

Jamaica

The Government of Jamaica participates in programs to combat the worst forms of child labor, including commercial sexual exploitation and trafficking. However, the legal framework does not adequately protect children from involvement in hazardous work, illicit activity or forced labor. Children continue to engage in the worst forms of child labor, particularly street work and commercial sexual exploitation, often under forced conditions.



Statistics on Working Children and School Attendance

Children	Age	Percent
Working	5-14 yrs.	8.4
Attending School	5-14 yrs.	98.6
Combining Work and School	7-14 yrs.	9.5

Prevalence and Sectoral Distribution of the Worst Forms of Child Labor

Children in Jamaica are engaged in the worst forms of child labor,²⁹²⁵ including street work and commercial sexual exploitation.²⁹²⁶ On the streets, children typically work as ambulatory vendors or beggars.²⁹²⁷ Street work may expose children to severe weather, accidents caused by proximity to automobiles and vulnerability to criminal elements. Some children involved in street vending are reportedly in situations of forced labor.²⁹²⁸ Reports suggest that children collect discarded tins from garbage dumps to sell to scrap metal dealers. In dumps, children risk skin laceration and subsequent bacterial infection.²⁹²⁹

Child prostitution is a problem, including child sex tourism in the island's resort areas.²⁹³⁰ Both girls and boys are trafficked internally, from rural areas to urban tourist centers, where they are subjected to prostitution. Children are also trafficked into and out of Jamaica for commercial sex work.²⁹³¹

Child victims of forced labor and trafficking also work in domestic service.²⁹³² Girls are often recruited with false promises of education, clothes and money.²⁹³³ Victims include both foreign and Jamaican children.²⁹³⁴

Children on the island engage in a variety of illicit activities. They sell drugs, execute financial scams and serve as drug and gun couriers.²⁹³⁵ Boys and girls working on the streets are particularly vulnerable to being trafficked into illicit activity.²⁹³⁶

Children in Jamaica are exposed to risks in agricultural work and construction.²⁹³⁷ Work in agriculture commonly involves using dangerous machinery and tools, carrying heavy loads and applying harmful pesticides.

Though the extent of the problem is unclear, there is evidence of children's involvement in the production of pornography in Jamaica. School children are known to be used as the subjects of pornographic films and, less commonly, of live sex shows.²⁹³⁸

Laws and Regulations on the Worst Forms of Child Labor

The Child Care and Protection Act of 2004 establishes the minimum age for employment at 15. The act permits children ages 13 and 14 to engage in light work that the Minister of Labor has legal responsibility to define.²⁹³⁹ The law also sets the minimum age for hazardous work, including industrial labor and night work, at 18.²⁹⁴⁰ The act

	C138, Minimum Age	✓
	C182, Worst Forms of Child Labor	✓
	CRC	✓
	CRC Optional Protocol on Armed Conflict	✓
	CRC Optional Protocol on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution, and Child Pornography	No
	Palermo Protocol on Trafficking in Persons	✓
	Minimum Age for Work	15
	Minimum Age for Hazardous Work	18
	Compulsory Education Age	16
	Free Public Education	Yes

explicitly protects children from street begging, making it an offense for an adult to cause, procure or permit a child to beg or receive alms.²⁹⁴¹ The Building Operations and Works of Engineering Construction Regulations of 1968, the Shipping Act and the Dock's (Safety Health and Welfare) Regulations of 1968 include specific provisions prohibiting the employment of children in certain types of hazardous work.²⁹⁴² Parliament is currently reviewing a new Occupational Safety and Health Act, which contains an annex with a list of hazardous occupations prohibited for children, including fishing at

sea, working with pesticides, operating heavy equipment and participating in the production of pornography.²⁹⁴³ The act would increase fines for illegally employing children.²⁹⁴⁴ It would also provide inspectors access to workplace areas that are currently prohibited, possibly facilitating more effective enforcement of child labor laws.²⁹⁴⁵ However, the legislation has not been enacted.²⁹⁴⁶

Forced labor is not prohibited under Jamaica law.²⁹⁴⁷ However, child trafficking is legally banned.²⁹⁴⁸ The Trafficking in Persons (Prevention, Suppression and Punishment) Act of 2007 criminalizes all forms of trafficking, while the Child Care and Protection Act explicitly prohibits the sale and trafficking of minors.²⁹⁴⁹

