengthened to include:

1. Sanctions against sexual grooming of boys and girls (by perpetrators who are older, younger or of the same age category);



2. Sanctions against non-consensual anal and vaginal sex as well as penetration with objects and other body parts, any or all of the other which are perpetrated by male on male, female on male, male on female and female on female;
3. Stipulations that sex cannot be considered consensual where there has been prior sexual grooming.

#### **7.4. A. The Sexual Offences Act Prohibits Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children:**

A person commits an offence who procures or attempts to procure any other person

(a) who is a child, to have sexual intercourse with or engage in an act of grievous sexual assault with any other person or persons either within or outside Jamaica;

(b) to become, either within or outside Jamaica, a male or female prostitute;

(c) to leave Jamaica, with the intent that the other person shall become a male or female prostitute, or an inmate of, or frequent a house of prostitution; or

(d) to leave the other person's usual place of abode in Jamaica (such place not being a house of prostitution), with the intent that the other person may, for the purposes of prostitution, become an inmate of or frequent a house of prostitution within or outside of Jamaica (Part IV, 18 (1))

Furthermore, it imposes sanctions on parents and guardians who are found culpable of approving the seduction and prostitution of children in their care:

Where on the trial of any offence under this Act it is proved to the satisfaction of the court that the seduction or prostitution of a girl or boy under the age of sixteen years has been caused, encouraged, or favoured by his or her parent or guardian, it shall be in the power of the court to divest such parent or guardian of all authority over the girl or boy, and to appoint any person or persons willing to take charge of such girl or boy to be her or his guardian until she or he has attained the age of eighteen years or any age below this as the court may direct, and a Judge of the Supreme Court shall have the power, from time to time, to rescind or vary such order by the appointment of any other person or persons as such guardian, or in any other respect. (Part IV, 12)

#### **7.4. B. The Sexual Offences Act Addresses Child Abduction for Purposes of Sexual Intercourse and Prostitution**

Part IV, 20 of the Sexual Offences Act stipulates that "a person commits an offence who takes, or causes to be taken, any unmarried child out of the possession and against the will of his or her parent or guardian, with the intent that such child should have sexual intercourse with or engage in an act of grievous sexual assault involving any other person or persons generally." In addition, Part IV, 21 prohibits unlawful detention for purposes of sexual intercourse or in a house of prostitution. Thus the Sexual Offences Act complements the Trafficking in Persons—Prevention, Suppression and Punishment—Act.

## 7.5. **ACTS PERTINENT TO PROHIBITING CHILD PORNOGRAPHY**

The study of children on the streets also highlighted children's engagement in sexually explicit photo shoots. Jamaica has several acts that are pertinent to this.

**7.5.1. THE CHILD PORNOGRAPHY (PREVENTION) ACT, 2009**, complements Articles 4, 34 and 36 of the CRC.

As specified in the ACT, "child pornography" means--

- (a) any visual representation that
  - (i) shows a person who is, or is depicted as being, a child and is engaged in, or is depicted as being engaged in, sexual activity;
  - (ii) depicts, for a sexual purpose, the genitals, breast, pubic area or anal region of a child; or
  - (iii) depicts a child being subjected to torture, cruelty or physical abuse in a sexual context;
- (b) any audio recording or written material that has as its dominant characteristic the description, presentation, or representation, for a sexual purpose, of sexual activity with a child; or
- (c) any visual representation, audio recording, or written material, that advocates or counsels sexual activity with a child;

The Child Pornography (Prevention) ACT establishes penalties for the commercial sexual exploitation of children, including the production, possession, importation, exportation and dissemination of child pornography.

### 7.5.2 OTHER ACTS PROHIBITING CHILD PORNOGRAPHY

The listing below summarizes other ACTs that prohibit child pornography:

1. **Obscene Publications (Suppression of) Act, 1927** - This ACT makes it an offence to trade in, import or distribute obscene paintings, drawings, writings, posters or any such objects. This ACT complements Articles 4 and 36 of the CRC.
2. **Post Office Regulations, 1941** - This ACT prohibits the use of the post office for conveying or delivering any article that contains indecent or obscene prints, paintings, lithographs, engravings and so on. These regulations complement Articles 4 and 36 of the CRC.
3. **The CyberCrimes Act, 2010 and 2015**. This ACT prohibits unauthorised access to, modification and use of computer programmes and data. The ACT notes, further:

A person commits an offence if that person accesses any program or data held in a computer with the intent to -

- (a) commit any offence punishable by imprisonment for a term that exceeds one year; or
- (b) facilitate the commission of an offence referred to in paragraph (a), whether by himself or by any other person.



## 7.6. THE CHILD CARE AND PROTECTION ACT (CCPA)

Jamaica's core national implementing legislation is the Child Care and Protection Act, which succeeded the Juveniles Act of 1951.

Corresponding with Article 8 of the Optional Protocol, Jamaica's Child Care and Protection Act, which came into effect on 1 April 2004, is designed to provide legal protection for all the nation's children. Consistent with the CRC, the objects of the Act are as follows:

1. To "promote the best interests, safety and wellbeing of children" (Article 3, Guiding Principles).
2. To "recognize that while parents often need help in caring for children", state assistance must support the "autonomy and integrity of the family unit" (Articles 5 and 18).
3. To see that child services are provided in ways that recognize the importance of stable family relationships and continuity of care. They must also take children's physical and mental differences into account.
4. To specially recognize children who are in conflict with the law (Articles 3, a and d).

The CCPA determines the child's best interest, using the following criteria:

- (a) safety of the child;
- (b) child's physical and emotional needs and level of development;
- (c) importance of continuity in the child's care;
- (d) quality of the relationship the child has with a parent or other person and the effect of maintaining that relationship;
- (e) child's religious and spiritual views;
- (f) child's level of education and educational requirements;
- (g) child's age and maturity, so as to evaluate whether the child is capable of forming his or her own views and, if so, those views are to be given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child; and
- (h) effect on the child of a delay in making a decision (CCPA, Article 2).

In principle, CCPA provides for all children and, in that regard, supports the guiding principle of non-discrimination (Article 2). The Act stipulates that all children "are entitled to be protected from abuse, neglect and harm or threat of harm". It penalises parties, including parents, who commit offences against children. The five principal categories of offences are physical and emotional abuse and ill-treatment, sexual abuse, child labour, offences against the person, and administrative offences (such as unlawful disclosure of information on children).

Therefore, while the CCPA does not name each offence that is prioritised in the Optional Protocol, it is sufficiently broad to cover them. Further, the CCPA establishes the legal basis for state care for children who are (and/or are likely to become) victims of these offences.

The CCPA defines a child in need of care and protection as one who:

- (a) [has] no parent or guardian, or . . . a parent or guardian unfit to exercise care and guardianship, or not exercising proper care and guardianship, is either falling into bad associations, exposed to moral danger, or beyond control;
- (b) is being cared for in circumstances in which the child's physical or mental health or emotional state is being seriously impaired or there is a substantial risk that it will be seriously impaired;
- (c) is a child in respect of whom any offence has been committed or attempted to be committed;

- (d) is a member of the same household as a child in respect of whom such an offence has been committed; or
- (e) is a member of the same household as a person who has been convicted of such an offence in respect of a child.

2. In addition, the fact that a child is found

- (a) destitute;
- (b) wandering without any settled place of abode and without visible means of subsistence;
- (c) begging or receiving alms or loitering for that purpose, shall, without prejudice to the generality of the provisions of subsection 1(a), be evidence that the child is exposed to moral danger. (Part 1, 8, pp. 15–16)

### **The Children's Advocate (CA), Children's Registrar and the Children's Court**

The CCPA provides for three important entities, which were established to protect the rights of children. These are the Children's Advocate, the Children's Registrar, the Children's Registry and the Children's Court within the already established Family Courts.<sup>13</sup> However, since 2017, all agencies have been merged under one umbrella organisation: The Child Protection and Family Services Agency (CPFSA).

1. Section 4 (1) For the purpose of protecting and enforcing the rights of children, there is hereby established a commission of Parliament which shall be known as the **Children's Advocate**.
2. Section 5 (1) For the purposes of this Act there shall be a Children's Registrar and a Children's Registry
3. Section 71 (1) The Minister responsible for justice shall cause to be established courts to be known as Children's Court, which shall be constituted in accordance with the Third Schedule and when so constituted and sitting for the purpose of exercising any jurisdiction conferred on them by this or any other enactment shall be deemed to have, subject to the provisions of this Act, all the powers of a Resident Magistrates Court and the procedure in the **Children's Court**, subject to the provisions of this Act, shall be the same as in the Resident Magistrates Court.

### **The Child Protection and Family Services Agency (Formerly Child Development Agency)**

The CPFSA has responsibility for children who are in need of care and protection and those who are awaiting the outcome of court proceedings related to care and protection. CPFSA's child protection services include the following:

1. Intake – As CPFSA is the first point of contact for clients, it gathers the information that is necessary for assessing the situation and deciding on appropriate actions.
2. Investigation – Through this process, CPFSA seeks to evaluate complaints, prepare and submit findings, as well as act on reports that are received by its intake services desk, which is located in each of its parish offices. CPFSA receives and investigates reports from the Children's Registry and, subsequently, prepares a status report.
3. Counselling and Guidance – This component aims to support the child in order to improve behaviour, facilitate his or her development, as well as ensure safety and protection.

---

<sup>13</sup> Child Care & Protection Act, 2004– Sections 4, 5, 71



4. Case Planning – The caseworker collaborates with the child's family in order to develop a plan for effective intervention. This process involves risk identification, including problematic behaviours, as well as defining the strategies and interventions that are required to promote the desired changes. The case plan establishes clear goals and outcomes, as well as targets for measuring achievements.

5. Case Management – Case management entails placing a child in a programme that is considered to be best suited to his or her needs; monitoring of the child's progress; referral to the appropriate social service departments and monitoring – on the client's behalf – of the services received from a range of social agencies. The CPFSA, through its case managers/children's officers, has the leading role in coordinating services and advocating for the client.

The CPFSA offers the following programmes: residential care for children in need of care and protection; investigations to satisfy requests from overseas agencies; preparation of Social Enquiry Reports for submission to the courts, as well as recommendations for actions that are in the child's best interests in order to guide court decisions; inspections of residential care facilities; monitoring of children in police lock-ups; and intervention services for children and families who are considered to be at risk (Profile Summary of the CPFSA).

**The Children's Advocate** was established in January 2006. It has the following specific functions, as specified in Part 1 (3, p. 10) of the CCPA:

Where, in any proceedings, a child is brought before the court and it appears that the child requires legal representation in those proceedings, the court shall (a) refer the case to the Children's Advocate or, if the court thinks fit, grant a legal aid certificate in such circumstances as may be prescribed; (b) if the court thinks fit, adjourn the proceedings until such time as the court considers sufficient to allow for, as the case may be –

- (i) the Children's Advocate to consider the case; or
- (ii) the necessary arrangements to be made for the child to obtain legal representation pursuant to the legal aid certificate; and
- (iii) cause to be delivered to the Children's Advocate a notice of its determination under this section.

The Children's Advocate has legal, consultative, regulatory, investigative, administrative, and educational and advisory roles:

- Legal – Representing children in courts and non-criminal proceedings; advising on the best interests of the child
- Consultative – soliciting views from children and parents on the role of the Children's Advocate
- Regulatory – reviewing laws and practices that pertain to child rights; assessing the quality of services provided for children to ensure that appropriate standards are met Investigative – Investigating complaints of child rights infringements/abuses Administrative – Assisting children who are making complaints about rights infringements; acting on the child's behalf when complaints are being investigated; recording complaints; reporting to Parliament
- Educational and Advisory – Teaching children about the Children's Advocate's roles and functions; advising Parliament on matters relating to the child's best interest.

**The Children's Registry** was established on 1 January 2007 to record reports of actual and potential contraventions of child rights. "Prescribed persons" (select designated professionals, including

teachers, social workers and guidance counsellors) who fail to report as required will be subject to fines. Thus:

(2) Any person who has information which causes that person to suspect that a child (a) has been, is being or is likely to be abandoned, neglected or, physically or sexually ill-treated; or (b) is otherwise in need of care and protection, shall make a report to the Registry. (3) A prescribed person who, in the discharge of that person's duties, acquires information that ought reasonably to cause that person to suspect that a child – (a) has been, is being or is likely to be, and abandoned, neglected or, physically or sexually ill-treated; or (b) is otherwise in need of care and protection, shall make a report to the Registry in accordance with the provisions of this section.

The Children's Registrar is then required to assess reports and either (a) refer them for further investigation; or (b) notify the person who is charged with the child's care, unless this would cause further harm. Reports are to be kept confidential; there are specified fines should this dictum be breached. Further, the Registrar is liable to be fined should s/he fail to assess reports and refer them for investigation, where required. Except for the Children's Advocate, officers who fail to investigate reports are considered in breach of their duty and are liable to be fined. With these punitive measures, the act attempts to enforce the effective exercise of responsibilities, in the child's best interest.

### **The Children's Court**

Children who are in need of care and protection and children whose parents have difficulty controlling them may be brought to the Children's Court so that welfare decisions can be made. A child who is accused of an offence should be brought before the Children's Court or to another court if he or she is charged along with an adult. A child who has been a victim of a criminal offence, either from another child or an adult may be brought (as a complainant or witness) to the Circuit, Resident Magistrate's or Children's Court.

When offences against children are brought to the Children's Court, the court makes orders, such as concerning the placement of the children, counselling for victims and punishments for offenders. The CCPA has provisions for how children should be treated during court proceedings, including specific guidance for dealing with children who are in conflict with the law.

### **Children's Officer, Probation and After-Care Officer**

CCPA outlines the roles of children's officers, probation and after-care officers. The children's officer has responsibility for children in need of care and protection. The after-care and probation officers deal with children in conflict with the law. Where a child is found guilty of committing an offence, the court may dismiss the case; make an order for probation; place the child under the supervision of an after-care officer or probation officer, with or without a probation order. Where a child, who is to be brought before a Children's Court, is in need of care and protection, the notice is served on a children's officer. Probation and children's officers prepare reports to assist the courts with decision-making.



## 7.7. VICTIMS CHARTER, 2000

This Charter notes the imbalance between rights protection for victims and offenders and seeks to improve provisions for victims. The Victims Charter provides state compensation for victims. It also improves protection for children and other vulnerable groups. This Act is consistent with Articles 4, 34 and 36 of the CRC.

## 7.8. COMMENTS ON EFFECTIVENESS

There is consensus that the body of legislation has led to significant improvements in children's welfare. However, the 2018 Situation Analysis of Children notes that "the expansion of the legislative framework to support the child protection sector has outpaced the strengthening of institutions that are intended to operationalize, implement, monitor and enforce the various pieces of legislation".<sup>14</sup>

The earlier 2010 Situation Assessment of the Rights of Children and Adolescents had also pointed to pervasive implementation gaps, particularly in the following areas: child labour; sexual offenses against children; physical violence against children; defending the rights of specific categories of vulnerable children; and securing the best interests of children in need of care and protection and of children in lock-ups. Therefore, high rates of offences against children continue despite the enactment of differing legislations. Situations are compounded for children on the streets, who are among the most marginalised of vulnerable groups.

