



# BEYOND SHOCK

Charting the landscape of sexual violence in post-quake Haiti:  
Progress, Challenges & Emerging Trends 2010-2012

Anne-christine d'Adesky with PotoFanm+Fi

Foreword by Edwidge Danticat | Photo essay by Nadia Todres



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## DEDICATION

This report is dedicated to Haitians who are victims of crimes of sexual violence, including those affected after the historic 2010 earthquake.

Some died of injuries related to these crimes. Others have committed suicide, unable to bear injustice and further suffering.

May they rest in peace. May we continue to seek justice in their names.

Let their memory serve as a reminder of the sacredness of every human life and the moral necessity to act with all our means to protect it.

It is also dedicated to the survivors who have had the courage to step out of the shadows of shock, pain, suffering, indignity, and silence and into recovery and public advocacy. Their voices guide a growing grassroots movement.

We also acknowledge and thank the many individuals and groups in and outside Haiti – community activists, political leaders, health providers, police officers, lawyers, judges, witnesses, caretakers and family members, human rights and gender activists, journalists and educators – who carry the torch.

*Kenbe Fem – Stay strong.*



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<b>Agencies, Groups, and Individuals Contacted for this Report</b> <i>(Acronyms in alphabetical order)</i>
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- **AFASDA** Haitian Women's Sun Association | Association Femmes Soleil d'Haiti
- **AHDESE** Association of Devoted Haitian Men | Association des Hommes Devoues du Sud-Est
- **ANAPFEH** National Association for the Protection of Haitian Women and Children | Association Nationale de Protection des Femmes et Enfants Haïtiens
- **APROSIFA** Association for the Promotion of Integral Family Healthcare | Association pour la promotion de la santé intégrale de la famille
- **BAI** Bureau of International Lawyers | Bureau des Avocats Internationaux
- **BPM** Brigade for the Protection of Minors | Brigade de Protection des Mineurs
- **CAFVAS** Center for Support of Victims of Sexual Abuse | Centre d'Appui pour les Femmes Victimes d'Abus Sexuels
- **CDC** U.S. Centers for Disease Control
- **CEFOJ** youth group, Jacmel
- **CHRGJ** NYU Center for Human Rights and Global Justice
- **'Concertation Nationale'** National Dialogue on Violence Against Women | La Concertation Nationale Contre les Violences Faites Aux Femmes
- **CRGS** Center for Gender and Refugee Studies at Hasting Laws School
- **DD** Digital Democracy
- **FALEPH** Women in Action for Economic and Political Leadership of Haitians | Femme en Action pour le Leadership Economique et Politique des Haïtiennes
- **FAVILEK** Women Victims Rise Up | Fanm Viktim Leve Kanpe
- **GHESKIO** Haitian Study Group on Kaposi's Sarcoma and Opportunistic Infections | Groupe Haïtien d'Étude du Sarcome de Kaposi et des infections Opportunistes
- **HAGN** Haiti Adolescent Girls Network | Réseau Haïtien pour les Adolescentes
- **HRW** Human Rights Watch
- **IDEO** Institute for Personal and Organizational Development | Institut de Développement Personnel et Organisationnel
- **IJDH** Institute for Justice and Democracy
- **INURED** Interuniversity Institute for Research & Development
- **IRC** International Rescue Committee (IRC)
- **Jayne Fleming**, Esq., Reed Smith Law Firm
- **J/P HRO** Jenkins-Penn Haitian Relief Organization
- **Kay Fanm** (Women's House)
- **KOFAVIV** Commission of Women Victims for Victims | Komisyon Fanm Viktim pou Viktim in Kreyol
- **KONAMAVID** National Coordination of Direct Victims | Kodinasyon Nasyonal Victim Direk (in Kreyol) |
- **LIDE** Leader
- **Lig Pouvwva Fanm** | Women's Rights League
- **Limye Lavi** | Light of Life
- **MDM** Médecins du Monde | Doctors of the World
- **MSF** Médecins Sans Frontieres | Doctors Without Borders (MSF-Belgique; MSF-France; MSF-Holland)