The Child Pornography Prevention Act of 2009 prohibits using or involving a child in the production of pornography as well as producing, distributing, possessing or accessing child pornography.²⁹⁵⁰ The Offences Against the Person Act proscribes the procurement of all persons for prostitution.²⁹⁵¹

Though the Child Care and Protection Act forbids children from selling alcohol and tobacco products, Jamaican law does not prohibit procuring or offering a child for illicit activities, including drug trafficking and production.²⁹⁵²

The minimum age for voluntary recruitment into the armed forces is 18, though recruits may begin training at 17 years, 6 months.²⁹⁵³

Based on the Education Act of 1965, as amended in 1980, the Minister of Education may define compulsory education areas throughout the country and a corresponding compulsory education age for each area.²⁹⁵⁴ Currently, the Government has set the compulsory education age for the entire country at 16.²⁹⁵⁵ In March 2011, the Government passed the Charter of Rights Bill, which guarantees free public pre-primary and primary education to all citizens.²⁹⁵⁶

Institutional Mechanisms for Coordination and Enforcement

The National Steering Committee on Child Labor serves as the central point for policy development and guidance. The committee is charged with coordinating efforts of government agencies and facilitating collaboration with private sector organizations and NGOs.²⁹⁵⁷

The Government has also established a National Task Force Against Trafficking in Persons.²⁹⁵⁸ This task force comprises 13 members, including representatives from the Ministry of National Security, Office of the Prime Minister, Attorney General's Chamber, Jamaica Constabulary Force (JCF), Child Development Agency (CDA), Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Labor and Social Security (MLSS), Ministry of Development Bureau of Women's Affairs and several NGOs. The task force is responsible for facilitating information exchange between government agencies and external stakeholders and creating momentum for counter-trafficking efforts.²⁹⁵⁹ It oversees the implementation of the country's action plan on human trafficking.²⁹⁶⁰ The task force meets regularly.²⁹⁶¹

MLSS's Child Labor Unit (CLU) and Occupational Safety and Health Unit (OSHU) and the CDA are responsible for enforcing child labor laws, monitoring related violations and overseeing efforts to address the problem.²⁹⁶² During the reporting period, the CLU facilitated responses among various agencies regarding enforcement.²⁹⁶³ OHSU employs 35 inspectors that investigate a range of violations, including child labor violations. In 2010, funding for labor inspections was approximately \$426,000.²⁹⁶⁴ OHSU conducted 2,385 inspections. No cases of child labor were reported.²⁹⁶⁵

JCF has independent authority to enforce criminal laws related to child labor and possesses a Trafficking in Persons Unit that investigates and prosecutes instances of child trafficking and

commercial sexual exploitation.²⁹⁶⁶ The office of the Children's Registry receives complaints about child abuse, including criminal violations of child labor laws. In 2008 and 2009, the registry received 27 reports of child trafficking, two of which resulted in convictions. As of the reporting period, the remaining cases were still outstanding.²⁹⁶⁷

Government Policies on the Worst Forms of Child Labor

The CLU is responsible for implementing Jamaica's National Plan of Action on Child Labor.²⁹⁶⁸ The plan prioritizes children engaged in domestic service, prostitution, forced labor and hazardous work, including agriculture.²⁹⁶⁹ It identifies four primary objectives: (1) gather current and reliable data; (2) establish public awareness and sensitization; (3) improve MLSS personnel capacity to identify children exposed or vulnerable to child labor; and (4) work with trade unions and the Jamaica Employers' Federation to build awareness among employers.²⁹⁷⁰ However, not all of these objectives are being met. Both the Children's Advocate and the Director of the CLU have said the lack of recent statistical data and absence of a system to track child laborers hampers efforts to combat child labor. The Director of the CLU notes that inadequate funding and attention are currently devoted to combating child labor.²⁹⁷¹

Jamaica's National Action Plan to Combat Human Trafficking details short- and long-term activities to combat trafficking in persons.²⁹⁷² Key priorities include targeting law enforcement to address the commercial sexual exploitation of children and public awareness and outreach programming.²⁹⁷³

