Opportunity in Haiti:
Women as Agents of Resilience in Post-Disaster Reconstruction

By

Anya Brickman Raredon

BA in Architecture
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut (2004)

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
JUN 30 2011
LIBRARIES

ARCHIVES

Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master in City Planning

at the

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

June 2011

© 2011 Anya Brickman Raredon. All Rights Reserved

The author here by grants to MIT the permission to reproduce and to distribute publicly paper and electronic copies of the thesis document in whole or in part.

Author _____
Department of Urban Studies and Planning
May 18, 2011

Certified by _____
Associate Professor Balakrishnan Rajagopal
Department of Urban Studies and Planning
Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by _____
Professor Joseph Ferreira
Chair, MCP Committee
Department of Urban Studies and Planning

Opportunity in Haiti:
Women as Agents of Resilience in Post-Disaster Reconstruction

by

Anya Brickman Raredon

Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning
on May 18, 2011 in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master in City Planning.

ABSTRACT:

The earthquake that struck Haiti on January 12, 2010, caused severe spatial and social disruption of many communities. Over the past sixteen months, as international and national institutions struggled to respond in an effective and efficient manner, Haitian women, and their organizations, have served a central role in cultivating stability within affected communities. As institutions and communities seek to reconstruct the material and social foundations of Haiti, focusing on the contemporary actions of Haitian women provides opportunities to further support their empowerment and to transform approaches to post-disaster reconstruction. Building on historical narratives of resilience, Haitian women's organizations can place themselves at the root of a new national narrative, one that emphasizes the centrality of their concerns to the creation of broader social stability, and leverages their ability to weave together fragmented elements of society. Additionally, as international relief and development institutions re-engage in a discussion of how to best address fundamental challenges of communication, coordination, and continuity in post-disaster reconstruction, integrating a focus on women's agency will highlight ways in which the persistence of women's networks and organizations can support an integrated, culturally appropriate and ultimately sustainable process of reconstruction.

Thesis Supervisor: Balakrishnan Rajagopal
Associate Professor of Law and Development

Acknowledgements

Often times in confronting a challenge I return to my own personal narratives. These narratives, shaped by the communities within which I live and those from which I have emerged, provide me perspective as well as a source of stability and strength. Thus, in looking for ways to tackle the challenges of post-disaster reconstruction in Haiti, I found myself investigating the vibrant fabric of Haitian culture and society to find the narratives that are the root of her resilience. These explorations, in turn, brought me to a deeper understanding of the central threads within my own narratives. With this in mind, I wish to thank everyone who has contributed to the foundations of my communities and helped bring me to these investigations and perspectives.

In particular I wish to thank: my advisor, Balakrishnan Rajagopal, for his support along the meandering route of these investigations; my reader, Diane Davis, for offering synthesizing insights at critical junctures in the writing process; my mother, Harriet Brickman, for her editorial perspective; my brother, Micha Sam Brickman Raredon, for his late-night virtual companionship and last-minute edits; and my father, Tom Raredon, for his quiet confidence and reassuring remarks. Additional thanks are due to Phil Thompson, Becky Buell, and Martha Bonilla who opened the doors for me to work in Haiti, and to my interviewees for sharing their experiences and insights.

So weave and mend, weave and mend.
Gather the fragments safe within the sacred circle.
Sister, weave and mend, weave and mend.
Sacred sisters, weave and mend.

▪▪ *Traditional Folk Song* ▪▪

Table of Contents

i. Abstract
ii. Acknowledgements
iii. Table of Contents
iv. List of Abbreviations

1. Introduction ---------- 11
   1.1 Introduction ---------- 11
   1.2 Structure of Thesis ---------- 18
   1.3 Research Methodology ---------- 19

2. Disasters: Bouncing Back and Moving Forward ---------- 23
   2.1 Disasters are… ---------- 26
   2.2 Approaches to Post-Disaster Reconstruction ---------- 28
   2.3 Gendered Analysis of Disaster Contexts & Responses ---------- 30
   2.4 Resilience ---------- 34
   2.5 Women's Agency in their Communities ---------- 39

3. Focus on Place: Haiti Context ---------- 45
   3.1 The 2010 Earthquake & Aftermath ---------- 45
   3.2 Political History ---------- 49
   3.3 Economic History ---------- 52
   3.4 History of Women's Roles, Condition & Organizing ---------- 53
   3.5 Cultural Portrayals of Women in Haiti ---------- 56

4. Women's Actions and Agency in Post-Earthquake Haiti ---------- 63
   4.1 Livelihoods Restoration ---------- 64
   4.2 Collective Self-help ---------- 65
   4.3 Enhancing Safety ---------- 66
   4.4 Community Building ---------- 69
   4.5 Portrayals of Women's Work ---------- 71

5. Opportunity in Haiti ---------- 73
   5.1 Opportunities for Change ---------- 73
   5.2 Synthesis & Recommendations ---------- 77

6. Appendices
   A. Maps ---------- 81
   B. Statistics and Development Indicators ---------- 87
   C. List of References ---------- 91

List of Abbreviations

CCCM: Camp Coordination Camp Management Cluster
CEDAW: Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women
CIDA: Canadian International Development Agency
CONAP: Coordination Nationale pour les Plaidoyers
FAO: Food and Agriculture Organization
FAVILEK: Fanm Viktim Leve Kanpe
FRAPH: Front pour l'Avancement et le Progrès Haitien
GDN: Gender and Disaster Network
IDP: Internally Displaced Persons
IHRC: Interim Haiti Recovery Commission
IJDH: Institute for Justice and Democracy in Haiti
IOM: International Organization for Migration
KOFAVIV: Komisyon Fanm Viktim pou Viktim
MINUSTAH: United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti
MUDHA: Movimiento de Mujeres Dominico-Haitiana
NGO: Non-governmental Organization
PRODEPUR: The Urban Community Driven Development Project
SOFA: Solidarite ant Fanm
UN: United Nations
UNDP: United Nations Development Program
UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UN-ISDR: United Nations International Strategy of Disaster Risk Reduction
UN-OCHA: Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

A black woman's body is placed in the center of the frame, her arms raised above her head, bent at the elbows, supporting the cracked and curved surface of the earth. Her breasts are full, her waist thin, her lower half wrapped in a mermaid's skin, the sensuous tail twisting around itself. Her head is thrown back, mouth open in passion, in a scream, it is not clear. She is simultaneously a picture of sensuality and strength. Atop the earth's surface is a jumble of concrete grey buildings, at the center of which, atop a rise in the earth, sits the crumbling but still recognizable form of a cathedral. Buildings tumble down the hill to its left and its right. In the background is a hint of green in the shape of a mountain. The cracks in the earth's surface carry red rivers down past the woman's body, as roiling black clouds gather above. The woman floats there, her legs bound, her breasts exposed, at the center of the earth, holding up Haiti.

This image, La Migration de Bêtes by Edouard Duval Carrié, encapsulates the conflicting perceptions of women in Haiti and provides a visual metaphor for much of how the recovery and reconstruction has proceeded over the past year-and-a-half (see figure 1). Women have been exposed by the losses sustained in the quake and beyond as their bodies have been preyed upon by those they know and those they don't, and yet they have held their ground, supporting their families and their communities from within. As is explained in Chapter 3 this is not a new phenomenon for the women of Haiti, but what may be new is the level of visibility bestowed upon these women and their work. The 7.0 earthquake which struck outside of Port au Prince on January 12, 2010 focused the world's attention on Haiti in a new and more intensive manner than ever before. Issues which had previously been known only to those within specific sectors –

humanitarian aid, human rights, development aid – were suddenly presented in excruciating detail to the world's public through the mainstream media. The conditions following this catastrophic event, the resulting social upheaval, and the existing processes of community resilience present opportunities to change approaches to post-disaster reconstruction and to further empower Haitian women to make lasting social change within their communities.

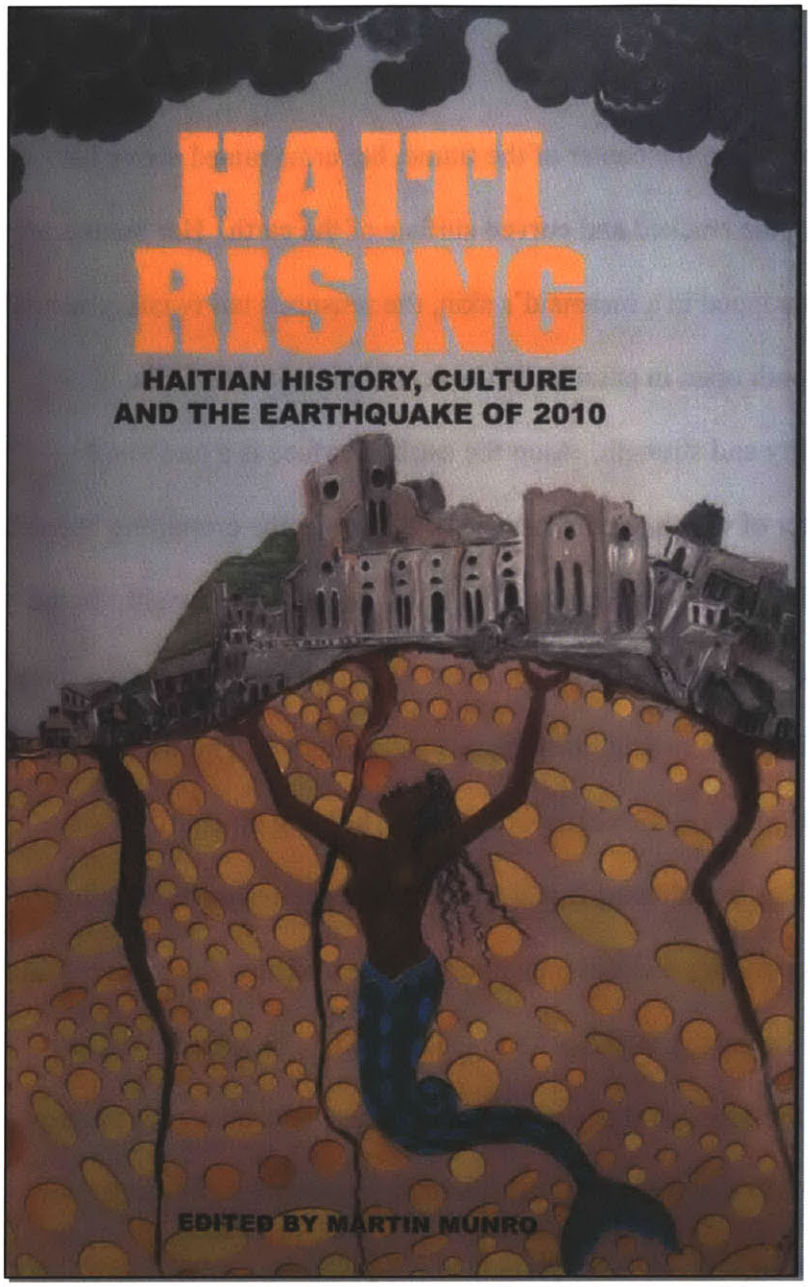


Figure 1: *La Migration de Bêtes* by Edouard Duval Carrié. Source: Martin Munro, 2011.

When a country is struck by a disaster, the many threads that hold a society together are stretched and sometimes broken. This disruption is often seen as an opportunity for change, but in order for that opportunity to be grasped, it is necessary to understand the specific cultural context in which the disaster occurred and the roles that individuals play within their communities. Post-disaster reconstruction is a challenging process that international and national

institutions are continuously struggling to improve and "get right." With each new disaster the discussion is renewed on how to best address fundamental disconnects in the current system that inhibit efficient and sustainable approaches to reconstruction. Challenges that are repeatedly noted in these discussions include: understanding what exactly qualifies as reconstruction and what the relationship of reconstruction processes are to those of humanitarian relief and development; balancing the creation of carefully planned long-term initiatives with the desire to produce immediately measurable progress and press-friendly moments; coordination among institutions and organizations, and communication between organizations and the communities with which they are interfacing; implementing context specific strategies in a manner that works for large-scale institutions; and lastly, including a full range of participation at the decision-making tables with respect to both economic status and gender. Despite the acknowledgement of these deficits by nearly all major reconstruction institutions, and a variety of efforts to manage and improve them following every recent major disaster, the same set of challenges is apparent in the process currently unfolding in Haiti. Perhaps the most central challenge is that it is ultimately the responsibility of the affected state to regulate and coordinate the efforts of international and national actors in this process. Unfortunately, it is often the case that the state is overwhelmed by this task due to lost capacity in the moment of crisis, or as in the case of Haiti, due to the multiplied effect of lost capacity within an already challenged state system. In Haiti early efforts to establish systems for coordination among agencies have ultimately resulted in yet another strata of loosely coordinated institutions, including the Interim Haiti Recovery Commission intended to work in partnership with the Government of Haiti to administer the processes of reconstruction, the UN Cluster System, and several networks of NGOs such as InterAction. While each of these institutions has achieved moderate success in maintaining

coordination among their members, there remains a gap in communication and coordination among these agencies. Furthermore, funding for efforts is slow to hit the ground and piecemeal in its distribution. For example, eighteen months in, with $4.6 billion of international funds pledged in support of the Government of Haiti's Action Plan for Relief and Recovery, only $1.5 has been disbursed (United Nations 2011). While there are a multitude of political and administrative reasons for this delay in disbursement, largely centered around concerns about potential instability during the past months' elections and upcoming government transition, it is also likely that much of this funding is being held up in the process of trying to balance long-term planning with immediate publishable results. In terms of actual implementation of projects, numerous individuals and organizations including Oxfam, the Institute for Justice and Democracy in Haiti, and the Haitian organization KOFAVIV have spoken up to highlight the lack of meaningful participation by civil society organizations in making decisions (Oxfam 2011; IJDH 2011).

Post-disaster reconstruction sits on the gray line between relief (short-term, immediate aid) and development (long-term aid and capacity building). It refers to a complex stage in the process of recovery that is instrumental in laying the foundation of how society will function and grow in the future. As programming moves beyond immediate survival needs toward establishing conditions and systems for long-term use, these initiatives are increasingly affected by pre-existing social dynamics. Furthermore, in order for such initiatives to be successful in the long-term they must consider and be compatible with the existing social fabric. Thus, in addition to adding to a qualitative body of knowledge regarding women's experiences in post-disaster situations, this work speaks to the interests of the humanitarian aid community, as well as both domestic and international policy makers who are developing response and reconstruction

strategies. By learning more about the adaptive strategies being undertaken on a daily basis, and the ways in which these strategies are being portrayed within the community, it will be possible to design more effective support mechanisms for the existing processes of community resilience and reconstruction.

Post-disaster reconstruction is a complex process without easy answers as to how it should be approached. A review of literature on post-disaster reconstruction suggests that political institutions often struggle to adequately respond to the new and unpredictable context. In the meantime, individuals and communities find a way to survive, rebuild, and rebound by relying on civil society. Research on poverty management and relief aid has shown that women have a particular capacity for supporting community resilience and social change that can help to shape a better environment than that which existed before. However, this is not often represented in discussions of disaster or post-disaster contexts. In a recent discussion led by the Gender and Disaster Network on their email list-serve, professionals within the field were asked to provide ideas and input on what the Network should present as its statement on integrating gender issues into the field of Disaster Risk Reduction at the UN ISDR Global Platform for Disaster Risk Reduction this May.[1] The discussion focused on raising awareness of the impacts on women following disaster, their isolation, their vulnerability and the marginalization of their voices in determining the programs and processes of risk reduction. There were also some limited suggestions on how to emphasize the economic value of women's work, and highlight the common understanding that women's focus on their families and communities leads to prioritization of factors that are more sustainable and risk reducing. What was noticeably absent from this exchange were any specifics that spoke to leveraging the agency, actions, and organizing of women in these communities as a basis for programming and planning. Bringing

[1] The author was made privy to this discussion as a member of the GDN list-serve.

these ideas together in discussions of post-disaster reconstruction creates a new perspective from which to approach reconstruction programming; a perspective which privileges capabilities over vulnerabilities and empowerment over aid provision. With the current reconstruction process in Haiti we are presented with another opportunity to get this right.

Furthermore, though there have been calls from governments and institutions to focus on women's needs and safety during the reconstruction process, there are very few studies available to help guide policy and implementation along these lines. Focusing on women as an asset, and specifically on their capabilities for resilience, is an idea that is supported in literature on poverty management and environmental management, but has not yet been substantially brought into discussions on post-disaster reconstruction. In the context of finding ways to build back better, it is time to approach post-disaster reconstruction with a new lens by bringing together a discussion of women's capabilities for resilience with their proven place at the center of community change. The process of reconstruction underway in Haiti provides a prime opportunity for this potential change to be explored. Women are currently taking a lead in community resilience strategies, have a notable history of organizing within Haiti, and are already culturally seen to be pillars of their communities. In leveraging these assets now, it may be possible to further improve approaches to post-disaster reconstruction as well as to pave the way towards greater empowerment of women in Haiti.

It is important to understand that disasters are the result of a crisis event impacting a system, population, or community with pre-existing vulnerabilities. A crisis event can occur in any situation, however that crisis only rises to the level of disaster when the impacted system is unable to resist the strain imposed on it. The resulting exposure of these vulnerabilities points to the need for such a system to change, which occurs through strategies of resilience. These

consist of processes of adaptation that are employed to address the exposed vulnerabilities. The manifestation of these strategies can be seen in the process of reconstruction, as individuals, institutions, and communities recover from the impact in a manner that works towards achieving a more resistant and resilient environment. In order for post-disaster reconstruction efforts to be effective they must be focused on supporting resilience within the affected communities. Thus approaches to post-disaster reconstruction should be shaped through consideration of a community's existent capacities for resilience. The successful implementation of this theory requires that these capacities be identified within specific disaster contexts, through looking at the culture and history of a place alongside the local actions and activities of resilience which emerge in response to the disaster. By significantly disrupting the status quo, disasters provide an opportunity for systemic change in both social and spatial realms. In order to seize this opportunity, the seeds of change must be planted within the process of reconstruction, for it is this process of reconstruction that sets the stage for future dynamics within society. If we are to accept that the goal of post-disaster reconstruction is a more resilient environment, it is critical that community mechanisms of resilience be supported. In the aftermath of the earthquake in Haiti it is apparent that women are taking a significant role in managing and stabilizing their communities. Furthermore it is apparent that this role is consistent with beliefs and narratives that are embedded within Haitian culture, despite the glaring inequalities and dangers faced by Haitian women on a daily basis. Amidst the social and spatial disruption caused by the earthquake, there remains a historic narrative of women picking up the pieces and persevering that is being proven once again. The work that women are doing to rebuild society through social networks, development of community programming, and the physical tasks of reconstruction, has been granted significant visibility both within Haiti and on the international stage. By

focusing on women's actions and abilities in the aftermath of the earthquake, and their critical role in rebuilding their communities, there is an opportunity to change the current conditions, and to help these women build a better future for themselves, their families, communities, and nation. There is an opportunity here to build on pre-existing Haitian efforts for social change and the historically persistent grassroots movement for women's empowerment by supplementing the existing cultural narratives with contemporary evidence of women's central place in strategies of community resilience.

Figure 2: Woman building retaining wall around foundation of her house. Port au Prince, March 2011. Photo courtesy of Daniel Weissman.

1.2 Structure of Thesis

Focusing on the Haitian earthquake of January 12, 2010, this project seeks to identify and analyze the role of women, and organized women's groups, during disaster recovery processes

and to highlight opportunities presented in this context to improve approaches to post-disaster reconstruction and to support local initiatives for social change. Following a discussion of the research methodology at the end of Chapter 1, Chapter 2 discusses existing frameworks of post-disaster reconstruction and their relationship to gender concerns, as well as literature on resilience and women's agency within their communities. Turning to the specific context of Haiti, Chapter 3 highlights the political, economic, and cultural elements that underlie the actions exhibited by women in the aftermath of the crisis, laying the foundation for a discussion of specific actions and initiatives in Chapter 4. Bringing together women's current actions in Haiti, with historical and cultural narratives, Chapter 5 presents the conclusion that the existing conditions in Haiti provide an opportunity to improve the current approach to post-disaster reconstruction and in so doing to build on historical initiatives for the empowerment of women.

1.3 Research Methodology

In her article "Through Women's Eyes: A Gendered Research Agenda for Disaster Social Science," Elaine Enarson divides the body of gendered disaster research into two categories, work that has come out of North American and European institutions, and that which has come from institutions within the developing world. Though the same events are studied, according to Enarson, the literature stemming from North America and Europe approaches women as an independent category to be studied, and focuses more extensively on discreet events. In contrast, the work generated in the developing world tends to look at gender as an element within the cultural context, and is more often conducted in communities using participatory methods. Additionally, the focus of the work is often on collective impact and response, as opposed to individual or household units, and the research is directed at vulnerability reduction, risk

management, and sustainable development, with a particular focus on the transformative opportunities that disasters can provide to communities and societies (Enarson 1998).

Based on a review of the limited literature on women in post-disaster contexts, I was interested to discover whether similar trends of participation and organization were present in Haiti following the earthquake of January 2010. I had been asked to join a team that was developing community-based reconstruction strategies for Port au Prince, and travelled to Haiti as a member of this team in August, 2010. The first time that I visited Haiti I had the opportunity to speak with Haitian members of the PRODEPUR network in the neighborhoods of Martissant and BelAir regarding their community organizing efforts and priorities for reconstruction.[2] Two conditions became apparent over the course of these meetings. First, the disrupted and fragile settings in which people were living were posing significant risks to women, and the communities as a whole (both men and women) were intensely concerned about this. Second, women appeared to be a substantial and important element in the community organizing and reconstruction initiatives that were underway.

These initial field observations, combined with my relatively naïve understanding of Haitian culture led me to investigate the following questions:

- What exactly were women doing in the aftermath of the earthquake and subsequent months of reconstruction?
- What vulnerabilities were women facing, and how were they being managed?
- What had the role of women been in family, community, and national contexts prior to the earthquake?

[2] PRODEPUR, the Urban Community Driven Development Project, is a network of community-based Haitian organizations working on urban development issues with the support of the World Bank.

Figure 3: Meeting with PRODEPUR representatives. Port au Prince, August 2010. Photo by author.

Due to the field-research challenges presented by the rampant spread of cholera and unstable political situation in late-2010 and early-2011, I developed a multi-pronged approach to the research in order to investigate these questions through a variety of resources available within the United States.

To answer the first two questions I compiled reports from NGOs and development agencies working in Haiti, conducted an extensive article search of major news publications, reviewed blog postings within networks focused on gender issues in disaster response and recovery, as well as a set of videos posted online by NGOs, journalists and individuals both Haitian and foreign. This work was supplemented by a series of personal communications and semi-structured interviews with development professionals, Haitian nationals within the diaspora, and others who have worked in Haiti since January, 2010. To address the third

question, that of women's roles prior to the earthquake I turned to works of literature and ethnographic texts on Haitian culture and tradition.

As I began to gain a better understanding of Haiti, including its strong connection to storytelling and narrative, two more questions placed themselves at the center of my research:

- How are women, and the work that they are doing towards resiliency and reconstruction being portrayed?
- Do these portrayals provide a new platform from which women can work towards increased security and empowerment?

These questions led me to return to the set of newspaper articles, videos, blogs and interviews with a new lens that looked more closely at the ways in which the stories were being told, the language that was being used, and the visuals portrayed, not simply at the facts of the stories. I also extended my collection of materials to include artistic representations of women's roles post-earthquake, including photo essays, poetry, graffiti and paintings.[3]

[3] A full listing of materials reviewed can be found in Appendix C.

