



Report

**Gender Survey
CARE HAITI
HEALTH SECTOR
Life Saving Interventions for Women and Girl in Haiti**

**Conducted in Communes of
Leogane and Carrefour,
Haiti**

22nd August 2013

Submitted by Timothy T Schwartz



Survey Teams Getting Ready to go to Work in Carrefour

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ACRONYMS

CARE	Cooperative Agreement for Relief Everywhere
DHS	Demographic & Health Surveys
EMMUS	Enquête Mortalité, Morbidité, Utilisation des Services [Mortality, Morbidity, Use of Services].
FP	Family Planning
GBV	Gender Based Violence
MSF	Médecins Sans Frontières
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
USAID	United States Agency to International Development

Contents

Summary of Important Findings	1
1. Overview	2
2. Review of the Literature	4
3. Questionnaire	10
Training and pretests	11
Ethical Review	11
4. Methodology	12
Clusters, Selection, and number of respondents	12
Respondents per Residence, Absenteeism and Replacement	13
Date and duration of survey	13
Team Structure and logistics	13
Interviews and data monitoring	13
Equipment and software	14
Sample Stratification	14
5. Respondent Profiles: Origin, Urban vs Rural, Work and Education	15
6. The Household	19
Defining Household Heads	19
Urban vs. Rural Household Dimension	20
Household Headship and Material Status Indicators	21
Headship and Economic Contributions	24
Differential Impact of Women vs. Men Being in Control of Household Resources	27
Household Expenditures on Food	27
Male vs. Female Control Over the Household Budget	29
Female Control of the Budget and Household Expenditures on Food	30
Chores	31
Female Economic Contributions and Male Participation in Domestic Chores	32
Male Control Over Women	33
Violation of Female Property and Ownership	36
Female Dependency on Men	36
Who Works the Hardest	38

Conclusion	40
7. Gender and Violence.....	41
Respondent Views on Gender and Cause of Domestic Violence	42
Frequency of Violence and Protagonist.....	42
Identity and Sex of Aggressors	43
Spousal Abuse/Violence Against of Respondent	44
Male Spouse Violence Against Female Respondent by Female Household Financial Contributions.....	44
Spousal Violence (Against Respondent) and Degree of Urbanization	45
Domestic Violence Against the Respondent vs. Socio-Economic Status.....	45
Reasons for Violence Against Respondent.....	47
Respondent Violence Against Others	48
Rape	49
Back Ground of the Rape Epidemic	49
Estimating the Number of People Raped.....	49
Estimating the Actual Numbers of People Raped: "Scaling-Up"	51
Network Size.....	52
Respondents View on Changing Incidence of Rape.....	54
Expected Community Reactions to Rape	54
Security	55
Security and Laws	56
Conclusion	58
8. Family, Partners, Children, and Sex	59
Opinions on who is more in Need of Sex	59
Appropriate Age at onset of Sexual Activity.....	59
Teen Pregnancy.....	60
Teen Pregnancy in Leogane and Carrefour Sample vs. in the United States	60
Childbirth & Conjugal Union	61
Pro-Natalism: Children and Fertility	62
Preference for Boys vs. Girls	63
Abortion and Contraceptives	65
Contraceptives.....	67
9. Family Support.....	68

Quality of Family Relationships and Support.....	68
Opinions on Quality of Relationships to Partner and Children	68
Who Respondents turn to for Material Support.....	69
Who Respondents turn to for Moral Support/Advice	70
10. NGOs, Hospitals, and Clinics	71
Membership in Organizations.....	71
NGO and State Sponsored Seminars since the Earthquake	72
Illness and Use of Hospitals, Clinics, and Doctors	73
Pre-Natal, Birth and Use of Services	76
Post-Natal Care and Use of Services	78
11. Conclusion and Recommendations.....	80
Mobilize	80
SEED-SCALE.....	80
Identify credible partners	81
Combat Misinformation:.....	81
Young Males.....	82
12. Notes	84
13. Annex: Questionnaire	90
Questionnaire English	90
Introduction	90
WORKS CITED	100

List of Tables

Table 4.1: Target Sample Size and Stratification.....	12
Table 4.2: Age Groups for Actual Sample Taken.....	13
Table 5.1: Department of Origin.....	15
Table 5.2: Skills of Respondents.....	18
Table 6.1: Residents per Gender Household Headship Type.....	19
Table 6.2: Population Household.....	20
Table 6.3: Roof.....	21
Table 6.4: Latrine.....	22
Table 6.5: Water Source.....	22
Table 6.6: Potable Water.....	22

Table 6.7: Cooking Fuel.....	23
Table 6.8: Energy.....	23
Table 6.9: Monthly Educational Expenditure for Oldest Child.....	23
Table 6.10: Average Cost of Rent (USD)	23
Table 6.11: Home Ownership.....	24
Table 6.12: Source of 1st and 2nd Contributor Income by Sex of Contributor...	26
Table 6.13: Sources of Income First and Second Income Provides	26
Table 6.14: Sex of First and Second Income Providers by Sex of Respondent Identified Household Head.....	27
Table 6.15: Who is the Primary Performer of Household Tasks by Sex and Age.....	31
Table 6.16: Who Has Final Say.....	33
Table 6.17: Needs to Ask Permission to Visit Faraway by Sex.....	35
Table 6.18: Needs to Ask Permission to Join Organization by Sex.....	35
Table 6.19: Who asks permission of Who	35
Table 6.20: Respondents who report that Someone Took Something from them Since Earthquake.....	36
Table 6.21: Respondents Who Can Live Without Spouse by Location.....	38
Table 6.22: Reasons Respondents can Live Without Spouse	38
Table 6.23: Who Respondents Say Works Hardest.....	39
Table 7.1: Last Time Beaten by Sex of Respondent.....	42
Table 7.2: Person Who Beat Respondent the Last Time He/ She was Beaten....	43
Table 7.3: Person who Beat Respondent: Adults Last Three Year Only.....	44
Table 7.4: Why Beaten for All Cases.....	47
Table 7.5: Why Beaten for Adults or Within Past 3 Years Only.....	47
Table 7.6: If Respondent Believes Beating Was Deserved.....	47
Table 7.7: of If Respondent Believes it Was Deserved for Adults or Within Past 3 Years Only.....	48
Table 7.8: Aggression Against Others by Sex	48
Table 7.9: Identity of People Respondents Attacked	48
Table 7.8: People Who Know At Least One Person Raped Since Earthquake by Commune.....	49
Table 7.9: Respondents who Know at Least One Person Raped Since Earthquake by Age of Respondents	51
Table 7.10: Respondents Who Know At Least One Person Raped Since Earthquake by Enumerator Who Asked the Question	52
Table 7.11: Respondents "know" anyone who has been raped since January 12th 2010 Earthquake and Number Known.....	53
Table 7.12: Deriving Average Female Network Size.....	53
Table 7.13: Choice of Single Biggest Criminal Problem.....	54
Table 7.14: Two Biggest Problems for Young Men	56
Table 7.15: Two Biggest Problems for Young Women	56
Table 7.16: When Respondents Think Last Rape Law Passed.....	57
Table 7.17: Respondents Knowledge About Laws Regarding Raping or Beating Girlfriend or Spouse.....	57

Table 7.18: What a Woman Should If Raped	57
Table 7.19: Where A Person Can Go For Care In The Area If They Have Been Raped.....	57
Table 7.20: Special Clinic for Rape Victims Mentioned.....	58
Table 8.1: When Should Boys vs. Girls Become Sexually Active.....	60
Table 8.2: Children Born to Men and Women by Age and Sex 18 to 25 Years Old.....	61
Table 8.3: Percentage of Respondents per Age Groups who Have Children.....	61
Table 8.4: Whether People Need Children.....	62
Table 8.5: Average of Ideal Number of Children	62
Table 8.6: Children Born to Men and Women by Age and Sex.....	62
Table 8.7: Family of 3 vs. 6 Children.....	63
Table 8.8: Location of People who Favor Family of 6 vs. 3 Children.....	63
Table 8.9: Reasons for Choosing Family with 3 Children.....	63
Table 8.10 Reasons for Preferring Girls.....	65
Table 8.11: Why Boys.....	65
Table 8.12: Frequency of Reasons For Justifiable Abortion.....	66
Table 8.13: Tolerance for Abortion.....	66
Table 8.14: Count of Contraceptive Good vs. Bad by Sex of Respondent	67
Table 8.15: Contraceptive Good vs. Bad by Age of Respondent.....	67
Table 8.16: Right to Use Contraceptives with spousal consent by Sex.....	68
Table 9.1: First Person Respondent Goes to if Needs Material Aid.....	70
Table 9.2: Count of Need Advice	70
Table 10.1: Group Membership by Type of Group and Sex of Respondent.....	71
Table 10.2: Types of Seminars Respondents Attended Since Earthquake	73
Table 10.3: Seminar Sponsors.....	73
Table 10.4: Last Illness in the House	74
Table 10.5: Who Was Sick	74
Table 10.6: Reasons Given for Not Going to Hospital, Clinic or Doctor.....	75
Table 10.7: Most Knowledgeable Illness in the House.....	76
Table 12.1: Selected Latin American and Caribbean Adolescent Birth Rates.....	83
Table 12.2: Formal Sector Employment.....	86
Table 12.3: Mostly Informal Sector Employment	86
Table 12.4: Entrepreneurial Sector.....	86
Table 12.5: Chi Square for Who Wins Arguments.....	86
Table 12.6: Respondents who Say that Woman Has Right to Beat Other Woman or Husband if He has Affair.....	87
Table 12.7: Respondents who Say that Man has Right to Beat Spouse if she has an Affair	87

List of Charts

Chart 4.1: Sex of Respondents.....	13
Chart 4.2: Respondents per commune.....	13
Chart 4.3: Urban vs Rural (Leogane and Carrefour).....	14

Chart 4.4: Location of Respondents.....	15
Chart 5.1: Where Respondent Grew Up.....	15
Chart 5.2: No Education.....	16
Chart 5.3: At least 7th Grade.....	16
Chart 5.4: Comparison of Proportion of Population with no Education: Survey Populations vs. National Data.....	16
Chart 5.5: Educational Level by Sex.....	17
Chart 5.6: Comparison of Illiterate Population by Sex and Commune.....	17
Chart 6.1: Household Type	19
Chart 6.2: People per Hshld by Hshld Type.....	19
Chart 6.3: Household Types Carrefour vs. Leogane	20
Chart 6.4: Home Ownership.....	23
Chart 6.5: Female Breadwinners.....	25
Chart 6.6: Male Breadwinners.....	25
Chart 6.7: Comparison of Proportion of Sample by Gender of 1st and 2nd Breadwinners: Male vs. Female.....	25
Chart 6.8: Daily Food Expenditures (USD) by Gender House Type.....	28
Chart 6.9: People per Hshld by Hshld Type.....	28
Chart 6.10: Per Person Daily Food Expenditures (USD) by House Type.....	28
Chart 6.11: Statistical Significance of Household Type by Average Food Expenditures $p < .05$	28
Chart 6.12: Average Daily Food Expenditures (USD) by Gender of Principal Breadwinners.....	28
Chart 6.13: Woman Manages Household Budget by Household Type.....	29
Chart 6.14: Female Manager of Budget by Gender of 1st and 2nd Contributors of Income	29
Chart 6.15: Gender of Who Controls the Budget by Per Person Expenditures	30
Chart 6.16: Food Expenditures Per household by Gender of Who Controls Budget.....	30
Chart 6.17: Comparison of Per Person Hshld Food Expenditures by Gender that Controls Budget and Single Male Hshld ($p < .05$)	31
Chart 6.18: Females Only Wash Dishes by Gender of 1st and 2nd Income Contributors (Single Male Headed Hshlds Excluded)	32
Chart 6.19: Who Usually Wins Arguments by Sex.....	33
Chart 6.20: Who Usually Wins Arguments Between Patners (for All Respondents with partners)	33
Chart 6.21: Winner of Arguments with partner by Sex and 1st and 2nd Income Contributors.....	34
Chart 6.22: Must Ask Permission To Visit Family Far-Away by Sex of Respondent	34
Chart 6.23: Must Ask Permission to Join an Organization.....	34
Chart 6.24: Sex of Those Who Would Visit Even If Told ‘‘No’’	35
Chart 6.25: Sex of Those Who Would Join Even If Told ‘‘No’’	35
Chart 6.26: Respondents who have had Goods Taken Since the Earthquake.....	36
Chart 6.27: Which Spouse Needs the Other More: Man or Woman.....	37

Chart 6.28: "Yes" Can "Live" Without a Spouse (all respondents)	37
Chart 6.29: "Yes" Can "Live" Without Having a Spouse (respondents in union)	38
Chart 6.30: Sex of All People Respondents Identified as Working the Hardest...	39
Chart 6.31: Sex of Respondents Self Identifying as Working the Hardest.....	39
Chart 6.32: Sex of Other People Respondents Identified as Working the Hardest.....	39
Chart 7.1: Who Respondents Believe is most Often the Cause of Male Violence Against Women.....	42
Chart 7.2: Sex of Violent Protagonists	43
Chart 7.3: Woman was Beaten by her Spouse by First and Second Contributors of Household Income	45
Chart 7.4: Domestic Violence by Urbanization (City, Countryside, Peri-Urban)	45
Chart 7.5: Domestic Violence by Urbanization (Countryside vs Peri-Urban & City)	45
Chart 7.6: Mean Household Monthly Educational Expenditures on Oldest Child by Aggressor in Last Incidence of Domestic Violence.....	46
Chart 7.7: Beaten by Spouse or Lover by Type of Roof	46
Chart 7.8: Type of Household Latrine by Last Incidence Domestic Violence....	46
Chart 7.9: Respondents Evaluations of Rape Before vs After Earthquake.....	54
Chart 7.10: For Which Family is the Shame Greater: Victim or Rapist.....	55
Chart 7.11 Most Likely Reactions to a Rape in the Neighborhood	55
Chart 7.12: Percentage of Respondents Who Know Nothing of Rape Law.....	56
Chart 7.13: Comparison in Quality of Services for Rape Victims: Before vs AfterEarthquake.....	58
Chart 8.1: Who Needs Sex More, Men vs. Women by Sex of Respondent.....	59
Chart 8.2: Comparison of Statistical Significance for Average Number of Parent-Partners if Respondent Has Children: Men vs.Women	61
Chart 8.3: Respondents who Say a Family with 3 vs. 6 Children is Better Off....	63
Chart 8.4: Family with 3 Girls vs. 3 Boys (All Respondents).....	64
Chart 8.5: Preference for Family with 3 Girls vs 3 Boys (Female).....	64
Chart 8.6: Preference for Family with 3 Girls vs 3 Boys (Male).....	64
Chart 8.7: Analysis of Age by Tolerance of Abortion.....	66
Chart 8.8: Proportion of Respondents Qualifying Contraceptives as "Mostly Good" (Female Respondents.....	67
Chart 8.9: Proportion of Respondents Qualifying Contraceptives and "Mostly Good" (Male Respondents	68
Chart 9.1: How Women and Men Rate Relationship with Their Partner.....	69
Chart 9.2: How Women and Men Rate Relationship with Their Children.....	69
Chart 10.1: Member of At Least one Organization (Including Church).....	71
Chart 10.2: Member of At Least one Organization (Excluding church)	71
Chart 10.3: At Least One Official Position in an Organization.....	72
Chart 10.4: Attended At Least One Seminar Since Earthquake.....	72
Chart 10.5: Number Seminars Respondents have Attended Since Earthquake...	72
Chart 10.6 Attended At Least One Seminar Since Earthquake.....	72

Chart 10.7: Attended At Least One Seminar Since Earthquake by Sex and by Commune.....	72
Chart 10.8: Symptoms/Disease When Person Was Last Sick.....	74
Chart 10.9: Where the Person was Treated.....	75
Chart 10.10: Use of Hospital for Last Illness in the House: Carrefour vs Leogane	75
Chart 10.11: Pre-Natal Care: Where Respondent Consulted Last Time She was Pregnant.....	76
Chart 10.12: Use of Pre-Natal Services: Carrefour vs. Leogane	77
Chart 10.13: Reasons Respondent Did Not Consult Last Time Pregnant	77
Chart 10.14: Birth at Home: Carrefour vs. Leogane	77
Chart 10.15: Post Natal Care: Where Respondent Consulted Last Time Gave Birth	78
Chart 10.16: Use of Post-Natal Services: Carrefour vs. Leogane	78
Chart 10.17: Respondents who did not use any Post-Natal Specialist Last Pregnancy: Carrefour vs. Leogane (p < 95%)	79
Chart 10.18: Post Natal Care: Why Respondent did not Consult at Clinic or with Doctor.....	79

Summary of Important Findings

- Urban based Single Female-Headed Households appear to be materially better off than households where both a male and female head is present; this is true on every count, be it construction, quality of latrine, or access to electricity and water (the reference here is to households; no IDP camps fell into the selected sample areas).
- Rural based Single Female-Headed Households tended to be on par with Male-Female Headed Households.
- Women are usually in control of household budgets, even when they are not among the primary financial contributors to the household.
- Women more often than men win arguments with their spouse, something respondents report no matter who the respondent is, man or woman.
- Men, more than women, feel the need to ask permission of someone in the household to travel or join an organization; and if told no, women are more likely than men to go or join anyway.
- All household members, including males, more often defer to women for permission to travel or join an organization.
- A very small percentage of both women and men condone, or believe that violence against women is justifiable or legal, even in cases of infidelity.
- More people believe that women are the cause of male violence against women than vice versa, something pronounced among men but even among women 49% felt that women usually incited male violence.
- Males suffer greater violence in terms of physical beatings; this is true both for children and adults.
- At least 12% of women report having been beaten at least once by their spouse.
- Rape occurs far less frequently than we have been led to believe by a series of high profile reports from specific grassroots gender based activist organizations and activist-scholars and journalists working in Port-au-Prince.
- Respondents overwhelmingly report that in terms of material survival (vis a vis the household), men are "more dependent" on their wives than vice versa.

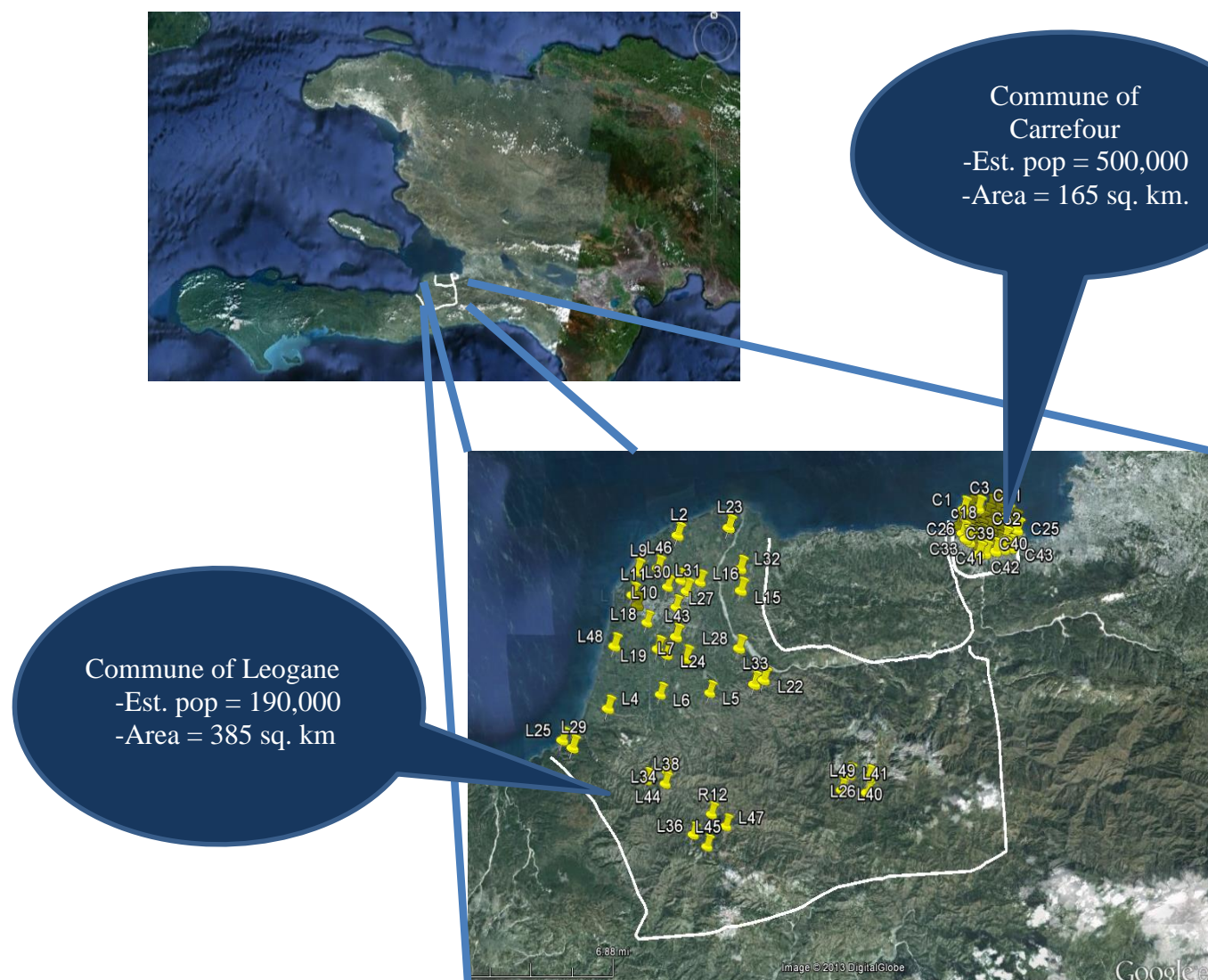
1. Overview

The quantitative Gender Survey described in this document was part of a larger evaluation and exploration of gender in Leogane and Carrefour, two communes (counties) near to Port-au-Prince that were among those most heavily impacted by the January 12th 2010 earthquake. Following the catastrophe CARE initiated emergency and supportive relief efforts in the communes, including sanitation, health and cash for work programs. In April 2010 CARE launched a program on Sexual and Reproductive Health (SRH) focusing on family planning and maternal health; later that same year CARE added the Life-Saving Interventions for Women and Girls project, the objective of which was to "combat gender-based violence and to reduce mortality and morbidity among earthquake-affected women and girls." In March 2013 CARE commissioned the qualitative evaluation of these projects and the present complementary quantitative survey that would help to both corroborate findings from the qualitative evaluation and provide guidance for further gender-informed interventions in the region. Both studies are part of CARE International's commitment to helping the poor in Haiti and to long term development, endeavors in which it has been a major Government of Haiti ally since 1954.

CARE recognizes that effective development interventions depend on relevant up-to-date information. CARE also recognizes that gender behavior within Haiti varies across socioeconomic strata, educational level, urban versus rural social settings, and with respect to differential male versus female control over resources. With this in mind, the proposed study was meant to clarify,

- Differences in rural and urban attitudes toward fertility
- Views about Age of sexual debut and teenage pregnancy and abortion
- Household decision-making (who, why)
 - ✓ Use of finances
 - ✓ Condom, contraceptive use
 - ✓ Healthcare seeking
- Domestic violence
- Gender based division of labor
- Awareness about new rape laws
- Stigma toward rape victims and effectiveness of post-rape care system
- Exposure to violence and sexual abuse (partner, criminal activity)
- Impact of differential female economic status and resources
 - ✓ Support systems, social cohesion
- Norms and expectations within conjugal unions regarding freedom of women to travel and participate in community activities
- Economic status of female and male headed households

Image 2.1: Haiti, the Communes of Leogane and Carrefour,
and the Selected Survey Sample Points



(Population derived from: Ambassade d'Haïti, Washington D.C.; Posted on Geohive <http://www.geohive.com/cntry/haiti.aspx>. Above estimates are modified for population growth to yiled 2012 estimates.)

2. Review of the Literature

We begin with a review of past ethnographic research and surveys that focused on gender in Haiti. Understanding the observations made by others before helps in identifying enduring features of gender in Haiti, patterns of change and, not least of all, the shortcomings and bias that has infected our work. It was this past research that informed the design of the current study. Our hope is that by using it as a guide we can preserve or enhance those interventions that have been well targeted and appropriate and, in the endeavor to make better and more efficient use of resources while helping those in need, better target future interventions.

Gender in Haiti is and long has been highly patterned and distinct from the more patriarchal trends found in neighboring Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and many African societies among which development and academic programs frequently classify Haiti. These patterns include female monopoly of most household productive enterprises (such as food harvesting and processing), a high degree of female control over the homestead, and a nearly complete female monopoly over intermediate level redistribution and marketing of agricultural produce, small livestock, and fish (three of provincial Haitian households four main sources of income from production; the fourth source is charcoal produced for the urban market). Women have traditionally been considered the principal owners of homes, they are the primary disciplinarians of children, and their male partners often depend heavily on them as managers of the homestead. Undergirding the prominent role of women in organizing household labor and selling the products of the homestead is the fact that for many people in Haiti the homestead – be it urban or rural – is the single most important and often the only means of social and material security in what is an unforgiving region of the world characterized by catastrophic weather patterns and unpredictable economic crises (for past descriptions from anthropologists see Herskovits 1937; Simpson 1942; Metraux 1951; Murray 1977; Smucker, 1983; Schwartz 2000).

In the traditional rural Haitian society that to a large degree continues to dominate Haitian cultural expectations, the sexual division of labor and female primacy in governing economic matters of the popular household were linked to distinctly patterned gender rights and duties. Men were considered the financiers and underwriters of female entrepreneurial activities and household expenses; men gave women money; it was the woman's right to receive; women were expected to reciprocate with sex and domestic service while intensely engaging in their own privately owned and managed marketing businesses the proceeds of which were intended for the maintenance of the household and children. If a man did not meet his obligations, the woman, even if married, had a socially recognized right to look for male support elsewhere (*ibid*; also note that all that has so far been described are in fact gender patterns that until recently prevailed throughout the non-Hispanic Caribbean; see for example Mintz 1955, 1971, 1974; Cohen 1956; R. T. Smith 1956; Solien 1959; Davenport 1961; M.G. Smith 1962; Kundstadter 1963; Otterbein 1963, 1965; Clarke 1966; Greenfield 1961; Walker 1968; Rodman 1971; Pollock 1972; Philpott 1973; Buschkens 1974; Durant-Gonzalez 1976; Hill 1977; Berleant-Schiller 1978; Massiah 1983; Griffith 1985; Olwig 1985; Gearing 1988; Handwerker 1989; Brittain 1990; Lagro and Plotkin 1990; Senior 1991; Mantz 2007).ⁱ

The popular class Haitian gender patterns being described were and in popular class continue to be manifest in what anthropologist Ira Lowenthal (1987) called a 'field of competition' between the sexes. Women are taught to think of themselves as able to get along without sexual gratification while conceptualizing their own sexuality in terms of a commodity, referring to their genitals as *intere-m* (my assets), *lajan-m* (my money), and *manmanlajan-m* (my capital), in addition to *tè-m* (my land). A popular proverb is, *chak famn fet ak yon kawo te—nan mitan janm ni* (every woman is born with a parcel of land—between her legs). Men on the other hand are taught to believe they need sexual interaction with women and chastised for not making material overtures to women. Called “gendered capital” by Richman (2003: 123), these sexual-material values continue to be universal in the popular classes and apply whether the woman in question was dealing with a husband, lover, or more casual relationship. The consequence is an ongoing socially constructed and sexually intoned negotiation between men and women in which material advantage accrues to women.

However, love, devotion, sex, and domestic service for material gain should not be equated with prostitution, promiscuity or subservience. Although influenced by family, particularly mothers, 95% and more of all women in the 2005-06 EMMUS reported selecting their own spouse and their subsequent comportment is embedded in a system of restraint and censorship such that sexual modesty in Haiti is, in terms of reporting and statistical norms, more conservative than found in mainstream US society. For example, while 20.7% American adolescent girls 15 to 19 years of age report having 2 or more sexual partners in the 12 months prior to being interviewed, only 1.6% of Haitian adolescents girls report the same (National Health Statistics Reports 2011; EMMUS 2012). American women 40 to 44 years of age report 3.4 lifetime sexual partners; Haitian counterparts report 2.5 (ibid; 2005-6 EMMUS). Even Haitian men—who few observers have would describe as sexually conservative—come off as modest in comparison to American men: the 2005-06 EMMUS found that 45% of single Haitian men 15 to 24 years of age reported not having sex in the previous year. The figure for abstinent US men in the same age group is 33 percent (National Health Statistics Reports 2011). As for subservience, Haitian women are better described not as timid and demure servants to men, but rather as outspoken, aggressive, and even violent defenders of the gender defined economic rights seen above (see Gerald Murray 1977; Schwartz 2000; and see James 2006 for some rich examples of violent Haitian female “viktin”).

This description, of what can be called Haiti's traditional popular class “sexual moral economy” - a description drawn largely from the ethnographic literature and supported by the highly regarded Demographic and Health Surveys (EMMUS2005-2006 and 2012)--is incomplete without noting that it has been historically accompanied by a strong, socially reinforced desire to parent children, what can be called radical pronatalism. The trend is such that the observation anthropologist George Simpson (1942: 670) made 60 years ago, 'that the Haitian peasant wishes to have children, and to have the largest number possible,' was applicable 35 years later, in 1977, when anthropologist Gerald Murray did two years of research in Haiti's Cul-de-Sac; it was applicable in 1987 when anthropologist Ira Lowenthal summarized his four years of research on the Southern Peninsula; it was still largely applicable in 1996 when Anthropologist Gisele Maynard Tucker summarized her 2,383 household survey of men and women in both urban and rural areas of greater Port-au-Prince; it was applicable in 1998 when Jenny Smith reported from

two years of research on Haiti's Plain du Nord; and certainly still applicable when the author (Schwartz 2000) reported on five years of research in Haiti's Northwest (Schwartz 2000). Linked to radical pronatalism are an abhorrence of abortion; a wide array of beliefs that associate contraceptives with illness and promiscuity; and superstitions and folk beliefs that seem exotic to outsiders but that promote high fertility. The latter include a firm belief in spells that make people fall in love, that having sex with an insane or handicapped woman brings luck, the fictive illness known as *perdisyon* wherein a fetus can gestate in a woman's womb for as long as 5 years (technically known as "arrested pregnancy syndrome"), and superstitious rationales that convince men to accept paternity for children that are not biologically their own, such as the widely accepted blood test--the belief that if a man pricks his own finger and puts a drop of blood on the newborn's tongue he can determine if the child is his, for if he is not the father the baby will die instantly. (For descriptions of the aforementioned see Herskovits 1937; Simpson 1942; Murray 1977; Smith 1996; Maternowska 2006; and Schwartz 2009.)

Despite the long history of in-depth anthropological studies cited above, many outsiders (including among them some notable Haitian intellectuals) have misunderstood gender in Haiti and by corollary their relationship to the described pronatal patterns and folk beliefs. Many of the scholars imposed patriarchal models that apply to other countries or that are logical in the context of traditional middle and upper class Western value systems but that do not fit popular-class social patterns in Haiti. For example, in a stark misinterpretation of rural life in Haiti first noted by Gerald Murray (1977: 263), the oft-repeated explanation for polygyny has long been that farmers use "extra" wives to tend additional gardens (Bastien 1961: 142; Courlander 1960: 112; Herskovits 1937; Leyburn 1966: 195; Moral 1961: 175–76; Simpson 1942: 656). As Murray pointed out, this is not now and probably never was true. Women in rural Haiti do not work in gardens on behalf of men. On the contrary, they may sometimes work gardens on their own and their children's behalf, but when a man is present the obligation to plant and weed falls to him (Murray 1977; Smucker 1983; Schwartz 2009). Indeed, a tradition so consistent over the years that it can be elevated to the status of a cultural rule is that Haitian women, not men, are considered the owners of the household agricultural produce; produce largely cultivated by the efforts of male household members (*ibid*).

The same tendency to misconstrue or impose outside gender patterns onto popular class Haiti prevails today, particularly among foreign analysts, international social activists, and aid workers. Several notable exceptions notwithstanding (N'zengou-Tayo 1998, Fafo 2004, Gardella 2006), most present repression of women as worse in Haiti than other countries. In doing so they cite discriminatory legal codes (Fuller 2005; UNIFEM 2004), political violence against women (Fuller 2005; UNIFEM 2004), high levels of mortality during childbirth (UNIFEM 2004; World Bank 2002), the feminine struggle for identity manifest in creative literature (Francis 2004), female involvement in onerous, labor-intensive economic endeavors (Divinski et al. 1998), and even the overall deterioration of economic and political conditions (UNIFEM 2006). Summarizing these views, the UN's Gender Development Index (GDI) ranks Haiti at the very bottom of the Western hemisphere, making it seem to observers who do not carefully interpret the index that Haiti is the most female repressive country in all of Latin America, indeed the world, considerably lower in ranking than Iran or Saudi Arabia (United Nations Development Programme 2006).

A good example of how far from fact many feminist presentations have gone is the work of Beverly Bell, one of the more outspoken experts on gender in Haiti and author of the acclaimed book Walking on Fire (2001). In the introduction to her book Bell claimed that,

“Haitian women place at the absolute bottom in female-male life expectancy differential, incidence of teen marriage, contraceptive use, primary school enrollment, secondary school enrollment, and ratio of secondary school teachers. They tie for worst or rank second to worst in the following: economic equality with men, social equality, life expectancy, rate of widowhood/divorce or separation, University enrollment, female adult literacy, discrepancy between male and female literacy...” [Bell 2001: 18]

Bell was wrong on every count. At 63 vs 59 years, women in Haiti live longer than men (UN 2010); at 43 per 1,000 babies annually born to adolescent girls 15 to 19 years of age, Haiti's teen pregnancy rate is officially among the lowest in the developing world, half or less that of many Latin American countries, including the neighboring Dominican Republic (World Bank 2013; WHO 2007; UNFPA 2007; WHO 2001) and one third the 2006 rate of 126 for both Hispanic and Black youth in the United States (Planned Parenthood 2011).ⁱⁱ In both urban and rural areas more Haitian females have finished primary school than males (86.6% to 85.2% for urban areas and 73.2% to 72.4% in rural areas) and more urban based females have completed secondary school (41.9 %to 39.1%). Only with regard to completion of secondary school in rural areas do boys prevail (20.0% to 11.7%: see EMMUS 2012). Indeed, for those concerned about gender differential treatment of children a good case can be made that it is Haitian boys, not girls, who are in need of special attention: in addition to the educational differences favoring girls, the 2005-06 EMMUS found that chronic malnutrition was significantly greater among boys (25% vs 20%: p.162); the same was true for child mortality (143/1,000 boys to 132/1,000 for girls 0 to 62 months of age: p. 86).