Social Programs to Eliminate or Prevent the Worst Forms of Child Labor

The Government is participating in a global child labor project, Tackle Child Labour through Education (TACKLE). In Jamaica, the 3-year program is funded by a \$1 million grant from the European Commission.²⁹⁷⁴ TACKLE aims

to reduce poverty by providing children access to basic education and skills training and by strengthening the capacity of national and local authorities to combat child labor.²⁹⁷⁵ To initiate TACKLE, the Government planned to conduct a series of baseline child labor surveys in 2010. However, the project faced delays and has not fully commenced.²⁹⁷⁶

Other Government initiatives during the reporting period include a child abuse hotline and a mentorship summer camp to target urban youth. The hotline receives reports of child abuse, including cases that involve the worst forms of child labor.²⁹⁷⁷ The camp, supported by the TACKLE program, reached approximately 300 inner-city children using sports as a medium to relay messages about child labor and affect behavior change in vulnerable communities.²⁹⁷⁸

The Government ran several initiatives to directly address sexual exploitation and trafficking of children. It implemented anti-trafficking

education campaigns in schools and libraries as well as public awareness campaigns against child prostitution in tourist areas.²⁹⁷⁹ Government employees from various agencies participated in public-sponsored human trafficking trainings.²⁹⁸⁰ The Government also maintains a hotline to receive reports about child labor and trafficking.²⁹⁸¹ In partnership with an NGO, it runs three shelters that aid female trafficking victims.²⁹⁸² However, existing Government programs are not extensive enough to reach all children engaged in the worst forms of child labor and do not target children in domestic service at all.

The Program for Advancement through Health and Education (PATH) is a government-run conditional cash transfer program. Among PATH's objectives is the reduction of child labor through the provision of grants contingent on children's minimum school attendance.²⁹⁸³ Thus far, evaluations of PATH do not appear to have provided conclusive evidence about the program's impact on child labor.²⁹⁸⁴

Based on the reporting above, the following actions would advance the reduction of the worst forms of child labor in Jamaica:

IN THE AREA OF LAWS AND REGULATIONS:

- Enact the new Occupational Safety and Health Act, including the annexed list of hazardous occupations prohibited for children.
- Adopt legislation to prohibit all forms of forced labor.

Adopt legislation to prohibit procuring or offering a child for illicit activities, including drug trafficking and production.

IN THE AREA OF POLICIES:

- Assess the adequacy of resources allocated for effective implementation of the objectives of the National Plan of Action on Child Labor and specifically explore ways to—
 - Collect, analyze and disseminate current child labor statistics.
 - Implement a system to track child laborers after they have been identified and/or removed from child labor.

IN THE AREA OF PROGRAMS:

- Implement child labor baseline surveys to initiate the TACKLE program.
- Expand programs that assist children in the worst forms of child labor and develop programs to aid children in domestic labor.
- Further assess the impact PATH may have on addressing child labor.

²⁹²⁵ Data provided in the chart at the beginning of this country report are based on UCW analysis of ILO SIMPOC, UNICEF MICS, and World Bank surveys, *Child Economic Activity, School Attendance, and Combined Working and Studying Rates*, 2005-2010. Data provided are from 2006. Reliable data on the worst forms of child labor are especially difficult to collect given the often hidden or illegal nature of the worst forms. As a result, statistics and information on children's work in general are reported in this section, which may or may not include the worst forms of child labor. For more information on sources used, the definition of working children, and other indicators used in this report, please see the "Children's Work and Education Statistics: Sources and Definitions" section of this report.

²⁹²⁶ U.S. Embassy- Kingston, *reporting, February 28, 2011*. See also U.S. Department of State, "Jamaica " in *Trafficking in Persons Report- 2010*, Washington, DC, June 14, 2010; available from <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/142979.pdf>. See also U.S. Department of State, "Jamaica," in *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices- 2010*, Washington, DC, April 8, 2011, sections 6, 7d; available from <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2010/wha/154511.htm>. See also Shared Hope International, *Demand: A Comparative Examination of Sex Tourism and Trafficking in Jamaica, Japan, the Netherlands, and the United States*, Vancouver, 2007, 26, 31, 34; available from <http://www.sharedhope.org/Portals/0/Documents/DEMAND.pdf>. See also International Trade Union Confederation, *Internationally Recognised Core Labour Standards in Jamaica: Report for the WTO General Council Review of the Trade Policies of Jamaica*, Geneva, January 18 and 20, 2011, 5.

