A gender sensitive approach to urban planning:

Enhancing security of women in the context of natural disasters

Kimberly Fils-Aimé · McGill School of Urban Planning

Supervised Research Project

Supervisor: Professor Nandini Ramanujam

Table of contents

Acknowledgements

"Sonje lapli ki leve mayi ou" {Remember the rain that made your corn grow}

-Haitian Proverb

First, I would like to thank my supervisor Professor Nandini Ramanujam, for her support and feedback throughout this process. Her critical insight encouraged me to explore venues I would not have thought of on my own. I would also like to thank Cameron Charlebois for his fresh perspective and critique as my second reader. I must also acknowledge my amazing friends Alie Lavoie, James Di Paolo, Yining Su and Kate-Issima Francin, for their editorial input, support, and good humour throughout this semester. Thank you to all who took time out of their busy lives to be interviewed for this project. I am indebted to your kindness and vow to never again ignore a graduate student's request to complete a survey, as I now understand the struggle firsthand!

Many thanks to the staff and professors at the McGill School of Urban Planning. The last two years have been a tremendous learning experience. The program has allowed me to expand my critical and creative thinking, far beyond what I had anticipated. To my MUP cohort, thank you for making the fourth floor of Macdonald Harrington feel like home.

Lastly, thank you to my mom Solange, for putting up with my craziness and for continuously challenging me to be a better person, and to my sister Malica, for being my partner in crime and the funniest human on earth.

Abstract

> "We do not need magic to change the world, we carry all the power we need inside ourselves already: we have the power to imagine better."
>
> – JK Rowling

In a post natural disaster climate, the social instability that emerges severely alters the daily rhythm of survivors. In most instances this change and insecurity results in the increase of violence against women. Women living within internally displaced persons camps (IDPs) are especially at risk of gender-based violence as this milieu usually lacks adequate security measures. Urban planning works to improve the public realm through the manipulation of space via social, environmental, political and infrastructural interventions. It is therefore a tool that can be used to improve the safety of women within a post-disaster context. While planning cannot act alone and must work in concert with the judicial system and other instruments of public policy geared towards the socio-economic well-being of citizens, a well-coordinated strategy can play an important role in enhancing the security and quality of life of women. Disaster readiness which involves comprehensive planning involving multiple stakeholders, could play a critical role in reducing violence against women in a post-disaster setting. This would require a careful assessment of factors that can negatively impact women- such as the built environment and the lack of social programming, and combining these with women's specific concerns regarding their safety, and address these through an urban planning lens. The problem, however, is that many places do not have a sound pre-disaster plan in place, much less one that takes a gendered approach. This inter-disciplinary study focuses on the themes of gender-based violence, natural disasters and urban planning, examining their interconnectedness in order to identify gender-based strategies that can be implemented in IDP camps. Research, discussions and interviews with engineers, NGOs, urban planners and architects were conducted in order to collect data. Some of those interviewed believe that the role of planners is a limited one, and that poor planning is but a symptom of an ailing system. Others believe that planning is a starting point from which we can begin

addressing gender-based violence both within and outside IDP camps. Regardless of the perceived degree of impact planning can have on the safety of women; there is a consensus is that it could play a critical role in creating a safe and inclusive space in the context of a humanitarian disaster. Preparedness is key in fostering an efficient recovery process after a disaster, and urban planners can bring a gendered perspective to this reconstruction.

Résumé

Dans un climat post-catastrophe, l'instabilité sociale qui émerge modifie fortement le rythme quotidien des survivants. Dans la plupart des cas, ce changement soudain, ainsi que l'insécurité a pour résultat une augmentation de la violence contre les femmes. Les femmes vivant dans les camps de personnes déplacées internes (PDI) sont particulièrement à risque de la violence fondée sur le sexe, car ce milieu n'a habituellement pas de mesures de sécurité adéquates. La planification urbaine vise à améliorer l'espace public à travers la manipulation des espaces par des interventions sociales, environnementales, politiques et infrastructurelles. Il est donc un outil qui peut être utilisé pour améliorer la sécurité des femmes dans un contexte post-catastrophe. Alors que la planification urbaine ne peut agir seul et doit travailler en concert avec le système judiciaire et d'autres instruments de politique publique qui sont axée sur le bien-être socio-économique des citoyens; une stratégie bien coordonnée peut jouer un rôle important dans l'amélioration de la sécurité et de la qualité de vie des femmes. Toutefois, afin de lutter contre la violence post-catastrophe, nous devons nous engager dans la planification préalable aux catastrophes. Cela implique une évaluation des facteurs qui peuvent avoir un impact négatif sur les femmes tels que l'environnement bâtit et le manque de programmes sociaux, et les combinées avec les préoccupations spécifique des femmes concernant leur sécurité, afin de les aborder à travers une lentille de planification urbaine. Cependant, le problème est que de nombreux endroits n'ont pas de plan de pré-catastrophe fermement en place, et encore moins un qui adopte une approche sexospécifique. Grâce à la recherche, des discussions et des interrogations avec des ingénieurs, ONG, urbanistes et architectes, les thèmes de la violence fondée sur le sexe, les catastrophes naturelles, et la planification urbaine ont été examinés et joint afin d'identifier des stratégies fondées sexospécifique. Ceux-ci peuvent être mises en œuvre dans les camps de personnes déplacées. Certaines des personnes interrogées estiment que le rôle des planificateurs est peu, et que la mauvaise planification n'est qu'un symptôme d'un système malade. D'autres croient que la planification est un point de départ à partir duquel nous pouvons commencer à répondre à la violence fondée sur le sexe à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur des camps de personnes déplacés. Quel que soit le degré d'impact perçu de la planification urbaine sur la sécurité des femmes; le consensus est qu'il pourrait quand même jouer un rôle. La préparation est la clé dans l'efficacité d'un processus de récupération

après une catastrophe, et les urbanistes peuvent apporter une perspective sexospécifique à cette reconstruction.

Rézimé (Haitian Creole)

Apre yon katrastòf, yon sosyete ka vin enstab e sa ka vin chanje lavi moun ki afekte yo. Chanjman rapid sa yo avèk ensekirite konn ogmante vyolans kont fanm nan pi fò ka. Fanm ki rete nan « camps de personnes déplacées internes (PDI) » [kan deplasman kay yo (sa yo moun yo rele tou senpleman 'kan' oubyen 'tant' en Ayiti)] se yo ki plis sibi vyolans, sitou vyol ak abi seksyèl, paske kote sa yo manke sekirite. Fonksyon planifikasyon vil la se pou li ameliore espas piblik la atravè divès entèvansyon sosyal, nan nivo anviwònman, politik ak enfrastrikti pou pi byen jere espas yo. Se pou rezon sila ke se yon zouti enpòtan ki kapab bay fanm sekirite ak pwoteksyon kote yon katastròf fin pase. Men konprann byen ke planification urbaine lan paka aji poukont li pou bay fanm sa yo sekirite, fok li akompanye de lòt mwayen tankou pa egzamp yon sistèm penal. Sepandan, pou ou lite kont vyolans ki asosye ak yon kote ki sibi yon katastrof, se pou ou angaje nan yon planifikasyon avan ke katastròf la fet. Sa vle di gen yon evalyasyon ki pou fet pou detèmine ki bagay ki gen move efè sou fanm sa yo- pa egzamp anviwònman yo bati pou yo an,

oubyen mank de pwogram sosyal- avek kisa fanm yo gen pou yo di yo menm sou sekirite yo, epi fòk evalyasyon sa yo fet nan moman planfikasyon vil la. Sepandan, pwoblèm lan se ke pa gen anpil kote ki gen pwogram pre-katastrof byen striktire, ni okenn lòt pwogram ki konsantre sou sekirite fanm nan zafe vyolans seksyèl. Etid sou tem vyolans seksyèl, katastròf natirel, ak planifikasyon sa a te pèmet byen egzamine tèm sa yo pou kapab idantifye divès strateji pou konbat vyolans sexsyèl. Mwen realize etid sa a gras a rechèch, diskisyon avek plizyè moun tankou enjenyè, manm ONG, planifikatè ak achitek, epi mwen egzamine yon ka spesifik an Ayiti, sou tem spesifik sa yo. Nou ka aplike stateji sa yo nan kan deplasman kay yo apre yon catastròf natirel. Nan moun mwen kesyone yo, genyen ladan yo ki pa kwè ke planifikate yo jwe yon gwo ròl e yo kwè ke se tout sistèm lan ki malad e ke move planifikasyon vil lan se selman youn nan fason maladi a parèt. Genyen lòt ki kwè ke se nan planifikasyon vil lan pou nou komanse batay kont vyolans seksyèl nan kan deplasman kay yo. Kelkeswa nan degre ke planifikasyon vil lan afecte sekirite fanm, se jan nou wè'l lan ki pral jwe yon ròl enpotan. Se preparasyon ki pral fè ke yon plan byen fonksyonen pou mete pèp lan sou de pye'l apre yon katatrof, e planifikatè yo menm yo ka mete aspè sèks la nan plan rekonstriksyon an

9

Introduction

> "I see everybody everywhere. I see two broken houses and many people are walking in front of me and they have blood all over. That was a lady screaming because she lost her son".
>
> -Valerie Moliere, 15 years old, Haiti

January 12, 2010, began for me like any other day. An undergraduate student in Ottawa at the time, I remember sitting at the dining table of my student townhouse. It was late afternoon and I sat drinking tea while surfing the internet, not yet in full academic mode after the holiday season. Around five o'clock, I began seeing online posts about an earthquake in Haiti. Truth be told, I was not alarmed. As a Canadian of Haitian decent, I was used to hearing my parents on the phone with relatives still residing on the island. On more occasions than I can recount I would hear my parents asking things such as *"was the house completely ruined?"*, *"is she injured?"*, *"what about the kids?"* Hurricanes, floods, mudslides, and the stark poverty in the country were all things I had sadly become accustomed to hearing about. I reassured myself each time that they would get through it, because they always did. By late evening however, I could no longer dismiss the severity of the matter. I began reading news articles and social media posts in greater detail, *"A catastrophe of major proportions is shaping up in Haiti. The Caribbean nation has been hit by a powerful earthquake. Death and damage are substantial"* announced CBC news, while CTV reported, *"There are fears of a major loss of life, with reports suggesting hundreds, possibly thousands dead and injured."* However, the post that most caught my attention and sent me into panic mode was my cousin's Facebook status reading, *"I can't stop crying"*. I

called my mother. "*Have you heard?*" I asked her in French, not knowing what else to say. Of course she had heard. "*It's bad*" I remember her replying, in a distraught manner. We cut the conversation short. She was in a hurry; she had phone calls to make.

The following weeks were filled with images of the crumbling republic. The capital of Port au Prince was in ruins, the infrastructure almost non-existent, and over 1.5 million were displaced and living in camps (Johnson & Lanzoni, 2014). Then, the stories of violence against women in the camps emerged, an added blow to the existing struggles. Local and international aid organizations reported that women and girls as young as five were becoming victims of sexual violence.

Focus

"Violence against women reduces the life safety of all women before, during, and after a disaster. The life safety of women in violent relationships and sexually assaulted or abused women and girls is at increased risk when their homes, relationships, and communities are impacted by disaster"

-Elaine Enarson, 1999

Through this inter-disciplinary research I will be exploring the link between three large themes; urban planning, natural disasters, and violence against women. The increase of violence against women in a post-disaster climate is not a new phenomenon. The same thing occurred after the 2004 Sri Lankan Tsunami, and after the most recent large-scale disaster, Typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines. In fact, increase in gender-based violence occurs after almost every natural disaster, in both developed and developing countries (Fisher, 2010). This violence can be perpetrated by family members, friends and strangers alike. Women suffer disproportionately within a disaster context; they are less likely to survive, and are more prone to being denied adequate relief aid, compensation, and health care

compared to men. This research project posits that effective planning strategies within displacement camps (sometimes referred to as internally displaced persons (*IDP)* camps) could play an important role in fostering gender-sensitive relief aid. More specifically, this project explores the issue of violence against women in a post-disaster context, and how this can be dealt with via urban planning strategies.

The status of women within a society is determined by several underlying factors. These can include a nation's history of development (colonialism, war, etc), its customs and traditions, and its economic climate. These pre-existing factors manifest themselves and become worst in the context of natural disasters- as the sudden loss of stability uproots an area's day by day functioning.

This research recognizes that structural and *systemic* factors need to be addressed for long-lasting gender equality. Despite this, there is much value in exploring gender inequality of post-disaster climates through an urban planning lens. This is not a standard research paper but a resourceful endeavor allowing for the critical reflection and bridging of key themes. Therefore, while I recognize complex systemic challenges that present themselves in the topics addressed, I aspire to provide accessible solutions to ameliorate the situation in the short run. Urban planning can create small-scale, immediate, and meaningful change. It is a tangible tool that can be used to enhance the security of women in natural disasters- one that is perhaps more accessible and can be more readily felt than changes to politics and entrenched corrupt systems of governance.

'Planning' means the scientific, aesthetic, and orderly disposition of land, resources, facilities and services with a view to securing the physical, economic and social efficiency, health and well-being of urban and rural communities.

Urban planning is a multifaceted field that examines and seeks to improve, the physical, social and ecological fabric of society. In order to create sustainable growth and development, planning must take into consideration a variety of components such as social structures, cultural practices, demographics, design, policy, and economics of an urban landscape. To devise effective plans, urban planning must be inclusive and account for the specific circumstances of *all* citizens; regardless of sex, age, ability, race, or income. Good planning has the ability to learn from past experiences and foresee most, if not all potential obstacles to human development and prosperity.

Humanitarian relief planning should be comprehensive and use strategies and design methods that ensure the protection of all those impacted by natural disasters. However, considering the particular vulnerability that women face within a post-disaster context, planning must be carried out with their specific needs in mind to enable an equitable recovery process. If conducted through a gendered approach, relief aid planning can curb the increase in gender-based violence, while ensuring equal opportunities for the prompt and healthy recovery of women. Unfortunately, this crucial approach is not always considered in humanitarian relief efforts. Through the consideration of the three large themes mentioned above, my aim is to come up with specific recommendations to improve the planning process in order to enhance human security with a particular focus on women.

Research Design & Methodology

This research *study* is divided into three Chapters. Chapter One – *Setting the Context*, will begin by examining women and gender-based violence. This violence is directly related to the systemic

inequalities faced by women in many parts of the world, and their status as second class citizens. Persisting discrimination against women results in the significant stagnation of societal growth, and is harmful to future development – both these venues shall be explored in great detail. Following this, I will examine natural disasters and the highly debated discourse on the disappearing distinction between man-made disasters and natural disasters. This is done so as to contextualize the type of gender-based violence that most commonly prevails within each type of disaster. Chapter One will also analyze the links between poor urban planning and its impact on resilience, paying particular attention to vulnerabilities present in the developing world. I will conclude Chapter One with a brief overview of the concept of *Universal Design* as a standard of development. Chapter Two – *Cross Section* brings together the three themes explored in Chapter One, to examine how disasters increase violence against women, and the role urban planning has in this matter. An in-depth case study of Haiti and the 2010 earthquake will demonstrate the impact the disaster had on women in the country. Chapter Two will also take a look at the culture of Humanitarian intervention; with particular attention paid to the role it plays is Haiti. In Chapter Three – *Recommendations and Way Forward,* I will bring forth the lessons that can be learned from Haiti. Specific planning strategies in regards to the physical designs and services that should be implemented in displacement camps will be presented in the form of a guidebook.

This study is presented in a narrative style and the information obtained draws heavily on interviews with individuals who are either professionals or well-versed in the fields of urban planning, law, gender studies and architecture. Secondary literature was also used and ranged in type from media to academic sources. These varied literary sources and professionals provided a diverse and widespread perspective that ensured a considerable analysis of the topic at hand.

1.1   Gender-based violence

"*In the nineteenth century, the central moral challenge was slavery. In the twentieth century, it was the battle against totalitarianism. We believe that in this century the paramount moral challenge will be the struggle for gender equality around the world.*"

- Nicholas D. Kristof

To understand how gender-based violence in a post-disaster context can be addressed via urban planning, we must first examine gender-based violence itself. We must understand what it looks like around the world, what appears to drive it, and what consequences it holds for everyone, not only those who experience it.

Global Picture

In the 1995 *United Nations Human Development Report*, which focuses on gender and human development, it was reported that there existed no country in the world in which women's quality of life was equal to that of men. This conclusion was reached using the gender-related development index (GDI) which examines factors such as health status, political agency, and educational opportunities. Almost two decades later, in 2013, a report by the World Economic Forum (WEF) on the global gender gap shows that while significant improvements in several countries were made, the overall trend remains the same; nowhere in the world are women and men perfectly equal. The WEF report ranks 136 countries, representing 90 percent of the world's population and determines a nation's gender gap based on 14 indicators in four key areas**:** economic participation and opportunity**,** health and survival, educational attainment, and political empowerment (Figure 1). Women did not equal or surpass men

in any of these categories. This gendered inequality manifests itself in a number of ways that can

significantly harm women's lives; among these are physical and psychological violence.

Figure 1: Global Gender Gap Index based economic participation and opportunity, health and survival, educational attainment, and political empowerment. 2006–2013 (World Economic Forum, 2013)

Source: Global Gender Gap Indexes, 2006-2013; scores are weighted by population. Population data from the World Bank's *World Development Indicators (WDI)* online database, accessed May 2013.
Note: Details of regional classifications in Appendix B.
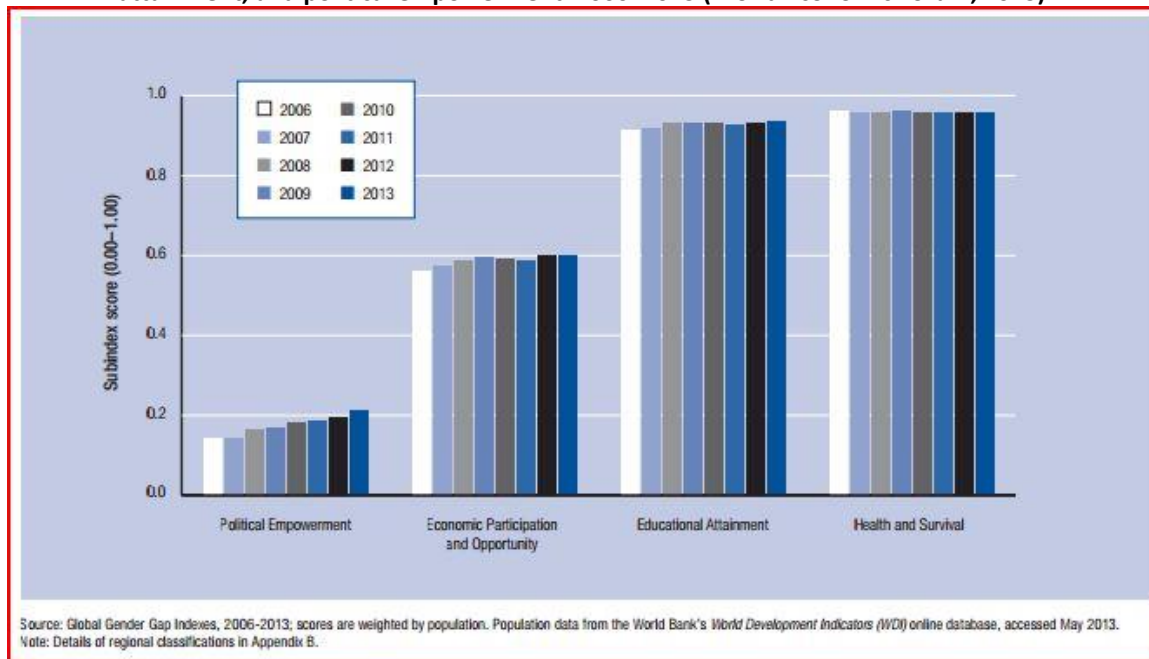
Figure 2: Global Gender Gap Index by region, 2006–2013 (World Economic Forum, 2013)

Source: Global Gender Gap Indexes, 2006–2013; scores are weighted by population. Population data from the World Bank's *World Development Indicators (WDI)* online database, accessed May 2013.
Details of regional classifications in Appendix B.
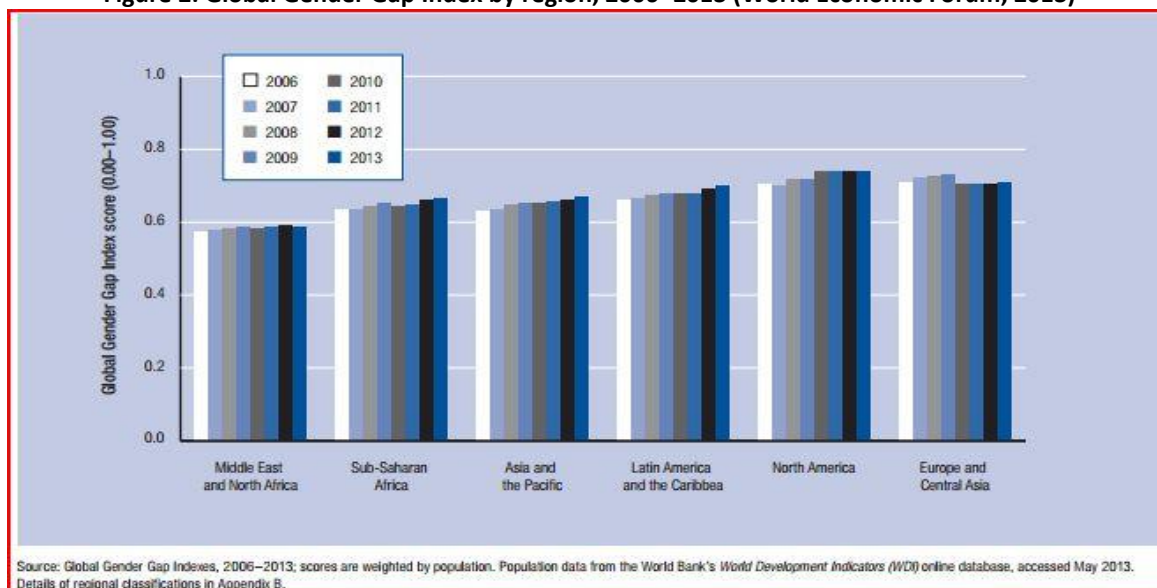
Inequalities Against Women: A Sketch

Violence against women can take several forms, from domestic abuse and rape, to child marriages and

female circumcision. In 1993, the United Nations General Assembly defined violence against women

as "*any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or*

psychological harm or suffering to women including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary

deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life"(UNDP, 1995). In addition, the

General Assembly has presented a partial list of what it believes constitutes gender-based violence.

This includes physical, sexual and psychological violence within the family, child sexual abuse, dowry-

related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation, rape and sexual abuse, sexual harassment in

the workplace and educational institutions, trafficking of women, and forced prostitution. The United

Nations specifically refers to such violence as "gender-based" to acknowledge that it is rooted in

existing gender inequality. These violent acts are often tolerated, condoned and even enforced by

laws, institutions, and community norms (Bott, Ellsberg, & Morrison, 2005).

It is unfortunately not uncommon for men to use violence to punish women for perceived

transgressions or neglect of defined gender roles- which can include family and home care such as

cooking, cleaning, or child rearing, among others. Men who behave this way are said to do so as a way

to show authority, and in some cultures to save honour (World Bank, 2005). In some societies, violence

against women is considered normal and is justified, and because of this, the victims rather than the

perpetrators are blamed and stigmatized (WB, 2005). In many low- and middle-income countries,

penal and civil law codes do not consider certain kinds of physical or sexual violence against women to

be criminal offences (Bott et al., 2005). Gendered violence therefore cannot be understood in isolation

from a society's gender norms, social structure, and justice system- all of which influence women's vulnerability to violence.

The various inequalities that remain manifest themselves in a number of injustices against girls and women around the world. Research has shown that women who receive the same health and nutritional care as men are more likely to outlive men. In addition, women appear to be biologically more resistant to diseases than men. Yet despite these factors, in most Asian and North African countries the death rate of women surpasses that of men from birth until, in some cases, the late thirties (Sen, 1990)[1]. Early death of girls and women is a result of neglect, including cases where females are underfed, not provided adequate medical care, or left to perish in times of economic hardships, while boys and men are given priority for resources. In some countries, sex-selective abortion geared towards females, also known as female feticide, is prevalent to the point of creating a population shortage of girls and women that is clearly reflected in the nation's demographic profile (Bandyopadhyay, 2003). It has been estimated that globally, 100 million women are 'missing' from population statistics – the majority from South and East Asia, with 44 million women missing in India alone (Sahni et. al., 2008). This means that there are 100 million women whose births were either never recorded, or who were not given a fair opportunity to survive due to their gender (Bandyopadhyay, 2003). The global sex ratio altered dramatically after 1980, when ultra sound machines for pre-natal sex determination became available (Sahni, et. al., 2008). Economist Amartya Sen coined the term 'natality inequality' in reference to the phenomenon of gendered selective births and the changing pattern of gender inequality, which has begun to shift away from 'mortality

[1] This pattern is not consistent in all parts of the developing world. For instance, Sub-Saharan Africa which has high levels of poverty, hunger, and famine, has a noticeable excess rather than deficit of women, the ratio of women to men being around 1.02. Therefore, one cannot simply use the uniform term 'developing world' in reference to the 'missing women' problem (Sen 1990).

inequality' (Sahni et, al. 2008). Infanticide and female feticide exist in both developing and developed countries, but the reasons motivating these acts vary by culture and context.