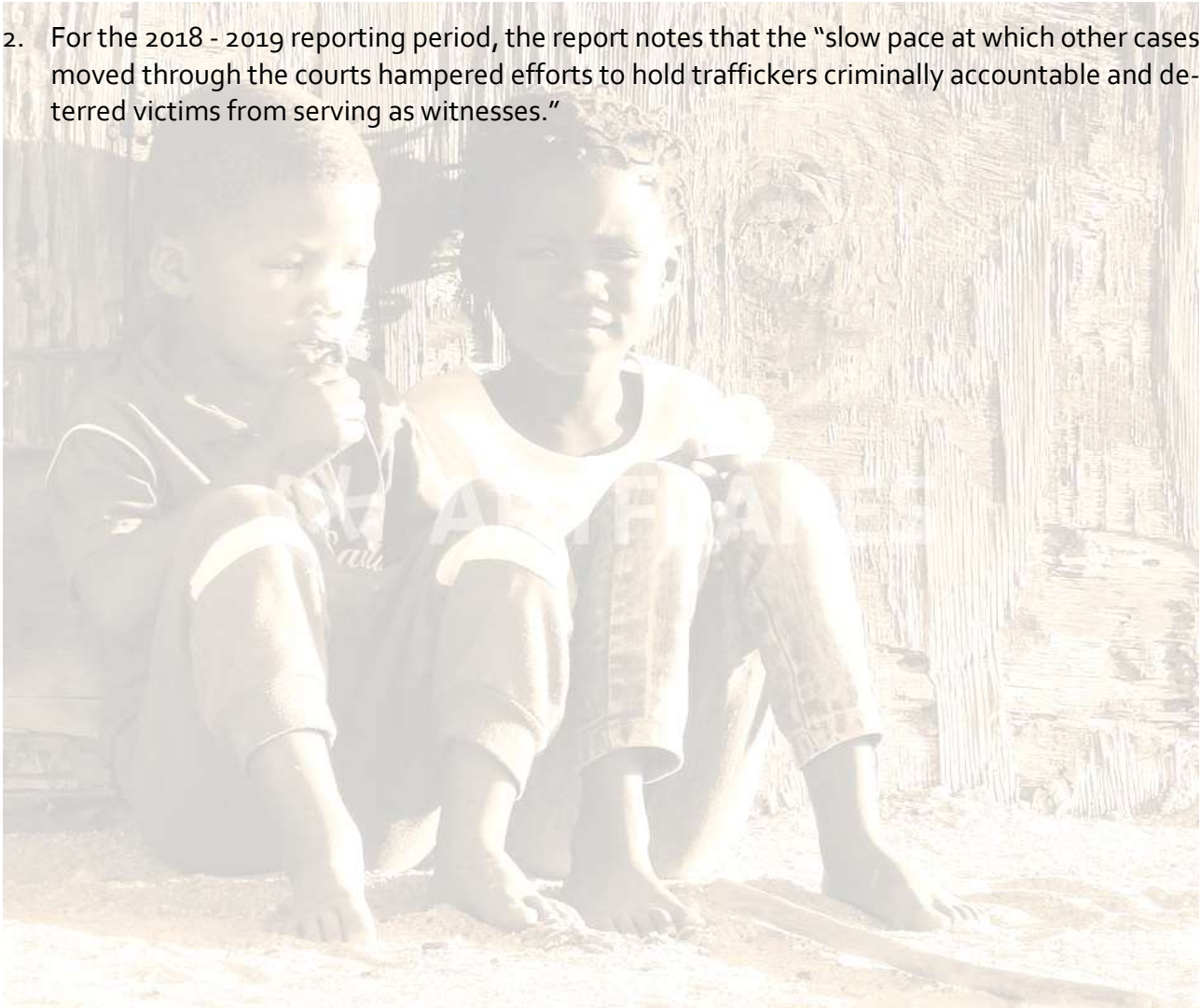
There are related issues that impair efforts to evaluate the scale of child work on the streets and the real severity of their experiences.

1. The data available from the Children's Registry is not disaggregated to depict child prostitution. Rather, to date, child prostitution has been included under the category: 'other sexual abuse'. Therefore, codes are now being created for child prostitution; child pornography; sexual grooming; and sex with males under 16 years.
2. There are challenges with determining the scale of child trafficking. According to the CR, the numbers of reported cases of child trafficking have decreased significantly in recent periods. In 2018, 4 cases were reported, down from 13 in 2017. This reduction occurred because, prior to 2018, the CR had defined particular allegations as trafficking that, upon review, were not genuine cases. The Trafficking in Persons Unit is to provide training to the CR, which should result in more precise classification of the data. Conversely, one of the key premises for the recently formulated Child Protection Compact (CPC) Partnership is that "while the Jamaican Government has strong political will to combat child trafficking, there is still a need to enhance its efforts in identifying child trafficking victims and successfully prosecuting child trafficking cases". There is concern that the actual numbers of cases of child trafficking is higher than those reported to and recorded by the CR. Further, the CPC contends that there is insufficient knowledge of what constitutes child trafficking; therefore, across all levels, stakeholders have difficulty with identifying it.

<sup>14</sup>UNICEF, CAPRI, Situation Analysis of Jamaican Children, p.24

The 2019 US Trafficking in Persons Report outlined the following specific concerns:

1. Law enforcement efforts were not sufficiently comprehensive. It notes that the Trafficking in Persons (Prevention, Suppression, and Punishment) Act ensures that sex and labour trafficking are criminalized and subject to stringent penalties (up to 20 years' imprisonment, a fine, or both for offenses involving an adult victim, and up to 30 years' imprisonment, a fine, or both for those involving a child victim). However, where persons are convicted of sex trafficking, the Act permits a fine in lieu of imprisonment and allows for a lower maximum prison sentence, which leads to the conclusion that "these penalties were not commensurate with those for other serious crimes, such as rape".
2. For the 2018 - 2019 reporting period, the report notes that the "slow pace at which other cases moved through the courts hampered efforts to hold traffickers criminally accountable and deterred victims from serving as witnesses."





## 8. EFFECTIVENESS OF POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES

The findings from this study of Children on the Streets also raise questions about the reach and transformative potential of existing policies and programmes. Thus, what is the status of the policy framework that pertains to child protection broadly and child labour, specifically? What are the inherent and contingent limitations to these policies and corresponding programmes and plans? What are the inherent and contingent strengths these policies, programmes and plans? How much impact have these policies, programmes and projects had on child work on the streets?

Since Jamaica's ratification of the CRC, the Government of Jamaica (GOJ), its International Development Partners (IDPs) and various organizations within civil society have worked to formulate public policies that are consistent with the objectives and goals of the CRC. These policies and programmes include the National Development Plan (NDP): Vision 2030 Jamaica, which provides the overarching policy framework. Within this framework, there are sector plans, national plans of action and civil society programmes.

### 8.1 The NDP: Vision 2030 Jamaica

Vision 2030 Jamaica is the country's first long term development plan; it was the product of collaboration among the GOJ, the private sector and other civil society groups. Vision 2030 dispenses with the traditional development paradigm, which seeks to generate growth and development through improving the tourism, agriculture and mineral industries over the short to medium term. It replaces that approach with a development plan that focuses on building cultural, human, knowledge and institutional capital over time, believing that this long-term approach augurs well for sustainability and is best able to catapult the country to developed status by 2030. Vision 2030 is long-term and integrated; it includes social, economic and environmental components.

### 8.2 SECTOR PLANS: RELEVANCE TO THE OPTIONAL PROTOCOL

The National Development Plan: Vision 2030 Jamaica is made up of particular sector plans that have direct roles in implementing the comprehensive actions that are critical for reaching and sustaining the gains envisioned under the Optional Protocol. Sector plans that are pertinent for protecting children comprise those on health, education, labour, social welfare as well as plans that deal with vulnerable groups, poverty reduction and disabilities.

#### 8.2a SOCIAL WELFARE AND VULNERABLE GROUPS, DISABILITIES AND POVERTY REDUCTION

The task force on "social welfare and vulnerable groups" notes that the sector is committed to building a "social welfare system that is responsible to the needs of the vulnerable populations and contributes to maintaining human dignity". The sector plan focuses on addressing differing manifestations of vulnerability, including homelessness; the impact of natural disasters; deportee and refugee status; human trafficking; poverty and chronic illnesses; and the needs of "at-risk" children, youth and the elderly. It necessarily involves a number of ministries, departments and agencies,

including the Ministry of Labour and Social Security (MLSS), Ministry of Health and Wellness (MOHW), Ministry of Education, Youth and Information (MOEYI), NGOs and CBOs, Ministry of Local Government (MLG), Office of the Prime Minister (OPM), Child Protection and Family Services Agency (CPFSA) and Municipal Services Commission.

The sector plan outlines a range of mechanisms and institutions that address the needs of vulnerable children. These include the CCPA, CPFSA the Early Childhood Act and the Programme for the Advancement of Health and Education (PATH), which provides cash transfers to children from selected households in poverty, one-time post-secondary grants and tertiary bursaries (currently valued at \$100,000) to assist students with pursuing Bachelor Degree programmes. Beneficiaries of tertiary assistance must have received at least one PATH benefit payment while in Secondary School.

There are other goals and strategies that are significant for how vulnerable children are treated, including:

1. Enforce all legislations relating to care and protection of children and comply with the CRC
  2. Assess and revise the system of inventory to ensure the adequacy of supplies for assistance in emergencies with sensitivity to differences in age, gender, disability, geography (climate) etc.
  3. Improve the mechanisms for coordinating rehabilitation efforts to ensure greater efficiency and prevent duplication.
  4. Establish a pool of funds to enable the provision of regular periodic monetary benefits for children who are not currently covered by any other financing mechanism (welfare recipient).
  5. Ensure food security to enable the provision of adequate nutritional needs of children in schools and institutions by improving and expanding the school-feeding programme; identify and address barriers that prevent accessibility to services (health, education, housing, safe water).
  6. Ensure that information and services are available to all sectors of the population, including persons with all types of disabilities.
- Provide suitable accommodation, care and protection to children in Institutions (e.g. residential care, mental health facilities, Children's Homes) according to specific needs
  - Ensure the provision of age appropriate education for children in institutional care
  - Provide support to families as an alternative to institutional care (including foster parenting) (Sector Plan, Social Welfare and Vulnerable Groups, 33–36)

There are designated youth programmes that aim to reach vulnerable children up to 18 years of age. These are identified in the National Youth Policy (see below), particularly the provisions that focus on unattached youth and youth who are resident in and exiting children's homes and places of safety. The sector plan outlines other specific youth focused strategies:

- Provide assistance in emergency for rehabilitation or other needs



-Regular periodic monetary benefits (welfare recipients)

-Adequate nutritional provision in schools and institutions

-Ensure that services are provided and accessible (health, education, housing, safe water) -Suitable Institutional Care and Care and Protection for children who require this service (e.g. residential care, mental health facilities, Children's Homes, correctional facilities).

-Provide halfway houses for youth leaving state institutions.

-Provide vulnerable youth with capacity and opportunities to earn a living, (including provision of life-skills and the engagement of private sector in mentorship and apprenticeship)

-Develop programmes for out-of-school youth in the age group 15–16 who are unable to access existing training and educational programmes that do not cater to that age group. (Sector Plan, Social Welfare and Vulnerable Groups, 36–37)

In addition, there are strategies that are designed to address other aspects of vulnerability, including homelessness, vulnerability to natural disasters, refugees, human trafficking, vulnerability as a result of chronic illnesses, and vulnerability as a consequence of disabilities; all these vulnerabilities can expose children to added risks, such as sexual exploitation, sale, forced labour and trafficking.

It is important to underscore the following: The Ministry of Labour and Social Security provides a range of Public Assistance Programmes, including the Rehabilitation Programme, which 'provides support to individuals in need of social assistance for compassionate purposes or to improve their economic base through income generating projects' (the Rehabilitation Programme has four types of grants: Rehabilitation Assistance Grant; Compassionate Assistance Grant; Emergency Assistance Grant; Education and Social Intervention Grant.

Given the findings from this study, special note should be made of which "assists children who cannot attend school or whose regular attendance is affected by their parents'/guardians' inability to provide uniforms, schoolbooks and other basic needs." The MLSS notes that "parents/guardians of such children may, simultaneously, access Rehabilitation Grants to establish income generating projects."<sup>15</sup>

The MLSS' Steps to Work project is also pertinent to this study. Steps to Work is designed to "assist working-age members of poor families to seek and retain employment". There are 4 groups of interventions, which the MLSS describes as follows:

- "Entrepreneurship Training and Micro-Finance Support – eligible beneficiaries may receive grants of up to \$100,000.00 to establish or expand small businesses."
- "Job-readiness training, placement referrals and paid on-the-job training opportunities for qualified secondary and tertiary graduates "
- "Technical/vocational training and certification opportunities are provided in collaboration with the HEART Trust/NTA and through private training organizations"

---

<sup>15</sup> <https://www.mlss.gov.jm/mlss/?departments=path>

- “Second Chance Education Initiative – The intervention covers tuition and examination costs for participants, who are being prepared to sit/re-sit up to five (5) CSEC subjects and attain NCT/TVET level II certification in a vocational skill.”

## 8.2b POVERTY REDUCTION

The Poverty Reduction Sector Plan highlights both the multidimensional and intergenerational nature of poverty. Children are among the more vulnerable groups, comprising over half of those living in poverty, while constituting approximately 38% of the population. The plan recognizes the importance of addressing the factors that appear to underpin the cyclical nature of poverty:

- low educational attainment levels
- low income earning capability
- inability to access basic social services;
- lack of economic opportunities leading to underemployment, unemployment and low wage employment;
- poor rural development [which affects] the opportunities and livelihoods of rural households and
- high levels of risk due to natural hazards and poor environmental practices. (GOJ 2009, Vision 2030 Poverty Reduction Sector Plan, 9–10).

The sector’s action plan seeks to improve the mechanisms for “measuring and monitoring poverty” and to ensure “equitable access to basic goods and services”. The latter includes actions that should have benefits for children:

1. Designing and implementing policies, projects and programmes that target identified priority population groups and geographic areas.
2. Creat[ing] more client-responsive services (age, disability, gender etc) that provide “real” access for the poor.
3. Promot[ing] sustainable community development initiatives
4. Ensur[ing] access to affordable housing, and electricity
5. Ensur[ing] access to safe water and sanitation facilities
6. Provid[ing] adequate physical infrastructure including roads and public transport
7. Promot[ing] a culture of information- sharing
8. Ensur[ing] access to basic foods providing recommended dietary allowance
9. Ensur[ing] access to quality secondary education
10. Ensur[ing] access to quality primary health care (GOJ 2009, Vision 2030 Poverty Reduction Sector Plan, 23–26).

In 2018, the Planning Institute of Jamaica collaborated with the Ministry of Economic Growth and Job Creation launched the National Poverty Reduction Programme (NPRP). The NPRP aims to significantly reduce and eradicate poverty by 2030. Various IDPs have provided significant support for the GoJ’s poverty reduction programmes. Among this is the European Union funded Poverty Reduction Programme (PRP), which was been administered by the JSIF; the UNDP’s contributions to strengthening fiscal and other public policies; the Inner City Basic Services for the Poor Project (IC-BSP), which was funded by a US\$29.3 million loan from the International Bank for Reconstruction



and Development (IBRD) and with counterpart funding of US\$3.5 million from the Government of Jamaica (GoJ).

Poverty rates have begun to trend downwards, notwithstanding the increase in 2017. "The poverty rate for 2017 was 19.3 per cent, though higher than the 17.1 per cent in 2016, was lower than the 21.2 per cent in 2015, and significantly lower than the 2013 poverty rate of 24.6 per cent."<sup>16</sup>

## 8.2c NATIONAL YOUTH CENTRE FOR DEVELOPMENT

The **National Youth Policy** is the product of a wide consultative process, involving young people, CBOs, differing government sectors, NGOs and quasi- governmental agencies, local and international donors and the private sector. The National Youth Policy is designed to address the issues that affect youth and encourage youth development, which includes strengthening the mechanisms for collaboration across youth organisations. The following four mechanisms are especially pertinent to the Optional Protocol since they;

- National Youth Service (which aims to "equip youths, 17-24 years old, with the necessary life coping skills to foster their personal and career development as well as enhance their contribution to community and national development)
- National Youth Council of Jamaica (umbrella organisation for youth clubs across Jamaica. It seeks to build youth participation across communities and encourage youth participation on governance.)
- National Secondary Student's Council (the governing body for students' councils in Jamaica. Student councils advocate for students' rights while encouraging children to fulfil their responsibilities.)
- Youth Innovation Centres (designed to equip urban youth to be innovators by training them in cutting-edge technologies and giving them the tools necessary to transform their communities.)

## 8.2d EDUCATION

The child's right to education is secured through a network of public schools at the infant, primary and secondary levels. The government also supports vocational training and tertiary level education through colleges and universities across the island. This public network is supported by private early childhood, primary and secondary institutions. The large number of schools has made possible universal enrolment of children in school up to the first cycle (grade nine) secondary level. Additionally, there are public institutions catering for children with special mental (such as autism) and physical (blindness and deafness) needs. There are just over 25 such schools in the island, although most are concentrated in the KMA. The task of regulating and coordinating this system is undertaken by a central MOEYI, supported by offices in six educational regions located island wide.

---

<sup>16</sup> [http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/front-page/poverty-quarrel-clerke-dismisses-golding-s-claim-that-government-policy-harming-the-most-vulnerable\\_171636?profile=1606](http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/front-page/poverty-quarrel-clerke-dismisses-golding-s-claim-that-government-policy-harming-the-most-vulnerable_171636?profile=1606)

The Jamaica Social Investment Fund (JSIF) is currently supporting the MOEYI's special education programmes. In addition to infrastructure development, JSIF has allotted approximately \$40.1 million to support special education training. Under this component, close to thirty school administrators will be certified in Inclusive School Leadership.

The Ministry of Education, Youth and Information has made the strategic decision to establish a safety and security unit to deal with behavioural issues within the schools. At the high school level, the MOEYI has established the post of Dean of Discipline to manage and curtail cultures of indiscipline. Currently, there are approximately 125 deans of discipline on schools. The MOEYI has also partnered with the JCF, which has a safety and security programme in schools. In earlier periods, the JCF deployed school resource officers to designated schools. Now, given shortage of police officers, these school resource officers are engaged as satellites for select schools (See Section 5.2g below).

The MOEYI has developed a Safe School Policy (Draft), which was presented to Parliament and is now being refined. Revisions will include attention to matters previously excluded, such as cyber bullying. In addition, the MOEYI's Critical Incident Management Plan addresses common issues that have the capacity to disrupt the normal flow of the school. These common issues include sexual harassment and child pornography.