Chapter 2 Disasters: Bouncing Back and Moving Forward

When a disaster strikes, it disrupts communities in both physical and non-physical ways. The disruption of physical infrastructure is readily apparent and can be clearly communicated through images and numbers. However, disruptions to the social fabric of a community, the ruptures to the ecological network of relationships in which we all exist, cannot be as easily described and quantified. Unlike certain elements of physical infrastructure the social dynamics which bind and bound a community are not homogenous. They are nuanced in time, space and cultural context, and in order to mend the tears in this fabric it is critical to understand the properties of the threads of which the fabric is made. It is generally accepted that the primary goal of post-disaster reconstruction, whether in a developed or developing nation, is for a community to exhibit resiliency; to rebound from the destruction and, in the long-term, to take the scenario as an opportunity to move forward to increased and sustainable development. One underlying factor that should be looked at in detail, the one around which this paper is structured, and which is often neglected, is gender. Referring to gender as the structural relationships between sex categories which are linked to political, economic and cultural concerns, scholars have widely concluded that it functions as a primary organizing principle of societies (Subramaniam 2001; Purkayastha and Subramaniam 2004; Deare 2004). As such, it is a factor which must be addressed in the interest of moving societies forward to a new and stronger equilibrium.

Though gender interests have long been sidelined in the field, identifying and supporting the role of women in this process is becoming increasingly important to scholars, practitioners and institutions. As stated by the Secretariat of the UN International Strategy of Disaster

Reduction (UN-ISDR) in 2005, "gender equality was the single most important goal of the disaster reduction field. It was sine qua non for the achievement of disaster reduction efforts" (Shah 2006, 6). Furthermore, in her analytical essay on empowering women in natural disasters, Payal Shah suggests that, "women are pivotal to disaster reduction efforts in two key ways: first, they make up a disproportionate number of those harmed, and second, they can make key contributions to the risk-management efforts in many parts of the world" (Shah 2006, 6). In addition to risk management, I suggest that women are pivotal to disaster reconstruction in that they serve as the backbone of resiliency and innovation within families, households, and by extension, communities. Through this role, which has been discussed by scholars in the context of chronic poverty and environmental management, women's actions and agency can provide stability in the aftermath of a disaster. Despite increased attentions within the field to the effects of disasters on women, an approach that emphasizes the capacities of women and their active agency, rather than vulnerability, is still lacking. While focusing on present vulnerabilities does lead to greater visibility of these concerns, it is important to focus on capacities as well so as to avoid further entrenching vulnerability through dependency on external aid. Furthermore, though the dialogue on reconstruction strategies is shifting, agencies often fail to look at the grassroots efforts that exist within communities, and in doing so are missing an opportunity to leverage pre-existing productive activities, many of which are organized and driven by women. What follows in this section is a more in-depth review of these critical concepts, including our understanding of disaster, reconstruction, resilience and the ways in which women are critical agents of change within communities.

Some Useful Definitions:

Sex and Gender

Sex refers to the physical and biological differences between men and women. Gender refers to the socially driven differences between men and women, and identifies the social relations between them in society. Gender refers to the relationship between the sexes that is constructed on the values, beliefs and customs of a society and that influences women's and men's differential roles and responsibilities and their access to knowledge, resource and/or services. Since the roles and responsibilities of women and men in society are socially constructed, they can be changed.

Gender Roles

The differences in the roles of men and women, as well as the differential access they have to resources, define the social and economic inequalities between the sexes. These roles are called gender roles. Men and women undertake reproductive, productive and social roles. Productive roles refer to work done by men and women for pay in cash or kind. This includes both market production and subsistence/home production. Reproductive roles refer to the child-bearing/rearing responsibilities and domestic tasks undertaken by women and men required to guarantee the maintenance and reproduction of the labour force. Community roles refer to community-managed and political activities undertaken by men and women. Community managed activities are undertaken for the good of the community and may be extensions of women's reproductive role. Community and political activities are often undertaken for status and power within the framework of national politics. In most societies, men have clearly-defined productive and community roles, whereas women have a clearly defined reproductive role, in addition to their productive and community roles.

Gender Needs

Women and men tend to have different needs, not only because of women's triple role (productive, reproductive and community), but also because of their often disadvantaged position in society. Gender needs are comprised of practical gender needs and strategic gender needs:

Practical gender needs are those which, when filled, assist men or women in carrying out the roles they currently have, and might thus be said to ease their burdens and address concerns and/or inadequacies in living conditions. They are practical in nature and often cover employment, water and health care needs, among others.

Strategic gender needs, on the other hand, challenge women's disadvantaged position and help society achieve gender equity. Over the long term, strategic gender needs improve the status of women in relation to men and may address such needs as legal rights, prevention of domestic violence, equal wages and women's right to control their own bodies.

Source: *A methodological approach to gender analysis in natural disaster assessment: a guide for the Caribbean* Fredericka Deare, 2004.. United Nations Sustainable Development and Human Settlements Division, May. http://www.eclac.cl/publicaciones/xml/4/19574/lcl2123i.pdf.

2.1 Disasters are...

To begin it must be understood that natural events only become natural disasters when the event causes widespread damage and destruction to people and their property. In and of itself an earthquake is not a disaster, it is simply a re-configuring of the earth's geography. However when that process occurs in a populated area, causing loss of life, property and employment, as well as destruction of underlying infrastructure the transformative event is worthy of being called a disaster. Furthermore, it must be understood that while the location of impact may be random, the subsequent impacts to people and property are not entirely random. These impacts are related to, and vary by, pre-existing socio-economic conditions (Deare 2004). This applies to how different populations are affected as well as to how different segments of a population – for example as defined by gender, age, economic status – are affected. These different categories are often inter-linked, and the socio-economic conditions which pervade one category are also likely to overlap with another. It is also important to consider that the effects of a disaster event go beyond the visible damage, and that affected populations have to respond to the affects of emotional shock as well as the longer-term social upheaval and disruption caused by the primary event. The vulnerabilities that are exposed during a disaster event point to the needs of a system to change (Aguirre 2006). Thus the opportunity provided by a disaster is to create change in these vulnerable areas, and to do so in a manner which strengthens the system in the long-term.

Disaster situations are generally analyzed and discussed in four phases: pre-disaster risk reduction, emergency relief, transition, and reconstruction (see figure 4). In the aftermath of a disaster those affected and those responding are faced with the need to assess the impacts, address immediate needs and plan for rebuilding and reconstruction. This generalized process is

carried out at many levels and scales, and thus it is important to understand the specifics of the processes and needs at each scale, including: individual, household, local community, municipality, national, and international community. In addition to having different needs, each of these groups respond to the phases of disaster in their own unique manner. In her report of 2004 Fredericka Deare establishes that the social groups most impacted by natural disasters are: "poor and indigent households, single-headed households, large extended families; children, youth and the elderly; the disabled and sick; indigenous populations; newly immigrant households, squatters and tenants of low-quality housing." She then goes on to highlight from a typical lens of vulnerability that of these categories, women within these disadvantaged populations are often the most at risk of all (Deare 2004, 8). Working from the perspective that the disruption caused by disasters provides opportunity for change, this paper is intended to move beyond the lens of vulnerability and to look in more detail at the community-level processes, specifically those led-by and related to affected women.

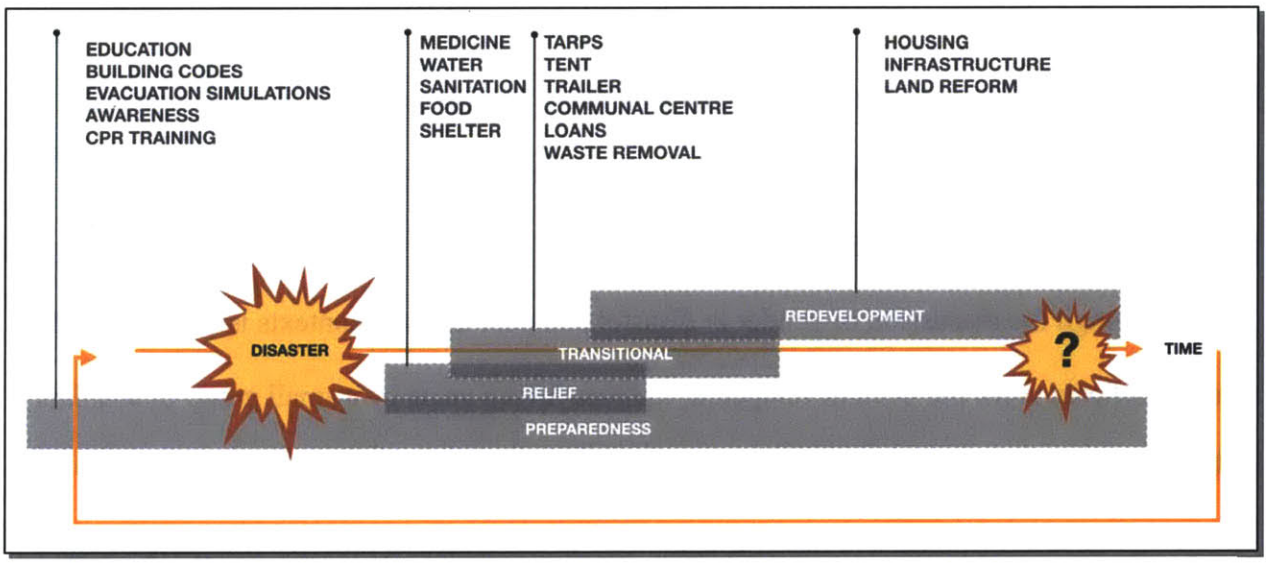


Figure 4: Phases of disaster events and subsequent responses. Note the overlapping timeline of phases.
Source: Brickman Raredon and DeVries, 2010.

2.2 Approaches to Post-Disaster Reconstruction

As discussed in Chapter 1, there are some critical concerns with current approaches to post-disaster reconstruction, including the efficiency and effectiveness of the system of overlapping and uncoordinated institutions. From an institutional perspective, disaster research tends to be oriented towards analysis of, and influence on, policy and actions. However, as a whole, the field is working to "demythologize and democratize" knowledge (Enarson and Fothergill 2007), and to provide greater depth of detail on the nuanced socio-political contexts in which disasters and the subsequent processes of reconstruction take place. I seek to situate this paper in this context and to align it with other predominant trends within disaster research that can help to position this work for consideration within an action-based field such as disaster response and reconstruction. Disaster research is primarily event-driven, responding directly to the most recent massively disruptive event. It tends to be short on theoretical discussion, and to focus on descriptive case-studies (Enarson and Meyereles 2004). Although this approach has its limitations, in that it often neglects to consider a broader and longer-range perspective that could incorporate cross-contextual lessons, it remains a valuable approach in managing and focusing investigation of a very complex and multi-faceted field. Furthermore, this focused approach provides detailed, grounded information for use in current initiatives and as a basis for future cross-contextual comparative studies.

Though the discussion of gender in disaster and post-disaster contexts is fairly limited, some significant work has been developed in the past fifteen years by a small group of scholars and practitioners. In reviewing the literature on post-disaster contexts it is clear that the established lines of response and reconstruction can be essentialized into two categories: large-scale institutions (including national and international governments as well as humanitarian and

development agencies), and grassroots organizations (including local efforts as well as community- and faith-based organizations on both national and international scales). In both cases it is typical for action and response plans to be gender-based, in that different responses are planned and implemented along gender lines for both beneficiaries and responders.

Looking first at large-scale institutions, it is apparent that women have historically been under-represented in emergency management agencies. In a 1990 study of the professional field Brenda Phillips presented data supporting the under-representation of women in the field, and also suggested that those who were a part of the system brought increased attention to the socio-emotional needs of survivors (Enarson 1998). This sensitivity to the less apparent needs of survivors is a critical missing link the current approach of many disaster relief and reconstruction agencies, including a chronically limited understanding of cultural barriers to both methods and modes of aid provision (Enarson and Fothergill 2007, 136). In order to better understand the ways in which the field has been influenced by gendered differences Enarson suggests pursuing further research in the following four areas:

- documenting whether, how, and to what extent internal gender relations as well as culturally specific ones in disaster-beset areas affect organizational development, effectiveness and innovation in crisis;
- case studies of factors that facilitate or hinder gender bias and evaluation of change models addressing bias in organized relief and recovery services;
- qualitative and quantitative analysis of women's disaster careers in an era overly concerned with formal credentials, analyzing patterns of segregation, integration or resegregation;

- and investigating gender-specific patterns of extra-organizational participation in community mitigation, informal response and community-based recovery initiatives (Enarson 1998, 164).

2.3 Gendered Analysis of Disaster Contexts & Responses

Disasters are created by social conditions, and as a dominant social construct, gender plays a significant part in determining the scales of risk faced by sectors of a population. As Elaine Enarson elaborates, "Far from unmediated 'natural' *events* arising from human settlement in an inherently uncertain environment, natural disasters are social *processes* precipitated by environmental events but grounded in social relations and historical development patterns. Gender equality is a significant contributing factor to the social construction of risk" (Shah 2006, 6). In the context of a disaster, gender relations are one piece of the complex web of social-political factors which effect vulnerability within a community, and form the foundations of who may be affected and to what extent. These socio-political relations, and specifically gender, also play a role in determining the path of reconstruction for a community. As Enarson writes, "Gender relations clearly play a role in the political economy of disaster, organizational relief and response, community leadership and mobilization, household preparation and family recovery and disaster survival strategies" (Enarson 1998, 168).

Therefore, it follows that disasters should consider gender as an influential component in the effects of, and processes following, the critical event. Within the relatively small body of disaster literature which considers gender as a focal point of its investigation, it appears that the research is often conducted by women, is looking specifically at gendered power dynamics, and more recently, tends to emphasize the pro-active efforts of women and women's organizations

within the area of study (Enarson and Meyereles 2004). Over the past decade a few researchers, including Enarson and Bradshaw have emphasized the active role played by women's civil society organizations in the aftermath of a crisis (Enarson and Fothergill 2007; Bradshaw 2002). In these particular studies women's groups are shown to be actively and consistently involved at the community level, thereby serving as a critical point of reference for ongoing efforts in resiliency and reconstruction. However, while women's groups play a significant role in implementation of activities, their involvement in decision making is often very limited. The formation of new groups in response to crisis needs has been noted, but it is most common to see already established groups taking on an expanded role from that around which they originally formed (Enarson and Fothergill 2007). Over the past decade the field has begun to focus on developing case-studies throughout the world that highlight the role of women's organizations and the subsequent opportunities for long-term empowerment that come from their participation in local disaster response efforts. Previous case studies include events in Pakistan, India, Turkey, Mexico, Honduras, as well as the U.S. and several countries in South East Asia. This paper seeks to fit within this growing body of literature and to provide grounded research and insight on the existence of, and potential for, organized women's efforts in Haiti.

Both theoretical discussions which take a nuanced comparative approach to gender, and practically based studies which appreciate the differences and inequalities that come about from and influence gender roles, are necessary (Enarson 1998). The literature presents two parallel discussions of gender in disaster literature, one that is grounded in the theoretical foundations of liberal feminism and the other that draws on theories of vulnerability within a body of development literature. The former approaches the investigation of women in disaster contexts through the lens that women have particular rights, and that women are faced with

manifestations of socially constructed inequality. This direction of thought tends to lead toward investigations of how gender stereotypes effect, and are reflected in, disaster response and planning operations from the perspective of both beneficiary communities and providing agencies. The latter discussion draws on theories of vulnerability, and looks at gender as a piece of the socio-political context created through the historic dynamics of patriarchy and capitalism. This approach emphasizes the inadequacy of access to education and healthcare as important factors in the increase of women's vulnerability to disaster, and leads to investigations which emphasize the potential for gendered agency within post-disaster contexts as well as gendered coping strategies, and often leads to increased visibility of marginalized groups (Enarson 1998). What is often missing in these discussions is an approach that emphasizes the capacities of women to contend with the extant vulnerabilities, and an analysis of the ways in which these capacities can be supported to empower women and their communities.

Once absent in the dialogue of disaster relief and reconstruction, gender has now been brought into the limelight, and though not yet main-streamed in the discussion, is becoming less obscure. Regardless of the angle from which gender issues are approached it is clear that a gender focus is a critical component of disaster research, and should be seen as a key force for change in both the theory and action of disaster response (Enarson and Fothergill 2007).

Practical Studies and Implementation of Efforts

In order to provide a richness of information for a gendered analysis of a post-disaster context it is important to collaborate with local women's groups (Enarson 1998). Through collecting the stories, perspectives and knowledge of these observers, nuanced information can be brought to light, and dynamics that may appear invisible to an outside eye can be leveraged to further the goals and processes organically being incubated within the community. This is

particularly important for gendered analysis of a situation, because the efforts and initiatives of women often take place in the background and may not be brought into an open public sphere of dialogue. It is precisely because many of these initiatives are currently hidden from view that careful attention to gender issues in post-disaster contexts can aid in increasing response effectiveness and planning of sustainable reconstruction (Deare 2004).

In support of this growing focus, several practice-oriented guidelines have been published on gendered assessment, planning and implementation of disaster reconstruction efforts. Some of those that are noted as exemplary in the Handbook of Disaster Research in 2007 include: a Canadian development agency guide to gender and relief, gendered training manuals on risk reduction, such as one in South Africa (Von Kotze and Holloway 1996), and field checklists produced by the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) of the United Nations and by the umbrella organization InterAction for use in humanitarian relief efforts (Morris 1998). A number of training videos have also been produced from the stories of affected women in recent disaster contexts, many of which can be found through the Gender and Disaster Network (Enarson and Fothergill 2007, 139). In 2004 the United Nations Sustainable Development and Human Settlements Division – Women and Development Unit published *A methodological approach to gender analysis in natural disaster assessment: a guide for the Caribbean* which calls for a broader across-the-board integration of women into response planning and implementation within the Caribbean (Deare 2004).

Gender dynamics cannot be considered in isolation of the greater social fabric of a community, as they are intimately tied to other social considerations such as class, age, culture, and nationality (Enarson 1998). In looking at disasters from a gendered perspective, researchers and theorists should engage in the gender politics that underlie the observable conditions, and

can create a more substantial foundation from which to effect change moving forward. If we accept that there is a link between women's human rights and disaster risk, and accept the theoretical perspective that communities with more egalitarian relations are more resilient, than the politics of gender relations becomes an integral part of looking at community resiliency in disaster contexts, and it becomes imperative to develop a better understanding of the linkage of gender relations to the larger socio-political context (Enarson 1998). The discussion in Chapter 4 regarding the socio-political history of women in Haiti lays the foundation for looking at post-earthquake initiatives from this perspective. Through the examples presented in this work I hope to be able to provide greater depth of detail on the impacts of programming which acknowledge, consider, and work with the gendered terrain of an environment.

2.4 Resilience

The preferred outcome for a community faced with a shock is resistance, where the community has the ability to withstand the stress and respond in a way that limits the impact and creates little to no dysfunction within the community. However, when a community is unable to resist the impact of the shock, the vulnerabilities of the community are laid bare by the impact and the process of recovery becomes one of resilience as opposed to resistance.

Resilience, as a term, is defined in a variety of ways, based largely on the context to which it is being applied. Initially applied as a descriptive property of physical materials, the term was used to describe those attributes which allowed a material to retain the energy of a strain and return to its original form without being deformed or broken (Gordon 1978). Exploring the range of definitions in other contexts, Fran H. Norris (Norris 2008) suggests that this range comes from the application of this term to fields beyond material science, and the use

of the term as a metaphor meant to illustrate the ability of a system to return to equilibrium following an acute shock. Other salient elements of resilience that appear throughout the literature include: persistence of relationships, positive adaptation, and an ability to withstand external shocks (Holling 1973; Waller 2001; Adger 2000). As discussions of resilience move into human-centric social systems the definitions move beyond an understanding of resilience as a return to equilibrium, and lean increasingly towards highlighting abilities and forms of adaptation. These definitions include concepts such as: "the development of material, physical, socio-political, socio-cultural, and psychological resources that promote safety of residents and buffer adversity" and "the ability of community members to take meaningful, deliberate, collective action to remedy the impact of a problem, including the ability to interpret the environment, intervene, and move on" (Norris 2008, 129). It becomes apparent that resilience is seen as process rather than as a particular outcome of recovery, and that particularly within the social sciences this is characterized as a process of adaptability. Furthermore, given the complexity of dynamics that create a community, community resilience can only be seen as a process that is comprised of multiple systems working in parallel to create a sum that is more than its parts. As is suggested by Brown and Kelig, "people in communities are resilient together, not merely in similar ways" (Brown and Kulig 1996). In his paper, *On the Concept of Resilience*, B.E. Aguirre (2006, 1) suggests that the multiple systems that are working together include "physical, biological, psychological, social, and cultural systems." For Aguirre community resilience is the ability for these systems "to effectively absorb, respond, and recover from an internally or externally induced set of extraordinary demands" (Aguirre 2006, 1). Many of these definitions present the outcome of resilience to be recovery from the damage imposed, that returns to the pre-impact equilibrium. However, in the context of post-disaster

reconstruction it is critical that we move beyond this and take hold of the opportunity for adaptations to become permanent, making the community and society less vulnerable to future impacts. Therefore, bringing these conceptualizations of resilience into the context of post-disaster reconstruction, we can look at it as the ability for a set of disrupted systems to be reconstituted in a manner that addresses existing vulnerabilities and makes the environment safer. The challenge then, as presented by Aguirre, is "to identify what enhances the ability of organizations to effectively rebound, taking into account the actual physical, biological, personality, social, and cultural systems that are present and the limited amount of economic resources that may be available to lessen vulnerability" (Aguirre 2006, 3). To look at this challenge in more depth I turn to Norris, and to his analysis of the dynamics of community resilience. In analyzing these dynamics, Norris concludes that community resilience exists because of a networked set of adaptive capacities, including many which are maintained at an individual level. These adaptive capacities are further identified as falling into four categories; information and communication, economic development, community competence, and social capital (see figure 5).

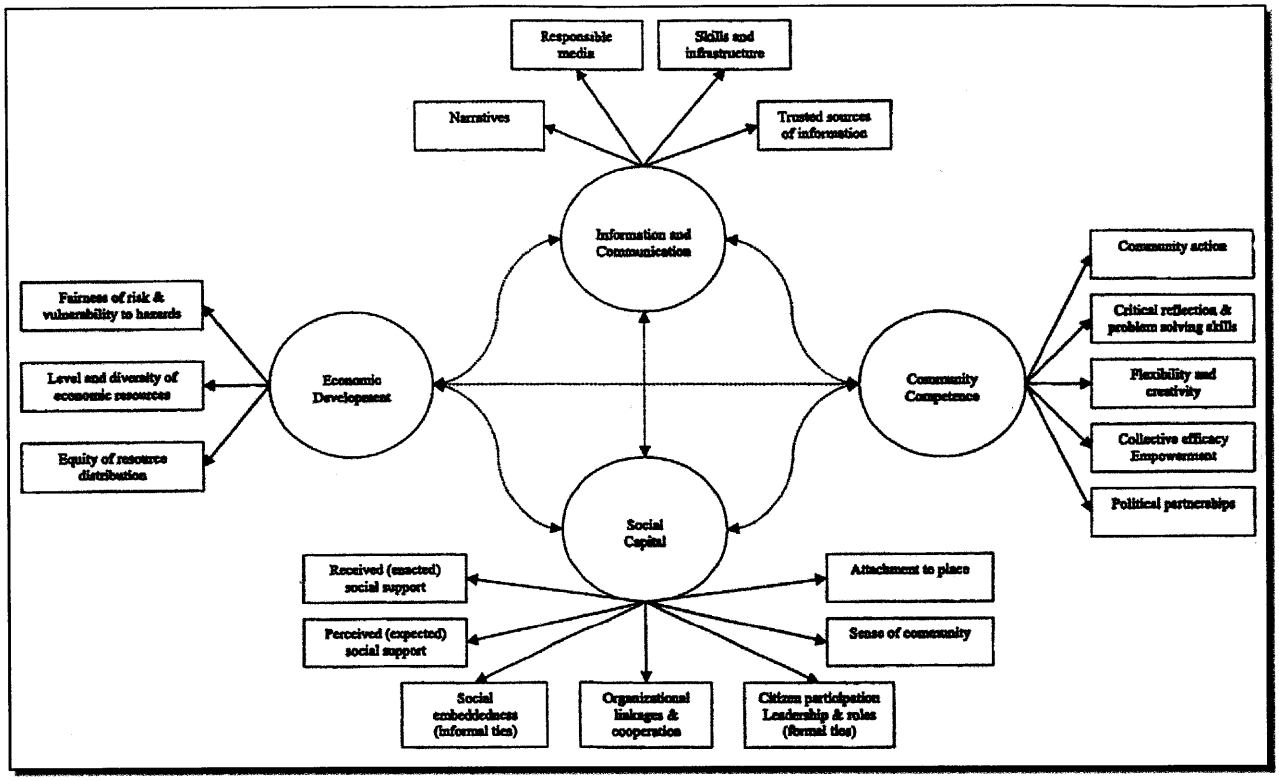


Figure 5: Networked adaptive capacities of community resilience. Source: Norris 2008.