- **ODELPA** | Organization for Development and the Fight Against Poverty | Organisation pour le Développement et la Lutte contre la Pauvreté
- **OFAVA**
- **MADRE**
- **MCFDF** Ministry for Women’s Condition and Women’s Rights | Ministère à la Condition Féminine et aux Droits des Femmes
- **Midwives for Haiti**
- **MINUSTAH** United Nations Stabilisation Mission in Haiti | Mission des Nations Unies pour la Stabilisation en Haïti
- **PNd’H** Haitian National Police | Police Nationale d’Haïti
- **PIH** Partners In Health (PIH) (also **ZL** Zanmi Lasante)
- **PLAN** International – Haiti
- **RNDDH** National Human Rights Defense Network | Réseau National de Défense des Droits Humains
- **SEROvie**
- **SAS** Small Arms Survey
- **SOFA** Solidarity with Haitian Women | Solidarité Fanm Ayisyèn (also SOFA Sud-Est – Southeast branch)
- **Survivor’s Connect**
- **Thomas Reuters** Foundation
- **UNFPA** United Nations Population Fund
- **UNICEF** United Nations Children’s Fund
- **UNPOL** United Nations Police
- **UNHCR** United Nations High Commission on Refugees
- **UN Women** (ONU Femmes in French)
- **URAMEL** Unit for Medico-Legal Research and Action | Unité de Recherche et d'Action Médico-légal
- **VACS** Violence Against Children Study – CDC/UNICEF/INURED/GoH
- **V-DAY**
- **WE-ADVANCE**
- **WE-LEAD** – Heartland Alliance

<b>Agencies, Abbreviations and Acronyms:</b>
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*The following groups and abbreviations may be found in this report:*

**AFASDA** Association Femmes Soleil d’Haiti / Haitian Women’s Sun Association  
**AIDS** Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome  
**ARV** antiretroviral drug  
**ASRH** Adolescent Sexual and Reproductive Health  
**BAI** Bureau des Avocats Internationaux  
**BPM** Brigade de Protection des Mineurs / Brigade for the Protection of Minors  
**CCCM** Camp Coordination and Camp Management  
**CDC** Centers for Disease Control  
**CONAP** (KONAP in Kreyol) Coordination Nationale de Plaidoyer pour les droits des femmes | National Coordination for Advocacy on Women’s Rights  
**CCR** Center for Constitutional Rights  
**CFV** Concertation des Femmes Victimes  
**CIRREV** Centre d’Intervention, de Rehabilitation, de Recherche et d’Expertise pour les victimes de violence (in French) | Center for Intervention, Rehabilitation, Research, and Expertise for victims of violence  
**‘Concertation National’** Concertation National Contre les Violences Faites aux Femmes | National Dialogue on Violence Against Women  
**CRUO** Centre de Reference en Urgences Obstétriques | Referral Center for Obstetric Emergencies  
**EC** Emergency Contraception  
**EmOC** Emergency Obstetric Care (also EOC)  
**FAVILEK** Fanm Viktim Leve Kanpe | Women Victims Get Up Stand Up  
**GHESKIO** Le Groupe Haïtien d’Étude du Sarcome de Kaposi et des Infections Opportunistes / Haitian Study Group on Kaposi’s Sarcoma and Opportunistic Infections  
**GoH** Government of Haiti  
**GBV** Gender-based violence  
**HAGN** Haiti Adolescent Girls Network  
**HIV** Human Immunodeficiency Virus  
**HNP** Haitian National Police | Police Nationale d’Haiti (PNd’H)  
**HUEH** Hôpital Universitaire de L’Etat | University Hospital of the State  
**HRW** Human Rights Watch  
**IACHR** Inter-American Commission on Human Rights  
**IDEO** Institute for Personal and Organizational Development | Institut de Développement Personnel et Organisationnel  
**IDP** Internally Displaced Persons (camps)  
**IJDH** Institute for Justice and Democracy in Haiti  
**IOM** International Organization of Migration  
**IRC** International Rescue Committee  
**KOVAVIV** Komisyon Fanm Viktim Pou Viktim /Women’s Commission of Victims for Victims  
**KONAMAVID** Kodinasyon Nasyonal Victim Direk (in Kreyol) / National Coordination of Direct Victims  
**LERN** Lawyer’s Earthquake Response Network  
**MCFDF** Ministère à la Condition Féminine et aux Droits des Femmes | Ministry of Women’s Condition and Women’s Rights