The MOEYI recognises that across many regions, children are highly sexualised. Thus, the GoJ's response is to include education on child pornography within structured educational (HFLE) programmes. The Critical Incident Management Plan explains how matters, such as this, should be reported and how schools should respond to incidents as well as take proactive measures to prevent such activities.

With respect to human trafficking, the National Taskforce Against Trafficking in Persons (NAT-FATIP)<sup>17</sup> in partnership with the MOEYI has developed a curriculum, which is designed to sensitise children. This curriculum is meant to be infused in the HFLE. Further, in October 2019, 11 high schools benefited from the introduction of an anti-trafficking programme in schools. This programme is designed to encourage students to take greater responsibility for safety and security and to understand the warning signs of child trafficking.

## 8.2e HEALTH

The Vision 2030 Health Sector report underscores its commitment to promoting "healthy lifestyles in a healthy environment producing healthy people". The sector plan lists the following goals:

1. Social, cultural, physical and economic conditions that support the health and well-being of Jamaican society;
2. High quality facilities for health services delivery;
3. A cadre of world-class human resources for health services;
4. World-class and accessible health service delivery;
5. Sustainable, equitable, efficient and effective public health financing accessible by all (GoJ 2009, Vision 2030 Health Sector Plan, 62)

<sup>17</sup> See subsection 5.4 below.



Under this umbrella, the sector continues to develop policies and programmes that have direct relevance for children. Thus, the Ministry partners with other MDAs to provide perinatal, child health and nutrition services. Complementary programmes include:

1. The National School feeding Programme, which aims to “encourage regular school attendance [by providing] nutritional support to the most vulnerable students attending public institutions”.
2. The PATH programme, which provides cash transfers conditional on attending school and facilitates a school feeding programme.
3. The Roving Caregivers Programme, which seeks to improve child-rearing knowledge, including nutrition practices, among parents of children who are between 0 - 4 years of age. This programme is administered by an NGO.
4. Nutrition clinics, which are meant to monitor nutrition status, identify children at risk and provide counselling and food supplements as needed.

The Vision 2030 Ten Year Strategic Plan (2019 - 2030) builds on earlier achievements and seeks to remedy the observed gaps. The Ministry of Health and Wellness’ Ten Year Strategic Plan notes that “with the decrease in child mortality and the introduction of the Sustainable Development Goals in 2016, attention has now shifted to improvements in the identification of children at risk of developmental delays and disabilities, the optimisation of child development, and the implementation of related programmes and activities with the potential for long-term economic productivity.”(MOHW *Vitals*, May 2019, p. 8). Therefore, the focus is on introducing interventions that will facilitate the development of the child to his/her full potential.

Accordingly, the Ministry’s Family Health Unit has, in collaboration with the Caribbean Institute of Health Research (CAIHR), began implementing the Early Stimulation Programme, which is designed to “provide relevant, evidence-based interventions to optimize and support early childhood development, with emphasis on vulnerable groups, utilising the primary care approach and the involvement of the family unit, health team and the wider community.”(MOHW *Vitals*, May 2019, p. 8).

The Ministry of Health and Wellness recognizes that despite earlier gains, considerable emphasis must be placed on adolescent health. The Ministry expresses its concern as follows: “Adolescence is a period characterised by rapid physical, cognitive and social changes, including sexual and reproductive maturation. Adolescents are generally healthy, but their risk-taking behaviours pose challenges to their health and development. Their inherent vulnerability and pressure from some corners of society, including their peers, can lead to the adoption of risky behaviours. Issues, including sexual identity and dealing with sexuality, adds to the dynamism of the period and cannot be overlooked by any service that provides for their need. The period of adolescence poses new challenges to ageing health service and investments must be made if the service is to remain relevant to the young person” (MOHW *Vitals*, May 2019, p. 17).

"In 2017, about a quarter (24.8%) of adolescents between 13 and 15 years had seriously considered committing suicide. This was not much higher than the proportion of adolescents 7 years prior in 2010 (23%). More females (31.5%) than males (17.5%) had seriously considered committing suicide and this was also the case in 2010.

Almost one fifth (18.5%) of adolescents had actually attempted suicide in 2017, which was less than those that had done so in 2010 (22%). Similar to the pattern observed in those who considered attempting suicide, there were more females (20.6%) that actually attempted suicide than males (16.1%).

There was no difference in the overall proportion of adolescents who had no close friends in 2017 (8.8%) when compared to those in 2010 (8.8%). In both instances, more males had indicated that they had no close friends."

Source/; MOHW *Vitals*, May 2019, p. 17

The Ministry's Adolescent Health Programme comprises:

1. **Adolescent Standards and Criteria** (Standards and Related Criteria for Adolescent Health (S&C) have been developed to provide a benchmark for the health services provided to this cohort of the population. The S&C focuses on areas such as affordability, accessibility, support of client rights, adequate physical and psychosocial assessment, adolescent-centred services and a supportive environment. These standards and criteria are now being implemented in 18 sites.)
2. **Adolescent Mental Health**, which pays attention to reducing suicidal tendencies among adolescents aged 13 to 15 years.

Note that the GoJ, through the MOHW, provides mental health services to children 0 to 17 years old through a network of ten Child Guidance Clinics located across Jamaica.

3. **Adolescent Health: Substance Abuse.** Against the background that approximately half (45.1%) of adolescents aged 13 to 15 years had at least one drink of alcohol in 2017; 13.1% of youths (more males than females) smoked cigarettes and 12.9% of youths smoked marijuana,
4. **Sexual and Reproductive Health.** In 2017, 48.1% of adolescents 13 to 15 years confirmed that they were sexually active; of these, 58.8% had sexual intercourse before age 14. More males than females (67.4%) stated that they were sexually active; 75.4% of males had sex before age 14 years and 48.5% had sex with two or more persons. Conversely, more females than males (65.6%) reported using condoms. Children in higher grades had more sexual experiences than those in lower grades although higher proportions of children in the lower grades had sex before 14 years.



Figures 8.2.1

### ADOLESCENTS 13 TO 15 YRS FOR SEXUAL AND REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH BY GRADE LEVEL

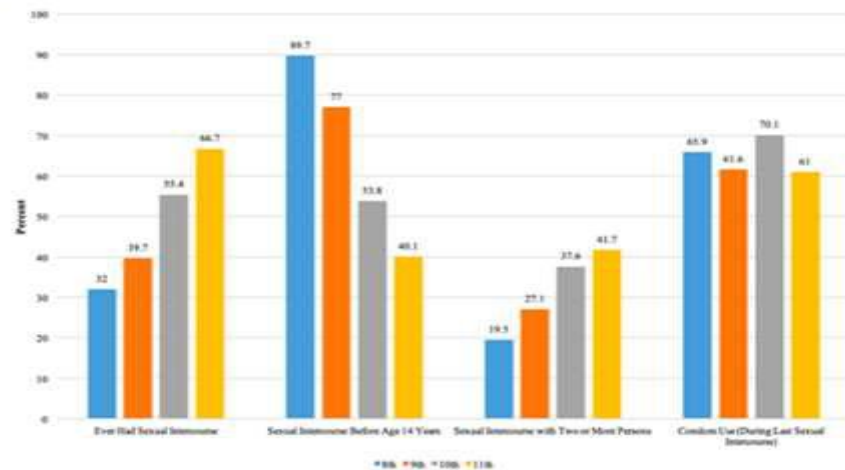
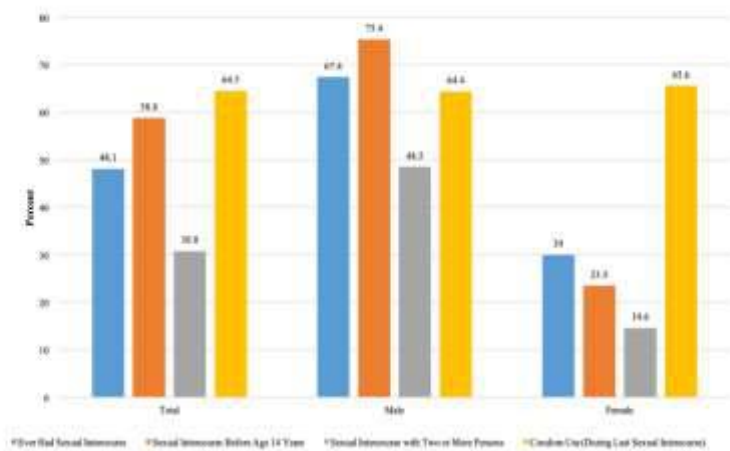


Figure 8.2.2

### SEXUAL AND REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH TRENDS AMONG ADOLESCENTS, 13 TO 15 YEARS, BY SEX, JAMAICA



Source: Atkinson, U (2017). The Youth Situation: Findings from the Global School Health Survey & Rapid Situation Assessment.[Powerpoint Slides]. Reported in MOHW *Vitals*, May 2019, p. 20

In 2017, the Ministry of Health and Wellness opened its Teen Hub in the Half Way Tree Transportation Centre. On average, 50 adolescents attend each day. The Teen Hub provides sexual and reproductive health clinics, mental health counselling, HIV testing and counselling.

## 8.2f NATIONAL SECURITY AND CORRECTIONAL SERVICES

The sector plan for National Security and Correctional Services envisions the following for 2030:

### National Security:

"A system of National Security that promotes shared values of respect for law and order and guarantees safety, security, human rights and dignity for all" (GOJ 2009, Vision 2030 Sector Plan, National Security and Correctional Services, 2).

### Correctional Services:

"A highly satisfied and trained, professional workforce administering a Correctional Services system that upholds human dignity and facilitates the holistic development and rehabilitation of clients as productive, peaceful and law-abiding citizens" (ibid.)

Jamaican children face serious threats to their security and the National Security and Correctional Services sectors have particularly important roles in ensuring their protection. The Ministry of National Security is part of the global partnership of Pathfinder countries; it has, therefore, committed to ending violence against children. Consistent with the Pathfinder approach, the MNS has, in principle, endorsed multi-sectoral partnerships for preventing and responding to violence. Accordingly, the MNS has implemented programmes that focus on children, specifically. For example, the **Safe Schools Programme**, which was launched in 2004, is a collaborative initiative involving the MOEYI, the Ministry of National Security, the MOHW and the Jamaica Constabulary Force (JCF). Under this programme, police are placed in schools to function as School Resource Officers. They aim to reduce violence and anti-social behaviour, which involves dismantling school gangs and tackling bullying.

There are other significant types of violence against children and government ministries, agencies and NSAs have collaborated to devise coordinated and effective responses. For example, in 2008, the Family and Parenting Centre, the CPFSA and the Community Safety and Security Branch of the JCF undertook a **Child Protection Audit**. The audit aimed at reducing instances of re-victimisation of victims and witnesses of child abuse in the child protection system. Commentators note that this is a very significant achievement in child protection as it seeks to achieve an integrated approach to the disclosure and investigation of alleged abuses and ensure that the outcomes in the justice system are improved. Among the major recommendations of the audit were the need for urgent action in the process of investigation; support and protection of child victims and witnesses; the need to amend the Evidence Act to accommodate video evidence from child victims in court; and the upgrading of the Centre for Investigation of Sexual Offences and Child Abuse (CISOCA) such that the quality of evidence in child abuse cases is improved. Work is continuing to ensure that the recommendations from the audit are implemented.

Also, in 2008, the Prime minister formed a **Task Force on Child Abuse Prevention (TFCAP)**, which was coordinated by the CPFSA. The Task Force aimed to highlight the issue of child abuse and convey the importance of protection policies to communities in Jamaica.

The Task Force has also established the **Ananda Alert System**, as a way of focusing attention on and addressing the growing problem of missing children. The alert system was designed to locate



missing children and to prevent their sexual abuse or the loss of life that sometimes result. A Missing Persons Investigation Policy was instituted to remove the traditional wait period of 24 hours for reporting missing persons.

In December 2013, The MNS launched the **United For Change Programme**. This programme has been described as “a national movement and public awareness campaign, aimed at empowering each citizen to take back Jamaica from the clutches of criminal elements.” The Unite for Change programme aims to address some of the key factors that are at the root of gang violence. These include fatherlessness and poor parenting. Accordingly, the programme has “promoted and/or sponsored family-oriented programmes, such as the popular 10,000 Men and Family March, the National Association for the Family’s fatherlessness seminars, and a parenting village in May Pen, Clarendon.” Further, it has conducted media campaigns aimed at influencing the views of parents and youth.

### 8.3 NATIONAL PLANS OF ACTION THAT ARE PERTINENT TO THE OPTIONAL PROTOCOL

Apart from Vision 2030, there are national plans of action that are pertinent to advancing the commitments made under the Optional Protocol.

#### **The NPA on Child Labour**

Prior to 2002, the CPFSCA had responsibility for child labour. In 2002, however, the ILO established its International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) within Jamaica. With funding from ILO, a Child Labour Unit was instituted within the MLSS; this unit was responsible for administering the ILO’s programme. The MLSS appointed a National Steering Committee on the Prevention and Elimination of Child Labour in 2002. After several meetings and two national consultations, NPA was formulated in 2004. This plan named the following groups for priority action: child domestic workers, children in hazardous employment (rural agriculture/fishing sectors) and children in prostitution.

The NPA committed to the following nine activities:

1. National Policy and Resource Development (prepare user-friendly handbook; develop reporting mechanisms on child labour; create a combined database for monitoring agencies; prepare budgeted programme of intervention; increase the number of factory inspectors; do a needs assessment of implementing agencies; mobilize voluntary financing for child-care and protection)
2. Social and Economic Support Services (develop a list of child indigents and their families, list potential income-generating activities available for parents, do needs assessment of families/parents, provide technical and financial assistance programmes to families, initiate job placement service to skilled persons, organize community sensitization)
3. Health and Child Labour (sensitization of health professionals, STI and HIV/AIDS prevention for child prostitutes, anti-drug abuse programme)

4. Training and Capacity Building (joint training for enforcement agencies, childcare and protection training)
5. Public Information and Awareness (multi-media child labour campaign, schools' public educational programme, community meetings in special areas, child month campaign, national logo/song competition, supporting child rights through education, arts and media)
6. Legislation and Enforcement (review and harmonize existing legislation, organize inter-agency coordination meetings, enact Organizational Safety and Health legislation)
7. Education (increase educational opportunities for working children, develop special educational programme for parents about child labour, establish special training for at-risk children, recruit volunteers for the teaching programme, facilitate universal, compulsory education)
8. Social Protection (distribute social assistance leaflets to families at risk, organize community sensitization workshops on benefits, accelerate social safety net programme, attract informal sector participation in the National Insurance Scheme, provide more resources for residential care facilities, strengthen family court, increase private sector assistance to private voluntary organizations, facilitate access by child labourers to PATH benefits)
9. Monitoring and Evaluation (establish high-level inter-agency/stakeholder monitoring task force, commission small rapid appraisal surveys on child labour, STATIN to conduct 5-yearly national child labour surveys, institutionalize Child Labour unit).<sup>10</sup>

In February 2009, the GOJ, in collaboration with ILO/IPEC and the European Union, launched the TACKLE (Tackling Child Labour through Education) programme, which is designed to promote public awareness, build capacity, "advocacy, community programmes and the mainstreaming of victims of child labour". The programme, which includes specific interventions for the rural child, aims to retain children between the ages of 15 and 18 years of age in schools, while also engaging them in vocational and/or other skills training programmes.

Recently, in 2019, a new NPA on Child Labour was developed, with support from the CLEAR II Project. Further, the National Steering Committee on child labour was reconstituted in August 2018 and is chaired by a Senior Director at the MLSS.

## **The NPA for an Integrated Response to Children and Violence**

The Ministry of National Security, the MOHW, the CPFSA and the Jamaica Constabulary Force are responsible for developing policies that address violence against children. These agencies are coordinated through an inter-sectoral working group, which led the design of an NPA for an Integrated Response to Children and Violence. The plan is designed to "foster an environment that protects children from violence, abuse and exploitation; promotes diversion programmes and community/family-based rehabilitation and reintegration of children in conflict with the law and provides home/family-based care for children without familial care".<sup>12</sup>



## **The NPA for Child Justice**

The NPA for Child Justice is described as a comprehensive initiative setting out a multi-agency response to the state of child justice in Jamaica. A steering committee was mandated to oversee the development of this Plan and it was the subject of consultations across sectors. The goal of this NPA is to develop and sustain a justice system, in which the best interest of the child is paramount.

The associated Child Diversion Act was enacted in 2018. This Act outlines the laws related to the treatment and reintegration of children who are in conflict with the law. Meanwhile, the National Child Diversion Policy provides a framework for dealing with children in conflict with the law, with special emphasis on ensuring that detention or institutionalization is a measure of last resort in accordance with the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

### **8.4 THE NATIONAL TASK FORCE AGAINST TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS (NATFATIP)**

The National Taskforce Against Trafficking in Persons (NATFATIP) was established in June 2005. It is described as “a multi-agency approach by the Government of Jamaica to strengthen Jamaica’s legislative, institutional and operational capacity to combat Trafficking in Persons (TIP).” The task force has responsibility for coordinating the anti-trafficking programmes, which are geared towards prevention, prosecution and protection from trafficking in persons. NATFATIP is also collaborating with other institutions in the formulation of a National Strategic Plan, a curriculum for high schools and policy development.