Social and cultural norms combined with poverty and lack of education creates a difficult environment for girls and women in many parts of the world. Instead of seeing women as productive members of society, they are often deemed to be burdensome to families and the greater society. India is a good representative sample of gendered relations, and this for two primary reasons. Firstly, it is a country of 1.2 billion people, providing a large and immensely diverse methodological sample. Secondly, it provides insight into many systemic issues that have negatively impacted women, such as being a post-colonial country, and having a predominantly patriarchal society. Despite India's vibrant democracy, the country has marked gender issues. For example, it is tradition in India for the parents of the bride to give a dowry to the groom and his family. This dowry can consist of money and valuable goods, and can pose a substantial financial burden on families (BBC, 2014). The amount given in a dowry is usually determined by the groom's earning potential as opposed to what the bride's family is able to afford. Since a man's earning potential in this context tends to be greater because they are 'allowed' to work outside the home and can inherit property, and a woman has no right to familial property, the dowry can be a significant amount for a family to pay. Girls and women are therefore considered a financial drain on their families and some female babies are neglected or even killed so as to avoid the payment of a dowry upon marriage (Bandyopadhyay, 2003).

Other reasons for female neglect and infanticide point to gender inequalities such as income disparities that exist within the society. As previously mentioned, men are often the primary income earners in many societies for reasons that vary from employability, to obtaining a more favourable wage for doing the same work as a woman. In cases in which parents rely on children to look after them in old age, male babies are prioritized for having greater income potential and are less likely to be killed (BBC,

2014). This type of gender bias is socially ingrained and results in a cycle of injustice that is not easily reversed. Sex ratios in some parts of India are as low as 709 females for every 1,000 male births (Figure 3). Such high male sex ratio at birth reflects women's status in societies that hold entrenched patriarchal systems and prejudices that are correlated with deep-seated socio-cultural beliefs (UNDP, 2013).

In addition to being a concern for gender justice and equality, this phenomenon also has major implications for democracy and could eventually lead to social violence (UNDP, 2013).

Table 1. Provisional population totals: India 2001		
Sl. no.	India/states/and union territories*	Sex ratio (females per thousand males)
	India	**933**
1	1 Andaman and Nicobar Islands	846
2	2 Andhra Pradesh	978
3	3 Arunachal Pradesh	901
4	4 Assam	932
5	5 Bihar	921
6	6 Chan digarh*	773
7	7 Chhatisgarh	990
8	8 Dadra and Nagar Haveli*	990
9	9 Daman and Diu*	709
10	10 Delhi*	821
11	11 Goa	960
12	12 Gujarat	921
13	Haryana	861
14	Himachal pradesh	970
15	Jammu and Kashmir	900

Table 1. Provisional population totals: India 2001		
Sl. no.	India/states/and union territories*	Sex ratio (females per thousand males)
16	Jharkhand	941
17	Karnataka	964
18	Kerala	1,058
19	Lakshadweep*	920
20	Maharashtra	922
21	Manipur	978
22	Meghalaya	975
23	Mizoram	938
24	Nagaland	909
25	Orissa	972
26	Pondicherry*	1,001
27	Punjab	874
28	Rajasthan	922
29	Sikkim	875
30	Tamil nadu	986
31	Tripura	950
32	Uttar Pradesh	898

Table 1. Provisional population totals: India 2001		
Sl. no.	**India/states/and union territories∗**	**Sex ratio (females per thousand males)**
33	Uttaranchal	964
34	West Bengal	934

Figure 3: Sex ratio (females per thousand males) in India- (Bandyopadhyay, 2003)

The Gendered Gap and Systemic Inequality

What is perhaps most striking about worldwide gender inequality is the gap that exists between the law and what is in fact practiced. Many of the countries that today exhibit conspicuous gender inequality had long ago embraced the *notion* of equality of the sexes in their very constitutions. In fact, it is some of those very nations that pioneered the ideas of 'non-discrimination' and 'sex equality'- concepts that are often wrongfully considered 'Western' ideas (Nussbaum, 2000). Even in borrowing from Western political thought, some countries show a desire to incorporate equality within the very foundations of their cultures. For instance, the use of the term 'inalienable rights' was used by India's first prime minister Nehru Jawaharlal in the struggle for Indian independence in the 20th century (Nussbaum, 2000). The goal of the Indian constitution, which came into effect on January 26, 1950, was to provide every citizen with fundamental rights such as the right to property ownership, freedom of speech, and equality. Legislators recognized that there existed a marked disparity in circumstance between men and women, thus they instated a special clause that allows the state to make particular provisions for women and children – going against the principle of not discriminating among citizens[2] (Ghosh & Roy, 1997). These provisions include laws that protect women workers in factories, mines, and plantations, and that provide maternity leave to women workers in these sectors (Ghosh & Roy, 1997). Such an equal rights clause, which was put in place shortly after Indian independence in 1951, is something that the United States – a country recognized as a global crusader for gender equality – has yet to do (Nussbaum, 2000). Despite this remarkable legislation, there exists no uniform civil code in India, meaning that the equality clause is not widely enforced- hence the gap between law and practice. In 1974, the committee on the Status of Women in India stated,

---

[2] Article 15(3), *Constitution of India*, which states: "Nothing in this article shall prevent the state from making any special provision for women and children" (Ghosh & Roy, 1997).

"The absence of a uniform civil code in the last quarter of the twentieth century, 27 years

after Independence, is an incongruity that cannot be justified with all the emphasis that

is placed on secularism, science, and modernization. The continuance of various personal

laws which accept discrimination between men and women violate the fundamental

rights and the preamble to the Constitution which promises to secure to all its citizens

equality of status and is against the spirit of national integration and secularism".

The particular danger presented by the gap between law and practice is multifold. From one

standpoint, a country's law or an organization's code of ethics will give the appearance that an issue

such as gender equality is being dealt with and is taken seriously. In practice, the opposite often holds

true. In such a situation, it may prove difficult to claim that an entity is sexist if their foundational

legislature appears to oppose such behaviour. This is an issue that is much explored by Amartya Sen, in

The Social Demands of Human Rights (2003). Sen examines the belief that human rights (which we can

assume to include rights particular to women) are fundamental to the human experience on an ethical

and moral scale. It is not *as* imperative for these to be entrenched in law as it is for them to be

ingrained in societal customs, "*while many of the demands of gender equity require new legislation,*

they also call for more public reasoning and more social recognition" (Sen, 2003).

From another perspective, the gap is problematic in that it presents a clear lack of political will or

lawful enforcement. It is also an indication of challenges in shifting deep-rooted customary norms,

practices and attitudes. That in itself represents malfunctioning or lagging bureaucratic institutions,

corruption, or lack of concern in matters regarding the well-being of women. For instance, following

the 2010 earthquake in Haiti, the rate of violence against women skyrocketed, exposing to the

international community the pre-existing gender disparities that ran rampant in the nation. What rendered this even more disturbing was the failure to uphold a standard of safety and protection for women post-earthquake, despite the presence of both local and international safeguarding agencies. What occurred in Haiti both pre- and post-earthquake is a reflection of the gap between law and practice. This gap will be further discussed in a case study of Haiti in *Chapter Two*. The failure to reduce this gap, both in Haiti and in other countries, poses serious risks to society.

To better understand the 'gap', one must understand the larger institutional framework under which it resides. Violence against women is a crisis that reflects the gender inequalities that remain in the world and the *systemic* inequalities ingrained in societies. Discrimination, which at its core simply means recognizing the difference between things, becomes problematic when it is used to make unjust assumptions about individuals, or when it privileges certain groups while creating barriers for others. For instance, in North American culture, the standard or the so-called 'norm' is defined as the 'white heterosexual male'. Anything that deviates from this is considered the 'other' or the 'minority', regardless of demographic realities. Minority groups are identified on the basis of their ethnicity, skin colour, sexual orientation and gender. These distinguishing features have been shown to cause high variations in employment conditions and opportunities, determine access to education and health services, impact incarceration demographics, and so on (Fudge, & Glasbeek, 1992). This systemic inequality has resulted in social conditioning that impacts our interactions with one another, our laws, cultures, and practices. While these norms are evidently present and ascribed to by many, they are not necessarily written down explicitly in law or even consciously adopted by people; and therein lies the danger.

Another term used to define this tendency in regards to ethnicity is 'institutional racism'. Economist Boyce Watkins describes it perfectly in saying, "there can be racism in the building without a single racist in the room" (Miracle, 2013). One can be born into a society in which odds are pre-stacked against them, and their road to success is much more difficult to maneuver than it is for those who fit within the societal 'norm'. If we are to examine systemic inequality from a gendered perspective, it can be seen in a situation where a hiring manager at an engineering firm is led to hire a man over a woman based on the ingrained assumption that men perform better in mathematics. It can also manifest itself in labour laws that offer little to no maternity leave or few services that consider the needs of female professionals with children, thereby discouraging women to remain in the professional world. On the other and more perturbing end of the spectrum, systemic inequality can be an assumption about how women should behave and carry themselves, for example by being chaste or conservative. This in turn may lead some to believe women can be rightfully punished should they deviate from this norm.

The Consequences of Inequality

Gender equality is needed as the foundation for a just, comprehensive and sustainable society. Denying human rights to women prevents them from participating in society, achieving their full potential, and, as a result, presents a major obstacle to the development of society as a whole (Carillo, 1991). The discrimination faced by women around the world impacts their health, education, and ability to partake in the labour market, and ultimately restricts their freedoms (UN, 2013). The UN's 2013 *Human Development Report* states that the most tragic aspect of gender inequality is that it "gravely imperils the life prospects of future generations" (p. 91). It would be fair to surmise that if women, who make up 50% of the population in most countries, are unable to harness their talents and abilities, then the society loses out on the potential for developments in the realms of medicine, politics, economic growth, and technology, among others. Thereby if we consider the issue of post-

disaster gender-based violence, we can see that it presents a barrier to an equitable reconstruction and developmental environment; an impact that goes far beyond the victims themselves.

Examining Gender Inequalities Through the Capabilities Lens

"The core idea is that of the human being as a dignified free being who shapes his or her own life in cooperation and reciprocity with others, rather than being passively shaped or pushed around by the world in the manner of a 'flock' or 'herd' animal. A life that is really human is one that is shaped throughout by these human powers of practical reason and sociability"

-Martha Nussbaum, 2000

Building on the work of economist Amartya Sen, the American philosopher Martha Nussbaum argues that the best way to approach the issue of social equality for women is through the capabilities approach. This approach focuses on "what people are actually able to do and to be – in a way informed by an intuitive idea of a life that is worthy of the dignity of the human being" (Nussbaum, 2000, p.5). Approaching post-disaster development using this framework beneficially situates violence within a greater context, one that explains the severity of the issue in a way that makes it everyone's responsibility. This makes it unjustifiable to uphold sexist laws and practices that reinforce notions of violence against women as being personal issues in which the state has no stake.

Nussbaum (2000) believes that there are central human capabilities that exist free of any metaphysical context. In turn, these capabilities can be built upon or defined in greater relevance by each person depending on whom they are. She is not the first, of course, to propose a context-free approach to the rights of men. American founding father Thomas Jefferson famously inspired in the US Declaration of Independence the quote, "*We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that*

they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness"[3] (United States, 1776). Although, considering the times (18th century) these beliefs were arguably only in the interest of wealthy white slave owners, and not as 'inalienable' as advocated.

Nussbaum asserts that universal human rights exist, and adheres to the concept of inalienable rights[4].

The capabilities approach acknowledges the context specific role of government, and the traditions and norms of culture to which many women happily and willingly subscribe; however, it holds that full economic and political opportunities must be made available to these women so as to provide them with lifestyle choices. The capabilities perspective values the individual and considers their life outside of society. In some respects, both individualism and collectivism accept that governments and the powerful play a central role in promulgating value (albeit for different reasons); however the capabilities approach simply asks that one's *inherent* rights as a human being be allowed to prosper. Examining gender-based violence through the lens of this theory allows us to broaden the discussion. We can go beyond the restraints of cultural relevance (though this perspective certainly holds merit and cannot be dismissed), and get into discussions of what is just and fair for *all* citizens of this world. This paper therefore works under the framework that women need to be considered in post-disaster reconstruction to assure their right to life and prosperity is protected.

---

[3] Some scholars argue that Jefferson's thoughts are rooted in Lockean Theory. They state that English philosopher John Locke's theory of rights is what sparked the expression "life, liberty, and the pursuit of hapiness".

[4] This differs from the philosophy of some that believe in the relative nature of rights, morality, or values. An early depiction of opposition to universal human rights can be found in *Anarchical Fallacies*, an essay written in 1792 by British philosopher and founder of modern utilitarianism, Jeremy Bentham. The essay was written as an attack against the French '*Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen*' issued in France during the French revolution of 1789. Bentham stated that "*natural rights is simple nonsense: natural and imprescriptible rights [an American phrase], rhetorical nonsense, nonsense upon stilts*" (Bentham, 1998). Bentham discredited the validity of the life of the *individual*, claiming that since the beginning of time, people have lived in societies rather than in isolation. He therefore saw 'rights' as being created by the law of society, and the law being the command of the sovereign. In that respect, the existence of law and rights are solely determined by the powerful, and individuals hold no inherent or 'natural' claim to them. As previously mentioned, Sen does not believe in the inherent correlation of law and rights, stating, *"[…] the ethical force of human rights is made more powerful in practice through giving it social recognition and acknowledged status, even when no legal enforcement is instituted"*

The human capabilities approach was pioneered by Sen and is a framework used to understand human development. Sen's research, theories, and critique play an important role in the field of gender equality, and it is worth briefly discussing his development economics theory of '*development as freedom*'. This theory states that a nation's socio-economic development can be linked to certain liberties such as political freedom, freedom of opportunity, and state protection from poverty. If a state lacks such freedoms, Sen's theory considers it a 'poor' state. What differentiates this economic theory of development from others (and what makes it relevant to this narrative) is that Sen goes beyond the income approach, directly linking development to the expansion of human freedom (Tungodden, 2001). For instance, Sen is also concerned with fostering the growth and development of women (i.e. freedom of opportunity) so that they may be promoters of social transformations for both women *and* men (Tungodden, 2001). More specifically, Sen states that female empowerment tends to reduce mortality rates, gender bias among children, fertility rates, and the presence of violent crimes in society (Tungodden, 2001). Sen argues that women's agency is a neglected but fundamental area of development studies.

Most states are signatories to international conventions such as the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*. States should therefore play a central role in creating and enabling an environment that permits women to live with dignity and equality- an environment that encompasses the spirit of the capabilities approach. Non-state actors such as the media and the private sector have a role to play in gender equality as well, particularly in fostering attitudinal change to ameliorate the state of women.

With a better understanding of the ways gender inequality manifests itself in our society, we can now move on to the next big theme of this paper; natural disasters. The following section looks at disasters, examining the unique climate they create in exposing social vulnerabilities, such as environmental degradation, discrimination, violence and inequality.

1.2   Natural Disasters

"Sometimes it takes a natural disaster to reveal a social disaster."

-Jim Wallis

Natural disasters are a part of life, and despite the development of advanced early warning technologies there is only so much we can predict and control. Even the most advanced nations are confronted with natural disasters and are not spared their destructive effects. Globally, a major disaster takes place every day, and natural disasters requiring international assistance occur on a weekly basis (Zibulewsky, 2001). 2010 was the deadliest year since 1976 of deaths caused by natural disasters. An estimated 304,000 people were killed globally, approximately 222,570 of which were victims of the earthquake in Haiti (The Economist, 2011). In addition, global economic losses from natural and man-made disasters in 2010 stood at $218 billion, three times the 2009 figure of $68 billion (The Economist, 2011). Disasters can severely upset the balance of a society and it can take a country decades to fully recover from them. Here we will examine in detail the making of disasters,

both natural and man-made. This will lead us to see how this distinction impacts the women who live through them.

Anatomy of Natural and Man-Made Disasters

Disasters are events that seriously disrupt people's lives and livelihoods. Though they are usually thought of as situations that are sudden and short term, they can also be chronic (and, some argue, state propelled) such as the 1990s famine in North Korea that killed an estimated two million people (Zibulewsky, 2001). Furthermore, disasters not only cause death and illness, but also destroy parts of the physical and social infrastructure of the affected region. This in turn decreases quality of life, increases psychological traumas such as anxiety and depression, and forces large population relocation (Zibulewsky, 2001).

While disasters can take numerous forms, they can generally be broken down into two categories; natural and man-made. Natural disasters refer to events that are caused by natural processes of the environment, which the World Health Organization defines as, "*a sudden ecologic phenomenon of sufficient magnitude to require external assistance*" (Zibulewsky, 2001). These include floods, tsunamis, volcanic eruptions, tornadoes, and earthquakes, among others. Natural disasters are often referred to as 'acts of God', suggesting that they are mostly unpredictable acts that are unstoppable, and for which no one can be held responsible. Man-made disasters differ in that they are perpetrated by human error or by civil unrest that foster human desire to achieve a political, economic, or social aim. Man-made disasters include pollution, transportation accidents such as oil spills, hazardous materials exposures, explosions, war, and acts of terrorism.

However, the distinction between natural and man-made disasters has been called into questions over the last few decades as experts point out the presence of human intervention in *all* disasters.

Environmentalists and scholars point to poor infrastructure and unsustainable practices as factors leading to the increased likelihood and severity of natural disasters (Van Aaalst 2006, Slettebak, 2012). Therefore, what may appear to be a natural disaster at first glance may actually be rooted in human intent, negligence, or error. This is an important distinction to make and understand in this research as the type of disaster can have an effect on the prevalence and type of gendered violence that follows. The following section explores this in further detail.

Are Natural Disasters Man-Made? A Look at La Plata and New Orleans.

Discussion about the impact that humans can have on natural disasters is ongoing and highly debated. The argument can be divided into roughly two camps: unsustainable infrastructure and planning, and unsustainable environmental practices. In regards to infrastructure and spatial/social planning, those responsible for their execution vary greatly, encompassing architects, planners, engineers, and politicians who are at the center of it all. Due to the level of overlap between these professionals, infrastructure and planning shall be addressed simultaneously.

In April 2013, the province of Buenos Aires, Argentina was hit with record torrential rain that killed over 60 people. The provincial capital city of La Plata received up to 400 millimetres of rain, resulting in flooded streets, electricity cuts, and the forced evacuation of thousands (H.C., 2013). Shortly after the storm, political tensions rose as blame was assigned to a number of parties. By standard definitions of a natural disaster, such as the one used by the World Meteorological Organization, the Buenos Aires storm would certainly qualify as one, given that a rainstorm is a "*severe and extreme weather and climate event that occurs naturally*" (WMO, 2014). However, many people, such as Pablo Romanazzi, the head of the hydrology department at Argentina's National University, believe city officials and urban planners are to blame for allowing citizens to settle at the natural drainage points for an

underground stream (H.C., 2013). While the rainfall was undoubtedly severe, poorly coordinated urbanization and a lack of necessary infrastructure impacted the lives and livelihood of thousands.

To make matters worse, the city of La Plata had experienced severe flooding in both 2002 and 2008, but the city did not appear to improve their storm readiness. Many blame this lack of preparedness for the high number of lives lost in the 2013 flood, the deadliest in the country's history (H.C., 2013). Argentinean economists and politicians cannot agree on whether it was a lack of finances or poor coordination between different levels of government that is to blame for the poor infrastructure. Though one thing they can agree on is the fact that human intervention, or lack thereof, plays a role in how a country can cope with natural hazards.

The city of La Plata is certainly not the only example of how humans can exacerbate the effects of natural disaster. When Hurricane Katrina devastated the city of New Orleans, Louisiana in 2005, the initial prevailing narrative labeled the event as a natural disaster. As images of floating bodies in ditches and families stranded on rooftops emerged, mostly of poor African American families, people began investigating the reasons why this group of people had been so disproportionately impacted by the disaster and why this storm had caused so much damage in the first place. Eventually, stories of environmental degradation, failed engineering, social policy, and politics came into the limelight. The narrative changed; Katrina was not in fact 'natural', it was man-made in every sense of the word.

A National Geographic Article titled *Gone With the Water,* written by award winning journalist Joel K Bourne, describes the scenes of Katrina perfectly;

> *"As the whirling maelstrom approached the coast, more than a million people evacuated*
>
> *to higher ground. Some 200,000 remained, however—the car-less, the homeless, the*
>
> *aged and infirm, [...] Thousands drowned in the murky brew that was soon contaminated*

by sewage and industrial waste. Thousands more who survived the flood later perished

from dehydration and disease as they waited to be rescued. It took two months to pump

the city dry, and by then the Big Easy was buried under a blanket of putrid sediment, a

million people were homeless, and 50,000 were dead. It was the worst natural disaster in

the history of the United States"

What renders this account more chilling than its vivid description is that it was published in October

2004; 10 months *before* Hurricane Katrina, as a warning of the impending disaster. For years,

climatologists had warned of the potential catastrophe a hurricane could bring to Louisiana's coastal

city. Close to 80 percent of New Orleans lies below sea level, some places more than eight feet below

(Bourne, 2004). The city is surrounded by large bodies of water; the Mississippi River to the south and

Lake Pontchartrain to the north. Given these geographical vulnerabilities, New Orleans is a particularly

'at-risk' place to live – especially bearing in mind the current environmental fragility that is linked, in

great part, to climate change.

Climate change which is the increase of the average temperature of the earth's climate system, has

been identified as playing a role in the occurrence and intensity of natural disasters. Ongoing research

shows that climate change (often referred to as global warming), is likely caused by anthropogenic

greenhouse gas emissions that trap heat in our atmosphere by preventing radiation from escaping into

outer space (Aalst, 2006). Among the primary greenhouse gases in the atmosphere are water vapour,

methane, and carbon dioxide (CO_2). However, it must be mentioned that studies also show that the

earth periodically goes through natural heating and cooling periods. This is due in part to the level of

solar energy or radiation that reaches the earth's surface (Chilingar & Khilyuk, 2006). Furthermore, the

parameters of the earth's elliptical orbit change over geological time; this impacts the distance

between the earth and the sun, thereby affecting earth's climate (Chilingar & Khilyuk, 2006). Despite this, it is generally accepted by all researchers that since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution in the mid-18th century, greenhouse gas emissions from human activity have increased sharply. This can be attributed partially to the burning of fossil fuels such as coal and oil (Aalst, 2006). Global surface temperatures have been increasing at a rate between 0.13^0C and 0.22^0C every decade since the late 20th century (Diaz, 2007). This has resulted in a global mean average temperature increase of 0.6^0 C since 1975 (Diaz, 2007). Climate change is believed to have contributed to sea level rise and to have amplified the impact of recent storms (Allen, Huntingford, Imbers, & Lopez, 2013). As climate change increases ocean surface temperatures, research states that this causes hurricanes to have significantly higher rainfall, thereby increasing the damage potential by up to 11% on average by the end of the 21st century (GFDL, 2013).

Climate change was arguably an added threat to the city of New Orleans. Additionally, environmentalists believe that the "decades-long assault on the Louisiana coast" (i.e. poor/lack of environmental protection policies) is also responsible for the structural collapse that occurred during Hurricane Katrina (Grunwald, 2010). Environmentalists blame misguided political pursuits that chose to invest in shoreline developments and petroleum projects. These destroy the wetlands and barrier islands that provide natural hurricane protection (Litman, 2006). Louisiana has been losing its protective fringe of marshes and barrier islands since the 1930s (Bourne, 2004). It is estimated that the southern state loses approximately 65 square kilometers of wetland each year, about one acre every 33 minutes (Bourne, 2004). Studies estimate that for every 640 acres of wetlands lost, storm surges rise by one foot (Begley, 2005).

In addition to the environmental risks brought forth by human activity, poor engineering and planning amplified the damages of Hurricane Katrina, just as it later did in La Plata, Buenos Aires. Central to the destruction of New Orleans was the Mississippi River Gulf Outlet (MRGO), a man-made ship channel that funneled the hurricane's storm surge into the center of New Orleans. This in turn destroyed the city's hurricane protection network as the water rushed through and broke down levees and floodwalls (Louis, 2010). Multiple lawsuits were brought against the United States Army Corps of Engineers (USACE)- those responsible for the construction of the city's hurricane protection netowrk. In the ruling of one such case, a federal judge stated in his opinion that USACE had known in 1988, long before Hurricane Katrina, that the MRGO was a threat to human life, and yet they acted negligently by not working to prevent this threat from taking place (Louis, 2010). USACE eventually admitted that a "catastrophic failure" of the city's hurricane defense system was to blame for the damages caused by the hurricane (Grunwald, 2010).

Long-term planning decisions and errors also play a role in exacerbating the number of casualties of natural disasters. For instance, throughout the South and Midwest of the United States, mobile-home communities and poor neighborhoods are more likely to be developed in flood plains (Begley, 2005). In New Orleans there existed a concentration of poverty in neighborhoods vulnerable to flooding, and as stated in Bourne's predictive piece, those with fewer resources could not escape easily. Chapter 1.3 will examine this phenomenon in greater detail within a developing world context.