²⁹²⁷ U.S. Embassy- Kingston, *reporting, February 28, 2011*. See also U.S. Department of State, "Country Reports- 2010: Jamaica," section 7d. See also International Trade Union Confederation, *Internationally Recognised Core Labour Standards in Jamaica*, 5.

²⁹²⁸ U.S. Department of State, "Trafficking in Persons Report- 2010: Jamaica." See also International Trade Union Confederation, *Internationally Recognised Core Labour Standards in Jamaica*, 6.

²⁹²⁹ Kaymian Weekley, "Child labour in the scrap-metal industry," *Jamaica Gleaner Online*, [online], June 1, 2011 [cited March 7, 2011]; available from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20110601/lead/lead9.html>.

²⁹³⁰ Jamaica Gleaner, "More Parental Education Needed," *Go-Jamaica*, [online], February 19, 2011 [cited February 22, 2011]; available from http://go-jamaica.com/news/read_article.php?id=26626. See also U.S. Embassy- Kingston, *reporting, February 28, 2011*. See also U.S. Department of State, "Country Reports- 2010: Jamaica," section 6. See also Shared Hope International, *Demand*, 31. See also U.S.

Department of State, "Trafficking in Persons Report- 2010: Jamaica."

²⁹³¹ U.S. Department of State, "Trafficking in Persons Report- 2010: Jamaica." See also Shared Hope International, *Demand*, 26, 32.

²⁹³² U.S. Department of State, "Country Reports- 2010: Jamaica," section 7c. See also U.S. Department of State, "Trafficking in Persons Report- 2010: Jamaica." See also International Trade Union Confederation, *Internationally Recognised Core Labour Standards in Jamaica*, 6.

²⁹³³ IOM, *Exploratory Assessment of Trafficking in Persons in the Caribbean Region*, June 2005, 89.

²⁹³⁴ U.S. Department of State, "Trafficking in Persons Report- 2010: Jamaica."

²⁹³⁵ IOM, *Exploratory Assessment*, 88. See also Jamaica Observer, "Study: Inner-city children dangerously caught in border divisions," *JamaicaObserver.com*, [online], February 19, 2010 [cited March 7, 2011]; available from http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/news/bodies-panos-fri-15_7433537. See also Jamaica Gleaner, "More parental education needed." See also Tyrone Reid, "No tracking system for child labourers," *Jamaica Gleaner Online*, [online], February 20, 2011 [cited February 22, 2011]; available from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20110220/lead/lead5.html>.

²⁹³⁶ IOM, *Exploratory Assessment*, 88-89.

²⁹³⁷ International Trade Union Confederation, *Internationally Recognised Core Labour Standards in Jamaica*, 5. See also U.S. Department of State, "Country Reports- 2010: Jamaica," section 7d. See also U.S. Embassy- Kingston, *reporting, February 28, 2011*.

²⁹³⁸ Dariane Luton, "Technology now aiding child pornography," *Jamaica Gleaner Online*, [online], July 16, 2006 [cited March 7, 2011]; available from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20060716/lead/lead9.html>. See also JIS News, "OCA reports convictions in attempt to sell child overseas," *Jamaica Information Services*, [online], March 8, 2011 [cited March 9, 2011]; available from <http://www.jis.gov.jm/news/117-headlines/27034?src=media.webstreams>. See also Pertina Francis, "Child porn check-Government cracking down on sex-video wave in Jamaica," *Jamaica Gleaner Online*, [online], April 21, 2008 [cited March 9, 2011]; available from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20080421/lead/lead1.html>. See also Athaliah Reynolds, "Selling sex- Concerns raised over children's access to pornography in Jamaica," *Jamaica Gleaner Online*, [online], May 15, 2008 [cited March 9, 2011]; available from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20080515/lead/lead1.html>. See also JIS News, "Jamaica steps up to the plate on child porn issues," *Jamaica Information Services*, [online], July 25, 2009 [cited March 7, 2011]; available from <http://www.jis.gov.jm/news/109/20551?mode=redirect>. See also Shared Hope International, *Demand*, 34-35.