NATFATIP comprises membership from the Ministries of National Security, Justice, Labour and Social Security, Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade, Health, Tourism, Education, the Child Protection and Family Services Agency, the Office of the Children’s Advocate, the Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions, the Attorney General’s Chambers, the Jamaica Constabulary Force and the Centre for the Investigation of Sexual Offences and Child Abuse (CISOCA), as well as members of the NGO community. The Task Force is organized in three Sub-Committees, namely, Protection, Prevention/Public Education and Prosecution.

Under NATFATIP’s direction, the GoJ has completed the National Plan of Action 2018-2021 for combatting Trafficking in Persons. This NPA provides the strategic framework for Jamaica’s response to human trafficking over a four-year period. It identifies current accomplishments, gaps in implementation and future priorities and plans.

## 8.5 AGENCY INITIATIVES

### **V**IOLENCE PREVENTION ALLIANCE

Violence Prevention Alliance (VPA), Jamaica, is part of an international network of World Health Organisation (WHO) member states, international agencies and civil society organisations that use evidence-based public health approaches to address the risk factors that lead to violence.

The VPA lists its mandate as follows:

- "Increase collaboration and exchange of information between organizations on violence prevention.
- Support the implementation and monitoring of existing programme and to lobby for national action plans for violence prevention.
- Facilitate data analysis and application in order to identify and promote best practices.
- Support the promotion of primary prevention of violence, particularly through public education.
- Support the strengthening of systems/services for victims of violence.
- Lobby for the integration of violence prevention into social and educational policies, thereby enhancing the promotion of gender and social equality.
- Promote the safe community concept."<sup>18</sup>

### **H**EAR THE CHILDREN'S CRY

Hear the Children's Cry was established in 2002. It is a voluntary organization, which provides protection services for children who have been abused. Hear the Children's Cry is known for its advocacy for children's rights. It also provides support programmes for children, families and youth.

In 2009, Hear the Children's Cry established its Missing Children's Support Programme. The organization describes this mandate as follows: "The Missing Children's Support Programme is Jamaica's only entity, public or private, providing counseling for the families of missing children, as well as for returned missing children. It works with the security forces to access statistics on missing children, analyzing and publishing these. It also carries out island wide programmes of Safety Education in Schools and Parenting Education, and networks with other stakeholders serving the welfare of Jamaican children."<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> <https://www.vpajamaica.org>

<sup>19</sup> <http://www.hearthechildrencryja.com/about-us/>



## **JAMAICA COALITION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD**

The Jamaica Coalition on the Rights of the Child was established in 1989. It is a UNICEF supported programme that monitors the implementation of the CRC in Jamaica. Among the stated objectives are these:

1. "Lobby the Government of Jamaica to include the Convention on the Rights of the Child in all Government of Jamaica plans, policies and programmes and to introduce legislation in keeping with the the provisions of the Convention.
2. Educate the public about the rights of children and the UN Convention.
3. Assist social service organisations to understand and prepare for the implementation of the Convention.
4. Facilitate and monitor implementation of the CRC"<sup>20</sup>.

## **CHILDREN FIRST**

Children First was founded in 1997. It is a community based organisation, which uses creative participatory and developmental approaches to provide transformative programmes for children and adolescents. The organization is based in Spanish Town, St. Catherine, one of the most volatile areas of the country. It also has branches in Kingston and St Andrew and provides services in Clarendon. Mrs. Pious works with community leaders within these parishes to deliver community development programmes. She is skilled in negotiation and in creating pathways for the services the organization provides. Thus, Children First is Jamaica's largest agency of its type, offering social, educational and programmes for youngsters within the ten (10) to twenty-four (24) age group, while empowering their parents and guardians to overcome poverty and enhance family life through successful skills training and small business projects.

## **RISE LIFE MANAGEMENT SERVICES**

RISE Life Management Services is the current name for what was formerly called the Addiction Alert Organization (AAO). AAO was started in 1989, with support from the Private Sector Organization of Jamaica (PSOJ). The organization was then renamed after 14 years in operation, in response to the decision to review the direction and range of the programmes. RISE (Reaching Individuals through Skills and Education) now focuses on addressing the needs of youth at risk in Jamaica, particularly those living in designated inner-city communities. RISE emphasizes the "prevention and treatment of addictive disorders, community-based health, education and vocational services for at-risk youth and their family members."

RISE notes the following as its key programme objectives:

---

<sup>20</sup> [http://jcwrn.org/Brochures/Chhave\\_right2/index.htm](http://jcwrn.org/Brochures/Chhave_right2/index.htm)

"To be the premier social development civil society organization (CSO) in Jamaica, designing and implementing effective programmes for at-risk children, youth and families, particularly in vulnerable communities."

"To contribute to the strengthening of the CSO sector through enhanced advocacy, capacity building, and relevant support services."

"To provide prevention, treatment, and intervention services for substance misuse and gambling disorders, including the telephone life-line service for targeted populations."

In October 2019, RISE partnered with the Betting Gaming and Lotteries Commission (BGLC) to implement a sensitization campaign for reducing underage gambling. That campaign reached 13,486 students.



## **E**VE FOR LIFE

Eve for Life started its operation in 2008, in order to respond to the needs of women and children living with HIV/AIDS. Eve for Life provides psychosocial support and mentorship to help affected women and children (which comprise approximately 42% of reported cases) to live normal lives. Many of these women and children had experienced sexual violence. In addition to these services, Eve for Life provides voluntary counselling, testing services and training to individuals and organizations to ensure the effective provision of counseling and support.

In its 2018 Annual Report, Eve For Life reported that between 2017 and 2018, it had conducted 153 interventions and reached 5310 persons at the community and school levels. Furthermore, 39 community and youth leaders received training in sexual exploitation, advocacy and training while 112 young mothers living with HIV received direct services.

## **P**OSSIBILITY PROGRAMME

The Possibility Programme focuses, specifically on providing opportunities for youth on the streets. The programme is multifaceted. It comprises skills training and employment; annual re-socialization camps; the care centre and a youth hostel.

The Possibility Programme includes partners agencies such as the St Andrew Parish Church, the HEART Trust/NTA, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), the National Council on Drug Abuse, St. Patrick's Foundation, the Kingston Restoration Company, the LEAP Centre, and the Rotary Club of St. Andrew.

## **W**OMEN'S CENTRE OF JAMAICA

The Women's Centre of Jamaica runs the Programme for Adolescent Mothers. This Programme, which is meant to prepare young mothers for reintegration into the formal school system, comprises:

- Community-based pregnancy prevention program for adolescent mothers



- Parenting and child nutrition education
- Family planning counseling and services for adolescent mothers
- Activities to develop self-esteem and life skills for adolescent mothers
- Classroom instruction to support young women in returning to school
- Job training and job placement assistance for adolescent mothers
- Counseling and support services for adolescent fathers
- Advocacy efforts to change laws and policies affecting pregnant and parenting teens

## **Y**OUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION (YMCA)

The Kingston Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) was founded in 1920. It is a non-profit, non-governmental organisation which seeks to improve the welfare of young people through the implementation of spiritual, social, intellectual, and physical activities. Since inception, the YMCA has started the Boys Town programme (1940); The Youth Development Programme (formerly 'Street corner Boys Programme); and the YMCA/Amy Bailey training centre being.

## **Y**OUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION (YWCA)

The Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) caters to girls at risk, principally wards of the State, teen mothers, or those who have been rejected by mainstream schools. Like the YMCA, the YWCA aims to enhance the mental, spiritual and physical development of each young man or girl. YWCA programmes include some males since the programme is also eager to empower spouses, sons, brothers and friends In order to provide comprehensive solutions.

## **B**EHAVIOUR CHANGE PROGRAMMES (BCPS)

Several NGOs provide behaviour change interventions, some from the primary and pre-primary stages of education. These programmes are designed to address some of the core factors that predispose children to the risks identified in the Optional Protocol. Among the key NGOs are Child Resiliency, Dream-A-World, Irie Classroom and Peace & Love in School.

## **T**HEODORA PROJECT

The Theodora project has been in operation since 2005; it started when issues of human trafficking were first openly publicized in Jamaica. Practitioners were then concerned with investigating the dancers in the clubs. The intent was to determine whether there was someone who was managing these dancing operations for sexual and financial gains. The majority of girls and young women who are engaged at Theodora have either been involved in prostitution and/or dancing in the clubs. Thus, Theodora focuses on providing education, via an agreement with the HEART NTA.

## INTERVENTIONS FROM RELIGIOUS GROUPS

Traditionally, Churches island wide have varieties of programmes for reaching children who are at risk of experiencing the abuses specified in the Optional Protocol. Churches provide feeding and housing programmes, educational support, counselling and spiritual guidance.

### 8.6. SUMMARY ASSESSMENTS OF POLICY AND PROGRAMME GAPS

Together, State and Non-State organizations in Jamaica have documented and/or employed a wide range of interventions that are meant to protect children. As these actors work to fulfil their mandates, the proportion of children at risk has decreased. However, there are longstanding factors, such as severe resource constraints, deficits in organization and management, inadequate coordination with other agencies, that undermine implementation processes and expected outcomes. Further, there are some inherent and contingent challenges that limit the reach and impact of some key programmes, despite their intent.

## SOCIAL PROTECTION STRATEGY

### THE PROGRAMME FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF HEALTH AND EDUCATION (PATH)

Evaluations of the GoJ's Programme for the Advancement of Health and Education (PATH) have, largely, provided positive assessments. In 2007, Levy and Ohls' Evaluation of Jamaica's PATH Conditional Cash Transfer Programme concluded as follows:

"PATH was generally implemented as intended; exhibited better targeting to the poor than other similar social assistance programmes in Jamaica; and had positive and statistically significant impacts on school attendance and number of preventive health care visits for children. We find no evidence, however, that PATH was able to affect longer-term outcomes such as marks, grade progression, or health care status."<sup>21</sup>

Similarly, Fiszbein and Schady (2009) lists Jamaica's PATH as among the top conditional cash transfer facilities<sup>22</sup>; however, Sanigest's International's 2013 report<sup>23</sup> provided noteworthy qualifications, namely:

1. "PATH continues to be effective in increasing school attendance and PATH beneficiaries are more likely to attend schools with feeding programs and to obtain HepB3 vaccinations; however, there is no evidence that PATH significantly increases the school retention rate";

<sup>21</sup> <https://dash.harvard.edu/bitstream/handle/1/4908084/Levy-EvaluationJamaica.pdf>

<sup>22</sup> [https://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTCCT/Resources/5757608-1234228266004/PRR-CCT\\_web\\_noembargo.pdf](https://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTCCT/Resources/5757608-1234228266004/PRR-CCT_web_noembargo.pdf)

<sup>23</sup> Sanigest International (2013) Quantitative Impact Evaluation of the Programme of Advancement through Health and Education –P.A.T.H.



2. "There is no evidence that PATH affected parental involvement in their children's education through inducing more participation in Parent-Teacher Associations or checking their children's homework more frequently."
3. "There is no evidence that PATH had significant impact on the frequency of visits to health practitioners in the last six months for any age group. There also is no evidence that PATH affected immunizations other than HepB3. Thus, the [effects] on human capital seem limited and selective."
4. "The impacts that are significant are on dimensions of investments in children's education and health and thus move in the direction of reducing the intergenerational transmission of poverty, but the estimated reductions are small."
5. "Beneficiary targeting was reasonably good. A greater proportion of PATH households (approximately 51%) than non-PATH households (33%) are below the poverty line."

Thus, successive evaluations have underscored PATH's limited impact on the more sustained human development goals; specifically, PATH has not had notable impact on transforming poverty conditions.

The Situation Assessment of Jamaican Children (2018) helps to explain findings from the fieldwork, which indicate that significant numbers of families in apparent need do not have access to PATH. The 2018 Assessment concludes:

1. "Approximately 50 per cent of the poorest Jamaicans island-wide receive no coverage.
2. Fifteen percent of beneficiaries belong to the wealthiest 40 per cent of Jamaicans, with 3.1 percent of beneficiaries being in the richest quintile.
3. "Only twenty percent of all Jamaicans regarded as being poor are covered by PATH."

There is the further challenge that despite need, there are eligible families who do not apply for support. According to Blake and Gibbison, only 56 percent of households in poverty and eligible for PATH benefits actually apply to the program. Furthermore, urban poor households are 50% less likely to apply than the rural poor. In addition, data from the Statistical Institute of Jamaica (STATIN) shows that single male household heads apply less frequently (two to four times less) than female headed household heads and married couples. Blake and Gibbison discovered that inadequate and inaccurate information about PATH and the application process have helped to push persons not to apply.<sup>24</sup>

Stakeholders suggest that lack of awareness may also be among the factors that prevent families from seeking the wider public assistance grants that the GoJ provides. These grants are normally awarded to persons who are recommended or who walk into the MLSS offices and enquire. Beneficiaries of these (Rehabilitation Assistance, Compassionate Assistance, Emergency Assistance and Education and Social Intervention) grants exclude persons who are on PATH, for whom special provisions are available. Currently, the available funds have not been exhausted; for example, the MLSS has not reached the 8000 persons annually who are invited to apply for rehabilitation support, currently valued at \$40,000 per applicant.

<sup>24</sup><https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Why-Do-Poor-Households-Not-Apply-For-Welfare-from-Blake-Gibbison/b3ad4fa098c73b956e7ade93858c87a55f186ad6>

Interviews with key MLSS officers indicate that information is provided through various community engagements; however, there is need to intensify efforts to raise awareness.

## **E**DUKATION

Jamaica has made significant gains in expanding education access and increasing attainment. However, while the majority of children enjoy publicly funded education, analyses have, consistently, shown that children in deep poverty and/or traumatic conditions have skewed access to the education system. As the 2018 Situation Assessment of Jamaica's children confirms: This often results "in less than desired participation, lack of progress, chronic under-performance and, in some cases, even the failure to complete their education."<sup>25</sup>

There remains longstanding deficiencies in special education provisions. The findings for this study indicate that the cohort tested all require specific, carefully targeted, education strategies that are not supported in the majority of public schools.

The MOEYI has implemented various programmes---including behaviour change initiatives---that are designed to reduce the bullying and other forms of violence within schools that can act as push factors to work on the streets. The School Wide Positive Behaviour Intervention System (SWPBIS), which has been adopted from the United States, is meant to provide the framework for behavior change interventions within primary and secondary schools. Assessments of the SWPBIS and other BCPs (such as Dream-A-World, Child Resiliency and Peace & Love in Schools<sup>26</sup>)<sup>27</sup> have found the following:

1. Interventions have resulted in notable improvements in behaviours;
2. Improvements in behaviours are not sustained over long periods, as these are not supported at home or within communities. Thus, in their recent evaluations of the SWPBIS, staff contended that inadequate parent support presented a substantive deterrent to programming. Accordingly, project effectiveness and sustainability require complementary parenting projects. Furthermore, teachers pointed to the regression that occurs when students return to their communities.
3. Success levels vary depending on teacher buy in; many teachers are overwhelmed and feel unable to contribute fully to a system with which they are disenchanted;
4. Across schools, the findings indicate that SWPBIS was least successful where staff provided inadequate support; teams and processes were non-functional or functioned at sub-optimal

<sup>25</sup> [https://www.unicef.org/jamaica/UNICEF\\_20180618\\_SituationAnalysis\\_web.pdf](https://www.unicef.org/jamaica/UNICEF_20180618_SituationAnalysis_web.pdf), p.8