Katrina's devastation and many 21st century disasters have been attributed to a combination of human activities that negatively impact the environment and cause shifts in climate behavior. Policy decisions and man-made structures that fail to serve their function have also been blamed for these destructive events.

This research project understands and considers the blurred distinction between natural and man-made disasters; however, both terms will still be employed for the purpose of differentiating the *character* of the disaster being discussed (for instance, a typhoon versus an oil spill).

Our Role in Man-Made Disasters

While an increase in violence against women is present in the aftermaths of both natural and man-made disasters, this study will focus on natural disasters for a number of reasons, the most vital being that man-made disasters such as civil conflict are known to use gender-based violence as a weapon of war. Rape has been used in armed conflicts as a way to dominate, humiliate, instil fear in, and forcibly relocate civilian members of a community or ethnic group (Smith-Spark, 2005). In ethnic conflicts such as the wars in Bosnia and Darfur, rape was often specifically used as an ethnic cleansing technique and a way for attackers to perpetuate their social control and redraw ethnic boundaries (Ward, 2002). During the Mozambique Civil War (1976–1992), rape and forcible abduction were deliberate strategies (Turshen, 2001). Thousands of girls were abducted to be used for the sexual amusement of men (Turshen, 2001). There are multiple motivations or kinds of rape within the realm of war and conflict. Among them is the raping of women held in military prisons by male soldiers serving as guards. Rape is used as a strategy by the invading soldiers of a village to force women of a different ethnicity, race, or group to flee their home, leaving behind their possessions and property in the hands of the perpetrators. Rape is also employed by attackers to humiliate the men of an opposing group, and to terrorize communities in order to discourage resistance. The fact that violence against women is used as a weapon of war overtly exposes the institutionalized social perception of women as property (Turshen, 2001). Some headway was made, however, in 1998 following a judgment by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) in the case of *Prosecutor v. Akayesu.* Following this case, rape was considered genocide under international law which meant that rape became punishable

as a crime against humanity (Abbott, 2014). A crime against humanity is one which is committed as part of a purposeful widespread or systematic attack directed against a civilian population (Abbott, 2014).

Given the nature of gendered violence in man-made disasters such as civil war, these circumstances are beyond the purview of this paper. I have deemed it more appropriate for the purpose of this study to focus on natural disasters that, through sudden destabilization, create an opportunistic climate for violence.

Having now explored the themes of gendered violence and natural disasters, we can now look at the third and final major theme of this paper; urban planning. These three themes will later be intersected in order to arrive at the primary purpose of this paper, which is to address post-disaster gendered violence through an urban planning lens.

1.3   Urban Planning
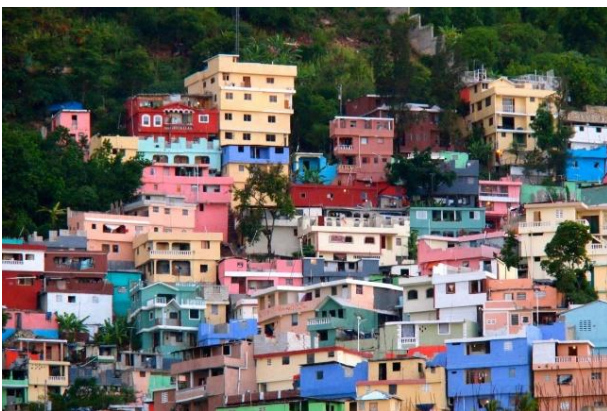
You got to be careful if you don't know where you're going, because you might not get there.

- Yogi Berra, baseball catcher

The following section discusses the last of the three major themes explored in this paper; urban planning. Following the event of a natural disaster, the reconstruction phase is crucial to the recovery of victims. Urban planning plays a central role in the post disaster climate and, as such, can

play a significant role in mitigating the increase of violence against women. We will examine the links between social inequality and planning within both a developed and developing context, and also look at how some planning approaches, such as *universal design,* aim to combat these inequalities.

Buffer Zone: Urban Planning and Exclusion

Urban planning is the process of developing the spaces in which people live, in order to enhance the standard of living. It involves a wide array of interventions that range from policy implementations to the design of physical spaces. While planning would ideally improve the lives of everyone in society, it tends to benefit one group over another. This is especially apparent in low-income countries in which the gap between the rich and the poor is stark. However, even in the context of rich countries, there is inequality in urban planning, as planning is often conducted in a way that excludes the marginalized populations of a society (Musterd, & Ostendorf, 2013). This phenomenon is sometimes referred to as *socio-spatial exclusion* and occurs on both the small and large scale. It is the process of excluding groups of people from accessing certain spaces based on race, religion, income and other identifiable characteristics (Pathak, 2009). Socio-spatial exclusion can come in the form of a fence that makes it difficult to enter a space, even if it is a public one. Things such as shrubs and trees can be placed strategically to conceal spaces, or subtly imply a divide between one space and another- creating a clear delineation between 'outside' and 'inside'. Other strategies to exclude the 'other' include long street blocks and long confusing winding roads, both commonly used in North American suburbs. This division is a reflection of the distribution of power and the wealth disparity that exists in society. Considering this, it is by no means a coincidence that middle and high-income populaces usually settle in the best parts of the land. What defines 'best' varies tremendously, but generally implies safe from crime and environmental hazards, of high economic/real estate value, and possessing better access to

soft infrastructure (i.e. service provision) and hard infrastructure (i.e. physical construction such as roads and bridges).

One example of strong social-spatial exclusion can be found in Brooklyn, New York. In the 40s an institutionalized system of 'ghettoization' and racialization pushed the low-income (and mostly African American) population of Brooklyn into its downtown core, the area considered most unfavourable at the time. This high concentration of low income families resulted in the mass exodus of the middle and high income earners from the area. Along with their higher purchasing power, those who left appeared to take with them government investment in services and infrastructure (Anderson, 2012). The area became one of high crime and crumbling infrastructure- yet the sense of community remained. Years later, those who had stayed in Brooklyn's downtown during the exodus, boosting the commercial activity while creating the bustling community that now exists, are being subject to gentrification. Gentrification is the appreciation in economic and cultural value of a formerly disinvested and devalued inner-city area by the middle and upper class (Smith, 2002). The story of Brooklyn's gentrification is common to many North American cities. However, when we enter a context within the Global South, the narrative of social-spatial exclusion takes on an entirely different form.

Urban Planning in the Context of Developing Countries

In the context of the developing world, the higher proportion of low income individuals, combined with larger populations create an environment in which the failure to provide spatial accessibility and proper housing options to poor families create 'squatter' or informal settlements. Such is the case in Haiti which will be explored in greater detail in Chapter Two. Informal, in this sense of the words refers to places in which people have taken up illegal residence on unused publically or

privately owned land[5]. Informal settlements are sometimes referred to as 'slums', but this latter term

also encompasses different factors. A slum can be a building or group of buildings, or an area that is

characterized by deteriorating and unsanitary living conditions, thereby not necessarily 'informal' or

illegally occupied. There is normally an absence of facilities or amenities, and the living conditions are

harmful to the health and well-being of residents. Slums are understood to have emerged (or at the

very least, increased significantly) during the Industrial Revolution. In the mid-18th century to the late-

19th century, new technologies changed the lives of millions and families transitioned from an

agricultural lifestyle to an industrialized one. This drew workers away from their rural homes and into

large cities (Dyos, 1967). For instance, Victorian London was crammed with slums as the population

outgrew the housing capacity. Since the demand for cheap housing could not be met, the poor who

worked in the factories moved into the slums- which were comprised of large overcrowded and

dilapidated buildings (Diniejko, 2013). Such settlements are often the only settlement type that is

affordable to a city's poor.

Over the last few decades, there has been a renewed global trend of migration towards urban centers,

this time in the developing world. A century ago, 20% of people lived in urban areas. By 1990, this

number grew to 40% of the global population (WHO, 2014). 2008 was the first year in which more than

half of the world's population lived in cities as opposed to rural areas. There are 3.6 billion people who

now live in cities, and this number is expected to rise to 5 billion by 2030 making up 60% of the world's

population. Half of all urban dwellers live in cities containing between 100,000 and 500,000

inhabitants, and 10% of urban dwellers live in megacities which are cities with over 10 million people

such as Sao Paolo, Brazil (pop. 11.4m) and Shanghai, China (pop. 23.4). Currently, there are more than

---

[5] Other commonly used words that refer to informal settlement are: Slum, Favela (Brazil), Barrio & Tugorio (Latin America), Masseque (Angola), Basti (Bangladesh), Kampung (Indonesia), Katchi Abadi (Pakistan), Bidonville (France, French Africa, Haiti), Varos (Turkey), Shanty Town (South Africa), Ghetto, Skid Row (United States), Squatter Cities.

one billion people who live in informal settlements. In the developing world, 35% of city dwellers live in

a slum (CA, 2014).

This modern day migration pattern is the result of both push and pull factors. Rural 'push', is occurring

as rural dwellers leave the countryside due to the devaluation of agriculture. Pull is the lure of better

job prospects. Push tends to be the bigger challenge, because it results in urbanization becoming

detached from economic development. People are not heading towards guaranteed employment (as

was the case in Victorian England), but to escape rural life. In many developing countries, the highest

rates of poverty can be found in rural zones. Poverty in these regions can take on forms beyond lack of

income, thereby including things such as alienation, lack of access to (state) resources, and the lack of

value attributed to rural work such as farming (Alston, 2000). Rural poverty has increased in part as a

result of globalization, as the international market forces have caused a decline in the demand for rural

industry[6]. There has been a shift from agriculture-based economies to those of mass industry,

technology, and service (WHO, 2014). Farmers are at the mercy of the globalization of food production

and are forced to adhere to low global market prices and increased production to remain competitive.

The lack of local governmental intervention in curbing this trend through agricultural protection policy

implementations, adds to the vulnerability of rural dwellers (Alston, 2000). Agriculture is also highly

dependent on weather which severely impacts farming income in seasons of low soil fertility. In

addition to wanting better employment opportunities, people are moving to cities in search of better

access to education, health care, entertainment, and opportunities for women. While this opportunity

is real, many are left disappointed, and the city has seen a rise in the informal economy. Without

addressing the root issues plaguing rural areas, migration (and poverty) will always be significant. The

---

[6] It is also (more importantly) a result of the failure of governments to assist with diversification of rural economy and investment in social capital.

migration to cities is occurring at a rate faster than housing and infrastructure can be built. Because of this, migrants find their own land and build their own homes. If you concentrate these shacks on a small area of land, a slum has officially been built. Informal settlements are usually constructed without building codes, are unstable, vulnerable to violence, and often polluted with landfills and sewage. It should be mentioned here that slums (or slum–like conditions) do currently exist in developed countries, but are often in the form of poor housing districts (sometimes called ghettos), or housing 'projects' as they are known in the United States, that are government-managed but often in deteriorating conditions. Some would even go on to say that some Native Reserves in Canada are in conditions similar to informal settlements in the Global South. However, the vast majority of slums in the worst of conditions are found in developing countries located in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Informal settlement development can be attributed to many reasons. One of these is population growth which, as demonstrated above, can be a result of patterns of urbanization and growth of urban centres. Population growth or population concentration in an area can also be caused by disasters and ecological changes. In such cases, it is not uncommon for emergency 'temporary' shelters to turn into informal settlement. Other reasons for informal housing growth include pressure on land and resources due to high population density, lack of viable employment option in the rural areas, inadequate investment in urban infrastructure to accommodate fast growth, extreme inequalities in income and numerous others. Underlying these negative patterns is weak and corrupt governance in many countries of the global South. The next section will explore the role of governance and institutions in the perpetuation of cycles of poverty that deny the poor a dignified life. I will focus on bad governance or *bad urban planning* as one of the reasons for the growth of informal settlements.

Impact Fee: Urban Planning & Its Role in Vulnerability & Disaster

The failure to recognize the needs of the urban poor results in their neglect in the urban planning

process (CA, 2014). It is certainly true that in some places the scale of the issue is beyond the

immediate capacity of the government (i.e. financial, technological), and informal settlements are

somewhat inevitable. The problem occurs when governments who take a passive approach to planning

for urbanization respond inefficiently and insufficiently to the growth of informal settlements. Since

informal settlements exist, the government has a responsibility to its citizens to plan to the best of its

capabilities. For instance, governments can try to undertake slum upgrading efforts, such as improving

water and sanitation provision. We can acknowledge that there are many valid reasons that explain

the lack of service provision in informal settlement. They are densely populated areas that are spatially

disorganized. This makes it extremely difficult for local and state governments to implement adequate

infrastructure such as connecting residences to water pipes and plumbing, or even allowing emergency

responders (ex: fire trucks) to enter the neighbourhood. However, some governments take a hostile

approach to urbanization, believing that service provision will encourage slum growth and discourage

residents from eventually leaving these informal settlements (Werlin, 1999). This particular discourse

poses certain problems as it makes the assumption that squatters have no desire to escape poverty.

Few people migrate to the city for water or services, but rather, they come looking for work. This

discourse also reinforces the negative perception that the poor are simply living off the backs of other

'tax-paying' individuals, this is very much in line with the North American criticism of the welfare state

from the political right. In addition, since squatters are 'illegal' and residing on land for which they have

no formal claim over, in some cases the government might deny knowledge of their existence and

refuse to support such communities with infrastructure, given that they should technically not exist.

As previously discussed, unsustainable human activity has played a role in the severity and occurrence of natural disasters. Poor planning has also had an impact on the magnitude of loss during a disaster. Planning is, to some degree an extension of how the rest of a city or country is governed. One's risk of harm directly correlates with their exposure to hazards (Enarson, 2000). For instance, zoning bylaws which allowed residents of New Orleans to inhabit low-lying areas without providing the infrastructure needed to offset the risks of a disaster constituted a grave negligence of planning principles. In some cases, urban planners and governmental bodies in developing countries knowingly allow people to settle on hillsides that are prone to mudslides.

Good urban planning has the ability and responsibility to mitigate the impact of disasters within both a social programming and physical design sphere. Through learning from past experiences, planning can help reduce social vulnerabilities. For instance, implementing zoning regulations that prevent the destruction of natural landscapes like the Louisiana coastline, could help rebuild natural disaster barriers (Enarson, 2000). The same could be said for Haiti. Preventing the construction of housing in seismic prone zones could significantly diminish the impact of disasters. It must be acknowledged, however, that within a developing world context, some nations are unable to sufficiently finance disaster mitigation and recovery projects. These countries are more likely to depend on fragile natural resources, such as the case of Haiti's use of charcoal for fuel as will be discussed in Chapter Two. The irony of this situation is that developed countries are most responsible for climate change, yet developing countries are the ones that carry the brunt of that burden, despite not having the financial or technical resources available to deal with it[7] (Malone, 2014).

---

[7] Assessing emissions based on where products are consumed shifts the allocation of current emissions from major producer countries, such as China, to countries in North America and Western Europe (Malone, 2014)

"If we tell our parents about boys harassing us, they would blame us only and say that it is our fault ... Our parents might even stop us going out of the house."

-Young girl, New Dehli

In December 2012, a 23 year old woman from South Dehli was brutally beaten and gang raped by six men on a private bus. The young woman, referred to in the press as "Nirbhaya" ("fearless") succumbed to her injuries 13 days following the brutal attack. The incident made international headlines and the collective public outrage led the government of India to commission a thorough examination of Indian law in regards to sexual violence. The committee concluded that extensive reforms were necessary, and that *"failure of good governance is the obvious root cause for the current unsafe environment eroding the rule of law"* (Ahmed, Dhar & Mitchell, 2013). Comprehensive, inclusive and sustainable urban planning is one of the indicators of good governance. Officials and urban planners can consciously mandate the design of safe and inclusive cities to protect women.

In societies with entrenched gender inequalities and discriminatory practices, public spaces are often dangerous spaces for women and girls. Nonetheless, every woman, regardless of where she lives in the world, has experienced the spine-chilling fear of walking down a dark deserted street, or around an unfamiliar neighbourhood and hearing a stranger's footsteps behind her. Women and men undeniably experience the city in different ways. Where a man might, without much thought, consider taking an alleyway as a shortcut, many women would think twice or three times before taking that same route. Even situations that should generally be safe can quickly get out of hand. Daily tasks such as retrieving water and firewood often a women's responsibility become troubling events (Hirsh, 2012). These situations can turn violent as women face harassment while lining up for water or for the washroom. It

has been documented that some women prefer to defecate out in the open to avoid being harassed by men in public bathrooms (UN Women, 2012). However, even this brings on its own set of problems as sexual harassment is rampant when women and girl go defecate in fields. There have been instances where men disguised themselves as women, hiding in the fields to prey on women. There have also been cases of abduction of these women (UN Women, 2012). The Democratic Republic of Congo is one such example in which the sexual violence and abduction of women is prevalent. These attacks occur despite the presence of 17,000 troops United Nations peacekeepers- the highest in the world (Gettleman, 2007). John Holmes, the United Nations under secretary general for humanitarian affairs stated that the sexual violence in Congo is the "worst in the world" (Gettleman, 2007).

City streets, public transportation, school, the market- these are all places where women and girls are subject to the threat of sexual harassment and violence. These unsafe public spaces are a result of urban planning that fails to take into account the particular experiences of women. This reality of daily life limits women's freedom. It can impact their ability to get an education, to work, to participate in the public sphere, or to just walk about in their neighbourhood (Bachelet, 2013). This is significant because it can reinforce systemic inequality or 'institutionalized' discrimination which perpetuates the cycle of inequality.

Reimagining Space Through the Universal Design Framework

One tool that planners can use to address the gendered inequity of the public realm, or in displacement camps as will be later explored, is *Universal Design*. This is the idea that spaces, products, and buildings should be designed in a manner that ensures their accessibility to everyone irrespective of their physical or cognitive abilities. The term was first coined by architect Ronald Mace to describe designs that appeal to all, regardless of their age, ability, or status in life (UD, 2008). However the application of universal design was pioneered through the work of Selwyn Goldsmith, who wrote a

comprehensive architectural planning guide titled *Designing for the Disabled* (1963). The book

provided guidelines on how to make spaces, facilities and buildings accessible to disabled people. At

the time of its publication, this was a new ground-breaking concept. One example of a particularly

significant initiative that arose from Selwyn's research was the concept of the 'dropped kerb'(Figure 4),

which is now a common feature of urban landscapes throughout the world (Cave, 2011)

Figure 4. Dropped Kerb.

Area must not be obstructed by vehicle
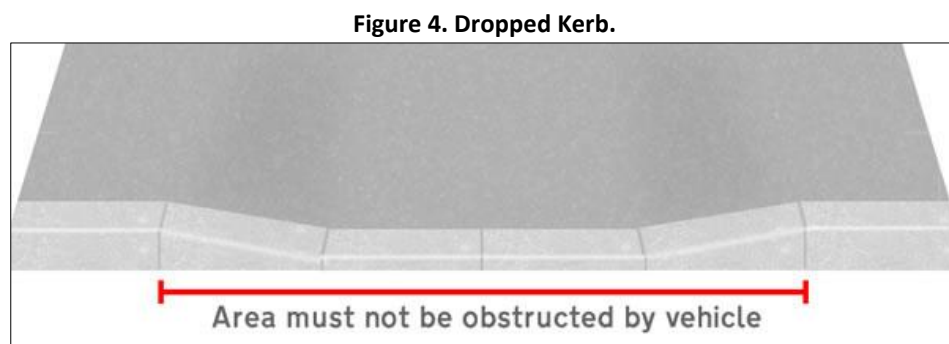
In 1997, a working group of architects, engineers and researchers led by Ronald Mace developed

the *7 Principles of Urban Design*. These principles are used to guide the design process of new

developments as well as evaluate the accessibility of existing designs. The 7 Principles are; 1-

Equitable Use, 2-Flexibility in Use, 3-Simple and Intuitive Use, 4-Perceptible Information, 5-

Tolerance for Error, 6-Low Physical Effort, and 7- Size and Space for Approach and Use. Figure 5

explains each principle in detail.

Figure 5. The 7 Principles of Urban Design

Principles	Purpose	Guidelines to applications
1- **Equitable Use**	The design is useful and marketable to people with diverse abilities.	1. Provide the same means of use for all users: identical whenever possible; equivalent when not 2. Avoid segregating or stigmatizing any users. 3. Provisions for privacy, security, and safety should be equally available to all users. 4. Make the design appealing to all users.

Principles	Purpose	Guidelines to applications
2- Flexibility Use	The design accommodates a wide range of individual preferences and abilities.	1. Provide choice in methods of use. 2. Accommodate right- or left-handed access and use. 3. Facilitate the user's accuracy and precision. 4. Provide adaptability to the user's pace.
3- Simple and Intuitive Use	Use of the design is easy to understand, regardless of the user's experience, knowledge, language skills, or current concentration level.	1. Eliminate unnecessary complexity. 2. Be consistent with user expectations and intuition. 3. Accommodate a wide range of literacy and language skills. 4. Arrange information consistent with its importance. 5. Provide effective prompting and feedback during and after task completion.
4- Perceptible Information	The design communicates necessary information effectively to the user, regardless of ambient conditions or the user's sensory abilities.	1. Use different modes (pictorial, verbal, tactile) for redundant presentation of essential information. 2. Provide adequate contrast between essential information and its surroundings. 3. Maximize "legibility" of essential information. 4. Differentiate elements in ways that can be described (i.e., make it easy to give instructions or directions). 5. Provide compatibility with a variety of techniques or devices used by people with sensory limitations.
5- Tolerance for Error	The design minimizes hazards and the adverse consequences	1. Arrange elements to minimize hazards and errors: most used elements, most accessible; hazardous elements eliminated, isolated, or shielded.

Principles	Purpose	Guidelines to applications
	of accidental or unintended actions.	2. Provide warnings of hazards and errors. 3. Provide fail safe features. 4. Discourage unconscious action in tasks that require vigilance.
6- **Low Physical Effort**	The design can be used efficiently and comfortably and with a minimum of fatigue.	1. Allow user to maintain a neutral body position. 2. Use reasonable operating forces. 3. Minimize repetitive actions. 4. Minimize sustained physical effort.
7- **Size and Space for Approach and Use**	Appropriate size and space is provided for approach, reach, manipulation, and use regardless of user's body size, posture, or mobility.	1. Provide a clear line of sight to important elements for any seated or standing user. 2. Make reach to all components comfortable for any seated or standing user. 3. Accommodate variations in hand and grip size. 4. Provide adequate space for the use of assistive devices or personal assistance.

Applying a Gendered Perspective to Universal Design

Universal Design is usually understood as a concept used to accommodate differently-abled individuals; however the basis of universal design can be applied on an even larger scale. A gendered approach to this design concept would seek to answer the question, '*In what ways do women experience and use the spaces differently than men'*? The answers to that question could then be addressed following the 7 principles of Universal Design. Cities have historically been planned *for* men and *by* men, taking into consideration their working life as the presumed primary breadwinners. This has resulted, for example, in transit routes that may fail to accommodate the need to bring children to daycare or to run errands- activities still done predominantly by women (Sayer, 2005).

A study conducted in London that analyzed the ways men and women used the city's bike share program differently serves as a good example of how universal design can be applies. It was discovered that men were more likely to use bike sharing for commuting, while women were more likely to use it for leisurely rides (i.e. around parks and on trails). More importantly, it was also discovered that women were less likely than men to travel on busy roads (Ferraro, 2013). If we combine these two findings, we can safely assume that the peak traffic hours of commuting to and from work (assuming a standard '9-5' schedule) would deter some women from using the city's bike sharing programming in a functional manner. Considering the fourth principle of urban design, *Flexibility Use*- which states that the "design should accommodates a wide range of individual preferences and abilities", a potential way to increase women's use of bikes for commuting would be to implement more bike lanes throughout the city. This would reduce the need for women to travel on busy roads, and encourage them to increase their use of bike sharing for commuting. Some might argue that the roads are equally accessible to women who wish to bike share, and that they are making the *choice* not to use them, therefore, *why* should we accommodate for personal choices? I would argue that we must look deeper into the reasons why some women do not use busy roads. Is it due to a fear of getting into accidents? Is that a legitimate fear based on accident reports and statistics? Understanding these fundamental questions can than help us assess how to address such a problem. Another way to look at this is to ask ourselves, *why not* accommodate? If we have the ability to improve the experience of the city for all, why not do it? Will the improvement hinder someone else's ability to use the space? Could more bike lanes be beneficial to everyone, even drivers, who despite the potential reduction of road space might welcome them?

Universal Design is therefore about increasing access and accommodating different lifestyles and preferences. With a gendered approach, this tool can be used to identify issues and concerns particular

to women. These can then be used to expand the accessibility of products, buildings, and the public realm and simultaneously increase women's safety.

Chapter 1: In Conclusion

Chapter One brought forth three major themes; gender-based violence, natural disasters and urban planning. These were analyzed and discussed individually in order to provide a solid background and understanding of each. This context will serve as the foundation for the proposal to move forward found in Chapter Three: *Recommendations and Wayforward*.