**MDM** Médecins du Monde | Doctors of the World  
**MAST** Le Ministère des Affaires Sociales et du Travail | Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor  
**MINUSTAH** Mission des Nations Unies pour la Stabilisation en Haïti /United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti  
**MOH** Ministry/Minister of Health  
**MOJ** Ministry / Minister of Justice  
**MOUFHED** Mouvement des Femmes Haitiennes pour L'Education de le Développement / Haitian Women's Movement for Education and Development  
**MSF** Médecins Sans Frontières | Doctors Without Borders  
**OVC** Orphans and vulnerable children  
**PIH/ZL** Partners In Health – Zanmi Lasante  
**PACS** Post Abortion Care Services  
**PAP** Port-au-Prince  
**PEP** Post-Exposure Prophylaxis (for HIV)  
**PEPFAR** Presidential Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief  
**PIH** Partners In Health  
**PLWHA** (PPV+ in French): person/people living with HIV or AIDS  
**PMTCT** Prevention of Mother to Child Transmission (of HIV)  
**RH** Reproductive Health  
**RAPP** Rape Accountability and Protection Project of BAI-IJDH  
**RESTAVEK** Kreyol word for *reste avec* in French: 'to stay with' – describes a live-in domestic worker.  
**RNDDH** National Human Rights Defense Network  
**SART** Sexual Assault Response Team  
**SOFA** Solidarite Fanm Ayisyen / Haitian Women's Solidarity  
**UCL FVV (PNH)** Unité de Lutte de Femme Victime de Violence / Combat Unit for Women Victims of Violence of National Haitian Police  
**UNAIDS** Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS  
**UNDP** United Nations Development Programme  
**UNFPA** United Nations Population Fund  
**UNICEF** United Nations Children's Fund  
**UNIFEM** United Nations Development Fund for Women  
**UNHCR** United Nations High Commission on Refugees  
**URAMEL** Research and Medical Action Unit |Unité de Recherche et d'Action Médico-légale  
**USAID** United States Agency for International Development  
**UNPOL** United Nations Police  
**VACS** Violence Against Children's Study  
**VAW** Violence Against Women  
**VCT** Voluntary counseling and testing  
**WHO** World Health Organization

## Executive Summary

Beyond Shock provides a comprehensive report about the **broad and sectorial field progress** made by frontline providers of services to sexual violence survivors since Haiti's historic January 2010 earthquake. The report also looks at the shifting landscape of actors, both established and new, Haitian and foreign, who have raced to respond to the crisis. **It highlights groups, individuals, programs, and approaches that are making a difference in the field and captures emergent trends in this landscape. It offers hope for the future while revealing a very difficult situation in the present.**

A major focus of the report is an examination of access to *holistic* services for victims. Beyond Shock examines progress in the areas of **security, housing, reporting, research, post-quake health care, legal justice, prevention, education, advocacy, and the impact on vulnerable populations**, as well as **the role of men and boys, and what has been learned about perpetrators.**

Beyond Shock addresses the big-picture questions many have asked since the flurry of news reports about rape in Haiti in early 2010. *How bad is the problem of sexual violence in Haiti and how is it changing? Has the situation improved? How do we measure this progress?*

**The report both confirms and challenges prior findings on gender-based violence (GBV) and rape in Haiti.** It reveals that **less than 1% of international bank funding has been dedicated to fighting sexual violence**, limiting an otherwise robust and expanding effort by grassroots groups and Haiti's government to fight gender-based violence. It **reveals specific gender aftershocks, including a post-quake wave of early unwanted pregnancy, and subsequent abortions, in adolescents linked to sexual violence and survival sex** – that have been overlooked by the media and relief groups.