Looking at the actions of women in Haiti with this framework of elements we can begin to understand how the existing capacities are networked, and to identify potential leverage points for supporting the framework to improve the environment moving forward.

Social Capital

The adaptable networks described here as a key element of resiliency can also be looked at in terms of social capital, a concept that was defined by Pierre Bourdieu to be "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition" (Bordieu 1985, 248). These networks are constructed over time, through considerable investment by individuals, and are thus considered by those individuals to provide a reliable source of benefit when called

upon to do so. Despite some variances in the literature, there is growing consensus that social capital represents "the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures," particularly those networks and associated benefits that are outside of the immediate family (Portes 1998, 6). In his article "The Strength of Weak Ties," Mark Granovetter analyzes social capital by categorizing networks according to their differing levels of interpersonal connections, which he refers to as "ties". Using scales of time, emotional intensity, intimacy, and reciprocity, Granovetter defines each type of tie as strong or weak (Granovetter 1973). Interestingly, this distinction is not one of value as he comes to the conclusion that both types of ties may have equal value in differing situations. In the context of post-disaster environments both strong ties, those commonly associated with family, and weak ties that extend to a broad network of actors can serve a vital role in resiliency and rebuilding. While strong ties may be relied upon for initial support, and perhaps immediate shelter, networks of weak ties can serve to establish a wider field of response, and can be relied upon should the immediately supportive circle of strong ties be severely damaged in a crisis.

Social capital has been brought into the field of development studies in parallel to an increased focus on integrating social processes and policy development. By using a social capital framework development agencies have begun to better understand the importance of local social dynamics, solidarity, and cooperation in regards to policy design, implementation, and effectiveness. However, there has been a lack of discussions within the development field on the gender aspects of social capital. And, in the cases where gender relations are addressed they are often based in normative assumptions about the situation and role of women as opposed to the reality of the lived relations. The critical thinking on how to integrate gender into social capital perspectives on development has been largely developed by Maxine Molyneux who writes that:

> "a gender-aware approach to social capital has to begin not just by recognizing, but by problematizing the fact that women are very often central to the forms of social capital that development agencies and governments are keen to mobilize in their poverty-relief and community-development programs. The evidence shows across a range of countries that women among low-income groups are frequently those with the strongest community and kin ties; many such women do network, they do support church activities and participate in local forms of associational life. They are to be found too, at the heart of voluntary self-help schemes whether in health, education or neighborhood food and housing programmes" (Molyneux 2002)

As is shown later in Chapter 3, many of these dynamics are present in Haiti and can serve as a solid foundation from which to address the social and physical vulnerabilities which have been made visible by the impact of the earthquake.

2.5 Women's Agency in their Communities

The spaces in which women operate

In her book *Gendered Spaces*, Daphne Spain approaches this question by examining how social and spatial patterns affect women. Working from the premise that there are already socially embedded status differences between men and women, Spain hypothesizes that the social creation of gendered spaces has led to institutionalized spatial segregation, which then reinforces status differentials (Spain 1992). Though the social implications of gender differences may vary historically and socially, it is apparent that both architectural and geographic spatial arrangements have reinforced status differences over time. This is in part through the way in which spatial organization accommodates or restricts access to certain realms of knowledge, from privileged cultural knowledge, to professional expertise. These ideas also relate to Ahrentzen's considerations of socio-spatial control through the modulation of privacy, and the control of spaces to allow for private or selectively private interactions (Ahrentzen 2002). Through controlling the space of interactions, the knowledge embedded within and transferred

through these interactions can also be controlled, thereby establishing or reinforcing power relations. This bears further consideration as the segregation of spaces and subsequent compartmentalization of knowledge transfer may not always serve to reinforce existing patterns, and could provide a liminal space in which new ideas and social change might foment.

To find these liminal spaces it is worth considering that other authors have viewed women's lives as inherently contextual, in regards to both the social and physical fabrics within which they exist (Altman and Churchman 1994). This context includes the integration of multiple roles and social relationships, a diversity of environmental settings, and perhaps most significantly, a range of cultural and historical backdrops which make up and influence the social and environmental fabric. According to Altman and Churchman, the varying domains of women's activities are inextricably linked. To look at this within the urban context where domains are not only linked, but physically pushed together into a dense environment, provides a unique opportunity for study. As environments become stacked on top of one another, women play an increasingly important role in weaving together social institutions and the physical environments by which they are surrounded.

Returning to some of the discussions about socio-spatial interplay, and further emphasizing the relevance of context, Michelson suggests that "woman and her urban environment" should be looked at through consideration of its complex reality (Michelson 1994). This argument returns us to a discussion of ecological psychology and behavior settings as theorized by Roger Barker. The idea here is that through physical parameters, symbols, social rules and the behavior of other participants, predictable behaviors are elicited and maintained within particular contexts (Michelson 1994). This can, in some cases, be caused by the existence of a mutually compatible setting for the behavior, but more importantly Michelson is interested

in looking at behavior as a system of activities from which both physical and social patterns may manifest and replicate.

The literature on women and environments, including that which has looked specifically at women in urban settings suggests that women are resourceful and resilient in negotiating both physical and social contexts. Women are seen as active agents in shaping their environments. (Darke, Ledwith, and Woods 2000) even though the extent to which they may be able to manipulate these environments may be constrained by embedded social and spatial elements. In one study undertaken in urban areas of the developing world, women were seen to carry three primary roles in relation to their environments: managers, rehabilitators, and innovators (Sontheimer 1991). The first of these perhaps tracks most closely with the perpetuation of social status through environmental dictates, as the management of an established system will tend toward the continuation of that system and the patterns embedded within it. The second and third, however, are of more interest within changing, or disrupted contexts such as those present in the aftermath of a disaster.

It is also apparent that there is an inherent complexity in the way that women have historically inhabited spaces, a complexity that seems to extend across cultures. This complexity manifests in the ways that women often inhabit spaces; somewhere in between absence and presence, visibility and invisibility. This existence on the borderlands and an ability to weave between a variety of physical environments has provided, and can continue to provide, fertile ground for the germination of seeds of change (Darke, Ledwith, and Woods 2000).

The networks within which women operate

Just as there is a complexity in the ways in which women inhabit physical spaces, the actions which occur as part of this habitation are equally complex and involve a series of relationships which create informal networks. From their study of women's networks in South Asia and West Africa, Bandana Purkayastha and Mangala Subramaniam suggest that by "considering women as situated-individuals-within-webs-of-relationships" we can see the structures by which they are made vulnerable, and the activities which serve as keys to their empowerment to change those structures (Purkayastha and Subramaniam 2004, 131). Scholars and development professionals have primarily focused on formal networks and organization, however there is value in looking at the grassroots groups that come together to create change in their communities, and can provide the foundations for broader-scale effective policy-making. By looking at these groups a diversity of relevant perspectives, activities and approaches can be integrated into the formal planning of reconstruction and development (Purkayastha and Subramaniam 2004). Furthermore, by focusing on these efforts we can bring the activities and experiences of women into the forefront of the discussion (Ferree 1995). Because these actions are shaped by the historical and social context of the community, they are indicative of active agency that can serve as the basis for change within that context (Purkayastha and Subramaniam 2004)[4]. Similar to the ways in which liminal physical spaces serve to create environments in which ideas of change can grow, Purkayastha and Subramaniam (2004, 8) suggest that, "informal networks involve the community in the processes of decision making through the creation of social spaces for sharing experiences that are particularly empowering for participants. Unstructured by the imperatives of large and bureaucratic organizations, community-based groups that people manage for themselves allow them to rework ideas and

[4] For additional discussion of this topic see (Schauber 2000; Subramaniam 2001).

themes from the dominant culture in ways which bring forth hidden and potentially subversive dimensions." Focusing on the actions of women within informal and formal networks provides a framework from which to begin looking at women as agents rather than as beneficiaries or victims. Such networks are critical foundations for social change; for in addressing women's strategic and practical interests the efforts expand to address broader human rights issues within the communities (Schirmer 1989; Femenía and Gil 1987).

There are many examples within Latin America, and other contexts, of women taking the lead in community survival and poverty management strategies, however, these management strategies are often based on uncompensated efforts and only looked at post-facto in terms of how they played a role in creating a change that has already occurred[5]. By looking at efforts that are occurring in real-time in post-disaster contexts, and providing them with material and fiscal support, this social capital can be leveraged in a way that further empowers the actors and networks that serve as a critical safety net to the community. As Maxine Molyneux suggests, "whether poor women can deploy their social capital to enhance their leverage over resources and policy depends crucially on whether they can develop their capabilities, political as much as economic, collective as much as individual" (Molyneux 2002, 186). As will be shown in the following chapter, there is a real opportunity in Haiti to build these frameworks of empowerment by supporting extant, highly active networks and to use the increased visibility of their work to bring resources, skills, and education to those who make up these networks, thereby seizing an opportunity to change the structures of marginalization that currently exist, as well as to shift approaches to post-disaster reconstruction away from managing vulnerabilities, and towards leveraging capabilities.

[5] For further discussion see (Molyneux 2002; Ensor 2009).

Chapter 3 Focus on Place: Haiti Context

Known as the poorest nation in the Americas, Haiti is no stranger to struggle. From its birth as the only nation to be born out of a slave rebellion, Haiti has been a nexus of political turmoil and revolt. The 7.0 earthquake that struck outside of the capital Port-au-Prince on January 12th, 2010 further traumatized a struggling nation, and exacerbated problems of housing, inequality, and economic development, among others. The scale of the earthquake, and the proximity of the epicenter to the urban areas of Port au Prince and Leôgane was a recipe for wide-ranging destruction, but as is often the case, the magnitude of this disaster was magnified by the pre-existing conditions in this region. Though nothing can be done to prevent geological events, the social, political and historical factors that determine the effects of these events on people and communities are malleable and adaptable.

3.1 The 2010 Earthquake & Aftermath

Over 300,000 people were killed by the quake and an additional 1.5 million displaced (CCCM 2011; Government of the Republic of Haiti 2010). Nearly one third of the buildings and physical infrastructure in Port-au-Prince were destroyed, including many government buildings. As a result of this broad-scale destruction there was significant migration of people away from the capital towards secondary cities and the countryside (see figure 6).[6]

However, over the past year-and-a-half a significant portion of the displaced have returned to Port au Prince and the surrounding areas. According to a study based on the movement of cell-phones, 41% of those who had left the metropolitan area had returned by March 11, 2010 (see

[6] See Appendix A for additional maps showing impact of earthquake, population displacement and extents of Internally Displaced Persons Camps.

figure 7). Of the phones which entered Port au Prince within the study timeframe, 68% belonged to returning individuals who had lived inside of Port au Prince prior to the earthquake (Bengtsson et al. 2010).

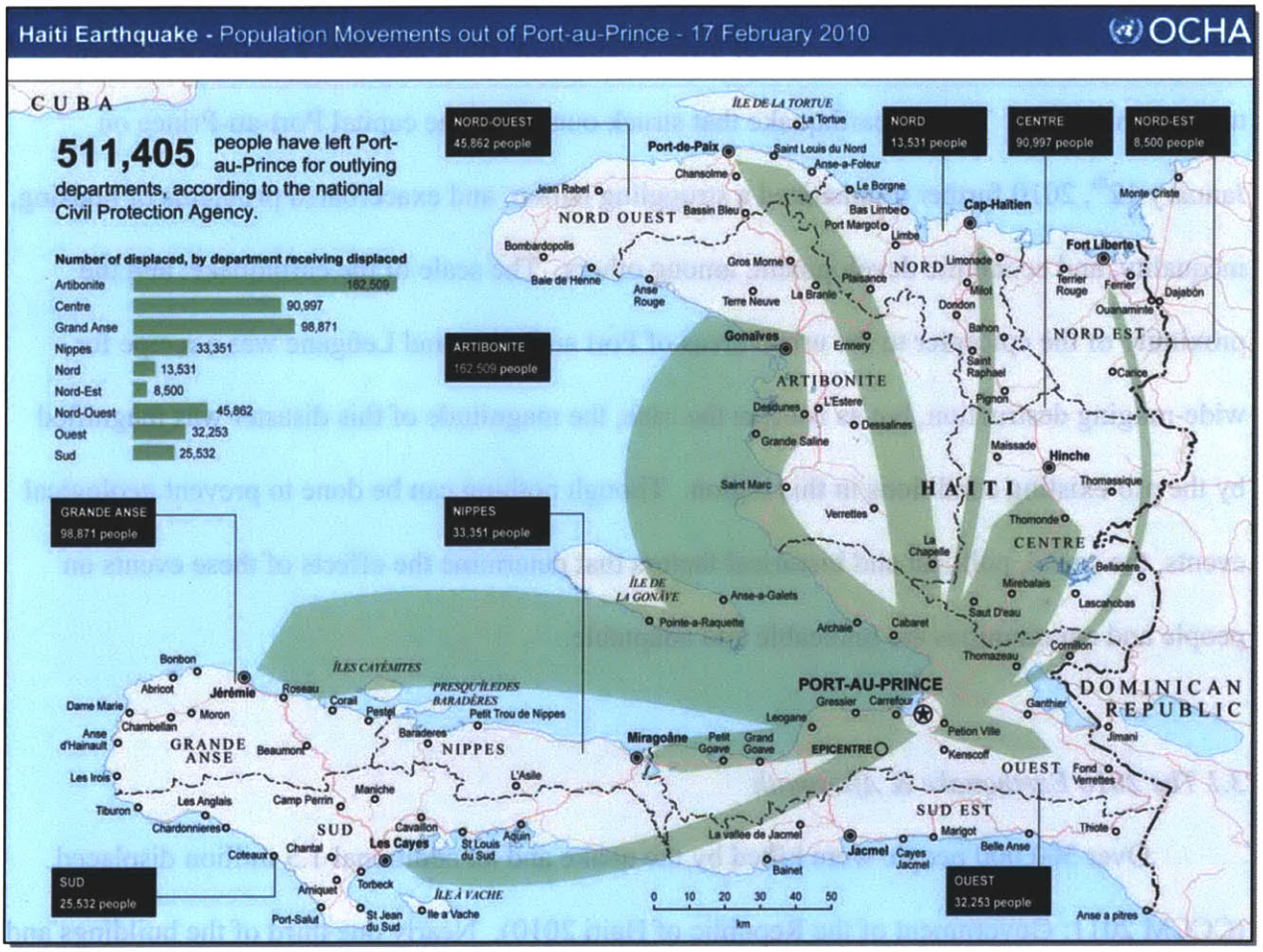


Figure 6: Map of migration away from Port au Prince following the earthquake.
Source: UN-OCHA, 2010

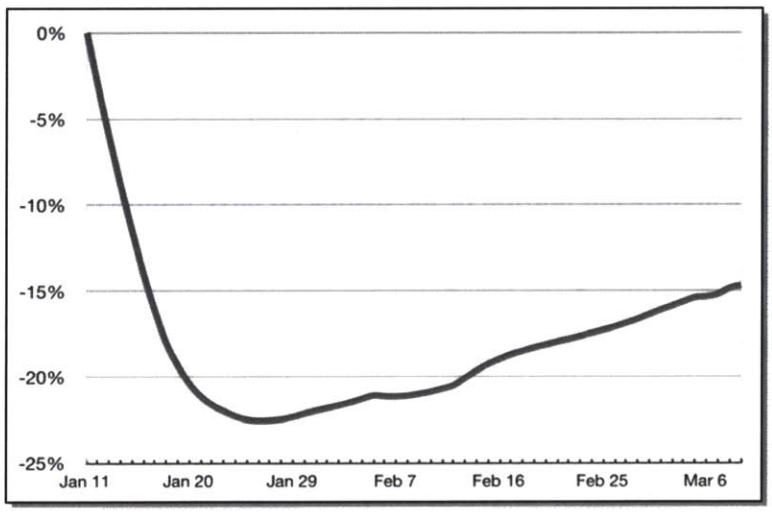


Figure 7: Estimated change in population of Port au Prince based on cellphone movement. Source: Bengtsson, et. al., 2011

The International Office of Migration (IOM) reports a 56% decrease in the number of individuals living in internally displaced persons (IDP) camps between the peak in June 2010 and their most recent assessment in March 2011. While this indicates a significant transition of individuals to other forms of shelter, it is apparent that these substitute forms of shelter are often highly precarious, due to tenuous construction, geographic location, and tenancy agreements (see figures 8 and 9). Furthermore, approximately 680,000 people are still living in tents and transitional shelters within the remaining 1,061 IDP sites (CCCM 2011).

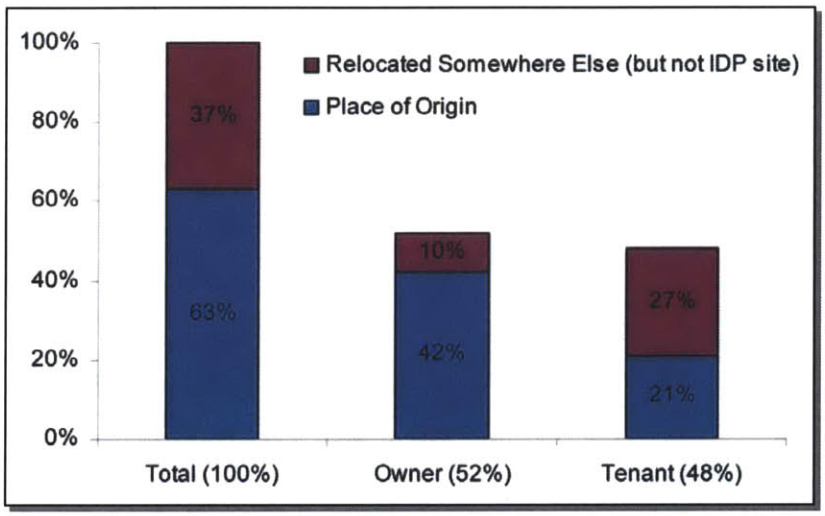


Figure 8: Relocation of persons from IDP camps between June 2010 and March 2011. Source: IOM, 2011

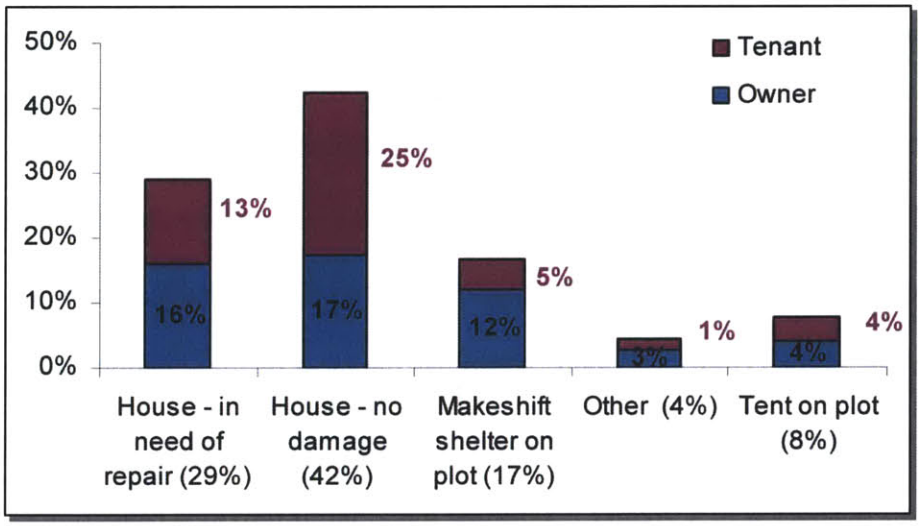


Figure 9: Types of shelter inhabited by persons relocated from IDP camps between June 2010 and March 2011. Source: IOM, 2011

Since the earthquake numerous institutions and organizations have descended on Haiti to provide relief, and reconstruction advice. The active institutions include humanitarian relief organizations, national and international development agencies, non-governmental organizations, and private corporations.

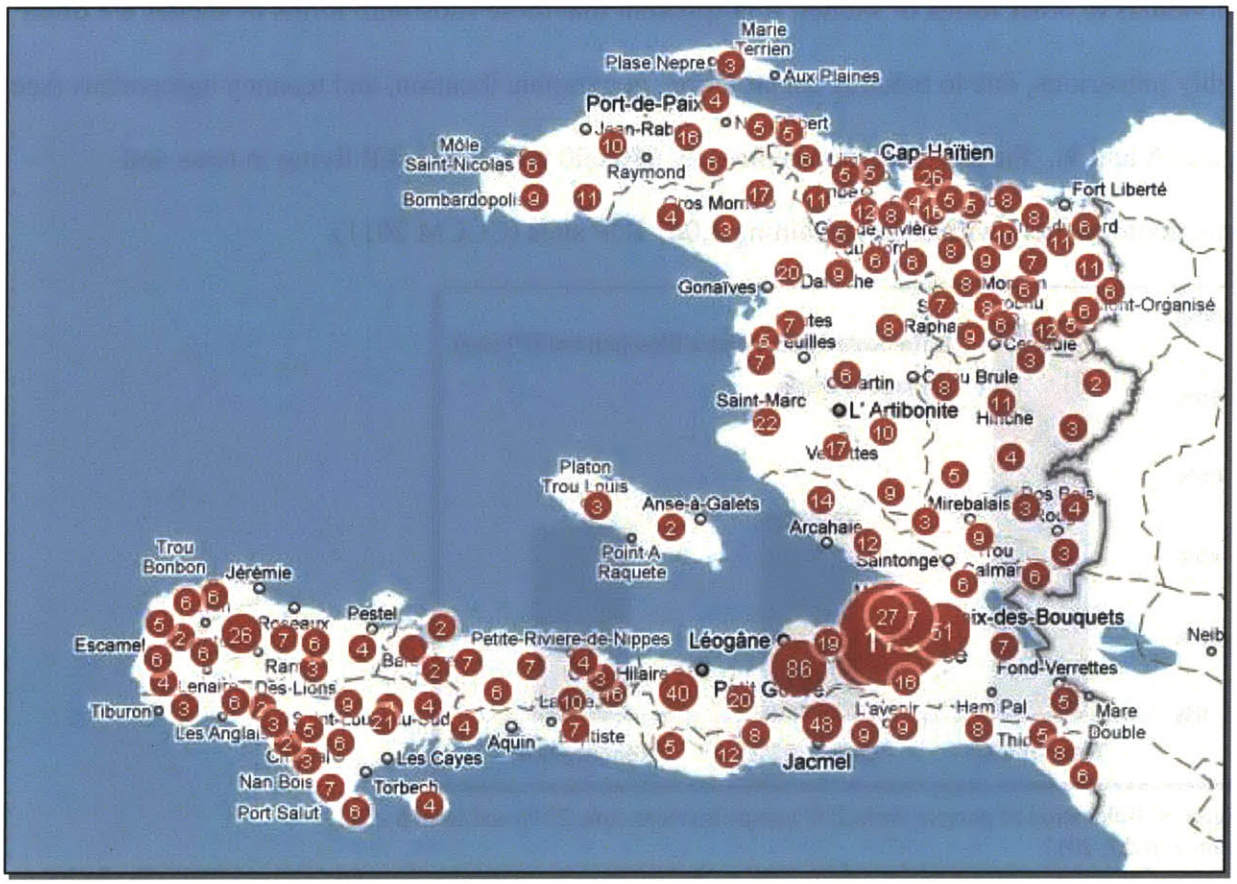


Figure 10: Location of projects in Haiti by members of InterAction. Total of 502 projects by 78 organizations. Source: InterAction, 2011

Despite the seemingly endless supply of cards stacked against them, the people of Haiti have not given up hope. They have, and continue to, find ways to rebuild their communities both materially and socially. As Davidson Hepburn, President of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) said, "Haiti has the most resilient people in the world. This characteristic goes back to the time of their daring declaration of their independence. So while this disaster is of a greater magnitude than that of previous catastrophes,

it has merely slowed down their determination to succeed, but it has not defeated their indomitable spirit" (Anon. 2010). Given this spirit, it is all the more important that reconstruction efforts look at strengthening the country's resiliency from within, and consider the deep history and culture of this place.