The following chapter *Cross Section* will bring together the three themes that were explored in Chapter One. This will be followed by a case study of Haiti. The goal of the next chapter is to foster an understanding of the interconnectedness of the three themes in order to understand how they manifested themselves in Haiti following the 2010 earthquake and how these issues can be resolved.

2.1 Intersecting Themes

"There is one universal truth, applicable to all countries, cultures and communities: violence against women is never acceptable, never excusable, never tolerable."

- Ban Ki-moon, UN Secretary-General

Post-Disaster Increase in Violence Against Women

Past experiences show that those most vulnerable to violence are unaccompanied women and single female heads of household who within a displacement camp context are looked upon by some men as common sexual property (UNHCR, 1995). While women are indisputably disproportionately affected by disasters, this continues to be overlooked in relief and reconstruction efforts by governments, and by some of the non-governmental agencies involved (Chew & Ramdas, 2005). Women have distinct needs separate from men, and depending on the society, they are often a severely marginalized population. It is therefore imperative that emergency planning efforts improve their approach, and consider these factors during reconstruction.

In addition to violence, disaster relief efforts often fail to take into account health and sanitation needs of women, which puts them in life threatening situations. Pregnant women lack pre- and post natal, and obstetrical care, and displaced women frequently lack access to undergarments and sanitary supplies (Chew & Ramdas, 2005). Queuing in order to collect aid supplies controlled by men exposes women to situations of physical and psychological violence, and humiliation.A 2004 press release by the Coalition of Tsunami Affected Women stated that the distribution of undergarments in Sri Lankan displacement camps had been carried out publicly by men who simultaneously made embarrassing

comments about which sizes were appropriate for which women. It was also stated in this press

release that the distribution of sanitary products was under the control of male camp officials, who,

perhaps due to a lack of understanding of the menstrual cycle, dispensed them one at a time, thereby

forcing women to return multiple times (Chew & Ramdas, 2005).

Women with children are often vulnerable because the presence of small children can make it difficult

for them to push through the crowded aid distribution lines. In addition, essentials such as water, food,

blankets and mattresses are distributed based on the needs of a single adult, forcing mothers to

sacrifice meager rations in order to ensure the survival of their children (Chew & Ramdas, 2005). These

factors all impact women's (and as a result, children's) ability to recover after a disaster.

Culture, Society and Psychological Strain

There are several reasons as to why violence against women increases following natural disasters. A

1995 *United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) report titled Sexual Violence Against*

Refugees: Guidelines on Prevention and Response, states that post disaster gender-based violence

occurs primarily because natural disasters upset physical structures and with it, disrupt social

infrastructures. In times of disaster and chaos, there is a collapse of systems of normalcy as some

survivors are forced to deal with the loss of loved ones, are ripped from their community, and are

obliged to live in temporary shelters (UNHCR, 1995). This in turn produces widespread psychological

distress, physical health problems, and social disruptions among the general population (Jenkins &

Phillips, 2008). Therefore, the disappearance of security and social support institutions, alongside the

psychological strain on men who are unable to assume their normal cultural, social and economic roles

have been identified as causing increased aggressive behaviour towards women (UNHCR, 1995).

Gender-based violence is used by men as a means of reinforcing control and maintaining their power,

privilege, and dominance (Carillo, 1991). This is in addition to the fact that those who had trouble

coping prior to a disaster are more susceptible to stress and maladaptive coping strategies in response

to disaster (Jenkins & Phillips, 2008). It must be emphasized, however, that instances of aggression and

sexual violence towards women are deeply rooted in pre-existing societal attitudes towards women.

The cultural and social structure of a society plays a significant role in gender inequalities and these

norms can amplify in magnitude in times of distress. The perspective that the widespread

normalization of gender inequality is at the foundation of violence has long been recognized in feminist

theory (Bunch, 1990; Carillo, 1991). Therefore, while natural disasters amplify occurrences of violence,

they are not at the base of the cause. Both the cultural context of the region in addition to the society's

recognition and understanding of sexual violence play a role in these matters. Nonetheless,

displacement does create a unique environment in which aggressive behaviour is fostered. For

instance, alcohol and drug abuse correlated with depression, stress and the mundane environment of

life in a camp can result in violent behavior within families and communities (UNHCR, 1995).

Physical Space and Design

The location and design of the physical spaces to which displaced communities are assigned, can be a

contributing factor to violence. What qualifies as 'poor planning' can vary from camps that are built

below physical capacity and are unable to sustain displaced populations, to those that are

underequipped with aid supplies. Poor planning often occurs because of the unpredictability and

severity of natural disasters. The physical design of camps which include proximity between housing

structures and their size contribute to overcrowding and force displaced peoples to live in proximity,

and at times communally, with strangers. The inability to lock some living and washing quarters can

also pose a problem. Furthermore, communal washrooms, washing facilities, food, water and fuel

distribution points may be inconveniently located, forcing women to walk long distances away from

their living quarters thereby increasing the potential for attacks (UNHCR, 1995). Lighting in many

camps is poor, if present at all.

The absence of social structure, lawfulness and police protection within camps also contribute a lack

of safety for women. Night patrols and police are not always present and some have been known to

accept bribes in exchange for not investigating complaints, or for releasing alleged perpetrators from

custody. Domestic violence increases are also perceived by some local authorities as being a personal

matter for which they have no right or need to intervene (Chew & Ramdas, 2005). It has also been

stated that the absence of an independent presence in some camps such as the UNHCR, or restricted

NGO access, particularly at night, can be a contributing factor to violence. The absence of such

organizations is believed to increase the risks of attacks on personal security, including sexual violence.

At the same time, the security situation in some contexts may not allow for this presence (UNHCR,

1995).

2.2 Haiti Case Study

"Haiti, Haiti, the further I am from you, the less I breathe. Haiti, I love you, and I will love you always. Always."

-Jean-Bertrand Aristide, Haitian President

*L*a perle des Antilles French for 'the pearl of the Antilles' is an expression that was once commonly used to describe the Caribbean island of Haiti. A mountainous country blessed with a tropical climate, Haiti was a popular tourist destination in the 1950s for both American and European travelers. It attracted people via its beauty, rich culture, and the mystique surrounding the voodoo religion. Prior to the 1960s Haiti's standard of living, measured by human development indices, was comparable to that of countries such as Canada and Australia (Raymond, 2013). Things have since taken a turn for the worst and the incessant political turmoil and violence since the 1980s have turned Haiti into an unstable nation.

Historic District: A Brief History of Haiti

The Caribbean island of Hispaniola, is divided into two sovereign nations. The Republic of Haiti is on the Western half, making up one third of the island, while the Dominican Republic makes up two thirds of the island on the East. Hispaniola was first inhabited by its native people- the Taíno. These were an Indigenous subgroup part of a larger tribe of Native Americans called the Arawak who lived all throughout the Caribbean and South America (Deagan, 2004). Haiti's name comes from the Taíno word '*Ayiti*' meaning 'land of high mountains'. In December 1492, Christopher Columbus arrived at the

shores of Hispaniola and the Taíno people of the Caribbean became the first Native Americans to encounter and coexist with Europeans (Deagan, 2004). This cohabitation proved detrimental to the Taíno people who were quickly overtaken by the Spanish. They were obliged to work under cruel conditions in mines and fields, and fell under complete European control. Within 25 years of Spanish invasion, the Taíno people were entirely wiped out, due in part to inhumane work condition, and to old world European diseases (i.e. smallpox and measles) against which they were not immune (Corbett, 1999). It is estimated that by 1507 the Taíno population of Hispaniola, which had originally stood between 100, 000 and 500, 000[8], had shrunk to approximately 60,000. By 1531 the number had shrunk further to 600 (Corbett, 1999). Today there remain few traces of the Arawak/Taino people throughout Hispaniola and across South America.

In the early 17th century, shortly after the disappearance of the Natives, the French arrived in Hispaniola. Spain ceded the western third of the island to the French in 1697 and this section, known as Saint Domingue at the time, is what currently makes up Haiti. The French proceeded to import approximately half a million African slaves, mostly from Central Africa and modern day Benin. Although the Spanish had also imported slaves (mostly from Guinea), it was the French who turned it into a highly profitable industry and by the mid 18th century, Haiti was the primary port for the slave trade in the Americas (Farmer, 2012). During this period, Haiti became the leading exporter of coffee and sugar and forestry. Haiti brought in more income for the French than all its colonial possessions combined (Farmer, 2012).

---

[8] * The Spanish priest Bartolomé de Las Casas (who was living in the Dominican Republic at the time) wrote in his 1561 multi-volume *History of the Indies* that "There were 60,000 people living on this island [when I arrived in 1508], including the Indians; so that from 1494 to 1508, over three million people had perished from war, slavery and the mines. Who in future generations will believe this?" Researchers today doubt Las Casas's figures for the pre-contact levels of the Taíno population, considering them an exaggeration. They believe the numbers were closer to 500,000 maximum. (SOURCE: Corbett, 1999).

In the late 18th century, Haiti's slaves revolted under the leadership of Toussaint L'ouverture. Considered the first black 'governor' of a colony, the first leader of a victorious slave revolution, and the father of the independence of the first black colony, L'ouverture and later Jean Jaques Dessalines (Toussaint's lieutenant and first leader of Haiti) led Haiti to become the world's first black republic in 1804 (Graham, 2003). Haiti's independence is the only successful slave revolt in history. The nation was seen as a threat to all slave bearing nations as they feared it would lead to slave revolts on their own lands. Many refused to recognize Haiti as a legitimate nation referring to Haitians as 'slave rebels' (Graham, 2003). Abraham Lincoln was the first to acknowledge Haiti's independence in 1862.

Public Realm: Haiti's Political History

Since its beginnings as an Independent republic, Haiti's political and economic –landscape has gone through highs and lows. The aftermath of the Haitian Revolution left Haiti in a state of devastation. Plantations, which had been the primary source of income for the nation, were destroyed. In 1825 shortly after independence, the republic was forced to pay an exorbitant 'independence fee' of 150 million gold francs to France (Farmer, 2012). Desperate for trading partners and recognition, Haiti obliged. French slave owners asked for these reparations as compensation for their 'losses'- that is, the plantations and the slaves. The sum of this fee is valued at 21$bn in today's money, and Haiti paid this debt until 1947 (Willsher, 2010). Haiti launched a lawsuit against France in 2003 demanding repayment of the money. The debt is considered to have been an illegal demand by France considering that at the time it was requested, slavery had already been outlawed, not to mention that it was an absurd demand to impose an emerging nation (Willsher, 2010).

During the early years of independence, Haiti experienced numerous coup d'états that were financially supported by foreign nations (which some say was done for reasons of sabotage) (Farmer, 2012). After an internal coup in 1915, the United States, which had a continued presence in Haitian waters (via

gunboats), sent in its Marines (Farmer, 2012). The US proceeded to occupy Haiti from 1915 to 1934-

dismantling the Haitian army in the process. The occupation was highly contested by US pacifist

groups, and George Barnett, a former commandant general of the Marine Corps wrote, "this is the

most starling thing of its kind that has ever taken place in the Marine Corps, and I don't want anything

of the kind to happen again" (Farmer, 2012, p.129). In 1934, US President Franklin D Roosevelt, made a

trip to Haiti and announced the withdrawal of US troops- officially ending the 19 year occupation.

Despite its physical withdrawal, the United States maintained strong influence over Haitian politics and

aligned itself with the military and economic elite of the region. Furthermore, the US severely slowed

its development assistance to the country's public sector (deciding to align with private companies

instead) and it would appear that other countries such as France and Canada followed suit- greatly

crippling Haiti's economy. Participatory democracy in the nation slowly unraveled, becoming a mere

pretense of equality as elites took increasing control of resources and assumed greater power (Farmer,

2012). This political structure continued until it all changed in 1957- for the worst.

Francois 'Papa Doc' Duvalier, was 'elected' (some say 'placed' by foreign nations like the United States)

(Farmer, 2012), in 1957 and quickly established a dictatorial regime, swearing to rule the country until

his dying day- which he did. His regime was built upon a Black Nationalist platform in which he actively

murdered and exiled light skin Haitians as a mean to dismantle their previous hold over the country[9].

Thousands of educated professionals fled the country causing a brain drain from which the country has

yet to fully recover. Papa Doc's rule was also characterized by the implementation of a rural militia

---

[9] As is the case with most nations that emerged from slavery, the majority of the elites and the powerful in Haiti prior to the Papa Doc regime were direct descendants of white plantation owners- hence the light skin. Light skin had come to represent power and wealth and, to a certain degree, repression of the dark skin majority. This divide caused severe racial (i.e. colourism) tension in the country that is still very much alive today.

called the 'Tonton Macoute', who terrorized and beat innocent civilians regularly. My mother, Solange

Toussaint who grew up in Haiti at the time of 'Papa Doc's regime describes what she remembers,

"As kids we used to play in the streets and the Tonton Macoute would suddenly show up in

the neighbourhood. Gun shots would go off everywhere. We didn't know what was

happening, we were just kids. Sometimes when we walked home from school guns would

go off and everyone ran in every direction until it stopped. Then we would carry on like

nothing had happened. If you were walking and the national anthem would come on, you

had to stop and stand still like a statue with your arms by your side and wait for it to end.

If you didn't you'd get arrested"

Papa Doc remained in power until his death in 1971 and was succeeded by his 19 year old son Jean

Claude 'Baby Doc' Duvalier- whose rule was even more brutal than his father's. In 1986, Baby Doc was

overthrown by a popular uprising and fled to France. Several interim governments took over until in

1990 Jean Bertrand Aristide, a priest from Port-au-Prince, became the country's first democratically

elected president. Less than a year following his election, Aristide was ousted by a military coup. The

military held tight control of the political arena until finally in 1996, René Préval, a politician and

agronomist from Port-au-Prince, was elected and was the first president in Haitian history to serve a

full term. He was succeeded by Jean Bertrand Aristide who was again ousted by a coup in 2004 and

flown out to the Central African Republic on a US plane and accompanied by US military personnel.

Aristide later claimed he was kidnapped, which the details of the event seem to support[10].

---

[10] "US and French diplomats insisted the Aristides had been taken to a country of their choosing; but the destination, a lawless place neither he nor his wife had ever visited before, seemed to support the president's claims that they'd been kidnapped"(Farmer, 2012, p. 137).

In February 2004, an interim government took office to organize new elections under the support of the United Nations (CIA, 2014). Haiti inaugurated René Préval as president again in May of 2006. This was followed by contested elections in 2010 that resulted in the election of Haiti's current President, Michel "Sweet Micky" Martelly (CIA, 2014)

As one can attest, Haiti's political history has been rife with coups, invasions, military occupations, dictatorships, and violence that have undeniably gotten in the way of its social development. With such political instability, which has caused stark poverty throughout the nation, it comes as no surprise that human rights issues in the likes of gender equality have taken a backseat. The UN has described the human rights situation in Haiti as "catastrophic" (BBC, 2012). If we are to consider Amaryta Sen's theory 'Development as Freedom', one of the precursors of freedom is political stability, without which a country cannot thrive socially- that includes health care, education and gender equality.

Commercial Corridor: Haiti's Economic Climate

Haiti is a free market economy however, poverty, corruption, vulnerability to natural disasters, and low levels of education seriously impede Haiti's chances at economic growth (CIA, 2014). 61.7% of the Haitian population lives under the international poverty line currently set at 1.25USD/day (UNICEF, 2013). Among Haiti's most serious social problems is the massive wealth gap between the 99% majority, and the 1% minority that owns half the country's wealth (BBC, 2012). The economic instability has resulted in a continuous exodus of Haitians to Canada, the US, Cuba and the neighbouring Dominican Republic. The Haitian diaspora plays a large role in Haiti's economy through remittance payments. These payments are the primary source of foreign exchange in the country; making up one fifth of Haiti's GDP and in 2012 represented over five times the country's export earnings (CIA, 2014). The 2010 earthquake further inflicted damages to the Haitian economy resulting in $7.8 billion in damages causing the country's GDP to shrink 5.4%. In 2011, the Haitian economy

began to recover, however shrank again in 2012. 40% of Haitians depend on the agricultural sector, mainly subsistence farming (BBC, 2012). Considering the nation's vulnerability to natural disasters (made worst by deforestation), agriculture is an unsound and unreliable sector. In addition, Haiti lacks both foreign and internal private investment, due in part to its weak infrastructure and social capital (i.e. electricity, telecommunications, etc). Haiti's significant external debt was cancelled by donor countries following the 2010 earthquake, but has since risen to $1.1 billion as of December 2013 (CIA, 2014).

Green Infrastructure: Haiti's Environmental Climate

"The proverbial snowball in Hades is at less risk than a tree in Haiti"

- Gerald F. Murray, Anthropologist

An area's urban climate cannot be comprehensively understood without looking at its natural physical structure. This structure serves as the foundation for all matters that are to interact with the space. Changes to this natural fabric often result in significant changes to the outer layers of a city and its society- that is; it's physical, social and political structures. The following section examines Haiti's environmental climate

Clear cutting, also referred to as deforestation, is the process of cutting down the vast majority of trees in a forested landscape within a short period of time. This procedure thereby severely alters the region's ecosystem, in some cases destroying the natural habitat of numerous wildlife species, increases slide activity which subsequently leads to further environmental repercussions, and hinders economic stability through diminished availability of timber products. Haiti has lost 98 percent of its forests to destructive land use, mainly from the clear-cutting of trees for charcoal production (Gonewold, 2009). It is estimated that 30 to 40 million trees a year are cut down. Haiti's neighbour the

Dominican Republic has lush forests, while Haiti currently has one of the lowest forest cover levels in the world (Lail, 2013).

Charcoal filled boats leaving ile de la Gonave towards les Arcahaie. Source: Auch, 2004

Clear cutting practices in Haiti began with the Spanish who specialized in wood exportation from the eastern side of the island in the 15th and early 16th century (Murray, 1987). The practice continued when the French arrived on the island in the mid-16th century and found it profitable to embark in large scale clear cutting to provide land to harvest sugar cane, coffee and indigo for the European market (Murray, 1987). Moreover following Haiti's 1804 independence, foreign lumber companies still dominated the nation's hardwood supply and continued exporting the resource to Britain.

Today, the coffee industry plays a significant role in the practice of clear cutting in coffee producing countries such as Haiti. Studies show that 37 of the 50 countries with the highest deforestation rates are also coffee producers, and are home to some of the most delicate eco-systems on earth (Blacksell,

2011). Coffee is one of Haiti's dominant cash crops, closely followed by mangoes and cacao. Although

Haiti's economy relies heavily on its coffee exports, providing jobs for hundreds of thousands of

individuals, some critics have linked the high global demand and reliance on coffee to cultivation

malpractices that have put a strain on the Haitian landscape. The production of coffee beans

themselves can cause severe environmental damages. Traditionally, coffee is cultivated using shaded

canopy trees, which also serve as habitat for indigenous animals and insects while preventing topsoil

erosion and eliminating the need for chemical fertilization (Blacksell, 2011). However, due to market

demands, this innocuous form of agriculture has been superseded by 'sun cultivation'. The practice of

sun cultivation dates back to the 1970s and consists of sun-grown coffee produced in plantations

without forested canopy. Consequently, this necessitates the use of fertilizers which have had serious

detrimental effects on biodiversity. This has resulted in the clearing of approximately 2.5 million acres

of forest in Central America alone (Blacksell, 2011).

Manifestation of the complex nexus between deforestation and poverty is evident in Haiti. It has been

clearly identified in various studies that clear cutting has led to degraded soil which in turn decrease

agricultural yields, leads to water scarcity, decreases farming income and potentially fosters

malnutrition, particularly in rural areas. More tree cover is considered essential if Haiti is to raise its

living standards.

Furthermore, clear cutting worsens the impact of natural disasters such as earthquakes, floods and

hurricanes. A simple day of continuous rainfall, which is the norm in tropical climates, can prove

disastrous. The rain leads to mudslides that roll down Haiti's brown, bare mountains, burying

thousands, in the rainy season that lasts from May to October. Furthermore, the 2010 earthquake that

catapulted the nation into the limelight served as an abrupt reminder of the country's frail urban

landscape. The earthquake attained a level of seven on the Richter Scale, and while this is certainly

significant, the damages that occurred went far beyond what they should have been. Reports show that besides Haiti's poorly built infrastructure, the condition of its natural physical landscape played a significant role in the damages. The earthquake's epicenter was roughly 10 kilometers below the surface of the ground, which was deemed rare by seismologists.

January 12, 2010

"Very soon after the earthquake it was obvious that such a toll could not be the outcome of just the force of the tremor. It is due to an excessively dense population, a lack of adequate building standards, the disastrous state of the environment, disorganised land use, and an unbalanced division of economic activity"

- Action plan for national recovery and development of Haiti

A massive magnitude 7.3 earthquake struck Haiti for 35 seconds on January 12, 2010 with an epicenter about 17km southwest of the capital, Port-au-Prince. The earthquake was assessed as the worst in this region over the last 200 years (CIA, 2014). The damages caused by the earthquake were immense. Over 200,000 people lost their lives and 2.3 million were homeless, and spread out in over 2000 camps. More than 300,000 homes (equal to 27% of housing in Port-au-Prince) were damaged or completely destroyed by the quake (Amnesty International, 2014). The majority of educational institutions, hospitals, health centers and governmental institutions such as parliament and court houses in the capital of Port-au-Prince collapsed. In addition, Haiti's main prison was destroyed permitting over 4000 prisoners to escape (Roig-Franzia, 2010).

Four years later, while the situation has improved dramatically, the number of displaced peoples that remain, and the living conditions that exist within some camps is less than admirable. 146,573 (approximately 39,464 families) still live in 271 camps. This figure does not include the approximately 64, 380 people estimated to be living in social housing settlements (Amnesty International, 2014).

Currently, it is reported that only 26 camps have on-site access to water, and only half have latrines, thereby forcing camp residents to defecate out in the open (Amnesty International, 2014).

Fragile Infrastructure: Pre-Earthquake Conditions

Haiti, which is also prone to hurricanes, floods and landslides, lacked many effective warning and preparedness systems prior to the earthquake. The country's National Meteorological Service (CNM) and National Water Resources Service (SNRE) did not have the ability to provide effective and adequate meteorological and hydrological services (WHO, 2010). There was a lack of adequate government support (political and financial) for meteorological infrastructure, the operational staff at the CNM center located at Port-au-Prince was deemed insufficient (only 22 staff members) as well as inadequately trained (only two were weather forecasters). The country was also unable to produce and issue local forecasts as it was not connected to the World Meteorological Organization's Global Telecommunication System (GTS). This means Haiti was unable to obtain incoming real-time meteorological data for their operations. In addition, operational equipment such as computers and specialized tools were lacking, thereby limiting CNM's ability to produce weather forecasts beyond 24 hours (WHO, 2010). All these were lacking and malfunctioning prior to the earthquake, however, *after* January 10, these warning systems were rendered completely obsolete.

Haiti's political, economic, environmental and infrastructural instability has resulted in a society whose ability to respond adequately and efficiently to disasters has been severely compromised. It was not long after the quake that people began to realize that the scale of the impact far outweighed the scale of the earthquake itself. In addition to the death and destruction, violence against women skyrocketed to unprecedented levels after the earthquake.

Women in Post-Disaster Haiti

Prior to the earthquake, Haiti already had significant issues with gendered violence. An average of 50 rapes occurred daily in the capital of Port-au-Prince- more than half of the victims being minors. These represented only the rapes that were officially reported (McClelland, 2011). A 2012 study by the Haitian Childhood Institute showed that more than 1 Haitian woman out of 10 (approx. 13%), has been the victim of sexual violence, and that 20% of women between the ages of 15 and 49 has been subject to physical violence (Laurince, 2013). As is the case in many parts of the world, gender-based violence is often a taboo subject, and victims experience an intense fear of repercussion (from the attackers, or their family and friends) for speaking up. This explains in part why so many attacks are left unreported (Fisher, 2010).

After the earthquake the reports on post-disaster violence began to emerge. By June 2010 *Doctors Without Borders* had provided treatment to 212 victims of sexual violence (Freccero & Seelinger, 2013). A Haitian grassroots women's health organization called *Solidarité Fanm Ayisyèn* (SOFA), had dealt witH 178 cases of gender-based violence against women and girls in its clinics from January to June 2010. SOFA also recorded almost 300 rape cases between July 2010 and October 2011- with 30% of victims knowing the perpetrators personally (Freccero & Seelinger, 2013).

In Haiti, rape has been used by police and paramilitaries as a tool of intimidation and terror. This makes the implementation of safety measure more difficult since the very people expected to ensure the protection of the public have abused it and lost the trust of the people (McClelland, 2011). In her profile of the aftermath of the Haiti earthquake 'Aftershocks: Welcome to Haiti's Reconstruction Hell' journalist Mac McClelland reports of officers who threatened victims who came forward and of others who have close ties with known rapists;

"Marc and I drove past a man in a blue button-down shirt who was identified by a victim as a rapist, and Marc tore around the block and jumped out to go collect the license-plate number of the shiny SUV the man was getting into, but then Marc said he didn't know what he was going to do with it, because a guy who drives a car like that is probably friends with cops". - Mac McClelland, Journalist.