Returning to Bell and the contemporary status quo for the presentation of gender in Haiti, the only point that she seems to have gotten right is that, as seen earlier, it is true that Haitian women, particularly rural women, eschew contraceptives. Despite massive and costly internationally funded contraceptive campaigns extending back in time back to the early 1970s, only 28.7% of reproductive aged Haitian women were using them in 2010; that translates to the lowest contraceptive use rate in the Western hemisphere; 7.6% lower than the next lowest rate: Bolivia at 36.3% (see Alkema et. al. 2013). But there is little evidence that low female contraceptive use in Haiti has anything to do with male domination. In the 2005-06 EMMUS only 2.3% of reproductive aged Haitian women interviewed reported not using modern contraceptive because their spouse objected (p. 73).ⁱⁱⁱ

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the misrepresentation of gender status in Haiti is precisely the point touched on above: that the notion of Haitian women as "viktim" and under the control of their spouses has prevailed despite the fact that the EMMUS studies--the most relied on source for demographic, reproductive health and gender data for Haiti--provide extensive evidence to the contrary. An overwhelming proportion of women interviewed for the Haiti EMMUS's report having or sharing the final word on household issues ranging from large and

small household expenditures, to work habits, child discipline, education, and health (EMMUS 2005-6; p 245 - 250). Moreover, the trend is not, as many observers seem to assume, one of the poorest women suffering the most severe repression. The authors of the 2005-2006 EMMUS noted that,

Against all expectations, we find that women who most frequently participate in making the seven decisions inquired about are rural women and those who have less education. [And] Women who work for money are [also] involved much more frequently than others in decision making.^{iv v} [EMMUS 2005-6: 247]

Reinforcing the erroneous or at least ethnographically and statistically unsupported image of Haitian women as, by global standards, economically, physically, medically, and socially repressed vis a vis men, are claims that they suffer extreme physical and sexual violence at the hands of their male spouses, criminals, paramilitary thugs and even police. Since the 2010 earthquake this image has been especially prominent in reports from grassroots activist organizations, human rights organizations, NGOs, the UN, and the international press (Bell 2010; Faul 2010; KOFAVIV 2010; Amnesty International 2011; Kolbe et. al. 2010). For example, following the earthquake grass-roots activist organizations were reporting such a high incidence of rape that the international press labeled it "epidemic."

It would seem that at least some support for the image of Haitian women suffering extraordinary domestic violence comes from the EMMUS studies. The 2005-6 Haitian EMMUS found that 19.3% of women interviewed had, at some point in their lives, experienced physical or sexual violence at the hands of a partner. However, putting this in regional perspective, it is the second lowest rate in Latin America (PAHO 2012); and 2.8% lower than the 22.1% rate reported in the United States for year 2000 (Tjaden and Thoennes 2000).

Moreover, what we do not learn from the EMMUS interviews is what men report about female violence or to what extent women may sometimes be more accurately categorized, not as passive victims, but as combatants. The EMMUS did not interview men regarding female violence. At least some anthropologists report that Haitian women are in fact physically assertive and as or more violent than male counterparts with respect to both other women and men (Murray 1977; Schwartz 2000). If true, the observation should arguably not come as a surprise. Given the high degree of economic engagement and the conspicuous role of popular class Haitian women in household and family decision-making processes a high degree of assertiveness can be expected in both defending and exerting their entrenched and socially recognized rights. In the surveys discussed in this report, women who reported experiencing domestic violence were in fact more likely be among those who made significant economic contributions to the household. As for reports of epidemic levels of post-earthquake extra-domestic rape and violence against women: we found no evidence in the Leogane and Carrefour surveys to support the claims.

Returning to the trend in the literature of misrepresenting Haiti's popular class gender patterns, not all scholars have overlooked the prominence and high degree of *de facto* male-female equity. In her 2006 Gender Assessment for USAID, Gardella emphasized that Haitians show no gender

preference in educating their children. The Understanding Children's Work Project (2006), drawing on EMMUS 2005-6, concluded that Haitian boys more often than girls work outside the home, they work harder than girls, and they work for longer hours than girls. In terms of adult female participation in the work force, Haiti is second only to Lesotho as that developing country with the highest rate of female economic participation; in 1995 the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) estimated male vs. female participation rates at 87% and 62%, respectively (IDB 1999). Moreover, there is at least some strong evidence that rural female headed households may be better off--or at least not as badly off--as their male counterparts: Sletten and Egset's (2004) found that 28% of rural households are headed by women and 72% are headed by men; but four times as many rural male-headed households face "extreme food insecurity." In the surveys discussed in this report we found that in both rural and urban areas Single Female Headed Households were materially as or better off than those households with both a male and female head.

None of this to say that there are not serious gender issues that should be addressed. Haitian gender patterns have been widely misunderstood. But times are changing. Haiti has gone from 95% rural in 1950 to 60% rural in 2000. The year 2009 marking the first time that Haiti was as urban as it was rural (World Bank 1995; CIA 2005). In the three years since the earthquake the urban population has shot to 55 percent (World Bank 2013). This means that a large portion of the Haitian female youth is no longer being reared in an ambience where they can look forward to the traditional female dominated rural marketing system as a means to economic autonomy. Nor will they have the socially defined rights to control household production--specifically, the traditionally defined female ownership of household agricultural produce. Greater physical presence of men --i.e. less male transience with urban employment--and greater dependency on male dominated wage labor also seems to bode a loss of power and prestige for women. And indeed, while it was seen above that in rural areas there are dramatically fewer "extremely poor" female vs. male-headed households, other researchers report the opposite in the urban environment. Gardella (2006) noted that 26 percent of female headed households in Port-au-Prince are "extremely poor" vs. 17 percent of those headed by males. While we did not find similar results in the present survey, associated with this disparity is the fact that the single most powerful predictor of household economic status in Port-au-Prince is if the household head has a salaried job in the formal sector, an area where men outnumber women by a factor as high as 3 to 1 and where men monopolize the upper income strata (Sletten and Egset, 2004:14; Charmes 2000; Gardella 2006:11). With all that said, we hope that findings in this report present a sobering perspective on gender relations in Haiti and insight into how they are changing so that we might better prepare for an uncertain future.

3. Questionnaire

The questionnaire was designed with two overriding goals in mind,

- 1) Ask questions that encourage honest and accurate responses
- 2) Gather information that puts Haitian gender roles in cultural perspective

To achieve these objectives we formulated questions to be as gender neutral as possible; and, wherever logical, we asked the same questions about men as we did about women.

The questionnaire was inspired by CARE Gender Kit (2013) and a series of cross-cultural gender scales. Specifically, we drew on Horizons and Promundo's *Gender-Equitable Men (GEM)*, Scale, (Pulerwitz and Barker 2008). Schuler, Hashemi, and Riley's (1997) *Women's Empowerment Scale*, Waszak, Severy, Kafafi, and Badawi's (2000) *Gender Norm Attitudes Scale*, Stephenson, Bartel, and Rubardt's (2010) *Gender Relations Scale*, Leon and Foreit's (2009) *Household Decision-Making Scale*, and Pulerwitz, Gortmaker, and DeJong's (2000) *Sexual Relationship Power Scale* (for a summary of each scale see Nanda 2011)

Many of the 'cross-cultural' questions seemed inherently bias in their formulation, encouraging us to make modifications. For example, rather than asking "Who needs sex more, men or women?" the Gender Equitable Men (GEM) Scale asks, "Do men need sex more than women do?" Wherever possible we made such questions gender neutral. Where the GEM Scale asks, "If it is the woman's responsibility to avoid getting pregnant" we relied on less direct questions to frame the structure of control over a woman's reproduction, such as "under what conditions is abortion justifiable?" and "if a man/woman has the right to use contraceptives without informing their spouse?"

From the Women's Empowerment Scale (WES) we took the questions 'has family taken something from you,' 'are you free to visit family,' 'freed to join organizations,' 'do you own possessions privately,' 'what is your role as contributor of resources,' and 'who performs specific household chores.' Most of these questions were modified for ease of applicability. For example rather than asking exactly how much a woman contributed we asked "who was the first and second most important contributor of household support?" And once again we tried to frame the questions so that they were gender neutral: where WES poses the question, 'a *real man* produces a male child (rather than a female)?' we sought to determine child preference by posing the situational question, "a couple with three girls vs a couple with three boys, who is better off?"

We drew one question from the Gender Norm Attitudes Scale. Specifically, "when a child is sick who usually knows better what to do? Father, mother, same" In this case we modified the question to fit the particular household and to capture all people in the household, a decision encouraged by knowing that in Haiti it is often the grandmother or another family member who prevails in the case of important household decisions. Specifically, we asked, "when one of the children in the house is sick who knows best what to do?"

We were inspired by two questions from the Gender Relations Scale: "a man can hit his wife if she will not have sex with him?" and "a woman should be faithful and have sex with her husband even if her husband has another wife or lover?" We tried to take the hint of female bias out of these questions by posing instead the hypothetical situation of, "what a woman should do if her husband was having a sexual relationship with another woman?" and we tried to make it gender neutral by also asking "what a man should do if his wife was having an affair?"

We were inspired by the Household Decision-Making Scale question, "who usually makes decisions about making major household purchases?" We asked the exact question. We also added, "who manages the household budget?" And finally we were inspired by the Sexual Relationship Power Scale (SRPS) situational questions, "my partner does what he wants, even if I do not want him to?" and "I do what I want even if my partner does not want me to?" We also borrowed verbatim the question, "When my partner and I disagree (1) he usually gets his way, 2) we usually compromise, 3) I usually get my way)."

Training and pretests

Our 14 enumerators, two supervisors, data monitor and the consultant engaged in three day training and exchange of ideas to refine of the questionnaire. We performed three pretests for a total of 195 pretested questionnaires. After each test we reviewed the questions, corrected errors, modified content, perfected our understanding of the questions and shared experiences and insights into the manner in which we elicited responses.

Ethical Review

We evaluated the questionnaire in lieu of admonishments in the CARE Gender Tool Kit (2013) and the two major post-earthquake gender studies, one approved by US University of Michigan School of Social Work (Mortality, Crimes and Basic Needs Assessment) and the other approved by a collection of five of Haiti's most active and respected feminist organizations (POTOFI 2012). University of Michigan School of Social Work approved a series of studies in Haiti by the Geneva Small Arms Survey (see Kolbe et. al.) that include visiting people in their homes, asking respondents if anyone in the household had been raped over a specified period of time and then, if the response was yes, inquiring about intimate details of the assault, including specifics of penetration. The POTOFI Study identified pregnant teenagers and asked them intimate questions regarding how they became pregnant, including whether or not they had been raped and under what circumstances. The present survey did not ask intrusive questions about the sexual behavior or traumatic sexual experiences of the respondents or household members (nor would we expect welcome compliance or forthcoming and honest responses). Before each survey enumerators read an explanation of the survey and respondents sign a consent form.

4. Methodology

The survey design was a 1,600 residences random and systematically selected cluster sample, stratified for women vs. men and age.

Clusters, Selection, and number of respondents: A cluster was defined by the closest 24 residences to random and systematically selected latitudinal and longitudinal coordinates. The target number of clusters was 36; with 24 respondents per cluster. In each cluster surveyors sought to identify 3 respondents for each of the 8 age and sex categories (see Table 4.1). The number of clusters selected and respondents interviewed per cluster conforms to the USAID Feed the Future (2012) recommended clusters selected (36+) and WHO ideal number of respondents per cluster of 20 to. Because of the rugged terrain and bad weather in Leogane, 7 clusters chosen in mountainous areas were replaced with points randomly selected in low lying areas .

Table 4.1: Target Sample Size and Stratification				
	Age	Male	Female	Total
Carrefour	18-25	100	100	200
	26 - 35	100	100	200
	36 - 50	100	100	200
	50+	100	100	200
	Total	400	400	800
Leogane	18-25	100	100	200
	26 - 35	100	100	200
	36 - 50	100	100	200
	50+	100	100	200
	Total	400	400	800
Total		800	800	1600

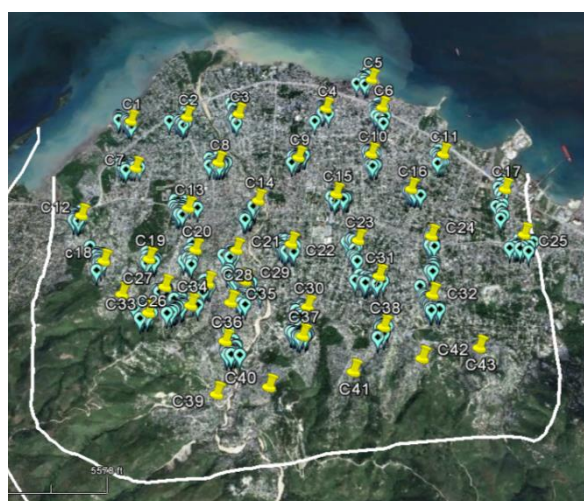


Image 4.1: Carrefour is on the left and Leogane on the right. The yellow waypoint markers are selected sample points. The blue markers are the actual sites visited.

Respondents per Residence, Absenteeism and Replacement: Enumerators interviewed one respondent per residence. In cases of absenteeism or failure to locate enough respondents for each category within a cluster, additional 'nearest' houses were included in the cluster sample. For the sake of logistical expediency enumerators sometimes moved on to other clusters without having interviewed respondent quotas. To account for shortfalls additional clusters were added at the end of both Leogane and Carrefour surveys. The total number of clusters actually visited was 41 in Carrefour and 36 in Leogane. Total respondents for all age categories, both sexes and in each of the two communes is given in Table 4.2 and Charts 4.1, 4.2.

Table 4.2: Age Groups for Actual Sample Taken						
Sex of Respondent	Age Groups					Total
	18 to 25	26 to 35	36 to 50	Sum of 50 +	Missing	
Female	203	205	200	203	9	820
Male	201	204	209	204	19	823
Grand Total	404	409	409	407	28	1629

Chart 4.1: Sex of Respondents

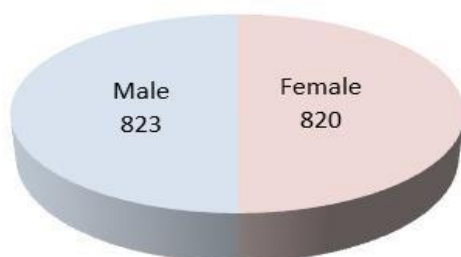
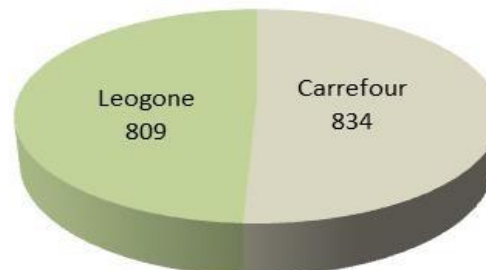


Chart 4.2: Respondents per Commune



Date and duration of survey: Training and surveys began April 15th and were completed May 15th.

Team Structure and logistics: The teams were structured in male and female team-pairs. There were seven team-pairs. They traveled by motorcycles; one two person male-female team-pair per motorcycle. One supervisor and the consultant also traveled by motorcycle. The other supervisor traveled by four-wheel drive vehicle. The data monitor--who only visited base camps--traveled most often on public transportation. Enumerators and supervisors slept at base camps located at each of the two sites.

Interviews and data monitoring: Female enumerators interviewed female respondents and male enumerators interviewed male respondents. Two supervisors and the consultant monitored performance and cluster selection. Review of the accuracy of cluster selection and data was compounded and reviewed daily. A data monitor telephoned 10% of all respondents interviewed

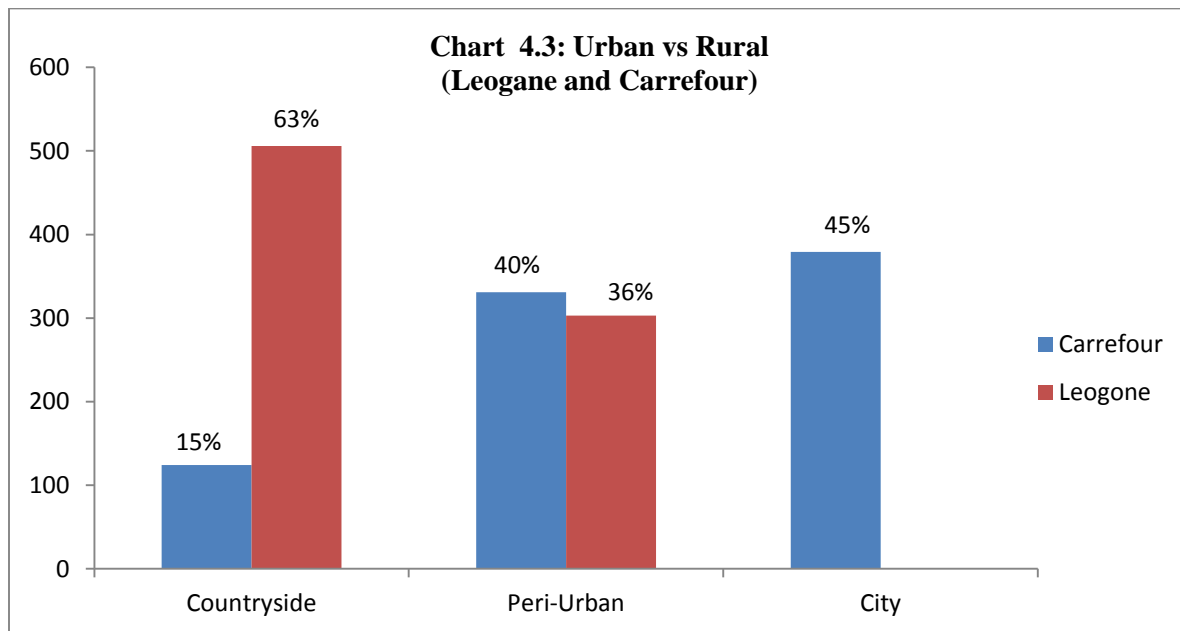
and verified the interviews; 67% of those called were reached, a figure that corresponds with our findings on other surveys. The reason for 33% not being reached had to do with telephone service, no response and small portion (5%) of errors in telephone numbers, wrong names and surveyors being given the number of a neighbor or friend of the respondent who was unaware of what we were inquiring about. The frequency of all the preceding falls well within the bounds of what we have found on prior surveys.

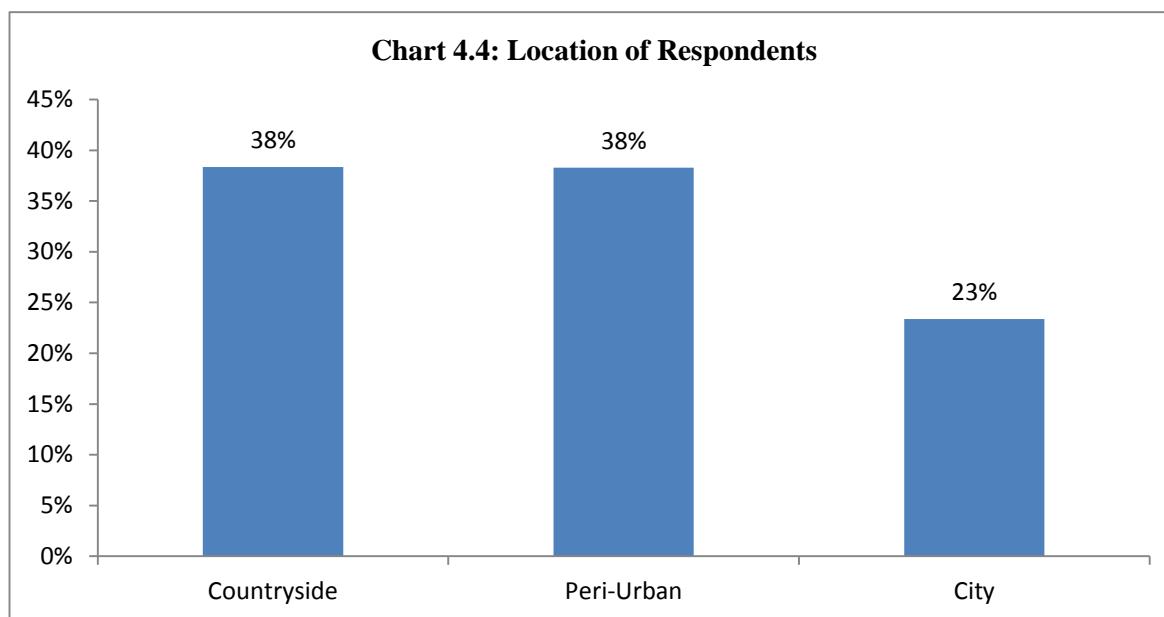
Non-Responses

There were a total of 12 people who refused to be interviewed; 6 interviews were prematurely ended because of poor communication or disruption from other sources.

Equipment and software: The survey instruments were Samsung Galaxy tablets with questions loaded into ODK software platform. The app program GPS Essentials was downloaded onto each tablet and used to locate the pre-selected longitudinal and latitudinal coordinates (preselected on Google Earth). Excel and SPSS software were used during analysis.

Sample Stratification: As seen the survey sample was pre-stratified for age and sex. We also included an urbanization component, trying to make sure that we captured enough rural and peri-urban respondents in Leogane to compare with heavily urbanized Carrefour (see Charts 4.3, 4.4).





5. Respondent Profiles: Origin, Urban vs Rural, Work and Education

We begin the summary of findings with a basic demographic description of the people interviewed. Haiti's is currently characterized by a high rate of rural to urban migration. The trend was evident among survey respondents (Chart 5.1). Twenty-four percent of respondents came from outside the Department of the West, where Leogane and Carrefour are located. There were at least five respondents from each one of Haiti's ten Departments (Table 5.1).

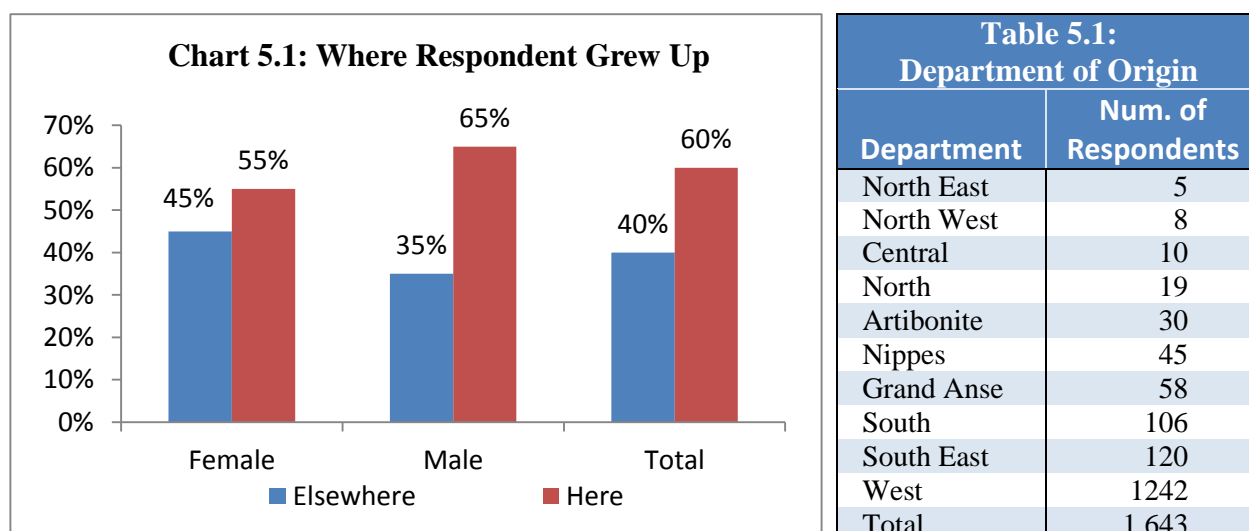


Table 5.1: Department of Origin	
Department	Num. of Respondents
North East	5
North West	8
Central	10
North	19
Artibonite	30
Nippes	45
Grand Anse	58
South	106
South East	120
West	1242
Total	1,643

Respondents also exhibited high levels of illiteracy characteristic of elsewhere in Haiti (Chart 5.3). However, rates of male vs. female educational attainment were, in contrast to the national rates, skewed in favor of males: only 16% of men in the samples had never attended school versus 25% of women (Charts 5.2); 59% of males vs. 46% of females had finished the 7th grade (Chart 5.3). In comparison, the national average for illiteracy among adult females is 22.3 %; and for males 23.3% for a total illiteracy rate of 22.8% (EMMUS 2012). A greater proportion of the sample in Leogane versus Carrefour were found to be illiterate (Chart 5.4). The relationship was pronounced for both sexes: the difference for women being 19% in Carrefour vs. 31% in Leogane, and the difference for men being 9% in Carrefour and 23% in Leogane (Chart 5.5 & 5.6). The difference in number of women versus men who are illiterate within each commune is also pronounced: 10% more Carrefour women versus men were found to be illiterate; 8% more Leogane women versus men were found to be illiterate. All these relationships were statistically significant (Chart 5.6).

Chart 5.2: No Education

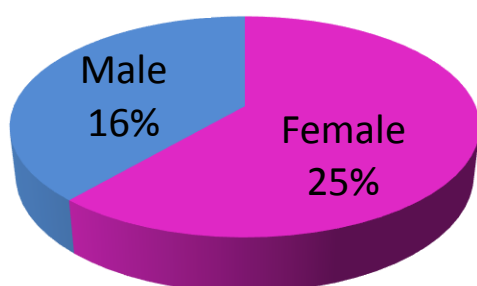


Chart 5.3: At Least 7th Grade

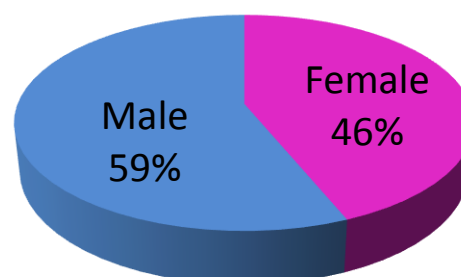
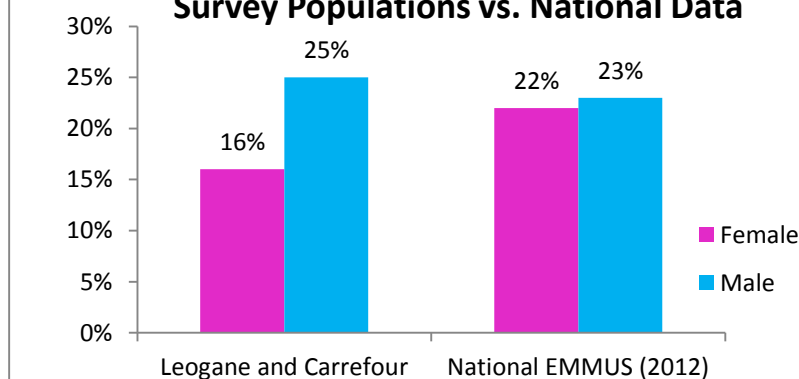


Chart 5.4: Comparison of Proportion of Population with no Education: Survey Populations vs. National Data



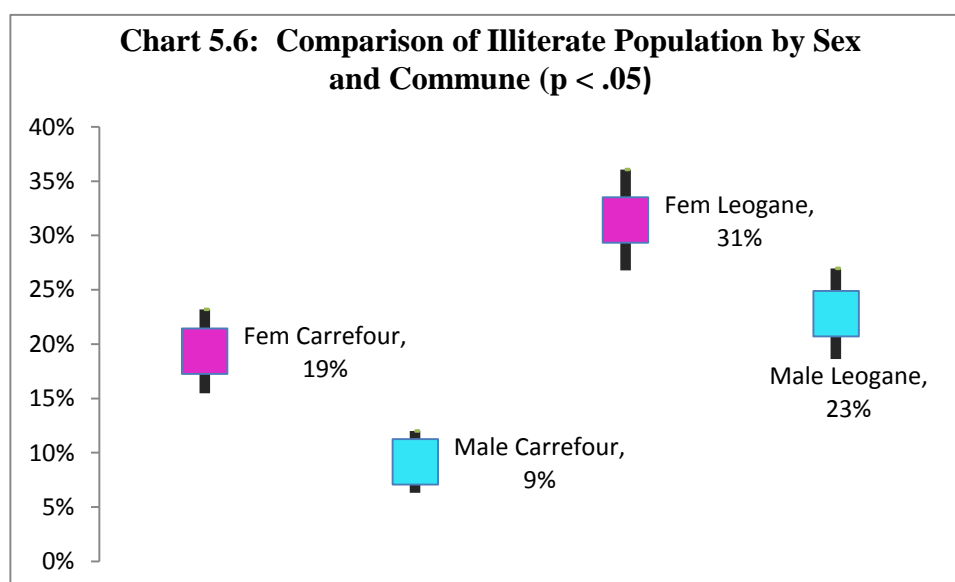
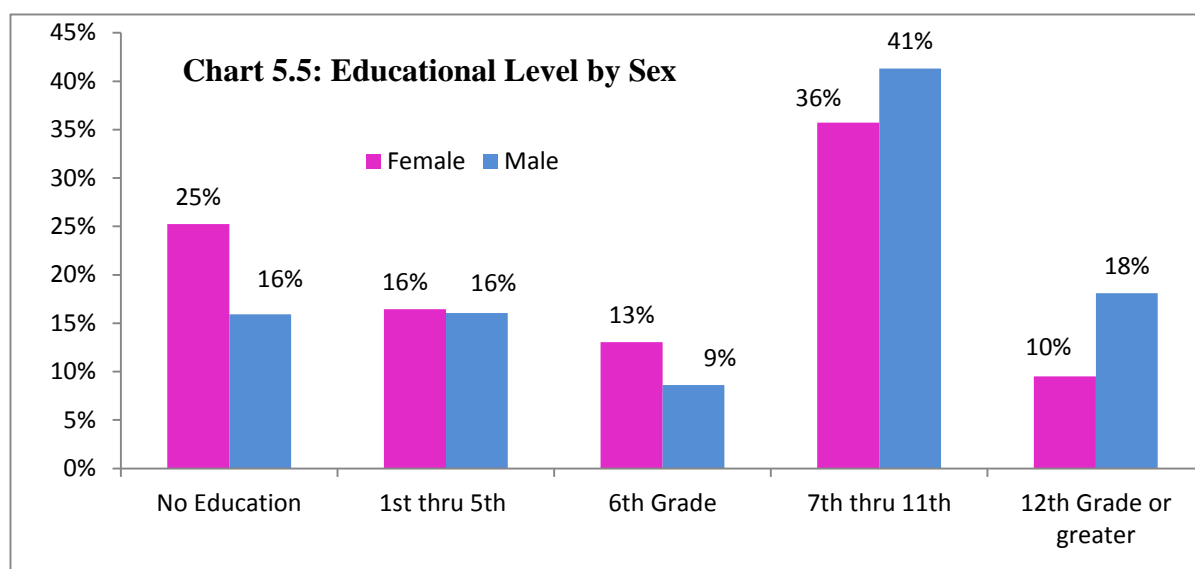


Table 5.2, lists self-identified skills as respondents reported them. But note that this data does not refer to source of income. Some respondents overlooked their occupations and reported no skill. For example, in Table 5.2 below 334 of 820 women reported commerce as a skill. But in Section Six, Table 6.12, it can be seen that in 969 of the 1,643 households visited at least one resident woman was engaged in commerce.^{vi}

Table 5.2: Skills of Respondents			
	Female	Male	Total
Accountant	0	0	0
Police	0	0	0
Lawyer	0	2	2
Fisherman	0	3	3
Doctor	0	3	3
Communication	2	2	4
Performer	1	6	7
Traditional healer	2	5	7
Iron Worker	0	8	8
Security guard	0	9	9
Cook	13	0	13
Mason	0	17	17
Carpenter	0	18	18
Artisan	7	13	20
Teacher	10	14	24
Nurse/Medical Tech	22	2	24
Plumber/electrician	0	25	25
Baker	33	5	38
Beauticien/Barber	46	1	47
Farmer	7	48	55
Business	40	21	61
Driver	0	63	63
Computer operator	37	37	74
Tailor/Seamstress	65	11	76
Professional other	35	60	95
Commerce	334	34	368
Nothing	166	416	582

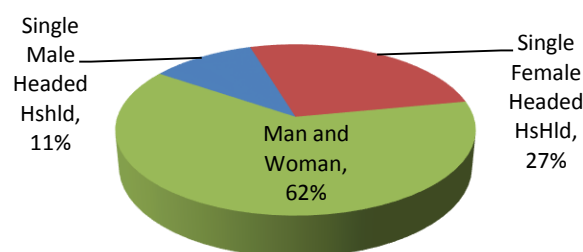
6. The Household

Defining Household Heads

Our investigation of gender and differential status really begins here, with an analysis of gender specific headship and financial contributions. Respondents identified households as female or male headed. But the category is highly subjective. For example, a respondent might say that the household is female headed because the mother is present but say male headed if the father is present; it is also unknown to what extent women might report themselves as household head when in fact they have little decision making power; and they may report their husband as head when in fact he has little influence on daily decision making. The same is true for subjective reporting from men. In short, if we base Household Headship on the subjective response of the person interviewed we have no idea what 'female headed' or 'male headed' really means. Thus we modified the category to be *de facto* household heads. Specifically, households that respondents defined as male or female headed but in which the head resided with a live-in spouse of the opposite sex we placed in the category of Male-Female Headed Household (MFHH). The other two categories were Single Female Headed Households (SFHH) and Single Male Headed Households (SMHH).

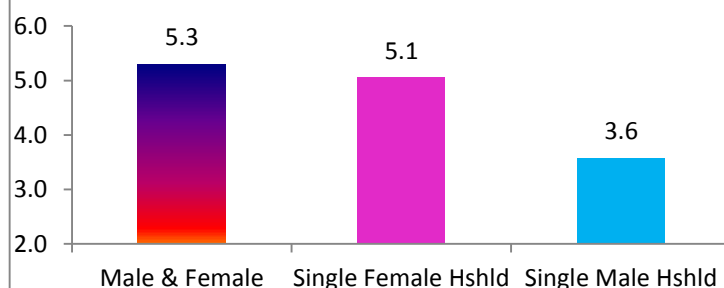
However, there were very few Single Male Headed Households (177 or 11% of all households: See Chart 6.1 right); and they had much fewer members on average (Chart 6.2). Part of the reason is that 38 (23%) of the households had only a single male living in them; another 37 (22%) had only 2 people living in them; fully 82 (46%) of the men who headed them had no children and 68 (38%) were not and never had never been in union (Table 6.1).

Chart 6.1: Household Type



Number of residents	Male & Female	Single Female Hshld	Single Male Hshld
1	2%	4%	23%
2	9%	11%	22%
3	17%	19%	17%
4	20%	21%	13%
5	19%	18%	7%
6	13%	13%	12%
7+	19%	15%	6%

Chart 6.2: People per Hshld by Hshld Type

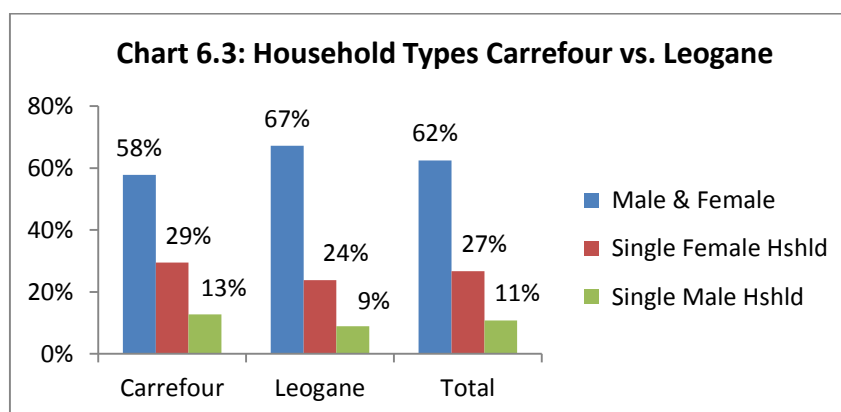


Thus, almost half of the Single Male-Headed households were not functioning units around which productive labor was organized and children being raised; rather most were domiciles for young men in transition from being children to becoming adults. Women on the other hand almost never live alone and were members of larger households. This trend suggests that a natural definition of household in the communities includes a lone or single female head or a man and a female *de facto* co-head, whether she is identified as a household head or not. Thus, the analysis below focuses on differences between Single Female-Headed Households and Male-Female Headed Households. In the Charts and Tables we include data for Single Male Headed Households but only for interest, not as a principal comparative category. In later sections we will drop the Household Head categories entirely for the more useful categorization strategy, "Sex of 1st and 2nd Most Important Contributors of Income."