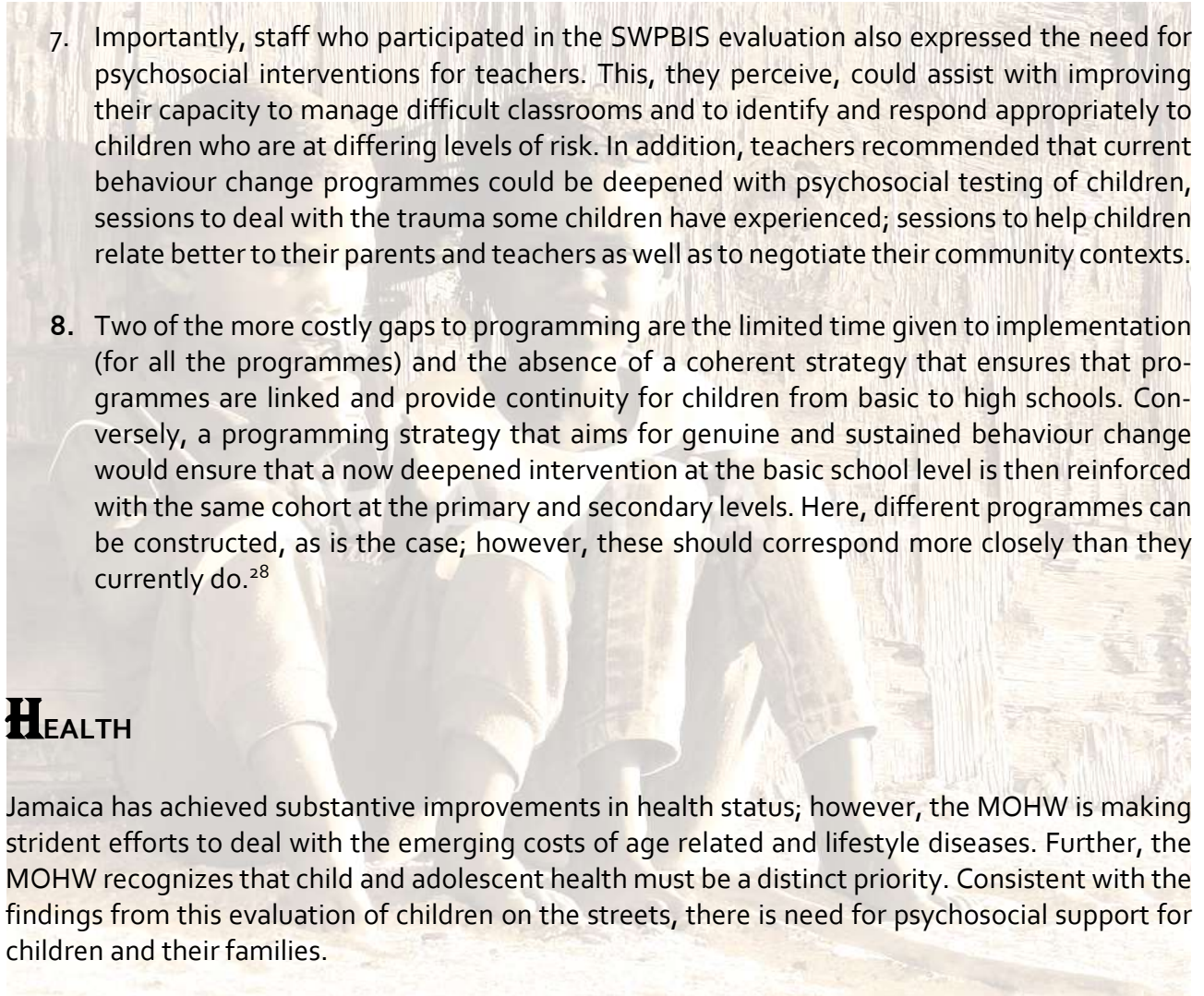
<sup>26</sup> Moncrieffe, J.(2018) Assessment of Behaviour Change Programmes, Submitted to Jamaica Social Investment Fund and the European Union

<sup>27</sup> Institute for Applied Social Research (2019), Evaluation of the Jamaica School-wide Positive Behaviour Intervention System, Submitted to UNICEF and the MOEYI.



levels; staff lacked the resources to promote the programme and provide rewards; the programme lacked the depth required to deal with the behaviours presented in the more challenging contexts; partners were not equipped to deal with the complex situations in some schools, including those that require effective policing.

5. Hunger and tiredness in school are among the persistent factors that appear to impede learning and contribute to poor behaviours;
6. There are inadequate human and financial resources available to support the behavior change interventions.
7. Importantly, staff who participated in the SWPBIS evaluation also expressed the need for psychosocial interventions for teachers. This, they perceive, could assist with improving their capacity to manage difficult classrooms and to identify and respond appropriately to children who are at differing levels of risk. In addition, teachers recommended that current behaviour change programmes could be deepened with psychosocial testing of children, sessions to deal with the trauma some children have experienced; sessions to help children relate better to their parents and teachers as well as to negotiate their community contexts.
8. Two of the more costly gaps to programming are the limited time given to implementation (for all the programmes) and the absence of a coherent strategy that ensures that programmes are linked and provide continuity for children from basic to high schools. Conversely, a programming strategy that aims for genuine and sustained behaviour change would ensure that a now deepened intervention at the basic school level is then reinforced with the same cohort at the primary and secondary levels. Here, different programmes can be constructed, as is the case; however, these should correspond more closely than they currently do.<sup>28</sup>



## HEALTH

Jamaica has achieved substantive improvements in health status; however, the MOHW is making strident efforts to deal with the emerging costs of age related and lifestyle diseases. Further, the MOHW recognizes that child and adolescent health must be a distinct priority. Consistent with the findings from this evaluation of children on the streets, there is need for psychosocial support for children and their families.

As noted, the GoJ provides psychosocial support to children 0 to 17 years old through a network of ten Child Guidance Clinics located across Jamaica. Clients are referred to the clinics by health facilities, school guidance counsellors, police, social services and other agencies. Most children referred have been exposed to or have been victims of violence, family disruptions or abuse. Increasingly, children attending these clinics are emotionally traumatized by the high prevalence of violence, either as direct victims or as witnesses, which places more children and adolescents at risk for men-

---

<sup>28</sup> Moncrieffe, J. (2018) Assessment of Behaviour Change Programmes, Submitted to Jamaica Social Investment Fund and the European Union

tal and health problems. Other risk factors are associated with the increase in illicit drug use, children orphaned by AIDS and child-headed households. Many children in residential institutions require multi-level psychosocial and remedial education. The Child Guidance clinics are generally seen as a last resort, usually after other intervention attempts by the church, community, police and schools have all failed. With steady increases in the number of children referred to these facilities, the capacity of the clinics is under severe stress and there often is a long waiting list for service and long lapses between visits.

The evaluation of the SWPBIS confirms that this major gap has resulted in deficiencies in the effectiveness of referrals. First, children and adolescents have limited access because of long waiting periods. Second, children are often unable to access the sustained/long-term support needed for substantive behaviour change.

Gaps such as these help to explain the complex challenges that some children on the streets---with their compounded experiences of poverty, education and psychological problems---present.

## **N**NATIONAL SECURITY

Despite the array of violence reduction and prevention programmes, national insecurity remains a seemingly intractable problem, with the most severe consequences for children and youth. The contextual analysis (presented in Section 3) demonstrates the compounded effects, including on children, of gang-based, sexual and domestic violence. This study has also pinpointed the effects of the violence which is common in public schools and communities. Together, these multiple sources of insecurity have resulted in mothers feeling safer bringing their children with them to hustle on the streets. Threats on the streets have also pushed children to their community lanes; those brave enough to remain on the major thoroughfares describe their constant fear of sexual and physical violence.

“In Jamaica, 8 out of 10 children ages 2-14 in Jamaica experience some form of violent discipline. Much of this happens when parents are angry, stressed and frustrated – and don’t know how else to curb unwanted behaviour. Much of it results from parents not knowing what is normal behaviour at various stages of a child’s development.”

“Violence continues at school. 1 in 2 school-age children (732 million) between ages 6 and 17 live in countries where corporal punishment at school is not fully prohibited. Jamaica is one of them. And our children face another fear at school: 6 in 10 Jamaican students say they have been bullied at some point in their lives.”

“Then there is the predatory sexual violence that steals dignity, trust and self-esteem and leaves children with lasting emotional wounds. Worldwide, around 15 million adolescent girls aged 15 to 19 have experienced forced sex in their lifetime. In Jamaica, 24 per cent of girls ages 10-15 say their first experience of sex was forced.” (<https://blogs.unicef.org/jamaica/end-violence-against-children/>)



## **P**ROGRAMMES DIRECTLY PERTINENT TO CHILDREN WHO LIVE AND/OR WORK ON THE STREETS

In summary, the available assessments concur that despite the gains:

1. Child poverty levels are high; approximately one quarter of Jamaican children still subsist in conditions of poverty;
5. Children continue to suffer unacceptably high and egregious forms of violence;
6. "Jamaica's response to violence against children is fragmented across various national strategies, different uncoordinated policy interventions; unconsolidated and poorly-enforced legislation";<sup>29</sup> and
7. Child services are fragmented and there is no strong coordinating agency, sufficiently resourced to monitor and evaluate interventions.

Within this context, there are agencies that have provided and/or continue to provide services to children on the streets. Stakeholder interviews with three of these agencies revealed that their involvement with children on the streets is now much more limited than in prior years.

Rise Life Management notes that their earlier child labour withdrawal programme was withdrawn because the funder did not agree with the proposed programme for income replacement for families. The YMCA explains that their involvement with children on the streets is now limited, as the children are less visible (the number of children at major thoroughfares have dwindled) and those who are now visible on the streets are now considerably more violent.

The Possibility Programme managed an effective programme for youth on the streets. Its hostel programme, which housed at-risk boys between the ages of 13 and 21, allowed genuine second chances for these children. However, the programme caters to a small subset of children on the streets and like all other agencies, requires a substantial increase in funding in order to sustain and expand its programme.

---

<sup>29</sup> UNICEF, CAPRI, Situation Analysis of Jamaican Children, p. 23

## 9. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR A PACKAGE OF CARE

This community-based assessment of the causes, manifestations and dynamics of child life and work on the streets has exposed the system-wide gaps that conspire together to push and pull children to the streets. Many of the identified gaps are well-known. They have been pinpointed in earlier reports and recommendations have been submitted for addressing them. Notable gains have been made in critical areas, such as the formulation and implementation of aspects of the legislations, expanding education access, developing a protective system via the CPFSA, facilitating the increase in reports of child abuse, including child labour and developing the mechanisms to address these. However, there are still substantial holes in policy and programme implementation; where these continue to be left unplugged, it should be expected that increasing numbers of children will be on the streets and lanes, engaged in both visible and hidden occupations.

It is not sufficient or focus solely on the parents; that is, in defining the causes and designing solutions; correspondingly, removing children from families is not, in all cases, a just response. Child work on the streets is the outcome of intergenerational inequalities; chronic child poverty; faulty procedures in the education system (such as hasty expulsions without recourse for the affected children); an inadequate—and not sufficiently transformative—safety net; rampant and deep unemployment and underemployment; fractured families and inadequate financial and other forms of support for single-parent households; low education levels among parents and the reproduction of low achievement across generations; low quality education, particularly in the area of special needs.

Critically, parental neglect as well as perceptions of parental responsibility (since working with children on the streets allows for closer supervision) push children to the streets. Perhaps to a lesser degree, crime and violence both push (children are sent to the streets to commit illegal acts or to fulfil obligations to dons/generals) and pull (children and adolescents, without supervision, use the streets to commit illegal acts, such as stealing and other aggravated attacks. In addition, work on the streets is, increasingly, becoming fashionable in some areas, both among those who lack adequate support and those who have access to money but desire their own. Hustling transcends economic boundaries.

It is worthwhile to probe the reasons for this, apparent, normalisation of hustling. It is reasonable to conclude that segments of the Jamaican population have been taught—and themselves opt—to ‘juggle’ enough to satisfy immediate needs and wants. Long term visioning and the types of investments necessary for this are not as common. Problematically, ‘immediate needs and wants’ have varied meanings: for example, these may include—on the one end— purchasing food for basic survival or—at the other end—utilising funds allotted for the children’s welfare to purchase eye catching garb for partying. In such cases, children request that funds assigned to assist their education not be awarded to the parents.

As presented, the factors and forces that are complex and interrelated. The major challenge to addressing them is not defining the appropriate policy and programme but in collaborating effectively across agencies, where competition, different levels of commitment, variations in technical knowledge and lack of accountability have long undermined the concerted approach required to



address the problems. Any purposive programme of action should begin with defining and determining effective methods for managing implementation processes.

### **9.1. Defining Programme Components**

The 2002 National Study of Street and Working Children recommended a 14 point programme of action. Aspects of this programme have been implemented and there are elements that are still pertinent. Arguably, an effective programme requires deep and comprehensive interventions that are designed to achieve the following:

1. Acknowledge and address the norms, beliefs and values that influence choices across and within communities;
2. Stem intergenerational inequalities, such that families can transcend conditions of poverty, which necessarily involves (a) implementing an aggressive, transformative, income generation programme for parents and guardians; and (b) arresting low educational achievement across generations;
3. Address learning and psychological challenges among children on the streets;
4. Urgently tackle the factors that push children to the streets, including within the education system;
5. Expand the programme to effectively prevent new cohorts of children from entering the streets;
6. Implement child labour legislations; and
7. Develop an effective marketing programme that will advocate against child work on the streets while presenting credible options.

### **9.2 Acknowledge and address the norms, beliefs and values that influence choices across and within communities**

Traditionally, development programmes have focused on providing material solutions to problems that hinge, sometimes predominantly, on emerging and longstanding norms, beliefs and value systems. Policies and programmes now include “behaviour change modules” as it is recognised that informal norms have substantial weight on how formal norms/institutions function.

It is important to go beyond this since the roots to particular patterns of thought are spiritual. Human beings are spiritual; therefore, the government must allow room for/seek substantive input from the proven authorities who should have a leading role in building the spiritual and moral fabric from an early stage. Community members, including children, report the ways in which various occultic practices (embodied in diverse faith-based agendas) have ripped apart their families and communities and influenced the ways in which they conceive their current circumstances and choice sets. While the government does not dictate religious choice, state authorities should be cognisant of the potential costs of particular decisions. The 2016 Study of the Effectiveness of Law Reforms on Rates of Crime and Violence in Western Jamaica notes that the popular perception that obeah is legitimised by the state and, as a consequence, there are no boundaries on how it is utilised. Although respondents were careful to differentiate between “good/self-protecting obeah” and “bad/avenging” obeah, there was agreement that in this age, “everybody stepping out” into the world of the spirits. Note that Indian and other spirit guides, including revivalist churches, are

also patronised, at least for their protective roles. It is important to study the implications for children on the streets, particularly those involved directly and indirectly in this “world of spirits. Such considerations must be included in any intervention programme.

### 9.3. Stem Intergenerational Inequalities

Any candid account of the country’s history would acknowledge that Jamaica’s development priorities have bred spatial inequalities across rural and urban areas and sustained vast inequalities across wealthier and poorer classes. Persons believe that they lack credible options for movement since traditional channels appear to result in unemployment and underemployment.

Entrenched inequalities cannot be dealt with via piecemeal interventions that effectively maintain the social imbalances. Rather, development interventions that seriously aspire to rectify historic injustices must have a radical ‘equalizing’ thrust, such as those that fuelled—at least in principle—the Affirmative Action programme in the United States or programmes for developing a black middle class in post-Apartheid South Africa. Undoubtedly, these initiatives had demerits but they shared the aim of correcting structural imbalances and, accordingly, produced some tangible results.

The following actions are critical for rectifying entrenched inequalities in the interest of the children:

1. Arresting low educational achievement across generations via adult education
2. Implementing aggressive, transformative, income generation programmes for parents and guardians.

Practitioners are aware that while parents may prefer income solutions to educational achievement, improvement in education outcomes among parents is necessary for optimising and sustaining income gains as well as for permanently moving families out of conditions of poverty. Therefore, effective strategies are required to ensure that parents invest in a comprehensive transformative programme. Among these are tying various forms of income support to meeting educational objectives.

Care should be taken in defining income generation programmes. Commonly, agencies resort to HEART qualifications; however, there are many graduates without employment. The challenge, then, would be to seek training and employment that offer gradated gains; this, starting with immediate income from participation and training and increasing as the programme advances.

### 9.4. Urgently address the factors that push children to the streets, including within the education system

A radical “equalizing” development agenda requires transformative education. Certain practices are inimical to this agenda; indeed, they are insensitive to the contexts of and conditions among youth. For example, preventing a child from attending school in order to take a stance against lateness must be swiftly discontinued, in recognition of the certain risks presented to children who are undereducated and excluded from school. Discipline is critical but this must be enforced with a more grounded understanding of the needs of and threats to the children.



Further, mechanisms and processes must be in place to immediately capture adolescents who have been expelled and to retain—as far as is feasible— those who have been suspended.

There are other significant issues: Particularly within deep rural pockets and in communities that are 'garrisoned' because of violence, specialist education must be geared to building basic and then advanced literacy skills; reasoning skills; visioning and innovative thinking and, critically, civic education. More broadly, urgent attention must be paid to children with learning and psychological challenges, as specified in Section 2d below.

There are other components, which build on current initiatives. These include providing a comprehensive package of health, education and nutrition interventions, such as through:

1. supplementing the costs of education through uniform and book support, which is paid directly to the school and monitored;
2. augmenting the financial support provided through PATH; increasing the range of children supported; implementing accountability mechanisms to ensure that the children benefit;
3. expanding the range and depth of the Ministry of Health's Teen Hubs; and
4. implementing practicable and responsive, community-based, parenting programmes.

Invariably, crime and violence, in its diverse forms, must be successfully addressed. Here, the scope of interventions exceeds the CPFSA's remit; however, there are tangible actions that can be taken to promote school safety and curtail domestic violence, both of which push children to the streets. Street level crime and violence (theft, rape, beatings, murders) pose the most significant threats to children on the streets; the risks vary depending upon gender and place.