Many Haitian women, without the financial or resource assistance of the state managed to organize an array of ad-hoc services for women, including community-based security patrol, psycho-social support, and legal and medical assistance for rape survivors (Madre, 2011). This however, must be supplemented by external agencies whether that be by the local government or the international community. FAVILEK, an organization that was founded in 1991 by women who were raped during the 1991 coup d'état that ousted President Jean-Bertrand Aristide stated that their resources and ability to come to the aid of victims were stretched thin after the earthquake. The organization described displacement camps as '*hornet's nests of sexual violence*' with some women having been raped multiple times since the disaster. The organization explains that a minimum of two FAVILEK agents would be required in each camp to assure a basic level of safety (McClelland, 2011). However, even if that were possible, few resources would be available to pay the workers or to help the victims themselves. Not to mention that grassroots organizations such as FAVILEK and KOFAVIV (Commission of Women Victims for Victims) face threats due to their work defending rape victims. In Haiti, some staff members reported being threatened by perpetrators and their families when accompanying shelter residents to the hospital or to court (Freccero &Seelinger, 2013).

"Men do not enter the center because we have young girls—sisters who have been raped by their brothers—you don't want to do like the proverb says, 'Run from the rain and fall into the river.' Do you understand?"

Women are disproportionally more affected by disasters. They are denied adequate aid and are more likely to die of hunger than men. Because of this, some women engage in what is known as 'survival sex' which is the exchange of sexual acts in return for food and benefits, including access to direct aid distributions and cash for work programs, coupons, money, or even a single meal (Davis, 2012). The fact that some women need to engage in 'survival sex' to stay alive is unacceptable and points to a massive gap in the post-disaster recovery process. Furthermore, these exchanges often get out of hand as women are forced to do things beyond what was initially agreed upon. Many women have also reported later being attacked and raped by men whom they had previously engaged in 'survival sex' with (Davis, 2012).

Haiti's displaced lived under makeshift shelters comprised of bed sheets, tarps, and tents. Most camps are overcrowded and lack basic necessities such as sanitation, access to water, food and lighting (Madre, 2011). At night time, going to the bathroom was a huge risk to women as the trip there resulted in the assault of many of them (McClelland, 2011). Organizations working on the ground have observed that most of the rapes are committed at nightfall by multiple armed attackers (Madre, 2011). Due to lack of lighting, some women are unable to identify their attackers (Madre, 2011). Furthermore, the lack of private bathing facilities is an added insult to the dignity of the displaced (Madre, 2011)**.** Some camps, such as the one run by American actor Sean Penn's aid group contained some lighting and a waste drainage ditch. This, however, was rare and unlike the vast majority of other camps. In addition, aid organizations often hold 'regular' office hours- which means they are out of the camps by evening (McClelland, 2011). The lack of security measures in place only serves to reinforce the systemic inequalities that exist in society outside the confines of the displacement camps. More

specifically, the failure to provide for the safety of women within the camp and to address their specific needs is a mere reflection of the failure to do so in the greater Haitian community.

The lack of efficient security in displacement camps can take on many forms- varying from insufficient personnel to lack of privacy in facilities. One such security problem is that many of the (international) security forces and aid workers put in place do not speak Creole or even French. This is can be a serious barrier in many ways. For instance, if a camp resident has been the victim of violence and wants to report the incident to security personnel, how will their complaint or description of the perpetrator be understood? Mac MacClleland in her reporting of the violence in Haiti describes such a scenario, a man who is being threatened by thugs goes up to McClleland and her translator, "*Daniel suggests to the panicked man where the blue helmets might be. The man goes running down the path in that direction. I wonder if he's going to find them. If he does, I wonder how he's going to tell them what's going on; European, South American, and African MINUSTAH troops don't speak Creole, and do not come with translators*". The importance of communication in displacement camps is immeasurable and cannot be compromised.

Some international organizations such as the UN, and Human Rights Watch noted that in addition to the lack of lighting and security within camps, other factors that increase women's vulnerability to sexual violence, include "insecure housing, isolated bathrooms and showers, limited access to food and water, flimsy tent doors, separated families, anonymity among people in the camps, "a lack of effective law enforcement, and limited knowledge of and access to health and economic services" (Freccero & Seelinger, 2013).

The fear of sexual violence is so great that parents have expressed an apprehension of sending their children to school because of the threat of sexual violence they face on their journey to school (Madre,

2011). One must consider the long-term impact such a situation has, considering that many schools

were destroyed, setting back children months in their education. The added distress of violence on the

way to the schools that remained is another obstacle to the recovery process and a return to 'normal'

lives.

Many have argued that the only way to assure safety for women in camps is to get them out and into

safer places as soon as possible (McClelland, 2011). The problem with this argument is that it does not

suggest where one would put women if not in emergency camps, nor does it address the fundamental

issue of curbing gender-based violence. It is merely an avoidant way to deal with a very real danger.

"I am thirsty, but I hesitate to drink anything because Daniel doesn't want me to use the communal

portable toilets. It's only eight o'clock, but it's dark, and plenty of gals before me have been assaulted

on that trip to the bathroom"- Mac McCllelans, Journalist

Another issue with displacement camps is the isolated location in which some are placed. This adds to

the insecurity factors as there are no nearby services (i.e. medical centre, police, job opportunities, etc)

to assist in the event of violence. Shortly after the earthquake, President René Préval launched a

multimillion-dollar model camp project to get people out of unstable Port-au-Prince (IPS, 2013). The

camps, which are located 18km northeast of the capital of Port-au-Prince on land primarily owned by

the Haitian firm NABATEC, go by the names "Canaan", "Jerusalem" and "ONAville" (IPS, 2013). Today

they are surrounded by thousands of squatters, shacks and homes that are there to stay. Other than

the inconvenient location of these settlements, the land is arid, dusty, shadeless and rocky. This

impairs the health of residents causing sun strokes and dehydration, among other things.

Inefficiency in the Recovery Process

An important problem that arises in the aftermath of disaster is that with the many internal and external forces that are involved in the problem solving process comes an overwhelming climate of disorganization. This disorganization can be a danger to victims of violence as they are being told different things by different people and have no centralized frame of reference. In addition, following the earthquake – there was an absence of any official tracking of women and girls who had been raped. It was only after several weeks that the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)-led an effort to consolidate the information (Bell, 2010). These types of tracking systems must be in place at the onset of a disaster and be considered an essential and basic necessity.

The lack of communication between organizations also led to wasted time, labour and resources. It was reported that UNIFEM excluded local grassroots women's organizations in its operations. They failed to consult with them in their planning processes, and held their meetings in English or French-fully aware that some local women could not understand. This exclusion has had a direct and profound impact on at-risk populations. For instance, due to the failure to consult and coordinate with locals, it is reported that battery-operated flashlights were purchased and distributed to increase lighting in the camps. However, these flashlights are now inoperable seeing as most camp residents cannot afford to replace the batteries. Basic consultation with locals would have informed those who purchased the flashlights that wind-up or solar flashlights- available at a comparable price to battery operated ones, would have been more appropriate given the context (Madre, 2011).

Other signs of inefficiency in the recovery process include programs that are proposed or launched, yet have not yielded any results. One such example includes the program launched by the UN to train MINUSTAH and HNP officers in Haiti to deal with gender-based violence in the camps and offer public information campaigns for camp residents. However, despite these proposed initiatives, follow-up

investigations by organizations such as the Institute for Justice & Democracy in Haiti (IJDH) revealed

that residents did not notice or benefit from the increase of security measure, with many claiming that

MINUSTAH officers would not enter the camps or address rape cases brought forth to them, and that

they were absent at night (Madre, 2011).

Law and Violence Against Women

Kay koule twompe soley, men li pa twompe lapil (a leaky house can fool the sun,

but it can't fool the rain)- Haitian proverb

Law has been complicit in the perpetuation of sexual violence in Haiti. Prior to 2005, the Penal code did

not directly refer to sexual violence as such, but rather as '*attentats aux moeurs*' which is French for

'assault' or 'attack on decency, mores or values'. On July 6, 2005, the Haitian Penal Code was altered to

adopt a modern philosophical approach to gender-based violence and took an active role in eliminating

discrimination against women. This change was the result of a joint effort between the *Ministry for the*

Status of Women and Women's Rights and the *Ministry of Justice and Public Security* (Chancy, 2007).

Figure A in the appendix shows the modification made to some of the criminal provisions in the penal

code. Among the most notable changes include the recognition of rape as being a crime against

humanity, as well as the significant increase in the sentencing of sexual offenders (Chancy, 2007). The

revised penal code also removes the justification of murders committed by jealous husbands, shifting

the blame away from the adulterers. This was the case with Article 269 which once stated; "in the case

of adultery, the murder committed by a husband upon his wife, as well as on the accomplice or upon

either one in the instant upon which he catches them in a compromised act in the conjugal home, is

excusable" (Chancy, 2007). Another example of blatantly sexist and unreasonable clauses within

Haitian legislation was Article 285 which read, "the woman convicted of adultery shall suffer the

penalty of imprisonment for at least three months and two years. The husband will remain in charge of

stopping the effect of this conviction by agreeing to take back his wife" (Chancy, 2007). This and other similar discriminatory articles were removed entirely from the Penal Code.

This decree had in part the aim of progressing Haitian legislation in order for it to harmonize with the international and regional conventions to which Haiti is a signed member state (Chancy, 2007). These include the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), and the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment, and Eradication of Violence Against Women[11].

Despite this great leap forward in the Haitian penal code, the situation on the ground remains unchanged due to lack of effective enforcement of laws. After the earthquake and the emergence of stories of policemen telling rape victims that sexual assault was "[President] Preval's work and had nothing to do with them" (Bell, 2010), it became clear that there was a lack of training on the part of front line workers, and a clear cultural barricade to progressing gender equality.

After pressure from women based NGOs and the Inter-American Commission on human rights, the Haitian government was forced to take another look at its Penal Code. Demands were placed on Haiti to provide: effective access to medical care for victims of sexual violence- including privacy rights during medical examinations, the assistance/presence of female medical workers, and the implementation of security measures and officials trained to deal with sexual violence and assault. In February 2013 the Ministry for the Status of Women and Women's Rights announced the completion of a draft framework law which had as its primary aim the implementation of legal provisions against violence against Haitian women (Bruno, 2013). These efforts led to the inauguration in November

---

[11] . According to the Haitian Constitution, upon approval and ratification, international or regional treaties become part of domestic law and abrogate any conflicting laws. This provision makes the UN and Inter-American Commission rulings legally binding in Haiti (Madre, 2011).

2013, of the office for the fight against violence against women. Numerous heads of state, including

the president, attended the inauguration as a show of support for the fight against gender inequality.

President Michel Martelly, was quoted as saying that the ministry's initiative should be replicated in

"every department, because women are victimized everywhere" (Laurince, 2013). Again, progress has

inevitably been made, and must be acknowledged, however impunity for gender-based violence

remains very high in the country (UCH, 2014). The impacts of penal code amendments and the creation

of offices must trickle down to the bottom in order to be felt by victims. For instance, it should be felt

by the leaders of women's grassroots organizations who are threatened at gunpoint for their work, and

are told when they attempt to seek the help of the police, that the perpetrator, "should have killed

them all" (Madre, 2011).

It is important to note here that the international community is complicit in failures to protect human

rights in Haiti- both pre and post-earthquake. Some of the international policies in place crippled the

government's ability to fund the programs that are crucial to the prevention and treatment of gender-

based violence such as education and healthcare (Madre, 2011). Furthermore, according to Article 5 of

Haiti's International Law Commission, international actors occupying critical governmental functions in

Haiti operate as agents of the Haitian government. One such agent is the United Nations Gender-Based

Violence (GBV) and has been said to have prevented grassroots women's groups from taking part in

the processes of addressing sexual violence in the displacement camps (Madre, 2011).

In addition, the Haitian justice system is largely inaccessible to women. Accessibility to justice is a

problem commonly faced by women and the poor, especially within a developing context such as Haiti

where they must deal with numerous barriers. For instance, the effective navigation of the system

requires the help of a paid lawyer, which most people, especially women are unlikely able to afford

(Madre, 2011). Police often refuse to pursue suspects for crimes that were committed more than a few

days earlier and legal proceedings are usually conducted in French rather than Haitian Creole- a significant barrier to many Haitian women (Madre, 2011). Furthermore, women are considerably underrepresented among Haiti's judges, prosecutors and lawyers. When women appear in Haitian courts, their testimony is often discounted, by judges, prosecutors and jurors that are mostly men (Madre, 2011).

To further complicate matters, 80 percent of the justice sector in Port-au-Prince was affected by the earthquake. This considerably reduced judicial activity at a crucial time where there had been a significant increase in civil disputes and violence (GRH, 2010). Restoring the justice and public security system to protect vulnerable populations across the territory was deemed urgent by the Haitian government and given priority in reconstruction efforts. The national recovery plan stated, "*The second objective [to re-establish the justice system] will be achieved through the development of a preventive strategy by the PNH [Haiti National Police] for ensuring the security of persons and especially of vulnerable and displaced people, by strengthening access to justice and rule of law for people affected, and particularly women, and through the capacity of affected communities to develop violence prevention strategies*" (GRH, 2010).

While formal adjustments to the justice system are necessary to improve access and representation, it is by no means the only venue that has been explored by the public. Bottom-up strategies for accessing justice, community based models and empowerment strategies have filled a gaping hole in the judicial system. Strengthening informal institutions certainly has its place and has allowed the settlement of varying disputes outside the courts- allowing for a more affordable and approachable model for many.

2.3 Humanitarian Intervention

When I came in, Haiti was not governed by Haitians anymore. Probably mostly by NGOs. And that has done what to Haiti? It has weakened our institution.

Michel Martelly, Haitian President

Nicknamed *' the Republic of NGOs'* Haiti is saturated with Non-governmental organizations. The country has over ten thousand NGOs (one for every one thousand Haitians), however less than four hundred of these are registered with the Haitian Government (Roy, 2014). What is the role of international NGO's and how have they become such a staple in the processes of humanitarian intervention and recovery? The following section looks at the proliferation of the NGO sector and its impact on Haiti and effective urban planning.

History of Humanitarian Relief Actors

"NGO expansion is seen as complementing the counter-revolution in development theory

that underpins the policies of liberalisation, state withdrawal and structural adjustment

favoured by official donors. NGOs are viewed as the 'private non-profit' sector, the

performance of which advances the 'public-bad', and 'private good' ideology of the new

orthodoxy". (Edwards & Hulme, 1992)

The definition of an NGO's role, objective and framework varies on a local scale, however, the World Bank's definition is most suitable to the aims of this paper, it states that NGOs are " groups and

institutions that are entirely or largely independent of governmental and characterized primarily by

humanitarian or cooperative, rather than commercial objectives" (Bagci, 2007). NGOs most often

obtain funding from private sources, donor agencies, or through grassroots fundraising initiatives.

Today, NGOs are present in many sectors of social life such as health, relief, rehabilitation,

development, education, and the environment. The primary mandate of many NGOs today is to

advocate change and raise public awareness of different issues. In their earlier days, however, NGOs

were primarily involved in the 'care and welfare' sector which consisted of activities concerning

charitable work and philanthropy, a field that burgeoned in industrial countries at the beginning in the

19th century (Bagci, 2007). In the 1970s NGO were central in providing humanitarian support to victims

of military dictatorship and in denouncing human rights violations (Petras, 1997). These organizations

supported soup kitchen, and worked alongside victimized families. This period created a favorable

image of NGOs that might have obscured the gaps that currently exist tin the system.

The rapid growth of North American NGOs in the 20th and 21st century in can be directly attributed to

the rise of liberalism, or more specifically, neo-liberalism as a philosophical and economic approach to

government intervention. Neoliberalism, which advocates free trade and economic liberalization,

posits that state centred development lacks productivity and efficiency, and has resulted in poor

resource allocation (Bagci, 2007). When NGOs mostly dealt with 'care and welfare' activities they

intervened in areas in which the government had no presence (Bagci, 2007). The post cold war climate

forced a rethinking of the role of the government and, consequently, NGOs in the welfare service

sector (Bagci, 2007). NGOs thus began filling the gaps governments were unable, unwilling, or perhaps

prevented from filling. It is stated that due to their presumed cost-effective ability of reaching the

poorest and most isolated (both socially and physically) of society, government agencies often support

NGOs in providing welfare services, as they themselves cannot fulfill this need via the regular market

(Bagci, 2007). However, government's also support NGOs to advance their own agenda's. As opposition to neoliberalism grew in the early 1980s the U.S. and European governments and the World Bank increased their funding of NGOs as an effort to subvert anti-neoliberal sentiments (Petras, 1997). Neoliberal politicians began to finance and promote a "grassroots" organization to and as a result these organizations were financially dependent on neoliberal sources (Petras, 1997).

NGOs acquire a significant space in the context of failed central governance as this is what permits them to exist. Due to the direct impact budget cuts have on the public sector have, NGOs can benefit government failures in the service sector. Lack of government intervention and inaction in certain domains provides room for private intervention. NGOs have the opportunity to provide specialized and efficient services. Numerous NGOs now take on functions that were once previously carried out solely by the state such as in health and education (Bagci, 2007). NGOs also provide jobs that are sometimes very lucrative to an educated transnational middle class (Schuller, 2009). This reproduces the inequalities inherent to our contemporary neoliberal world system (Schuller, 2009).

Many NGOs today have a humanitarian structure and mode of operation. They are no longer regarded as organizations that only deliver services, but are also seen as promoters of democratic governance and have come to symbolize an effort towards a better or more just society. In the second half of the century, NGOs were seen as part of the development process of a place (Bagci, 2007). NGO's, especially those within a developing world context, have taken on the role once taken on by global developmentalist paradigms which were comprised of central-planning, five year development plans, and import-substituted to export oriented programs, among others (Bagci, 2007). NGOs are, in some respects, a decentralized approach to what some would call a central problem. Some might argue that rather than complement government programs, NGOs can on one end undermine centralized efforts, and on the other hand relinquish governments of essential responsibilities. Donor discourses state that

NGOs are democratic and closer to the people, and insists that they are less prone to "bad governance" that is typical of states (Schuller, 2009). They argue that state power develops interests that differ from that of its citizens, while local significantly more responsive to the people (Petras, 1997). Some have challenged the neoliberal assumptions behind this arguing that the funding streams and often their institutional decision-making structures are multinational and foreign to the areas in which they work. This thereby weakens the persistent NGO narrative that claims they are 'close to the people and "local" (Schuller, 2009). Furthermore, power in the hands of a state that undermines and exploits a society is equivalent to power in the hands of progressive 'grassroots' forces that are partly financed by a state that enforces abusive regimes. Marxists thinkers also criticize the NGO intervention arguing that this framework is a new form of colonizing the 'the Others,' or 'the Rest' (Schuller, 2009).

NGOs in Haiti

"There are lots of places that have weak governments, but Haiti's government is weak in a special way. It's the product of so many years of aid going around the government and international efforts to undermine the government. Presidents being overthrown and flown out on U.S. Air Force planes and then reinstalled and then overthrown again. That left the Haitian government in such a weakened state"

.- Jonathan Katz, author and former Haiti bureau chief for The Associated Press

The international response to the earthquake in Haiti, was overwhelming, to say the least. International aid from both the private and public sector poured out to the sum of approximately 9 billion dollars (Ramachandran, 2013). Billions were raised and billions more were promised. However, it would appear that somewhere between the donors and the Haitian victims, much of the aid money lost its way. Most of the money fell within the hands of NGOs as opposed to the Haitian government,

but the benefits of taking this rout are contested. Four years after the earthquake People in Port-Au-

Prince are still under tents. Haiti received an amount that is almost equal to its gross domestic product;

however Port-au-Prince still lacks good roads, electricity and safe drinking water (Ramachandran,

2013). In March 2010, three months after the quake, the United Nations held an International Donors

Conference in New York City where donors pledged over $5 billion dollars for Haiti's recovery, agreeing

to work in partnership with the Haitian government (Roy, 2014). One year after the 2010 quake, the

Disaster Accountability Project based in Washington, D.C wrote in a report on relief organizations'

transparency that a year after the earthquake, almost half of the money donated for Haiti relief were

sitting in banks unspent (Mccallister, 2013). This was despite the fact that at the time conditions were

worsening and a cholera epidemic was killing thousands (Mccallister, 2013). It has been stated that

approximately 93% of all aid money earmarked for Haiti go back to the countries where the money

came from[12] (Roy, 2014).

As was discussed in the section regarding Haiti's political history, the international community has long

preferred to finance the private sector- thereby crippling public institution. This pattern continued in the

post-quake climate as foreign donors such as the United States, France and Canada encouraged the

Haitian Government to privatize many public services; choosing to then fund NGO projects that do not

collaborate with the Haitian government in their efforts (Roy 2014). Without funding, the government

---

[12] Jonathan Katz author of '*The Big Truck That Went By: How the World Came to Save Haiti and Left Behind a Disaster'* *explains that much of the promise money was fictitive in that* billions were promised but never delivered, billions miscalculated, and donor nations provided debt relief for money that realistically could never have been paid back. In addition, the 'real' money was poorly allocated, "Ninety-three percent of that money either went to United Nations agencies or international nongovernmental organizations, or it never left the donor government. So you had the Pentagon writing bills to the State Department to get reimbursed for having sent troops down to respond to the disaster" (Beaubien, 2013)

continues to be unable to deliver services and the need for NGOs increases- perpetuating the cycle of dependency.

NGOs and Urban Planning in Haiti

According to the organisation Solidarité Fanm Ayisyen (SOFA), the majority of international NGOs did not pay enough attention to the specific needs of women and girls' dignity in camps. This was especially apparent in the beginning during the first distributions. It was evident that they had not planned adequately in ensuring safe places for women to take showers and to use other facilities (Clermont, et. al, 2011). As mentioned, the vast majority of NGOs working in Haiti are not registered. This is problematic on numerous fronts; however the potential for service repetition and service gaps is one of the biggest problems. In other words, efficiency is key in providing a service and if many organizations are offering relief aid (i.e. clothing distribution), but none are examining reconstruction from a gendered perspective, long-term recovery is at risk. Some attempts have been made to consolidate the information on which players are currently in Haiti, however it is not enough. For instance InterAction is a coalition of US based NGOs working it Haiti. The NGOs submit their information on a voluntary basis- detailing where they work and what they do. While this is certainly helpful, it does not truly reflect the NGO climate in Haiti as it focuses solely on American NGOs and participation is not mandatory. A look at the InterAction site reveals that one NGO examines Women and Children's security in Port-au-Prince, a dozen NGOs work on shelter and housing, and six on human rights and democracy. None of the NGOs on the site addressed urban planning and gender-based violence. Ironically, one of the best ways to fix this problem is to have the government intervene and enact a hub that possesses strict guidelines on NGO registration processes.

Chapter 2: In Conclusion

Throughout Chapter 2 we explored some of the reasons gender-based violence sees a spike in a post-disaster climate. Among these reasons are the sheer lack of the criminalization of these acts combined with inadequate planning and social infrastructure. We also examined the role of NGOs, acknowledging that NGOs and civil society could never entirely compensate for a weak and inefficient state. The following chapter, *Solutions & Way Forward,* will take the information we have learned thus far and consolidate them in order to come up with real and attainable solutions for a post-quake Haiti.

Chapter 3: Solutions & Way Forward

3.1 Planning in a Post-Disaster Context

There's no harm in hoping for the best as long as you're prepared for the worst."

— Stephen King, Different Seasons

A post-disaster recovery plan should already be in place prior to the occurrence of a disaster. While the exact severity of the damages caused by a natural disaster cannot be predicted before the disaster occurs, plans that respond to varying levels of destruction and disorder should be drafted. A pre-disaster recovery plan reduces the time gap between the event of a disaster and the intervention needed to restore order. This diminished time gap can help reduce the potential loss of life and enhance security of those impacted by disaster. Recovery plans can generally be divided into two categories; short-term and long-term.

Short-term recovery plans aim to address the immediate concerns brought forth by catastrophe. This includes rescuing procedures of those unable to escape on their own[13], emergency/temporary housing, debris removal, and infrastructure (electricity, water) restoration. Long-term recovery plans can include the complete rebuilding of cities and relocation of populations to safer zones, with the aim of preventing catastrophes and damage in the event of future disasters.

---

[13] Assuming reasonable shape and ideal weather conditions -- not in the heat or cold and not exerting strength-a person can live for approximately 3 to 5 days without any water (Bryant, 2013). Rescue teams have a tight time frame to rescue survivors.

Failure to devise plans ahead of disasters can result in the creation of reactive policies that fail to address the root causes of vulnerability, and may even increase long-term vulnerability of affected populations (Ingram, Franco, Rio, & Khazai, 2006). Ad hoc tactical planning is, unfortunately, more prevalent than pre-disaster strategic planning (Johnson, 2007).

There are two primary approaches to pre-disaster recovery planning. The first is a stand-alone plan which is one that is, to a certain degree, 'context free' as it focuses on the technical application of recovery solutions. A stand-alone plan is easier to implement and requires little coordination between different bodies of government. Stand-alone plans generally require fewer large scale resources and tools.