3.2 Political History

Located on the western part of the island of Hispaniola, The Republic of Haiti was born out of a slave revolt that started in 1791, led by Toussaint l'Overture. Following l'Overture's capture and extradition by the French, the continuing battle for independence was led by Jen-Jacques Dessalines until independence was declared on January 1, 1804. Dessalines ruled the country for two-and-a-half years before being assassinated in 1806, at which time Haiti was split into two independently ruled territories in the north and south of the country. This split remained until 1821 when the country was reunified under President Jean Pierre Boyer. In 1825 Boyer agreed to a treaty with France which specified the payment of monetary reparations for the lost profits of slave trade in exchange for formal recognition of independence. Following the ouster of Boyer, Haiti faced a long series of political turmoil, coups, and varying degrees of international intervention leading up to occupation by the United States of America from 1915 to 1934. During this time the U.S. occupiers dismantled Haiti's constitutional system, defined a boundary between Haiti and the Dominican Republic and led broad infrastructure initiatives to develop roads and public buildings. Following the departure of the U.S. Marines in 1934, Haiti experienced another twenty-two years of complex political maneuvering and disorder, including conflict along the border with the Dominican Republic and widespread violence by the Haitian National Guard troops that had been established by the U.S.A. during their occupation. With the

election of Dr. Francois Duvalier as President in September of 1957, the Haitian National Guard was supplanted by his own violent forces, the Tonton Macoutes. Known as "Papa Doc", Duvalier maintained dictatorial power until his death through a brutally oppressive regime. Upon his death he was succeeded by his son Jean-Claude Duvalier, or "Baby Doc" who continued to rule the country in a similarly brutal manner until his ouster in 1986 when he left the country, reportedly with significant sums from the national treasury, to seek exile in France. During the period of time that Haiti was under the Duvalier dictatorship it is estimated that 30,000 people were killed, and many more imprisoned (Florvilus 2011). A new constitution was approved in March 1987, and unrest continued over the next four years as the military, Tonton Macoutes, and constitutionally elected President vied for power. Despite the growing power of the Tonton Macoutes, Jean-Bertrand Aristide of the Lavalas Party was elected President by a substantial majority in the general elections held in December of 1990. Aristide was to serve a five-year term, and began instituting reforms as soon as he took office in January of 1991. However it was not going to be an easy ride. Even before his formal inauguration he was faced with a coup attempt by a former Tonton Macoute leader, Roger Lafontant. Though this attempt was suppressed by the Haitian military after widespread protesting by Aristide supporters, Aristide was overthrown by the military, six months into his term, in a coup d'état led by Army General Raoul Cédras. The coup was widely condemned by international organizations, and the UN established a trade embargo. Inside Haiti, Aristide supporters became the direct targets of the military government and the government militia forces known as the FRAPH. This once again brutal campaign against the people of Haiti reigned terror across the country and resulted in the deaths of an estimated several thousand Aristide supporters. After three years of military rule, the United States once again directly intervened in Haiti's national affairs sending in U.S.

forces to remove the military leadership and reinstall Aristide to complete the remainder of his first term. Upon retaking power, Aristide disbanded the Haitian army and established a civilian police force. The U.S. forces remained in Haiti as a peacekeeping and stabilization force until 1995 when the United Nations Mission in Haiti was installed. 1995 also marked the next round of democratic elections in Haiti, which resulted in the election of René Préval, Aristide's former Prime Minister, to the Presidential role for the following five years of relative calm. Following the re-election of Aristide in November of 2000 the country maintained a relative level of calm, although there were reports of rising violence between Aristide supporters and the opposition, and increasing evidence of human rights abuses (Buss 2008). In 2004, a revolt spread from northern Haiti, south towards Port au Prince, eventually forcing Aristide into exile for a second time. Upon Aristide's second exit the United Nations installed a new mission known as the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH), which remains in country today and has since been blamed for the re-introduction of cholera to the island nation (Associated Press 2010). René Préval was elected to a second term as President in 2006 in elections marred by uncertainties, but has maintained power through to the end of his term this spring. Following contested elections in November 2010, Haiti once again faced political unrest as the standing government, candidates and international actors including the U.S. and Organization of American States worked to resolve voting irregularities and to determine the candidates for the March run-off election between Michel Martelly and Mirlande Manigat. Having won the second round of elections Michel Martelly was sworn into office on May 14th of this year, declaring, "hand in hand, shoulder against shoulder, we will change Haiti, rebuild the country, give it a new image" (Anon. 2010c).

3.3 Economic History

The political history of Haiti has been fraught with power struggles, violence, and targeted oppression of opposition supporters, producing a climate of physical and political insecurity that has both contributed to, and been furthered by, significant economic challenges. Haiti is the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere and ranks 145 out of 169 countries in the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Human Development Index (UNDP 2010). Even prior to the earthquake the Government of Haiti relied heavily on international foreign assistance. Most of the population of Haiti is living on the edge, with 80% below the poverty line, and 54% of the population considered to be in abject poverty. Furthermore these edge conditions are further exacerbated by the extremely dense concentration of people in the urban areas which are home to 52% of the total population, with Port au Prince sheltering over two million people (CIA World Factbook 2010). Haiti is also a highly stratified nation, with stark distinctions and barriers between the nation's small elite and its extensive impoverished populous (see figure 7).

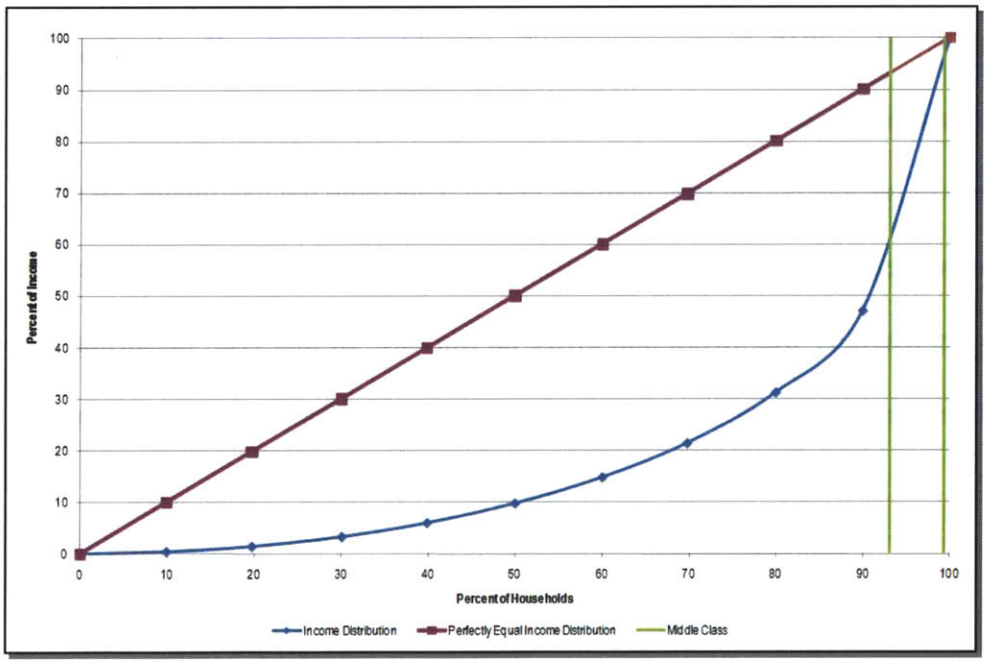


Figure 11: Distribution of income in Haiti. Source: USAID, 2011.

3.4 History of Women's Roles, Condition & Organizing

As is true for the majority of the populous, Haitian women are faced with existing in, and understanding multiple narratives of poverty, oppression, violence, and resilience. However, the additional narrative with which women must contend, that of gender inequality, serves to exacerbate and deepen the struggles presented by all others. As gender inequalities are perpetuated, women's vulnerability to both episodic and structural violence is intensified (Schuller 2011). Throughout the tumultuous years of Haiti's history women have faced consistent, though varying, degrees of subjugation, limited opportunity, as well as physical and sexual violence, often specifically employed as a strategy of terror by the state. As shown in Appendix B, Haitian women rank distressingly low on a series of indicators. At the same time, there is a rich history of women's organizing and advocacy within Haiti. And though this movement was significantly impacted in the earthquake through the loss of three important feminist leaders, Myriam Merlet, Magalie Marcelin, and Anne Marie Coriolan, their organizations and others have not only rebounded, but grown to meet the increased pressures and needs of women in the aftermath of the quake. In addition to the four major feminist organizations united within the Coordination Nationale pour les Plaidoyers (CONAP), grassroots organizations such as the Komisyon Fanm Viktim pou Viktim (KOFAVIV), Fanm Viktim Leve Kanpe (FAVILEK), and the Movimiento de Mujeres Dominico-Haitiana (MUDHA) are adapting to the concerns of quake affected women, and finding ways to increase the visibility of these issues and their efforts.

The first organized Haitian women's movement was developed in 1930 by educated, upper-class women, from which La Ligue Feminine d'Action Sociale (Feminine League for Social Action) was officially created in 1934. Serving primarily as an advocacy organization

inspired by the Suffragettes and international women's struggle, they focused their collective efforts on the enfranchisement of women and right to vote. Within their campaigns for enfranchisement they addressed issues of marriage type – civil, and informal *placage* – family relationships, the legal status of children born outside of wedlock, and the conditions of female peasants and domestic servants (Pierre-Louis 2010). On April 19, 1944 a Constitutional Amendment was adopted allowing women to be elected to governing bodies at both local and national levels. However, as has happened in many other contexts, women were not granted the right to vote until much later. Throughout the decade the Feminine League continued to press for the right to vote for women, formally endorsing Haiti's adherence to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. Great strides were made in 1957, when general elections were held that included widespread voting by women for the first time in Haiti's history. Unfortunately this step forward would not last long, as the Duvalier administration quickly became highly repressive and civil-liberties of all types were violently suppressed. During this period, all women's organizations were forced to be clandestine and activities were carried out at great risk to those who were members and anyone with whom they associated. In response, women's organizations within the Haitian diaspora became increasingly vocal in regards to the condition of women and girls within the country, as well as in opposition of the dictatorship (Pierre-Louis 2010). Despite ratification of several rights-based measures during this period, no significant change to the status of Haitian women occurred until 1982, when Parliament passed a law declaring married women to no longer be considered minors, and to allow nationality to be transmitted through matrilineal lineage. Following the end of the Duvalier administration women's organizations once again came into the open, including a demonstration 30,000 strong in downtown Port-au-Prince on April 3, 1986. With this resurgence, the movements further

advocated for rights and services, including gender equity and equality, legal recognition of the different types of matrimonial unions, development of a family code, and social services for pregnant women, children, and the elderly. Many of these principles were written into the new constitution which was adopted March 29, 1987, however to date no laws have been passed enforcing the implementation of any of these principles (Pierre-Louis 2010). Advocacy efforts continued to grow over the next decade, despite the political turmoil, and several new major feminist organizations were created. In 1994, the Ministry of Women's Affairs was created within the Government of Haiti, and its mission statement defined two years later in 1996. On April 3, 1996, the Haitian Parliament ratified the Inter-American Convention on Prevention and Elimination of Violence Against Women, and the day was declared the National Day for Women's Rights thereby marking both the ratification and the demonstration that occurred in 1986. In 2004 a National Roundtable was created to work towards the elimination of violence against women, and on July 6, 2005 the Government of Haiti issued a decree which recognized and defined different types of sexual aggressions, including rape. With the establishment of this definition it became possible to legally treat the commitment of rape as a crime of the aggressor, as opposed to the previously held consideration of rape as a crime against honor which had no legal bearing. Sanctions for different types of sexual aggression were established, with special conditions for when the victim is under age or under the formal authority of the aggressor. Adultery can no longer be punished with a 3-year jail term for women, and domestic violence offenses can now be legally prosecuted rather than excused as crimes of jealousy. Unfortunately, although these conditions are written in law, there are still many cultural barriers to enforcement of these laws; very few cases are taken to court, and even fewer are successfully prosecuted. The contemporary women's organizations are numerous, and expand beyond the framework of

mainstream feminist political organizing into three broad categories; social and economic interests, organizations of women professionals, and broader civic organizations with women at their center. Throughout contemporary history the feminist movement in Haiti has proven itself to be at the forefront of advocacy campaigns, and social movement within Haiti (Pierre-Louis 2010).

3.5 Cultural Portrayals of Women in Haiti

Haiti is a country of story-telling. The culture is built on and around legends, tales, suspicions and parables. This dynamic is apparent in both literature and conversation, as it is common for questions to garner a response that is filled with detailed ruminations that weave together a tapestry of facts about places and people. Anecdotes tend to be full of detail, and expand upon a particular point by bringing in narrative about the surrounding environment and painting a picture of the scene. It has also been expressed to me by several interviewees that story-telling is an important part of communication among Haitians. In discussing the roles and empowerment of women, this climate of story-telling serves a particularly interesting role.

Literary works and ethnographic texts on the political and cultural history of Haiti shed insight on the role women play today, and perhaps on the role that they could play moving forward. In literature and lore the women of Haiti are placed in circumstances of extreme vulnerability, and at the same time are seen as strong and resilient in the face of adversity, for as Sophie, the protagonist of Edwidge Danticat's novel *Breath, Eyes, Memory*, says, "only a mountain can crush a Haitian woman" (Danticat 1998, 198). From my readings and discussions with members of the Haitian diaspora it is clear that women play a critical role within the family, and are seen as important pillars of society. Additionally this is a dynamic that is further

supported through my observations during two trips to Port au Prince, in August 2010 and March 2011, where women consistently presented themselves as the leaders within neighborhoods and communities, and appeared to be greatly respected in these roles.

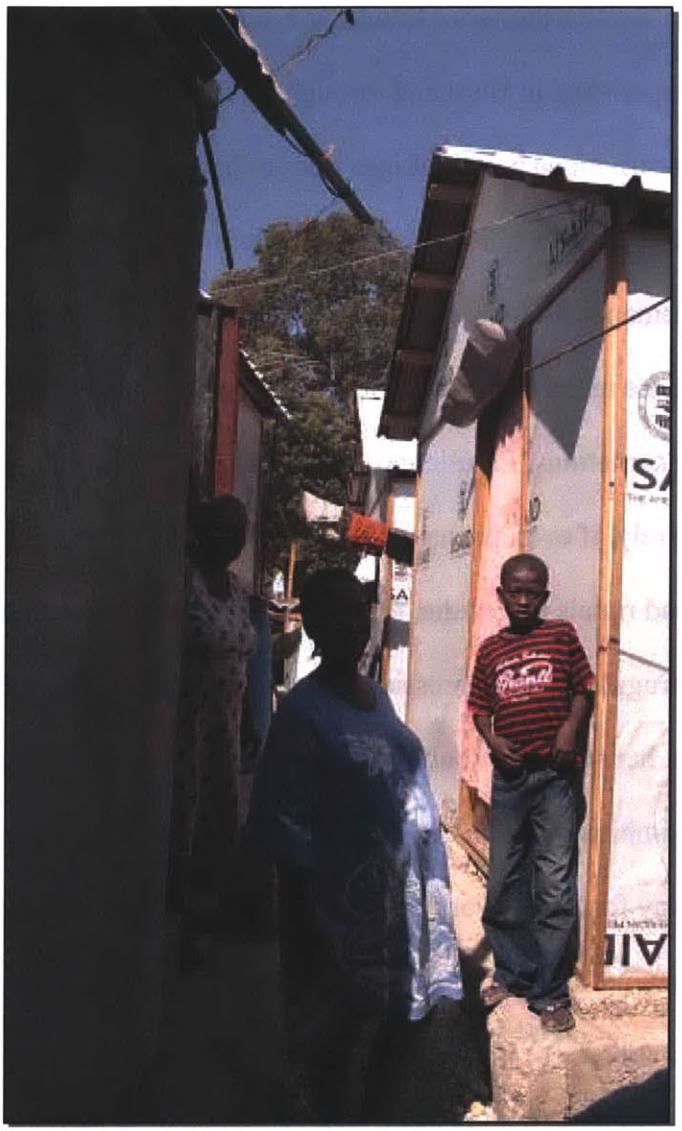


Figure 12: Community leader in Port au Prince neighborhood. March, 2011. Photo courtesy of Daniel Weissman.

Erzulie and Défilée: Famn se Poto Mitan

In Voudoun, one of the foundations of Haitian culture, there is a figure called Erzulie. Erzulie is a complex figure, venerated and supported, yet also construed as a mistress and promiscuous. At the same time that she holds power over man, she is subject to his will and ministrations. As Maya Deren describes in her book Divine Horsemen: the Living Gods of Haiti, Erzulie is given a critical, though not elemental, position within the Voudoun pantheon.

> "But if Voudoun denies woman this distinctive role as a separate cosmic element, it proposes an alternative one…for while the elemental cosmic principles which are personified in other loa[7] apply equally to all levels and forms of life, Voudoun has given woman, in the figure of Erzulie, exclusive title to that which distinguishes humans from all other forms: their capacity to conceive beyond reality, to desire beyond adequacy, to create beyond need. In Erzulie, Voudoun salutes woman as the divinity of the dream, the Goddess of Love, the muse of

[7] Loa are the deities of the Voudoun religion.

> beauty. It has denied her the emphasis as mother of life and of men in order to regard her...as mother of man's myth of life – its meaning....Thus, to man himself, she is as mistress" (Deren 1983, 137).

Furthermore Erzulie is a figure who "dramatizes a specific historiography of women's experience in Haiti and throughout the Caribbean" (Dayan 1994, 6). She has multiple incarnations with multiple sides to her embodied personality; Erzulie-Ge-Rouge who expresses deeply inconsolable rage and despair, Erzulie Freda a fair-skinned promiscuous figure who demands all things refined and luxurious, and Erzulie Dantor the warrioress who fiercely defends those under her protection, namely women and children. Through these many, and varied incarnations, Erzulie represents and tells the story of Haitian women's complex lives that is rarely, if ever, presented in the dominant socio-political discourses. It is in part through the tales and rituals of Erzulie, that the invisible stories of women's work, their historically embedded struggles with oppression and violence, and their quiet, yet effective forms of resilience are told. In her study of Voudoun ritual, Dayan suggests that those rituals associated with Erzulie, in combination with the understanding of her complex and opposing incarnations are in essence a way for "us to work through and reconstruct a history of women that is simultaneously an inquiry into the language of conquest, a revelation of the terms of mastery" (Dayan 1994, 7). In Erzulie there is the capacity to conceive of life beyond reality, the capacity to create that which is beyond immediate need, thus she remains an image of resilience, and through her multiple images, an embodiment of adaptability. It has been said that, "every woman is an emanation of Erzulie" (Dayan 1994, 7), and thus it would follow that the women of Haiti are faced with similarly complex expectations and interactions in which they are both venerated and victimized. It is then possible to see all women as keepers of the myths and vision for Haiti, as an extension of that dynamic described by Maya Deren, and to expect that similar elements of resilience, of

vision, of protection, and of promiscuity play into the daily realities of how women balance the complex dynamics of rebuilding their communities in the midst of pervasive physical and emotional threat to their own person. If the myths of Erzulie recall the complex history of Haitian women from Colonial times to the Duvalier era and beyond, and if these rituals replay "all the uses, pleasures, and violations of women in Haiti" as Dayan claims, it is worth asking how these connections persist to the present day (Dayan 1994, 16). Furthermore by considering how these narratives connect to the actions of women today, who are responding to challenges and violations in the aftermath of the earthquake, in the deprivation of the tent cities, and in the socio-political power struggles developing around the rebuilding of their communities, these narratives can be modernized and serve as a foundation for dialogue moving forward.

In addition to these myths associated with Erzulie, there are several other foundational Haitian narratives that place women at the center of community, resilience and perseverance. From Anacona, the Arawak queen who fought against the Spaniards when they first came to the island of Hispaniola, to the woman who, as the story goes, led the initial rituals which inspired the slave rebellion that ultimately led to Haiti's independence. And there is the story of Défilée-la-follee (Défilée the Madwoman), the woman whose real name was Dédée Bazile, who collected the separated body parts of the revolutionary Dessalines for burial. Défilée is considered a national hero, and her associated narrative of political resistance and patriotic strength has historically been embraced in time of crisis (Braziel 2005). But, as with Erzulie, the social narrative associated with Défilée is complex and consistent with the conflicting views of women within Haitian society. Born as a slave near Cap Haitian, Dédée Bazile, was raped by her master at the age of eighteen, saw her parents killed by French troops, and later followed the revolutionary troops of Jean-Jacques Dessalines as a merchant, and by some accounts a

prostitute. According to the legends, her name of Défilée came from her ability to rally the revolutionary troops and call on them to continue marching on. The historical root of her madness has never been determined, but legend has in various iterations attributed it to the loss of her parents, her master as lover, or Dessalines as lover. In any case her legend presents her as insane, yet honorably lucid in the time after Dessalines' brutal murder and dismemberment by Haitian troops and citizens at Pont-Rouge. Her collection of the dismembered body parts, and subsequent burial has been linked to two important narratives; national pride in the honor of this revolutionary hero, and presence of mind to follow proper Voudoun burial ritual to prohibit the taking of any body parts by malevolent forces, or the resultant potential for unquiet spirits. Providing balance and center in a time of chaos and massive national disruption, Défilée is characterized as a heroine in the moment looking out for the future stabilization of the nation. As the historian Windsor Bellegarde writes, all Haitians should remember, "Défilée-La-Folle who on the sad day of October 17, 1806...saw the Founder of Independence fall under Haitian bullets; and when the people of Port-au-Prince suddenly seemed to go mad, she gave to everyone an eloquent lesson of reason, wisdom, and patriotic piety" (Dayan 1994, 18). Once again the women of Haiti are providing lessons of stability in a time of chaos and upheaval through their actions and initiatives.