#### **9.5. Tackle learning and psychological challenges among children on the streets**

Annex 1 presents the findings and conclusions from the educational-psychological analysis conducted with a cohort of children on the streets. The findings indicate the importance of including innovative teaching methodologies in order to reach the most at risk cohorts. Further, programmes must be designed to recognise and address the learning challenges presented by children with developmental, including learning disorders.

#### **9.6 Expand the programme to effectively prevent new cohorts of children from entering the streets**

The GoJ must be concerned not only with the children currently on the streets but also with the segments who are at risk. Risk assessments within schools and communities could identify families and the pertinent aspects of these programmes implemented as preventive measures.

#### **9.7. Implement child labour legislations**

Jamaica has clearly defined legislations on child labour and methodologies for probing their implementation within formal industries. Consultations with one Public Health Inspector revealed that

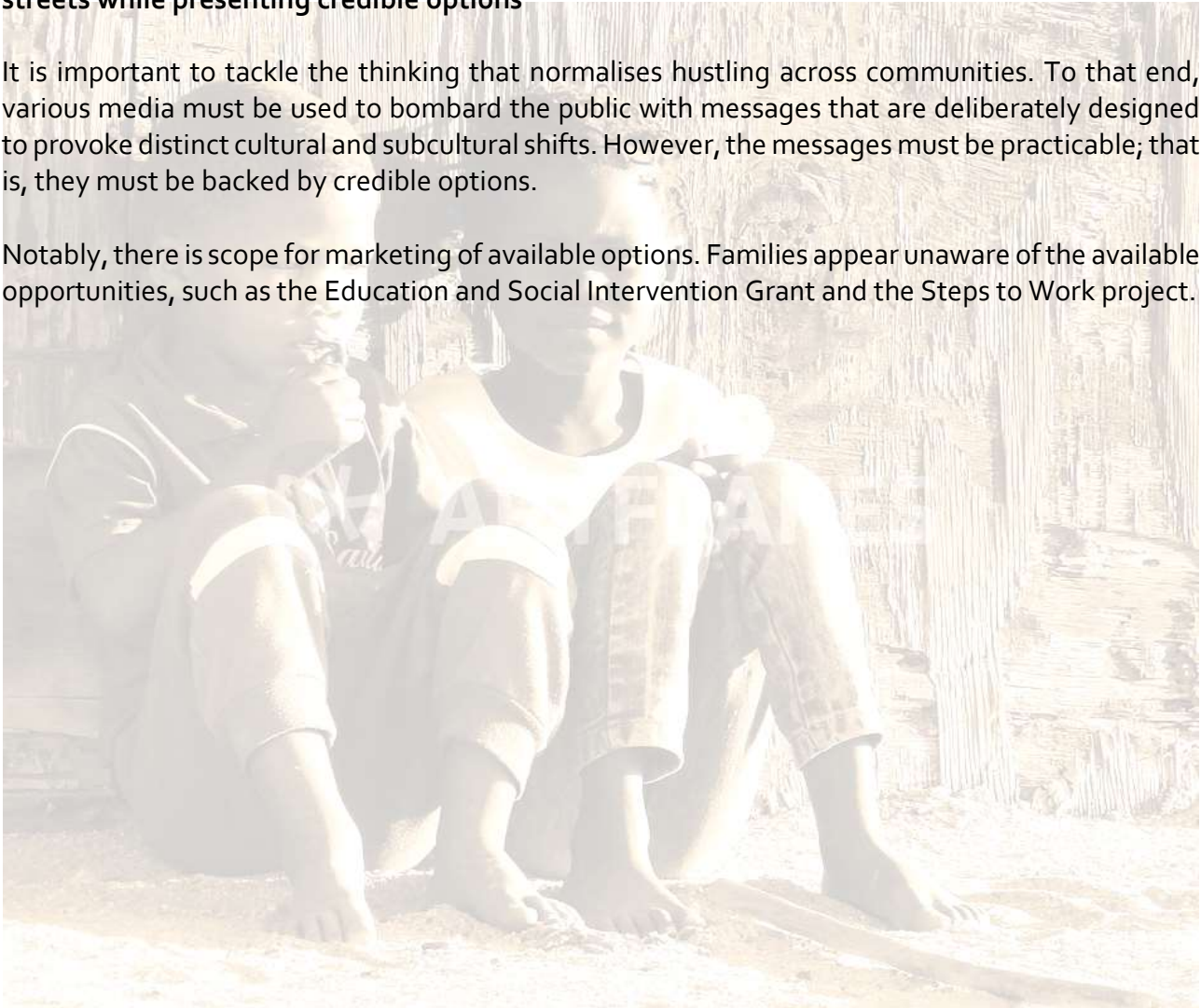
children are rarely discovered in registered establishments; however, interviews with children indicate that some are employed, including in hazardous occupations, within their communities. Family members and friends of family are among the employers.

The Child Labour legislations must be enforced in these “less frequently manned areas” in order to prevent child labour in its worst forms. Here, the immediate challenge may be the known disposition to secrecy across communities; however, continued persuasion of key stakeholders should help with entrenching the legislations.

**9.8. Develop an effective marketing programme that will advocate against child work on the streets while presenting credible options**

It is important to tackle the thinking that normalises hustling across communities. To that end, various media must be used to bombard the public with messages that are deliberately designed to provoke distinct cultural and subcultural shifts. However, the messages must be practicable; that is, they must be backed by credible options.

Notably, there is scope for marketing of available options. Families appear unaware of the available opportunities, such as the Education and Social Intervention Grant and the Steps to Work project.





## **10. ANNEX 1: STUDY OF CHILDREN WORKING ON THE STREETS IN JAMAICA: PSYCHOSOCIAL AND ACADEMIC COMPONENT**

### **LEAD EXAMINER:**

**DR. KAI A. D. MORGAN**

### **CONTRIBUTORS:**

**CHELSEI RICKETTS**

**CHRISTINA SILVERA**

**MICHELLE J. SKEETE**

**MARLENE CARSON**

### **Behaviour Assessment System for Children, Third Edition (BASC-3)**

The BASC-3 is a comprehensive set of rating scales and forms which aid in understanding the emotions and behaviours of children, adolescents and adults. The students were administered the Self-Report of Personality form, which provides insight into their thoughts and feelings, spanning the age ranges of 8-11 for children, and 12-21 for adolescents. Of the 20 students, 16 completed the BASC-3. Three (3) students were below the age of 8 and were therefore ineligible for testing, while 1 student demonstrated significant difficulty understanding the material. It is important to note that most of the children demonstrated reading challenges, which resulted in them having the items orally presented to them by the assessor.

#### **BASC-3 Scores for Children Ages 5-8 years**

One (1) 8-year-old female student completed the BASC-3 in the 5-8 year old age range. She demonstrated clinically significant scores in the area of School Problems, reporting dislike for school and wishing at times that she could be elsewhere. She generally considers her teacher(s) to be unfair, uncaring, and/or overly demanding. She reported clinically significant levels of depressive symptomatology (e.g. sadness) and feelings of inadequacy. At times, she also experiences unusual thoughts and perceptions, as well as anxiety (e.g. nervousness), which though not clinically significant, may require monitoring. Her reported challenges with attention (sustaining focus) and hyperactivity (restlessness), may also require monitoring. Of concern is that she also reported a high level of maladjustment in terms of poor relationship with parents and low self-esteem. Notwithstanding, she reported good interpersonal relations and rates herself as being outgoing.

#### **BASC-3 Scores for Children Ages 9-12 years**

A total of 7 students completed the BASC-3 in the 9-12 age range, with 4 being females and 3 being males. One (1) female was 11 years of age, while 3 were 12 years of age. One male was 9 years of age, while 2 males were age 10 years of age.

#### **BASC-3 Scores for Females**

In terms of School Problems, all female students reported enjoying school but expressed that their teachers were unfair, uncaring, and/or overly demanding. Their level of risky behaviours was similar to those of other children their age. Important to note is that all females within this age group reported high levels of depressive symptomatology and at varying levels, perceived having no sense

of control over their lives. Levels of maladjustment varied among the females in terms of social stress, anxiety, feelings of inadequacy, and atypical behaviours (unusual thoughts and perceptions), however, these challenges were clinically significant with only one of the female students. Notwithstanding, close monitoring is essential for all female students within this age group. In terms of attention and concentration, two female students demonstrated challenges with sustaining attention and self-control and all female students reported challenges with emotional symptoms that may warrant close monitoring. Three (3) females within this age group reported having established good relations with their parents, while three females demonstrated differing levels of maladjustment with interpersonal relations, self-esteem and confidence in her ability to make decisions, solve problems, and/or be dependable (self-reliance).

#### BASC-3 Scores for Males

In terms of School Problems, 1 male student demonstrated no challenges in terms of his attitude toward school and his teachers. Clinically significant levels of depressive symptomatology, anxiety, perceived control over one's life and feelings of inadequacy was noted among two male respondents. Only one male respondent reported no challenges with attention and self-control, while two males reported varying levels of maladjustment in terms of emotional symptoms. All male respondents reported having varying levels of difficulty in terms of interpersonal relations, while two respondents reported having good relations with their parents. An adequate level of self-esteem was noted in only one male respondent. Similarly, perceived self-reliance was noted in only one male respondent.

#### BASC-3 Scores for Adolescents Ages 13-17 years

A total of 8 respondents completed the BASC-3 in the 13-17 age group with 3 females and 5 being males. The female ages were 14, 16 and 17 respectively, while 1 male was age 13, 3 were age 14 and 1 was age 16.

#### BASC-3 Scores for Females

The results from the profile of one female respondent noted the absence of relative or significant maladjustment in all areas assessed. Therefore, this respondent reported no school or internalizing problems, challenges with attention or self-control, emotional symptoms or challenges related to personal adjustment.

In terms of the other 2 respondents, one female respondent reported challenges and maladjustment in terms of her attitude to school and to her teachers respectively. Additionally, one reported engaging in risky behaviours that may require monitoring. The only internalizing problem reported by one female respondent was feelings of inadequacy. While both females were able to demonstrate good levels of attention, only one of the two reported feelings of self-control. None of the female respondents within this age group reported emotional symptoms that were clinically significant, however both reported varying levels of maladjustment in terms of their relationship with parents. One female respondent demonstrated high levels of maladjustment in confidence in her ability to make decisions, solve problems, and/or be dependable.



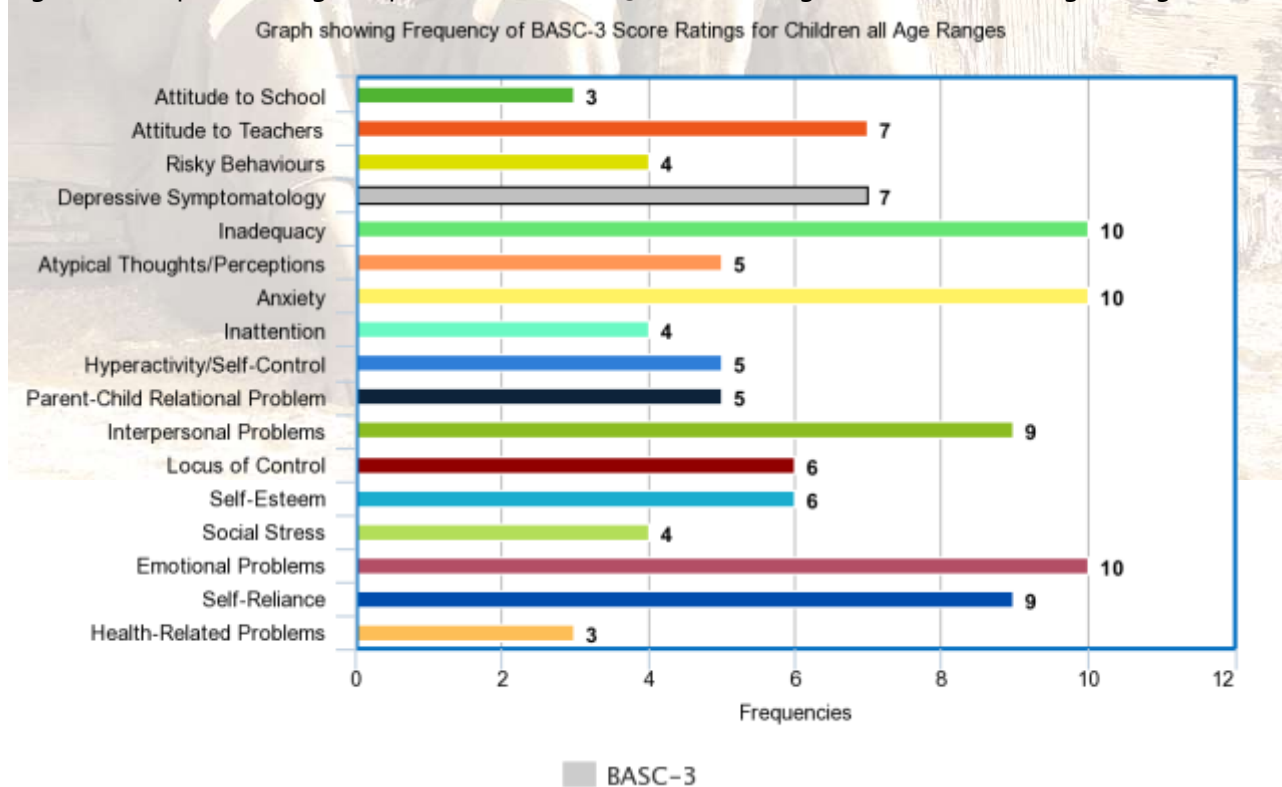
### BASC-3 Scores for Males

The males assessed within this age group generally report a good attitude toward school and their teachers. Notwithstanding, more often than not, they report engaging in risky behaviours, which may need to be monitored. Within this age group, the main Internalizing Problems were anxiety, health-related problems and feelings of inadequacy. They generally report being able to maintain adequate levels of attention and self-control, however, they generally reported clinically significant levels of emotional problems. The males within this age group typically report having established good relations with their parents, however, they report having challenges with establishing interpersonal relationships and tend to experience low confidence in their ability to make decisions, solve problems and/or be dependable.

### **Summary of BASC-3 Scores across All Age Ranges**

The BASC-3 results for these children indicate varied levels of challenges in the areas of School Problems, Internalizing Problems, Inattention and Hyperactivity, Emotional Problems, as well Personal Adjustment. Notwithstanding, there were some challenges that were more predominant within the sample. Of the 16 children tested, 62.5% report symptoms of anxiety, feelings of inadequacy and challenges with emotions, while 56.25% reported challenges with interpersonal relations and self-reliance. A little less than a half of the sample (43.3%) reported symptoms of depression and felt as though their teacher(s) were unfair, uncaring, and/or overly demanding. Other challenges noted in the sample included lack of perceived control over one's life, as well as low self-esteem (37.5%); occasional unusual thoughts or perceptions, restlessness/hyperactivity and poor parent-child relationship (31.25%); social stress, risky behaviours and challenges with sustaining attention (25%), as well as health-related problems and poor attitude to school (18.75%).

**Figure 1: Graph showing Frequencies of BASC-3 Score Ratings for Children All Age Ranges (n=16)**



## Wide Range Achievement Test, Fourth Edition (WRAT-4)

The WRAT-4 is a measure of basic academic skills including Word Reading, Sentence Comprehension, Spelling and Math Computation. Nineteen children were administered the WRAT-4, however not all children were administered the Sentence Comprehension subtest, mostly due to inability to obtain sufficient scores in Reading component which is a pre-requisite for Sentence Comprehension.

### WRAT-4 Scores for Children Ages 5-8 years

A total of 5 children were administered the WRAT-4 within the 5-8 year age range. Three students were female (with one being age 7 and two were age 8) and two were male (ages 6 and 7 respectively).

#### WRAT-4 Scores for Females

For two females, the scores in all areas assessed fell within the low to Extremely Low ranges indicating poorly developed academic skills across areas of Reading, Sentence Comprehension and Mathematics. It is important to note that while these girls were able to identify and name the letters of the alphabet, they demonstrated difficulty when required to use phonetic and decoding skills to read and spell words. In terms of letter formation, there were noted challenges with one female who wrote letters backwards (e.g. *f* and *n*). Similarly, while they could identify numerals and count, they had difficulties solving basic math problems (e.g.  $2+1$ ). One female within this group performed relatively better when compared to others her age. Her scores fell within the "Average to Below Average" range on Word Reading and Spelling and in the "Average" range on the Mathematics task. Performance ranged from the Kindergarten to the Grade 2 level for these children.

#### WRAT-4 Scores for Males

For the males within this age group, performance on all areas assessed fell within the low to Extremely Low ranges. One male in particular (6 years old) demonstrated great difficulty understanding the material and was unable to complete any of the tasks. He was not able to identify letters, numerals or spell his name. The other male had difficulty spelling words that included vowels (e.g. the word *cut*, was spelt *ct*) and also wrote numerals backwards (eg. Numeral 9). All males within this age range performed at the Kindergarten level.

### WRAT-4 Scores for Children Ages 9-12 years

A total of 7 children were administered the WRAT-4 in the 9-12 year age range, with 5 being female (two at the age of 9 and 11 and one at the age of 12 respectively) and 2 being male (ages 9 and 10 respectively).