Table 6.2: Population Household			
Household Type	Average of Household Pop	Average Number of Servants	Average of Restavec
Single Male	3.79	0.05	0.29
Single Female	5.31	0.15	0.31
Man and Woman	5.68	0.06	0.41
Total	5.38	0.08	0.37

Urban vs. Rural Household Dimension

To add the dimension of urban vs. rural households, we consider the division of Carrefour (entirely urban and peri-urban) vs. Leogane (peri-urban and rural), and we used this distinction in the analysis of material household status on the following pages (Tables 6.3).



Household Headship and Material Status Indicators

Tables 6.3 thru to 6.11 suggest unexpected differences between Single Female Headed Households (SFHH) vs. Male and Female Headed Households (MFHH). Based on observations seen in the Review of the Literature we expected that rural Single Female Headed Households would be relatively well-off compared to their Male-Female headed counterparts and that urban Single Female Headed Households would be economically worse off. What we found suggests the opposite. Specifically, compared to Male-Female Headed Households, Single Female Headed Households in Carrefour (entirely urban or peri-urban) more often have a concrete roof (57% to 53%), more often have a flush toilet (20% to 17%), more often have a cistern or spigot in the house or yard (34% to 25%), more often purchase bottled water (16% to 15%), more often use propane gas to cook (7% to 5%), more often have electricity (98% to 97%), and more often own both the home and the house that it is built on (52% vs. 49%). In addition to all this, Single Female Headed Households in Carrefour spend more money on the oldest child's education (US\$30.24 vs US\$25.04 per month).

In summary, with respect to every material variable measured, Single Female-Headed Households in the more urban commune of Carrefour came out better off than those households in which there is both a male and female head. While most of these differentials are not, for the size of the survey, statistically significant, together they provide a strong suggestion that Single Female-Headed Households in urban and peri-urban Carrefour are better off than their Male-Female Headed Households counterparts (Tables 6.3 thru 6.11).

With respect to peri-urban and rural Leogane, Single Female Headed Households do not make as strong a showing, but rather appear to be equal to Male-Female Headed Households. An equal proportion of each has a concrete roof (6% to 6%), a flush toilet (5% to 5%), and uses propane gas as cooking fuel (2% to 2%). Male-Female Headed households in Leogane more often have a cistern or spigot in the house or yard (11% to 9%) and are more often hooked up to the national electric grid (64% to 58%). But Single Female Headed Households more often purchase bottled water (16% to 14%), they spend more on the oldest child's education (US\$27.62 vs. US\$25.03), and they more frequently own both the home and land (77% vs. 72%; see Chart 6.4 & Tables 6.3 thru 6.11).

Table 6.3: Roof Type					
Commune	Type	Male & Female	Single Female Hshld	Single Male Hshld	Total
Carrefour	Concrete	53%	57%	51%	54%
	Tin	41%	37%	45%	41%
	Tarp	6%	6%	4%	6%
Leogane	Concrete	6%	6%	7%	6%
	Tin	86%	85%	85%	86%
	Tarp	7%	8%	8%	8%

Table 6.4: Latrine					
Commune	Type of Toilet	Male & Female	Single Female Hshld	Single Male Hshld	Total
Carrefour	Flush Toilet	17%	20%	16%	18%
	Block Latrine	59%	59%	66%	60%
	Wood Latrine	17%	17%	10%	16%
	Hole	4%	1%	4%	3%
	None	3%	3%	4%	3%
Leogane	Flush Toilet	5%	5%	6%	5%
	Block Latrine	44%	38%	51%	43%
	Wood Latrine	30%	32%	27%	30%
	Hole	11%	14%	7%	11%
	None	10%	11%	9%	10%

Table 6.5: Water Source					
Commune	Source	Male & Female	Single Female Hshld	Single Male Hshld	Total
Carrefour	Cistern/Spigot at house	25%	34%	21%	27%
	Cistern/Spigot not at house	71%	63%	75%	69%
	Spring	2%	1%	4%	2%
	River	1%	1%	0%	1%
	Other	0%	0%	1%	0%
Leogane	Cistern/Spigot at house	11%	9%	8%	10%
	Cistern/Spigot not at house	61%	67%	53%	62%
	Spring	17%	16%	26%	17%
	River	8%	4%	10%	7%
	Other	3%	4%	3%	3%

Table 6.6: Potable Water					
Commune	Type	Male & Female	Single Female Hshld	Single Male Hshld	Total
Carrefour	Bottled	44%	46%	42%	44%
	Self-Treated	53%	52%	56%	53%
	Untreated	3%	2%	3%	3%
Leogane	Bottled	14%	16%	21%	15%
	Self-Treated	64%	72%	43%	64%
	Untreated	22%	12%	36%	21%

Table 6.7: Cooking Fuel					
		Male & Female	Single Female Hshld	Single Male Hshld	Total
Carrefour	Propane	5%	7%	5%	5%
	Charcoal	93%	91%	93%	92%
	Wood	2%	3%	2%	3%
Leogane	Propane	2%	2%	0%	2%
	Charcoal	42%	51%	32%	43%
	Wood	56%	48%	68%	55%

Table 6.8: Energy					
Commune	Sources	Male & Female	Single Female Hshld	Single Male Hshld	Total
Carrefour	Grid	97%	98%	94%	97%
	Generator	1%	1%	2%	1%
	Invertor	1%	0%	3%	1%
	Solar Panel	0%	0%	0%	0%
	Other	0%	0%	1%	1%
Leogane	Grid	64%	58%	57%	62%
	Generator	5%	3%	0%	4%
	Invertor	9%	8%	11%	9%
	Solar Panel	4%	7%	4%	5%
	Other	17%	23%	29%	20%

Table 6.9: Monthly Educational Expenditure for Oldest Child				
Commune	Male & Female	Single Female Hshld	Single Male Hshld	Total
Carrefour	\$25.04	\$30.24	\$28.24	\$20.02
Leogane	\$25.03	\$27.62	\$17.81	\$18.26

Chart 6.4: Home Ownership

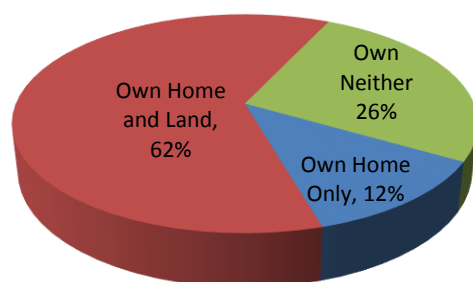


Table 6.10: Average Cost of Rent (USD)	
House	\$327.49
Land	\$102.28

Table 6.11: Home Ownership					
Commune	Ownership	Male & Female	Single Female Hshld	Single Male Hshld	Total
Carrefour	Own Home Only	10%	7%	9%	9%
	Own Land Only	1%	0%	0%	0%
	Own Both	49%	52%	55%	50%
	Own Neither	40%	41%	36%	40%
Leogane	Own Home Only	16%	11%	18%	15%
	Own Land Only	0%	1%	0%	0%
	Own Both	72%	77%	65%	73%
	Own Neither	12%	10%	17%	12%

Headship and Economic Contributions

In planning for the survey with CARE staff, we hypothesized that a tool more powerful than headship in illuminating the causes underlying gender differential treatment and behavior would be the extent to which women supported the economic wellbeing of the households. It is also necessary to have such a measure when assessing male-female relationships within households because, as seen with household type, in 27% of households there is no male-head, not even as co-head. In short, we cannot effectively evaluate adult gender relations for cases where only one gender is present (a woman).

Charts 6.5 thru 6.7, below, give an overview of the frequency of 1st and 2nd contributors by sex of the contributors. In 70% of all households at least one of the two principal breadwinners is female; for males, in 79% of households at least one male is a 1st or 2nd ranked financial contributor. In only 19% of households are both primary breadwinners male and in only 13% are both female. In 35% of households the primary breadwinner is male and the secondary is female; and in 13% of cases it is the reverse, the primary breadwinner is female and the second breadwinner male.

Table 6.12 and 6.13 list the different occupations by order of frequency (how many contributors depend on that occupation for income) and by order of importance (whether it is the source for first or second income contributors). Note in the tables the outstanding importance of commerce, cited twice as often as the next nearest source of income, 81% of the practitioners of which are women.

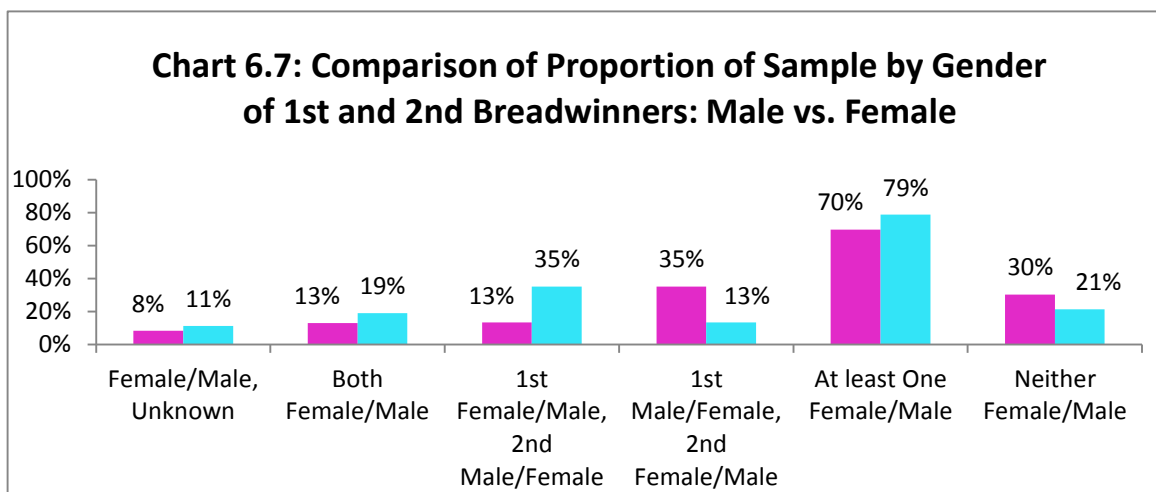
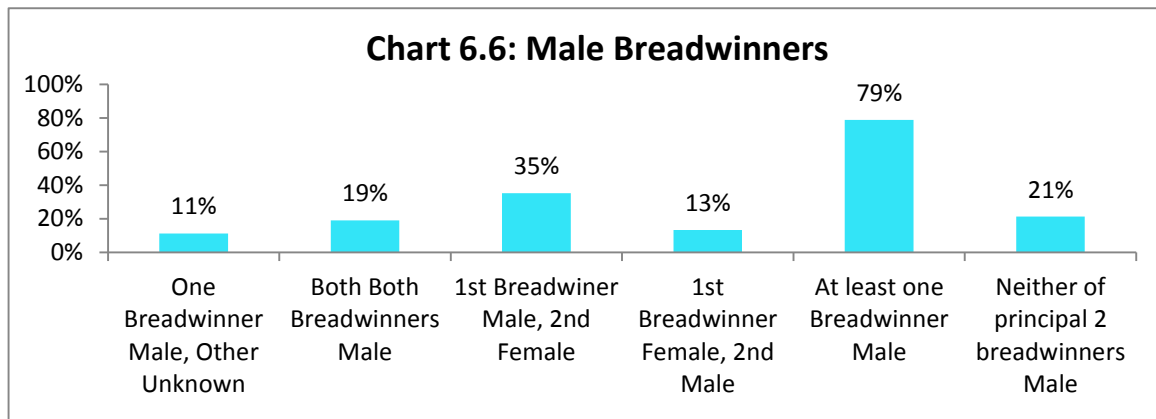
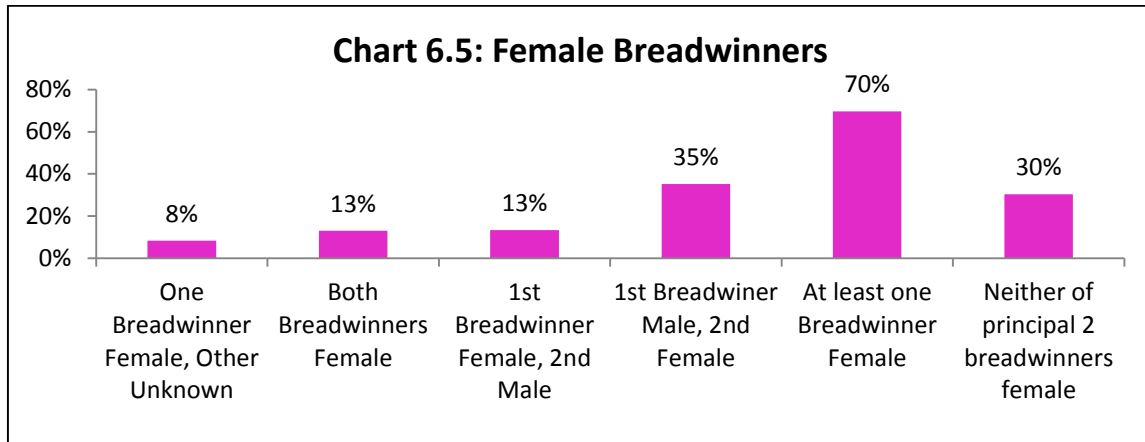


Table 6.12: Source of 1st and 2nd Contributor Income by Sex of Contributor					
Occupation	1st Contributor		2nd Contributor		Total
	Female	Male	Female	Male	
Tailor	2	3	1	1	7
Rental property	2	2	2	1	7
Loaning money	2	2	4	1	9
Workshop	2	8	0	0	10
Restaurant	7	2	5	2	16
Labor	1	13	1	7	22
Store	4	6	12	1	23
Manual labor	0	15	3	11	29
Artisan	1	15	3	11	30
Remittances	14	10	9	7	40
Taxi	2	67	5	46	120
Other	24	95	48	51	218
Skilled labor	0	175	3	78	256
Farming	6	196	28	98	328
Paid employment	61	256	71	132	520
Commerce	402	147	567	75	1191
Total	530	1012	762	522	2826

Table 6.13: Total Sources of Income First and Second Income			
First Source Income		Second Source of Income	
Tailor Business	0.3%	Tailor Business	0.2%
Loaning money	0.2%	Loaning money	0.2%
Rental property	0.3%	Rental property	0.3%
Restaurant	0.6%	Restaurant	0.7%
Store	0.6%	Store	0.8%
Workshop	0.6%	Workshop	0.8%
Labor	0.9%	Labor	0.9%
Artisan	1.0%	Artisan	1.0%
Manual labor	1.0%	Manual labor	1.0%
Remittances	1.7%	Remittances	1.3%
Taxi	4.5%	Taxi	3.3%
Skilled labor	10.9%	Skilled labor	5.4%
Farming	12.6%	Farming	8.0%
Paid employment	20.5%	Paid employment	13.9%
Commerce	34.3%	Commerce	40.8%
Other	10.0%	Other	21.2%

**Table 6.14: Sex of First and Second Income Providers
by Sex of Respondent Identified Household Head**

Self-Identified HsHld Head	Unknown	Female & Unknown	Female & Female	Female & Male	Male	Male & Female	Male & Male
Female	7%	19%	33%	16%	5%	14%	7%
Male	4%	1%	2%	6%	15%	38%	34%
Male & Female	2%	4%	3%	17%	12%	50%	11%
All households	4%	8%	12%	13%	11%	34%	18%

Differential Impact of Women vs. Men Being in Control of Household Resources

The intuitively obvious utility of having a measure of female economic power is that we can explore the extent to which female vs male control over household resources determines factors such as,

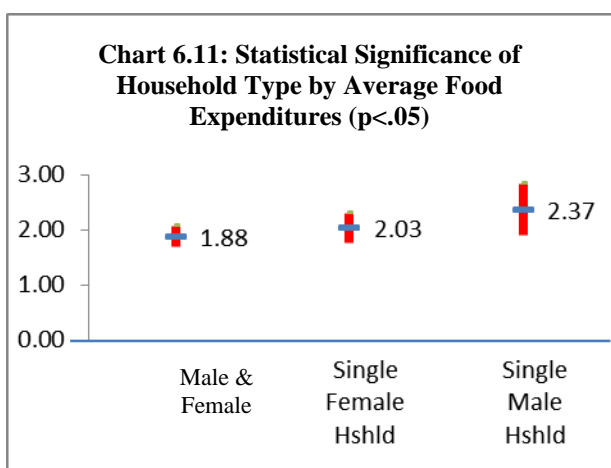
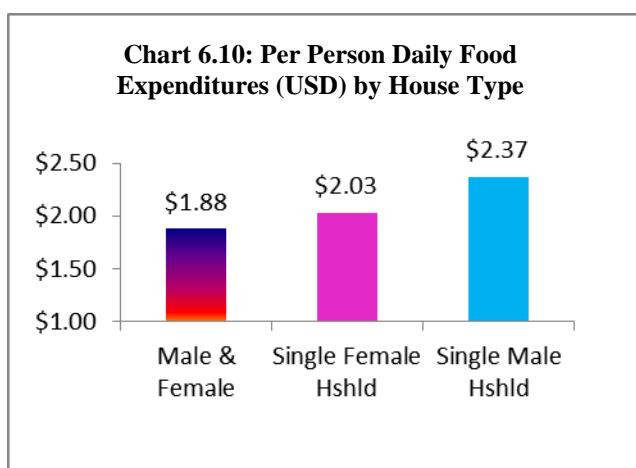
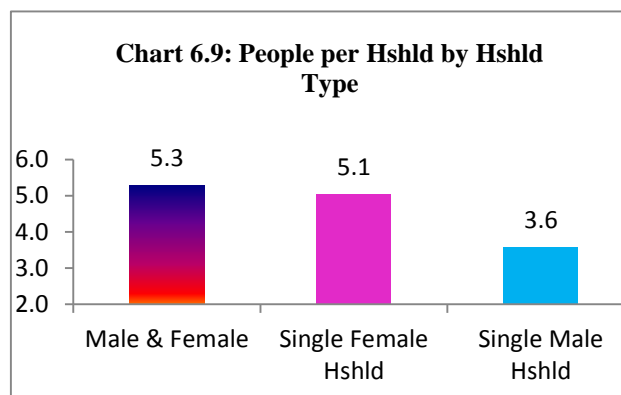
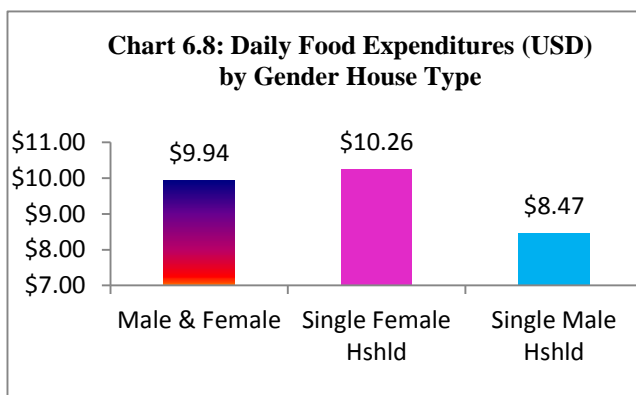
- 1) the nutritional well-being of other household members, particularly children, as manifest in food expenditures
- 2) gender specific performance of household chores,
- 4) how women are treated, or mistreated, by their husband and others around them.

Household Expenditures on Food

In the literature regarding the role of women in development a common assumption is that the more women are in control of household finances the greater the proportion of the household budget gets spent on nutrition (World Bank 2002). In preparing for the survey we made the same assumption and we included questions to test the veracity of this expectation. As seen below, the data at first seemed to support the notion that women spend more on household nutrition. But upon closer inspection the evidence suggests that men, when in control of the household budget, may spend as much or more on nutrition than do women.

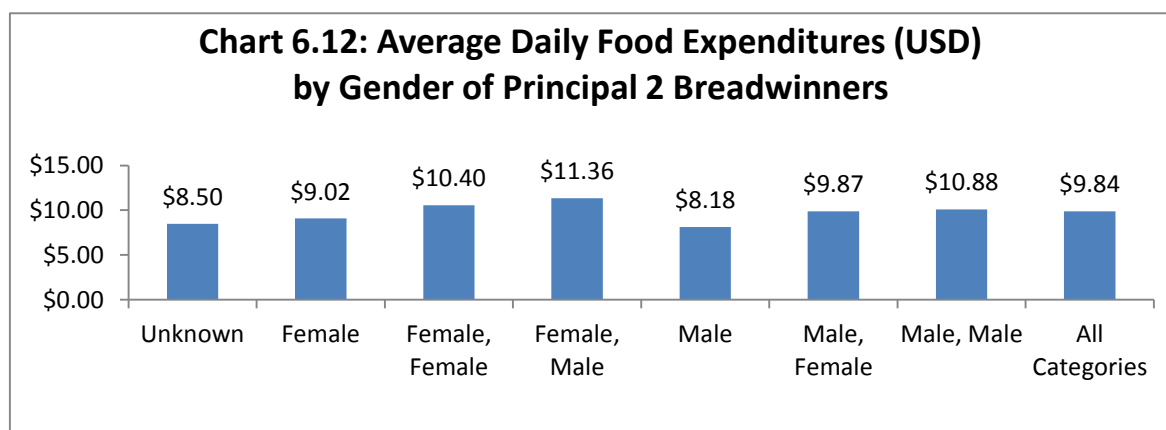
Expenditures on Food by Household Headship Type

The first issue we look at is expenditures on food per household per household type (Chart 6.8). But because of the different size of households per type, once again seen in Chart 6.9, it is more useful to examine expenditures per person for the different house types, as seen in Chart 6.10. In Chart 6.11 we see that when we consider household size, or rather expenditures per person per household type, Single Male Headed Households are seen to spend more on food than both Single Female Headed Households and Male-Female Headed Households. This is probably a consequence of something other than consideration for household members; specifically an economy of scale, the larger households preparing more food at a more economic price. Thus, we are left once again with the image of Single Female Households operating more favorably than their Male-Female Headed Households counterparts. Chart 6.12 illustrates that the relationships is not, for the sample size, statistically significant. Nevertheless, based on the more favorable resources, infrastructure and wealth of Single Female Headed Households seen in the previous section, we can infer that Single Female Headed Households once again have more resources or are at least able to more effectively marshal greater resources than Male-Female Headed Households.



Expenditures on Food by Household Head and Income Contributors

We next examine the influence of the new typology 'sex of first and second income contributors.' In Table 6.12 we see that those households where women are primary contributors of income spend more money on food than other households. But as seen in the following sections on who controls the household budget, this does not necessarily mean that women are more inclined than men to spend money on family nutrition.



Male vs. Female Control Over the Household Budget

Women in Haiti are traditionally the custodians of the household budget, we know this from the ethnographic literature (Murray 1977; Smucker 1983; Lowenthal 1987; Schwartz 2000). Only in the case of Single Male-Headed Households--that, as seen, have few resident women and for the most part do not classify as functioning household--do women control the budget in less than 50% of cases. Overall, in 71% of all households it is a woman who controls the budget (Chart 6.13 & 6.14). The upshot is that when present, women are overwhelmingly the custodians of the budget; and the more women contribute the more pronounced is the relationship.

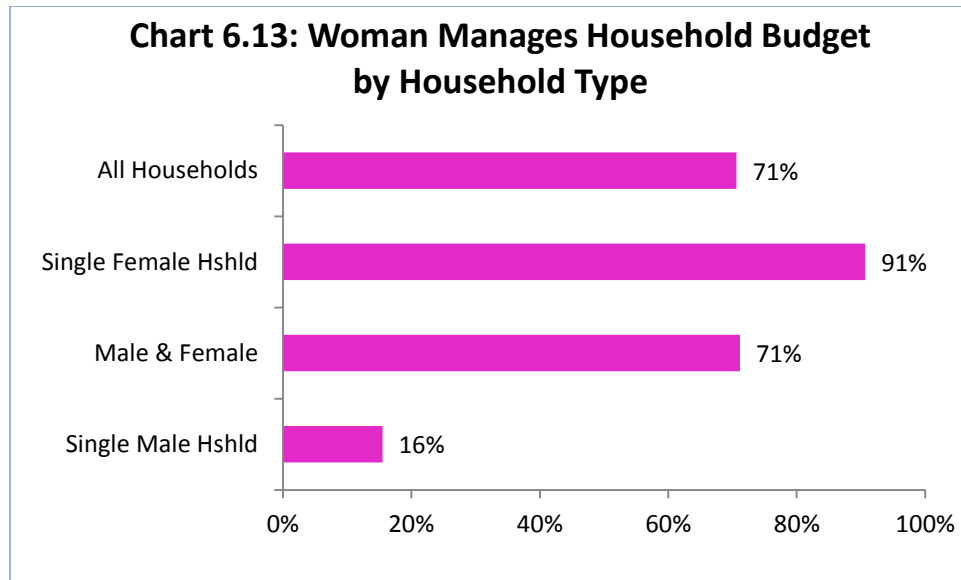
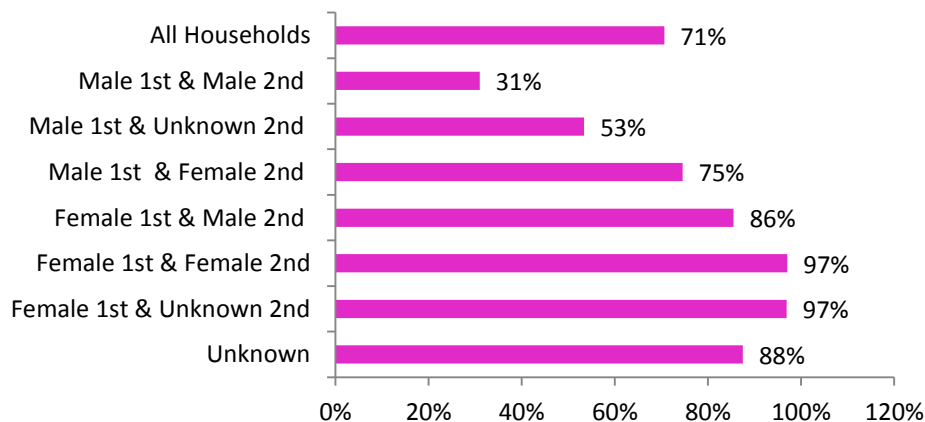
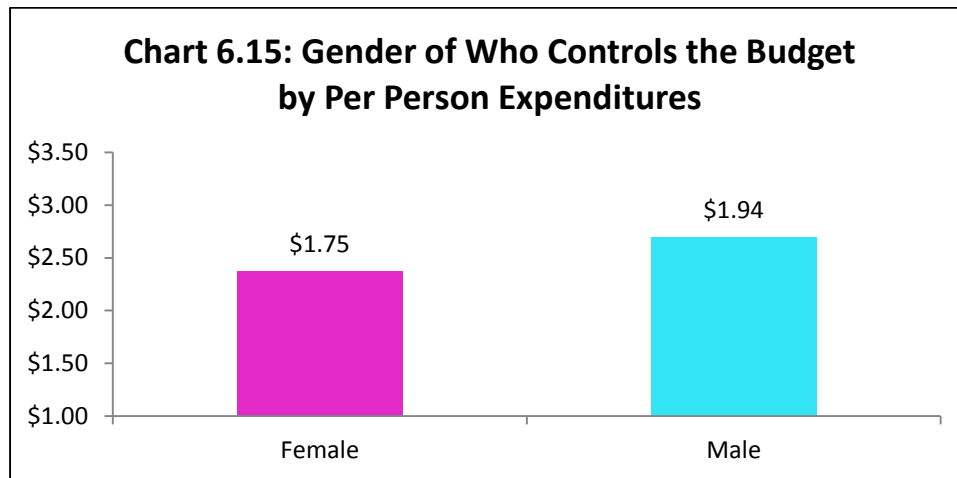


Chart 6.14: Female Manager of Budget by Gender of 1st and 2nd Contributors of Income

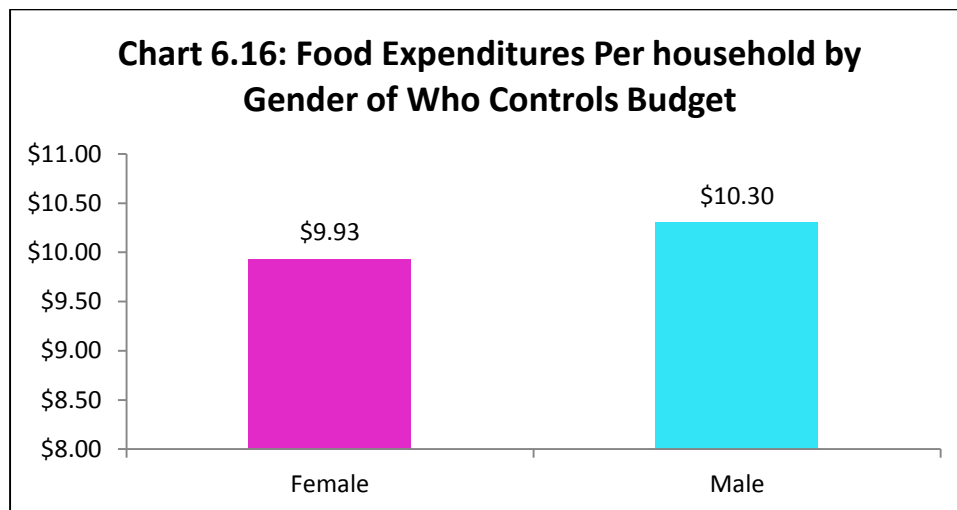


Female Control of the Budget and Household Expenditures on Food

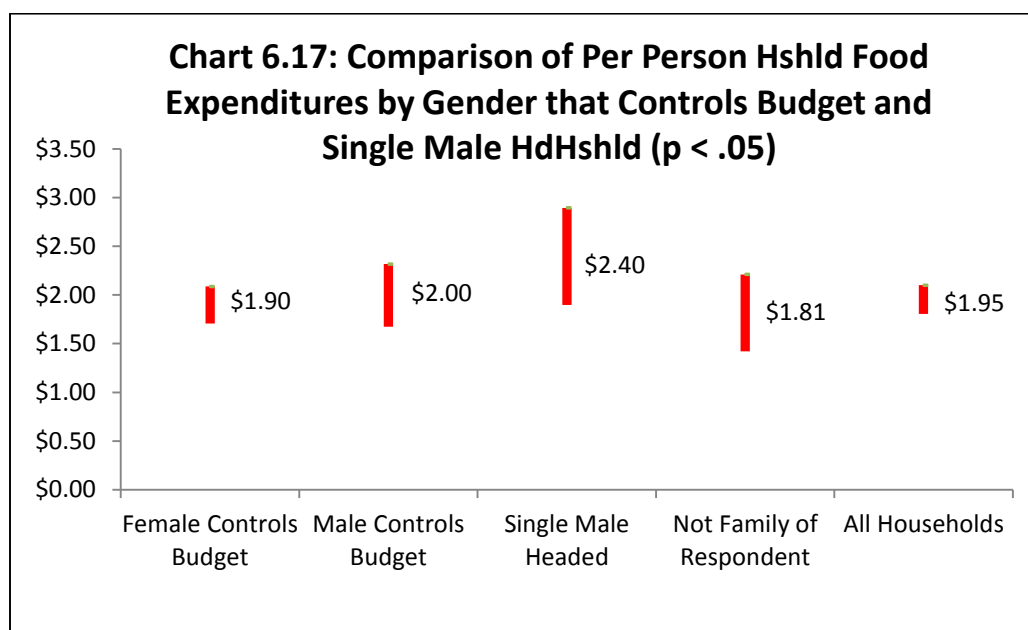
Despite the fact that we have seen that Single Female Headed Households tend to spend more on food than Male-Female Headed Households, when we examine expenditures in lieu of who controls the budget it appears that males in our sample spend more on food (Chart 6.15 & 6.16).



Missing = 235



One possible critique of the finding is lower presence of adult females in these household and the fact, seen earlier, that Single Male Headed households are much smaller than those with women co-heads or those with no man at all. But as seen in Chart 6.17, even if we reduce the correlation to expenditures per person and isolate in the analysis Household types we still find that males who control the budget tend to spend more than females. The relationship is not, for the sample size, statistically significant--as seen in the Chart 6.17. Moreover, it may still be true that women in control of the budget better feed the household by virtue of their role as marketers and access to better prices and trading partners. Nevertheless, the observation casts doubt on the assumption that Haitian women are more inclined to spend money on food for the household than their male counterparts.



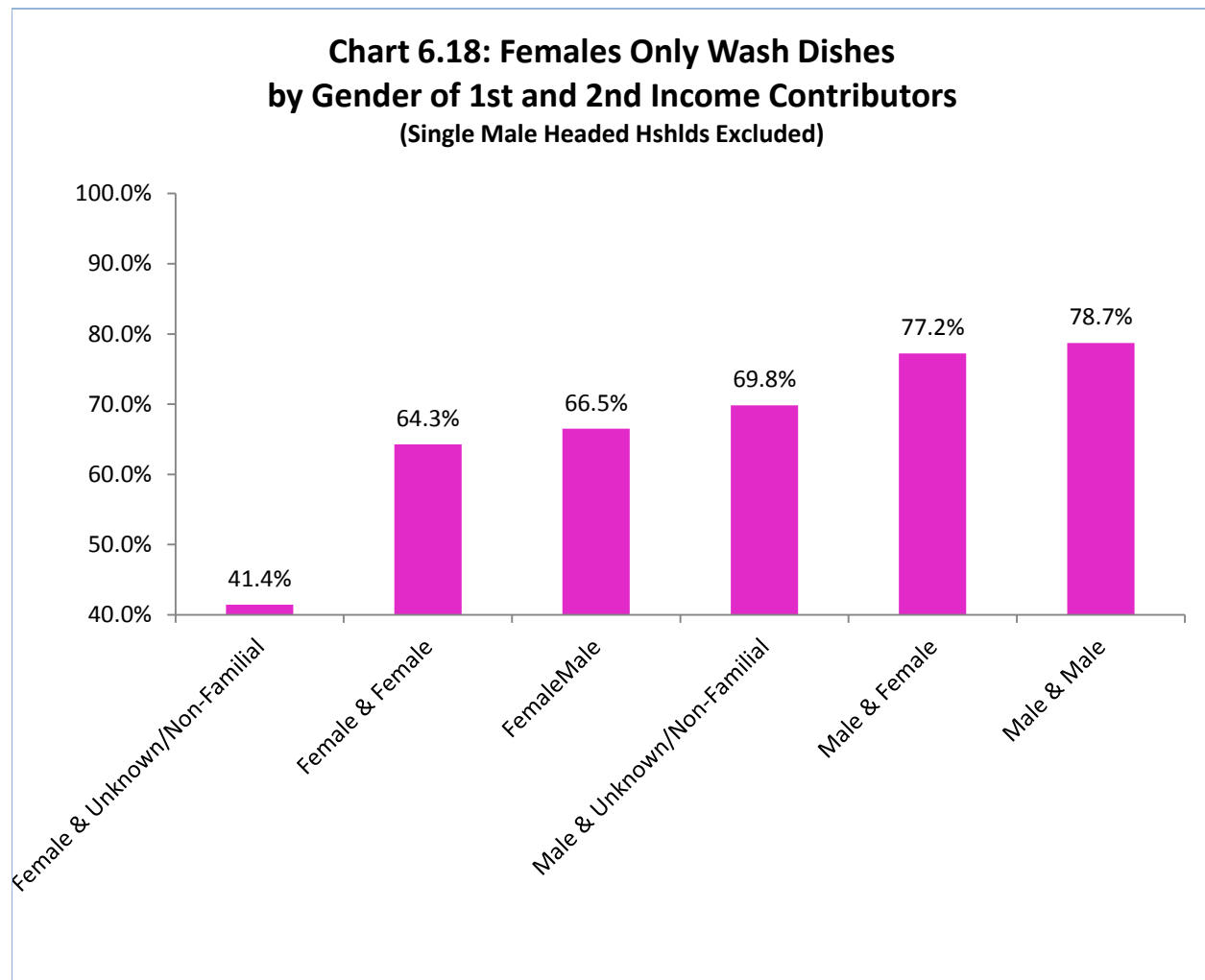
Chores

Another area of analytic interest is the impact of female economic status within the household on who is performing chores. In Table 6.15 we see that adult women and girls assume the bulk of the responsibility for household labor.