In addition to these, and other, specific mythologized narratives of the strength of women in the face of adversity there is a common understanding of *famn se poto mitan*, or "woman as center-post". As Josette Perard of the Lambi Fund recounts in the film *Poto Mitan: Economic Pillars of Opportunity*, "In Haiti's traditional religion there is a *poto mitan* around which everything occurs, all of the ceremony revolves. That's why we call women *poto mitan*, because everything revolves around and with the women" (Schuller and Bergan 2009) Others in the film

relate the idea that it is women's labor that the country is founded on, a comment that links both to the quantitative facts of women's significant participation in the workforce, as well as to the histories and mythologies discussed above. And in a similar, though slightly more artistic manner, a seamstress, Thérése, characterizes the importance of women within Haitian society by saying, "Women are the bullion, without them there'd be no taste." Though prior to the earthquake this narrative was not often presented or legitimized in broader socio-political discussions, it appears that in the wake of the earthquake and subsequent socio-spatial upheaval this idea has gained a new level of visibility and can used to relate the security, rights and empowerment of women to the broader Haitian community and its search for resilience, stability and reconstruction.

Chapter 4 Women's Actions and Agency in Post-Earthquake Haiti

Immediately following the impact of the earthquake, and in the months following, Haitians have shown great solidarity in rescue, relief and reconstruction. As described by Jean-Claude Fognole, the Country Director for ActionAid, "What we've seen and experienced at ActionAid is an amazing chain of solidarity that begins with the local communities, in the spontaneous mechanisms that they've set up to show solidarity with each other to ensure safety and to ensure fair distribution to the most vulnerable people in the camps"(ActionAid International 2010). As part of this women have shown themselves to be *poto mitan,* the center post of many efforts, networks and responses. In the immediate aftermath of the earthquake, and in the subsequent months of survival and recovery women have served a vital role in the sustained resiliency of many communities. They have increased the scope of many of their traditional roles, extending the care and commitment normally shown towards family to the communities of survivors. Women have been instrumental in "finding and cooking food for strangers, taking in children left orphaned and others left homeless, and seeking out medical assistance and health care, or improvising their own." (Bell 2010b) And they have in many cases taken on new roles in communications through previously existing networks, and neighborhood watch protection initiatives in the Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) tent camps and temporary settlements. A report compiled by the Huariou Commission in July 2010 placed the range of activities being undertaken by women in the camps into three categories: enhancing safety, livelihoods restoration, and collective self-help (Nadelman and Louis 2010). They found that initiatives related to safety were primarily focused on inhibiting violence and rape in the camps through neighborhood watches, camp lighting, communication with police, and education of

women and girls about the danger. And that livelihoods regeneration took the form of small scale marketing, similar in nature to that which was conducted in the pre-quake context. Women's initiatives towards collective self-help have included: organizing community kitchens and other feeding programs, distributing and managing the distribution of aid supplies, cleaning and maintenance of the tent sites, as well as taking on leadership roles in camp committees and other organized groups. The following examples of women's actions and organizing in the past seventeen months since the earthquake are similarly categorized to illustrate these dynamics in more depth.

4.1 Livelihoods Restoration: innovative reuse of space & available materials

Women are a critical part of Haiti's economy, with sixty-two percent of women participating in income generating activities (Coleman and Iskenderian 2010). Traveling through the streets in August of 2010 I was struck by the extent of rubble piles which still remained; in fact, by some calculations, not even two percent of the rubble within the city had been remediated. Streets, which had already been congested with cars, people, animals, vendors and trash were now further narrowed on a regular basis by huge piles of crumbled concrete. For the most part these piles sat unattended, blocking pathways and generally adding to the barely controlled chaos. However, on one road I saw something different. The mounds of rubble still sat in what had at one point been an open right of way, but instead of just remaining as mounds a number of street vendors had leveled off the tops of the piles to create makeshift platforms, and had constructed ramshackle tents on top of these piles from which they were selling goods. Functionally these new constructions served multiple purposes, both allowing the tenants of these spaces to go about their typical daily activities, and in the case of rains protecting one's

goods and person from the massive run-off which courses through the streets. Essentially what had been constructed out of necessity in order to re-establish old patterns of marketing had also created a new typology which physically, and perhaps socially, lifted these tenants just a small step higher out of the muck and destruction. During a subsequent trip in March 2011, these rubble platforms were still present, though much of the scattered and piled rubble had been removed from the streets. The ramshackle tents seemed to have been reconstructed in a more orderly manner, and while the street was still densely packed it appeared less chaotic than it had in August 2010.

Figure 13: Informal street market. Port au Prince, March 2011. Photo courtesy of Daniel Weissman

4.2 Collective Self-help: Communication Networks

The broad participation of Haitian women in networks outside of their households forms the basis for broader networks of social ties, and thus may translate into a higher degree of social capital. Considering that one aspect of women's status is defined by their degree of public participation outside of the household and dwelling (Spain 1992), these broad networks can serve a critical function in seizing the opportunity for change as presented by the quake. The following example speaks to how social networks have supported communities and reconstruction amidst physical chaos. In Haiti the speed and effectiveness with which informal market networks were leveraged by women to re-establish open lines of communication between neighborhoods, villages and families was notable. In these cases, pre-existing networks were put to use for a new purpose and formed the basis for a resiliency strategy that was based within the community at large. The strength of these networks was also further enhanced through technology, as individuals with access to cell phones, readily made them available to others within the market network in order to facilitate information flow, and the re-connection of family members both within and beyond city boundaries.[8]

4.3 Enhancing Safety: existing organizations stepping up efforts and expanding scope

As was previously established, there is a short but significant history of women's organizing within Haiti, and though many of the established groups suffered substantial casualties to their membership and physical infrastructure they have persevered in the face of these challenges, and in many cases increased the scope of the their efforts. Showing a spirit of resilience, KOFAVIV co-coordinator Marie Eramithe Delva told Beverly Bell, "We did so much

[8] Insights gained from personal communication with Tracy S. Benoit, an anthropologist who travelled to Haiti shortly after the earthquake.

to advance women not being victims. We've taken a big step backwards, but we will struggle from where we are, and move forward" (Bell 2010a). It is also apparent that pre-existing membership in women's organizations has provided a significant support structure, and platform for the maintenance of community connections despite the dispersal of members throughout different camps and temporary shelter locations (Nadelman and Louis 2010).

KOFAVIV (Komisyon Fanm Viktim pou Viktim), is a grassroots organization of women victims of violence that provides a support network to women and girls, and advocates on their behalf. Since the earthquake, their membership has taken on the increased responsibility of watching out for those who are potentially in harm's way, and have developed their networks to try to provide protection. In addition to creating a visible group of individuals to whom victims can turn for assistance, the members of KOFAVIV are keeping active watch within the camps for incidents of violence or rape, and when possible, have intervened. The membership has also oriented their efforts to pay special attention to girls who have been orphaned, or abandoned, in the aftermath of the earthquake and the organization now works to establish ties between these girls and their family networks in other parts of the country (Bell 2010a). KOFAVIV has also increased its efforts to record the testimonies of those affected, arrange for medical assistance, and to offer trainings within the camps on human rights and self-protection, including those specifically related to women and children. This work is being supported through networking with other organizations both locally and internationally, including a local human rights law firm, the Bureau des Avocats Internationaux, and the Institute for Justice and Democracy in Haiti which is based in Boston. This particular project, known as The Rape Accountability Project has been underway since July 2010 and has been instrumental in opening 60 legal cases in the justice system. Though this may seem small, it is unquestionably a significant step for these women and

for their communities. As Annie Gell, a lawyer with the Bureau des Avocats Internationaux said in an interview this April, "these women's groups are on the forefront of feminism and of empowerment, and really, really extraordinary. They are putting their lives on the line, living and working in camps, advocating for women and being a resource for women who have been victimized."

Another initiative that has grown from the work of previously established organizations is a collaborative one between Kay Famn (Women's House), SOFA (Solidarite ant Fanm), and the Ministry of Women's Affairs as well as a few other women's organizations. Supported by the UN Development Fund for Women these groups ran a brief, but targeted, campaign to investigate incidences of rape and violence towards women in the camps around Port au Prince. The investigation was carried out by volunteer teams who speak with members of the camp management committees to identify cases and distribute information on the availability of free medical care. These cases can then be

Figure 14: IDP camp. Port au Prince, August 2010. Photo by author.

followed up on by the Kay Famn and SOFA in reporting perpetrators to the police, as well as attempting to start legal proceedings, though this last step is challenging given the current state of the Haitian political and justice systems.

4.4 Community Building: Petit Riviére Shelter Center

The examples presented up to this point have been taken from a variety of anecdotal contexts, each providing a slightly different perspective on the roles of women, and the value of social capital. I now turn to look at a single environment within which some of these ideas can be further examined: the Petite Rivière Shelter Center, a temporary settlement camp located just beyond the epicenter of the earthquake in Léogâne. This appears to be a successful example of women-led reconstruction efforts that have had impacts on both the social and physical environment, and bears further study. The Petite Rivière Shelter Center is supported by MUDHA, the Movement of Dominican-Haitian Women, and contains a number of effective organizing principles that could be seen as models for rebuilding communities throughout the country. First of all, the camp is run by Haitians, and secondly the leadership committee of the camp is largely comprised of women. As a result, the construction of this camp has been lauded as "a small-scale model of the type of future society that many would like to see" (Bell 2010c). There are a number of ways in which this camp could serve as a rich field for study of socio-spatial dynamics, the role of women, and networks of social capital. To begin with social capital, it is apparent that part of what gives this particular camp such a strongly functioning base is that it is comprised of residents who had previously been part of the same community. The relationships that carried over from the original community, presumably a mix of strong and weak ties, have made it possible for structures of governance to develop and function smoothly.

Given the extents of displacement the pre-existing extreme density in urban areas it is unlikely that all of the disrupted communities across Haiti will be reconstructed with their original residents. Therefore, looking at the networks that are developing in resettled communities, as well as those that have sustained themselves despite the disruption will be key to supporting the development of strong communities moving forward. Another notable element of this camp is that there has been a strong emphasis on creating opportunities, and spaces, for cultural activities from the very beginning, and that this has served as a uniting and strengthening element within the camp. Early on several women within the camp approached other development agencies in the area with requests for materials to create a protected children's space. Upon cobbling together a space from cement blocks of collapsed houses and tarps, it became an important center within the community, and a location in which drumming and dancing, the heartbeat of Haitian culture, could be enjoyed. This space and the activities associated with it allow people to congregate and share stories thereby broadening and deepening their ties within the community. The creation of this space for interaction, quickly allowed for leveraging of social capital within the community to create a women's organization, Shining Star, which now acts in an advisory role to the camp committee. The following is an account of this organizations' birth by Elizabeth Senatus, the camp director:

> "We didn't wait for people to come give us orders. We might have potential that we weren't aware of. We use what resources we have in hand. We don't wait for millions to arrive, we create. We went to an agency that works to save children, and asked for funds for education, child protection, etc. We went through the whole process but they never supported us. So we created our own space.
>
> You know in Haiti, folklore is a big deal. The drum is the sign of music and the sign of happiness that allows people to relax. When you beat it, "peem, peem, peem," everybody dances. Even if you have problems, you dance. We didn't even have the women's organization at first. We started the folklore group dancing like this in the traditional way. [Women's group] L'Étoile Brillant (Shining Star) came about when several women who were dancing started talking

about what they used to do when they went to the market together. One afternoon I asked them, why don't we form a women's organization? We did it."

– Elisabeth Senatus, l'Étoile Brillant (Schuller 2011)

4.5 Portrayals of Women's Work

In addition to the predominant conversational narratives of the important role women are playing in this process there is also supporting evidence embedded in the visual representations of the reconstruction that have been produced and disseminated in the past fifteen months. Though many of these videos have been produced by international organizations, and may be tailored to speak to a broader development agenda of better incorporating women into the process, they can also be seen as representative of the conditions and predominant local narratives. As an example of this dual purpose narrative, the image sequence shown during Claude Fognole's comments on solidarity mentioned at the beginning of this chapter were of a woman walking through a camp, several women leading a mixed-gender community meeting, and of women organizing and tracking the distribution of food off of a truck to members of the community. Similar series of images and visual narratives appear in a number of the videos reviewed as part of this research. Furthermore the idea that women are at the core of reconstruction efforts is visible in artworks such as that described at the beginning of this paper and others, including a work of graffiti created in Miami to support a Haitian solidarity organization. The artist creates a map of Haiti with a large tear-filled eye at the split in the claw, essentially in the geographic area of Port au Prince. There are four children represented in this image, two girls and two boys. The girls are drawn in activities which further the narrative of women as providers of consolation and nurture, with one wiping the tear from the eye of Haiti, and the other proudly holding a potted plant that sprouts a heart as its bud, thus implicitly supporting the heart of Haiti.

Chapter 5: Opportunity in Haiti

5.1 Opportunities for Change

The earthquake that struck on January 12, 2010, and the resulting disruption of Haiti's physical and social fabric, provides a renewed opportunity for institutions to integrate women into processes of post-disaster reconstruction and to support their efforts towards empowerment. For the international community, this moment in time presents an opportunity to change the approach to gender issues from one that focuses on the vulnerability of women to one that focuses on their agency and capabilities. For Haiti, the process of reconstruction provides an opportunity to build upon pre-existing social movements that are working towards women's empowerment within the country. The purpose of this paper is to understand how these opportunities are grounded in the cultural, historical context of Haiti, and how they can be supported from a broader theoretical perspective.

In her book *Gendered Spaces*, Daphne Spain claims that, "gendered spaces themselves shape, and are shaped by, daily activities. Once in place, they become taken for granted, unexamined, and seemingly immutable. What *is* becomes what *ought* to be, which contributes to the maintenance of prevailing status differences" (Spain 1992, 29). Looking at this statement from the other side, it perhaps follows that through disruption of space, and at least part of the social fabric which created it, there could be significant opportunity to change that which is considered "ought to be." Furthermore, Ahrentzen (2002) reminds us that "multiple and often conflicting cultural or social conditions permeate the production and reproduction of our built settings." In planning post-disaster reconstruction it is critical to consider the social forces that

bring about stability and change within urban environments, and how these multiple conditions reinforce or reinvent a balance in the social and physical fabrics following a major shock.

The household is a central source for social change (Friedman 1987), and in many cultures it is understood that the household is run by women, even if the larger socio-political setting is dominated by men. This also appears to be true in Haiti, a country in which women's lives have a complex and multi-layered history. The Haitian Creole phrase, *fanm se poto mitan*, translated as "woman as center post", is more than just a saying, it is a central theme within Haitian culture and can be found represented in daily conversation, legends, art, and literature. Women play both a critical role within the family, and are seen as important pillars within larger society. As was discussed in Chapter 3, this role, and the perceptions surrounding it, have deep roots within Haitian culture. At the same time, Haitian society has a highly male-dominated socio-political atmosphere in which women have historically been limited in their rights and freedoms by both formal and informal institutions.

The earthquake on January 12, 2010 brought Haiti and the conditions of its people into the international spotlight. Port au Prince, a densely populated city of over two million people and the center of Haiti's limited institutional capacity, was suddenly flattened, and urban living conditions quickly degraded from bad to worse. In the aftermath of this shock, it has become anecdotally apparent that women are playing a vital role in the re-establishment of communication networks, market systems, security, educational opportunities and even whole temporary settlements (see Chapter 4). If the development and relief community, as recent discussions within the field suggest, wishes to focus on leveraging and supporting women, then looking at the underlying local narratives, and the way they develop following a disaster can help

them do this. My research on Haiti suggests that there are three elements which provide a prime opportunity to change the discussion.

First, there is substantial and varied evidence that women are taking an active lead in their communities. From my research on the actions of women and women's organizations following the earthquake, there appear to be three areas in which institutions should focus in order to support existing activities and promote community resilience: networks, economic opportunity, and security. As is suggested by the literature on social capital and resilience, networks are a critical element in responding to crisis events, and rebuilding communities. The example above of the Petit Riviere Shelter Center and the ways in which the camp committee brought its community back together suggest that creating spaces for interaction and cultural activities is a critical step in supporting community networks within Haiti. With forty-two to forty-four percent of Haitian households women-headed (CEDAW 2008), it is clear that economic opportunity for women is of critical concern in relation to future stability within the country. As some of the discussion above shows, training and the establishment of jobs for women will serve to support these efforts in the long-term. And third, without security for both people and material goods, any efforts towards stability and change will be severely challenged. As is evident in the post-earthquake update on the women of the film *Poto Mitan*, in which several women talk about not being able to leave their tents for fear of their own safety, as well as that of a break-in should the tents be left unattended, the lack of security causes significant obstacles for the development of the first two advances in networking and economy (Schuller 2010). Addressing the security needs, as identified by the communities themselves, is a critical component of developing effective reconstruction initiatives.

Secondly, actions by both individual and organized women can be linked to historical and cultural narratives of female strength that pervade Haitian culture. In the film, *Poto Mitan: Haitian Women, Pillars of Global Society,* the narrator tells us that women are at the center of family, of community and of the country. Referring to the stories of Anacona and Défilée described in Chapter 3, as well as the work of the women profiled in the film, she traces a story that connects the work of these women to the generations of women who have come before, and those who will come after. Paired with imagery of a mother braiding her daughter's hair, the narrator creates this continuum through her suggestion that, "Like this you weave your past with your present. Like this you see hope, and this is your testament to the Haitian women who lived, and died, and lived again" (Schuller and Bergan 2009). Consistent with these narratives of continuity and strength, Haitian women continue to be active agents of stability within their families and communities in response to the disruptions and resulting crises caused by the 2010 earthquake. By weaving this new set of stories into historical narratives of resilience, a contemporary narrative can be built that directly relates to a context and situation that is close to the heart of all Haitians. Incorporating these new stories will support the position of women as an essential pillar of Haitian society, and bring greater visibility to their concerns.

Third, the foundations for organizing for social change already exist in Haiti. The past 300 years of Haiti's tumultuous political history has been filled with grassroots movements, rebellions, and community organizing for survival and for change. Women have often been at the center of these movements for their communities, and since the early 1900s have pushed forward their own movements to fight for their rights, security and empowerment. Though these efforts sustained a severe shock in the earthquake through the loss of several prominent feminist leaders, the movements are persistent and growing in strength. Organizations are adapting to the

new environment, integrating the most critical issues into their missions, and serving as a visible framework of stability for communities throughout the country.

By paying attention to and supporting these grassroots processes of resilience, we can help to encourage an approach to post-disaster reconstruction planning in Haiti that focuses on the specific historical and cultural narratives that have supported resilience within the country for over three-hundred years, incorporates gender concerns, and leverages the existing agency and actions of women. In doing so, we set the stage for new approaches to effective post-disaster reconstruction and help to empower women in Haiti to create stronger communities. Disaster provides an opportunity for change, but it is left to those involved in the process of rebuilding to ensure that change happens.

5.2 Synthesis & Recommendations

Connection and linking emerge as common themes in the roles that women and women's organizations play in Haiti. Women and their networks link disparate communities, provide continuity throughout stages of reconstruction, and create ties between modes of intervention. Looking at these roles in the context of post-disaster reconstruction provides a baseline from which to build back better, and support the empowerment of women in Haiti. When the earthquake struck eighteen months ago buildings came crashing down, the social fabric of communities was shredded, and the functionality of national institutions was crippled. And yet, women's networks and organizations persisted and expanded, providing a central source of stability to their communities. Observing the actions of women following the earthquake and mapping the ways in which women's networks have cultivated community resilience reveals opportunities at both grassroots and institutional levels.

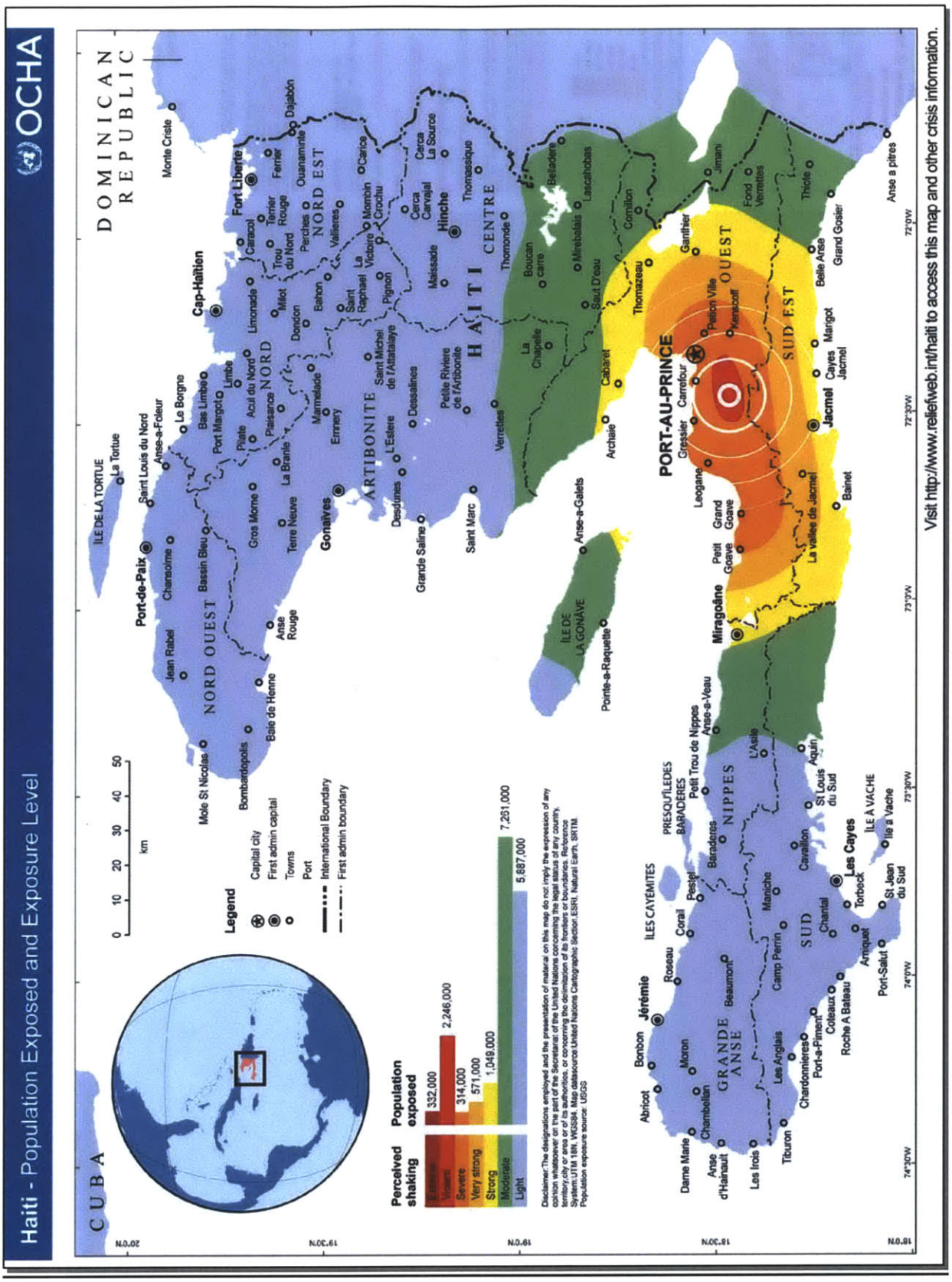
From an institutional perspective, the pre-existing women's networks can serve a vital role in linking types of intervention, and in providing a level of continuity among the phases of reconstruction. As discussed at the outset of this paper, one of the biggest contemporary challenges to post-disaster reconstruction is the coordination of efforts among responding institutions. By partnering with, and genuinely listening to women who are embedded within the communities, external organizations and large scale institutions can better structure their priorities based on the needs of the community. Furthermore, by working with embedded organizations and individuals, institutions can gain continually updated insight into how those priorities are being met, and can adjust their interventions and assistance accordingly or work towards better coordination with other institutional actors to do so. Given the apparent centrality of women to Haitian society, and the ways in which they have been shown to address issues of critical interest to the stability of their communities, it appears that working with women's networks and organizations will provide clear and relevant insight on actionable and effective modes of assistance. Additionally, the proven persistence of women's networks and organizations within Haiti can be leveraged by institutions to support connections and continuity throughout the phases of relief, transition, and reconstruction. In the aftermath of the earthquake many women's networks and organizations are proving themselves to be adaptable to changing contexts, and in so doing remain an important central element of stability in communities. By building on the relationships, communication networks, and common narratives that these organizations share within their communities and among themselves, external institutions, both national and international, can better integrate their phases of intervention and better address some of the existing gulfs between relief, transition, and reconstruction initiatives.