**The report identifies youth and economic vulnerability**, along with gender, **as the broad risk factors** for sexual violence. **Specific factors include lack of housing** for women-headed households and poor families with adolescent girls, **lack of safe housing** for GBV victims, **rising food insecurity, and a 2012 surge in urban violent crime and gang activity** – all reflections of a worsening economic picture that impacts on both genders and is a **key engine of sexual violence**. The economic situation has been exacerbated by chronic natural disasters, including **hurricanes Sandy and Isaac**, and a **cholera** epidemic.

Beyond Shock documents how Haitian **civil society has coped and led** despite herculean obstacles. The report offers **a portrait of the rebuilding** of Haiti's feminist movement and profiles **grassroots women's and GBV leaders that** provide a range of voices, perspectives, and reflections on the post-quake period.

**Report Team:** Beyond Shock was produced by **Haitian and US members of the PotoFanm+Fi coalition**, a post-quake advocacy group that champions Haitian women's voices, leadership, and recovery in Haiti. The report was coordinated and written by veteran journalist and author **Anne-christine d'Adesky**, who has family roots in Haiti. She was assisted by Haitian journalists **and local partners of PotoFanm+Fi**. A number of Haitian scholars and professionals in technical sectors provided expert review of the report.

Haitian author **Edwidge Danticat** wrote the foreword to the report. Photographer **Nadia Todres** contributed a special **photo essay about Girls** in Haiti's camps.

**PotoFi Survey:** Beyond Shock builds upon **new research on sexual violence and pregnancy in over 2000 Haitian adolescents** and families by PotoFanm+Fi's pilot **PotoFi Haiti Girls Initiative ("PotoFi")**, a parallel participatory field research project begun in October 2011 with seven main Haitian local partners in the Port-au-Prince and Jacmel zones. A **Summary Report of final results is presented in a report Annex.**

### Major Findings

**Official Cases Down, Unofficial Up:** Based on a review of these myriad reports Beyond Shock confirms that gender-based violence and rape spiked after the 2010 earthquake. Since early 2011, **officially reported cases have declined monthly** at some established agencies and **even plateaued to below pre-quake levels.** By comparison, the **unofficial picture shows a steady increase** in urban and rural settings.

**Most Vulnerable: Girls.** Adolescents and younger girls make up **over 60% of reported rape cases** – the majority – based on collective data. As one Haitian advocates put it, "The adults get beaten; the younger ones get raped." Both **victims and perpetrators have gotten younger**, say advocates. **Reports of incest have also increased**, which advocates view as a sign more families feel confident to report it.

**Paltry Funding:** **Less than 1% of Haiti recovery funds** from the World Bank and Inter-American Bank funds have been **dedicated to sexual violence programs**, based on an analysis by Gender Action and other data. A single, non-renewable WB grant supported a **grassroots, survivor-led peer outreach network in 2010 that** reached many victims in camps and **boosted reporting of rape.** UN agencies (UN MINUSTAH, UN Women, UNFPA, among others) also provided GBV funds and relief supplies for women.

Outside funding has largely flowed to non-government agencies, leaving **Haiti's women's ministry with too little funding and political muscle** to oversee a national effort by many small and larger actors.

**Post-Rape Aftershocks:** **Unwanted and early pregnancies, illegal abortions, and child abandonment** have increased, and reports link cases to sexual violence and increased "survival sex" in teenage girls. The PotoFi field survey found **64% of 981 adolescents reported they got pregnant from rape. Of 1251 pregnant girls, 37% also admitted engaging in survival sex, primarily for shelter**, as well as food.