Table 6.15: Who is the Primary Performer of Household Tasks by Sex and Age								
	Women	Everyone	Man and Woman	Men	Girls	Boys	All Children	No One
Fetches Water	25%	27%	7%	12%	11%	8%	6%	2%
Washes Clothes	57%	13%	6%	6%	10%	2%	2%	0%
Washes Dishes	47%	12%	5%	5%	21%	2%	4%	0%
Child Care	28%	14%	10%	3%	4%	1%	1%	32%
Takes Children to School	16%	5%	6%	6%	2%	2%	0%	50%
Store Purchases	36%	24%	16%	6%	6%	4%	3%	2%
Cleans House	55%	12%	6%	5%	14%	2%	3%	0%
Plans Meals	58%	5%	19%	12%	2%	1%	0%	1%
Works Outside Home	33%	4%	30%	18%	1%	2%	0%	10%
Market Purchases	26%	15%	15%	8%	4%	3%	1%	22%
Makes Meals	63%	11%	6%	5%	9%	1%	1%	0%

Female Economic Contributions and Male Participation in Domestic Chores

In Chart 6.18 we use the single chore of "washing dishes" to evaluate the impact that female financial contributions have on the probability that males will participate. What we find is a clear and direct relationship between male contributions to washing dishes and the economic power of women: the more women contribute the more males help wash dishes; the less women contribute the less likely males are to participate in dish washing. The relationship is especially noteworthy as it stands out even without controlling for the fact that households with only female income contributors have fewer males present to wash dishes while households with only male contributors have fewer females.



Male Control Over Women

When preparing the survey, we wanted to know to what degree men directly control the behavior of women in terms of decision making, geographic mobility and participation in community action and development activities. We assumed that male repression would be manifest in their own and other opinions of who makes major household decisions, who wins arguments, if and who has to ask permission of whom to travel or join an organization. In Table 6.16 we see that men do tend to prevail in making major decisions and have the final word on who sleeps in the house. But for other responses we once again--despite knowing that woman are relatively prominent in the domestic sphere--got a surprise.

Table 6.16: Who Has Final Say		
Person with Final Say	Sleeps in the House	Big Decisions
Woman	19%	24%
Man	33%	27%
Man & Woman	37%	42%
Other	11%	7%

Whether the respondent was a male or female, they reported that the woman tends to win arguments with her partner more often than the man (Chart 6.19 & 6.20). When we examine the relationship in light of first and second financial contributors to the household (6.21) we find a clear relationship between whether a woman is an argument winner and the place of women in the household as economic contributors. In households where both 1st and 2nd contributor is a woman, females are three times more likely to be reported the usual argument winners: in 61% of cases the woman was reported as the usual winner and in 19% of cases the man was the usual winner. In contrast, when 1st and 2nd contributors are men, women are less likely to be the argument winner by a ratio of 3 to 2: in 47% of the cases the man is usually the winner and in 33% of cases the women was reported as the usual winner. Note however, that while the trend was clearly associated with female economic status, in every category except those where both economic contributors are male the woman was more often the usual winner. Compromise was approximately equal response for all the categories.

Chart 6.19: Who Usually Wins Arguments by Sex

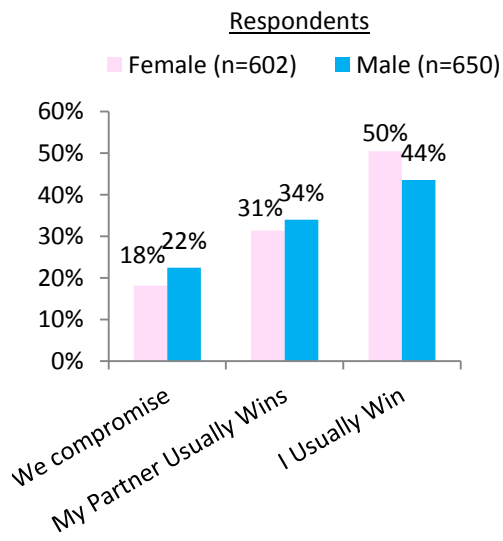
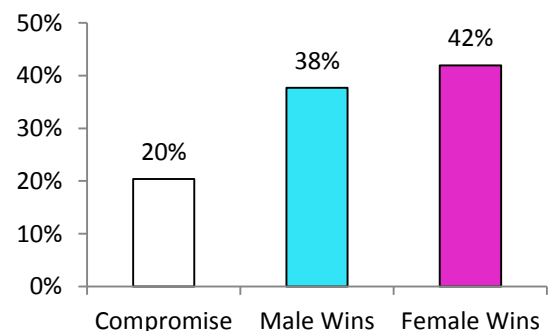
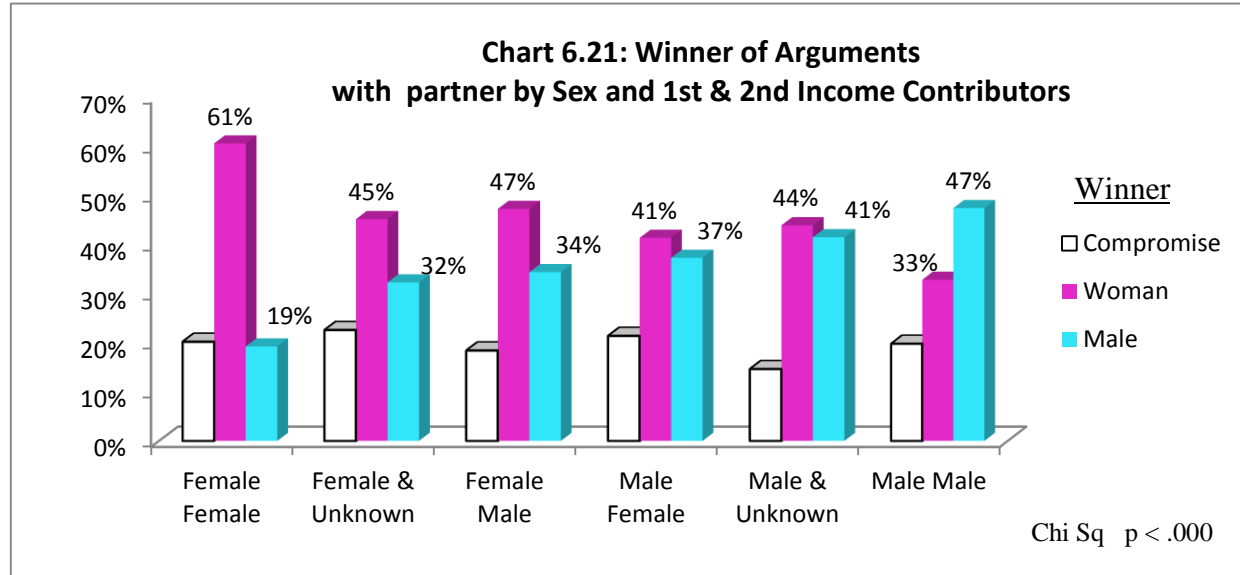


Chart 6.20: Who Usually Wins Arguments Between Partners (for all respondents with partners; n = 1,252)





Women also appear to be less under the control of their spouse than vice versa. Women reported asking permission to travel or to join an organization less frequently than men (Chart 6.22 & 6.23); women, rather than men, are more often the person who is being asked permission (Tables 6.17, 6.18, & 6.18); and even when respondents are told "no"-- that they cannot travel or join an organization--women reported being more likely to do so anyway (Charts 6.24. & 6.25). In summary, we found that males not only control or repress women less than we expected, women appear to do most of the controlling, of both sexes. ^{vii}

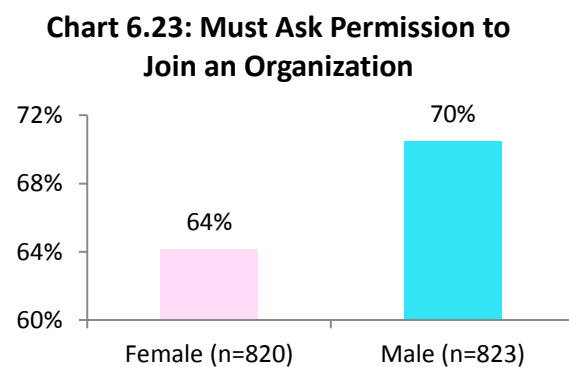
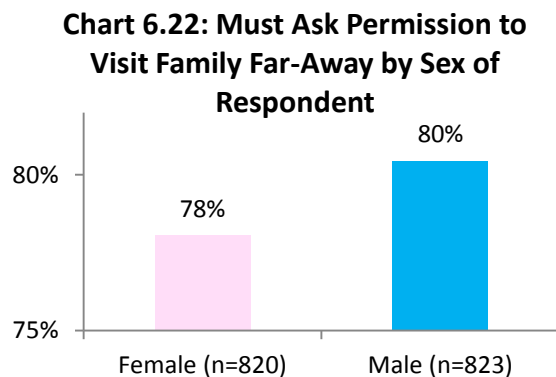
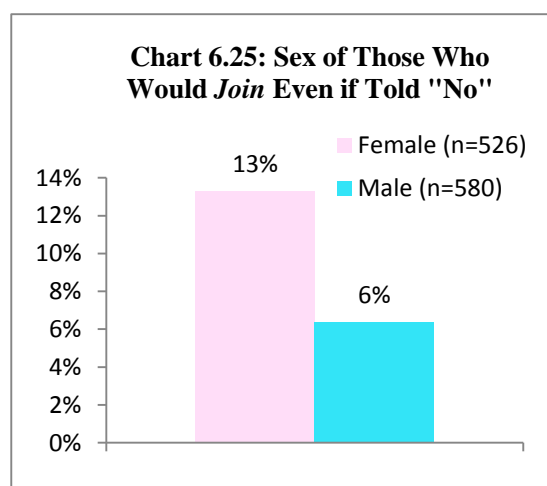
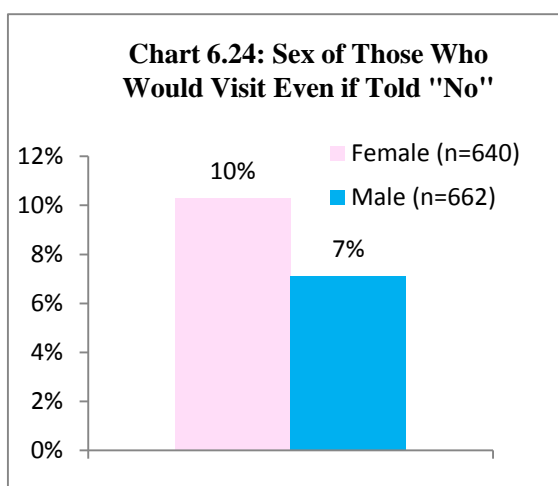


Table 6.17: Needs to Ask Permission to Visit Faraway by Sex			
Permission Giver	Permission Seeker		
	Female (n=692)	Male (n=759)	Both Sexes (n=1,451)
Male (n=620)	70%	18%	43%
Female (n=831)	30%	82%	57%

Table 6.18: Needs to Ask Permission to Join Organization by Sex			
Permission Giver	Permission Seeker		
	Female (n=582)	Male (n=559)	Total (n=1,241)
Male (n=526)	72%	16%	42%
Female (n=715)	28%	84%	58%

Table 6.19: Who asks permission of Who (more than one possible response; n = 1513, missing = 2)						
Permission Giver	Visit Family Far Way			Join an Organization		
	Female (n=693)	Male (n=798)	Total 1,495	Female (n=693)	Male (n=798)	Total 1,495
Grandfather	0	1	1	1	1	2
Grandmother	2	4	6	2	4	6
Uncle	4	5	9	4	2	6
Not Family	3	7	10	3	3	6
Unspec, Family	13	12	25	8	9	17
Cousin	7	20	27	6	18	24
Aunt	16	20	36	10	17	27
Sister	26	26	52	15	29	44
Brother	17	39	56	24	34	58
Daughter	58	27	85	49	29	78
Son	56	30	86	56	23	79
Father	43	60	103	36	45	81
Mother	105	162	267	85	122	207
Husband	365	-	365	300	-	300
Wife	-	385	385	-	353	353



Violation of Female Property and Ownership

To get an idea of the extent to which women are denied autonomous control over property we asked the men and women sampled if, since the earthquake, anyone had taken or sold the respondent's belongings without being asked. The objective was to measure the extent to which other family members, particularly male spouses, respect--or disrespect-- female economic autonomy. We left the question open, meaning we asked not just if family or a husband took their belongings without permission, but if *anyone* had taken their belongings. We also asked the same question of men. As can be seen in Chart 6.26 and Table 6.20, what we found was that women do suffer more property violations than men; but it was not family who was taking their goods. It was non family We did not ask specifically about the identity of non-family, but the greater losses that women suffer is likely a reflection of female involvement in itinerant marketing and their consequent exposure to petty thievery on buses and in markets. If in looking at Table 6.20 we only consider losses to family, men report suffering almost three times as many losses as women: 43 for men to 17 for women. Perhaps most interesting of all, however, is that in the three year wake of one of the greatest disasters in human history, a time when we have been told that wanton crime has swept through Port-au-Prince (Kolbe et. al. 2010; Kolbe and Muggah 2012; Numbeo 2013), only 20% of our 1,643 respondents reported anything at all being taken from them. Similarly, out of 820 female respondents and 823 male, only one woman and one man reported that a spouse had taken anything belonging to them without their consent.

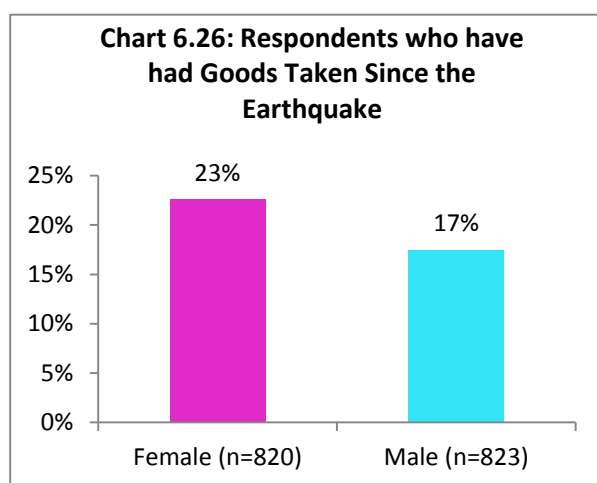
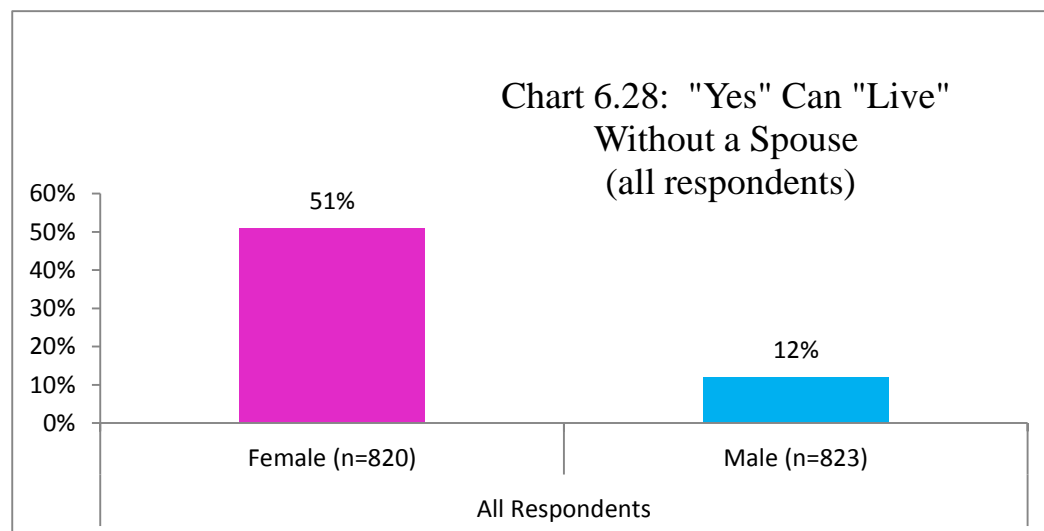
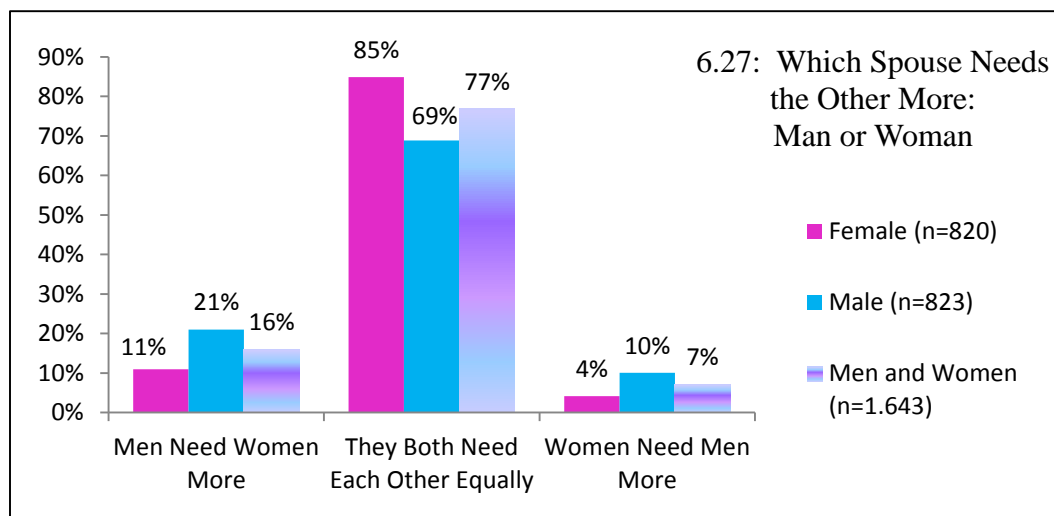


Table 6.20: Respondents who report that Someone Took Something from them Since Earthquake			
Person Who Took	Female	Male	Both
Not Family	169	100	269
Relative unlisted	15	35	50
Cousin	1	6	7
Brother	0	1	1
Husband	1	0	1
Wife	0	1	1
Grand Total	820	823	1643

Female Dependency on Men

In this next to final section of Households we see that in the opinions of the men and women sampled it is not women, but men who are more often thought of as the most materially dependent on their spouse. When asked about material interdependency of spouses--meaning dependency for survival and maintenance of the household's livelihood strategies and posed as the question, "who needs the other more, a husband needs his wife or a wife is in greater need of her husband"--three fourths of all respondents said that men and women need one another equally (Chart 6.27). But if we only consider those who said that either men or women were

more dependent, twice as many respondents said that men need women more than vice versa (ibid). Moreover, when asked directly if they can live without having a spouse 51% of all women vs. 12% of all men said yes (Chart 6.28). Put another way, 49% of women said they could not manage without their husband, but 88% of men said they could not manage without their wife. When we considered only those respondents who have been or currently are in union the figure is 46% of women who said they can get by without their husband versus only 10% of men who said they can get by without their wife (Chart 6.29). The relationship was independent of where the person lived--urban, peri-urban or in the countryside--indicating there was little difference between declared independence of the respondent and the degree of urbanization in the area where he or she lived (Table 6.21). Thus, in the aggregate men in the studied communities overwhelmingly believe they need their spouse, whether the wife has income or not; on the other hand, about half of women view themselves as able to survive without their husband. The women explained their independence (Table 6.22) in terms of their own financial resources (67%) and support from their children (24%).



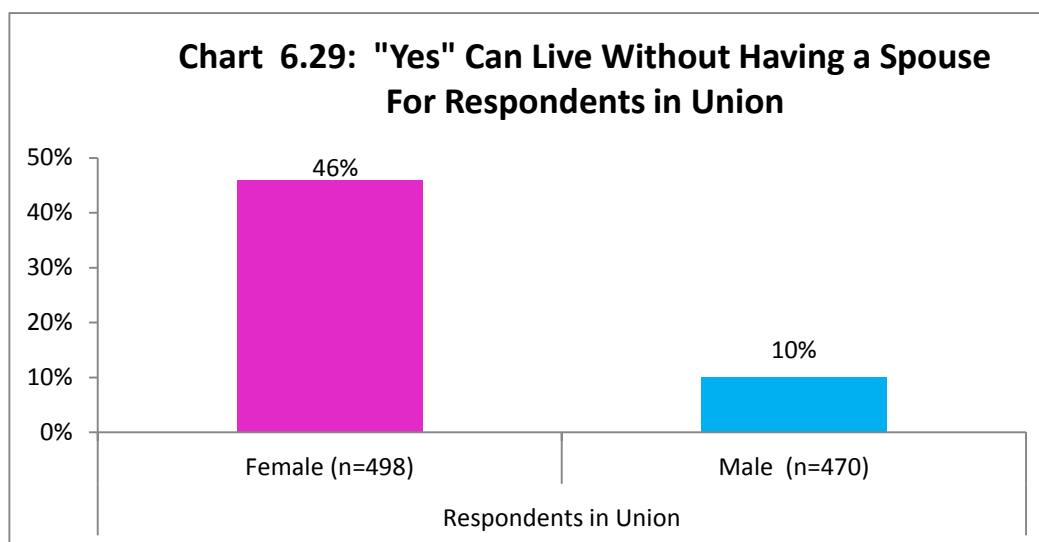


Table 6.21: Count of Respondents Who Can Live Without Spouse by Location		
Location	Sex	Yes
City	Female	45%
	Male	9%
Countryside	Female	44%
	Male	9%
Peri-Urban	Female	49%
	Male	13%

Table 6.22: Reasons Respondents can Live Without Spouse			
	Has Own Resources	Has Children To Lean On	Other
Female (n=230)	67%	24%	9%
Male (n=49)	86%	14%	0%
Both (279)	70%	23%	7%

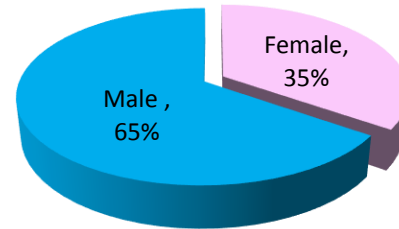
Who Works the Hardest

A final point we found in the surveys in interpreting the differential dependency of men and women and contributions to the household has to do with the way respondents view the work efforts of men vs. women. The conspicuous role of women in domestic labor and frequent sight of women walking with burdens on their heads leads many observers to assume that popular class Haitian women work harder than men and, by corollary that, that men are not working as hard--another contributing element to the international image of Haitian women as repressed (e.g. Bell 2001).

And it may be true that the women are working harder. But respondents in Carrefour and Leogane did not report seeing the situation in this way. In Table 6.22 and Charts 6.32 thru 6.34 we see that no matter who is the respondent, male or female, and no matter if talking about him or herself, someone else, or if we only consider those respondents who identify someone else in the house as the hardest working member of the household, a consistent 63%-77% of those people who are seen as the hardest working in the household are male; 33% to 37% are female.

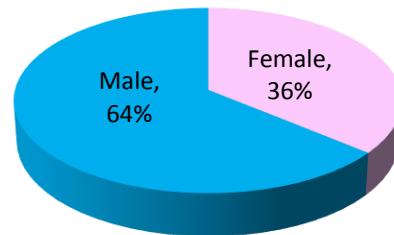
Table 6.23: Who Respondents Say Works Hardest		
Person	Number	Percent
Grandfather	1	0%
Grandmother	5	0%
Uncle	19	1%
Aunt	24	1%
Sister	24	1%
Cousin	25	2%
Daughter	26	2%
Son	32	2%
Brother	44	3%
Wife	48	3%
Other	51	3%
Father	89	5%
Mother	109	7%
Husband	291	18%
Respondent	855	52%
Grand Total	1,643	100%

Chart 6.32: Sex of All People Respondents Identified as Working the Hardest



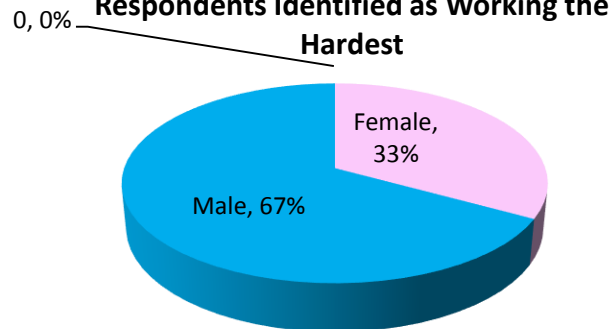
(n =1,567; non-family and "other" = 76)

Chart 6.33: Sex of Respondents Self Identifying as Working the Hardest



n=855

Chart 6.34: Sex of Other People Respondents Identified as Working the Hardest



n=712

Conclusion

In the Review of the Literature it was seen that researchers have long noted the prominent role of women in the Haitian economy. Anthropologists doing longitudinal ethnographic research report that women overwhelmingly control local retail marketing; and tantamount to a cultural rule in Haiti is that the household is the domain of women. We also saw that at least one study found that in rural areas Female Headed Households are four times less likely to be "extremely poor" than are Male Head Households. In this first section of the analysis we have seen that similar patterns prevail in Leogane and Carrefour. We found that rural Single Female-Headed Households were materially on par Male-Female Headed Households; but somewhat surprisingly, we also found that *urban* and *peri-urban* Single Female-Headed Households in our samples were materially as well, or better, off than households where both a male and female head is present. We also found that in many households women are among the primary financial contributors and, even when not, women are usually in control of household budgets.

With respect to repression of females, we saw in the Review of the Literature that the EMMUS report women prevailing in most household decision making processes, exercising a large degree of control over their own income and the family budget, and being the primary disciplinarians of children. What we did not get from the EMMUS and other studies, and we do get to at least some degree from the present study, is information on the degree to which men are *not* part of the decision making process and must answer to women. What we found is that men more often lose arguments to their spouse, they more often feel the need to ask permission to travel or join an organization and, if told no, they are less likely than women to disobey. We also found that household members, including males, more often defer to women for permission to travel or join an organization.

In short, men in our samples appear more submissive to their wives than vice versa. Moreover, both male and female respondents more frequently thought that men were more in need of their spouse than vice versa and when asked if they could manage without their spouse men were far more likely to say no. Despite male dependency on their wives and the prominent role of women and girls as carrying the greater burden in performing domestic chores, both men and women more often reported a male as the hardest working members of the household.

The significance of these findings in making aid more effective is that many organizations, including CARE, made Female Headship a criterion for receiving aid in post-earthquake Haiti. The assumption is that female-headed households rather than male, or joint male-female headed households, a) depend on income from women who have fewer opportunities than men and hence and b) are in greater material and nutritional need. But, what we saw in this section is that when we speak of "female headed households" in Léogâne and Carrefour, there arguably may be no other type of household. Moreover, in understanding the prominence of "Single Female Headed Households," it helps to note that the image that often springs to mind is of a desperate single young mother with children. But many female household heads in the Carrefour and Léogâne samples may better be described as middle aged matriarchs orchestrating the work activities of older children, receiving money from them and from multiple other sources; women who are as capable of earning their own money via marketing as many of the men around them; and certainly more important than the men in terms of managing the household and the people who live in it.

7. Gender and Violence

As seen in the Review of the Literature, Haiti has been presented as one of the most female repressive countries on the planet. The point is especially poignant since the 2010 earthquake. Grass roots NGOs, human rights organizations, and the international press have reported physical and sexual violence against popular class Haitian women in excess of that reported for the Western Congo, site of what can only be called a current rape holocaust. In the surveys we attempted to clarify these issues.

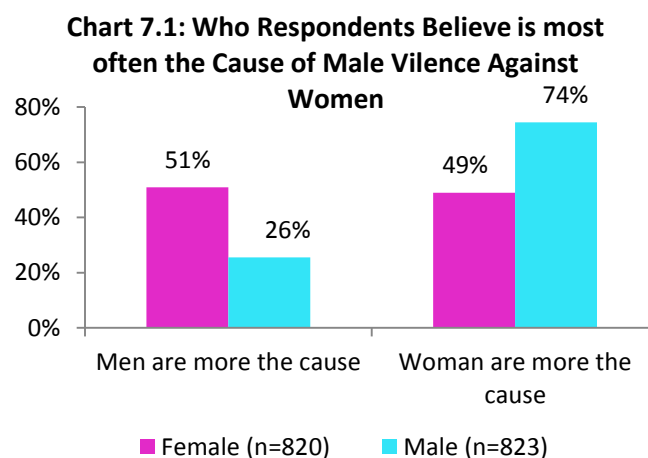
Regarding domestic violence, in lieu of the prominent role that women play in the domestic and local economy there is good reason to question the portrayal of Haitian women as extremely repressed. Intuitively, we can expect popular class Haitian women to be aggressive in defending their commercial interests and domestic status. We saw in the literature review that some anthropologists have in fact report them to as or more violent than their spouses. Moreover, our understanding of gender based violence in Haiti is skewed by inherent bias in at least some of the major surveys on gender. For example, the Haiti Demographic and Health Surveys (EMMUS) make no mention of female aggression toward men; men are not asked if they have been subject to assault from their wives; nor are women asked about their own participation in violence. The effect, whether intended or not, is to present women as passive victims.

Regarding, *extra*-domestic violence against women, since the 1991-1994 military junta, through the 2004 coup, and up to the 2010 earthquake, there have been reports from activists, human rights organizations, and scholars of epidemic levels of extra-domestic rape (Kolbe et. al 2010, Amnesty International 2011). The claims have been widely repeated in the international media (Miami Herald 2004; NYT 2007; AP 2010; Huffington Post 2010; CNN 2012). Following the 2010 earthquake reports of epidemic rape intensified and many of the NGO programs since that time have focused specifically on addressing the issue---including CAREs work in Leogane and Carrefour.

To clarify issues associated with domestic and extra-domestic violence, we included in the Leogane and Carrefour surveys questions regarding which sex respondents believe are most at fault for domestic violence, about physical violence at the hands of family and partners and in the analysis we examine the probability of occurrence of domestic violence in lieu economic indicators. To clarify the issue of rape and extra-domestic violence against women we asked respondents how many people they knew who had been raped since the 2010 earthquake, and then drawing on that information we used the technique known as "scaling up" to gain an approximate estimate of the incidence of rape. We also asked questions regarding informants views on security and about knowledge of recourse to services for victims and laws meant to protect women from violent assault.

Respondent Views on Gender and Cause of Domestic Violence

We began by asking the general question who is more often the cause of violence against 'women, men or women?' 61% of respondents said women are more at fault. When examined by sex of respondent, men more often blamed women; the figures were 74% of men who said women were more often blame vs. 26% of men who said it was more often the man's fault. Women were more divided: 51% vs. 49% said that men were more often the cause of violence against women (Chart 7.1).



Frequency of Violence and Protagonist

To measure the extent to which both men and women suffer or participate in violence we asked both males and females about violent attacks. The specific two questions we used to begin the inquiry were, "when was the last time you were beaten?" followed by, "who was the person who beat you?" We used this question because of the expediency of not having to document and clarify multiple violent incidences per respondent, i.e. it was easier to simply ask about the last violent incident. We formulated the question using the Creole word, *bat*, "beaten," which is the word used in physically attacking and dominating another person. Note that unless the punishment is very severe, children are considered to be whipped (*kale*). The reason we posed the question in this way is to bias the respondents interest toward physical violence as an adult. We were not specifically interested in child punishment. Nevertheless, because of relatively low overall incidences of aggression we also include in the analysis the response "beaten as a child"--indicating severe corporal punishment as a child.

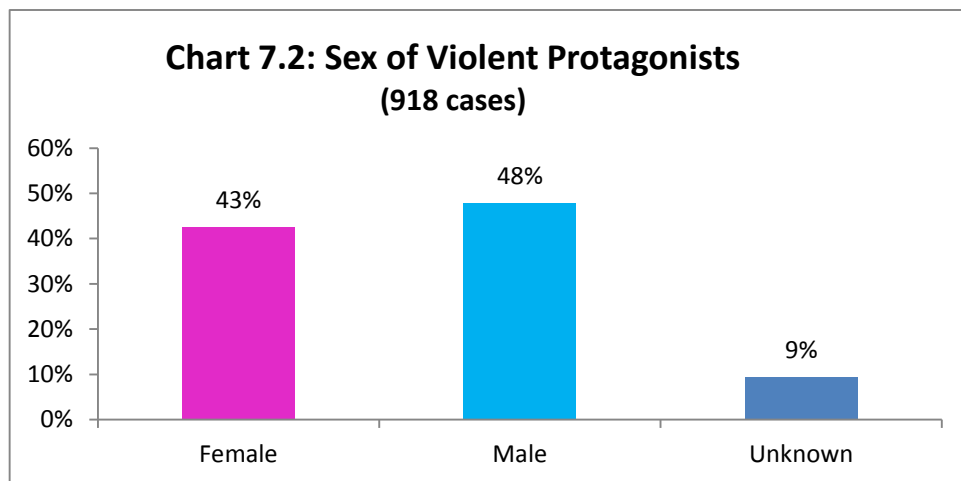
What we found was that in every category except the past three years men suffer more from violence than women (Table 7.1): men were more likely to be beaten as a child and more likely to be beaten as an adult. Note however that 58% of women and 44% of men claim to never have been beaten in their lives, even as a child. This is significantly less than reported in EMMUS studies, and the reason is likely because the EMMUS consider any corporal punishment of children, not the "bat"--beaten--seen above.