#### WRAT-4 Scores for Females

Two female students within this age range performed in the Extremely Low ranges on all areas assessed. Performance varied for another female student whose Reading score fell within the "Average to Below Average" range, Spelling within "Average" range and Math within the "Low range".



Challenges with word reading was prominent among these students, as they demonstrated challenges pronouncing words that they were expected to know based on their age. For instance, one student misread the word *then* for *than* and pronounced the word *cliff* as *clife*, while another misread the word *see* for *ears*. While all students demonstrated their ability to identify numbers and count, one student was unable to identify the different math computation signs and thus work the problems accordingly, while the others had challenges with basic math calculations (e.g.  $2+1$ ,  $7 - \_\_ = 3$ ). In comparison, another female performed in the "Average" range across all areas assessed indicating good academic potential. Performance ranged from the Kindergarten to the Grade 6 level for these children.

#### WRAT-4 Scores for Males

Challenges were noted in all academic areas for one male student, as he consistently performed in the "Extremely Low" range on tasks assessed. He had trouble writing his name legibly and was unable to read and spell words though he could say the letters of the alphabet. He also demonstrated challenges with knowledge of math signs, specifically the subtraction sign and as such, was unable to work subtraction problems. Though the other male student demonstrated similar reading challenges (e.g. misreading *cliff* as *careful* and *plot* as *polt*), he nonetheless performed well on the spelling task. His challenges with math were noted on tasks requiring addition, subtraction, multiplication and division of multi-digit numbers. Performance ranged from the Kindergarten to the Grade 3 level for these children.

#### WRAT-4 Scores for Adolescents Ages 13-17 years

A total of 8 adolescents completed the WRAT-4 within the 13-17 age range, with 3 being females (ages 14, 16 and 17 respectively) and 5 being males (two being age 13, three age 14 and one age 16).

#### WRAT-4 Scores for Females

Of the females, there were two with similar scores of low performance on Reading and Sentence Comprehension and "Below Average" performance on Math and Spelling. Both females tended to give up before attempting tasks for which they were unsure how to complete. The remaining female demonstrated "Low to Extremely Low" performance on the skills assessed, appearing not to have mastered word decoding (e.g. missing key letters in words like the "r" in *wrap* and "e" in *huge*; spelling the word *grown* as *groan*). Similarly, she appeared to not have mastered multiplication involving 2 digits, though she could perform more simple calculations. Performance ranged from the Kindergarten to the Grade 6 level for these children.

#### WRAT-4 Scores for Males

The males assessed within this age group generally demonstrated poor performance on all skills assessed, which scores ranging from "Below Average to Extremely Low". Challenges with word reading and identification based on how the words appear on the page were noted. For instance, the word *cliff* was misread as *ship* by one student and *huge* misread as *hug* by another. These reading challenges were also translated to the spelling task, where for instance the word *was* had been misspelt as *well* and the word *between* misspelt as *strait*. The students also demonstrated difficulty with solving simple math problems (e.g.  $7 - \_\_ = 3$  and  $15 \div 5$ ). Performance ranged from the Kindergarten to the Grade 5 level for these children.

### Summary of Academic Skills

In summary it appears as though majority of the students demonstrated challenges in the subject areas assessed, possibly due to having not grasped the foundational rules required for reading, spelling and mathematics. Also, deficient language development and stimulation during the early years are likely contributing factors. Given these challenges, these students are likely to have difficulty in the academic setting where use of these skills are required. It is important to note that during academic screening on the WRAT-4, many of the children displayed an inability to follow instruction due to the influence of patois. As such, instructions had to be frequently repeated using that dialect to assure understanding. They also exhibited short attention spans and were easily distracted. Educationally, they mainly functioned below their age and grade expectations. Therefore, they will need an intensive intervention programme implemented respective of community level, aimed at assisting them to gain the requisite educational skills. Their interdependence was also noticeable and appeared to have affected their willingness to corporate with the assessors. This could be possibly interpreted as a problem with trust/mistrust.

WRAT-4 Table with Grade Equivalents (Year and Months) for Subtests (n =19)

*Age	Current Grade Level	Gender	Word Reading	Spelling	Sentence Comprehension	Mathematics
6.11	K	M	<K.0	<K.0	<K.0	<K.0
7.9	1	F	K.1	K.6	<K.0	K.8
7.0	2	M	K.5	K.6	<K.0	<K.0
8.9	3	F	K.5	1.1	<K.0	1.2
8.2	4	F	1.9	1.4	Not administered	2.5
9.6	3	F	K.3	K.8	<K.0	<K.0
9.8	3	M	<K.0	K.2	Not administered	1.2
10.1	3	M	1.4	1.7	Not administered	3.5
11.1	5	F	K.9	1.4	Not administered	1.7
11.8	7	F	2.9	4.7	Not administered	3.2
12.9	7	F	4.9	4.7	Not administered	6.3
13.1	8	M	3.7	<K.0	Not administered	Refused to do
13.8	8	M	1.8	3.0	Not administered	3.0
14.3	9	F	2.3	3.7	3.7	5.2
14.7	8	M	1.6	1.7	Not administered	4.0



*Age	Current Grade Level	Gender	Word Reading	Spelling	Sentence Comprehension	Mathematics
14.0	7	M	3.7	4.7	Not administered	4.0
16.10	11	F	4.1	6.4	5.3	5.2
16.1	8	M	2.6	2.3	2.0	5.9
17.2	11	F	3.5	5.1	2.6	<K.0

NB: \*number represents years and months.

### Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, Third Edition (PPVT-III)

The Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test - Third Edition (PPVT-III) is an individually administered norm-referenced assessment. The PPVT-III is an achievement test of receptive vocabulary that measures listening comprehension of spoken words for children and adults. The PPVT-III is an untimed test of receptive vocabulary, designed to provide a quick and reliable estimate of the individual's vocabulary ability. This is an important assessment of their vocabulary without the use of language and importantly without the confound of their mother tongue, patois, which sometimes posed a challenge in the verbal academic portions of other tests administered.

Testing of the students revealed that overall that their language skills were severely delayed and also that their comprehension and problem solving skills were extremely deficient. In addition to the PPVT-III, attempts were made at implementing one subtest (Oral Vocabulary) from the expressive portion of the Test of Language Development (TOLD) to provide more in depth information on their overall language skill level. The TOLD subtest demanded a definition of words presented, such as "bird, apple, cow, rest, zoo, poor, kitten and forest". The students demonstrated challenges on this task and most times abandoned the task due to resistance. This appeared to be a task avoidance ploy as there were no visuals they could depend on for assistance. The students also demonstrated oral motor weakness and articulation delay, well below that which should have been acquired for their age.

Given their Extremely Low receptive and expressive skills, these students are likely to demonstrate deficient academic skills in areas that require language processing to aid in performance.

Table 2: PPVT-3 Scores for Children Ages 8-14 years of age (n=9)

Age	Standard Score	Percentiles	Range	Age Equivalent
8 years 2 mths	61	<1%	Extremely Low	4 years 5 mths
9 years 6 mths	40	<1%	Extremely Low	3 years 3 mths
10 years 1 mth	68	1.5%	Extremely Low	6 years 1 mth
11 years 1 mth	40	<1%	Extremely Low	3 years 2 mths
11 years 10 mths	57	<1%	Extremely Low	5 years 7 mths

Age	Standard Score	Percentiles	Range	Age Equivalent
12 years 10 mths	66	1%	Extremely Low	7 years
13 years 11 mths	44	<1%	Extremely Low	5 years 5 mths
14 years	60	<1%	Extremely Low	7 years
14 years	71	2%	Moderately Low	8 years 5 mths

PPVT-III Standard Score Interpretation: Standard scores ranges from 40 – 160 with 100 as the mean and a standard deviation of 15.

## **Recommendations**

### **Emotional and Behavioural Challenges**

1. These students more often than not demonstrate emotional and behavioural challenges including depressive and anxious symptomatology, low self-esteem and feelings of inadequacy, challenges with attention/self-control. As such, they may benefit from group interventions whether at the school/community level (e.g. after school or on the weekends). These interactive group sessions can merely take the form of activities and opportunities to showcase their talents (e.g. artistic abilities), while in turn improving their social skills and interpersonal relationships. It is recommended that such an intervention occur under supervised conditions, which can be done on a voluntary basis by members of the community. Such an intervention may have therapeutic value for these children, as showcasing talents and abilities may improve their sense of self-esteem/worth.
2. It is recommended that the parents of these children be encouraged to dedicate time to sit and talk with their children about their experiences and challenges. This may also in turn help to strengthen existing bonds between these parents and their children, as well as to build bonds between parents and children that have poor relationships. Such interaction may also assist with improving their expressive and receptive skills. There is a particular therapeutic approach which is community-based and actually teaches parent how to interact with their children, called Parent-Child Interaction Therapy. There are a few trained therapists in this approach in Jamaica.

### **Academic Challenges**

Given that the results of the WRAT-4 indicate deficiency in academic skills among most of the children assessed, the following recommendations have been made:

1. Whether at the school or community level, the facilitation of homework clubs (e.g. after school or at community churches or centers), where children can come together and assist each other with assignments or grasping certain academic skills, while under supervision, may assist with improving their academic performance. This can also be done at a voluntary level and can include the participation of teachers within the communities to assist children with grasping foundational skills.



It was very noticeable in each community, that the younger children in particular, were very keen on doing school work, even in the midst of Summer, and several children that were around while the tests were being administered, wanted to be included, wanted to be asked questions and showcase their knowledge and also to learn, even when they realized their capabilities were less than what was being asked. They wanted to be involved in the learning activities as they saw it. These young children are eager and still excited about learning, and these attitudes were very different as they became older, where expressions of resistance were made and anticipations of being embarrassed by their lack of knowledge.

2. Recognizing that each child may have different learning styles that work best for them, efforts should be made by their Teachers/Tutors to use all sensory modalities when teaching (that is, visual, auditory, hands-on/experiential and practical). Additionally, classroom instruction can incorporate real world examples, as well as personal experiences for these children to improve their capacity to learn and retain information.

Make learning fun for these children by encouraging the singing of songs and the playing of games that allow the manipulation of letters, letter-sounds, words and numbers.

3. Encourage students with strengths in certain areas to teach their peers who may be weak in these areas. Not only will this facilitate improvement in those that have challenges, but it will also aid in reinforcing the knowledge and skills of those who demonstrate mastery.

#### Receptive and Expressive Language Development

1. It is recommended that after tutorials on reading skills, these students should be exposed to more reading materials by way of the library and that more games are played with them at the community level to engage them in conversation, so that they can use their vocabulary and develop better comprehension skills.

Other children are begging; carrying chicken for sale, loading boats, mixing cement; burn and sell aluminum; and collecting iron, copper and loom for sale. Within some communities, there were children who admitted that they have been engaged to break into people's houses or business places. Twenty five children confirmed that they buy and sell cigarettes; 17 buy and sell marijuana; six buy and sell cocaine; 26 buy and sell alcohol; 5 buy and sell weapons, such as guns and knives; 94 children reported that they take care of others.

## 11. ANNEX 2 - SOURCES

Blake, G. O., & Gibbison, G. (2015). Why Do Poor Households Not Apply For Welfare Benefits?: Evidence from Jamaica's Path Program. *The Journal of Developing Areas*, 49(1), 65–82. doi:10.1353/jda.2015.0003

Child Development Agency. *The Child Care and Protection Act 2004: Implementation Handbook for Professionals*. Kingston: Ministry of Health with support of United Nations Children's Fund Country Office, 2004.

——— (2009) *Jamaica's Status Report on Initiatives Aimed at Combating/Preventing Child Labour*. Kingston.

Cooke, R. et al (2010) *Assessment of Implementation and Enforcement Machinery to Combat Child Labour in Jamaica*. Kingston: Prepared for ILO/TACKLE.

Crean, R. D., Crane, N. A., & Mason, B. J. (2011). An Evidence-Based Review of Acute and Long-Term Effects of Cannabis Use on Executive Cognitive Functions. *Journal of Addiction Medicine*, 5(1), 1–8. doi:10.1097/adm.0b013e31820c23fa

Darby, P. J., Allan, W. D., Kashani, J. H., Hartke, K. L., & Reid, J. C. (1998). Analysis of 112 juveniles who committed homicide: Characteristics and a closer look at family abuse. *Journal of family violence*, 13(4), 365-375.

Early Childhood Commission (2007) *Status of the Rights of the Young Child in Jamaica Child, A Report prepared to inform the Active Dissemination Process of General Comment 7*. Kingston: ECC Publication.

### Government of Jamaica

——— The Offences Against the Person Act (1864)

——— Obscene Publications (Suppression of) Act, 1927

——— Post Office Regulations, 1941

——— Education Act. Kingston: GOJ, 1980

——— Child Care and Protection Act. Kingston: GOJ, 2004.

——— Domestic Violence Act. Kingston: GOJ, 2004.

——— Early Childhood Act. Kingston: GOJ, 2004

——— Early Childhood Regulations. Kingston: GOJ, 2005.

——— Early Childhood Commission Act. Kingston: GOJ, 2005.

——— Maintenance Act. Kingston: GOJ, 2005.

——— Children's Home Regulations. Kingston: GOJ, 2007.

——— National Security Policy. Kingston: GOJ, 2007.

——— Child Pornography (Prevention) Act. Kingston: GOJ, 2009.

——— Sexual Offences Act. Kingston: GOJ, 2009.

——— Trafficking in Persons (Prevention, Suppression and Punishment) Act. Kingston: GOJ, 2009.

——— The Cyber-Crimes Act, 2010 and 2015.



Government of Jamaica

- *Vision 2030 Development Plan*, Kingston: Planning Institute of Jamaica, 2009.
- *Task Force on Educational Reform In Jamaica*. Kingston: GOJ, 2004.
- *Education Transformation – Cabinet Briefing, 18 January*. Kingston: GOJ, 2008.
- *National HIV & AIDS Strategic Plan for the Education Sector, 2007–2012*. Kingston:

GOJ (2008) *Security and Safety Policy Guidelines: Promoting a Culture of Security and Safety in Schools*. Kingston: GOJ.

Handcock, M., K. Gile, C, Mar (2014) Estimating hidden population size using Respondent-Driven Sampling data, *Electron J Stat.* 2014; 8(1): 1491–1521

Harper, C. C., & McLanahan, S. S. (2004). Father Absence and Youth Incarceration. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 14(3), 369–397. doi:10.1111/j.1532-7795.2004.00079.x

Hecakthorn, D. (1997) Respondent Driven Sampling: A New Approach to the Study of Hidden Populations University of Connecticut, p.177. Handcock

Institute for Applied Social Research (2019), *Evaluation of the Jamaica School-wide Positive Behaviour Intervention*.

Jager, G., Block, R. I., Luijten, M., & Ramsey, N. F. (2010). Cannabis Use and Memory Brain Function in Adolescent Boys: A Cross-Sectional Multicenter Functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging Study. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 49(6), 561–572.e3. doi:10.1016/j.jaac.2010.02.001

McLaughlin, KR, Johnston LG, Gamble LJ Grigoryan T. Papoyan A Grigoryan S, (2019) Population Size Estimations Among Hidden Populations Using Respondent-Driven Sampling Surveys: Case Studies From Armenia, *JMIR Public Health Surveill.* 2019 Mar 14;5(1):e12034. doi: 10.2196/12034.

Ministry of Justice. (2006). *Victims Charter*. Kingston.

Moncrieffe, J. (2018). *Assessment of Behaviour Change Programmes*, Submitted to Jamaica Social Investment Fund and the European Union

National Youth Centre for Development (2004) *National Youth Policy: Jamaican Youth Shaping the World*. Jamaica.

PIOJ (2017), *Voluntary National Review Report on the Implementation of the 2030 Agenda*, p. 10

Sanigest International. (2013). *Quantitative Impact Evaluation of the Programme of Advancement through Health and Education –P.A.T.H.*

United Nations. (2002) *A World Fit for Children: Outcome document of the Special Session*. Geneva: United Nations. [http://www.unicef.org/specialsession/docs\\_new/documents/A-RES-S27-2E.pdf](http://www.unicef.org/specialsession/docs_new/documents/A-RES-S27-2E.pdf). Retrieved 1 February 2011.

United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child (2001–2007). *General Comments 1–10*. Geneva: United Nations, <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/crc/comments.htm>. Retrieved 1 February 2011.

Statistical Institute of Jamaica, (2016) Jamaica National Youth Activity Survey

UNICEF. (2005). *Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey: Monitoring the Situation of Children and Women*. Phoenix Printery: Kingston.