Haitian women's organizations have vast potential to help international and national institutions better weave their initiatives together with community needs. The most important role these organizations play, however, is that of connecting disparate communities to each other. This is a role that can be leveraged at both grassroots and institutional levels, both nationally and internationally. The destruction wrought by the earthquake caused severe spatial disruption and fragmentation of many communities, which in turn led to significant rifts in the social fabric of many of these communities. The deeply rooted nature of many Haitian women's networks, and the apparent strength of communications within them, offer significant opportunities to bridge these rifts. Efforts such as those led by KOFAVIV and the other major women's organizations in Haiti are addressing issues that are of broad concern regardless of their spatial location or boundaries. Given the broadly applicable nature of their work, these organizations have an opportunity to develop both their actions and narrative in a way that can make them a contemporary counterpart to the legends of Anacaona and Défilée. Building on these historical narratives of resilience, Haitian women's organizations can place themselves at the root of a new national narrative, one that emphasizes the centrality of their concerns to the creation of broader social stability and leverages their ability to weave together fragmented elements of society.

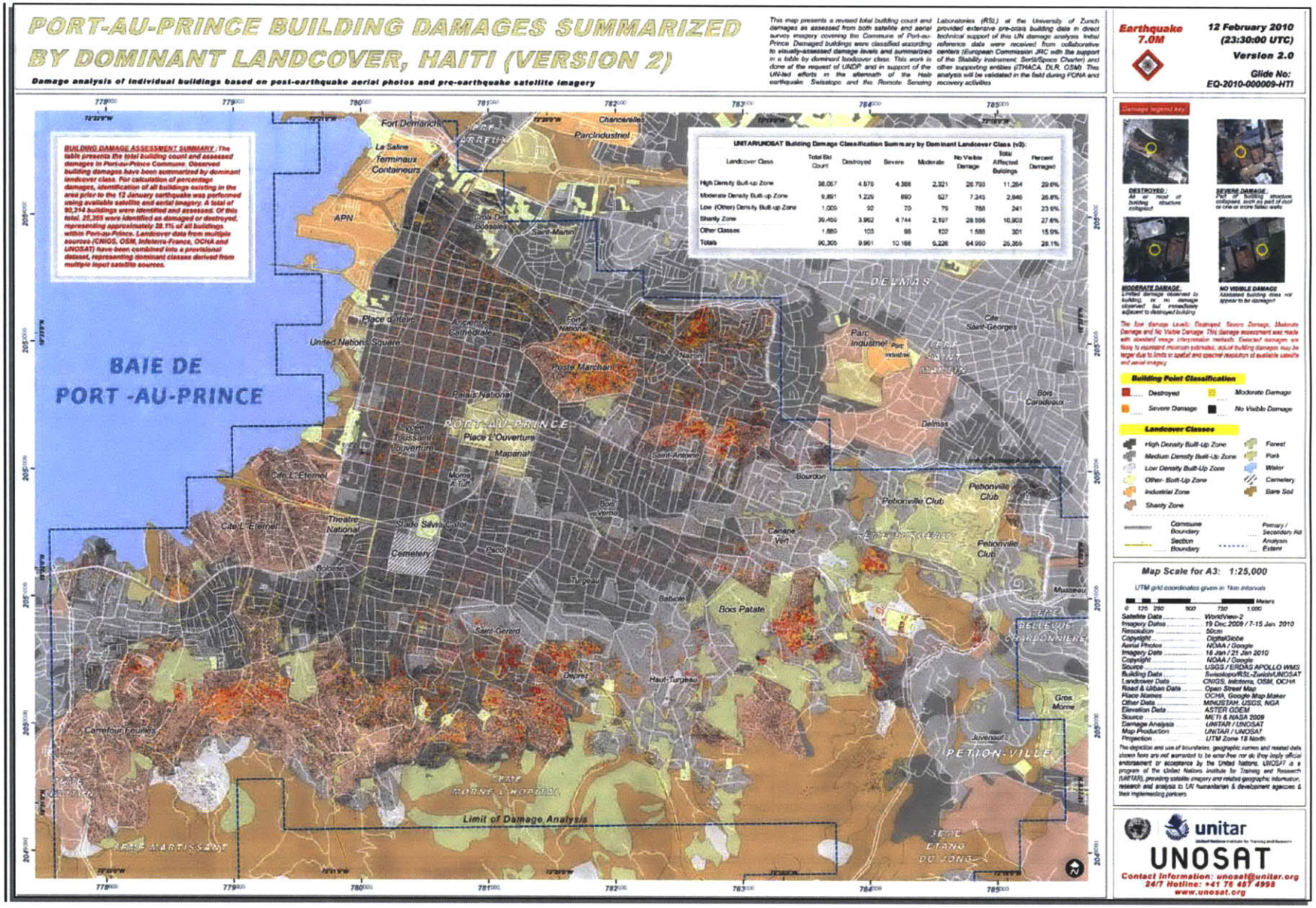
The evidence presented here indicates a wealth of opportunities that could be leveraged towards greater coordination and effectiveness of the ongoing reconstruction efforts in Haiti. However, in order to take action and achieve these goals, it is critical to better understand how exactly women and their organizations are creating a central support structure for their communities, and the specific dynamics of their networks. Moving forward, it would be worthwhile to develop a series of in-depth case studies that identify how Haitian women's organizations have adapted their roles since the earthquake. Furthermore such studies should

show how their actions are linked to the ongoing processes of reconstruction at a grassroots level, and demonstrate critical points of connection for greater coordination among the multitude of reconstruction initiatives. Haitian women and their organizations are already serving as central agents of resilience within their communities, now it is time to support them as *poto mitan* within the nation.

Appendix A: Maps



Charter Call ID 288, SAFER Action No. 24
Glide No. EQ-2010-000026-HTI
Product N° 01
HAITI
Earthquake, January 12, 2010
Population Map
Scale 1:400,000
Location Diagram
Legend
Transportation
Highway
Railroad
Airport
Airfield
Boundaries
State border
Arrondissement border
Points of interest
Hospital
Population (inhabitants/km²)
0 - 100
101 - 250
251 - 500
501 - 2500
2501 - 5000
> 5000
Interpretation
On January 12, 2010 a major earthquake of magnitude 7.0 and depth of 10 km struck southern Haiti at 21:53 UTC. The capital Port-au-Prince was hit severely. Communication collapsed and major damage to buildings and infrastructure was reported.
The Map shows the epicentre of the earthquake and the population density (2003 data) for the Arrondissements
Cartographic information
Local projection: UTM Zone 18 North, Datum: WGS84
Geographic projection: Lat/Lon (DMS), Datum: WGS-84
Scale: 1:400,000 for A1 prints
Data Sources
Population Data © IHSI 2003
Vector Data © GADM 2010, GoogleEarth 2010, © ESRI® 2009
Raster Data © ESRI® Data & Maps 9.3
Framework
The products elaborated for this Rapid Mapping Activity are realised to the best of our ability, within a very short time frame, during a crisis/exercise, optimising the material available. All geographic information has limitations due to the scale, resolution, date and interpretation of the original source materials. No liability concerning the content of the use thereof is assumed by the producer.
Map produced on: January 13, 2010, 6:30 PM UTC by ZKI
Map updated on January 13, 2010, 6:30 PM UTC by ZKI
© DLR 2010
zki@dlr.de
http://www.zki.dlr.de
Center for Satellite Based Crisis Information
- Emergency Mapping & Disaster Monitoring -
German Remote Sensing Data Center
German Aerospace Center
DLR


PORT-AU-PRINCE BUILDING DAMAGES SUMMARIZED BY DOMINANT LANDCOVER, HAITI (VERSION 2)
Damage analysis of individual buildings based on post-earthquake aerial photos and pre-earthquake satellite imagery
This map presents a revised total building count and damages as assessed from both satellite and aerial survey imagery covering the Commune of Port-au-Prince. Damaged buildings were classified according to visually-assessed damage levels and summarized in a table by dominant landcover class. This work is done at the request of UNDP and in support of the UN-led efforts in the aftermath of the Haiti earthquake. Swissatopo and the Remote Sensing Laboratories (RSL) at the University of Zurich provided extensive pre-crisis building data in direct technical support of this UN damage analysis. Initial reference data were received from collaborative centers (European Commission JRC with the support of the Stability Instrument SentiNSpace Charter) and other supporting entities (ITHACA, DLR, OSM). This analysis will be validated in the field during FDNA and recovery activities
BUILDING DAMAGE ASSESSMENT SUMMARY : The table presents the total building count and assessed damages in Port-au-Prince Commune. Observed building damages have been summarized by dominant landcover class. For calculation of percentage damages, identification of all buildings existing in the area prior to the 12 January earthquake was performed using available satellite and aerial imagery. A total of 90,314 buildings were identified and assessed. Of this total, 28,355 were identified as damaged or destroyed, representing approximately 28.1% of all buildings within Port-au-Prince. Landcover data from multiple sources (CNIGS, OSM, Infoterra-France, OCHA and UNOSAT) have been combined into a provisional dataset, representing dominant classes derived from multiple input satellite sources.
UNITAR/UNOSAT Building Damage Classification Summary by Dominant Landcover Class (v2):
Landcover Class | Total Bld Count | Destroyed | Severe | Moderate | No Visible Damage | Total Affected Buildings | Percent Damaged
High Density Built-up Zone | 38,057 | 4,676 | 4,388 | 2,321 | 26,793 | 11,264 | 29.6%
Moderate Density Built-up Zone | 9,891 | 1,229 | 890 | 527 | 7,245 | 2,646 | 26.8%
Low (Other) Density Built-up Zone | 1,009 | 92 | 70 | 79 | 768 | 241 | 23.9%
Shanty Zone | 39,459 | 3,962 | 4,744 | 2,197 | 28,556 | 10,903 | 27.6%
Other Classes | 1,880 | 103 | 66 | 102 | 1,588 | 301 | 15.9%
Totals | 90,305 | 9,961 | 10,168 | 5,226 | 64,950 | 25,355 | 28.1%
BAIE DE PORT -AU-PRINCE
PORT-AU-PRINCE
DELMAS
PETION-VILLE
Limit of Damage Analysis
Earthquake 7.0M
12 February 2010 (23:30:00 UTC)
Version 2.0
Glide No: EQ-2010-000009-HTI
Damage legend key:
DESTROYED : All or most of building structure collapsed
SEVERE DAMAGE : Part of building structure collapsed, such as part of roof or one or more failed walls
MODERATE DAMAGE : Limited damage observed to building, or no damage observed but immediately adjacent to destroyed building
NO VISIBLE DAMAGE : Assessed building does not appear to be damaged
The five damage levels: Destroyed, Severe Damage, Moderate Damage and No Visible Damage. This damage assessment was made with standard image interpretation methods. Because damages are likely to represent minimum estimates, actual building damages may be larger due to limits in spatial and spectral resolution of available satellite and aerial imagery.
Building Point Classification
Destroyed
Severe Damage
Moderate Damage
No Visible Damage
Landcover Classes
High Density Built-Up Zone
Medium Density Built-Up Zone
Low Density Built-Up Zone
Other- Built-Up Zone
Industrial Zone
Shanty Zone
Forest
Park
Water
Cemetery
Bare Soil
Commune Boundary
Section Boundary
Primary / Secondary Rd
Analysis Extent
Map Scale for A3: 1:25,000
UTM grid coordinates given in 1km intervals
Meters
0 125 250 500 750 1,000
Satellite Data ... WorldView-2
Imagery Dates ... 15 Dec 2009 / 7-15 Jan 2010
Resolution ... 50cm
Copyright ... DigitalGlobe
Aerial Photos ... NOAA / Google
Imagery Date ... 16 Jan / 21 Jan 2010
Copyright ... NOAA / Google
Source ... USGS / ERDAS APOLLO WMS
Building Data ... Swissatopo/RSL-Zurich/UNOSAT
Landcover Data ... CNIGS, Infoterra, OSM, OCHA
Road & Urban Data ... Open Street Map
Place Names ... OCHA, Google Map Maker
Other Data ... MINUSTAH, USGS, NGA
Elevation Data ... ASTER GDEM
Source ... METI & NASA 2009
Damage Analysis ... UNITAR / UNOSAT
Map Production ... UNITAR / UNOSAT
Projection ... UTM Zone 18 North
The depiction and use of boundaries, geographic names and related data shown here are not warranted to be error-free nor do they imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations. UNOSAT is a program of the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR), providing satellite imagery and related geographic information, research and analysis to UN humanitarian & development agencies & their implementing partners.
unitar
UNOSAT
Contact Information: unosat@unitar.org
24/7 Hotline: +41 76 487 4998
www.unosat.org

COMPREHENSIVE BUILDING DAMAGE ASSESSMENT FOR PORT-AU-PRINCE COMMUNE, HAITI

Damage analysis of individual buildings based on post-earthquake aerial photos and pre-earthquake satellite imagery

This map presents a total building count and damages as assessed from both satellite and aerial survey imagery covering the Commune of Port-au-Prince. Damaged buildings were classified according to visually-assessed damage levels and summarized in a table by Commune Sector. This work is done at the request of UNDP, and in support of the UN-led efforts in the aftermath of the Haiti earthquake. Swisstopo provided extensive pre-crisis building data in direct technical support of this UN damage analysis. Initial reference data were received from collaborative centers (European Commission JRC with the support of the Stability Instrument, SentiNSpace Charter) and other supporting entities (ITHACA, DLR, OSM). This analysis will be validated in the field during PDNA and recovery activities.

Earthquake 7.0M

3 February 2010 (20:30:00 UTC)

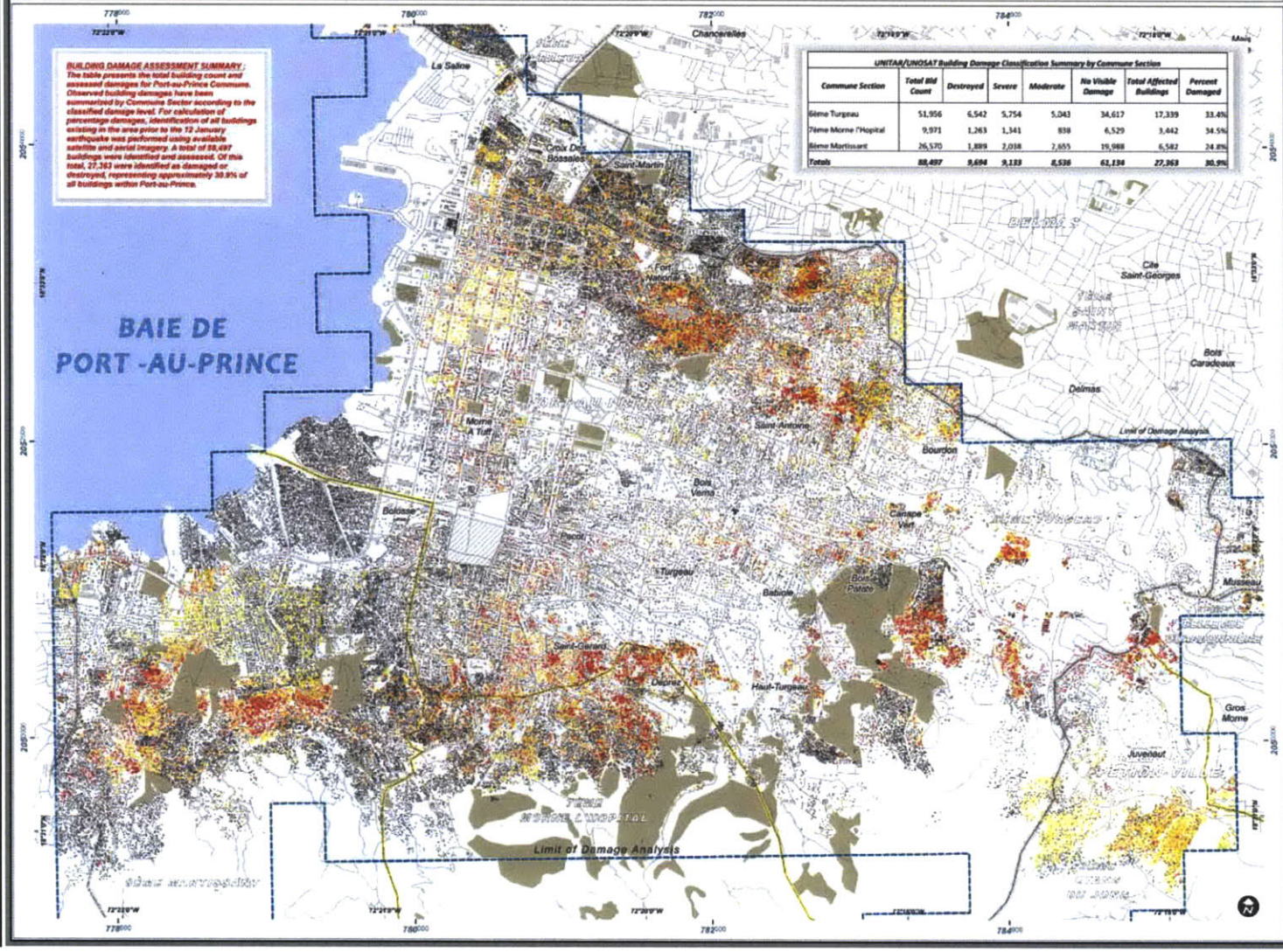
Version 1.0

Glide No: EQ-2010-000009-HTI

BUILDING DAMAGE ASSESSMENT SUMMARY :
The table presents the total building count and assessed damages for Port-au-Prince Commune. Observed building damages have been summarized by Commune Sector according to the classified damage level. For calculation of percentage damages, identification of all buildings existing in the area prior to the 12 January earthquake was performed using available satellite and aerial imagery. A total of 88,497 buildings were identified and assessed. Of this total, 27,363 were identified as damaged or destroyed, representing approximately 30.9% of all buildings within Port-au-Prince.

UNITAR/UNOSAT Building Damage Classification Summary by Commune Section

Commune Section	Total Bld Count	Destroyed	Severe	Moderate	No Visible Damage	Total Affected Buildings	Percent Damaged
6ème Turgeau	51,956	6,542	5,754	5,043	34,617	17,339	33.4%
7ème Morne l'Hopital	9,971	1,263	1,341	838	6,529	3,442	34.5%
8ème Martissant	26,570	1,889	2,038	2,655	19,988	6,582	24.8%
Totals	**88,497**	**9,694**	**9,133**	**8,536**	**61,134**	**27,363**	**30.9%**



Damage Legend Key:

DESTROYED : All or most of building structure collapsed

SEVERE DAMAGE : Part of building structure collapsed, such as part of roof or one or more fallen walls

MODERATE DAMAGE : Limited damage observed to building, or no damage observed but immediately adjacent to destroyed building

NO VISIBLE DAMAGE Assessed building does not appear to be damaged

The four damage Levels Destroyed, Severe Damage, Moderate Damage and No Visible Damage. This damage assessment was made with standard image interpretation methods. Detected damages are likely to represent minimum estimates, actual building damages may be larger due to limits in spatial and spectral resolution of available satellite and aerial imagery.

Building Point Classification

- Destroyed
- Severe Damage
- Moderate Damage
- No Visible Damage

Main Building Complex; Water Body; Park / Forest; Cemetery; Commune Boundary; Primary / Secondary Rd; Section Boundary; Analysis Extent

Map Scale for A3: 1:25,000

UTM grid coordinates given in 2km intervals

0 125 250 500 750 1,000 Meters

Satellite Data	WorldView-2
Imagery Dates	19 Dec 2009 / 7-15 Jan 2010
Resolution	50cm
Copyright	DigitalGlobe
Aerial Photos	NOAA / Google
Imagery Date	18 Jan / 21 Jan 2010
Copyright	NOAA / Google
Source	ERDAS APOLLO WMS
Building Data	Swisstopo / UNOSAT
Road & Urban Data	Open Street Map
Place Names	OCHA, Google Map Maker
Other Data	MINUSTAH, USGS, NGA
Elevation Data	ASTER GDEM
Source	METI & NASA 2009
Damage Analysis	UNITAR / UNOSAT
Map Production	UNITAR / UNOSAT
Projection	UTM Zone 18 North
Datum	WAD-83

The depiction and use of boundaries, geographic names and related data shown here are not warranted to be error-free nor do they imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations. UNOSAT is a program of the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR), providing satellite imagery and related geographic information, research and analysis to UN humanitarian & development agencies & their implementing partners

unitar
UNOSAT

Contact Information: unosat@unitar.org
24/7 Hotline: +41 76 487 4998
www.unosat.org

IDP SITES IN
PORT-AU-PRINCE COMMUNE
Legend
Camps Points
Camps Polygons
Roads
Other
Administrative Boundary
Cité Soleil
Delmas
Carrefour
Port-au-Prince
Petion-ville
A2
B2
B3
B4
C1
C2
C3
C4

Appendix B: Statistics and Development Indicators

Economic Indicators: Haiti

Human Poverty Index Rank (2009) .....97 out of 135 countries
GDP per capita (2008)..... US $729
GDP growth (2008) 1.3%
Inflation Rate (2008).....15.5%
Ratio of the richest 10% to the poorest 10% (1992-2007).....54.4%
Population living below US$2 per day (2000-2007).....72.1%
Remittance inflows (2008).....US$1.300 million
Remittance inflows as a share of GDP (2007).....18.7%
ODA funding received (2008).....US$912 million
Non-ODA funding for peacekeeping operations (2008).....US$575 million
ODA per capita (2008).....US$92