Table 7.1: Last Time Beaten by Sex of Respondent						
Last Time Beaten	Female		Male		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
In the past 3 years	62	8%	43	5%	105	6%
Adult but 3 + Years Past	34	4%	72	9%	106	6%
When a Child	249	30%	345	42%	594	36%
Never	475	58%	363	44%	838	51%

Identity and Sex of Aggressors

When we looked at who was the aggressor in violent acts (Table 7.2 & Chart 7.2), we found that 43% are women vs. 48% that are men; in 9% of reported incidents the sex of the aggressor was unknown, a side effect of not asking sex specific information for cousins and non-family. The high number of women is a reflection of their prominent role in the household and as family disciplinarian: 90% of the females identified aggressors were the respondent's mother or grandmother (75% of male aggressors were Fathers).

Table 7.2: Person Who Beat Respondent the Last Time He/ She was Beaten						
Who Did the Beating	Who Got Beaten					
	Female		Male		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Mother or Gran	154	39%	200	39%	354	39%
Father	123	1%	208	40%	331	36%
Husband	65	17%	0	0%	65	7%
Teacher	12	3%	30	6%	42	5%
Brother	11	3%	12	2%	23	3%
Aunt	7	2%	10	2%	17	2%
Wife	0	0%	9	2%	9	1%
Uncle	4	1%	12	2%	16	2%
Stranger	2	1%	13	3%	15	2%
Other	6	2%	8	2%	14	2%
Boyfriend/girlfriend	7	2%	2	0%	9	1%
Sister	5	1%	4	1%	9	1%
Son or Daughter	0	0%	1	0%	1	0%
Cousin	0	0%	5	1%	5	1%
Police	0	0%	5	1%	5	1%
Grandfather	0	0%	1	0%	1	0%



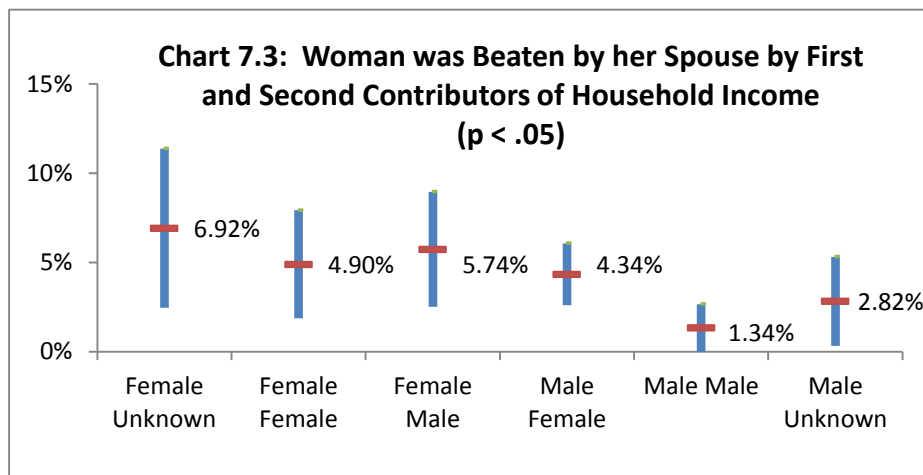
Spousal Abuse/Violence Against Respondent

If we eliminate the categories for 'beaten as a child' and only consider the 223 reported cases of respondents beaten as an adult, 65 (33%) of the known aggressors were women and 135 (67%) were men (Table 7.3). Very significantly we see that 65 women were beaten by their husbands. This means that of 572 women ever in union, 65 (or 11%) had been beaten by their husbands. Not to be overlooked, of 539 men ever in union, 9 (or 2%) had been beaten by their wives.

Table 7.3: Person who Beat the Respondent for Adults and Last Three Years Only		
Who Beat You as an Adult or within	Female	Male
Husband	65	0
Mother or Grandmother	10	29
Father	10	38
Stranger	1	10
Teacher	1	9
Wife	0	9
Other	0	6
Aunt	0	3
Grandmother	0	2
Police	0	5
Cousin	0	5
Uncle	0	3
Boyfriend/girlfriend	4	2
Brother	3	3
Sister	2	1
Son or Daughter	0	1
Grandfather	0	1
Total	96	127

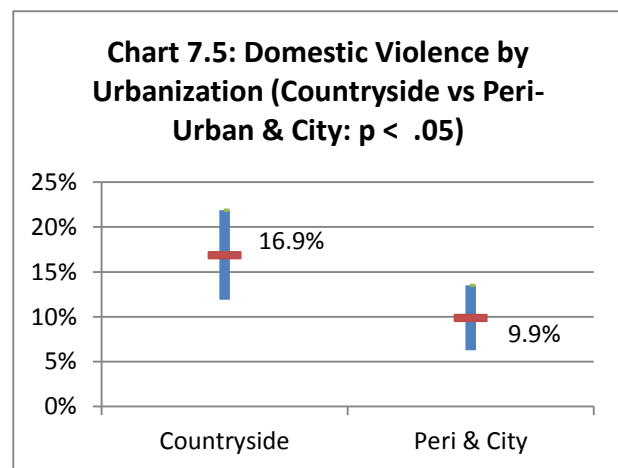
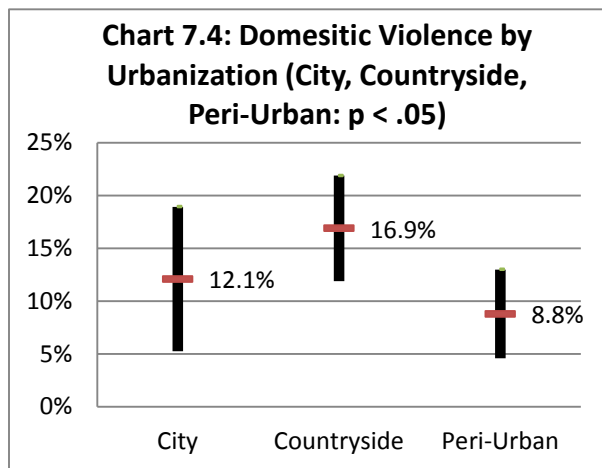
Male Spouse Violence Against Female Respondent by Female Household Financial Contributions

Chart 7.3 shows that, while not statistically significant given the sample size, there is nevertheless a strong suggestion that a woman is more likely to have been beaten by her husband if she is a primary or secondary contributor of household income. This seems at first to be counterintuitive. When designing the questionnaire and in discussion with CARE staff, we expected that the less a woman contributed financially to a household the more likely she would be subjected to physical violence from her spouse. In view of our finding, an alternative explanation may be that the more economically powerful a woman is the more likely she is to enter into a violent conflict with her spouse. This may be because of aggression or resentment on the part of her husband or it may be because the woman has more to defend, is more confident in because of her high economic status, and hence is more likely herself to be an aggressor; or perhaps better phrased, she is more likely to be a violent defendant or a combatant rather than a passive victim.



Spousal Violence (Against Respondent) and Degree of Urbanization

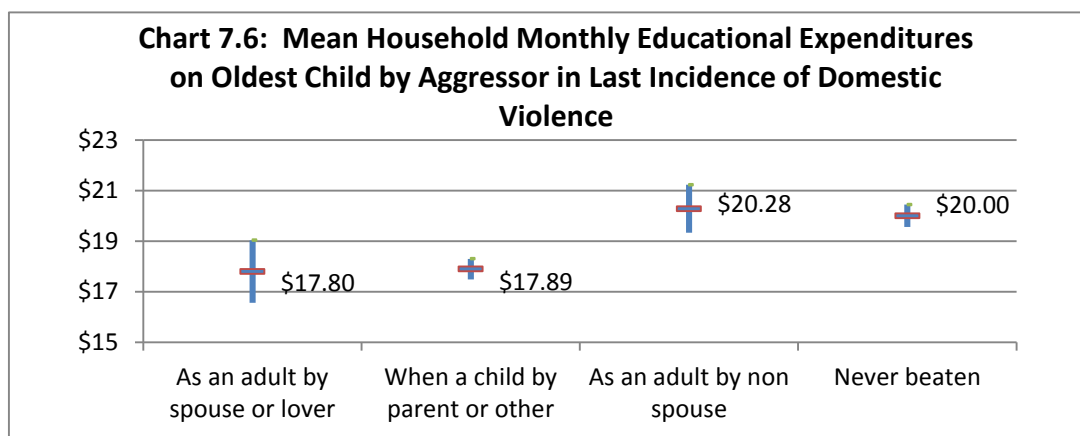
Similar to the counter intuitive finding that the more a woman contributes financially to the household the more likely she is to have been beaten by her spouse, the data suggests, contrary to expectations, that domestic violence in the city is less common than among rural couples. However, the relationship is not, given the sample size, statistically significant (Charts 7.4 & 7.5).



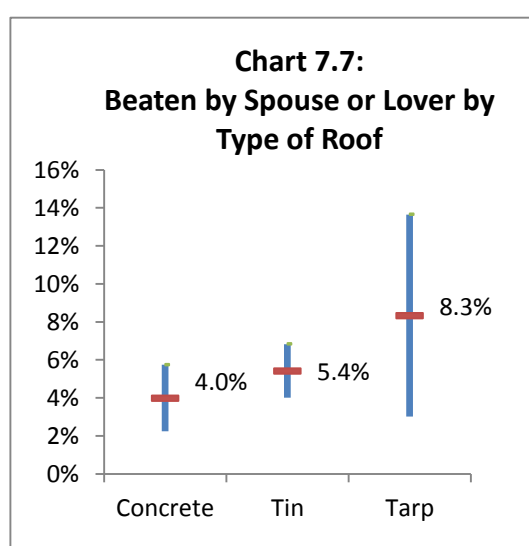
Domestic Violence Against the Respondent vs. Socio-Economic Status

In Charts 7.6 thru 7.8 we also test the correlation between domestic violence and Socio-Economic Status. In this case we included as proxy indicators of domestic violence the categories of "Beaten as Adult by Spouse or Lover," "Beaten as Adult by Person Other than Spouse or Lover," "Beaten as a Child," and "Never Beaten." As proxy measures of socio-economic status we used "Amount Spent per Month on Tuition for Oldest Resident Child," as well as "Roof" and "Latrine" types. Households where no money was spent on child's education were omitted because of the confounding factor of no children in the household.

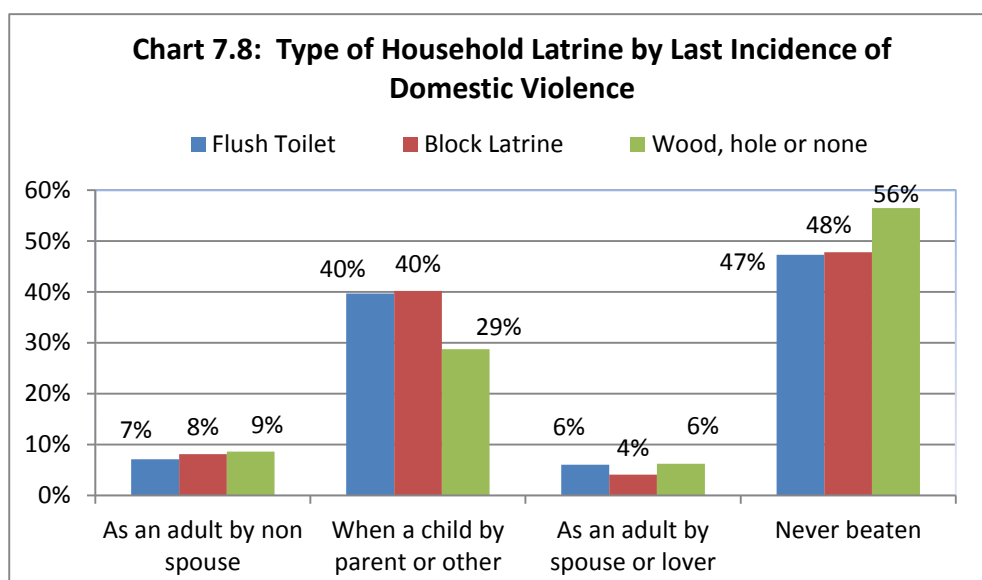
As seen in Chart 7.6 people beaten by spouse or lover and people *beaten* as children were more likely to live in households where less money was spent on education than those people who had never been beaten or who reported being last beaten by someone other than spouse or lover. The relationship was statistically significant.



For Roof Type (Chart 7.7) we only tested the relationship with "Beaten by Spouse or Lover." We found that respondents living under a tarp were twice as likely to have been beaten by a spouse or lover as those living under a concrete roof. Those living under a tin roof were 35% more likely than those living under a concrete roof to have been beaten by a spouse or lover. Neither relationship was, given the sample size, statistically significant. This is arguably because very few people in the sample (7%) lived under tarps.



For Latrine Type (Chart 7.8) we again tested all four formulated categories of domestic violence. The only relationship statistically significant is the rather quizzical finding that people with only a "hole" or "no latrine" were more likely to report never to have been beaten at all.^{viii}



Reasons for Violence Against Respondent

In Table 7.4 it can be seen that when we consider all motivations for "beatings", the most common are economic (24%) and then jealousy (19%). If we consider only motivation for beatings as an adult (Table 7.5), the overwhelmingly most common motivation is jealousy (57% of cases). Very interestingly, 71% of women and 88% of men said that they deserved their last beating (Table 7.6 & 7.7).

Table 7.4: Why Beaten for All Cases

Response	Respondents					
	Female (n=345 cases)		Male (n=460 cases)		Total (n= 805 cases)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Argument Over Money	4	1%	7	2%	11	1%
Over a Lover	16	5%	8	2%	24	3%
Argument Over Words	27	8%	62	13%	89	11%
Jealousy	66	19%	13	3%	79	10%
Because of chores/work	82	24%	131	28%	213	26%
Other	150	43%	239	52%	389	48%
Grand Total	345	100%	460	100%	805	100%

Table 7.5: Why Beaten for Adults or Within Past 3 Years Only

	Female (n=96 cases)		Male (n=115 cases)		Grand Total (n=211 cases)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Money	4	4%	4	3%	8	4%
Lover	2	2%	3	3%	5	2%
Jealousy	55	57%	12	10%	67	32%
Words	15	16%	18	16%	33	16%
Chores/wor	5	5%	30	26%	35	17%
Other	15	16%	48	42%	63	30%
Grand Total	96	100%	115	100%	211	100%

Table 7.6: If Respondent Believes Beating Was Deserved

Response	Female (n=345 cases)		Male (n=460 cases)		Grand Total (n= 805 cases)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
No	99	29%	56	12%	155	19%
Yes	246	71%	404	88%	650	81%
Grand Total	345	100%	460	100%	805	100%

Table 7.7: of If Respondent Believes it Was Deserved for Adults or Within Past 3 Years Only

Response	Female (n=96 cases)		Male (n=115 cases)		Grand Total (n= 212 cases)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
No	61	64%	35	30%	96	45%
Yes	35	36%	80	70%	115	54%
Grand Total	96	100%	115	100%	211	100%

Respondent Violence Against Others

Given the scarcity of survey data on the role of popular class Haitian women as instigators and even aggressors in violent incidents, we turned the issue around and asked respondents when was the last time they attacked someone else. In posing the questions we used the colloquial phrase, *denye fwa ou te bay yon moun yon kalot*. In light of the cultural-specific emphasis Haitians place on the word *kalot* and the aggressiveness and humiliation associated with actually slapping someone, the most accurate English translation of the phrase is, "the last time you slapped the shit out of someone." In Table 7.8, we see that for the category, "more than three years ago" men were twice as likely as women to have "slapped the shit of someone": 6% of men saying that as an adult but more than 3 years in the past they had slapped someone vs. 3% of women who said so. But for the past three years--the time since the earthquake--the trend changes rather dramatically. A steady 6% of males still reported having "slapped" someone in the past three years; but the same number of women, 6%, reported having "slapped" someone. In effect, the proportion of women who report having violently attacked someone since the earthquake doubled, reaching the same level of aggression as men report (to 6%). We also see in Table 7.9 that while only 1% of men reported aggression toward their wife or girlfriend, four times as many women report having attacked their boyfriend or husband (7 versus 33 cases); Overall, both men and women reported low incidence of violence against unknown members of the opposite sex, and men are twice as likely to have "slapped the shit" out of another man as women are to have "slapped the shit" out of another woman. The reasons behind the violence were not adequately captured in the survey.

Table 7.8: Aggression Against Others by Sex

Sex of Respondent	As and Adult 3 + Years Past	Within 3 years	When Respondent was a Child	Never
Female (n= 820)	2.7% (22)	5.9% (48)	12.1% (99)	79.4% (651)
Male (n =823)	6.1% (50)	6.1% (50)	18.8% (155)	69.0% (568)

Table 7.9: Identity of People Respondents Attacked

Sex of Respondent	Boy/girl friend or Husband/Wife	Related Female	Stranger unspecified Sex	Known but Unrelated Female	Known but Unrelated Male
Female (n= 820)	4.0% (33)	1.2% (10)	7.2% (59)	6.7% (55)	1.6% (13)
Male (n =823)	0.9% (7)	0.4% (3)	13.4% (110)	1.5% (12)	14.9% (123)

Rape

Back Ground of the Rape Epidemic

Shortly after the earthquake grassroots organizations such as KOFAVIV began reporting alarming levels of sexual violence against women (KOFAVI 2010; Amnesty International 2011). Six weeks after the earthquake, University of Michigan and Geneva Small Arms Survey conducted an 1,800 household survey and reported that an estimated 3% of all women in popular neighbors and camps had been raped--in six weeks (Kolbe et. al. 2010). As touched on in the Review of the Literature, there are grounds to be skeptical of the data-- from both sources.

SOFA and Kay Fanm, two feminist organizations also working in the camps after the earthquake, report *not* being able to corroborate the KOFAVIV findings^{ix} The academic surveyors for University of Michigan and Geneva Small Arms Survey study asked respondents--strangers to them-- the intrusive question: "Has anyone in the house been sexually assaulted in the past month?" If the response was positive they asked details.^x The first problem with this approach is the assumption that respondents are going to indulge strangers with accurate details of sexual attacks on them or their family members. But from the standpoint of accurate data, an even more pressing problem--for both the survey and KOFAVIV data--comes from the fact that for 20 years being a rape victim has qualified thousands of impoverished women in Port-au-Prince to be an aid recipient. Since 1994 a series of USAID, UN, and NGO funded 'viktim' programs have subsidized women who report having been raped. At its height during the 1990s, 14,000 impoverished female rape victims were on USAID subsidies. The program's economic impact on the recipients was enough that when the subsidies were suspended--6 years after they began--thousands of "viktim" marched through the Port-au-Prince streets, some holding placards that read "Long Live Subsidies for Victim" (see James 2010 for a full description of the politicization of "viktim" during the 1990s and the subsequent "viktim" movement). Following the earthquake the move to provide aid and assistance to victims of sexual assault again became widespread, including US University law professors who went into IDP camps and searched for rape victims, spreading the word that those who had been raped may qualify for humanitarian visas (see Fox News 2010). Whether the "viktim" programs were good or bad, appropriate or misguided, is beside the point; as researchers we cannot responsibly gainsay the impact on informant accuracy of giving subsidies to a subpopulation of the most impoverished mothers in the Western hemisphere.

Estimating the Number of People Raped

In an effort to avoid signaling to respondents they may have a chance to capture aid--and to avoid intruding on their personal lives--we employed a technique different than that used in the University of Michigan and Geneva Small Arms Survey study cited above. Instead of asking specifically about the respondent or people in the household, we asked, 'if, since the earthquake, the respondent knew anyone at all who had been raped.' We operationalized the definition "know" so that we could use it in a more elaborate statistical inference described shortly. Specifically, we explained to respondents that what "to know someone" meant was,

- 1) you recognize the person and the person recognizes you
- 2) you know their name and they know yours
- 3) you have talked to them at least once since the earthquake
- 4) you could contact them now if you needed to

What we found was that of 1,643 respondents, only 99 (6%) knew anyone who had been raped since the earthquake. In other words, we found that fewer men and women even knew a person who had been raped than other studies implied had been raped (Table 7.8).

Table 7.8: People Who Know At Least One Person Raped Since Earthquake by Commune		
Commune	No	Yes
Carrefour	777	57
Leogane	767	43
Total	1544	99

The rape reports were so low and potentially so controversial that after the Leogane survey was completed, and before the Carrefour survey began, we discussed the issue with CARE staff. We then sat down with the surveyors and reviewed the question to make sure that there was no possible misunderstanding about what was meant by "rape" *vyol* (forced sexual intercourse that included penetration of mouth, anus or vagina). We also got assurances that they had and would continue to carefully explain to respondents exactly what was meant by "rape." We also called a subsample of Leogane respondents on the telephone and explored their understanding of what "vyol" meant so that we could be sure that we were capturing "sexual attacks." We still got similar results for both Carrefour and Leogane (Table 7.9).^{xi}

We suspected that maybe the under-reporting of rape had something to do with age categories and the low numbers of young people in the sample. But as seen in Table 7.9, the frequency of reported rapes was generally consistent across all age categories. We also recognized that despite training and despite the heavy emphasis we placed on the importance of the rape question, it is sometimes the case with politically or morally charged issues that some surveyors will explain and pursue a question adequately to make all respondents understand; others not enough; and others tend to cajole answers that would otherwise be negative. In Tables 7.10 it can be seen that there was indeed variation among the number of positive responses per surveyor. But even if we were to take the most extreme case and generalize it to all the surveyors, the results are far less than expected based on reports cited above. Specifically, if we take the surveyor with the highest reported number of known rape victims (19) and assign the same result to all the surveyors, we would still get only 16% of our respondents even knowing someone who had been raped in the 3.4 years since the earthquake--that in areas were as much as half the entire population was at one time in camps

Table 7.9: Respondents who Know at Least One Person Raped Since Earthquake by Age of Respondents (missing = 14)

Number of Female Respondents				Number of Male Respondents			
Age Categories		No	Yes	Age Categories		No	Yes
18 to 25	(n=203)	190	13	18 to 25	(n=201)	189	12
26 to 35	(n=205)	187	18	26 to 35	(n=204)	190	14
36 to 50	(n=200)	190	10	36 to 50	(n=209)	201	8
50 +	(n=203)	190	13	50 +	(n=204)	197	7
All Female	(n=811)	764	56	All Male	(n=818)	780	43

Table 7.10: Respondents Who Know At Least One Person Raped Since Earthquake by Enumerator Who Asked the Question

Female Enumerators				Male Enumerators		
Enumerators		No	Yes	Enumerator	No	Yes
Female 1	(n=133)	123	10	Male 1 (n=88)	84	4
Female 2	(n=93)	90	4	Male 2 (n=133)	130	3
Female 3	(n=134)	115	19	Male 3 (n=71)	64	7
Female 4	(n=122)	121	1	Male 4 (n=136)	130	6
Female 5	(n=132)	126	6	Male 5 (n=122)	122	0
Female 6	(n=95)	89	6	Male 6 (n=137)	122	15
Female 7	(n=122)	112	10	Male 7 (n=125)	116	8

Estimating the Actual Numbers of People Raped: "Scaling-Up"

The next thing we did was use the intuitively simplistic technique of "scaling up" to estimate the incidence of rape for the population as a whole. Scaling up was developed by methodologists at the University of Florida and widely used in estimating unknown populations elsewhere, such as number of victims of the 1985 Mexican earthquake, illegal immigrant population in California, population of HIV positive people in New York City and, as with the present study, rape victims in developing countries (see Killworth et al. 2006). The technique is intuitively simplistic. What we want to estimate is what proportion of the population has been raped:

- 1) Our sample statistic for people raped is: "Total number of people that respondents know who have been raped" (Table 7.11):
- 2) Our sample population is, "The total number of people that all respondents 'know'", as defined earlier on (calculated in Table 7.12).

$$\frac{\text{Number of people respondents know who have been raped}}{\text{Total number of people that all respondents know}} = \text{The proportion of the population that has been raped}$$

Network Size

The remaining problem is that we must know the average total number of people each respondent "knows," or what Bernard and McCarty (2009) call network size. To estimate network size we drew the four most popular names from the survey population list of names. Because male rape is unreported in this and other surveys in Haiti we restricted our estimations to the female population. The most popular female names found in our surveys were Darlene, Nadege, Gerda, and Guerline. From the survey we knew the proportion of people with those names and so were able to use those proportions to generate secondary estimates of the number of people a person knows (see Table 7.12). For example, with 10 Darlenes in the total sample we calculated that 10/1,643 people have that name. Or because it is a female name, 10/820 women have that name. That means that we estimate 1.22% of the female population is named Darlene. We can generalize from that and expect that if the average person knows 100 women, then the mean number of Darlene's respondents know will be 1.22. If the average person knows 200 people they will know an average of 2.44 Darlenes. Thus, we can invert the logic and ask people how many Darlenes they know and then estimate their female network size. To make the estimate more robust we used four names: Darlene, Guerline, Gerda and Nadege.

With the preceding in mind, we then conducted a random survey of 400 people in the Gender Survey target areas (200 in Leogane and 200 in Carrefour) and using results from all four names we calculated the average female network size of at 190.8 people (see Table 7.12)

(sample size) x (the female network size)= (total female population known to respondents)

$$(1,643 \times 190.8) = 313,649$$

$$134/313,649 = .00043$$

This is the estimated proportion of the population that has been raped since the earthquake.

To make that estimate comparable to the US rape indices of people raped per 100,000 per year, we did the following.

- Since the estimation covers the 3.4 years since the earthquake the figure is divided by 3.4 to achieve an annual rate (.000126).
- Putting this figure into the rates per 100,000 population used in the US to gauge rape indices, we get a figure of, 12.64 rapes per year (.000126 * 100,000).
- We then divided that figure by 2 because we only calculated females in our Haiti sample while the US rapes per 100,000 includes males in the total population figure (12.64/2 = 6.32).
- The result is 6.32 rapes per 100,000 people.

The rape rate for the US in 2010 was 27.3 per 100,000: four times our estimate for Leogane and Carrefour.

These calculations are only meant to give a general measure of what we found. We have not calculated variance for the estimate or the confidence interval for the error of the mean. Nor do

we feel that it is appropriate at this point. This was only an exploratory exercise included as part of a broader gender study. But the findings should cause us to reconsider just what is going on regarding the "rape epidemic." Moreover, as seen in the following sections, more general questions regarding rape and security cast a shadow on the validity of reports and surveys regarding rape in post-earthquake Haitian and specifically in the communities studied.^{xii}

Table 7.11: Respondents "know" anyone who has been raped since January 12th 2010 Earthquake and Number Known*

"Yes" Knows someone who has been raped	Number of people respondent knows who have been raped	Total estimated population of "known" people in sample who have been raped
76	1	76
16	2	32
4	3	12
3	5	15
99		135

"know" = 1) you know the person and the person knows you (you know their name and they know yours'), 2) you have talked to the person at least once since the earthquake, 3) you could contact the person if you needed to

Table 7.12: Deriving Average Female Network Size

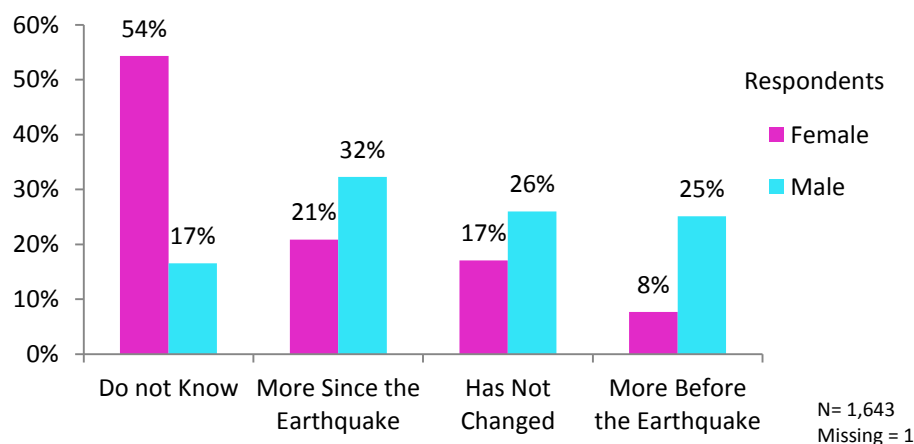
Measures	Names			
	Darlene	Gerta/da	Nadege	Gerline
Frequency of people with name in sample of 820 women	10	8	10	9
Proportion in pop with name	0.0122	0.0098	0.0122	0.0110
People with this name per 100	1.22	0.98	1.22	1.10
Observed values in network survey	2.28	1.85	2.41	2.07
Observed known per 100 people	1.87	1.90	1.98	1.89
Estimate female network size	187.2	189.6	197.7	188.7

We then made network estimates. We took the four most popular female names from the 1,643 sample survey (they very neatly fell equally in each are, about 4 to 6 occurrences of each of the names in each county). Then we conducted a 400 person survey (200 in each county) asking people how many women with each name they know ("know" being operationalized as explained in the main text). That survey was a street survey conducted in markets and cross roads by interviewing every third person who came by.

Respondents View on Changing Incidence of Rape

When we simply asked respondents what they thought about the increase in rapes since the earthquake, 79% of responses from women and 68% of responses from men fell into the combined categories 'did not know,' 'had not changed,' or 'less since the earthquake' (Chart 7.9).

Chart 7.9: Respondents Evaluations of Rape Before vs After Earthquake

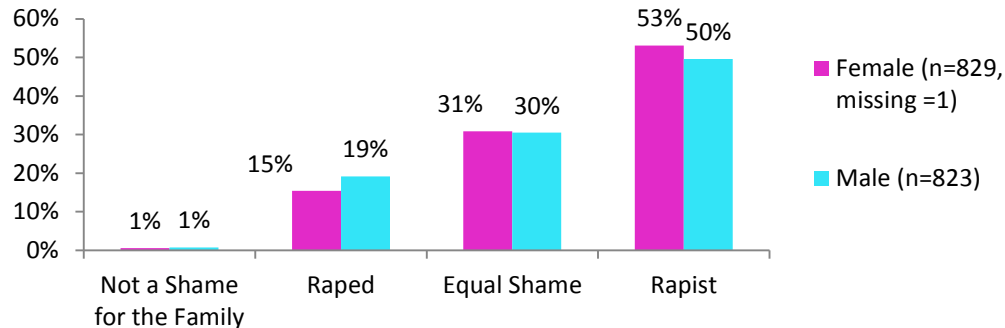
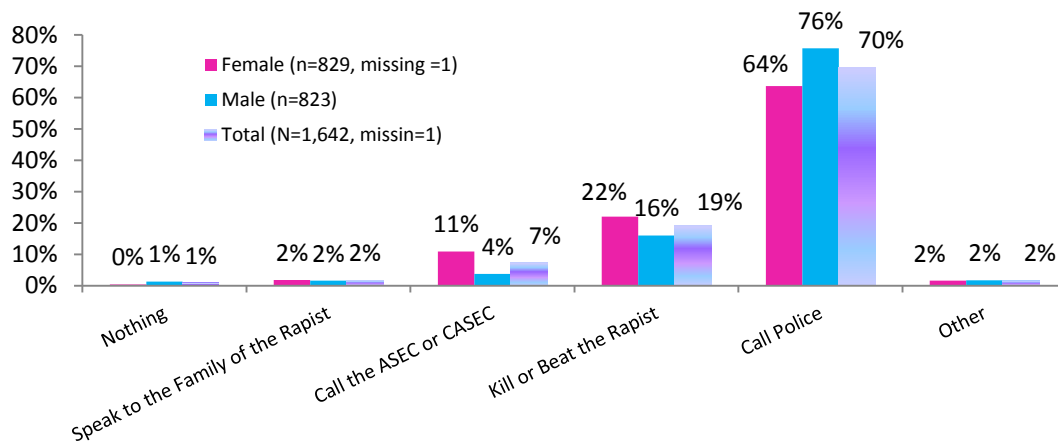


Similarly, when we asked respondents to choose from a list of 5 biggest problems to people's security, rape was a distant last with 68 (4%) respondents choosing it (Table 7.13).

Table 7.13: Choice of Single Biggest Criminal Problem			
	Female	Male	Total
Thievery	512	516	1028
Political Violence	139	101	240
Other	60	125	185
Violation of rights by others	70	52	122
Rape	39	29	68
Grand Total	820	823	1643

Expected Community Reactions to Rape

If the findings reflect what is really going on and there are few actual rapes compared to those reported by some grass roots feminist organizations and activist-scholars, then at least part of the explanation for low incidence of rapes may be the expected reaction when violent rape does occur: 20% of respondents said the likely reaction of people living in their neighborhood to a rape would be to kill or beat the rapist (Chart 7.11). Moreover, the majority of respondents said that the greater shame for rape went to the family of the rapist rather than the victim (Chart 7.10).

Chart 7.10: For Which Family is the Shame Greater: Victim or Rapist**Chart 7.11 Most Likely Reaction to a Rape in the Neighborhood**

Security

Responses to questions regarding security echoed the low incidence of sexual assaults seen above. We asked respondents to choose, "what are the two most serious problems young men face today?" (Table 7.14). We gave them five choices: 1) getting an education, 2) getting money, 3) drugs and alcohol, 4) having a pregnant girlfriend and 5) street violence. Violence came out last, mentioned by only 2% of respondents, less than 1% of men and 3% of women. Males themselves saw getting money as the biggest problem for young men and then education; women cited education first and then money as the biggest problems that young men face. When the question was switched and we asked about the two biggest problems for young women (Table 7.15), we got similar results regarding the primacy and order of money and education. The difference was that for women "bearing a fatherless child" was a close third; the threat of street violence was a greater consideration albeit still relatively small at less than 20%; drugs and alcohol were much less of a threat; and, somewhat surprisingly, domestic violence was seen as the least of problems on the list (one likely reason that respondents gave little importance to domestic violence is that many young women are not yet in union). In summary, if we are to

take a lesson from our Haitian informants, the biggest problems that young people confront in Leogane and Carrefour are not the much violence and social afflictions of drugs and alcohol, but rather getting an education and earning a living.

Tablet 7.14: Two Biggest Problems for Young Men (choices given)

	Female	Male	Total
Education	538	593	1131
Money	574	723	1297
Drugs and Alcohol	466	271	737
Pregnant Girl Friend	130	59	189
Street Violence	25	11	36

(52 extra responses=some surveyors accepted more than two 'biggest problems')

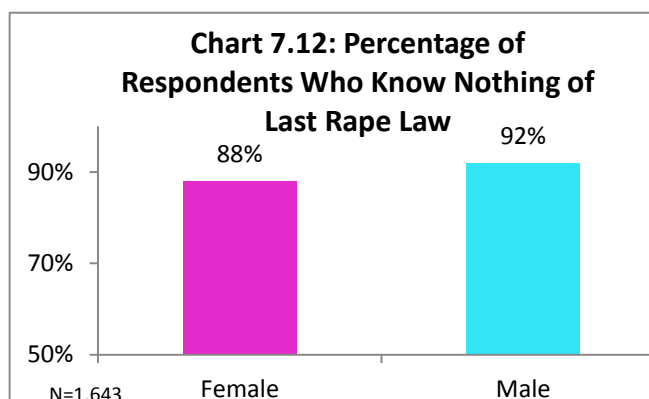
Table 7.15: Two Biggest Problems for Young Women (choices given)

	Female	Male	Total
Education	607	533	1140
Money	478	588	1066
Pregnancy without Spouse	454	321	775
Street Violence	120	58	178
Drugs and Alcohol	38	82	120
Domestic Violence	46	67	113

(54 extra responses because some surveyors took more than two 'biggest problems')

Security and Laws

If it can be said, based on the data seen above, that there is a wide chasm between what many NGOs, activist-scholars and journalists report regarding violence and insecurity and what people living in greater Port-au-Prince experience in their daily lives, the same can be said for the justice system: we found a wide chasm between the 'letter of the law' and what people know about the law. When we asked if respondents knew about rape laws that have been passed recently, 90% of them knew nothing at all about the topic (Chart 7.12). Of the 10% who claimed they had heard something about a rape law, more than half were wrong about when such a law was passed (Table 7.16). On a more positive note, we found that more than 95% of respondents believed that it was illegal for a man to beat his wife or girlfriend or force her to have sex; 99% believed that it was also illegal for a woman to beat her spouse (Table 7.17). Also encouraging was that 90% of respondents felt that a woman should report a rape to police (Table 7.18). Perhaps reflective of the low actual incidence of rape, only 1% of respondents were aware of special clinics or services for rape victims (1%: Table 7.19), and fully 54% of women said they did not



know whether services for rape victims were better before or since the earthquake. Of the 24 people who did know about special clinics and services (Tablet 7.20), 9 cited MSF, and 9 simply said 'clinic.'