The second approach is an integrated plan that attempts to implement recovery within a larger comprehensive plan for the community, region, or country. Integrated plans require sources from different levels of government to coordinate and come together for a broader vision of the society. These plans often look at societies on a large scale encompassing the various branches of development such as housing, transportation, environment, economics and others. Disasters can present 'windows' of opportunity for growth and development. That is, an opening that presents itself when a problem has reached a certain level of urgency- requiring a drastic change of practices (Berke & Cmpanella, 2006). For instance, the earthquake in Haiti was seen as an opportunity to rebuild the entire country from the ground up, and to create more resilient communities. The earthquake focused the conversation in Haiti on the soft infrastructure (i.e. the provision of services to people) and the hard infrastructure (i.e. physical constructions such as roads and bridges and hospitals) the country had

been lacking for so many decades. Through the tragedy that disasters bring, there is also an emerging

chance to start anew and right the wrongs of past planning and bureaucratic failures.

 About a month after the earthquake, the Haitian government attempted to do just that and released a

55 page document titled the *Action Plan for National Recovery and Development of Haiti*. This resource

document outlined the country's priorities for both its short and long-term recovery. Among its

primary goals was the need to re-launch Haiti's economic and social activity (i.e. tourism), and the

reduction of the country's vulnerability to natural disasters (Inside Disaster, 2011).

    Ideally, a community possesses a stand-alone recovery plan that is immediately implementable,

but could also easily be inserted into future integrated plans. Stand-alone plans should therefore be

effective for the short-term and should be flexible for the long-term. While both these types of disaster

recovery plans have the potential to greatly reduce damage and loss of life, research shows that few

communities actually have such a plan included in the city's regular master plan. For the places that *do*

have them, pre-disaster plans are often of low quality and have not been updated in years. Therefore,

places such as Haiti that are particularly vulnerable to disasters are unprepared. Risk aversion and

preparedness planning take a backseat to immediate daily concerns such as crime, poverty, and waste

disposal (Berke & Campanella, 2006). Some governments prefer to encourage development as a means

to create employment and boost the economy. This can come at the cost of building in zones

vulnerable to natural hazards. In such cases, rather than employing risk aversion by relocating or

foregoing developments, governments instead choose to provide *risk reduction* or *risk sharing*

techniques (Berke & Campanella, 2006). Risk reduction involves constructing things to reduce the

impact of a disaster once it occurs. This includes seawalls, dams, and levees that may not provide

sufficient protection from powerful hazardous events (as was the case with Hurricane Katrina) (Berke

& Campanella, 2006). Risk sharing is the provision of disaster relief payments to offset the damages

brought forth by high risk developments. These payments can also come in the form of income tax write-offs for lost property (Berke & Campanella, 2006).

The Planning Process

It is important that residents be involved in all, or most, phases of the planning process. Whether these be completed pre or post disaster, it is crucial that the people most impacted by proposed plans have a say in how procedures are carried out. Needless to say, however, this is not always the case for several reasons. At times, the country in question does not employ a democratic approach to planning and has normalized the exclusion of community participation in the planning process. Sometimes community members are involved in the projects only as the labour force and have no meaningful say in the process (Davidson, Johnson, Lizarralde, Dikmen, & Sliwinski, 2007). In other cases, especially in post- disaster planning, affected populations are dispersed or preoccupied with basic survival needs and are unable to get involved in the immediate recovery process. This is why it is especially important to create post disaster recovery plans before disasters occur and when the environment is stable. Involving locals in the planning process ensures that plans benefit from local knowledge and capacities. Without this specialized knowledge, plans run the risk of being too 'technical' and of being out of touch with local customs, needs, and values. Furthermore, involving residents in the multiple phases of planning can help create a constituency that is, itself, knowledgeable about its environment (policy constraints, economic viability, and resource availability). This, in turn, will make them likely to support redevelopment policies and programs that are to take effect after a disaster strikes (Berke & Campanella, 2006). Research suggests that there is a need for stronger federal and state backing of post disaster recovery and mitigation.

Urban Risk Assessment

Urban Risk Assessment (URA) has been recognized by the World Bank as being an efficient way to conduct pre-disaster planning. Its objective is to move toward a create a centralized and cost-effective approach to determining where and how many people are vulnerable to natural hazards (WB, 2014). This includes identifying susceptible infrastructure that in the event of being destroyed would have serious consequences to the population.

Rather than a adhering to the much too common reactive approach to planning, URA attempts to take on a proactive, adaptive planning approach to disaster mitigation. The methodology focuses on three strategies to understanding urban risk: a hazard impact assessment, an institutional assessment, and a socioeconomic assessment (WB, 2014). The URA is meant to be flexible and considerate of the available resources and institutional capacity of a given city. Despite its novel approach to disaster planning, URA remains largely a framework of operation and not much data exists on assessing the realistic ability for nations to adopt the changes needed to reduce vulnerability. In other words, once a low income country becomes aware that a high proportion of its citizens reside in a high risk zone, does that government have the resources needed to offset the potential damage?

Figure 6: The Planning Process (Riley, 2012)

Figure 7: Post disaster reconstruction decision making process (Johnson, 2007)
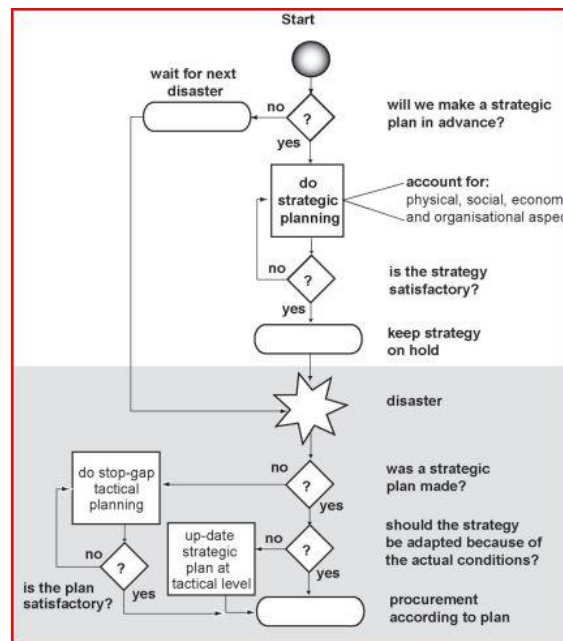
Post-Disaster Housing Models

Temporary housing is a necessary step in post-disaster reconstruction. People need a place to live and it can take an extended period of time before adequate housing is built for displaced people.

It is impossible to predict the precise level of destruction a disaster will bring forth. As a result, it is difficult to consider all variables required in a post-disaster temporary housing program. Strategic planning, however, can help identify which organizations and resources are available and best suited to help in the event of a natural disaster. These can drastically increase the likelihood of a successful and

safe housing program. Research has found that current temporary housing programmes often suffer from issues such as lack of organization, cultural or climatic inappropriateness, poor location, social problems inside the camps, delays in the delivery of services and social problem inside the camps such the violence against women (Johnson, 2007). Once again, the lack of consultation with the community results in poor outcomes.

In order to find solutions to the issue of violence against women in camps, we must first understand the post-disaster temporary housing structures that exist. Quarantelli (1995) breaks this down into four different stages and offers a distinction between shelter and housing. *Shelter* is the act of staying in a place whilst daily routines are suspended. *Housing* signifies the return to daily routines such as cooking, school, work, and others. The four types of housing include;

1. **Emergency shelter**- Can take the form of a public shelter or refuge at a friend/family member's house. The stay at an emergency shelter is very short (a few days). It can consist of refuge under a plastic sheet or similar temporary sheltering materials.

2. **Temporary shelter**- May be a tent or a public mass shelter. It is generally used for a few weeks following the disaster, and is also accompanied by the provision of food, water and medical treatment. This is one of the forms of sheltering examined in this study.

3. **Temporary housing**- This is the return to the daily activities of home life and the possible return to work and school. Families can live here for extended periods of time as they await a more permanent solution. Temporary housing can sometimes become permanent housing. This is another form of housing examined in this study.

4. **Permanent housing-** This is the return to the former home after its reconstruction. It can also be the resettlement in a *new* home where the family can feasibly live on a permanent basis.

This paper makes reference to Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) camps or relief camps, these would thereby be the umbrella under which some housing types are found.

Adaptive Reuse: How Urban Planning Can Create Safer Cities

The following section examines the integral role that urban planning can play in ensuring that women are safe in public spaces, particularly in the context of natural disasters. First, it is crucial for planning to address both actual safety hazards found in public spaces, but also *perceptions* of unwelcoming and unsafe spaces. For instance, a dark and isolated alley is understood by many people to be a dangerous space for girls and women. This is not surprising. However, what do we make of spaces that are underutilized by women for unapparent reasons- spaces that are well lit, in 'safe' neighbourhoods, and that have no clear barriers of access? A study conducted in Vienna, Austria exemplifies this phenomenon. The study saw that after the age of nine, the number of girls that played in public parks diminished significantly while the number of boys remained steady (Marcotte, 2013). The study found that girls were far less assertive than boys in competing for park space- and the boys usually won the 'battle'. Planners responded to this by redesigning the park to include more discreet sections as opposed to just one large open space (Marcotte, 2013). This provided more options to both parties and therefore if girls felt bullied by boys, they could go claim another section of the park. The plan was deemed successful and the female use of the park increased instantly.

While we could certainly get into a discourse about behavioural gender studies to examine the deeper seethed issue behind women and men assertiveness levels- it would inevitably spiral into a nature vs. nurture debate, which is outside the scope of this paper. The point, however, is that public spaces have been seen to privilege men over women and this must be addressed to ensure space equity. Public spaces must enhance feelings of safety while detracting from characteristics that augment feelings of

insecurity (UNWomen, 2012). In other words, spaces should be inclusive and allow room for women, people with limited mobility, children, and seniors, among others.

Planning Strategies in IDP Camps

How does the information on safer cities carry over to disaster relief camps? After all, the post disaster landscape is nowhere near as organized, nor are there usually many resources available. The strategic approach to curb violence against women in a post disaster context must, obviously, be context specific. The area's climate must be considered (is it hurricane season?), the scope of the disaster must be assessed (are we planning for the needs of 200 displaced women or 20,000?), and resource availability is high on the list of concerns (is there enough personnel to oversee safety of residents?). Despite particular needs, there are basic universal needs and safety concerns that are transferable from one context to another. For instance, whether on the streets of New York City or in Cite Soleil, Haiti's most notorious slum, women have experienced the fear of coming upon a group of men whilst walking alone. Regardless of if danger is imminent or not, the fear is there, and the *potential* for danger is real.

3.2 Guidebook: A Gender-Based Approach to Post-Disaster Planning

2030 vision of Haiti: "A fair, just, united and friendly society living in harmony with its environment and culture; a modern society characterised by the rule of law, freedom of association and expression and land management"

- Action plan for national recovery and development of Haiti

Through research and interviews with professionals in the fields of architecture, engineering, and international aid, I was able to consolidate the information gathered to prepare guidelines that outlines very specific measures that can be undertaken in the planning of displacement camps. The idea is that such a plan would be reviewed and contextualized prior to the event of a disaster, in order to decrease vulnerabilities to gender-based sexual violence.

It must be acknowledged that there requires a certain level of authoritative capacity within Haiti for such a guidebook to become entirely implementable. That is something that is currently missing in the country. While this plan outlines in detail measures that can be taken to offset the negative impacts of disaster- Haiti calls for a desperate change in its bureaucratic functioning and efficiency. An economic and political climate aimed at modernizing and improving the system is needed. These changes are deeply rooted in a cyclical cultural pattern that has proven difficult to beak in the country's 210 year history. While this challenge is undoubtedly difficult to conquer, it is by no means insurmountable. It also does not prevent professionals or non-professionals outside the scope of the government to do their best to tackle issues within their sphere of expertise. Whether that be architects designing

seismic proof buildings, or local women providing shelters for victims of abuse- change is possible from all angles.

The following section provides specific planning strategies for post disaster planning for violence prevention. These strategies are broken down into two sections; *Preliminary Strategies* and *Secondary Strategies*. These are further broken down into 9 subsections;

1. Pre-disaster measures

2. Camp Location and Camp Types

3. Social & Community Needs

4. Education

5. External & Internal Aid

6. Technical Planning

7. Service Distribution

8. Programming

9. Post Violence Response

Preliminary Strategies

These are pre-disaster *and* first-response measures that should be considered on the onset of a disaster. While keeping the needs of women in mind, preliminary strategies seek to answer some of the following questions: How can we adequately prepare ourselves before a disaster occurs? What zones can we identify as safety zones? How can we ensure that basic needs are met following a disaster (i.e. food and water and shelter)?

Goal 1: Pre-Disaster Measures

Have strong pre-disaster measures in place. This entails thorough analysis of the pre-disaster context in order to devise preventative strategies as well as responsive strategies.

Objective 1.1: Prepare a thorough pre-disaster plan that considers different levels and types of natural disasters- which in Haiti's case primarily includes earthquakes, hurricanes and mudslides. The plan must address the need for a gendered approach to recovery.

Action 1.1.1

- ✓ Hold participatory planning workshops, walks, and discussions that include community stakeholders at varying levels. It is crucial to discuss gendered violence in these planning phases.
    a. Reach out to grassroots women's organizations to be part of the participatory phase. This is one of the most crucial steps as it ensures that women's voices are included- and more specifically the voice of women who have experienced violence.

Action 1.1.2

- ✓ Draft both short-term and long-terms pre-disaster plans based on professional planning expertise and participatory planning initiatives.
    a. Plan should clearly identify specific measures to be taken to address violence against women

Action 1.1.3

- ✓ Review and update plan periodically (every 3-5 years), to take into consideration new technologies, new developments and resources, and changing economic/environmental climate.

Action 1.1.4

- ✓ Make plan easily available to the public (on-line and in print)

Objective 1.2: Educate community on how to protect themselves in the event of a disaster.

Action 1.2.1

- ✓ Television and Radio campaigns should be launched to teach people basic things about how to protect themselves. Schools and places of employment must hold regular drills that inform students and workers what to do and where to go in the event of disasters.
  a. For instance, in the event of an earthquake people should know to *drop* to their hands and knees, *cover* their neck and head, and *hold on* to something sturdy or the furniture under which they are hiding.

Action 1.2.2

- ✓ Educate everyone on sexual violence- on the resources available and steps to take if they occur (this can be geared towards both a pre-disaster and post-disaster context). This will also help break the stigma or taboo associated with speaking out against violence.
  a. i.e., Inform girls and women of their rights (rape is a crime against humanity and should not be tolerated)
  b. Inform girls and women not to fear speaking out about violence and to report these incidents immediately.

Goal 2 Camp Location and Camp Types

Location should be pre-identified to reduce the time it takes to decide where to set up temporary shelter and housing. This can be a long process if it involves negotiating contracts with private land owners (Johnson, 2007). Many factors impact where camps should be placed. These include, among others; local lifestyle and practices, proximity to services (groceries, medical services, police station etc), proximity to primary and secondary roads, a location that is outside affected area.

Objective 2.1: Using geoprocessing tools and Spatial Query on ArcGI to identify best camp location.

Action 2.1.1

- ✓ To prevent issues such as the isolated camp locations of the "Canaan", "Jerusalem" and "ONAville" Haitian camps which were on arid, shadeless isolated land, one must consider 'non traditional' criteria when choosing a location. This can consist of places that have shading (i.e. trees, shrubs, etc), nearby facilities for children to play (or at least, space on the camp ground that can be used as a park for children), and services that cater to women (i.e obstetrician, gynecologist, etc).

'Camp type' refers to different sheltering and housing options[14]. These are heavily contingent on location of camp, on allocated space for camps, and on the resources or materials available. However,

---

[14] "Within recovery many agencies have adopted transitional (T) shelter as the best option for rehousing people in conditions better than tents. Some good examples of this approach exist, in particular where land ownership has been clarified such as rebuilding on original plots. Examples of success though are small compared to the overall need, and T shelters as a viable urban option here have been subjected to a barrage of criticism from all sides. Certainly agencies engaged in T shelters need to take stock of where they are and consider all the other options open to them, such as shelter kits provided by CARE and Tearfund" (

given the context, as much as possible should be done to protect women to prevent attacks and these can begin with the types of shelters available.

Objective 2.2: Shelter women in 'women only' quarters

Action 2.2.1

- ✓ Mass shelters (i.e. school, parish) should have a 'women only' section
- ✓ Shelters or 'refuge' for victims of violence should also be present. This is discussed further in *Section 9: Post Violence Response*

Goal 3 Social & Community Needs

It is more than just a community's hard infrastructure that is damaged in the aftermath of a natural disaster. Familial ties are severed due to loss of life and displacement, parks and places of worship, which can serve as a community's primary gathering spaces, are destroyed, taking with it one's sense of connection to a place (Berke & Campanella, 2006). This is why reconstruction efforts must be sure to try to foster a sense of community, even within displacement camps. Time spent in a displacement camp can vary from a few days to months or even years. These places, while meant to be temporary, are still the living quarters and homes of thousands. By implementing planning tactics that try to re-create a sense of community and of belonging, it will not only assist in repairing the social fabric, but also increase security. This is because when people feel connected to one another, they are more likely to look out for one another and keep each other safe (CITE).

Objective 3.1: Group people from similar neighbourhoods in same camp/ same camp quarters

Action 3.1.1

✓ By bringing together people who already know one another, we can increase the likelihood of strong communal ties. Clearly label different sections of a camp using signage that indicates who can be found there[15]. By designating camps or sections according to communal ties that existed prior to the disaster, families and friends will more easily find one another. The designations would certainly not be mandatory- but serve as a convenient place to begin searching for family, as well as to help foster a sense of belonging to those who have experienced significant loss of life and belongings.

Goal 4 Education

It is unlikely that all women who find themselves caught in the aftermath of a natural disaster know about the sharp increase in violence that occurs and consequently, the extra precautionary measures they are obliged to take. This is why educating the public before (as discussed in *Pre-Disaster Measures*) and after a disaster is crucial. Women must be made aware of the dangers that come with camp life. Men should certainly not be left out of the education equation. They must also be informed of the dangers that women face and must be tasked with ensuring the safety of the women in their family as well as the women in their surroundings. Camp residents should also be told from the beginning that violence and sexual harassment will not be tolerated in the camp and that the consequences will be dire should they break the law.

Objective 4.1: Teach camp residents basic safety measures

Action 4.1.1

---

[15] Labelling would not be specific to the extent of listing names, as this could bring on security concerns. Furthermore, the location of shelters for women who have been victims of sexual and gender-based violence would remain confidential at all times.

- When handing out aid supplies such as flashlights and whistles (discussed further in *Technical Planning*), inform women that;

    o There is **safety in numbers** and that people should avoid traveling alone at all costs.

    o **Do not trust strangers** who offer to accompany you to different locations, or who invite them to areas they are unfamiliar with.

    o **Do not give away precise details** of where in the camp they are staying to people they do not know

Action 4.1.2

- Inform women and men on what to do in the event that they witness an attack.

Action 4.1.3

- The Haitian women's KOFAVIV also conducted 'know your rights' trainings in the camps that included information on human rights, children's rights, how to protect oneself against violence, and psychological care (Bell, 2010). These types of workshops should be encouraged (publically funded) and replicated by other organizations on the ground.

Goal 5 External and Internal Aid

Following a natural disaster the international community generously comes together to support those affected. While all this help is appreciated, the sheer number of external aid can sometimes be overwhelming, disorganized, and as a result inefficient. There can also be a communications barrier that can come in the way of protecting those impacted by gender-based violence. Clear guidelines on *whom* and *what* is needed in the aftermath of a disaster can significantly increase efficiency, and security.

Objective 5.1: Give priority to international aid workers that speak the local language.

Action 5.1.1

- ✓ Communication is important and camp residents must be able to understand and be understood by camp service providers, aid personnel, and security. Acquiring external help should first focus on their training to perform the task at hand, and secondly on their language skills.

Objective 5.2: Hire local interpreters and translators to assist international aid

Action 5.2.1

- ✓ We cannot reasonably expect that international aid workers will learn the local language within a short time at an efficient level of communication. We can therefore hire locals who can speak Haitian Creole and the intermediate language (usually French or English) to act as translators.

Secondary Strategies

Secondary Strategies are here defined as specific 'on the ground' measures that can be taken to curb violence against women. These measures try to answer questions such as; what tools can we provide women to protect themselves, and how can we use space in as efficient and safe a manner as possible.

Goal 6 Technical Planning

Technical planning refers to the physical urban planning measures that can be undertaken to increase security in regards to the spatial layout of displaced peoples camps.

Objective 6.1: Allocate tents and shelters that are closest to services to single women and women with children.

Action 6.1.1

- ✓ Give single women spatial priority when allocating shelter

Action 6.1.2

- ✓ Inform women that it is to their advantage to opt for spaces that are closer to services and security.

Objective 6.2: Place bathrooms and water stations and firewood supply in safe zones

Action 6.2.1

- ✓ Women are most often attacked on their way to collect water and firewood. Place these in areas that are not isolated and are in clear view of the public and of peacekeepers.

Action 6.2.2

- ✓ Place bathroom facilities at regular intervals so that women are not forced to walk more than a couple of minutes away from their shelter.

Objective 6.3: Implement accessible safety measures women can use when they are in situations that they perceive as unsafe

Action 6.3.1

- ✓ Provide women and girls with **whistles & flashlights** which they are instructed to use when they feel they are in danger

Action 6.3.2

- ✓ Provide women with referral cards that have phone numbers and clinical information. Cards must refer to nearby clinics (that have female doctors) and also include the contact information

of local grassroots organizations.

Action 6.3.3

✓ Have designated safety zones- clear areas that they know they can go to for safety. The safety zones must be clearly labeled and easy to get to (signage leading to zones that are marked with arrows. Sign must be visible in the night time.

Action 6.3.4

✓ Install Emergency Response device (ex: solar powered alert buttons on light posts)

Objective 6.4: Place clear signage throughout the camp that indicates where services and amenities are located

Action 6.4.1

✓ The literacy rate in Haiti currently stands at 53%. This means that almost half of those in the camp would be unable to read written signage or safety procedures. Text must be accompanied with **clear images** that express the core of what is being communicated.

Action 6.4.2

✓ Text must be **language appropriate**. Not all Haitians read or understand French, and written Haitian Creole is not always easy to decipher, even for someone who is orally fluent in the language. If possible, text on signage should be both in the national/'official' language *and* in the local language/ dialect.

Objective 6.5: Ensure that facilities are equipped with safety measures

Action 6.5.1

✓ Bathroom, bathing facilities, and shelters should have locks on doors when possible

Objective 6.6: Consider installing drainage ditch in camps with few restroom facilities and poor lighting.

Action 6.6.1

✓ Ensure tents and t-shelters are placed in a symmetrical manner so as to allow a drainage ditch to be built.

Objective 6.7: Use context specific resources and strategies to secure camp grounds.

Action 6.7.1

✓ For instance, in Kenya, refugee camp protection areas were surrounded by tall brushes so as to shield residents from view. In Thailand, shelters used a whistle and bamboo alarm systems- which consist of hollow bamboo sticks that makes a loud noise when struck. Consider the regions natural landscape and make use of these as tools

Action 6.7.2

✓ Use wind-up or solar flashlights because people would not need to buy batteries for things such as flashlight- since many people (in the Haitian context) could not afford to refill them

Goal 7 Service Distribution

In the aftermath of a disaster, many victims lose many, if not all of their possessions. Displacement camps must provide people with a variety of basic necessities such as water, hygiene products and clothing. Service distribution must therefore be efficient and timely to ensure everyone is serviced adequately. Women often do not receive adequate aid and must share rations with children. This must be carefully considered and addressed.

Proposal 7.1: Ensure that women are part of the distribution of good and services that concern women.

Action 7.1.1

- ✓ Hire local women to aid in the distribution of services

Action 7.1.2

- ✓ Hygiene products, women's undergarments, etc should be distributed by or in the presence of women.

Objective 7.2: Train and encourage women to be part of security personnel

Action 7.2.1

- ✓ *Patrolling/security teams should include women*

Objective 7.3: Involve grassroots women's organizations in the policy and planning process to combat gender-based violence

Action 7.3.1

- ✓ It has been reported that about two-thirds of committee members are men and that less than a third of camp residents are acquainted with the committees (Madre, 2011).

Action 7.3.2

- ✓ Ensure to have local women's organizations located within the camp

Goal 8 Programming

Women tend to not be involved in the disaster planning process (APIIDV, 2010). By including their input in this phase of planning, we can ensure that the issues that personally impact them and their children are considered. If for instance, women are the primary domestic caregivers in their families, they will be responsible for obtaining water and firewood. Their involvement in the planning phase will certainly bring up discussions on the accessibility of these tools. This can help develop gender-sensitive programming

Proposal 8.1: Implement special social programs that accommodate women

Action 8.1.1

- ✓ 7-Eleven convenience stores throughout Thailand, train their employees to harbor survivors of violence who flee to a store until police arrive. A similar program can be launched in Haiti whereby a specific sign indicates a 'harbouring' zone. This is something that would be useful both outside and inside the camps.

Action 8.1.2

- ✓ In Eastern Congo a program called 'night flashes' was initiated. This consists of truckloads of peacekeepers that drive into the bush and keep their headlights on all night as a signal to both civilians and armed groups that the peacekeepers are there. It has been said that at times up to 3,000 villagers are curled up on the ground around the trucks in the morning (Gettleman, 2007). This can be done is displacement camps as well.