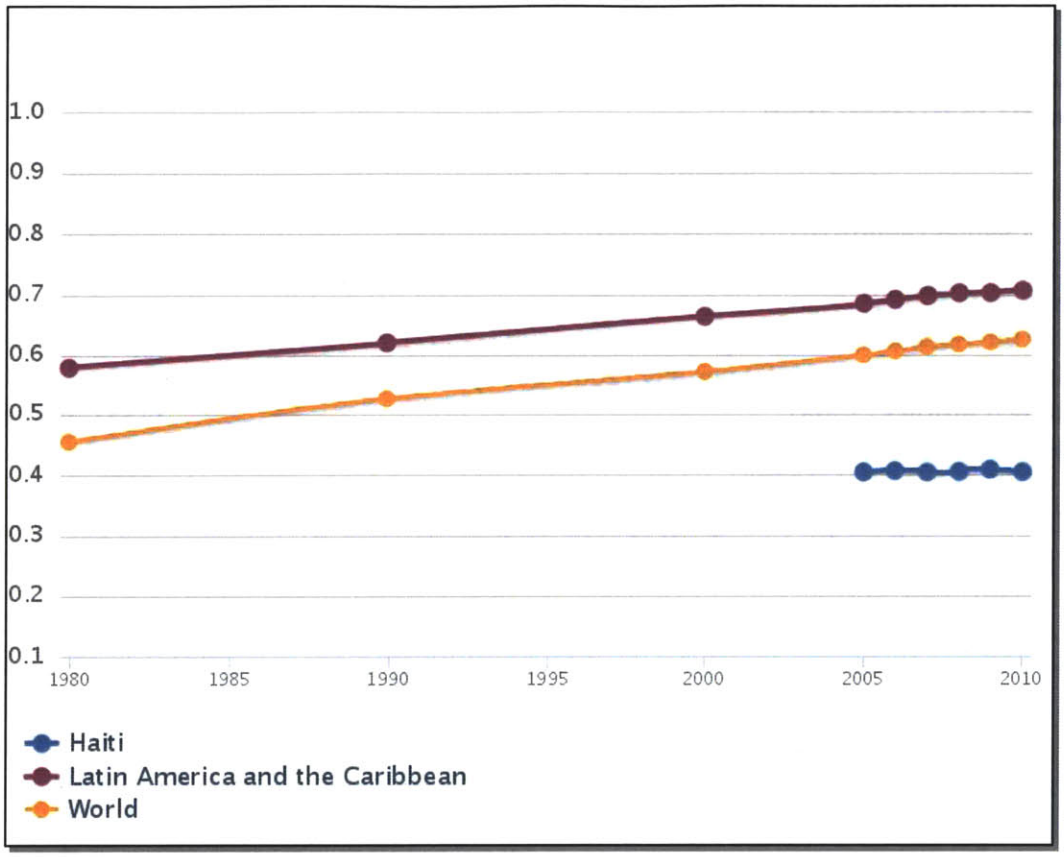
Source: *Haiti Earthquake Response: Context Analysis*, ALNAP, July 2010

Health	Life expectancy at birth (years)	61.7
Education	Mean years of schooling (of adults) (years)	4.9
Income	GNI per capita (2008 PPP US$) LN	6.9
Inequality	Inequality-adjusted HDI value	0.239
Poverty	Multidimensional poverty index (k greater than or equal to 3)	0.306
Gender	Gender Inequality Index, value	0.739

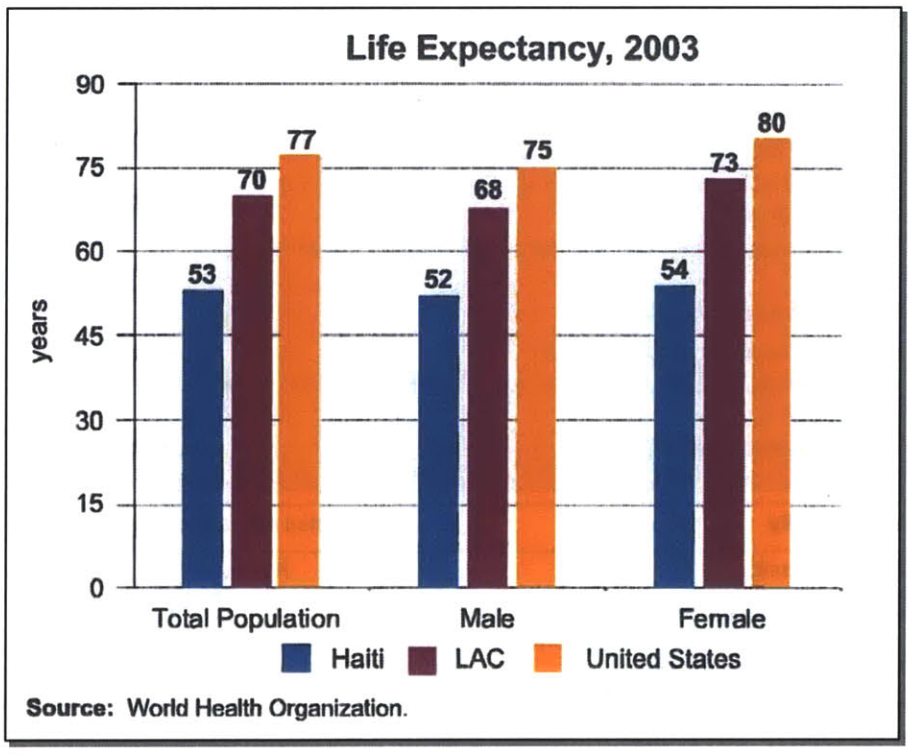
Indicator	Value	Notes
Maternal mortality ratio (deaths of women per100,000 live births)	670	1
Population with at least secondary education, female/male ratio	0.619	
Adolescent fertility rate (women aged 15-19 years) (births per 1,000 women aged 15-19)	46.4	
Labour force participation rate, female/male ratio (Ratio of female to male shares)	n.a.	
Gender Inequality Index, value	0.739	1
Shares in parliament, female-male ratio	0.050	
Maternal mortality ratio (new estimates) (deaths of women per100,000 live births)	300	
Gender Inequality Index (updated)	0.705	

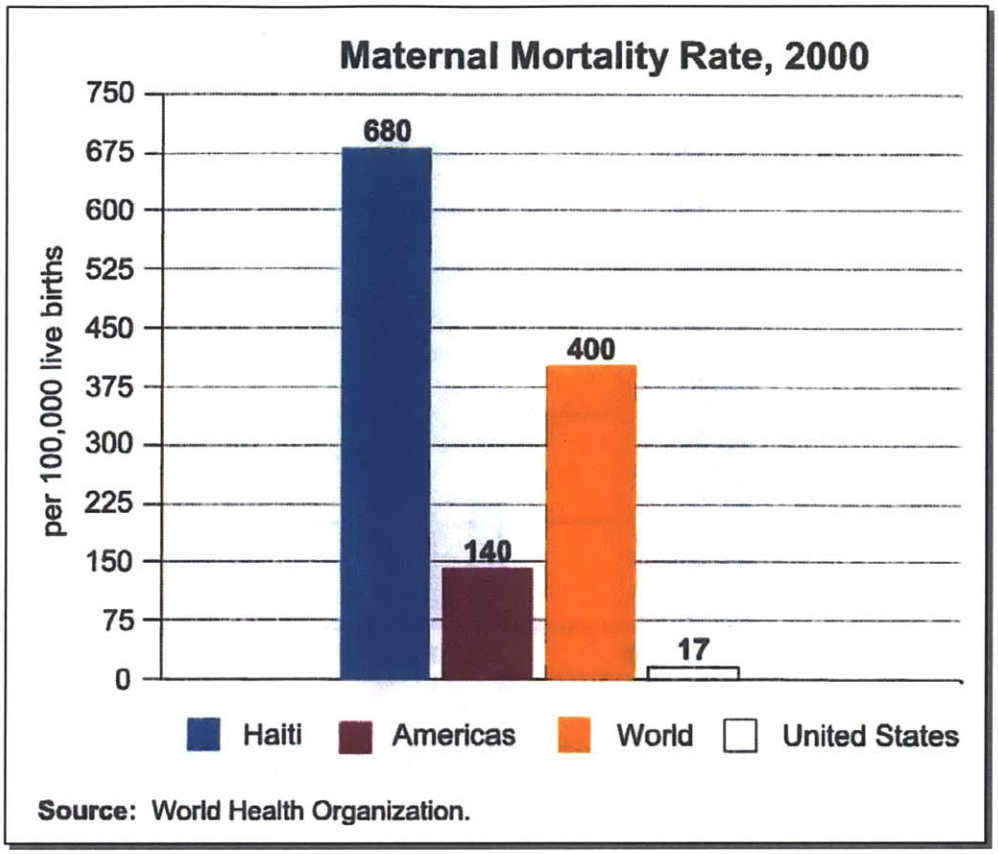
Sustainability	Adjusted net savings (% of GNI)	n.a.
Human Security	Refugees (thousands)	23.1
Composite indices	HDI value	0.404
Human Development Index	Rank	145

Source: UNDP 2011, http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/HTI.html

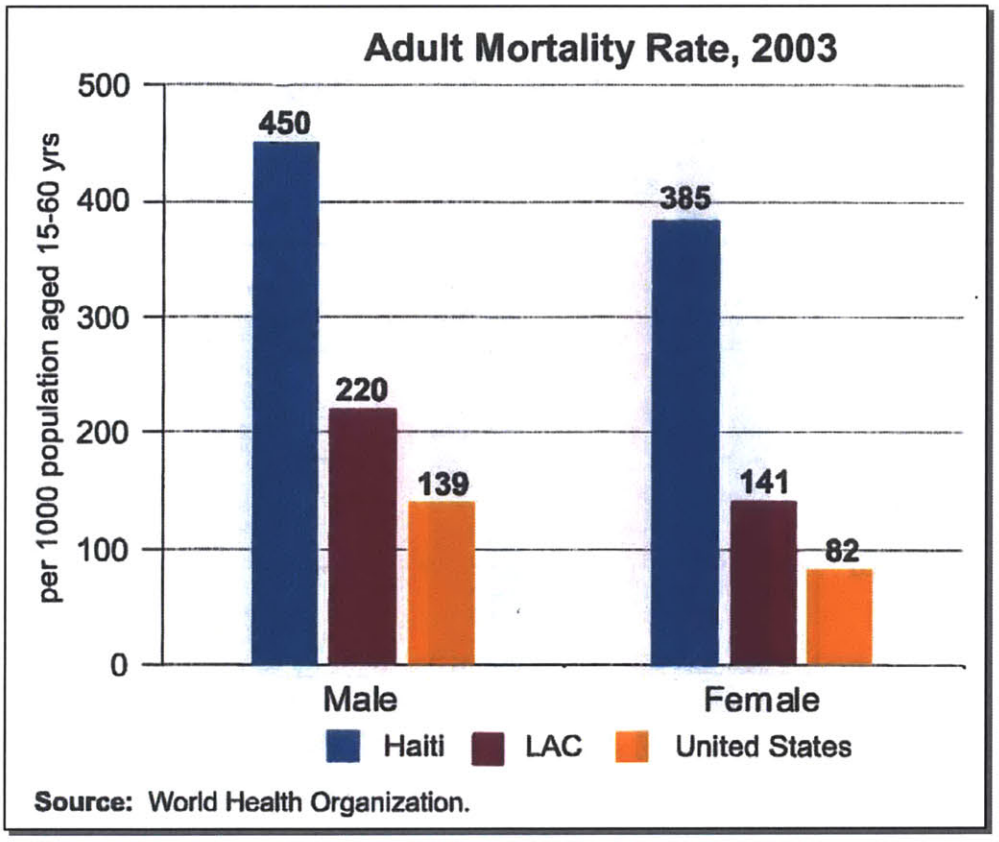


Source: UNDP 2011, http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/HTI.html

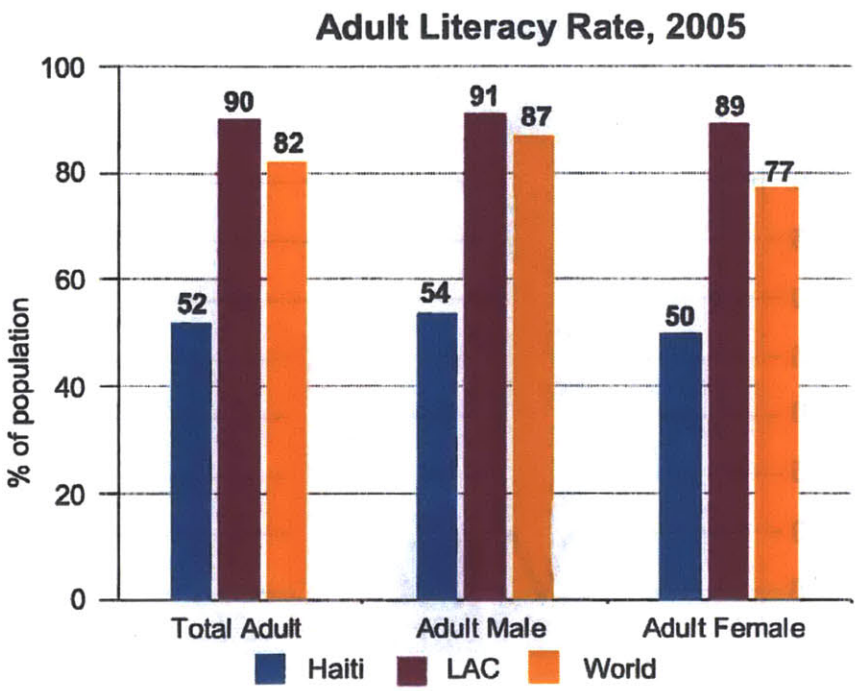




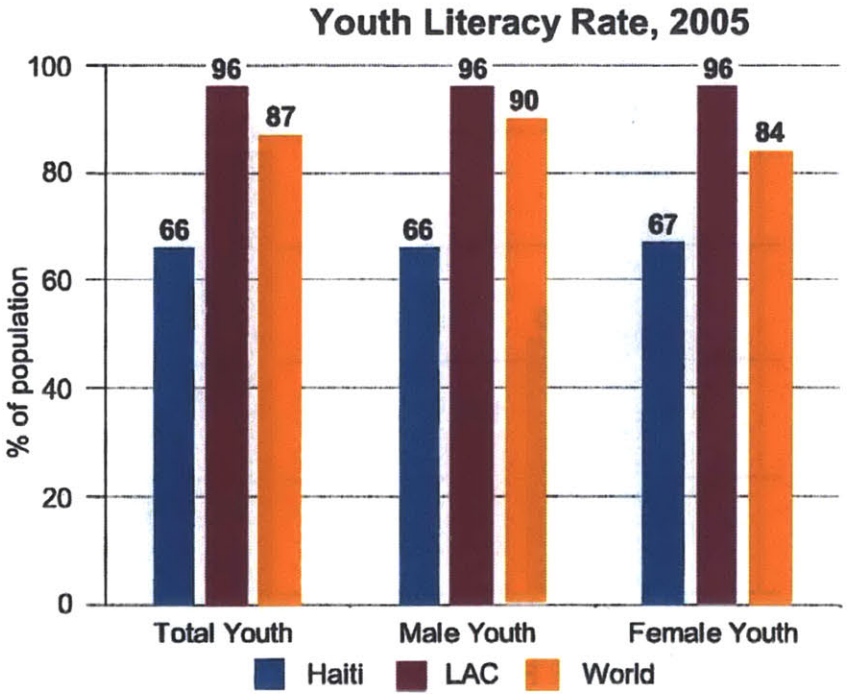
Source: World Health Organization.



Source: World Health Organization.



Source: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.



Source: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

Appendix C: List of References

Abbanat, Cherie. 2010. Informal Interview. March 9.

ActionAid International. 2010. *Reconstruction in Haiti - ActionAid.* March 17. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4VxEkYb-G_I&feature=youtube_gdata_player.

ActionAidUK. 2010. *ActionAid: Protecting Women in Haiti.* March 8. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HYGm_VUb_ug&feature=youtube_gdata_player.

ActionAidUSA. 2010. *ActionAid: Cash for Work Program-Haiti.* July 8. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oPEE3g-XFd8&feature=youtube_gdata_player.

Adger, W. Neil. 2000. "Social and ecological resilience: are they related?" *Progress in Human Geography* 24 (3): 347 -364. doi:10.1191/030913200701540465.

Aguirre, B.E. 2006. On the Concept of Resilience: Preliminary Paper #356. Disaster Research Center, University of Delaware. http://dspace.udel.edu:8080/dspace/handle/19716/2517.

Ahrentzen, Sherry. 2002. Socio-Behavioral Qualities of the Built Environment. In *Handbook of Environmental Sociology*, ed. Riley E Dunlap and William Michelson, 70-95. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Akerkar, Supriya. 2007. "Disaster Mitigation and Furthering Women's Rights: Learning from the Tsunami." *Gender, Technology and Development* 11 (3) (November): 357-388.

Altman, Irwin, and Arza Churchman. 1994. Women and the Environment: A Perspective on Research, Design, and Policy. In *Women and the Environment*, ed. Irwin Altman and Arza Churchman. New York: Plenum Press.

Anderson, Mary B. 1989. *Rising from the Ashes: Development Strategies in Times of Disaster.* Boulder: Westview Press.

Anon. 2005. "Report of the Task Force on Education and Gender Equality: Taking Action: Achieving Gender Equality and Empowering Women." *Studies in Family Planning* 36 (2) (June): 148-157.

Anon. 2010a. *Women in Haiti... The Guardians of History.* February 5. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A_jypPg21Ks&feature=youtube_gdata_player.

Anon. 2010b. *Panel on Haitian Women and Reconstruction.* May 14. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zSC5Dc4RVWo&feature=youtube_gdata_player.

Anon. 2010c. Haiti - Inauguration: Important moments of the speech of Michel Martelly. *Haiti Libre: Haiti news, the haitian people's voice.* May 15. http://www.haitilibre.com/en/news-2957-haiti-inauguration-important-moments-of-the-speech-of-michel-martelly.html.

Associated Press. 2010. "Haiti's Continuing Cholera Outbreak." *The New York Times*, November 1, sec. Opinion. http://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/11/opinion/11wed3.html?scp=1&sq=haiti%20cholera%20un&st=cse.

Bell, Beverly. 2001. *Walking on Fire: Haitian Women's Stories of Survival and Resistance.* illustrated edition. Cornell University Press, December.

———. 2010a. Magalie Marcelin. *Other Worlds Are Possible.* February 18. http://www.otherworldsarepossible.org/just-alternative-haiti/magalie-marcelin.

———. 2010b. "Our Bodies are Shaking Now" - Rape Follows Earthquake in Haiti. *Other Worlds Are Possible.* March 4. http://www.otherworldsarepossible.org/another-haiti-possible/our-bodies-are-shaking-now-rape-follows-earthquake-haiti.

———. 2010c. Haitian Women Mourn the Dead and Recommit to the Living (International Women's Day Part I). *Other Worlds Are Possible.* March 8.

http://www.otherworldsarepossible.org/another-haiti-possible/haitian-women-mourn-dead-and-recommit-living-international-womens-day-part-i.
———. 2010d. A History of Haitian Women's Involvement (International Women's Day Part II). *Other Worlds Are Possible*. March 10. http://www.otherworldsarepossible.org/another-haiti-possible/history-haitian-womens-involvement-international-womens-day-part-ii.
———. 2010e. Where Solidarity Means Survival: Lessons for the Policy Makers (Part 1). *Other Worlds Are Possible*. March 19. http://www.otherworldsarepossible.org/another-haiti-possible/where-solidarity-means-survival-lessons-policy-makers-part-1.
———. 2010f. Where Solidarity Means Survival: Lessons for the Policy Makers (Part 2). *Other Worlds Are Possible*. March 22. http://www.otherworldsarepossible.org/another-haiti-possible/where-solidarity-means-survival-lessons-policy-makers-part-1.
———. 2010g. From Disaster to Solidarity: Best Practices in Meeting the Needs of Haiti's Earthquake Survivors. Other Worlds are Possible, April. http://www.otherworldsarepossible.org/another-haiti-possible/disaster-aid-report.
———. 2010h. Broadcasting Women's Voices in Haiti's Reconstruction: Women's Community Radio. *Other Worlds Are Possible*. April 22. http://www.otherworldsarepossible.org/another-haiti-possible/broadcasting-womens-voices-haitis-reconstruction-womens-community-radio.
———. 2010i. The Urgency of Housing in Haiti: First Priority in Addressing Widespread Rape (Part I). *Other Worlds Are Possible*. May 4. http://www.otherworldsarepossible.org/another-haiti-possible/urgency-housing-haiti-first-priority-addressing-widespread-rape-part-i.
———. 2010j. Thinking About Ourselves and Our Future: Rural Haitian Women Organize. *Other Worlds Are Possible*. May 27. http://www.otherworldsarepossible.org/another-haiti-possible/thinking-about-ourselves-and-our-future-rural-haitian-women-organize.
———. 2010k. Haitian refugee camps model future society. August 25. http://www.haitisupportgroup.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=396:haitian-refugee-camps-model-future-society&catid=99:analysis&Itemid=256.
———. 2010l. Getting Their Reward on Earth: Haitian Social Movements and Reconstruction. *The Huffington Post*. September 23. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/beverly-bell/getting-their-reward-on-e_b_736357.html.
Bello, Maria. 2011. Women Key to Haitian Rebuilding. *The Huffington Post*. March 7. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/maria-bello/women-key-to-haitian-rebu_b_831720.html.
Bengtsson, Linus, Xin Lu, Richard Garfield, Anna Thorson, and Johan von Schreeb. 2010. Internal Population Displacement in Haiti. Karolinska Insitutet and Columbia University, May 14. http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/reliefweb_pdf/node-355781.pdf.
Berke, Philip R., Jack Kartez, and Dennis Wenger. 1993. "Recovery after Disaster: Achieving Sustainable Development, Mitigation and Equity." *Disasters* 17 (2): 93-109. doi:10.1111/j.1467-7717.1993.tb01137.x.
Bordieu, Peter. 1985. The Forms of Capital. In *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. JG Richardson. New York: Greenwood Press.
Bossen, L. 1975. "women in modernizing societies." *American Ethnologist* 2 (4): 587.
Bradshaw, Sarah. 2002. "Exploring the gender dimensions of reconstruction processes post-Hurricane Mitch." *Journal of International Development* 14 (6) (August): 871 - 879.
Bradshaw, Sarah, Nations United, and Nations United. 2004. *Socio-Economic Impacts of Natural Disasters: A Gender Analysis*. Santiago de Chile: United Nations.

Braziel, Jana Evans. 2004. "Défilée's diasporic daughters: revolutionary narratives of Ayiti (Haiti), nanchon (nation), and dyaspora (diaspora) in Edwidge Danticat's Krik? Krak!" *Studies in the Literary Imagination*. Literature Online: 77.

———. 2005. "Re-membering Défilé: Dédée Bazile as Revolutionary Lieu de Mémoire." *Small Axe* 9 (2): 57-85.

Briceno, Sálvano. 2002. Gender Mainstreaming in Disaster Reduction. United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Reduction, March 1.

Brickman Raredon, Anya, and Christopher DeVries. 2010. Post Disaster Redevelopment: A Spatial Framework for Debate presented at the United Nations World Urban Forum, March, Rio de Janeiro.

Brown, David D, and Judith Celine Kulig. 1996. "The concepts of resiliency: Theoretical lessons from community research." *Health and Canadian Society* 4: 29-52.

Brown, Karen Mccarthy. 1996. "Art and Resistance: Haiti's Political Murals, October 1994." *African Arts* 29 (2): 46-102.

Buss, Terry F. 2008. *Haiti in the Balance: Why Foreign Aid Has Failed and What We Can Do About It*. Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution Press.

Cadet, Dorothy. 2010. Interview. March 14.

CCCM. 2011. Displacement Tracking Matrix: V2.0 Update. International Organization of Migration, March 16. http://www.cccmhaiti.info/pdf/DTM_V2_Report_15_Mar_English%20_FINAL3.pdf.

CEDAW. 2008. Implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Womend CEDAW: Combined Reports 1982, 1986, 1990, 19994, 1998, 2002, and 2006. United Nations, July 9. http://www.haitispecialenvoy.org/download/About_Haiti/women_01_haiti_cedaw_c_hti_7_2008.pdf.

Charles, Carolle. 1995. "Gender and Politics in Contemporary Haiti: The Duvalierist State, Transnationalism, and the Emergence of a New Feminism (1980-1990)." *Feminist Studies* 21 (1): 135-164.

———. 2010. "A Personal Testimony to the loss of the Haitian Women's Movement." *Ki Nouvèl: The Haitian Studies Association Newsletter* 4 (2): 12.

Charles, Jacqueline. 2010. "Out of the ruins, a new role for Haitian women." *Miami Herald*, July 4. http://www.miamiherald.com/2010/07/04/1714882/out-of-the-ruins-a-new-role-for.html.

———. 2011. "Manigat campaigns on her own terms for Haiti presidency." *Miami Herald*, March 13. http://www.miamiherald.com/2011/03/13/2112254/manigat-campaigns-on-her-own-terms.html.