Table 7.16: When Respondents Think Last Rape Law Passed

Year	Female(n=95)	Male (n=67)	Total (n=162)
Before 2009	1	37	38
2009	0	6	6
2010	1	3	4
2011	0	7	7
2012	28	7	35
2013	65	7	72

Table 7.17: Respondents Knowledge of Laws Regarding Raping or Beating Girlfriend or Spouse

Questions	Female (n=820)		Male (n=823)		Female and Male (N=1,643)	
	Num.	Percent	Num.	Percent	Num.	Percent
Illegal for Man to Beat Wife	798	97%	795	97%	1,593	97%
Illegal for Wife to Beat Husband	804	98%	816	99%	1,620	99%
Illegal to Force Girlfriend to have sex	789	96%	791	96%	1,580	96%
Illegal for Man to Force Wife to have sex	776	95%	788	96%	1,564	95%

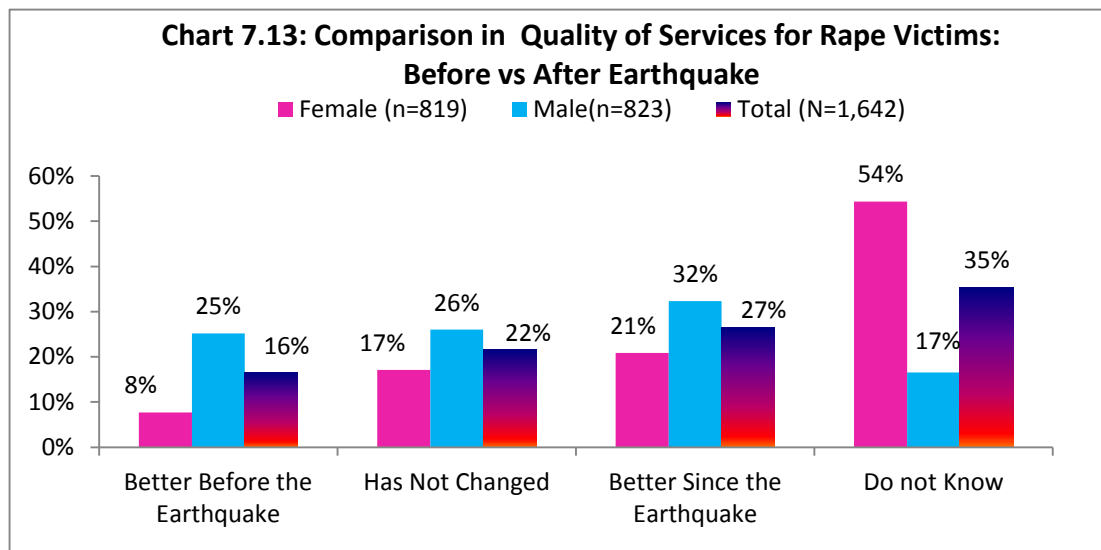
Table 7.18: What a Woman Should If Raped (Choices Given)

	Female (n=819)		Male (n=823)		Total (N=1,642)	
Nothing	5	1%	1	0%	6	0%
See Pastor	1	0%	8	1%	9	1%
Other	41	5%	80	10%	121	7%
Report it to Police	733	89%	753	91%	1486	90%
Go To the Clinic	640	78%	410	50%	1050	64%
Tell Her Family	110	13%	121	15%	231	14%

Table 7.19: Where A Person Can Go For Care In The Area If They Have Been Raped

	Female (n=819)		Male(n=823)		Total (N=1,642)	
Church	6	1%	14	2%	20	1%
Special Clinic	15	2%	9	1%	24	1%
Other	76	9%	11	1%	87	5%
Health Clinic	333	41%	304	37%	637	39%
Police	429	52%	435	53%	864	53%
Hospital	407	50%	470	57%	877	53%

Table 7.20: Special Clinic for Rape Victims Mentioned	
MSF	9
Clinic	9
FFP	1
Diakoni	1
Hospital Vision	1
MOUDHA	1
Other	1
Grand Total	24



Conclusion

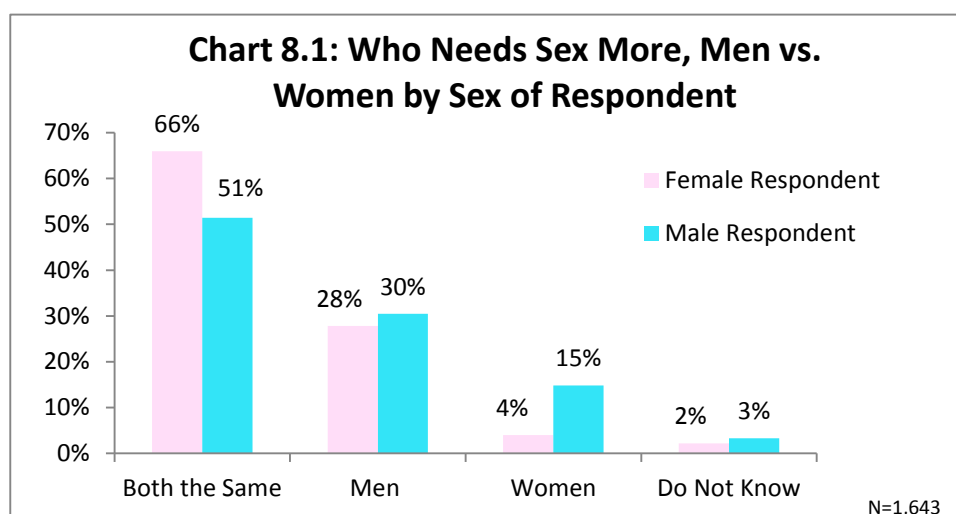
In this section we saw that the expectations regarding high levels of assault against women, rape, and physical abuse were only partially borne out. Respondents reported that women are thought of as more often violent aggressors and/or instigators of violence. In 43% of reported cases where the aggressor was known, the aggressor was a woman and in 53% of cases a man. But the prominence of women as aggressors has much to do with their role as disciplinarian of the children. When "beatings" of children were eliminated, 33% of the known aggressors, those who had attacked adults, were women; 67% were men. There is what could be considered a high incidence of domestic violence against wives; but we say "could be considered" because if the figure is indeed representative of domestic violence against women in the area it is a rate lower than any country in the Western hemisphere and half the US rate seen in the Review of the Literature. Domestic violence appears to occur more often in lower income households. However, women who suffer beatings at the hands of spouses and lovers more often appear to be, *not* the most disenfranchised women, but those who make financial contributions to the household, something that is perhaps related to defending or asserting ones rights. As for extra-domestic sexual violence against women and a post-earthquake "epidemic of rape": our research in Leogane and Carrefour suggests that there was not one.

8. Family, Partners, Children, and Sex

In the Review of the Literature it was seen that researchers have often presented Haitian culture as male centric, women as sexually repressed, and teenage pregnancy rates as high. There is also the understanding that Haitians eschew contraceptives, believing they cause illness and that men often insist their wives do not use them. Less studied issues are current attitudes toward abortion and child birth. In the Leogane and Carrefour surveys we asked questions pertaining to all these issues.

Opinions on who is more in Need of Sex

To begin we asked respondents who needs sex more, men or women. In Chart 8.1 more than half of both men and women said that both have equal sexual needs.



Appropriate Age at onset of Sexual Activity

To gain an understanding of when respondents thought a boy/man versus girl/woman should begin having sex we expected, based on pretests, that age would be only one criteria. Other considerations were if a person was still in school, if they had a job, and if they were married or had a stable, income earning and responsible partner. We accepted only one response. Among them we accepted the common response, "when they are ready," something that in view of accepting only one response obscures the analysis because what the respondent meant could fall into any of the other categories: when they were finished with school, when they have income, when they are 18 years old, or when they have found a suitable spouse." Nevertheless the results are informative.

As seen in Tablet 8.1, next page, the majority of respondents felt that both boys and girls should wait until they are 18 years old to begin having sex: specifically, 67% of respondents said that girls should wait until 18 years of age and 59% of respondents said that boys should wait. However, women placed less emphasis on 18 years of age and greater emphasis on having income, finishing school, or being prepared. Female emphasis on waiting was especially pronounced regarding boys having income: 17% of female respondents said so versus 6% of male respondent.

Table 8.1: When Should Boys vs. Girls Become Sexually Active						
List of Possible Responses	Reponses for When Girls Should Become Sexually Active			Reponses for When Boys Should Become Sexually Active		
	Female	Male	Both	Female	Male	Both
Age younger than 18	2%	3%	3%	4%	6%	5%
18 + years	57%	77%	67%	50%	68%	59%
When Ready	18%	11%	14%	18%	12%	15%
When has Income	9%	2%	5%	17%	6%	12%
Finishes School	8%	3%	6%	6%	2%	4%
Marries	5%	2%	4%	3%	2%	3%
When Wants	0%	2%	1%	1%	4%	2%
Other	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

N=1,643

Teen Pregnancy

Notwithstanding the widespread concern among NGOs and activists for high rates of teenage pregnancy in the wake of the earthquake, Haitians tend to be sexually conservative. As seen in the Review of the Literature, Haiti has one of the lowest teenage pregnancy rates in the Western hemisphere: half or less that of several Latin America countries, less than half that of the Dominican Republic, only about 25% higher than overall the US teen pregnancy rate, and one third the rates for both US Blacks and US Hispanics (also see WHO 2007; UNFPA 2007; WHO 2001; Planned Parenthood 2011; OAH 2013; also see Endnote ii).

Although there was certainly what researchers for Potofil (2012) called a post-earthquake "teen pregnancy bubble," young women 18 to 25 years age in our Carrefour and Leogane samples also have relatively low rates of childbirth, especially in view of high overall birth rates. Inferring from the totals in Table 8.5, young Leogane and Carrefour women in the age group 18 to 25 year annually give birth to 93 children per 1,000 women. In comparison, the rate for Dominican teenage girls 15 to 19 years of age is 104 per 1,000 girls, or an overall average of .52 children per teenager (World Bank 2011). In other words, Dominican teenagers 15 to 19 are having more children than Leogane and Carrefour women in the larger and older 18 to 24 years age category.

Teen Pregnancy in Leogane and Carrefour Sample vs. in the United States

Overall, the average age at first birth for all mothers in the sample was 24.2 years of age; 17.9% of the women sampled who had born children had their oldest living child at 19 years of age or less. If we correct the figure for a 2006 EMMUS 10.3% infant and child mortality rate, then the combined number of Carrefour and Leogane female respondents who bore their first child while still a teenager is 18.4%, slightly less than the 20.7% of US women who reported in 2011 having given birth as teenagers (Planned Parenthood 2012).^{xiii}

Table 8.2: Children Born to Respondents 18 to 25 Years Old

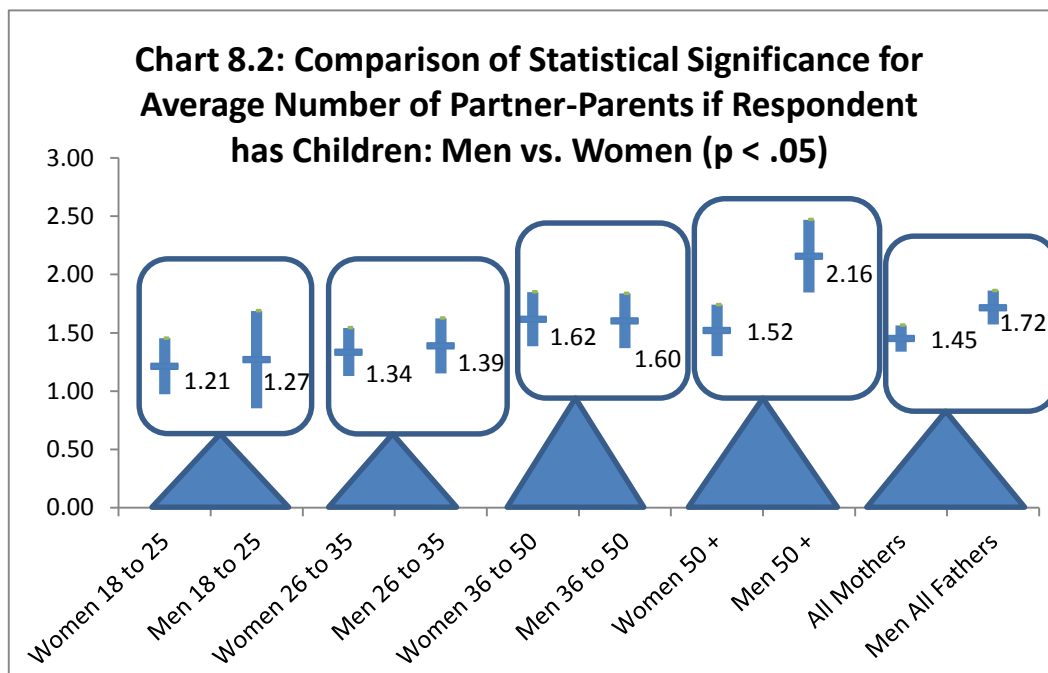
Sex	Countryside	Peri-Urban	City	Total
Female	0.79	0.79	0.59	0.75
Male	0.38	0.34	0.15	0.30

Childbirth & Conjugal Union^{xiv}

In Tables 8.2, above, and Table 8.3, right, we see that a significantly greater number of women in our sample become mothers at younger ages than their male counterparts; or put another way, men in our sample do not begin fathering children until much later in life than women. We can also infer from the data that 4/5ths of children are the offspring of men 36 years of age and older, precisely those men who by virtue of years working and accumulated wealth have greater resources to share with women. In Chart 8.12, it can be seen that the relationship is, for the sample size, statistically significant.

Table 8.3: Percentage of Respondents per Age Groups who Have Children

Age Groups	Female	Male
18 to 25	51%	18%
26 to 35	81%	68%
36 to 50	97%	89%
50 +	94%	94%
Total	81%	68%



Pro-Natalism: Children and Fertility

We saw in the Review of the Literature that Haitians tend to express a high degree of what is called pronatal attitudes, meaning they favor child births. Similarly, in our samples, only 2 women and 29 men said that people did not need to have children (Table 8.4). Out of 1,643 respondents not a single respondent said that the ideal number of children was zero (Table 8.5); the average ideal number of children was moderate ~2.5, a figure consistent across both age groups and sexes (ibid). Compared to findings in rural areas elsewhere and surveys conducted in the past this represents a significant shift toward lower ideal family size (see for example Schwartz 1998, Maynard-Tucker 1996).

Table 8.4: Whether People Need Children			
Sex of Respondent	No	Yes	Total
Female	2	818	820
Male	29	794	823
Men and Women	31	1,612	1,643

Table 8.5: Average of Ideal Number of Children			
Age Groups	Female	Male	Both
18 to 25	2.51	2.55	2.53
26 to 35	2.57	2.52	2.54
36 to 50	2.55	2.69	2.62
50 +	2.59	2.65	2.62
All Age Groups	2.56	2.60	2.58

In Table 8.6, we give the actual figures for number of children born to males versus females per age group, by degree of urbanization, and by the number of children desired. It can be seen that there is neither an apparent nor a statistical difference in how many children respondents say they want and how many children respondents actually have. Nor are there differences between the age and sex the respondents and how many children they say they want.

Table 8.6: Children Born to Men and Women by Age and Sex									
Sex	Age Group	Countryside		Peri-Urban		City		Total	
		Actual	Ideal	Actual	Ideal	Actual	Ideal	Actual	Ideal
Female	18 to 25	0.79	2.55	0.79	2.59	0.59	2.49	0.75	2.55
	26 to 35	2.05	2.69	1.93	2.56	2.07	2.27	2.00	2.57
	36 to 50	3.70	2.58	3.42	2.53	3.23	2.51	3.49	2.55
	50 +	4.44	2.62	3.83	2.64	4.16	2.53	4.18	2.61
Male	18 to 25	0.38	2.58	0.34	2.44	0.15	2.67	0.30	2.55
	26 to 35	1.50	2.53	1.45	2.53	0.85	2.57	1.31	2.54
	36 to 50	3.04	2.87	2.94	2.59	2.51	2.65	2.87	2.70
	50 +	5.41	2.61	4.96	2.61	4.80	2.84	5.09	2.67

One reason that there are no age groups or differences by sex for the number of children desired may have to do with the disposition of those sampled to respond to the question. In past surveys researchers have sometimes found that Haitian respondents report lower ideal fertility to avoid jinxing their chances of having many children or in an attempt to tell researchers what informants think is the politically correct response (Schwartz 2000). With this in mind, we tested if informants really favored smaller family size by adding the question, "a family with three and a family six children, which is better off?" Only 30 respondents chose the family with six children: 10 men and 20 women (Chart 8.2 and Table 8.7, next page).

For the 1,613 people who had chosen the family with three rather than six children, the reason given was overwhelmingly because children were too expensive (Table 8.9). This is a radical difference from what was found 13 years go in Jean Rabel, Haiti where over 50% of respondents chose a family with 6 children (see Schwartz 2009). Comparatively, in Leogane and Carrefour it does appear that there is a growing, or extant anti-natal trend. Or, for those who prefer, a trend toward less children, and perhaps greater investment in those that are born.

Chart 8.3: Respondents who Say a Family with 3 vs. 6 Children is Better Off

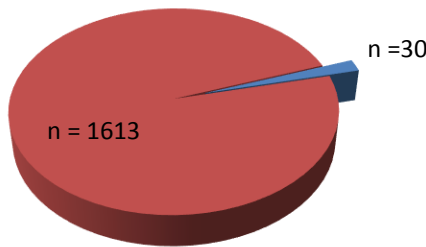


Table 8.8: Location of People who Favor Family of 6 vs. 3 Children	
Location	Number of Respondents
City	3
Countryside	10
Peri-Urban	17

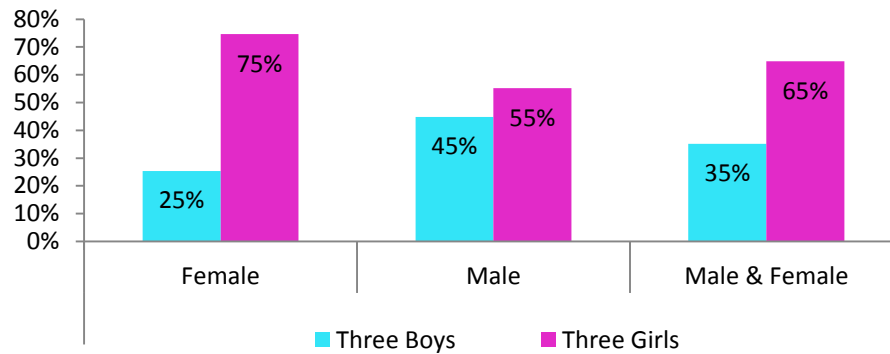
Table 8.7: Family of 3 vs. 6 Children			
Family Sizw	Female	Male	Females and Males
Six	20	10	30
Three	800	813	1613
Total	820	823	1643

Table 8.9: Reasons for Choosing Family with 3 Children			
Reasons	Female	Male	Both
Life is Too Expensive	629	751	1380
Too Many Problems	133	52	185
Not Enough Time	14	7	21
Other	24	3	27
Grand Total	800	813	1613

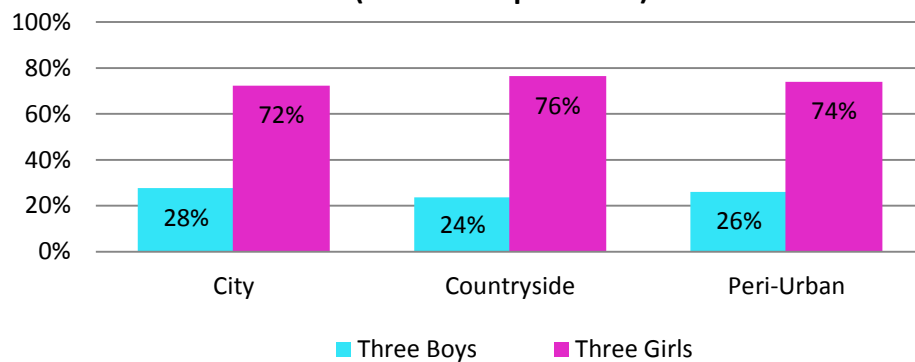
Preference for Boys vs. Girls

A commonly used indicator of the degree to which females are repressed and discriminated against in different cultures is preference for boys over girls. In all the cross cultural questionnaires discussed in the Section 3, Methodology, there were questions designed to capture male preference. In the Leogane and Carrefour survey we too asked about sex preference. However, during pre-tests we realized that when we ask respondents directly which sex of offspring they preferred many tended to avoid responding or to respond that both sexes were equally desirable. Therefore, instead of asking directly about son/daughter preference, we presented respondents in the survey with the hypothetical scenario of a family with three girls vs. a family with three boys and asked which they thought would be better off. Girls came out on top (Chart 8.3). Women favored the family with girls at a ratio of 3 to 1; men favored the girls at a less dramatic ratio of 11 to 9 (ibid). The relationships were consistent no matter if the respondents lived in rural, peri-urban or urban areas (Chart 8.4 & 8.5), The outstanding reason given for why they chose the family with girls had to do with the role that females play in the household (Table 8.10). For those who chose boys, the outstanding reasons were that males bring in more money followed by the security that comes with the presence of older boys (Table 8.11).

**Chart 8.4: Family with 3 Girls vs. 3 Boys
(All Respondents)**



**Chart 8.5: Preference for Family with 3 Girls vs 3 Boys
(Female Respondents)**



**Chart 8.6 : Preference for Family with 3 Girls vs 3 Boys
(Male Respondents)**

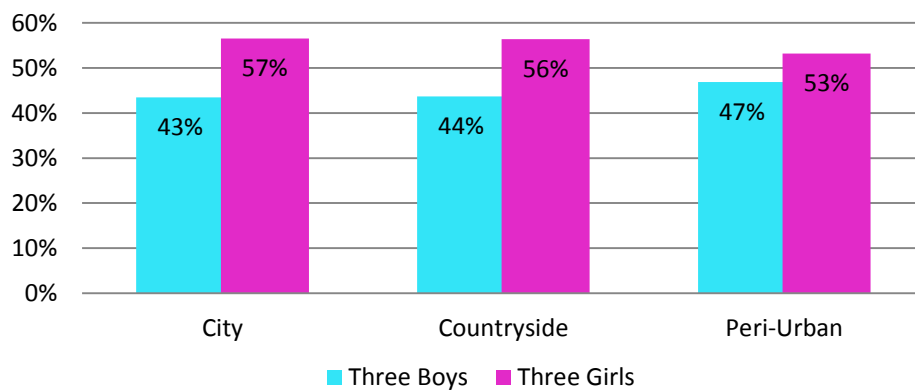


Table 8.10 Reasons for Preferring Girls			
	Respondents		
	Female	Male	Both
Girls Better Care for the Family	218	192	410
Girls Manage the Household	72	169	241
Boys Cost Too Much	177	16	193
Girls Are More Loyal	40	30	70
+Other	55	3	58
Girls Bring in More Money	16	17	33
Girls Attract Loyalty of Men	9	22	31
Girls Do Better in School	25	5	30
Grand Total	612	454	1,066

Table 8.11: Why Boys			
Reasons	Respondents		
	Female	Male	Total
Boys Work Harder	54	216	270
Boys Provide Physical Security	74	46	120
Boys Bring in More Money	25	63	88
Other	28	10	38
Boys Do Better in School	18	19	37
Girls Cost Too Much	9	15	24
Grand Total	208	369	577

Abortion and Contraceptives

The inverse of the pronatal attitudes discussed earlier are "anti-natal" attitudes and practices that mitigate against fertility and child birth, most notably abortion and use of contraceptives. Legally abortion in Haiti has always been and continues to be illegal. Critics of the law have implied that it is an example of gender discriminatory legal system. But as seen in the Literature Review, the law has seldom been officially enforced. Censorship of abortion has come largely from the general population, both males and females. Aborting a fetus has traditionally been criticized as the "worst sin" and severely censured through social ridicule (see Schwartz 2009). To get an ideas of contemporary attitudes in Leogane and Carrefour and to gauge whether they are too are changing, as appears to be the case with desire for fewer numbers of offspring, we including relevant questions in the surveys. ^{xv}

We asked respondents if they believed abortion was justifiable in any of the cases listed in Table 8.12 (following page). We then combined the responses to create an index of tolerance: We classified as "Intolerant" all those respondents who said that abortion was never justifiable. We classified as "Moderately Tolerant" those respondents who accepted abortion only in conditions of Rape and/or Medical Complication. And we classified as "Tolerant" any respondent who accepted that a woman could justifiable abort a pregnancy in the case of Rape and/or Medical Complication and at least one of the following: 'has no spouse,' 'is still in school,' 'is too young,' 'has too many children,' 'is too poor,' or 'other.'

What we found was that 61% or more of all women and men are at least moderately tolerant of abortion; for men the figure was the same, 61% (Table 8.13, Chart 8.15). The trend changes with age and sex: young women are the most tolerant and women over 50 years of age the least tolerant.

One caveat in assuming that this is evidence of changing fertility patterns and a shift to more anti-natal behaviors and attitudes is that at least one other study in Haiti found that older women favor larger numbers of children more than any other age-sex category. The reason was because older women control the household, depend on the labor of children in accomplishing subsistence tasks and freeing themselves to engage in income generating itinerant marketing endeavors (Schwartz 2000). Nevertheless, together with declining ideal fertility levels seen above, the overwhelming preference for three children vs. six children households, the increasing tolerance of abortion suggests a radical change from past pronatalism. Corroborating the existence of this trend is the wide acceptance and favorable view of contraceptives seen in the next section.

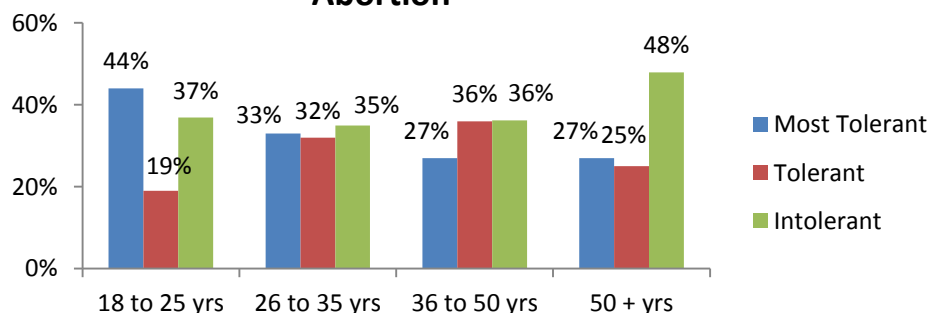
Table 8.12: Frequency of Reasons For Justifiable Abortion

Choices	Female	Male	Total
Other	2%	2%	2%
No Spouse	3%	3%	3%
Still i n School	4%	5%	4%
Too Young	5%	7%	6%
Too many Children	10%	6%	8%
Poverty	6%	14%	10%
Rape	13%	13%	13%
Medical	30%	24%	27%
Never Justifiable	27%	28%	28%

Table 8.13: Tolerance for Abortion

Age Groups	Tolerant (unmarried, still in school, poor, too many children)		Moderately Tolerant (medical & rape)		Intolerant (never Justifiable)	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
18 to 25	51%	35%	15%	25%	34%	40%
26 to 35	29%	40%	38%	23%	33%	37%
36 to 50	20%	35%	41%	31%	39%	34%
50 +	25%	28%	27%	25%	49%	47%
Total	31%	35%	30%	26%	39%	40%

Chart 8.7: Analysis of Age by Tolerance of Abortion



Contraceptives

In Tables 8.14 & 8.15 it can be seen that 3/4ths of respondents view contraceptives favorably with favor and certainty most elevated in in younger age groups. This too is a radical break from past studies where as many as 85% of all women were found to view contraceptives in a negative light (Schwartz 1998). A counter intuitive trend in this respect is that a greater proportion of male and female respondents living in rural, versus urban areas, view contraceptives favorably: the figures for females were 56% for urban respondents, 63% for peri-urban respondents; and 75% for rural respondents (Charts 8.6). The figures for males were 59% for urban respondents, 74% for peri-urban respondents, and 75% for rural respondents (Charts 8.7). Finally, in Table 8.16 we see that there is little difference in the opinions of respondents whether a man or woman has a right to use contraceptives even without the consent of their spouse.

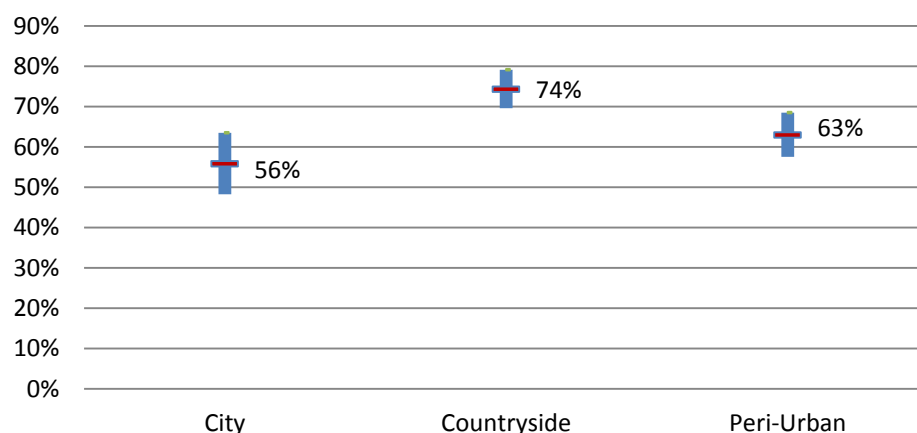
Table 8.14: Count of Contraceptive Good vs. Bad by Sex of Respondent

	Female	Male	Male and Female
Do Not Know	19%	13%	16%
Mostly Bad	13%	15%	14%
Mostly Good	66%	70%	68%
Not Better or Worse	2%	2%	2%

Table 8.15: Contraceptive Good vs. Bad by Age of Respondent

	18 to 25	26 to 35	36 to 50	50 +	All Ages
Do Not Know	14%	10%	13%	26%	16%
Mostly Bad	16%	15%	13%	12%	14%
Mostly Good	68%	73%	72%	60%	68%
Not Better or Worse	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%

Chart 8.8: Proportion of Respondents Qualifying Contraceptives as "Mostly Good" (Female Respondents: $p < .05$)



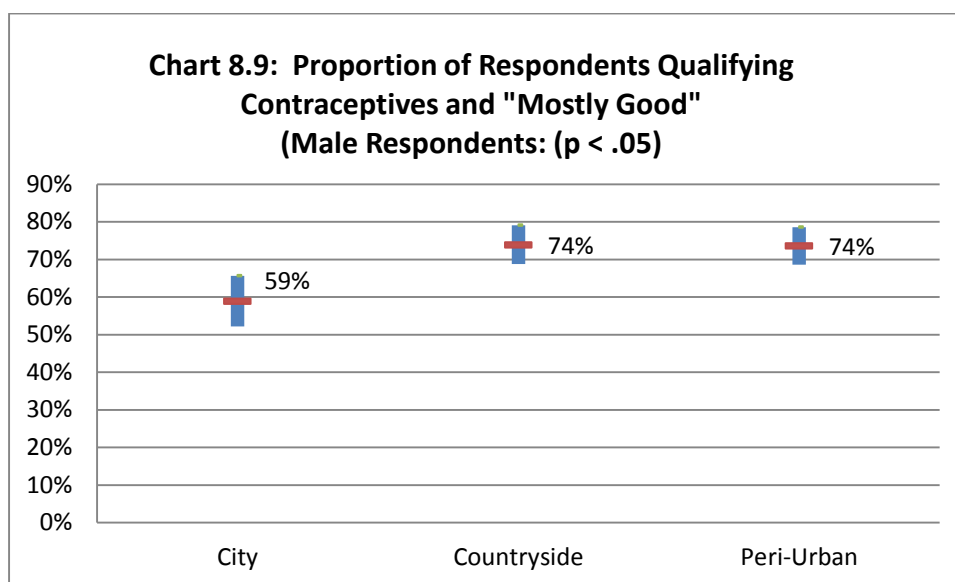


Table 8.16: Opinions on Man and Woman Right to Use Contraceptives with Spousal Consent by Sex of Respondents

Respondents	Woman Has Right		Man Has Right	
	No	Yes	No	Yes
Female (n=820)	64%	36%	65%	35%
Male (n=823)	68%	32%	67%	33%
Male and Females (N=1,643)	66%	34%	66%	34%

9. Family Support

In preparing the survey we were also interested in personal support networks: who men and women turned to when they needed material assistance; who they turned to when they need emotional support or advice or moral support; and differential attitudes or mother and fathers regarding the quality of relationships with their children and with one another. We present the results below.

Quality of Family Relationships and Support

Opinions on Quality of Relationships to Partner and Children

We found that women in our samples rate their relationships to their spouses with less enthusiasm than did men: 13% of women rated their relationship with their partner as "Very Good," while 50% of men rated their relationship in this way (Chart 9.1). Women also rated their relationship to their children less enthusiastically than did men,. 19% of women said they had a "Very Good" relationship with their children. 44% of men said so (Chart 9.2).