- ²⁹³⁹ Government of Jamaica, *Child Care and Protection Act of 2004*, (2004), article 34; available from <http://www.moj.gov.jm/laws/statutes/The%20Child%20Care%20and%20Protection%20Act.pdf>.
- ²⁹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, articles 2, 34.
- ²⁹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, article 41.
- ²⁹⁴² ILO Committee of Experts, *Individual Direct Request concerning Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138) Jamaica (ratification: 2003) Submitted: 2006*, March 4, 2011; available from <http://www.ilo.org/ilolex/cgi-lex/pdconv.pl?host=status01&textbase=iloeng&document=18501&chapter=9&query=Jamaica%40ref&highlight=&querytype=bool&context=0>.
- ²⁹⁴³ U.S. Embassy- Kingston, *reporting, February 28, 2011*. See also ILO Committee of Experts, *Individual Direct Request concerning Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182) Jamaica (ratification: 2003) Submitted: 2009*, March 4, 2011; available from <http://www.ilo.org/ilolex/cgi-lex/pdconv.pl?host=status01&textbase=iloeng&document=23532&chapter=9&query=Jamaica%40ref&highlight=&querytype=bool&context=0>. See also International Trade Union Confederation, *Internationally Recognised Core Labour Standards in Jamaica*, 5.
- ²⁹⁴⁴ U.S. Embassy- Kingston, *reporting, February 28, 2011*.
- ²⁹⁴⁵ ILO Committee of Experts, *Individual Direct Request C182: Jamaica (2009)*. See also U.S. Embassy- Kingston, *reporting, February 28, 2011*.
- ²⁹⁴⁶ International Trade Union Confederation, *Internationally Recognised Core Labour Standards in Jamaica*, 5. See also Ministry of Labour and Social Security, *Occupational Safety and Health*, [online] [cited March 11, 2011]; available from <http://www.mlss.gov.jm/pub/index.php?artid=15>. See also JIS News, “New Safety and Health Legislation Coming”, Jamaica Information Services, [online], July 3, 2010 [cited March 11, 2011]; available from <http://www.jis.gov.jm/news/110/24549?mode=redirect>. See also U.S. Embassy- Kingston, *reporting, February 28, 2011*.
- ²⁹⁴⁷ International Trade Union Confederation, *Internationally Recognised Core Labour Standards in Jamaica*, 1, 6. See also U.S. Department of State, “Country Reports- 2010: Jamaica,” section 7c.
- ²⁹⁴⁸ U.S. Department of State, “Trafficking in Persons Report- 2010: Jamaica.”
- ²⁹⁴⁹ Sheena Gayle, “Law enforcers urged to be on the lookout for human trafficking”, Jamaica Gleaner Online, [online], June 6 2008 [cited March 11, 2011]; available from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20080606/news/news6.html>. See also U.S. Department of State, “Trafficking in Persons Report- 2010: Jamaica.” See also Government of Jamaica, *Child Care and Protection Act*, article 10.
- ²⁹⁵⁰ Government of Jamaica, *Child Pornography (Prevention) Act*, (October 21, 2009), articles 3, 4, 5; available from http://www.japarliament.gov.jm/attachments/341_The%20Child%20Pornography%20Act.pdf.
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- ²⁹⁵² Government of Jamaica, *Child Care and Protection Act*, article 40. See also ILO Committee of Experts, *Individual Direct Request C182: Jamaica (2009)*.
- ²⁹⁵³ Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, “Jamaica,” in *Child Soldiers Global Report 2008*, London, 2008; available from http://www.childsoldiersglobalreport.org/files/country_pdfs/FINAL_2008_Global_Report.pdf.
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- ²⁹⁵⁵ Jamaica Gleaner, “More parental education needed”.
- ²⁹⁵⁶ Alicia Dunkley, “PASSED! - 51 MPs vote in favour of Charter of Rights Bill”, Jamaica Observer, [online], March 23, 2011 [cited March 7, 2011]; available from http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/news/PASSED-51-MPs-vote-in-favour-of-Charter-of-Rights-Bill_8569370.
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- ²⁹⁵⁸ Chemonics International Inc., *Anti-Trafficking Technical Assistance: Jamaica Anti-Trafficking Assessment: October 3-October 15, 2005*, US Agency for International Development, November 2, 2005, 6; available from http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/Pnadf129.pdf. See also U.S. Embassy- Kingston, *reporting, February 28, 2011*.
- ²⁹⁵⁹ Chemonics International Inc., *Anti-Trafficking Technical Assistance*, 7. See also U.S. Embassy- Kingston, *reporting, February 28, 2011*.
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- ²⁹⁶¹ U.S. Embassy- Kingston official, E-mail communication to USDOL official, July 11, 2011.
- ²⁹⁶² U.S. Embassy- Kingston, *reporting, February 28, 2011*. See International Trade Union Confederation, *Internationally Recognised Core Labour Standards in Jamaica*, 5.