Action 8.1.3

- ✓ Regular check-ins and patrolling throughout the night by security personnel

o It is important for those that are appointed as security to be known by residents of the camp. They should therefore clearly identify and introduce themselves to camp residents

o These people should also be on the lookout for things such as lights that have run out of fuel to make sure they are replaced.

Action 8.1.4

✓ Have special units in the police trained to deal with cases of gender-based violence

Action 8.1.5

✓ Use camp residents for labour and launch employment programs. Many crimes are committed by idle men.

Proposal 8.2: Make use of/create phone gender sensitive phone applications

Action 8.2.1

✓ Inform women with phones of various safety applications they can download[16].

Objective 8.3: Have a centralized system/network that coordinates different resources, NGOs, and programs available in the camp.

Action 8.3.1

✓ This process would facilitate the life of everyone involved as it would provide a database that can be used to track the effectiveness of some programs. Follow-ups of programs in place is

---

[16] Technological advancement means there are always new apps that people can download to meet varying needs. Safety applications are becoming increasingly popular. The Haitian government should collaborate with varying organizations to construct a phone application that would be useful and appropriate in a post-disaster/emergency context. Consider also using such a format to centralize date on gender-based violence.

crucial. This can be done via an actually institution on or right outside the camps grounds which can be combined with on-line 'smart phone' applications.

Objective 8.4: Have a centralized system/network that tracks incidents of violence against women

Action 8.4.1

- ✓ Tracking of sexual violence against women was not done until months after the earthquake. This must be done right at the onset of a disaster so as to keep an eye on the victims and provide them with the help they need. All organizations that deal with rape and violence victims should further centralize this information

Objective 8.5: Implement a medical staff that includes physiologists, psychiatrists and therapists trained in gender-based violence.

Action 8.5.1

- ✓ These services must be sensitive to the needs of women who have fallen victim to violence. These services must also be sensitive to the needs of men who show signs of psychological strain or frustration. Let us remember that men who commit gendered crimes do so for a number of reasons, among them being _____. It is crucial that preventative measures be taken by working alongside men as well. The unfortunate reality is, regardless of how prepared some women are, if there are perpetrators in the horizon, they are at risk of attack. Therefore, we should also work at the root of the cause to eliminate the perpetrators altogether.

Goal 9 Post Violence Response

In the unfortunate event of gender-based violence, displacement camps must have the resources to available to care for victims. This is something that must be planned and well thought out ahead of

time to act immediately in order to minimize long term impacts and protect both victims and the men and women who come to their aid.

Objective 9.1: Have service for victims of violence and threats of violence

Action 9.1.1

- Adopt urgent measures to protect women victims of sexual violence and to prevent future incident such as safe house that is in safe zone and secure. In Haiti, shelters rarely had security guards and relied on the confidentiality of their location and their surrounding gates. They were primarily situated in quiet residential areas. A mix of safety measure and undisclosed location is ideal.

Action 9.1.2

- ✓ Provide adequate medical and psychological services for the victims

Action 9.1.3

- ✓ Protect women human rights defenders

Objective 9.2: Have different shelter options available to women within and outside the camps

Action 9.2.1

- ✓ Have a variety of temporary housing options available. These can include:
  - traditional safe houses
  - private apartments
  - homes of community volunteers

- community centers

Objective 9.3: Transitioning out of the shelter- protection

Action 9.3.1

- ✓ Assist victims in re-integrating into home life following shelter protection. This can be done by:
    - ○ Placing them in a camp different from the one where they were attacked
    - ○ Regularly check up on victims by calling or visiting them in camps
    - ○ Placing them in a safer zone in camps

Setback: Limitations of study

There is a crack in everything. That's how the light gets in

-Leonard Cohen

Men and Boys

The study does not look at sexual violence and harassment that some men and boys face. These do occur and should by no means be considered insignificant or less worthy of attention. The reason why this group was largely left out of the study is because these incidents occur on significantly less occasions than they do towards women. Furthermore, this research makes the link between rampant gender inequalities and violence. Therefore there is a larger political and societal framework under which such violence takes place. That being said, the strategies proposed in this research benefit everyone involved. Paying attention to the issue of post- disaster violence in camps creates a dialogue that includes both men and women. It is also important to mention that boys and men who are victim of attacks should never be denied aid and protection. If organizations or shelters are only trained and equipped to deal with women, they should know and have at their disposal resources to which they can direct male victims. Further research must be done to better understand violence against males and to bring them the help and support they need. There exist widespread community perceptions that men do not need protection, and there is a lack of awareness that men can suffer sexual and gender-based violence (Freccero & Seelinger, 2013). Furthermore, men living in societies that do not

condone homosexuality, hesitate in seeking protection for fear of the stigma (Freccero & Seelinger, 2013).

Elaboration of themes and solutions

Given the diversity of themes that needed to be explored within this project, some topics could certainly have been examined in greater depth. Hundreds of pages could have been focused on deconstructing Haiti's environmental structure alone. That being said, the solutions proposed serves as a pot of ideas- a database from which to build better and more elaborate solutions. It is hoped that I can elaborate on these solutions in a future paper.

Design Review: Concluding Thoughts

"You are here in order to enable the world to live more amply, with greater vision, with a finer spirit of hope and achievement. You are here to enrich the world."

-Woodrow Wilson

Ideally, Haiti would never again have to face the horrors of a disaster such as the earthquake of January 7, 2010. However, in order for that to become a reality, major changes would need to be employed. As was explored in this paper, some natural disasters aren't natural at all, but rather, are the result of poor decision making and management on the part of the state and its officials. This is not to dismiss the impact of the individual, as we are *all* responsible, in some way, for the destruction of our environment. Yet, our governing bodies have the moral and often legal obligation to protect their citizens from harm. They must use their expertise, resources and judgement to the best of their

abilities to protect the state and its inhabitants. When it comes to Haiti, there are several avenues that demand change and improvement. The state need to stabilize politically and socially.

Economically, Haiti needs to make a comeback and attract foreign investment as well as build upon its tourism industry. The country can once again become the 'Pearl of the Antilles' and this sentiment needs to take precedence over the too often repeated narrative of being the 'poorest country in the western hemisphere'.

Environmentally, the country's extensive deforestation, caused in part by the cultivation of coffee and the people's need for wood as a cooking fuel, must be dealt with immediately. Some measures are being taken and should be acknowledged. For instance, Haiti's current President Michel Martelly launched a drive on May 1st 2013 to double forest cover by 2016 from its current perilous level of less than two percent (Lail, 2013). Haiti aims to plant 50 million trees a year through this reforestation campaign. Such high-level push towards a greener Haiti has brought forth considerable optimism that this will be a turning point for the country after over two hundred years of degradation. President Martelly has stated that he hopes this project will, "turn every Haitian into a forest guard"(Lail, 2013).

Lastly, preparedness is key. Haiti's lack of early disaster warning systems leaves people unaware and unprepared to combat the onset of disaster. The UN International Strategy for Disaster Reduction broke down the stages of early warning systems into four categories; *Risk Knowledge*- which is the understanding and mapping of hazards- this stage is usually conducted by scientists, geologists and other professionals who have the tools needed to understand the nature and whereabouts of disasters; *Warning Service* includes the monitoring and forecasting of the likelihood of impending events (with varying levels of accuracy); *Dissemination* – is the stage at which the warnings are transferred to

the political authorities and the population in danger; *Response Capability* – consists of undertaking the appropriate and timely actions required in response to the warnings (Bye, 2010).

As one can attest there are many levels of governance that precede the specialized and detailed site planning guide presented in this paper. Plans cannot be conducted in complete isolation, and a comprehensive understanding of factors like society, culture, politics, environment and others must be considered. The quest to attain gender equality in Haiti and around the world is one that is far from being complete. In fact, we are just at in the early stages of understanding the cycle of inequality, and how the interconnected nature of our society demands change and intervention at every level. A gendered approach to post-disaster planning is but one of those levels- that can impart changes in real time. It can make a difference in the lives of hundreds of women.

Bibliography

Abbott, K.W. (2014). Rape May Be a Crime against Humanity in International Law. Centre on Law & Globalization. Retrieved from http://clg.portalxm.com/library/keytext.cfm?keytext_id=202

Ahmed, S., Dhar, S., Mitchell, C. (2013). Reduce violence against women by building better cities. IDRC. http://www.idrc.ca/EN/Resources/Publications/Pages/ArticleDetails.aspx?PublicationID=1222

Allen, M., Huntingford, C., Imbers, J., & Lopez, A. (2013). Sensitivity of climate change detection and attribution to the characterization of internal climate variability. *Journal of Climate*. Retrieved from http://journals.ametsoc.org/doi/abs/10.1175/JCLI-D-12-00622.1

Alston, M. (2000). Rural poverty. *Australian Social Work*, *53*(1), 29-34.

Amnesty International. (2014). Amnesty International Facts Figures Document. Retrieved from http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Displaced%20people%20still%20leave%20in%20despair%20four%20years%20after%20devastating%20earthquake.pdf

Anderson, K. (Director). (2012*). My Brooklyn* [Documentary]. United States: New York.

Bachelet, M. (2013). Making cities safe for women and girls. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2013/feb/21/making-cities-safe-women-girls

Bagci, C. (2007). Historical Evolution of NGOs: NGO Proliferation in the Post-Cold War Era. *Journal of Turkish Weekly*. Retrieved from http://www.turkishweekly.net/article/222/historical-evolution-of-ngos-ngo-proliferation-in-the-post-cold-war-era.html

Bandyopadhyay, M. (2003). Missing girls and son preference in rural India: looking beyond popular myth. *Health Care for Women International*, *24*(10), 910-926.

BBC. (2014). Female Infanticide. *Ethics Guide*. Retrieved from http://www.bbc.co.uk/ethics/abortion/medical/infanticide_1.shtml

Beaubien, J. (2013). What Happened To The Aid Meant To Rebuild Haiti?*NPR*. Retrieved from http://www.npr.org/blogs/health/2013/02/28/172875646/what-happened-to-the-aid-meant-to-rebuild-haiti

Bedau, H. A. (2000). " Anarchical Fallacies": Bentham's Attack on Human Rights. *Human Rights Quarterly*, *22*(1), 261-279.

Begley, S. (2005, September 2).Man-Made Mistakes Increase Devastation of 'Natural' Disasters. *The Wallstreet Journal*. Retrieved from http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB112561128847329529

Bell, B. (2010). "Our Bodies Are Shaking Now" - Rape Follows Earthquake in Haiti. *The Huffington Post.* Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/beverly-bell/our-bodies-are-shaking-no_b_511397.html

Bentham, J. (1998). Anarchical fallacies. *HEADLINE SERIES-NEW YORK-*, 56-68.

Blacksell, G. (2011, October 4). Coffee: is the black stuff as green as it should be? Ecologist. Retrieved fromhttp://www.theecologist.org/green_green_living/food_and_drink/1077953/coffee_is_the_black_stuff_as_green_as_it_should_be.html

Bott, S., Ellsberg, M., Morrison, A. (2005). Preventing and responding to gender-based violence in middle and low-income countries: a global review and analysis. *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 3618*. Retrieved from http://econ.worldbank.org/external/default/main?pagePK=64165259&theSitePK=469382&piPK=64165421&menuPK=64166322&entityID=000112742_20050628084339

Bruno, E.M. (2013). Haïti-Genre : Un avant-projet de loi sur la violence faite aux femmes en cours d'élaboration. *AlterPresse*. Retrieved from http://www.alterpresse.org/spip.php?article14073#.U2wCmvl5Png

Bye, B.L. (2010). The Haiti Earthquake: Science, Early Warning And Mitigation. Science 2.0. Retrieved from **http://www.science20.com/planetbye/haiti_earthquake_science_early_warning_and_mitigation-64381**

Carillo, R. (1991). Violence against women: An obstacle to development. In Center for Women's Global Leadership (Compiler), *Gender violence: A development and human rights issue* (pp. 17-37)*.* New York: Center for Women's Global Leadership.

Cave, A. (2011). Selwyn Goldsmith obituary: Author of Designing for the Disabled. The Guardian. Retrieved from http://www.theguardian.com/society/2011/may/31/selwyn-goldsmith-obituary

Chancy, A.M. (2007). Un tournant dans la philosophie pénale haïtienne. *AlterPresse*. Retrieved from http://www.alterpresse.org/spip.php?article6230#.U2vPqPl5Png

Chew, L., Ramdas, K.N. (2005). Caught in the Storm: The impact of natural disasters on women. *The Global Fund for Women*. Retrieved from http://www.globalfundforwomen.org/storage/images/stories/downloads/disaster-report.pdf

Chilingar, G.V., & Khilyuk, L.F. (2006). On global forces of nature driving the Earth's climate. Are humans involved? *Environmental Geology, 50*, 899-910.

CIA. (March 2014). The World Factbook: Central American And Caribbean: Haiti. Retrieved from https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ha.html

City Alliance (CA). (2014). About Slum Upgrading. *City Alliance*. Retrieved from http://www.citiesalliance.org/About-slum-upgrading#Why_do_slums_develop

Clermont, C., Sanderson, D., Sharma, A, & Spraos, H. (2011). Urban disasters – lessons from Haiti. Disasters
        Emergency Committee (DEC). Retrieved from
        http://www.dec.org.uk/sites/default/files/files/Evaluations/Haiti/DEC-Haiti-urban-study.pdf

CNNTech. (2010). The world's megacities. Urban Planet. Retrieved from
        http://www.cnn.com/2010/TECH/04/08/urban.planet.megacities/index.html

Corbett, B. (1999). Pre- Columbian Hispaniola—Arawak/Taino Native Americans. Retrieved from
        http://www2.webster.edu/~corbetre/haiti/history/precolumbian/tainover.htm

Davis, L., Romero, K. (2010). Based on the sexual violence occurring in displacement camps, human rights
        groups request the Inter-American Commission to grant precautionary measures to protect women in
        Haiti. *Women's Link Worldwide*. Retrieved from
        http://www.womenslinkworldwide.org/wlw/new.php?modo=detalle_prensa&dc=129&lang=en

Davis, L. (2012). Struggling to Survive: Sexual Exploitation of Displaced Women and Girls in Port au Prince,
        Haiti. Retrieved from
        http://cgrs.uchastings.edu/sites/default/files/Eng_Struggling_to_Survive_CGRS_2012.pdf

Deagan, K. (2004). Reconsidering Taino social dynamics after Spanish conquest: gender and class in culture
        contact studies. *American Antiquity*, *69*(4), 597-626.

Diaz, D.H. (2007). The influence of global warming on natural disasters and their public health
        outcomes. *American Journal of Disaster Medicine* (1), 33-42.

Diniejko, A. (2013). Slums and Slumming in Late-Victorian London. The Victorian Web. Retrieved from
        http://www.victorianweb.org/history/slums.html

Dyos, H. J. (1967). The Slums of Victorian London. *Victorian Studies*, 5-40.

Enarson, E. (1999, March 31). Emergency Preparedness in British Columbia: Mitigating Violence Against
        Women in Disasters. *UBC Disaster Preparedness Resources Centre*. Retrieved from
        http://www.endingviolence.org/files/uploads/emergencypreparedness.pdf

Enarson, E. (2000). Gender and Natural Disasters. Recovery and Reconstruction Department. Retrieved from
http://www.ilo.int/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_emp/---emp_ent/---ifp_crisis/documents/publication/wcms_116391.pdf

Ferraro, N. (2013). City Cycling: Another Way Men and Women Differ. *Planetizen*. Retrieved from
http://www.planetizen.com/node/66560

Fisher, S. (2010). Violence against women and natural disasters: findings from post-tsunami Sri Lanka. *Violence against Women*, *16*(8), 902-918.

Freccero, J., Seelinger, K.T. (2013). Safe Have: Sheltering Displaced Persons from Sexual and Gender-Based Violence. *University of California, Berkeley, School of Law*. Retrieved from
http://scholar.google.ca/scholar?hl=en&as_sdt=0,5&q=Safe+Haven%3A+Sheltering+Displaced+Persons+from+Sexual+and+Gender-Based+Violence

Fudge, J., & Glasbeek, H. (1992). The politics of rights: a politics with little class. *Social & Legal Studies*, *1*(1), 45-70.

Geophysical Fluid Dynamics Laboratory (GFDL). (2013). Global Warming and Hurricanes*: An Overview of Current Research Results. Geophysical Fluid Dynamics Laboratory*. Retrieved from
http://www.gfdl.noaa.gov/global-warming-and-hurricanes

Gettleman, J. (2007). Rape Epidemic Raises Trauma of Congo War. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from
http://www.nytimes.com/2007/10/07/world/africa/07congo.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0

Ghosh, R. N., & Roy, K. C. (1997). The changing status of women in India: impact of urbanization and development. *International Journal of Social Economics*, *24*(7/8/9), 902-917.

Glover, J., Nussbaum, M. (1995). *Women, Culture and Development: a study of human capabilities*. Oxford, New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press.

Government of the Republic of Haiti- (GRH). (2010). Action plan for national recovery and development of Haiti. Retrieved from file:///C:/Users/Basil/Downloads/activity-651-5.pdf

Graham, G. N. (2003). Toussaint L'ouverture. *History Today, 53*(4), 6-7. Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/202815799?accountid=12339

Gronewold, N. (2009, December 14). Environmental Destruction, Chaos Bleeding Across Haitian Border. The New York Times. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/

Grunwald, M. (2010, November 24). Katrina: A Man- Made Disaster. *Time*. Retrieved from http://content.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,2032304_2032746_2035982,00.html

H.C. (2013, April 5). Argentina's deadly storms Natural disaster, man-made tragedy.

The Economist. Retrieved from http://www.economist.com/blogs/americasview/2013/04/argentinas-deadly-storms

Hartman, C. W., & Squires, G. D. (Eds.). (2006). *There is no such thing as a natural disaster: Race, class, and Hurricane Katrina*. Taylor & Francis.

Hirsch, M.L. (2012). The safest prey: When refugee camps become sites of violence. *Women's Media Centre*. Retrieved from http://www.womenundersiegeproject.org/blog/entry/the-safest-prey-when-refugee-camps-become-sites-of-violence

Jenkins, P., Phillips, B. (2008). Domestic Violence and Hurricane Katrina. Retrieved from https://tulane.edu/nccrow/upload/NCCROWreport08-chapter8.pdf

Johnson, J., & Lanzoni, I. (2014). Four years after devastating 2010 quake 146,000 Haitians remain in camps. *International Organization for Migration*. Retrieved from http://www.iom.int/cms/en/sites/iom/home/news-and-views/press-briefing-notes/pbn-2014/pbn-listing/four-years-after-devastating-201.html

Laurince, J. (2013). Un bureau pour lutter contre la violence faite aux femmes à Port-au-Prince. *MINUSTAH*. Retrieved from http://www.minustah.org/bureau-lutter-contre-violence-faite-aux-femmes-port-au-prince/

Lail, R.R. (2013, March 28). Haiti to plant millions of trees to boost forests and help tackle poverty. The Guardian. Retrieved from http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2013/mar/28/haiti-plant-millions-trees-deforestation

Larson, K. (2012, June). Kent Larson: Brilliant Designs to Fit More People in Every City. [Video file]. Retrieved from http://www.ted.com/talks/kent_larson_brilliant_designs_to_fit_more_people_in_every_cit

Lessard, H.(2011). Book Review: Inclusive Equality: Relational Dimentions of Systemic Discrimination, by Colleen Sheppard. *Osgoode Hall Law Journal*. Retrieved from http://digitalcommons.osgoode.yorku.ca/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1076&context=ohlj

Litman, T. (2006). Lessons From Katrina and Rita: What Major Disasters Can Teach Transportation Planners. *Journal of Transportation Engineering*., 132(1), 11–18.

Louis, E. (2010, August 29). Katrina - a man-made disaster: A new movie reveals how the flooding could have been prevented. NY Daily News. Retrieved from http://www.nydailynews.com/opinion/katrina-man-made-disaster-new-movie-reveals-flooding-prevented-article-1.200683

MADRE. (2011). Our Bodies Are Still Trembling: Haitian Women Continue to Fight Against Rape. Retrieved from http://www.madre.org/images/uploads/misc/1301677400_HAiti%20FINAL.Report%20REVISED%20AGAIN.pdf

Malone, C. (2014).Seven countries responsible for two-thirds of climate change, research shows. *Blue and Green Tomorrow*. Retrieved from http://blueandgreentomorrow.com/2014/01/21/seven-countries-responsible-for-two-thirds-of-climate-change-research-shows/

Mansbridge, P. (Host). (1998, January 7). 1998 ice storm becomes severe [CBC Digital Archives]. In *The National*. Toronto: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Retrieved from

http://www.cbc.ca/archives/categories/environment/extreme-weather/the-ice-storm-of-1998/storm-becomes-severe.html

Mansbridge, P. (Host) (2010). Major earthquake hits Haiti [Television series episode]. In *The National*. Toronto: Canadian Broadcast Company. Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.library.mcgill.ca/canadiannews/docview/190659793/abstract?accountid=12339

Mccallister, J. (2013). After 3 years and $1.4 billion from Americans, too many Haiti earthquake victims are still homeless and hurting. *New York Daily News*. Retrieved from http://www.nydailynews.com/new-york/1-4-billion-aiding-haiti-article-1.1239004

Miracle, A. (2013, January 25). Structural inequality and institutional racism: why does it matter to us? *The Trinitonian*. Retrieved from http://www.trinitonian.com/2013/01/25/structural-inequality-and-institutional-racism-why-does-it-matter-to-us/

Musterd, S., & Ostendorf, W. (Eds.). (2013). *Urban segregation and the welfare state: Inequality and exclusion in western cities*. Routledge.

Nussbaum, M.C. (2000). Women and Human Development: The capabilities approach. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Pathak, A.N. (2009). Socio-spatial Exclusion in Urban Spaces: Mumbai City. Inclusive Development. Retrieved from http://www.theurbanvision.com/blogs/?p=275

Petras, J. (1997). Imperialism and NGOs in Latin America. *MONTHLY REVIEW-NEW YORK-*, *49*, 10-27.

Ramachandran, V. (2013). Haiti's earthquake generated a $9bn response – where did the money go? *The Guardian*. Retrieved from http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/poverty-matters/2013/jan/14/haiti-earthquake-where-did-money-go

Raymond, P. (2013, July 26). Tourism can help Haiti return to its halcyon days. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/poverty-matters/2013/jul/26/haiti-tourism-caribbean-redevelopment

Robertson, L. (Performer) (2010). Massive earthquake hits Haiti [Television series episode]. In *CTV National News*. Scarborough: CTV Television. Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.library.mcgill.ca/docview/190539830/5199C7E5EB764002PQ/5?accountid=12339

Roy, E. (2014). The Enemy Within – Are Haiti's Ngos Poverty Pimps? *Tout Haiti*. Retrieved from http://www.touthaiti.com/economie/3141-the-enemy-within-are-haiti-s-ngos-poverty-pimps

Sahni, M., Verma, N., Narula, D., Varghese, R. M., Sreenivas, V., & Puliyel, J. M. (2008). Missing girls in India: infanticide, feticide and made-to-order pregnancies? Insights from hospital-based sex-ratio-at-birth over the last century. *PloS one*, *3*(5), e2224.

Sayer, L. C. (2005). Gender, time and inequality: Trends in women's and men's paid work, unpaid work and free time. *Social forces*, *84*(1), 285-303.

Schuller, M. (2009). Gluing globalization: NGOs as intermediaries in Haiti. PoLAR: Political and Legal Anthropology Review, 32(1), 84-104.

Sen, A. (1990). More Than 100 Million Women Are Missing. *The New York Review of Books*. Retrieved from http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/1990/dec/20/more-than-100-million-women-are-missing/

Sen, A. (2003). The Social Demands of Human Rights. *New Perspectives Quarterly*, *20*(4), 83-84.

Slettebak, R. T. (2012). Don't blame the weather! Climate-related natural disasters and civil conflict. *Journal of Peace Research*, *49*(1), 163-176.

Smith, N. (2002). New globalism, new urbanism: gentrification as global urban strategy. *Antipode*, *34*(3), 427-450.

Smith-Spark, L. (2005). How did rape become a weapon of war? BBC News. Retrieved from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/4078677.stm

Steinberg, T. (2000). Acts of God : The Unnatural History of Natural Disaster in America. Oxford University Press Cary, North Carolina

The Economist. (2011, March 31). Natural and man-made disasters. *The Economist*. Retrieved from http://www.economist.com/node/18488306

The Huffington Post. (2012, October 24). Global Gender Gap Report 2012: The Best and Worst Countries for Women. *Huffington Post.* Retrieved from

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/10/24/global-gender-gap-report-2012-best-worst-countries-women_n_2006395.html#slide=1676941

Turshen, M. (2001). The Political Economy of Rape: An Analysis of Systematic Rape and Sexual Abuse of Women during Armed Conflict in Africa. In C. Moser & F. Clarke (Eds.), *Victors, Perpetrators or Actors: Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence* (pp. 55-68). London: Zed Books.