Chart 9.1: How Women and Men Rate Relationship with Their Partner

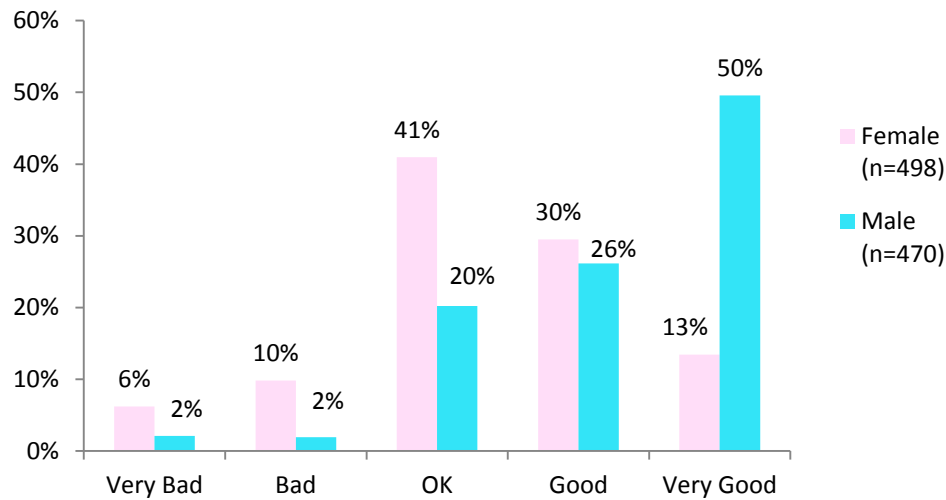
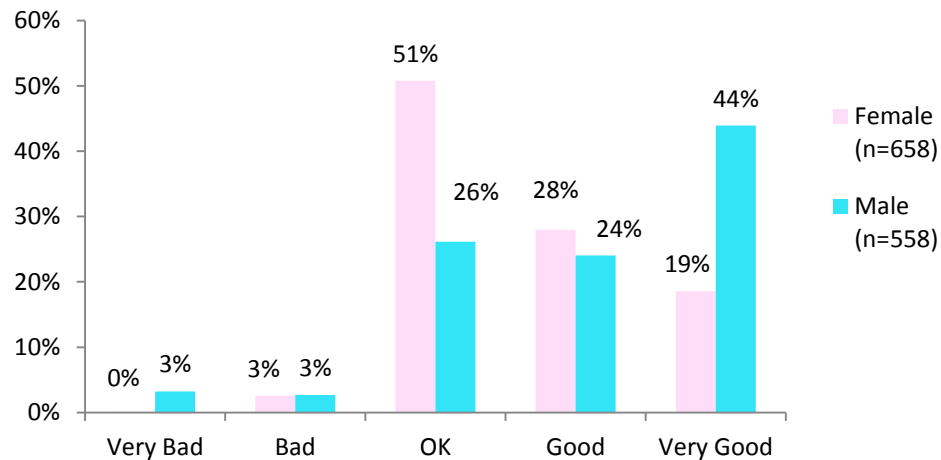


Chart 9.2: How Women and Men Rate Relationship with Their Children



Who Respondents turn to for Material Support

When it comes to material aid, what we see in Table 9.1 is that in the case of a need for money or food, men report depending on brothers more so than any other category (23%), a figure cited almost twice as frequently as the next category, that of spouse (12%). Men depended as much on

their sisters (12%) as their spouses, followed closely by their mothers (11%). At a total of 23% mentions, sisters and mother combined are as important a source of material aid for men as brothers. Brothers, sisters, and mothers combined, were the first people men reported turning for material aid for 46% of respondents.

Women on the other hand reported turning far more frequently to their spouse for material aid; 19% said so, a tendency that echoes the socially constructed gender expectations discussed in the Review of the Literature, i.e. men should provide money to women for household maintenance and commercial enterprise but that women are expected to reciprocate not with money but with sexual and domestic services. The next person women most frequently reported turning to was, similar to reports for men, that of brother (14%). Also as with men, mothers (13%) and sisters (11%) ranked high as first source of aid; and at a combined 24% of mentions they exceeded any other category. Similar to men, if we combine brothers, sisters and mothers, 48% of women reported turning to them first for aid.

Who Respondents turn to for Moral Support/Advice

In Table 9.2 we see that for advice, or what we can interpret as psychological support, men turn most often to friends (26%) then brothers (13%), and then spouses (12%) followed by mother (11%) and then more distantly, sister (6%). At a rate equal to men (26%), women too reported turning most often friends for psychological support, followed by spouse (19%) then brother (10%), mother (7%) and finally sister (6%).

Table 9.1: First Person Respondent Goes to if Needs Material Aid 1		
Relationship to Respondent	Female (n=820)	Male (n=823)
Grand Father	0%	0%
Grandmother	0%	0%
Cousin	1%	3%
Uncle	2%	3%
Aunt	3%	3%
Daughter	5%	1%
Son	5%	1%
Father	5%	5%
Friend	8%	10%
Sister	11%	12%
Mother	13%	11%
Brother	14%	23%
Spouse	19%	12%
Other	14%	13%

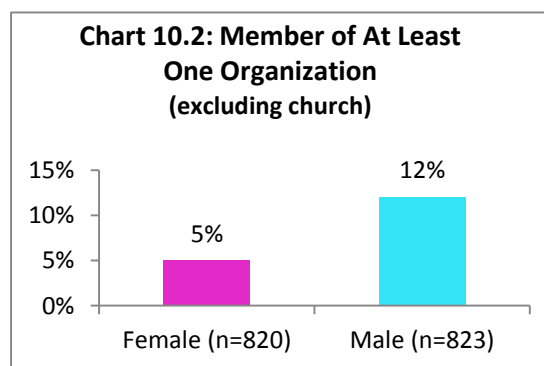
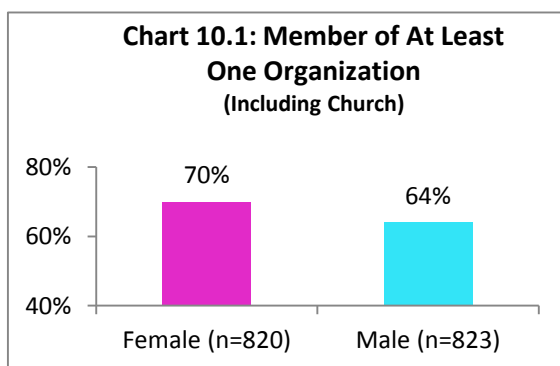
Table 9.2: Count of Need Advice		
Relationship to Respondent	Female (n=820)	Male (n=823)
Grand Father	0%	0%
Grandmother	1%	1%
Uncle	2%	5%
Cousin	3%	5%
Father	3%	8%
Daughter	5%	1%
Aunt	5%	3%
Son	5%	1%
Sister	6%	6%
Brother	7%	13%
Mother	10%	11%
Spouse	19%	12%
Friend	26%	26%
Other	7%	7%

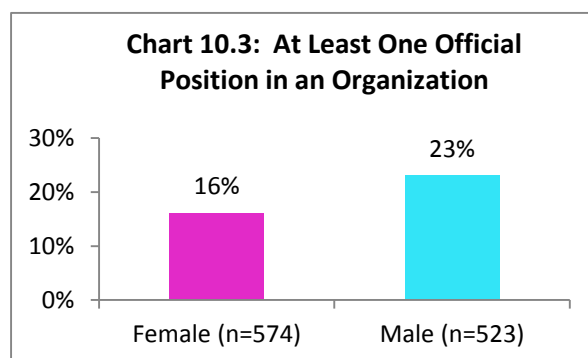
10. NGOs, Hospitals, and Clinics

Membership in Organizations

In Table 10.1 and Charts 10.1 to 10.3, we see that, as expected from the gender defined political roles of men in Haiti seen in the Review of the Literature, men are more prominent than women in organizations and leadership of organizations. But two points are noteworthy. First, while less frequently than men, women do have a presence as members and leaders of organizations; and second, they are more prominent than men, at least in terms of numbers, in churches, far and away the organizations in the survey areas with the most membership.

Table 10.1: Group Membership by Type of Group and Sex of Respondent			
Organization	Female	Male	Total
Church	65%	52%	59%
Youth Group	6%	4%	5%
Development Association	1%	6%	4%
Women's group	4%	0%	2%
Peasant Association	1%	3%	2%
Camp Association	2%	1%	1%
Artisan association	1%	1%	1%
Mother's club	1%	0%	1%
Voudou Association	0%	0%	0%
SRV	0%	1%	0%
Musical, social or athletic	0%	0%	0%
Political Party	0%	0%	0%
Savings Group	0%	0%	0%
None	30%	37%	33%





NGO and State Sponsored Seminars since the Earthquake

To evaluate the extent to which NGOs and the Haitian State have reached out and informed the population we asked respondents if they have attended a seminar since the earthquake, and if so what type of seminar and who sponsored it. What we found was that about 18% of respondents had attended at least one seminar (Chart 10.4); attendance was about equal for men and women (18% vs. 17%); the frequency of attendance was almost 4 times greater in the town of Leogane than in the City of Carrefour (28% vs. 8%); the vast majority of the seminars had to do with disaster, cholera or other health issues (Table 10.2); and the Haitian State, the Red Cross, and CARE were believed to be the most common sponsors--each with 45 citations (Table 10.3).

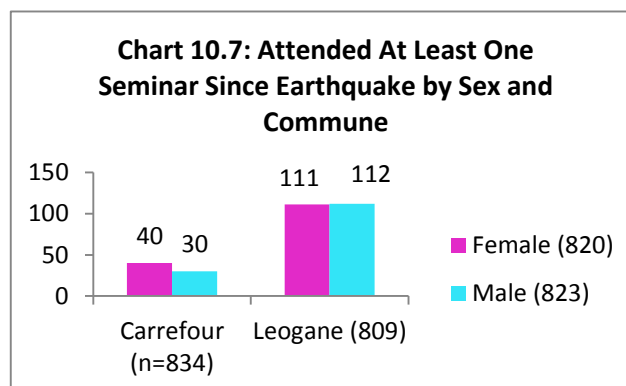
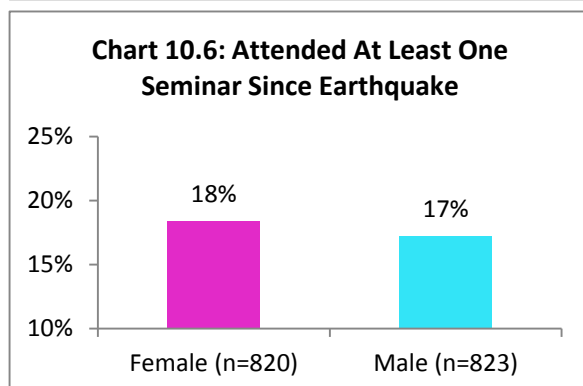
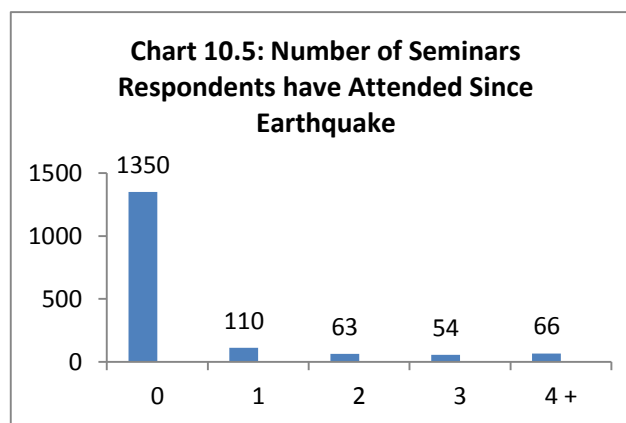
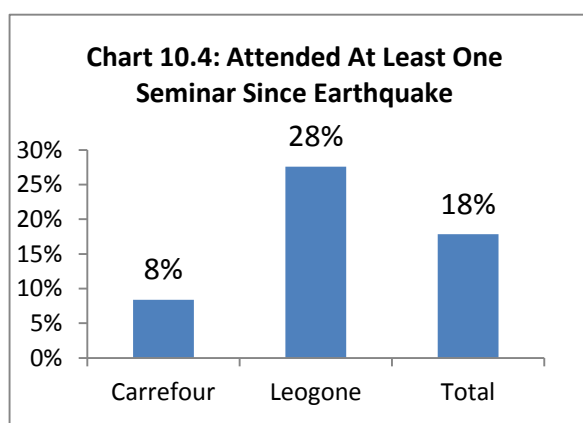


Table 10.2: Types of Seminars Respondents Attended Since Earthquake

Type of Seminar	Freq	Type of Seminar	Freq
Hlth, Nut. & Hygiene	94	Handicap & Stress	5
Emergency medical	71	Mother's Club	5
Other	71	Business	4
Cholera	69	Savings	4
Building construction	53	Environment	3
AIDS	37	Democracy	3
Disaster	32	Filiaris	3
Education	30	Drainage	2
Livestock & Garden	12	Mother Child Health	1
GBV	8	Sanitation	1
Water	7		

Table 10.3: Seminar Sponsors

Seminar Sponsors	Number of Mentions
State (FAES, MSPP, ASEC)	45
Red Cross	45
CARE	45
USAID	29
Tear Fund	15
OIM	15
Johanniter	13
Oxfam	13
ACTED	7
Envangelicals	5
SAVE	5
MSF	4
Samaritan's Purse	3
World Vision	3
CARITAS	2
Habitat	2
MUDHA	1
ACDI VOCA	1
CORDAID	1
Scouts	1
Other (orgs mentioned once)	38

Illness and Use of Hospitals, Clinics, and Doctors

Illness is a big part of the lives of the respondents and their families. When asked, 'when was the last time someone in the household was,' in the opinion of the respondent, 'seriously ill.' Fully 47% replied "this month"; 74%% said within the past two months (Table 10.4). It was most often a child in the house who was sick (Table 10.5); and women were more often ill than men (ibid). Symptoms were predominantly fever (Chart 10.8); most people were taken to or sought out on their own some form of treatment, usually a hospital visit (Chart 10.9); 11% more Carrefour versus Leogane respondents (81% vs. 70%) reported the sick individual went to the hospital, difference that was statistically significant (Chart 10.10); and for those who did not go to a hospital, clinic or doctor the primary reasons given was that "it was not necessary," followed by "too far" and "too expensive" (Table 10.6). Women in the house were considered more knowledgeable than men in recognizing and responding to illness by only a slim ratio of 6 to 5 (Table 10.7).

Table 10.4: Last Illness in the House (N=1,643)

When	Households	Cumulative %
This Month	47%	47%
Last Month	22%	69%
Two Months Ago	5%	74%
Three Months Ago	4%	78%
Four Months Ago	3%	81%
Over Four Months Ago	10%	91%
Never	9%	100%

Table 10.5: Who Was Sick (n=294)

Females		Males	
Person	Households	Person	Households
Aunt	1	Uncle	1
Grandmother	3	Grandfather	2
Sister	12	Husband	5
Mother	13	Father	8
Wife	16	Brother	15
Respondent Female	47	Respondent Male	38
Daughter	73	Son	60
Total	165	Total	129

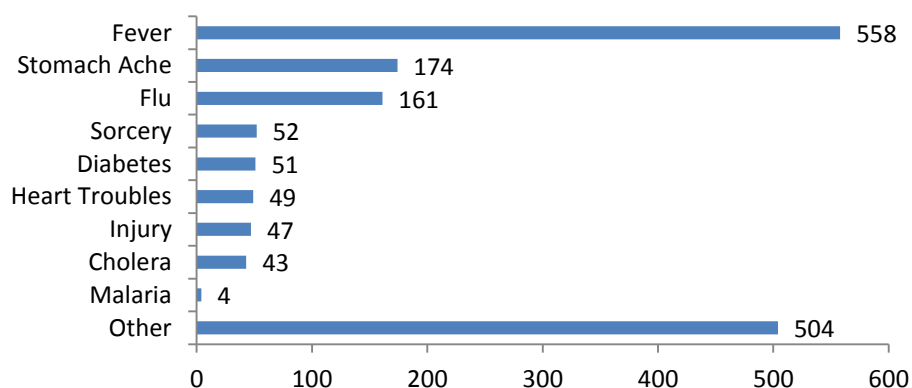
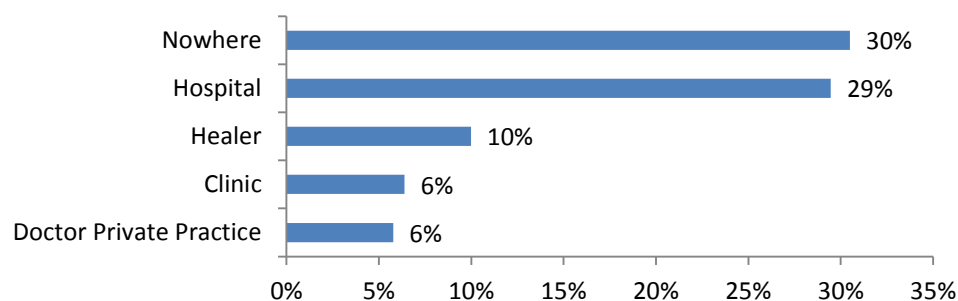
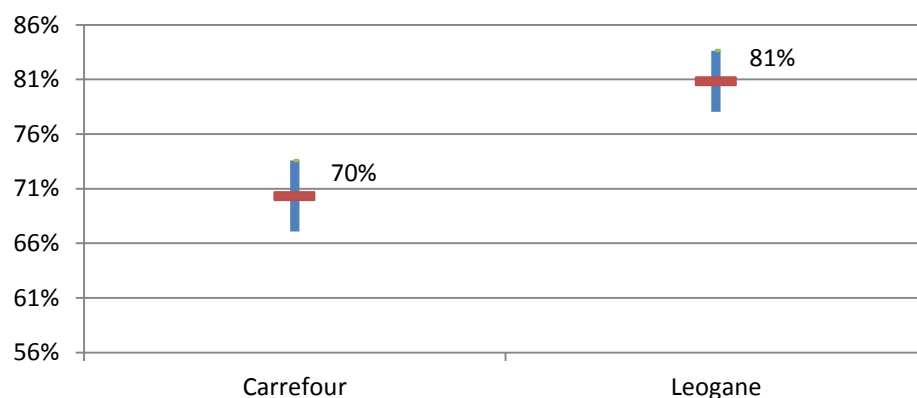
Chart 10.8: Symptoms/Disease When Person Was Last Sick

Chart 10.9: Where the Person was Treated**Chart 10.10: Use of Hospital for Last Illness in the House: Carrefour vs Leogane (p > 95%)****Table 10.6: Reasons Given for Not Going to Hospital, Clinic or Doctor**

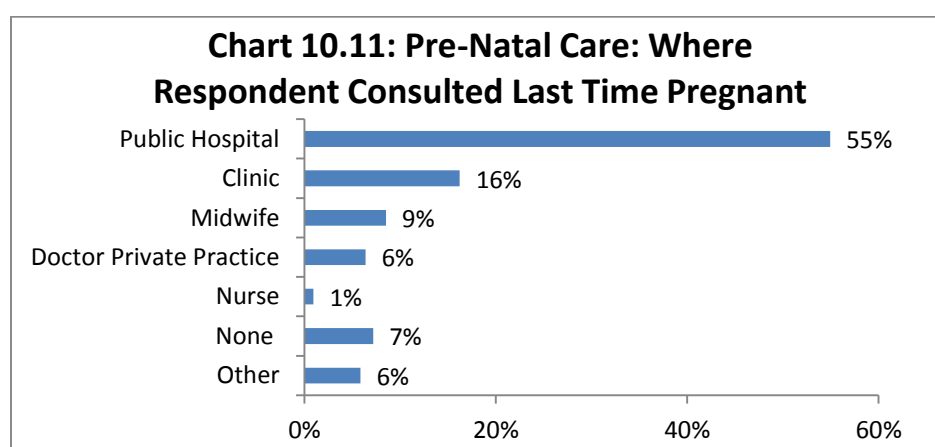
They do not give good care	1%
Don't like being touched	3%
It was not open	3%
Too Expensive	11%
Too Far	30%
Not necessary	52%

Table 10.7: People Respondents Identified As Most Knowledgeable Regarding Illness in the House

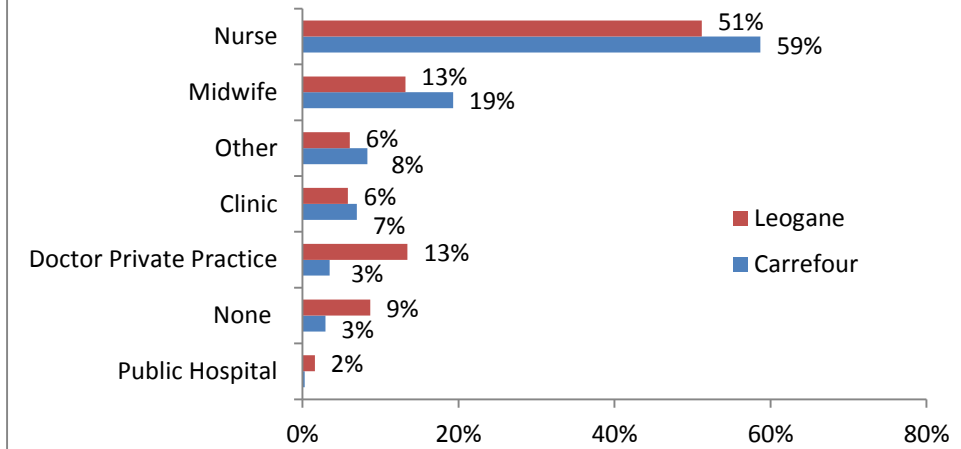
Men		Women	
Grand Father	1	Grandmother	3
Uncle	9	Sister	25
Brother	19	Daughter	27
Son	24	Aunt	31
Father	53	Wife	48
Husband	78	Mother	178
Respondent Male	508	Respondent Female	505
Total	692	Total	817

Pre-Natal, Birth and Use of Services

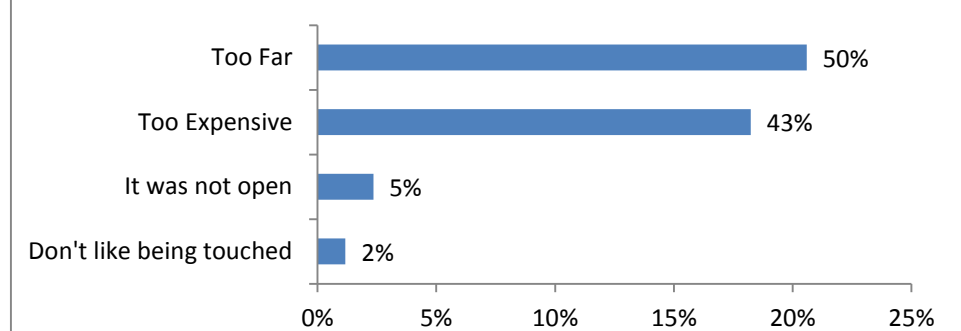
The vast majority of women (654 of 752 or 88%) sought out professional medical care during their last pregnancy, most (55%) at a public hospital (Chart 10.11). The proportion of respondents who visited different practitioners were approximately equal in Leogane and Carrefour (Chart 10.12). Of the 98 (12%) who were not attended to by professionals, 50% explained that it was too far and 43% too expensive (Chart 10.13). The number of respondents who gave birth at home was 17% greater in Leogane (53% vs. 36%), a difference that is statistically significant for the size of the sample (Chart 10.14).



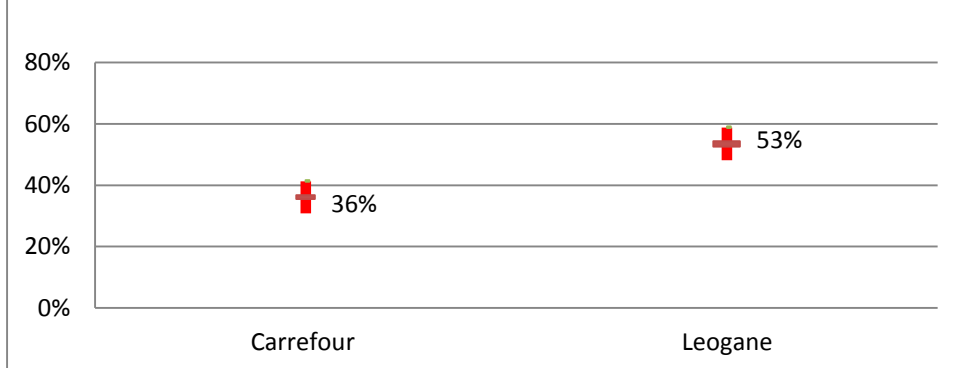
**Chart 10.12: Use of Pre-Natal Services:
Carrefour vs. Leogane**



**Chart 10.13: Reasons Respondent Did Not
Consult Last Time Pregnant**



**Chart 10.14: Birth at Home: Carrefour vs.
Leogane (p < .05)**



Post-Natal Care and Use of Services

We found similar results for post natal care (Chart 12.15). The majority of women sought out professionals (92%), most at a clinic, or with a visiting midwife or nurse (81%). Respondents in Carrefour reported using professional hospital and clinic services more than those of Leogane (12.16), a difference that was not statistically significant (Chart 12.17) For the 5% of the total sample that did not use professional services the explanations were more varied than those for pre-natal care: 38% explained that the service was not available ('not open'), 30% that the treatment they received was bad ('they are rude' and 'not good care'), and in contrast to pre-natal care only 17% cited expense and distance -- a consequence of the women not having to go all the way to the hospital (Chart 12.17).

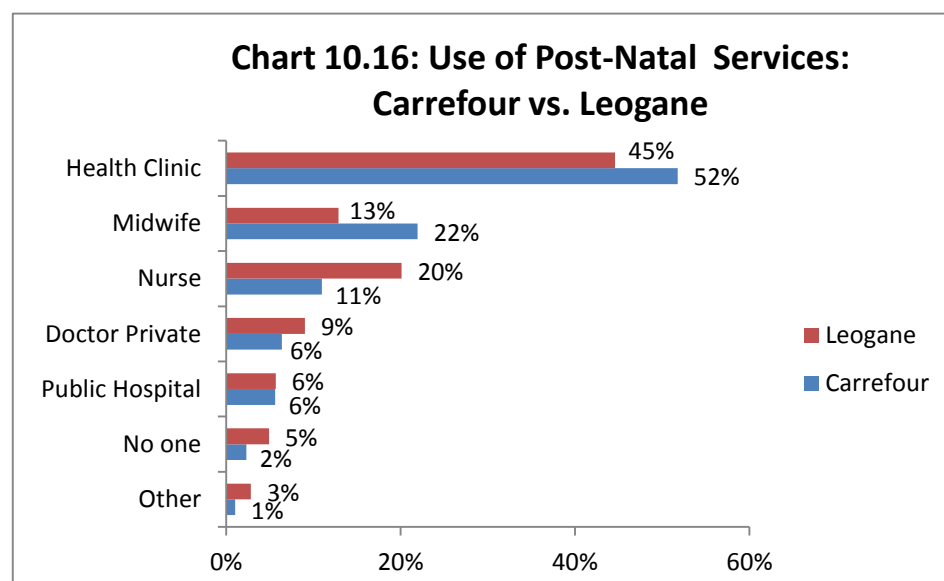
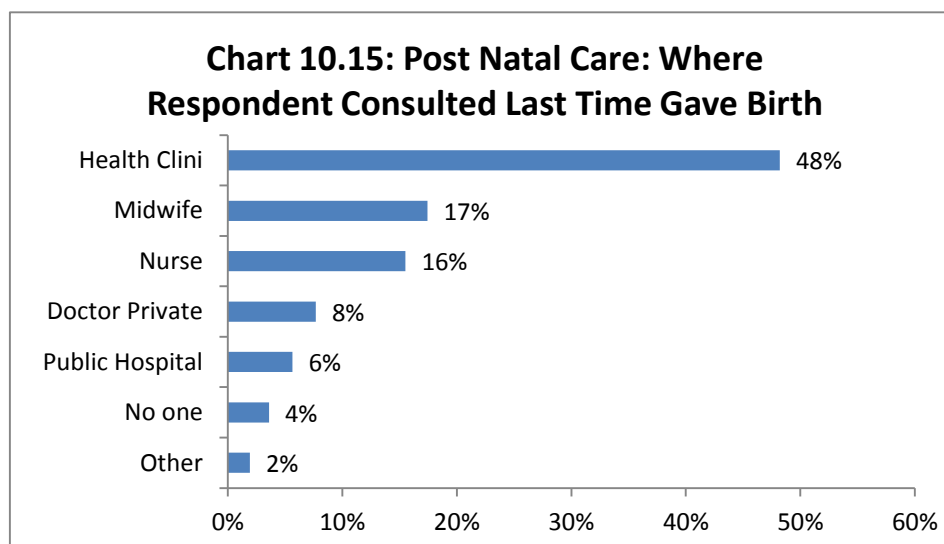


Chart 10.17: Respondents who *did not* use any Post-Natal Specialist Last Pregnancy: Carrefour vs. Leogane (p < 95%)

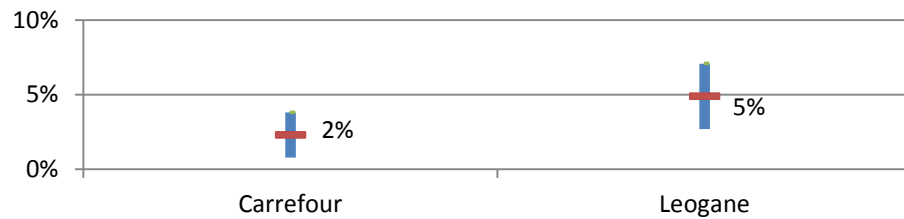
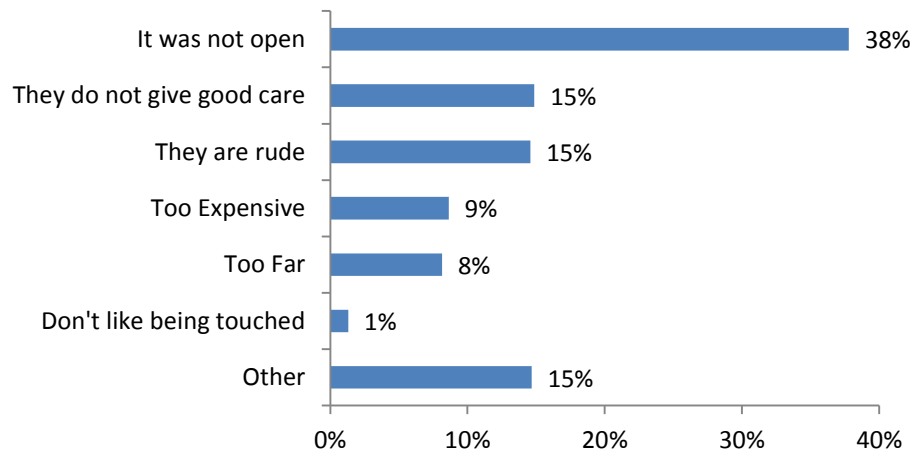


Chart 10.18: Post Natal Care: Why Respondent did not Consult at Clinic or with Doctor



11. Conclusion and Recommendations

If we were to expand on Lowenthal (1986) and Richman's (2003) descriptions of gender relations in Haiti, seen at the beginning of this report, and conceive of them as a male vs. female 'field of competition' for access to resources, control of households and members, and control over household finances and budget, then the present study suggests females win. Women make significant contributions to household finances, they are arguably as powerful as men in the domestic sphere, they appear more autonomous than men with regard to personal decisions (such as joining organizations or traveling), they exercise a high degree of control over other members of the household, and men and women both prefer daughters. We expected to find some of these trends, but we were generally surprised by the extent to which women in the samples appear to be on par with men. A noteworthy inequity is that women in the samples were significantly less-educated than men, something that does not correspond to national samples. But even on the most worrisome issues, most notably with respect to violent rape, women come out far less abused than claimed in most reports from NGOs, newspapers, and gender-based activist organizations.

Some aid practitioners might find these conclusions disturbing. They may either dismiss them or they may wonder why NGOs, international organizations and donors have been devoting so much attention to empowering Haitian women if they are already empowered. We believe the lesson should be, not to reduce development efforts that target women, but rather to focus less on Haitian women as victims, acknowledge their power, and move on to more fully mobilizing them as vectors in development. With that said, we offer the following general recommendations

Mobilize: We should focus on mobilizing women to get more involved in the one area where they are most conspicuously absent: local level politics and community development. CARE and other NGOs have an advantage in accomplishing this because international development and health oriented organizations are among the most economically and socially influential opportunities available. Locals working in the sector earn two to eight times the local wage rates and they preside over social organizational and infrastructural improvement projects that give them inordinate status and prestige in their communities.

To mobilize women, CARE should take a two pronged approach. 1) bring in consultants with local knowledge and language skills who understand UNICEF sponsored **SEED-SCALE** approach to bottom up development and 2) **identify** credible feminist organizations.

SEED-SCALE

If we have learned anything from the past 70 years of development it is that purely top down initiatives seldom succeed (Easterly 2006). The point is especially poignant in Haiti (Schwartz 2008). UNICEF funded SEED-SCALE provides an alternative (Taylor et. al.). Whether it is health, education or community driven infrastructural development SEED-SCALE is a powerful approach to building enduring bottom up community-NGO-State organizational alliances that resolve community problems, and empower women (see <http://www.seed-scale.org> for SEED SCALE kit and see Taylor et al 2012 for description of process and examples).

Gretchen Berggren Ph.D. at Harvard, Bettie Gebrian PhD, and University of Connecticut Professor Judy Lewis are three consultants with a combined 100+ years of experience in Haiti and authors of several successful community health programs in the country, including several at Albert Schweitzer in the Artibonite and USAID funded Haiti Health Foundation in the Grand Anse. It is recommended that CARE hire the consultants for an exploratory evaluation of the Carrefour and Leogane program with the prospect in mind of incorporating SEED SCALE organization building strategy.

Identify credible partners: As Alexis Gardella wrote 7 years ago in her USAID Gender Assessment,

Haiti has an impressive and rich community of organizations that are dedicated to effecting change, from human rights, to women's rights, to domestic violence and illiteracy. Groups concerned with all the aspects of women's status already exist, both within and outside Port-au-Prince, and many have consolidated their advocacy efforts under umbrella organizations or associations. Every major women's advocacy group in Port-au-Prince has extensive ties to regional and rural associations. There is no issue identified in this assessment that does not already have a collection of advocacy groups mobilized around it. (Gardella 2006: 29)

That being said, it must be admitted that during the past 50 years of intense foreign aid, while the Haitian economy has gone into a dizzying free-fall, the Haitian landscape of grassroots organizations and NGOs has become infested with entrepreneur minded opportunists. This is not entirely bad. Partners and aid practitioners, whether foreign or local, should be able to earn a living and feed their families. But CARE must avoid the opportunists who seek money only and identify credible NGOs. Two are SOFA and KAY FANM: powerful and credible organizations with credible leaders, a long history of positive involvement in representing Haitian women, and extensive networks in both rural and urban areas. CARE should ally with these organizations.

Combat Misinformation: CARE should combat misinformation. Misinformation is the means by which money is misdirected. It causes organizations such as CARE to waste time, effort and money channeling resources into areas where they are not needed and, by corollary, away from areas where they are needed. It deprives needy and vulnerable people of help they might otherwise receive. It cheats donors out of their hope that their money would be well spent and CARE out of the satisfaction that we are accomplishing our mission. In its ugliest forms it is frequently used means by which criminals capture aid funds meant for their own enrichment and abuse the very people we are trying to help, as with the orphan director who sexually molests the children under his care or the sociopath turned pastor who builds network of businesses and finances his way into a position of political power. Misinformation also sabotages the endeavor to empower and mobilize women.

One rather innocent example of misinformation is the assumption that female-headed household are in greater need than Male-Female Headed households. While it is probably true that young mothers are in greater need, the notion that females headed households as whole are

disadvantaged appears specious and founded on assumptions and may be leading aid agencies to categorically eliminate many of the most needy households while scheduling aid for other that least need it.