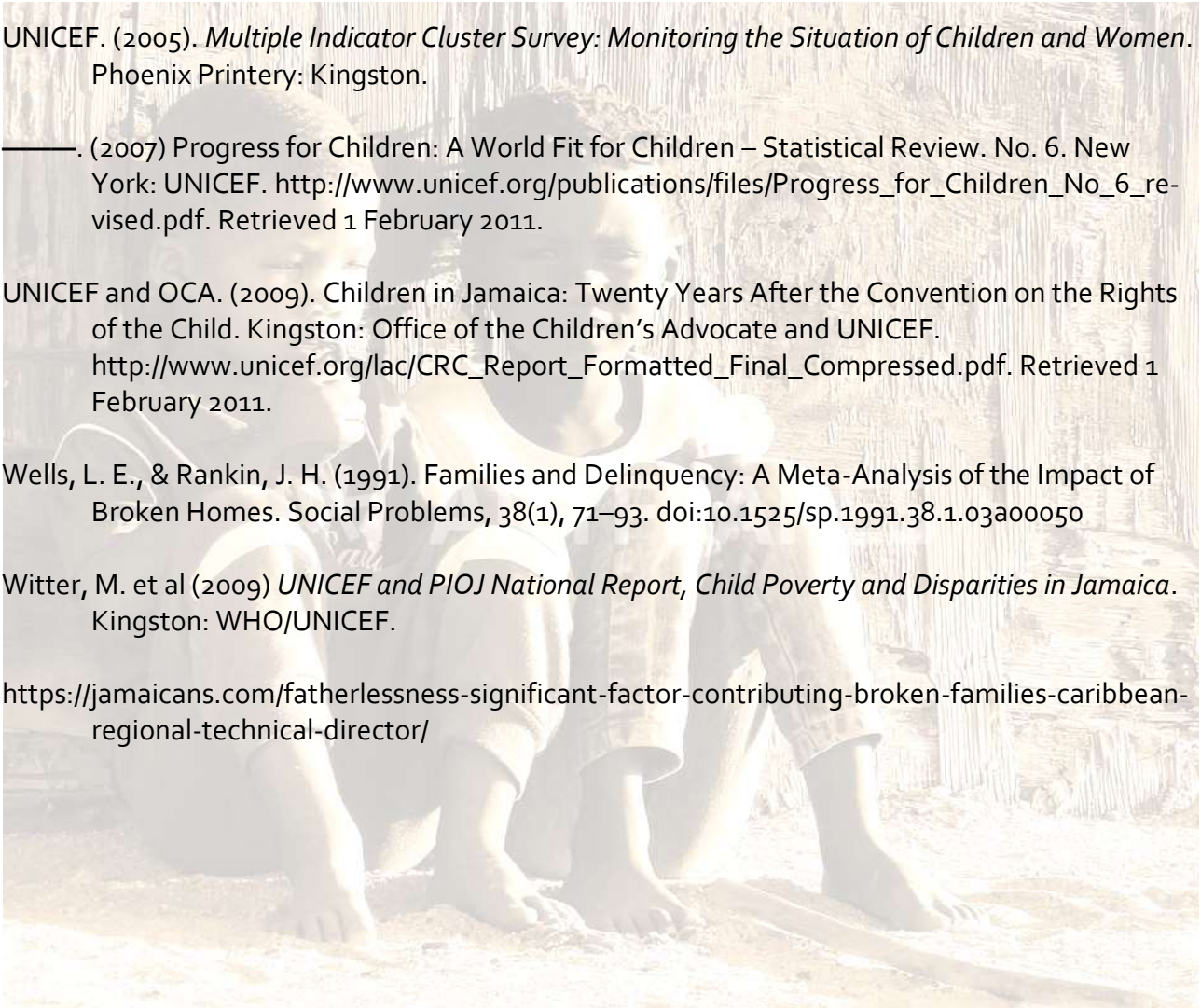
———. (2007) *Progress for Children: A World Fit for Children – Statistical Review*. No. 6. New York: UNICEF. [http://www.unicef.org/publications/files/Progress\\_for\\_Children\\_No\\_6\\_revised.pdf](http://www.unicef.org/publications/files/Progress_for_Children_No_6_revised.pdf). Retrieved 1 February 2011.

UNICEF and OCA. (2009). *Children in Jamaica: Twenty Years After the Convention on the Rights of the Child*. Kingston: Office of the Children's Advocate and UNICEF. [http://www.unicef.org/lac/CRC\\_Report\\_Formatted\\_Final\\_Compressed.pdf](http://www.unicef.org/lac/CRC_Report_Formatted_Final_Compressed.pdf). Retrieved 1 February 2011.

Wells, L. E., & Rankin, J. H. (1991). Families and Delinquency: A Meta-Analysis of the Impact of Broken Homes. *Social Problems*, 38(1), 71–93. doi:10.1525/sp.1991.38.1.03a00050

Witter, M. et al (2009) *UNICEF and PIOJ National Report, Child Poverty and Disparities in Jamaica*. Kingston: WHO/UNICEF.

<https://jamaicans.com/fatherlessness-significant-factor-contributing-broken-families-caribbean-regional-technical-director/>





## 12. ANNEX 3: TERMS OF REFERENCE

### Study of Children Working on the Street in Jamaica

**Consultancy Objective:** Child Protection & Family Services Agency (CPFSA), an Executive Agency under the portfolio of the Jamaican Ministry of Education, Youth and Information (MOEYI) with technical assistance from Winrock International, is seeking a consultancy firm, organization, or a research university to lead the design and implementation of a study of street children in Jamaica. The purpose of the study is to determine factors which predispose children to be living and working on the streets (inclusive of trafficking victims that may be invisible), and to identify gaps in the provision of care and social protection services that impede an effective response to addressing street children. Results and recommendations from the study will be used by the Child Protection & Family Services Agency (CPFSA) and MOEYI to inform policies, programming, and interventions related to street children in Jamaica.

### Organization and Project Background

#### *CPFSA Background*

Established in 2004, The Child Protection and Family Services Agency (CPFSA) is an Executive Agency under the Ministry of Education, Youth and Information. The Agency was renamed in November 2017 and represents an amalgamation of the then Child Development Agency (CDA) and the Office of the Children's Registry (OCR).

The agency's vision is *"Jamaica's children achieve their full potential in nurturing environments and with full access to developmental and social services; supported by CPFSA, a collaborative, child-rights centered, results driven, and technology enabled employer of choice"* whereas its mission is to *"Contribute to the well-being of Jamaica's children by supporting those in need of care and protection, through family empowerment, collaborating with service partners and regulating alternative child services"*. Its mantra is *"Protecting Children, Empowering Families, Securing the Future"* and will be used to galvanize support internally and externally.

The CPFSA is governed by the Child Care and Protection Act (CCPA) and provides care to children deemed in need of care and protection by the Courts, and those who are awaiting the outcome of court proceedings. The CPFSA through the National Children's Registry (NCR), receives child abuse reports and refer to internal and external parties for action as well as mobilizing national response to the issue of missing children. Its work also entails the investigation of child abuse reports and provision of needs based intervention for these children and their families. The agency also regulates and monitors the delivery of service through the provision of alternate care spaces. Additionally, the CPFSA administers programmes and initiatives, designed to provide a stable and nurturing living environment for children.

There are 54 Child Care Facilities island-wide, nine (9) of which are managed and operated by the Government of Jamaica. Over the years, the agency has placed greater emphasis on Living in Family Environment (L.I.F.E) Programmes, as an alternative to residential care. LIFE Programmes enable children to live in familial settings even as they are in the care of the State.

Initiatives such as the Children and Family Support Unit (CFSU); established in the CPFSA's regional offices and the Multi-Agency partnership with agencies such as the Centre for the Investigation of Sexual Offences and Child Abuse (C.I.S.O.C.A), Office of the Children's Registry (OCR) and the Ministry of Justice's Victim Support Unit, are helping to keep children out of State care, through counseling and other interventions to families and abuse victims. The Multi-Agency partnership also enables child victims to be interviewed and counselled in a sensitive atmosphere and in a manner to reduce re-victimization.

The Agency's staff members are spread across our Corporate Office located in Kingston, four (4) regional offices and 13 parish offices as well as our child care facilities.

CPFSA remains committed to the mission of empowering children to achieve their highest potential and supporting families as part of nation building.

### ***Winrock International Background***

Winrock International is a non-profit organization that works with people around the world to increase economic opportunity, sustain natural resources, and protect the environment. Winrock strengthens the capacity of women, children, youth, and civil society organizations to actively participate in local and national development and to transform their societies.

Winrock International is implementing CLEAR II, a four-year United States Department of Labour (USDOL) funded project that works with host governments to support a global reduction in child labour. CLEAR II is collating with governments to bring about meaningful reductions in child labour in Jamaica, Panama, Belize, Burkina Faso, Nepal, Liberia, and Honduras. CLEAR II's four focus areas include: legislation, monitoring and enforcement, national plans of action and policies and social programs. Through CLEAR II, Winrock International and USDOL will be providing technical assistance to CPFSA for this study, providing review and feedback to CPFSA on methodology, tools, and deliverables.

### **Study Objectives and Research Questions**

The objective of this research activity is to conduct a study that covers major towns and cities in 7-9 priority parishes of Jamaica (Kingston and St. Andrew, St. Catherine, Clarendon, St. Elizabeth, Westmoreland, St. James, St. Ann and St. Thomas), thus providing empirical data on the subject matter to inform the interventions to be planned to address the needs of this vulnerable group.

For purposes of this study, "street children" shall consider all children working on the street, regardless of if they are living on the street. This may include children conducting supervised or unsupervised economic activities on the street. Children who are on the street but not conducting economic activities (e.g., non-working children of vendors) will not be included.

Research questions will be finalized during the study design phase. Preliminary questions to be answered by the study include:

1. What is the estimated number of street children who are engaged in economic activity, child labour, and hazardous child labour including the worst forms of child labour? How does seasonality affect estimated numbers of street children?



2. What are the demographic, social, economic characteristics and environmental root causes of working street children in Jamaica?
3. What are the risk factors that lead street children to engage in child labour and hazardous child labour?
4. Where are these practices likely to happen and how are such sites selected by the children? In which sectors and activities are street children conducting their work?
5. At what times of the day are children most likely to be seen engaging in these activities?
6. What hazardous exposures are working street children subjected to?
7. Do street children experience illness or injury as a result of their work?
8. Do street children experience adverse impacts on their educational attainment as a result of their work? What of other basic human rights provisions? If Jamaica Youth Activity Survey results are available, how do schooling outcomes compare against estimates of urban working children and urban non-working children?
9. What are the legal, regulatory, standards and/or policy framework in place to respond to the presenting issues unique to children living and working on the streets?
10. What are the parental care measures in place to support children living and working on the street and are they effective?

### **Geographic Scope**

The study will take place in 7-9 priority parishes in Jamaica, namely Kingston and St. Andrew, St. Catherine, Clarendon, St. Elizabeth, Westmoreland, St. James, St. Ann and St. Thomas.

### **Proposed Methodology<sup>30</sup>**

Mixed methods will be used to conduct the study, including but not limited to desk review, key informant interviews, focus group discussions with Child Protection Committees and other groups, and surveys. Systematic methods such as capture-recapture should be considered to estimate the size of the working children population and develop a typology of these children, to be used for sampling children for qualitative interviews.

Secondary data shall be gathered to the extent possible from various sources, including the appropriate government ministries and other studies, and findings from the Jamaica Youth Activity Survey 2016 implemented by Ministry of Labour and Social Security with support from the United States Department of Labour.

---

<sup>30</sup> The final methodological approach, including selection of geographic areas, sample design, and questionnaire design to be developed with input from Jamaica Child Protection and Families Services Agency; Ministry of Education, Youth, and Information; Winrock International, and United States Department of Labour

## Key Responsibilities

The company, organization, or university will be required to perform the following tasks, but will not be limited to these tasks:

1. Develop a work plan outlining the methodology to be used to carry out the research study including an implementation schedule that outlines all major milestones, risk factors and mechanisms for managing change in project scope and receive approval.
2. Determine and apply the relevant sampling methodology based on the stated objectives.
3. Develop data gathering instruments and instructional guides for the collection of the relevant data using a structured approach, receive approval and execute action.
4. Coordinate with CPFSA to secure the approval of the Ethics Committee of the Ministry of Health and any other relevant authorities prior to the commencement of the study.
5. Conduct both pre and post-research consultations/focus group testing with relevant stakeholders, inclusive of the various cohorts of children. Where they exist, Child Protection Committees should also be included.
6. Conduct a stakeholder analysis that identifies organizations currently providing interventions for children who live and/or work on the streets, and map those services and assess their capacity to effectively meet the needs of the children and their families. This analysis should be done in the context of the impact on not just the children, but also their families and wider communities.
7. Examine the gender dimensions of the issue, exploring the dynamics within families and communities, which impact choices or decisions, or impel actions
8. Conduct a comprehensive literature review that covers the response approach being taken in other jurisdictions as well their effectiveness, while also determining current interventions being applied in Jamaica that can be strengthened. The findings of this review should be used to inform the plan of action which is to be included in the final report that can be implemented by relevant stakeholders.
9. Provide periodic written progress reports on the project outlining challenges or any other issue impacting on the project scope and timelines and make recommendations on alternate options.
10. Interact with the project's technical oversight committee to discuss the steps taken in the research and the findings revealed.
11. Prepare the final research report outlining the findings, analyses and make recommendations for consideration..
12. Presenting the key findings / gaps and recommendations from the study to key stakeholder group which is to be refined into plan of action (response framework) that will chart the way forward.
13. Participate in the dissemination event by presenting main findings to the oversight committee and at national stakeholder consultation session(s).
14. Prepare budget to be used to effectively meet project activities and receive approval.

## Schedule

The study will be carried out in 7-9 parishes in Jamaica.



## Deliverables

The following deliverables are required by CPFSA. Deadlines for each deliverable should be included within the proposal and will be reviewed and finalized by CPFSA and Winrock at the beginning of assignment. The deliverables include:

1. Research Proposal, Work Plan, Methodology, Implementation Schedule and Budget
2. Research tools/instruments and instruction guides
3. Finalized research concept paper, and resulting written ethical approval subject to submission
4. Preliminary findings presentation following data collection for CPFSA and Winrock.
5. First Draft Report, including Literature Review
6. Facilitate a 1-day learning workshop/debriefing session to present the draft findings to CPFSA, Winrock, and other stakeholders and to gather feedback needed to finalize the report
7. Draft Final Report
8. Final Report provided in two (2) hard copies and electronic copies in both Word and PDF formats



**13. ANNEX 4: STAKEHOLDERS AND THEIR INPUTS**

Key Stakeholders	Online Questionnaire	Group Consultation	Interviews
Child Protection and Family Services Agency	**	**	**
Planning Institute of Jamaica	**		
Ministry of Labour and Social Security	**		
Ministry of Health			**
Jamaica Social Investment Fund			**
Jamaica Constabulary Force			**
Peace Management Initiative			**
Citizen Security and Justice Programme			**
Victim Support Division			**
Eve for Life			**
Young Men's Christian Association			**
Possibility Programme			**
Representatives from the Taxi Association Limited			**
Representatives from the Jamaica Urban Transit Company Limited			**
Theodora Project		**	**
Community Development Groups - St James, St Catherine		**	**
Community leaders - Majesty Gardens			
Mount Olivet Boys Home		**	
Islamic Group, Negril		**	**
Hope United, Kingston			
United Church, Negril		**	**
Church of God, Jones Town		**	**
Covenant Church			
Tarrant Baptist Church		**	
Mission, St Ann		**	**
New Testament, Savanna-La-Mar		**	**
Spot Valley High		**	**



## 14. ANNEX 5: ETHICAL APPROVAL LETTER



### MINISTRY OF HEALTH & WELLNESS

□ RKA BUILDING, 10-16 GRENADA WAY □ 45-47 BARBADOS AVENUE □ 24-26 GRENADA CRESCENT □ 10<sup>A</sup> CHELSEA AVENUE  
KINGSTON 5, JAMAICA, W.I.  
Tel: (876) 633-7400/7433/7771/8172/8174  
Website: [www.moh.gov.jm](http://www.moh.gov.jm)

ANY REPLY OR SUBSEQUENT REFERENCE  
SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO THE PERMANENT  
SECRETARY AND THE FOLLOWING REFERENCE  
QUOTED:

REF NO: \_\_\_\_\_

2019 June 19

Dr. Joy Moncrieffe  
Principal Investigator  
Child Protection and Family Services Agency

Dear Dr. Moncrieffe

**Re: Children Living and Working on the Streets of Jamaica**

This serves to inform you that the Ministry of Health & Wellness Advisory Panel on Ethics and Medico-Legal Affairs has reviewed and approved the captioned study. The study has been assigned the number **2019/11**.

Attached, please find the approve cover page stamped and signed by the Ministry's Advisory Panel.

Please keep the Ministry updated regarding the progress and submit a summary of the results and conclusion on completion of the study.

Kindly note that should any changes be made to the proposal, same should be re-submitted to the Advisory Panel on Ethics and Medico-Legal Affairs for re-evaluation.

We wish you every success in this endeavour.

Yours sincerely

Professor Owen Morgan

**Chairman**

Advisory Panel on Ethics and Medico-Legal Affairs  
Standards & Regulation Division