²⁹⁶³ U.S. Embassy- Kingston, *reporting, February 28, 2011*. See also U.S. Embassy- Kingston, *reporting, February 19, 2010*.

²⁹⁶⁴ U.S. Embassy- Kingston, *reporting, February 28, 2011*.

²⁹⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶⁶ U.S. Embassy- Kingston, *reporting, March 11, 2011*. See also JIS News, “OCA reports convictions in attempt to sell child overseas”. See also U.S. Embassy- Kingston, *reporting, February 28, 2011*.

²⁹⁶⁷ JIS News, “OCA reports convictions in attempt to sell child overseas”.

²⁹⁶⁸ Reid, “No tracking system for child labourers”. See also U.S. Embassy- Kingston, *reporting, February 28, 2011*.

²⁹⁶⁹ Lincoln Robinson, *Draft National Plan of Action on Child Labour- Jamaica (based on Stakeholder consultation and feedback Sessions held in Kingston and Montego Bay, June 2004)*, 2008.

²⁹⁷⁰ Reid, “No tracking system for child labourers”.

²⁹⁷¹ Ibid.

²⁹⁷² Chemonics International Inc., *USAID Anti-trafficking Assessments in Latin America and the Caribbean: A Synthesis and Analysis*, U.S. Agency for International Development, August 2007, 38; available from http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNADK610.pdf.

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²⁹⁷⁴ U.S. Embassy- Kingston, *reporting, February 19, 2010*. See also ILO-IPEC, *Tackle Child Labor through Education: Moving Children from Work to School in 11 Countries*,

Geneva, 2008; available from <http://www.ilo.org/ipecinfor/product/viewProduct.do?productId=8511>.

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²⁹⁷⁶ U.S. Embassy- Kingston, *reporting, February 28, 2011*.

²⁹⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁹⁷⁸ JIS News, “Saturday is World Day Against Child Labour”, *Jamaica Information Services*, [online], June 11, 2010 [cited March 4, 2011]; available from <http://www.jis.gov.jm/news/110-labour-social-security/24285-labour-saturday-is-world-day-against-child-labour>.

²⁹⁷⁹ U.S. Department of State, “Trafficking in Persons Report- 2010: Jamaica.” See also International Trade Union Confederation, *Internationally Recognised Core Labour Standards in Jamaica*, 7. See also U.S. Embassy- Kingston, *reporting, March 11, 2011*.

²⁹⁸⁰ U.S. Embassy- Kingston, *reporting, March 11, 2011*.

²⁹⁸¹ International Trade Union Confederation, *Internationally Recognised Core Labour Standards in Jamaica*, 6. See also U.S. Department of State, “Trafficking in Persons Report- 2010: Jamaica.”

²⁹⁸² International Trade Union Confederation, *Internationally Recognised Core Labour Standards in Jamaica*, 6.

²⁹⁸³ Inter-Regional Inequality Facility, *Policy Brief 4: The Programme for Advancement through Health and Education (PATH): Jamaica*, Overseas Development Institute, London, February 2006. See also Jamaica Labour Party, *Labour Ministry Tackles Child Labour*, Kingston, September 24, 2009; available from <http://www.jamaicalabourparty.com/base/content/labour-ministry-tackles-child-labour>

²⁹⁸⁴ Dan Levy and Jim Ohls, *Evaluation of Jamaica’s PATH Program: Final Report*, Mathematica Policy Research, Inc., Washington, DC, March 2007.