UCH. (2014). Haiti: Gender-Based Violence and Rule of Law. University of California Hastings. Retrieved from http://cgrs.uchastings.edu/our-work/haiti-gender-based-violence-and-rule-law

UN Launches New Campaign Against Rape and Gender-Based Violence," UN News Service, (Sept. 13, 2010), available at http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=35900&amp;Cr=haiti&amp;Cr1

Unicef. (2013). At a glance: Haiti- Statistics. Retrieved from http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/haiti_statistics.html

United Nations Development Program. (1995). Gender and Human Development. *Human Development Report 1995*. Oxford, New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press.

United Nations Development Program. (2013). The Rise of the South: Human Progress in a Diverse World. *Human Development Report 2013*. Retrieved from http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/human-development-report-2013-media-toolkit

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (1995). Sexual Violence Against Refugees: Guidelines on
Prevention and Response. Retrieved from http://www.unhcr.org/3b9cc26c4.html

United States., & United States. (1865). *The Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the United States
of America*. New York: R. Spalding.

UNWomen. (2012). Safe Public Spaces for Women and Girls. Retrieved from
http://www.endvawnow.org/en/articles/251-safe-public-spaces-for-women-and-girls.html

Van Aalst, M.K. (2006). The impacts of climate change on the risk of natural disasters. *Disasters, 30*, 5-18.

Zibulewsky, J. (2001). *Baylor University Medical Center Proceedings*Retrieved from
http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1291330/

Ward, J. (2002). If Not Now, When? Addressing Gender-base Violence in Refugee, Internally Displaced and
Post-conflict Settings*. A* Global Overview*. The Reproductive Health for Refugees Consortium: New
York.

Werlin, H. (1999). The slum upgrading myth. *Urban Studies*, *36*(9), 1523-1534.

WHO. (2014). Urban population growth. Global Health Observatory (GHO).Retrieved from
http://www.who.int/gho/urban_health/situation_trends/urban_population_growth_text/en/

World Economic Forum. (2013). The Global Gender Gap Report 2013. Retrieved from
http://www.weforum.org/reports/global-gender-gap-report-2013

Willsher, K. (2010, August 15). France urged to repay Haiti billions paid for its independence. The Guardian.
Retrieved from http://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/aug/15/france-haiti-independence-debt

World Bank. Urban Risk Assessments: Understanding Disaster and Climate Risk in Cities. *Urban Development*.
Retrieved from http://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/urbandevelopment/publication/urban-risk-
assessments

WMO. (2010). HAITI: Re-Establishment of Warning Services After the January 2010 Earthquake. *World Meteorological Organization*. Retrieved from http://www.wmo.int/pages/prog/dra/documents/HaitiCasestudy_WithPictures.pdf

World Meteorological Organization (WMO). (2014). Natural Hazards. World Meteorological Organization. Retrieved from https://www.wmo.int/pages/themes/hazards/index_en.html

Images (in order of appearance)

Stark, C. (Research Scientist). (2010). Mother and daughter sit on ruins of their home. [Digital Image]. Retrieved from http://www.cnn.com/2010/OPINION/02/28/stark.chile.quake.haiti/

Asael, A. (Photographer). (2012). Smiling Children Teaching Smiling Children. [Digital Image]. Retrieved from http://photophilanthropy.org/gallery-posts/smiling-children-teaching-smiling-children/

Heeren, N. (Blogger). (2012). Two girls smiling- Haiti Foundation of Hope. [Digital Image]. Retrieved from http://www.vitaminangels.org/blogs/more-smiles-haiti-foundation-hope-1

Green Planet World. (Environmental Blog). (2012). Tents underneath and around a shelter with red roof that has 'Haiti' written on it. [Digital Image]. Retrieved from http://www.greenplanetworld.com/2010-haiti-earthquake/#

Nalio, D. (Photographer). (2010). Charles Kerby hold baby sister Mikerlina Dragon in Ste. Therese Camp in Haiti. [Digital Image]. Retrieved from http://bethelmissionoutreach.org/?p=1271

Fadek, T. (Photographer). Woman in blue dress hold handkerchief over face. [Digital Image]. Retrieved from http://content.time.com/time/photogallery/0,29307,1954087_2043663,00.html

Laughlin, M. (Photographer). (2010) Two girls share a plate of food at a tent city at the Petionville Club. [Digital Image]. Retrieved from http://www.columbian.com/news/2010/jan/19/haiti-earthquake-has-aftershocks-for-3-local/

Hazelton, L. (Journalist). Carnage: Residents walk through a destroyed area of Port-au-Prince scanning the debris for anything that has survived the earthquake. Retrieved from http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1243540/Haiti-earthquake-pictures-Shell-shocked-survivors-roam-streets-scavenging-scraps.html

Chery, D.N. (2013) .Jalousie Slum. [Digital Image]. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/03/25/haitis-slum-jalousie-gets-colorful-makeover_n_2950787.html

Driving Test Tips. (Website). (2010). Dropped kerb. [Digital Sketch]. Retrieved from http://www.drivingtesttips.biz/dropped-kerb-parking.html

Bien-Aime, T. (2010). Two Haitian women and two children. [Digital Image]. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/taina-bienaime/haitian-women-enter-at-ce_b_519103.html

Cossu, G., Cassegrain, B. Photographers). (2010). Solidar'IT in Haiti'. [Digital Image]. Retrieved from http://www.theepochtimes.com/n2/world/plight-of-haiti-women-earthquake-camps-sexual-violence-kofaviv-lamercie-charles-pierre-madre-42278.html

Bollendorf, B. (Photographer). (2002). Nèg Mawon. [Digital Image]. Retrieved from http://www.jesterbear.com/Aradia/HaitianImages.html

Auch, J. (Photographer). 2007) Charcoal Boats. [Digital Image]. Retrieved from http://jonathanauch.com/charbon/

Frech, D.A. (US Navy Comm Specialist). (2010). A Brazilian U.N. peacekeeper walks with Haitian children during a patrol in Cite Soleil. [Digital Image]. Retrieved from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_Stabilisation_Mission_in_Haiti#mediaviewer/File:US_Navy_100316-N-9116F-001_A_Brazilian_U.N._peacekeeper_walks_with_Haitian_children_during_a_patrol_in_Cite_Soleil.jpg

Parker, S. (Photographer). (2012). Children play in a slum area in Port-au-Prince. [Digital Image].
Retrieved from http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2013/feb/28/haiti-plan-cholera-un-funds

De Goeij, N. (Photographer). (2013).Transitional Shelters. [Digital Image]. Retrieved from
http://www.crsprogramquality.org/publications/2011/12/20/community-resettlement-and-recovery-program-in-haiti.html

Brug, B.V (Photographer). (2006). *Life Goes On* [Photograph], Retrieved May 19, 2014, from:
http://www.latimes.com/la-fg-haiti-hires-html-htmlstory.html

Stetson, M. (Phtographer). (2010). People in camp. [Digital Image]. Retrieved from
http://www.esquire.com/blogs/food-for-men/haiti-homeless-011111

Retamal, H. (Photographer). (2010). A man holds a Haitian flag as he takes part in a protest. [Digital
Image]. Retrieved from
http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/news/regions/americas/haiti/140114/four-years-after-haiti-earthquake-aid-money

Espinosa, R. (Photographer). (2010). A woman stands in a makeshift tent camp for earthquake
survivors in Port-au-Prince. [Digital Image]. Retrieved
fromhttp://content.time.com/time/photogallery/0,29307,1955396,00.html

New Haiti. (Non Profit). (2010). Girl in swamp with pigs. [Digital Image]. Retrieved
fromhttp://newhaiti.wordpress.com/2010/09/25/resettlement/

Gabriel, P. (Photographer). (2012). Girl in school, Milot, Haiti. [Digital Image]. Retrieved from
http://media-cache-ec0.pinimg.com/236x/76/d6/a5/76d6a55ee253740cc825ab3ee4cec481.jpg

Bolfo, A. (Photographer). Post-Earthquake rubble. [Digital Image]. Retrieved from
http://www.antoniobolfo.com/index.php#mi=2&pt=1&pi=10000&s=12&p=6&a=0&at=0

Life as an Investment. (Blog). (2014). Little girl looking up to camera. [Digital Image]. Retrieved from
http://lifeasaninvestment.com/mind-soul/3-rules-of-the-power-of-spoken-word/

Cole, C. (Photographer). (2010). Haitian guards raise the national flag to half-staff in front of the
National Palace. [Digital Image]. Retrieved from http://www.latimes.com/la-fg-haiti-hires-html-
htmlstory.html

Appendix

Figure A: 2005 Amendments to Haitian Penal Code (Chancy, 2007)

Dispositions antérieures du Code Pénal	Modifications opérées par le Décret du 6 juillet 2005
Section 4. ATTENTATS AUX MOEURS *Art. 278* *Toute personne qui aura commis un outrage public à la pudeur, sera punie d'un emprisonnement de trois mois à un an et d'une amende de seize gourdes à quarante huit gourdes*	Art. 1 La section 4 du chapitre premier du Titre II du Code Pénal est désormais intitulée : Agressions sexuelles.
Art. 279 *Quiconque aura commis le crime de viol, ou sera coupable de tout autre attentat à la pudeur, consommé ou tenté avec violence contre des individus de l'un ou l'autre sexe, sera puni de la réclusion.*	Art. 2 L'article 278 du Code Pénal se lit désormais comme suit : Quiconque aura commis un crime de viol ou sera coupable de toute agression sexuelle, consommée ou tentée avec violence, menaces, surprise ou pression psychologique contre la personne de l'un ou l'autre sexe, sera puni de dix ans de travaux forcés
Art. 280 *Si le crime a été commis sur la personne d'un enfant au dessous de l'âge de quinze ans accomplis, le coupable subira la peine des travaux forcés à temps.* *Art. 281* *La peine sera celle de travaux forcés à perpétuité, si les coupables sont de la classe de ceux qui ont autorité sur la personne envers laquelle ils ont commis*	Art. 3 L'article 279 du Code Pénal se lit désormais comme suit : Si le crime a été commis sur la personne d'un enfant au-dessous de l'âge de quinze ans accomplis, la personne coupable sera punie de quinze ans de travaux forcés Art. 4 L'article 280 se lit désormais comme suit :

Dispositions antérieures du Code Pénal	Modifications opérées par le Décret du 6 juillet 2005
l'attentat, s'ils sont ses instituteurs ou ses serviteurs à gages, ou s'ils sont fonctionnaire public ou ministre d un culte ou si le coupable, quel qu'il soit, a été aidé dans son crime, par une ou plusieurs personnes. Si la mort s'en est suivie, le coupable sera puni de mort (1)	la peine sera celle de travaux forcés à perpétuité, si les coupables sont de la classe de ceux qui ont autorité sur la personne envers laquelle ils ont commis l'attentat ou qui abusent de l'autorité que leur confèrent leurs fonctions, ou si la personne coupable, quelle qu'elle soit, a été aidée dans son crime, par une ou plusieurs personnes, ou si la mort s'en est suivie. Art. 5 Il est inséré sous l'article 280 une section 4 bis intitulée : Attentats aux mours
Art. 282 *Quiconque aura attenté aux mours, en excitant, favorisant, ou facilitant habituellement la débauche ou la corruption de la jeunesse, de l'un ou de l'autre sexe au-dessous de l'âge de dix-huit ans, sera puni d'un emprisonnement de six mois à deux ans* *Si la prostitution ou la corruption a été excitée, favorisée ou facilitée par leurs père, mère, tuteur ou autres personnes chargées de leur surveillance, la peine sera d'un an à trois ans d'emprisonnement.*	Art.6 L'article 281 du Code Pénal se lit désormais comme suit : Quiconque aura attenté aux mours, en excitant, favorisant, ou facilitant habituellement la débauche ou la corruption de la jeunesse, de l'un ou de l'autre sexe au-dessous de l'âge de dix-huit ans, sera puni d'un emprisonnement de six mois à deux ans. Si la prostitution ou la corruption a été excitée, favorisée ou facilitée par leurs père, mère, tuteur ou autres personnes chargées de leur surveillance, la peine sera d'un an à trois ans d'emprisonnement.
Art. 283 *Les coupables du délit mentionné au précédent article seront interdits de toute tutelle ou curatelle et de toute participation aux conseils de famille, savoir : les individus auxquels s'applique le premier paragraphe de cet article, pendant deux ans au moins et cinq ans au plus ; et ceux dont il est parlé au second paragraphe, pendant dix ans au moins et vingt au plus.* 　　*Si le délit a été commis par le père ou la mère, la personne coupable sera de plus privée des droits et avantages à elle accordés, sur la personne et les biens de*	Article 7.- L'article 282 du Code Pénal se lit désormais comme suit : Les coupables du délit mentionné au précédent article seront interdits de toute tutelle ou curatelle et de toute participation aux conseils de famille, savoir : les individus auxquels s'applique le premier paragraphe de cet article, pendant deux ans au moins et cinq ans au plus ; et ceux dont il est parlé au second paragraphe, pendant dix ans au moins et vingt au plus. 　　Si le délit a été commis par le père ou la mère, la personne coupable

Dispositions antérieures du Code Pénal	Modifications opérées par le Décret du 6 juillet 2005
l'enfant, par le Code Civil et par le Décret du 8 octobre 1982 donnant un nouveau statut à la femme mariée.	sera de plus privée des droits et avantages à elle accordés, sur la personne et les biens de l'enfant, par le Code Civil et par le Décret du 8 octobre 1982 donnant un nouveau statut à la femme mariée. Article 8.- L'article 283 du Code Pénal se lit désormais comme suit : Toute personne qui aura commis un outrage public à la pudeur en commettant tous actes, attouchements ou autres actes semblables susceptibles de blesser la pudeur d'une personne de l'un ou de l'autre sexe, sera punie d'un emprisonnement de trois mois à un an.

« En troisième lieu, il paraissait nécessaire de repenser le caractère excusable de blessures ou de crimes commis en réaction à des agressions sexuelles. Quoique répréhensibles en soi, les circonstances de leur commission justifient qu'ils soient rangés au nombre des infractions excusables ». (Exposé des motifs)

Dispositions antérieures du Code Pénal	Modifications opérées par le Décret du 6 juillet 2005
Art. 269.- *Le meurtre commis par le conjoint sur son conjoint n'est pas excusable, si la vie du conjoint qui a commis le meurtre n'a pas été mise en péril dans le moment même où le meurtre a eu lieu.* *Néanmoins, dans le cas d'adultère prévu par l'article 284, le meurtre commis par l'époux sur son épouse, ainsi que sur le complice ou sur l'un d'eux à l'instant où il les surprend en flagrant délit dans la maison conjugale, est excusable*	Art. 10 L'article 269 du Code Pénal se lit désormais comme suit : Le meurtre par le conjoint de l'un ou de l'autre sexe sur son conjoint n'est pas excusable, si la vie du conjoint qui a commis le meurtre n'a pas été mise en péril dans le moment même où le meurtre a eu lieu.
Art.270.- *Le crime de castration, s'il a été immédiatement provoqué par un outrage violent à la pudeur sera considéré comme meurtre ou blessures excusables.*	Art. 11 L'article 270 du Code Pénal se lit désormais comme suit : Le meurtre ou les blessures, s'ils ont été immédiatement provoqués en réaction à une agression sexuelle, seront considérés comme meurtre ou blessures

	excusables.

« En outre, les dispositions du Code Pénal relatives à cette matière établissent en défaveur de la femme une discrimination incompatible avec les engagements internationaux de la République d'Haïti. **L'adultère** *étant considéré comme une violation d'un contrat civil, entre des conjoints avec des conséquences civiles : le divorce.* **Il y a lieu de le dépénaliser** *». (Exposé des motifs)*

Dispositions antérieures du Code Pénal	Modifications opérées par le décret du 6 juillet 2005

Art. 284
L'adultère de la femme ne pourra être dénoncé que par le mari.
cette faculté même cessera, s'il est dans le cas prévu par l'article 287
 	
Art. 285. -
La femme convaincue d'adultère subira la peine de l'emprisonnement pendant trois mois au moins et deux ans au plus.-
    Le mari restera le maître d'arrêter l'effet de cette condamnation en consentant à reprendre sa femme
 	
    Art. 286 -
le complice de la femme adultère sera puni de l'emprisonnement pendant le même espace de temps.
Les seules preuves qui pourront être admises contre le prévenu de complicité seront, outre le flagrant délit, celle résultant de lettres ou autres pièces écrites par le prévenu.
 	
Art. 287.-
Le mari qui aura entretenu une concubine dans la maison conjugale, et qui aura été convaincu sur la plainte de sa femme, sera puni d'une amende de cent gourdes à quatre cents gourdes.
	Art. 9
	Les articles 284, 285, 286 et 287 du Code Pénal sont et demeurent abrogés

Figure B: Call for social protection as described in the Government of the Republic of Haiti's Action plan for national recovery and development of Haiti

4.3.3 Social protection

The improvement of immediate and future living conditions, the state of health and the productivity of Haitians will depend in a large measure on the capacity of the social sector to respond to immediate needs whilst also integrating a transformation of the role of the State in these sectors in both the medium and long term. Access to basic services should no longer be seen simply as expenditure but as an investment in human capital, a critical factor for economic recovery and growth in Haiti, in addition to being essential for the well-being of Haitians. Access to basic services should be considered as an engine for the new foundation of Haiti, as well as the economic attractiveness of regions and deconcentration of services. In this respect, social sectors need to become the avenues of a genuine public-private partnership, with the State guiding, harmonising and monitoring health and education initiatives performed locally, whilst also increasing its own role and its capability to mobilise its own resources and deploy them. Ultimately, rebuilding Haiti differently involves directly addressing food insecurity (which affects 40percent of households) and extreme poverty; this involves considering households as such, investing in the human capital represented by children, and protecting revenue (consumption, particularly of food and access to basic services) by offering jobs. It is also necessary to take into account the increased vulnerability of thousands of women who have lost their job or suffered major losses, particularly in the informal sector; the thousands of young people who no longer attend school, and over 100,000 children without the protection of a family following the earthquake, with all the potential risks of violence and exploitation. There are also thousands of newly disabled people who will require assistance in social reinsertion. A basic social protection system must be implemented and tested during the country's initial recovery phase. Existing systems must be reinforced through the direct provision of basic services to affected families thanks to partnerships with private operators.

Figure C: Recovery chart sequencing how urban planning can assist in disasters

Sequence	Actions for urban planning and response

PRE-DISASTER	• Disaster risk reduction initiatives underway
	  - *Make DRR a local priority; identify risks and enhancing early warnings; build a culture of safety; reduce underlying risk factors; strengthen disaster preparedness for effective response*
	
	• Preparedness plans in place
	  - *Staff communication and co ordination plans in place; logistics in place; servers backed up; preparedness plans rehearsed regularly*

DISASTER	

RELIEF TO RECOVERY	• Enact preparedness plans
	  - *Decide what the exit strategy is, and at what point to withdraw*
	
	• Save lives and meet basic needs
	  - *Ensure safety; provide water, food, health care, shelter, protection etc for as short a time as possible; beware of creating dependency*
	
	• Co ordinate with others in assessment and planning
	  - *Conduct joint assessments; co ordinate closely; link assessments with actions*
	
	• Engage with markets and the local private sector
	  - *Employ food vendors and water providers; source goods locally; use local importers; find and support local entrepreneurs; be careful not to compete unfairly and undermine local business*
	
	• Keep people in or close to their neighbourhoods where possible
	  - *Risk assessments for 'safe return'; avoid creating new settlements; facilitate permanent housing rather than build short term shelter*
	
	• Find, use and build neighbourhood social capital
	  - *Use pre-disaster developmental networks and partners; assume skills exist locally; adopt a range of negotiation approaches when dealing with complex sets of stakeholders*
	
	• Work with government wherever possible
	  - *Proactively engage with offers of assistance, eg technical support and provision of resources; provide regular updates; avoid creating parallel structures*
	
	• Use cash based programmes
	  - *Target most vulnerable for cash transfers; do meaningful cash for work programmes; use technology, eg phones.*

Figure D: Interview Questions

<u>Disaster Relief Planning: Women and Safety</u>

Questions for professionals in the field of disaster relief planning

1. What type of organization are you?
2. Do you work in collaboration with other organizations?
3. How long have you been in Haiti?
4. What is your specific mandate in Haiti?
5. How do you obtain your funding?
6. Do you specialize in relief work?
7. How do you define relief work?/ What type of relief work do you do?
8. In what countries do you operate?
9. What are your primary concerns when embarking on a relief mission?
10. Do you have targeted programs for specific demographics?
11. Do you have a gender sensitive approach to your work?
12. What are some of the measures your organization puts in place to ensure the safety of affected populations?
13. Have women approached you about safety concerns in relation to living in relief camps?
14. Have men approached you about safety concerns for themselves or women living in relief camps?
15. Has your organization had to deal with safety issues related specifically to women?
16. What, in your professional opinion, is lacking in the disaster planning process?
17. Do you believe additional tactics need to be put in place to create safe spaces for women? If so, do you have specific example of what these measures can be?
18. What are some of the more successful safety approaches you have employed to relief aid and planning?
19. Do you see a guidebook on safety measure s and women being useful in your field of work? If so, why? If not, why?

Figure E : Consent Form

School of Urban Planning, McGill University
Suite 400, Macdonald-Harrington Building
815 Sherbrooke Street West
Montreal, Quebec H3A 2K6
Tel.: 514-398-4075 | Fax: 514-398-8376

Violence against women and natural disasters: an urban planning solution
Researcher: Kimberly Fils-Aimé
Supervisor: Dr. Nandini Ramanujam

Period of research: January 2014 – June 2014

I would like to invite you to participate in this graduate research project. Under the auspices the McGill University department of Urban Planning, we are researching a gendered approach to post disaster planning as a means of curbing violence against women. The purpose of this interview is to collect information regarding post disaster emergency relief planning in order to determine the steps already being taken towards gender sensitive approaches, and the gaps that remain to be filled to ensure safety of female camp residents. This research is part of a supervised research project which is a requirement for the completion of the Masters of Urban Planning program at McGill University. It is possible that this work will be published in an academic journal at a later date.

All information collected during the interview will only be available to Kimberly Fils-Aimé (primary researcher) and Dr. Nandini Ramanujam (supervisor).The data will be collected and stored on a USB key that will be kept in a locked drawer when not in use. The interview takes no more than 60 minutes, though we may jointly agree to schedule a second interview.

As researchers, we must comply with stringent ethical guidelines on research (as stipulated in McGill University policy and Tri-Council Policy Statement Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans). Our research has been reviewed by McGill University's Research Ethics Board Office and granted clearance for interview research. There are three aspects of the research interview for which we ask your consent.

- **Participation in the interview**: You may choose to participate in this research project or not. In granting this interview, you may choose to skip particular questions. You may end the interview or withdraw yourself and your data from the study at any point.
- **Confidentiality**: You may also choose the level of confidentiality with which you would like us to treat your comments. Choices are indicated on the informed consent form, ranging from no mention of your name, mention but no direct attribution (your comments won't be linked directly to you), or full attribution (we quote you). In any case, notes and transcripts of the interview will not be shared with anyone other than those on the research team.
- **Recording**: You may allow the researchers to record the interview (audio recording) or decline to be recorded. Recordings will be used so as not to lose any valuable information transmitted during interview, or to provide direct quotes (if permitted to do so). If you agree to be audio recorded, materials will be kept securely on a USB device that is kept in a locked drawer when not in use. Any audio recordings, transcripts and notes from the interview will be destroyed once the research has concluded.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights or welfare as a participant in this research study, please contact the McGill Ethics Officer at 514-398-6831 or lynda.mcneil@mcgill.ca

Many thanks for your participation.

Sincerely,

Kimberly Fils-Aimé, Masters of Urban Planning Candidate, McGill University, Kimberly.fils-aime@mail.mcgill.ca Dr. Nandini Ramanujam, Executive Director Centre for Human Rights and Legal Pluralism Faculty of Law, McGill University, nandini.ramanujam@mcgill.ca

Consent form

	Time & date of interview
	Phone / in-person/ Skype

Respondent	
Name and job title of respondent:	
Work or home telephone:	
E-mail:	

Before commencing the interview, please initial below if you agree:

Informed consent

The research process and expected use of data have been explained to me. I understand that I may choose to end my participation in the interview at any point, may decline to answer specific questions, and may withdraw from the study at any time. I understand that K. Fils-Aimé and her supervisor N. Ramanujam will have full access to material from the interview, that the information will be maintained securely and that the material will be destroyed after the conclusion of the research. I also understand that interviews conducted via email and Skype can possibly be intercepted (though unlikely) and that this is outside the control of the interviewer.

☐ I agree to participate in an interview.

I agree to have the interview be digitally recorded (audio).
☐ Yes
☐ No

At the end of the interview, please indicate the level of confidentiality that you would like observed.

Confidentiality
If you choose to maintain confidentiality, your responses will be stored and presented in a manner that protects your identity. Please select one of the following options.

☐ All responses are to be kept confidential. My name is not to be identified in any research reports, presentations, or publications.

☐ All responses are to be kept confidential. My name and job title may be identified as among those interviewed, however any research reports presentations, or publications will maintain the anonymity of specific responses.

☐ I consent to release of information provided in this interview. My name and job title can be linked to specific responses in reports, presentations, or publications arising from this research.

Results
☐ I would like a copy of the results of this research.
Please return this form to the interviewer. Thank you for your participation.