CIA World Factbook. 2010. Haiti Country Page. https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ha.html.

Cohen, Cindy. 1983. "Building Multicultural and Intergenerational Networks through Oral History." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 7 (1): 98-102.

Coleman, Isobel, and Mary Ellen Iskenderian. 2010. "Putting Women at the Center of Building Back Better in Haiti." *Innovations* Special Edition. http://www.clintonglobalinitiative.org/NewsMedia/publications/innovations/INNOVATIONS-CGI_Build-Back-Better_Coleman-Iskenderian.pdf.

Comhaire-Sylvain, Suzanne. 1938. "Creole Tales from Haiti." *The Journal of American Folklore* 51 (201) (September): 219-346.

Cosentino, Donald J., and Robert Farris Thompson. 1992. "Interview with Robert Farris Thompson." *African Arts* 25 (4) (October): 53-63.
Cynn, Christine. 2008. "Nou Mande Jistis! (We Demand Justice!): Reconstituting Community and Victimhood in Raboteau, Haiti." *Women's Studies Quarterly* 36 (1/2): 42-57.
Danticat, Edwidge. 1998. *Breath, Eyes, Memory*. Vintage, May.
Darke, Jane, Sue Ledwith, and Roberta Woods. 2000. *Women and the City: Visibility and Voice in Urban Space*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave.
Dayan, Joan. 1994. "Erzulie: A Women's History of Haiti." *Research in African Literatures* 25 (2): 5-31.
———. 1998. *Haiti, History, and the Gods*. University of California Press, March 10.
Deare, Fredericka. 2004. A methodological approach to gender analysis in natural disaster assessment: a guide for the Caribbean. United Nations Susatinable Development and Human Settlements Division, May. http://www.eclac.cl/publicaciones/xml/4/19574/lcl2123i.pdf.
Deren, Maya. 1983. *Divine Horsemen: The Living Gods of Haiti*. McPherson, October 1.
Dettmar, Lisa. *Beverly Bell and Edwidge Danticat on Haitian Women*. Other Worlds are Possible. http://www.otherworldsarepossible.org/another-haiti-possible/beverly-bell-and-edwidge-danticat-haitian-women-audio.
Doubossarskaia, Liza. Women of Haiti: A Violent History and Uncertain Future. National Organization for Women. *National Orgnization for Women*. http://www.now.org/issues/global/030910haiti-b.html.
Dunlap, Riley E, and William Michelson, eds. 2002. *Handbook of Environmental Sociology*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
Enarson, Elaine. 1998. "Through Women's Eyes: A Gendered Research Agenda for Disaster Social Science." *Disasters* 22 (2) (June 1): 157.
Enarson, Elaine, and Alice Fothergill. 2007. Gender and Disaster: Foundations and Directions. In *Handbook of Disaster Research*, by Havidán Rodríguez, Enrico L. Quarantelli, and Russell R. Dynes, 130-146. Handbooks of Sociology and Social Research. Springer New York. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-32353-4_8.
Enarson, Elaine, and Lourdes Meyereles. 2004. "International Perspectives on Gender and Disaster: Differences and Possibilities." *The International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* 24 (10/11): 49.
Enarson, Elaine, and Betty Hearn Morrow. 1998. *The Gendered Terrain of Disaster: Through Women's Eyes*. Praeger Publishers, June 30.
Ensler, Eve. 2011. For the Builders, the Planters, and the Refusers, on the 100th Anniversary of International Women's Day. *The Huffington Post*. March 8. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/eve-ensler/for-the-builders-the-plan_b_832654.html.
Ensor, Marisa O, ed. 2009. *The Legacy of Hurricane Mitch: Lessons from Post-Disaster Reconstruction in Honduras*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
Farmer, Paul, and for Health and Social Justice Institute. 2003. *The Uses of Haiti*. 2nd ed. Monroe, Me: Common Courage Press.
Femenía, Nora Amalia, and Carlos Ariel Gil. 1987. "Argentina's Mothers of Plaza de Mayo: The Mourning Process from Junta to Democracy." *Feminist Studies* 13 (1) (April 1): 9-18. doi:10.2307/3177832.
Ferree, Myra Marx, and Patricia Yancey Martin, eds. 1995. *Feminist Organizations: Harvest of the New Women's Movement*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Fester, Gertrude. 1994. "Women's Rights Are Human Rights." *Agenda* (20): 76-79.
Florvilus, Patrice. 2011. The Return of Dictator Jean Claude Duvalier & The Tragic Comedy of November 28, 2010. *Insitute for Justice and Democracy in Haiti*. January. http://ijdh.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/Duvalier-Article-Patrice-ENG.pdf.
Fuller, A. 1999. "Challenging Violence: Haitian Women Unite Women's Rights and Human Rights." *Association of Concerned Africa Scholars Special Bulletin on Women and War*. http://haitiforever.com/windowsonhaiti/w99351.shtml.
Gell, Annie. 2011. Interview. April 4.
Global Fund For Women. 2010. *Women Hold the Solutions: Collective Action for Women in Haiti*. February 22. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=maTd1j-FRv8&feature=youtube_gdata_player.
Goethert, Reinhard. 2010. Interview on Incremental Housing Strategies Interview by Martha Bonilla. February.
Gordon, J.E. 1978. *Structures: Or Why Things Don't Fall Down*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books.
Government of the Republic of Haiti. 2010a. Action Plan for the National Recovery and Development of Haiti. Government of the Republic of Haiti, March. http://www.refondation.ht/resources/Action_Plan_12April.pdf.
———. 2010b. Haiti Earthquake PDNA: Assessment of damage, losses, general and sectoral needs. Government of the Republic of Haiti, March. http://www.refondation.ht/resources/PDNA_Working_Document.pdf.
Granovetter, Mark. 1973. "The Strength of Weak Ties." *American Journal of Sociology* 78 (6): 1360-1380.
Grimaud, Jérôme. 2010. "Religion, Resilience and Neutrality: Considerations for Providing Psychosocial Support in Haiti and Other Post-Disaster Contexts." *Anthropology News* 51 (7): 23-24.
Haiti Advocacy Coalition. 2010. Haitian Led Reconstruction and Development: A compilation of recommendation documents from several Haitian civil society and diaspora conferences, organizations and coalitions. Haiti Advocacy Coalition, March 29.
Haitian Education Leadership Program, KOZEPEP, ATD Quarte Monde, The Office of the Special Envoy, Partners in Health, and MINUSTAH. 2010. A Voice for the Voiceless. UN Office of the Special Envoy to Haiti, March. http://www.haitispecialenvoy.org/download/Report_Center/Voice_of_the_Voiceless_original.pdf.
Harcourt, Wendy, and Society for International Development. 1994. *Feminist perspectives on sustainable development*. London; Atlantic Highlands N.J.: Zed Books in association with Society for International Development Rome.
Harvey, David. 1973. *Social Justice and the City*. Revised. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
Hayes, Anne Marie, and Michelle Robinson. 2001. "Instructional Resources Haitian Art: Exploring Cultural Identity." *Art Education* 54 (1) (January): 25-32.
Holling, C. S. 1973. "Resilience and Stability of Ecological Systems." *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics* 4 (January 1): 1-23.
Hunt, Swanee, and Cristina Posa. 2001. "Women Waging Peace." *Foreign Policy* (124) (May 1): 38-47. doi:10.2307/3183189.

IASC. 2006. *Gender Handbook in Humanitarian Action: "Women, Girls, Boys and Men: Different Needs - Equal Opportunities"*. Inter Agency Standing Committee.
IJDH. 2011. One year after the earthquake - Haitians still living in crisis. IJDH & LAMP for Haiti Foundation, January 10.
IJDH, Partners in Health, and New Media Advocacy Project. 2010. *Haitian women testify*. April 21. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SV0nTf78Vwc&feature=youtube_gdata_player.
InterAction. Haiti Aid Map. *InterAction*. http://haiti.ngoaidmap.org/.
Jean-Charles, Régine Michelle. Cracks of Gender Inequality: Haitian Women After the Earthquake. *Social Science Research Council*. http://www.ssrc.org/features/pages/haiti-now-and-next/1338/1428/.
JudeCelestin2010. 2010. *JUDE CELESTIN: THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN REBUILDING HAITI*. November 4. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6ODBbFLp7Og&feature=youtube_gdata_player.
Kardam, Nüket. 1991. *Bringing Women in: Women's Issues in International Development Programs*. Boulder: L. Rienner Publishers.
Kidder, Tracy. 2009. *Mountains Beyond Mountains: The Quest of Dr. Paul Farmer, a Man Who Would Cure the World*. Random House Trade Paperbacks, August 25.
Lattes, Zulma Recchini De, and Catalina H. Wainerman. 1986. "Unreliable Account of Women's Work: Evidence from Latin American Census Statistics." *Signs* 11 (4): 740-750.
Leeder, Jessica. 2010. "In Haiti's camps, civilians fight back against sex crimes." *The Globe and Mail*, March 28. http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/project-jacmel/in-haitis-camps-civilians-fight-back-against-sex-crimes/article1515132/.
Let Haiti Live Women's Rights DelegationEPICA. 2005. Rewinding History: The Rights of Haitian Women. EPICA (Ecumenical Program on Central America and the Caribbean), January. http://www.ijdh.org/pdf/HaitiWomensDelJan05REPORT.pdf.
MADRE, City University of New York, and IJDH. 2011. Our Bodies are Still Trembling: Haitian Women Continue to Fight Against Rape. IJDH, January. http://ijdh.org/archives/13361.
Martin, Philip, Elizabeth Midgley, and Michael S. Teitelbaum. 2002a. "Migration and Development: Whither the Dominican Republic and Haiti?" *International Migration Review* 36 (2): 570-592.
———. 2002b. "Migration and Development: Whither the Dominican Republic and Haiti?" *International Migration Review* 36 (2) (July 1): 570-592.
Massey, Doreen. 1994. *Space, Place, and Gender*. 1st ed. Univ Of Minnesota Press, July 11.
Masten, Ann S., and Jelena Obradovíc. 2008. "Disaster Preparation and Recovery: Lesson from Resarch on Resilience in Human Development." *Ecology and Society* 13 (1). http://www.ecologyandsociety.org/vol13/iss1/art9/.
Maternowska, M. 2006. *Reproducing inequities: poverty and the politics of population in Haiti*. New Brunswick N.J.: Rutgers University Press.
Mazey, Mary Ellen. 1983. *Her Space, Her Place: A Geography of Women*. Washington, D.C: Association of American Geographers.
McDonagh, Eileen. 2002. "Political Citizenship and Democratization: The Gender Paradox." *The American Political Science Review* 96 (3) (September): 535-552.
Meintjes, Sheila. 2000. "Introduction: The Aftermath: Women in Post-War Reconstruction." *Agenda* (43): 4-10.

MiamiHerald. 2010a. *Herald photographers reflect on heartache in Haiti.* February 23. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8Lm1_xPpHvY&feature=youtube_gdata_player.
———. 2010b. *Rebuilding Haiti.* March 24. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zd3ZkMIrLZA&feature=youtube_gdata_player.
———. 2010c. *Haitian women help their homeland dig out.* July 6. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U193q4SqpCs&feature=youtube_gdata_player.
Michelson, William. 1994. Everyday Life in Contextual Perspective. In *Women and the Environment*, ed. Irwin Altman and Arza Churchman. New York: Plenum Press.
Michelson, William, and Willem van Vliet. 2002. Theory and Sociological Study of the Built Environment. In *Handbook of Environmental Sociology*, ed. Riley E Dunlap and William Michelson, 33-69. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
Mohammed, Patricia. 1998. "Towards Indigenous Feminist Theorizing in the Caribbean." *Feminist Review* (59): 6-33.
Molyneux, Maxine. 2001. *Women's movements in international perspective: Latin America and beyond.* New York: Palgrave.
———. 2002. "Gender and the Silences of Social Capital: Lessons from Latin America." *Development & Change* 33 (2) (April): 167.
Momsen, Janet Henshall. 1991. *Women and Development in the Third World.* London: Routledge.
Monchaux, John. 2010. Interview on Housing Reconstruction Interview by Martha Bonilla. February.
Morris, Patricia T. 1998. Weaving Gender in Diasaster and Refugee Assistance. InterAction, July. http://www.reliefweb.int/library/GHARkit/files/WEAVING%20GENDER.PDF.
Morris, Saul S., and Quentin Wodon. 2003. "The Allocation of Natural Disaster Relief Funds: Hurricane Mitch in Honduras." *World Development* 31 (7) (July): 1279-1289. doi:doi: DOI: 10.1016/S0305-750X(03)00072-X.
Moser, Caroline, Francis Dennis, and Dulce Castleton. 1991. The Urban Context: Women, Settlement and the Environment. In *Women and the Environment: A Reader: Crisis and Development in the Third World*, ed. Sally Ann Sontheimer, 135-162. London: Earthscan Publications.
Munro, Martin. 2011. *Haiti Rising: Haitian History, Culture and the Earthquake of 2010.* University of the West Indies Press, January 31.
N'Zengou-Tayo, Marie-José. 1998. "'Fanm Se Poto Mitan': Haitian Woman, the Pillar of Society." *Feminist Review* (59): 118-142.
Nadelman, Rachel Hannah, and Stephania Louis. 2010. *Women in Haiti after the January 12, 2010 Earthquake.* Huairou Commission, July.
Nathan Associates, Inc. 2010. Housing for Haiti's Middle Class: Post Earthquake Diagnosis and Strategy (DRAFT). USAID, September 15.
Niaz, Unaiza. 2006. "Role of Faith and Resilience in Recovery from Psychotrauma." *Pakistan Journal of Medical Sciences* 22 (2) (June). http://www.pjms.com.pk/issues/aprjun06/article/sc2.html.
Norris, Fran H. 2008. "Community Resilience as Metaphor, Theory, Set of Capcbilities, and Strategy for Disaster Readiness." *American Journal of Community Psychology* 41 (1): 127-150.

Ong, Aihwa. 1996. "Strategic Sisterhood or Sisters in Solidarity? Questions of Communitarianism and Citizenship in Asia." *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies* 4 (1) (October 1): 107-135.
Oxfam. 2011. From Relief to Recovery: Supporting good governance in post-earthquake Haiti. Oxfam International, January 6.
Pierre-Louis, Michelle Duvivier. 2010. The Haitian Women's Long Struggle for Gender Equity September 27, The Institute of Politics at Harvard Kennedy School of Government.
Porter, Marilyn. 1999. *Feminists doing development: a practical critique*. London; New York: Zed Books.
Portes, Alejandro. 1998. "Social Capital:its origins and applications in modern sociology." *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1): 1-24.
PulitzerCenter. 2010. *Haiti, Poems from After the Quake*. October 4. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r0UC-6i1OS4&feature=youtube_gdata_player.
Purkayastha, Bandana, and Mangala Subramaniam. 2004. *The power of women's informal networks: lessons in social change from South Asia to West Africa*. Lexington Books.
Ranjo-Libang, Gertrudes. 1994. "Of Borders, Bridges and Sisterhood: Reflections on the Women's Linking Project." *Focus on Gender* 2 (3) (October): 37-40.
Rapoport, Amos. 1982. *The Meaning of the Built Environment: A Nonverbal Communication Approach*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
Ray, R., and A. C. Korteweg. 1999. "Women's Movements in the Third World: Identity, Mobilization, and Autonomy." *Annual Review of Sociology* 25 (January 1): 47-71.
Reddock, Rhoda. 1998. "Women's Organizations and Movements in the Commonwealth Caribbean: The Response to Global Economic Crisis in the 1980s." *Feminist Review* (59): 57-73.
Reijman, Travis. 2011. Interview. April 4.
Rencoret, Nicole, Abby Stoddard, Katherine Haver, Glyn Taylor, and Paul Harvey. 2010. Haiti Earthquake Response: Context Analysis. ALNAP, July.
Riley, Tunisia. Reconstructing Haiti with Women & Girls at the Center. *National Council for Research on Women*. http://www.ncrw.org/public-forum/real-deal-blog/reconstructing-haiti-women-girls-center.
Rodda, Annabel. 1991. *Women and the Environment*. London: Zed Books.
Roland Wingfield, and Vernon J. Parenton. 1965a. "Class Structure and Class Conflict in Haitian Society." *Social Forces* 43 (3) (March): 338-347.
———. 1965b. "Class Structure and Class Conflict in Haitian Society." *Social Forces* 43 (3) (March 1): 338-347. doi:10.2307/2574763.
Schauber, Almuth. 2000. The Politics of Social Networking. In Accra, Ghana, October 12.
Schirmer, Jennifer G. 1989. "'Those Who Die for Life Cannot Be Called Dead': Women and Human Right Protest in Latin America." *Feminist Review* 32 (1) (July): 3-29.
Schuller, Mark. 2010. *Post Earthquake Update on Poto Mitan*. December 3. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fsaPMiRk7Zc&feature=youtube_gdata_player.
———. 2011. Pawól Famn: Narratives and Realities of Haitian Women, Before and After the Earthquake. In NYU.
Schuller, Mark, and Renée Bergan. 2009. *Poto Mitan: Haitian Women, Pillars of the Global Economy*. DVD. Documentary Educational Resources. http://www.potomitan.net/.
Setchell, Charles. 2010. Conference call with students in an academic course. May 9.

Shah, Payal K. 2006. "Assisting and Empowering Women Facing Natural Disasters: Drawings from Security Council Resolution 1325." *Columbia Journal of Gender & Law.*

Shen, Ce, and John B. Williamson. 1997. "Child Mortality, Women's Status, Economic Dependency, and State Strength: A Cross-National Study of Less Developed Countries." *Social Forces* 76 (2) (December): 667-700.

Smith, Sean. 2010. "Listening to Haiti's 'Other Voices'." *The Boston College Chronicle*, December 16. http://www.bc.edu/publications/chronicle/TopstoriesNewFeatures/news/jeancharles121610.html.

Society, for International Development. 1994. *Feminist Perspectives on Sustainable Development.* London: Zed Books, in association with Society for International Development, Rome.

Sontheimer, Sally Ann, ed. 1991. *Women and the Environment: A Reader: Crisis and Development in the Third World.* London: Earthscan Publications.

Spain, Daphne. 1992. *Gendered Spaces.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

St. Benoit, Tracy. 2010. Personal Conversation. Phone. November 30.

Subramaniam, Mangala. 2001. Translating participation in informal organizations into empowerment: Women in rural India. Ph. D., Connecticut, United States: The University of Connecticut.

Taft-Morales, Maureen, and Demond Alexander Drummer. 2007. *Haiti's Development Needs and a Statistical Overvew of Conditions of Poverty.* Congressional Research Service, May 30. http://opencrs.com/document/RL34029/.

Tatàn, and Marie M. B. Racine. 1998. "From 'Like the Dew That Waters the Grass: Words from Haitian Women'." *Women's Studies Quarterly* 26 (3/4) (October 1): 40-47.

Temin, Denise, ed. 2010. Ensuring Haitian Women's Participation and Leadership in All Stages of National Relief and Reconstruction: A Gender Shadow Report of the 2010 Haiti PDNA. MADRE. http://reliefweb.int/node/381577.

Thandiwe, Nathalie. Interview: The Status of Women in Post-Earthquake Haiti (audio) | Other Worlds. http://www.otherworldsarepossible.org/another-haiti-possible/interview-status-women-post-earthquake-haiti-audio.

The Kojo Nnamdi Show. *YouTube - Haitian Graffiti Artist Jerry Rosembert on his Work in Port-au-Prince.* http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-Q5p5QsdLXk.

UNDP. 2009. *Making Disaster Risk Reduction Gender-Sensitive: Policy and Practical Guidelines.* United Nations Development Program.

———. 2010a. International Human Development Indicators - Haiti. http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/HTI.html.

———. 2010b. *Women In Haiti.* March 5. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vqZsYUK9A_o&feature=youtube_gdata_player.

———. A la tête de la DPC, une femme haïtienne déterminée. http://www.ht.undp.org/public/actualitedetails.php?idactualite=97&lang=en.

UNESCO. 2010. *Haiti has The Most Resilient People in The World.* March 27. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T4VQe0gs5rA&feature=youtube_gdata_player.

UNIFEM. 2010. *Violence against Women and Girls in Haiti: The Enemy Within.* October 1. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G4cEVdLXy8Q&feature=youtube_gdata_player.

United Nations. 2010. Haiti: 6 Months After. United Nations, July. http://www.undp.org/haiti/doc/Haiti_6months_after.pdf.

———. 2011a. Haiti 2011 Consolidated Appeal. United Nations. http://haiti.humanitarianresponse.info/Portals/0/Information%20Management/CAP_2011_Haiti_SCREEN.pdf.
———. 2011b. U.N. Office of the Special Envoy for Haiti. http://www.haitispecialenvoy.org/assistance-tracker/.
United Nations Centre for Human Settlements. 1995. *Women in Human Settlements Development: Getting the Issues Right.* Nairobi: United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat).
United, Nations Environment Programme. 2004. *Women and the Environment.* Nairobi, Kenya: UNEP.
University, of Michigan. 1993. *Shelter, Women and Development: First and Third World Perspectives: Proceedings of an International Conference, College of Architecture and Urban Planning, the University of Michigan, May 7-9, 1992.* Ann Arbor: G. Wahr Pub. Co.
Von Kotze, Astrid, and Alisa Holloway. 1996. *Reducing risk: participatory learning activities for disaster mitigation in Southern Africa.* Natal; Atlantic Highlands N.J. USA: International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies; Dept. of Adult and Community Education University of Natal; Humanities Press International [distributor].
Vozos, Yani, and David M. Simpson. 2004. "Biting the Hand: Breaking the Dependency Cycle of Disaster Aid." *Environmental Hazards* (Draft: Submitted for Review) (July 27).
Wallace, D. 2008. "Urban systems during disasters: factors for resilience." *Ecology and society* 13 (1): 18.
Wallace, Deborah, and Rodrick Wallace. 2008. "Urban Systems during Disaster: Factor for Resilience." *Ecology and Society* 13 (1). http://www.ecologyandsociety.org/vol13/iss1/art18/.
Waller, Margaret A. 2001. "Resilience in Ecosystemic Context: Evolution of the Concept." *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 71 (3) (July 1): 290-297. doi:10.1037/0002-9432.71.3.290.
Wilkinson, Tracy. 2011. "Haiti earthquake: Rape and intimidation of women resurge after Haiti earthquake." *Los Angeles Times*, February 4. http://www.latimes.com/news/nationworld/world/la-fg-haiti-women-20110204,0,2268557.story.
World Bank. 2010. Haiti - Country Brief. http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/LACEXT/HAITIEXTN/0,,contentMDK:22251393~pagePK:1497618~piPK:217854~theSitePK:338165,00.html.
World Pulse. 2010. "SPECIAL REPORT: Haiti—Why Vote for a Woman?" *World Pulse*, October 28. http://www.worldpulse.com/magazine/articles/special-report-haiti-why-vote-for-a-woman.
Zanelli, Maria Luisa. Haitian Women: the backbone of society and economic life in Haiti -- Habitat for Humanity Int'l. *Habitat for Humanity.* http://www.habitat.org/theforum/english/vulnerable/Haitian_Women_the_backbone.aspx?tgs=NS8xNS8yMDExIDc6NDI6NDEgUE0%3d.
Zuckerman, Elaine. 2010. To Help Haiti, Upend Aid Habits, and Focus on its Women. Center for Economic and Policy Research and Association for Women's Rights in Development, February. http://www.cepr.net/index.php/relief-and-reconstruction-watch/to-help-haiti-upend-aid-habits-and-focus-on-its-women/.