A more extreme and potentially dangerous example of misinformation is the "rape epidemic"; if it is largely a fabrication of entrepreneurial minded advocate-aid workers, grassroots organizations, and sensationalizing journalists, then no better example of feminine self-sabotage exists. If we are indeed dealing with a fabricated crisis, the greatest impact the "rape epidemic" has had may be to have made violent rape seem to be a common and expected behavior in popular neighborhoods and by implication, no cause for great alarm. In other words, before it has even occurred, we have desensitized the population, the authorities, and donors to the most aggressive and demeaning form of attack on the traditional pillar of the Haitian family and society: women, *poto mitan*.

Young Males

We found no evidence in our study that female headed households were less well-off than those with both a male and female head. We did not find evidence that men were repressing and controlling their wives any more than vice versa. We did not even find evidence of inordinate levels of domestic abuse or rape. But times are indeed changing. Haiti is in the throes of a transition from a rural society governed by tradition and social censure to an urban society governed by formal laws and enforced by a formal justice system. At the moment formal laws discriminate against women. The low level of female participation in politics is unmistakable. These issues should be addressed. The relatively powerful traditional position of Haitian women in the rural economy should be preserved and the way paved for them to assume a greater formal role in future Haitian society. But in addressing these issues and the growing dangers to women and girls we should be careful not to neglect the significance of other populations and, in doing so, make matters worse. Specifically, Gardella warned in her 2006 study of a growing population of bored, uneducated, and economically desperate young men – the most dangerous of these can become grossly empowered through crime and participation in narcotrafficking. In the words of Gardella:

In the current socio-political climate in Haiti, the most important population at risk is certainly urban male youth, i.e., urban gangs. The criminal and political activities of these gangs is of such a degree as to destabilize the major and secondary metropolitan areas, and all attendant economic activities, and to further jeopardize the installation and proper functioning of the newly elected government. [2006:30]

With the preceding points in mind, it would behoove us to remember that *gender* is not just about females. Gender encompasses “the economic, social, political and cultural attributes and opportunities associated with being male and female.” It is in understanding the dimensions of

relationship between males and females that we can more effectively target development initiatives to bring about a safer, more secure, and healthier environment for everyone.¹

¹ Definition of Gender was taken from Gardella (2006) who is citing the Development Assistance Committee Guidelines for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Development Cooperation. OECD: Paris (1998).

12. Notes

ⁱ The causes underlying the outstanding role of women in popular Haitian culture is surely linked to the country's regionally unique economy and prevailing subsistence strategies. For two hundred years Haiti has been a regional, if not global anachronism. While neighboring countries became or remained oriented toward plantation and latifundia systems, within 30 years of its 1804 independence Haiti had evolved into a nearly full-blown peasant economy dependent on small garden plots equitably distributed among 10s of thousands of farming families; while neighboring countries became or remained export and import oriented, Haiti depended and still largely depends on local petty production organized around households and regional rotating marketing systems; while neighboring countries became mechanized, Haitian farmers and craftsmen depended and still largely depend on pre-19th century technology as well as human and animal labor power; while most neighboring countries have experienced demographic transition to lower birth rates, the process has been much slower in Haiti where many women, particularly those living in rural areas, continue to bear children at rates equal to the highest in the world and the highest biologically possible (see Schwartz 2000). Linked to these economies, land tenure systems, and subsistence strategies, Haiti was also unique in the degree to which it has depended for foreign revenue on male labor migration. For over 100 years a Haitian male right-of-passage included migration to plantations in Cuba and the Dominican Republic. More recently men and an increasingly number of women migrate to work in to areas of intense hotel construction, fishing grounds, and touristic zones. The traditional pattern was for men to migrate to get the money to set spouses up in homes and to invest in expanded household enterprises such as peasant agricultural, livestock rearing, craft production, and commerce. The frequent absence of men encouraged and conditioned the prominent role of women seen earlier and gave them an edge in the "field of competition" that Lowenthal described.

ⁱⁱ Specifically, teen pregnancy rates vary widely by race and ethnicity. In 2008, the pregnancy rate for non-Hispanic white teens was 43.3 per 1,000 women 15–19 years of age. Depending on which of the cited sources is used, the pregnancy rate for Hispanic teens was 106.6. For African-American teens it was 117, with a upper level for 2006 of 126 for both. "See page 2 of the Planned Parenthood Fact Sheet, by the Katharine Dexter McCormick Library Planned Parenthood Federation of America OAH (Office of Adolescent Health) 2013 Trends in Teen Pregnancy and Childbearing.

Table 12.1: Selected Latin American and Caribbean Adolescent Birth Rates (births per annum per 1,000 women in age category: World Bank 2013)				
Country	2008	2009	2010	2011
United States	38	36	33	30
Hispanics*	-	-	-	106
African Americans*	-	-	-	117
Trinidad and Tobago	34	33	33	32
Grenada	41	40	38	37
Haiti	45	44	43	42
Cuba	45	45	44	44
St. Vincent & Grenadines	58	57	56	55
Chile	58	57	57	56
Guyana	65	63	60	57
St. Lucia	60	59	58	57
Paraguay	71	70	69	68
Colombia	73	72	71	69
Jamaica	76	74	73	71
Panama	81	80	79	77
Ecuador	82	82	81	81
Honduras	92	90	89	87
Guatemala	106	105	104	103
Dominican Republic	108	107	106	105

*Planned Parenthood Fact Sheet, 2012

ⁱⁱⁱ Researchers who have treated the topic at length have argued that pronatalism in Haiti derives from the need for children as a mechanism of old age security (Murray 1977), from cultural values left over from slavery (Maynard-Tucker 1996), poor healthcare system (Smith 1998), as deriving from insensitive and even rude doctors and nurses (Maternowska 2006); and even deriving from the economic contributions that children make to the household survival strategies (see Schwartz 2009). But few if any have found that males are the cause of low contraceptive use among women.

^{iv} The exact quote, "Contre toute attente, on constate que les femmes qui participent le plus fréquemment aux sept décisions et qui sont le moins fréquemment exclues de toutes ces décisions sont les femmes du milieu rural et celles qui ont le moins d'instruction. Par contre, les femmes qui travaillent pour de l'argent participent beaucoup plus fréquemment que les autres aux prises de décision." [EMMUS 2000: 247].

^v At least part of the reason that gender in Haiti has been misconstrued can be attributed to generalizing developing world gender relations among the middle and upper classes to the working classes living in popular neighborhoods and living largely within the informal sector. The popular classes have dense social networks where the same people know and interact with each other on many levels. The women are in the market together, their children are in school together, they all go to the same funerals, the same weddings and baptisms, their husbands work together, play dominoes and soccer together. Larger families mean geometrically greater number of kinship ties. In the case of urban neighborhoods they live in densely packed neighborhoods. There are few secrets and exponentially greater social censure than in the middle class residential families where a man can begin to abuse, intimidate and eventually graduate to beating his wife in the seclusion and privacy of the family home, with no one to check his behavior and no other men or other women to run to her defense. The Haitian man embedded in the formal sector can then get up the next morning and go to work with people who do not know his wife, go to the gym with an entirely different social set that also do not know her. In other words, he doesn't have to face up to what he did. Add to this greater male access to jobs and higher male salaries that come with a nascent formal sector; add middle class social stigmas that constrain women sexually but liberate men, meaning that a middle or upper class Haitian woman can destroy herself socially by engaging in a sexual liaison with any man socio-economically beneath her while her husband's sexual liberty and access to women of all classes means he is less dependent on her emotionally or sexually; add the transition from a traditional agrarian and/or household based economy with its informal legal system and social censure to a formalized legal system that has not yet been adapted to dealing with gender and abuse of women that occurs privately. What all this means for the Haitian woman in the formal sector is that that she is more, not less, dependent on a man. She does not even have the lower class Haitian woman's right to engage in extra-marital liaisons when her husband fails to take care of her financially. Isolated residentially, checked with social stigmas, with no option of a career in the informal economy, and unprotected by a nascent formal justice system, the middle class woman still has the burden of rearing the children but without the extended family and neighbor support characteristic of popular neighborhoods.

^{vi} Official unemployment rates for Haiti vary between 70 to 80 percent (World Bank 2010a). Similarly, organizations such as the World Bank (2010b) have estimated that over 50% of the Haitian population lives on less than \$1 per day and as much as 80% lives on less than \$2 per day. Such figures are sometimes discussed in the context of a "living wage" for one Haitian worker and three dependents of US\$29.00 per day (Solidarity Center, 2011). In coming to understand seemingly contradictory reports of income and cost of living, and in putting into perspective analysis in the following pages, a couple ethnographic realities should be understood.

First off, most of the eighty percent of the "unemployed" Haitian population is hard at work in a vibrant informal sector and the thriving internal domestic marketing and service economy. Haitians work in the informal sector as night watchman, yardman, maid, cook, nanny, teacher, policeman, guard, porter, butcher, baker, tailor, basket maker, rope weavers, carpenter, mason, iron smith, mechanic, electrician, plumber, radio technician, typesetter, copier, and painter. They make nets, weirs, boats, beds, latrines, roofs. They work in domestic healthcare industry as nurses, doctors, herbal and spiritual healers and priests. They work as sea captains, mariners, and boatswain in the thriving mostly informal domestic shipping sector and drivers and truck loaders and fee collectors on the thousands

trucks that carry goods throughout Haiti. Tens of thousands work as drivers on the moto-taxis that fill the streets, back roads and paths of the country. They distill alcohol and make comestibles from small candies to prepared nuts, fish, fried snacks, and meals sold in street restaurants. And they work as vendors selling everything from the ubiquitous corner stall peddling a single cigarette and shot of rum to telephone recharge cards to hair ties to small bags of water to cures for aids and cancer and unrequited love and bad luck or dozens of different lottery tickets. More than 50% of them farm and/or fish. And almost every one of them is engaged not in a single one of these occupations, but several.

Many of the occupations mentioned above are for men, but some are un-expectantly female--such as butchers and fish processors. Women will perform most farming tasks. Women are masseuses and midwives. They exclusively monopolize the ownership and management of popular restaurants. Although men make some comestibles, most production of candies and other treats are female enterprises. But more than anything else, women completely dominate the movement and redistribution of domestic produce. Those who are members of farming households are thought of as the owners of the produce from their husband's gardens. They harvest and sell the produce and with the money invest in the purchase and resale of the produce that other women harvest and they so dominate this sector of the economy--trade in domestic produce-- that middle aged women are often equal or more economically powerful than their husbands.

For those men and women who can't find a place among the occupations listed above men pursue income in seasonal farming, fishing, transport, and construction sectors and they migrate to the Bahamas, the Dominican Republic, Canada and the United States where they engage in any number of occupations, not least of all the sex industry and narco-trafficking. Women migrate to the same places where they work in factories or as cooks, nannies, maids, prostitutes or masseuses or bar girls. Haitian women also make a strong showing in the neighboring Dominican Republic's international marriage market where each year thousands of them marry foreigners and fly off to join the North American and European middle and upper classes.

Most of these occupations described above are petty income opportunities, many of them, such as midwifery or rural construction are not fulltime but rather intermittent opportunities. Others such as selling candies or weaving are ongoing activities that complement other endeavors and may yield as little as US \$1 per day. For fulltime occupations the minimum wage is 200 gourdes (~ \$5) for most formal sector workers and 125 gourdes (~ \$3.00) for apparel workers in trade free zones. Farmers throughout the country consistently pay their neighbors 150 gourdes per day (\$3.00)--that is 25 gourdes more than minimum wage-- for what they call a *journé*, 6 hours of intense agricultural labor. If they provide a meal they pay 100 gourdes (\$2.50). On a higher level it is noteworthy that skilled artisans earn about US \$10 per day.

The key to understanding how people survive in Haiti on below "living wage" salaries is the role of the household as a social security mechanism and productive unit. Households pool labor and resources to lower individual costs of living and to enable members to survive difficult times. As seen in subsequent section on the household, even very young members of the household may contribute to livelihood security by fetching fire wood and water, running errands, selling goods by the street or out of the home, washing clothes, and preparing meals. Perhaps more importantly than anything else in understanding the household as the basis for livelihood strategies and the role that children play is that for both urban and rural areas children stay home and perform basic domestic tasks and care for younger siblings thereby freeing their old sisters, cousins, aunts and mothers to engage in itinerate trade and go to urban areas to work as domestics.

The charts below are meant to give the reader a sense of income per occupation in Haiti in the formal vs. the informal sector. Although the data did not come precisely from the survey sites some of the informal sector data was gathered in Carrefour and other research conducted by the consult corroborates that they are applicable in the area and other urban and peri-urban areas of the country, making the information useful when assessing the relative economic resources per skill category for Leogane and Carrefour.

Table 12.2: Formal Sector Employment (USD) (Demattee 2012)		
Occupation	Year	Day
Maid	\$2,177.00	\$7.26
Guard	\$1,734.00	\$5.78
Unskilled Labor	\$2,419.00	\$8.06
Driver	\$5,347.00	\$17.82
Nurse	\$10,150.00	\$33.83
Office Staff	\$6,548.00	\$21.83
Mechanic	\$10,801.00	\$36.00
Doctor	\$28,306.00	\$94.35

Table 12.3: Mostly Informal Sector Employment (EFI 2013)		
Occupation	Year	Day
Domestic/hm	\$1,170.00	\$3.90
Guard/home	\$1,012.50	\$3.38
Unskilled Labor	\$1,125.00	\$3.50
Driver	\$3,150.00	\$10.50
Nurse	\$2,790.00	\$9.30
Receptionist	\$2,500.00	\$8.33
Mechanic	\$4,125.00	\$13.75
Doctor	\$10,350.00	\$34.50

Table 12.4 Entrepreneurial Sector		
Occupation	Year	Day
Call-Card V.	\$1,500.00	\$5.00
Shoe Shine	\$1,875.00	\$6.25
Load Truck	\$2,250.00	\$7.50
vendor food	\$2,250.00	\$7.50
Artisan	\$3,000.00	\$10.00
Mason	\$3,750.00	\$12.50
Moto Taxi	\$4,125.00	\$13.75
Small Vendor	\$4,500.00	\$15.00
Restaurant owner	\$9,000.00	\$30.00
Taptap Taxi	\$9,000.00	\$30.00

vii

Table 12.5: Chi Square for Who Wins Arguments

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	294.476	15	.000
Likelihood Ratio	273.119	15	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	66.673	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1404		

viii All the preceding should be interpreted with a caveat: few respondents condone violence against spouses. As seen in Tables 8.3 on page 26 and in Table 8.7 and 8.8 below, while there may be a *de facto* high level of violence against women in union, very few respondents condoned violence against wives, girlfriends or lovers.

Table 12.6: Respondents who Say that Woman Has Right to Beat Other Woman or Husband if He has Affair (N=1,643)

If she Right to Beat Other Woman	6%
If she Right to Beat the Husband	9%

Table 12.7: Respondents who Say that Man has Right to Beat Spouse if she has an Affair (N=1,643)

If he has the right to beat her	6%
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ix Personal interview with director Olga Benoit of SOFA and Marie Yolette Andree Jeanty of Kay Fanm 2/2/2012

x Kolbe et. al.'s (2010) post earthquake survey is by far the most extreme estimate of sexual assault in post-earthquake Haiti. Because it was sponsored by the University of Michigan and Geneva Small Arms Survey it is also the one that lent the most credibility to the claims of a rape epidemic. A published academic article on the survey findings, authored by Kolbe and a collection of 6 University Professors and one Haitian Survey supervisor concluded that in the six weeks following the survey, "Approximately 3 per cent of the general population sample reported being a victim of sexual violence since the earthquake; all but one case involved female victims." (page 3). There are reasons to question validity of the results and the care with which the survey was conducted, if it was conducted at all.

The survey was based on follow-up visits to people interviewed two months prior to the January 12th 2010 earthquake when Kolbe supervised a survey of 1,800 Port-au-Prince households. Six weeks after the earthquake the researchers sent the same interviewers to visit the same respondents to evaluate post earthquake conditions and incidence of crime. This was a moment in time when 30% to 40% of the Port-au-Prince population was living in camps, another 25% had fled the capital for the countryside, and 10% had left for Miami and the Dominican Republic. Kolbe et al claim to have successfully located and interviewed 93% of the original respondents, a feat accomplished in the space of two weeks. It was from this survey that Kolbe et. al. concluded that 3% of the population had been sexually assaulted; considering that all were women and half the survey population was male this means that estimate is really 6% of the survey population sexually assaulted. Clearly something is amiss. There are other flags: the researchers also concluded from the data that 6x as many children had been killed in the earthquake; yet a University of Miami study found there were more adult than child casualties. They also found that children were 11 times more likely to have died of injuries after the quake; yet a CDC study of survival rates in improvised post-earthquake hospitals found more adults died and what we know medically is that that children are more likely than adults to survey traumatic orthopedic injuries and to recovery more rapidly.

See, Kolbe, Athena R., Royce A. Hutson, Harry Shannon, Eileen Trzcinski, Bart Miles, Naomi Levitz d, Marie Puccio, Leah James, Jean Roger Noel and Robert Muggah 2010 Mortality, crime and access to basic needs before and after the Haiti earthquake: a random survey of Port-au-Prince households In Medicine, Conflict and Survival

For Kolbe and Muggah's death rate for injured children 11x that of adults see Surveying see, Kolbe, Athena R. and Robert Muggah 2010 "Haiti's post-quake needs: a quantitative approach" Humanitarian Exchange Magazine ISSUE 48

^{xi} The definition for many respondents is wide, capturing attacks that are and are not sexual, meaning that likely misunderstandings would include assaults of a non sexual nature.

^{xii} In assessing the significance of the estimates, we can expect that many people who have been raped do not report it to the authorities or friends. But in assessing the results note that it is comparable to alleged reports to surveyors who knock on doors and ask perfect strangers if anyone in the house has been raped. In both cases we are dealing with what can be considered known rapes. Moreover, in Haiti, where the population density is high and so are social networks, anonymity and secrets are not kept as well as in developed countries. Moreover, in assessing these results note that the survey was conducted in Leogane, the epicenter of the earthquake, and Carrefour, a highly urbanized region of Port-au-Prince that is closest to the epicenter, one of the most damaged areas, and an area that IOM reportedly had at one time over half the population living in IDP camps, that still has the 4th highest IDP population in Port-au-Prince (14 months after the earthquake IOM reported 14% of Carrefour population still living in camps). Yet we found no evidence that rapes in Carrefour and Leogane were even close to the rate in the United States; we found no statistical differences between Carrefour and Leogane. Moreover, even if we were to assume that the actual number of rapes was four times that reported in the surveys it would only then equal the US rate and still throw the reports of the extensive violent rape into question.

^{xiii} We correct the figure with an adjusting for 'infant mortality' because 'age at first birth' is derived from oldest *living* child.

^{xiv} Insight into patterns of conjugal union in the area can be an examination of number of children born to men and women in lieu of number of partner-parents (how many fathers or mothers respondents had the children with), and ethnographic data from elsewhere gives. Specifically, we found that 1,216 of the 1,643 respondents in the survey had children. There are more mothers than fathers (660 mothers vs. 556 fathers). There are also more children born to mothers than fathers (2,060 vs. 1,942). In theory, this excess number of births among mothers and lower overall number of fathers could be attributed to women bearing greater numbers of children with partners from outside the survey areas. Experience suggests that this is not the case (Schwartz 1998; Murray 1977). Moreover, if we assume that the tendency for males and females parenting with people in the area is equal, the findings fit the expectation that a minority of fathers either a) do not recognize their children, b) the mothers do not inform or allow the fathers to claim paternity, or c) paternity is unknown. Thus, statistically speaking and all things being equal, what we find is that 109 of the 3,967 children born to our respondents have no father (Table 8.7).

The preceding figure of fathers less children is much lower than many would expect given high number of reported fatherless children from organizations such as UNICEF (which by inference estimated in its 2004 Children on the Brink Report that as many 1 in 10 Haitian children were fatherless). But it is surely concealed in part by a countervailing adaptation on the part of women to their monopoly over reproduction and the opportunity to assign paternity. A certain proportion of mothers assign paternity to multiple fathers. One study suggested that 13% of all children in a rural village had multiple fathers (Schwartz 2000). This is not unique to this village and certainly not unique to Haiti alone, but it does appear to be a pronounced and institutionalized pattern for at least of minority of Haitian women in rural areas and popular urban quarters. An ethnographic parallel to women assigning paternity to multiple fathers it is the fictive illness known as *perdisyon* --technically known as 'arrested pregnancy syndrome'--in which women are believed to carry a fetus for as long as five years. Both men and women widely accept the disease as legitimate--a national study found that as many as 8% of women claim to have suffered the affliction (Barnes-Josiah et al 1996)--and it allows women to dupe their husbands or lovers into accepting paternity for children that do not biologically belong to them

Knowledge of *perdisyon*, the tendency for some women to assign paternity to multiple fathers and the culturally expected role of men to give money and support to women who have their children, helps inform some findings in the gender survey. First of all, Haitian women tend to marry up in age, as evident in the significantly greater number of women in union at lower age groups; and we can infer from the data in Table 8.5 thru 8.8 that 4/5ths of children are the offspring of men 36 years of age and older (see also Chart 8.10 & 8.11), precisely those men who have greater resources to share with women who are fathering them. In Chart 8.12, it can be seen that the relationship is, for the sample size, statistically significant.

^{xv} Cases documented of women being caught aborting children and punished with humiliation tactics such as being tied up in the market and having the "crime" broadcast over a megaphone (Schwartz 2000). Contraceptives too have traditional been informally sanctioned, women who use them being thought of as promiscuous and women warned away from using them with the belief that they will become sick and that contraceptives are a developed world plot to limit the number of Haitians on earth (ibid). These beliefs fit into what has been called Haiti's "pronatal socio-fertility complex," an array of mutually reinforcing beliefs that assure high fertility, even among young women who may not want to bear children (ibid). With this in mind, we fully expected to find that respondents overwhelmingly abhor abortion and contraceptives. We got something different.

13. Annex: Questionnaire

Questionnaire English

(Questions are not in the order asked but arranged for convenience of category)

Introduction

Hello, my name is _____. I am working on a survey for CARE International. We are conducting research to better understand relationships between men and women in the area. We would like to ask you some questions. Your identity will be confidential. You are free to refuse to give me an interview and if you decide to give the interview free to refuse to respond to any questions. Do you agree to do the interview? (if yes, signs consent form). ☐ Yes ☐ No

Orientation

Choose the community where the respondent lives ☐ Kafou ☐ Leogane

Locality?

That is, ☒ City ☐ Suburb ☐ Town or village ☐ Country

Enumerator choose your name

☐ Janvier Judithe ☐ Emile Marckenson ☐ Previlon Renaud ☐ Fils Sonia ☐ Sabine Vilfort ☐ Prophete Sylvestre ☐ Lacombe Dieula ☐ Remy Odile ☐ Simon Joana ☐ Joseph Ricardo ☐ Vernet Darline ☐ Intervol Jude ☐ Egain Ambeau ☐ Emile Pharrel ☐ Vilfort Judith

Respondent

Respondent's last name?

Your first name?

Telephone number

Sex? ☐ Fi ☐ Gason

Where were you raised? ☐ Here ☐ Elsewhere

Where were you born? ☐ Artibonite ☐ Centre ☐ Grand Anse ☒

At what age did you move here?

Age now?

Education?

Other education or training?

All income earning activities?

Number of children?

How many living brothers and sisters do you have on your mother's side?

How many living brothers and sisters do you have on your father's side?

How many of them live close enough that you can seek their assistance when you need them?

If you have a problem with money or not enough food in the house, who do you first go to for assistance? ☐ My mother ☐ My Father ☐ My Grandmother ☐

And if you need advice for a personal problem you are having, who do you usually go to first? ☐ My mother ☐ My Father ☐ My Grandmother ☐ My Grandfather ☐ My son.....

Household

Who is the household head? ☐ Myself ☐ Woman of the house ☐ Man of the house ☐ ...

Gender of household head ☐ Gason ☐ Fi ☐ Gason ak Fi

How many people live in the house (sleep here more often than elsewhere)?

Girls 0 to 5 years of age ☐ 0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐

Boys 0 to 5 years of age ☐ 0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐

Girls/women 6 to 25 years of age ☐ 0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ ...

Boys/men 6 to 25 years of age ☐ 0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐

Women older than 25 years of age ☐ 0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐

Men older than 25 years of age ☐ 0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ ...

How many children who sleep in the house are not family of any one else in the house?

How many adult servants do you have/employ?

Do you and your family own this house? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Do you and your family own the land? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Roof type? ☐ Thatch ☐ Tin ☐ Concrete ☐ Tarp ☐ Wood ☐ Other

Toilet? ☐ Flush Toilet ☐ Block outhouse ☐ Wood outhouse ☐ Hole ☐ Nothing ☐ Other

Source(s) of electricity? ☐ Nothing ☐ Grid ☐ Generator ☐ Invertor ☐ Solar panel ☐

What fuel do you most often use to cook food? ☐ Wood ☐ Charcoal ☐ Gas

Primary drinking water? ☐ Bottle water ☐ We treat it ☐ Water as it is ☐ Other

Where does the household get it's general purpose water? ☐ Cistern at the house ☒

How far in minutes is it?

Who is the primary bread winner? ☐ My self ☐ My mother ☐ My Father ☐

What is his/her primary occupation? ☐ Salaries work ☐ Commerce ☐

Second primary bread winner? ☐ My self ☐ My mother ☐ My Father ☐

What is his/her primary occupation? ☐ Salaries work ☐ Commerce ☐

Who is the primary manager of the household budget? ☐ My self ☐ My mother ☐

Does anyone in the house own a motorcycle taxi? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Do you personally have another business? ☐ Salaries work ☐ Commerce ☐

How much do you do you spend average per day on food for the household meal(s)?

Do you personally, do you own any of the following? ☐ Land ☐ Livestock ☐ Furniture.....

Since the earthquake (douz janvie), has anyone in your family taken your money, land or anything else you owned without your agreement or consent? ☐ Yes ☐ No

How many people in the house are in school?

Who does the following tasks: (girls, boys, all children, men/man, women/woman....)

- Fetches water?
- Washes clothes?
- Wash dishes?
- Cleans house?
- Makes food?
- Watches the children?
- Takes the children to school?
- Buys at the local store?
- Buys in the market?
- Works outside the home?
- Makes daily decisions about what to cook for meals?
- Makes big decisions regarding purchasing land, transportation, or other investments
- Makes the final decision regarding who sleeps in the house?
- Works the hardest?

Medical

When a child is sick who best knows what to do? ☐ My self ☐ My mother ☐

When was the last time someone in the house was sick? ☐ This month ☐ Last month ☐ ...

What did they have? ☐ Cold/flu ☐ fever ☐ stomach ache ☐ injured ☐ ...

Where did you first seek help? ☐ other ☐ Private doctor ☐ Clinic ☐ ...

And after that where did you go ☐ other ☐ Private doctor ☐ Clinic ☐

Independence

If you want to go visit a friend or family who lives far away, do you need to ask permission from someone else in the house? ☐ Yes ☐ No

And if you want to join a group (such as a woman's group or hang out with your friends), do you need to ask permission from someone else in the house? ☐ Yes ☐ No

When you and your partner disagree, who usually wins?

☐ Myself ☐ My partner ☐ Don't have partner ☐ Compromise - ☐

NGO Data

Since the earthquake, how many NGO seminars have you attended?

Are you a member of any of the following organizations.....

Do you hold an official position in the organization? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Now I'm going to pose some hypothetical situations and I would like you to tell me your opinion.

If a mother has a daughter who is 16 years of age and the mother discovers that the girl is having sexual relations with a boy of 16, what should the mother do if the girl is still in school?

☐ Go on with life ☐ Speak to him/her ☐ Beat him/her ☐ Support him/her ☐ Call the police ☐
Other

And if she is not in school? ☐ Go on with life ☐ Speak to him/her ☐ Beat him/her ☐ Support him/her ☐ Call the police ☐ Other

And if the girl is in school and the guy she is having a relationship with is 35 years old, but he has the means to take care of her, what should the mother do? ☐ Go on with life ☐ Speak to him/her ☐ Beat him/her ☐ Support him/her ☐ Call the police ☐ Other

And if the girl is not in school? ☐ Go on with life ☐ Speak to him/her ☐ Beat him/her ☐ Support him/her ☐ Call the police ☐ Other

Sex

Who needs sex more?

☒ male ☐ female ☐ both the same ☐ don't know

At what age should a female begin to have sexual relations?

☐ 12 years of age ☐ 13 years of age ☐ 14 years of age ☐ 15 years of age ☐ 16 years of age ☐ 17 years of age ☐ 18 + years of age ☐ When he/she wants ☐ When he/she is ready ☐ When he/she finishes school ☐ When he/she finds someone ☐ When he/she had a job ☐ When he/she marries ☐ Other

At what age should a male begin to have sexual relations?

☐ 12 an ☐ 13 an ☐ 14 an ☐ 15 an ☐ 16 an ☐ 17 an ☐ 18 + an ☐ Lè li vle ☐ Lè li pare

Contraceptives

In general, is there more good associated with contraceptives or more bad?

☐ More good ☐ More bad ☐ Same ☐ Don't know

Why do you say more good? ☐ Regulate number of offspring ☐ Avoid disease ☐ Other

Why do you say more bad? ☐ It makes you sick ☐ People criticize you ☐ It is for sleazy people

Do you think that a woman has the right to decide not to have children even if her husband wants children? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Do you think that a man has the right to decide not to have children even if his wife wants children? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Abortion

In which of the following situations would you say that it is justifiable for a woman to have an abortion?

- ☐ medical condition ☐ in case of rape ☐ too young ☐ still in school ☐ no spouse ☐ too poor
☐ too many children ☐ never ☐ other

Fertility and Family

How many children should a couple have? ☐ 0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 ☐ 8 ☐ 9 ☐ 10
☐ 11 ☐ 12 ☐ 13 ☐ 14 ☐ 15+

If a couple has 6 children and another couple has 3 children, who's usually better off?

- ☐ Six ☐ Three

If a couple has 3 girls and another couple has three boys, who is better off?

- ☐ Three girls ☐ Three boys

Do people need to have children? ☐ Yes ☐ No

According to you, what is the most important reason a woman should chose a husband?

- ☐ Love ☐ Money ☐ Character ☐ Family ☐ Education ☐ Religion ☐ Hard worker ☐ Faithful
☐ Responsible ☐ Other

And what is the second most important reason? ☐ Love ☐ Money ☐ Character ☐ Family

Education ☐ Religion ☐ Hard worker ☐ Faithful ☐ Responsible ☐ Other

And if the man is poor, what advice would you give a woman?

- ☐ stay with him ☐ ignore it ☐ other

According to you, what is the most important reason a man should chose a wife?

- ☐ Love ☐ Money ☐ Character ☐ Family ☐ Education ☐ Religion ☐ Hard worker ☐ Faithful
☐ Responsible ☐ Other

And what is the second most important reason? ☐ Love ☐ Money ☐ Character ☐ Family

Education ☐ Religion ☐ Hard worker ☐ Faithful ☐ Responsible ☐ Other

Who most needs the other more?

- ☐ Husband more needs his wife ☐ Wife needs her husband more ☐ Both need the other same

And you, could you live your life without a spouse? ☐ Yes ☐ No

How would you qualify your current relationship with your spouse? ☐ Very good ☐ Good ☐ ok
☐ not good ☐ terrible

How would you qualify your current relationship with your children? ☐ Very good ☐ Good ☐ ok
☐ not good ☐ terrible

Violence

With which statement do you most agree? ☐ Women more often incite men to violence or initiate a physical fight with women or ☐ Men more often incite violence against women or beat them without good cause

If a man beats a woman and she didn't deserve it, what is the punishment that he should get?
☐ nothing ☐ prison ☐ fine ☐ be allowed to hit him/her back ☐ ask forgiveness ☐ other

If a woman beats a man and he didn't deserve it, what is the punishment that he should get?
☐ nothing ☐ prison ☐ fine ☐ be allowed to hit him/her back ☐ ask forgiveness ☐ other

The last time someone beat you up or attacked you, where was it?
☐ never ☐ this year ☐ last year ☐ three years ago ☐ more than three years ago ☐ when I was a child

Who beat you?
☐ My mother ☐ My father ☐ My grandmother ☐ My grandfather ☐ Husband ☐ Wife ☐
Girl/boy friend ☐ Brother ☐ Sister ☐ Aunt ☐ uncle ☐ cousin ☐ Nothing to me ☐ Police ☐
Teacher ☐ My child ☐ other

Why did they beat you?
☐ for words ☐ over work ☐ over a lover ☐ jealous ☐ over money ☐ other

Do you think that you deserved it? ☐ Yes ☐ No

The last time you 'slapped the shit out of someone', when was it?
☐ never ☐ this year ☐ last year ☐ three years ago ☐ more than three years ago ☐ when I was a child

Who was it? ☐ Husband ☐ boy/girl friend ☐ Wife ☐ Brother ☐ Sister ☐ Cousin ☐ Nothing to me
 Why? ☐ for words ☐ over work ☐ over a lover ☐ jealous ☐ over money ☐ other - ☐ Go

With respect to the law, police and justice, is it legal for,

A man to beat his wife?

A woman to beat her husband?

For a man to force his girlfriend to have sex when she doesn't want to?

For a husband to force his wife to have sex when she doesn't want to?

Do you remember when the last time it was that they passed a new law regarding rape?

Security

In the following list, what two biggest problems do you think that young women have these days?

☐ Education ☐ Job/money ☐ Pregnancy ☐ Insecurity/crime ☐ Domestic violence ☐ Drugs and alcohol

In the following list, what two biggest problems do you think that young men have these days?

☐ Education ☐ Job/money ☐ Insecurity/crime ☐ Domestic violence ☐ Drugs and alcohol

If we were not talking about crime, what is the biggest problem you think that we have in the country today? ☐ Thievery ☐ Violence ☐ Rape ☐ Political turmoil ☐ Other

Rape

I would like you to consider all the people you know. What do I mean when I say "know." 1) you know the person and the person knows you (you know their name and they know yours'), 2) you have talked to the person at least once since the earthquake, 3) you could contact the person if you needed to

Now, do you "know" anyone who, since the earthquake, has been raped? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If, yes, how many people do you know who have been raped?

If a woman is raped, what should she do?

☐ nothing ☐ call police ☐ tell my family ☐ go to the clinic ☐ go see people at church ☐ other

If a man is raped, what should he do? ☐ nothing ☐ call police ☐ tell my family ☐ go to the clinic ☐ go see people at church ☐ other

Where should a person go if he or she is raped? ☐ hospital ☐ health clinic ☐ church ☐ police ☐ special clinic ☐ other

How do you see the way police handle rapes cases?

☐ they can make matters worse ☐ they do nothing ☐ they should know ☐ I don't know

If you compare the situation now with the way it was before the earthquake, do you think that the services for rape victims are better or worse?

☐ better now ☐ same as before ☐ worse now ☐ I don't know

Do you think there that was more rape before the earthquake or more now?

☐ more now ☐ more before earthquake ☐ same ☐ I don't know

According to you, which is the greater shame, to have someone in your family who has been raped or someone who has raped another person?

☐ rapist ☐ victim ☐ same shame ☐ it's not a shame for the family

And if someone were to rape a woman in this neighborhood, what do you think your neighbors would do about it?

☐ Go on with life ☐ Call the police ☐ Call the sheriff ☐ Beat him ☐ Kill him ☐ Talk to his family ☐ Other

Take GPS reading

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