**Overlooked: Domestic Violence.** Overall, **domestic violence cases make up 90%** of reported GBV cases since 2010, **dwarfing rape-only cases by a broad ratio of 3:1.** This is similar to the pre-quake picture.

**Targeted: The Disabled:** Disability has emerged as a big risk factor for sexual violence, with a study showing more reports of rape among disabled women compared to non-disabled, and more rape of disabled individuals outside IDP quake refugee camps versus inside them – a 2011-12 trend.

### Challenging Assumptions and Narratives about Rape in Haiti

**A Familial Crime:** Post-quake reports show **more rapes are committed by persons known or familiar to the victim**, often neighbors and friends. A minority involve gang rapes by masked attackers. This **finding challenges 2010 media reports of “stranger rape” by escaped criminals**. Rape remains a familial crime.

**Few Uniformed Attackers:** While several male rape scandals involving UN MINUSTAH peacekeeping troops in Haiti have generated recent media attention, Beyond Shock **finds that reported cases of rape by uniformed soldiers and police represent a very small minority of overall cases**. But advocates warn that victims fear arrest by police and soldiers, resulting in under-reporting of such cases.

**Protective Civic Leadership:** **On the positive side**, the earthquake has led to **increased advocacy against sexual violence**. The report presents data showing that **local community groups provided better camp security** before takeover by a UN agency, suggesting **social ties are key to reducing violence**.

### Vulnerable Groups, Hidden Crimes

**Perpetrators:** To date, the response to sexual violence in Haiti remains **victim-centered and too narrow**. The reporting team found limited research, data, or programs that focused on perpetrators.

**Child prostitution:** **A wave of girls (and women) began trading sex for shelter and food since 2010**. Agencies working with sex workers also report **an increase of younger girls among commercial prostitutes** in urban centers. The girls are often subjected to greater abuse, including rapes.

**Public Stigma:** Stigma and social views of rape cause victims and families to hide the crime. **Young girls who lose their sexual virginity through rape are deemed less likely to marry**, and thus an economic burden to families, advocates report. Raped women are also labeled as prostitutes.

**Limited Service Access:** Many **groups have improved and expanded GBV outreach and services** to victims in the capital, where GBV services are concentrated. Data show many victims **do access some counseling, but not post-rape GBV or preventive services from health professionals** or hospitals. Instead **post-quake conditions have increased hurdles to access** for many victims, urban and rural.

**Male victims:** To date, there are few reported cases of male victims of rape, but recent MINUSTAH scandals have raised awareness of these cases. **Stigma and fear of being labeled a homosexual and AIDS carrier** are cited by advocates as reasons **male victims avoid disclosure**.

### Sector Progress

Beyond Shock documents **considerable activities made by stakeholders at all levels in responding to sexual violence**, with support and guidance from Haiti’s women’s ministry and other state agencies.

**Much credit goes to ordinary volunteer Haitian citizens, longtime feminists, and GBV survivors,** with help from key international NGO allies and Haiti's women's ministry, and country representatives at UN Women, UNFPA, UNHCR and the IOM – among lead UN agencies assisting women and children.

**Improved Reporting:** Women's groups and survivors, backed by MINUSTAH support, organized an effective survivor-led outreach network that helped find and counsel GBV victims and accompany them to emergency services. This successful peer outreach is cited by advocates as one reason reports of rape increased since 2010.

**Technological Innovation:** Haitian and international allies successfully launched several SOS rape hotlines, linked to mobile and web-based "real time" crisis monitoring platforms that represent innovative, easy-to-use new tools for reporting, mapping, and monitoring sexual violence.

**Civic Response:** Within hours after the earthquake, Haitian community leaders began organizing an organic, protective civic response overlooked by media reports. **Recent data from one large multi-camp survey shows that less sexual violence occurred in IDP camps run by community members before takeover by a lead UN agency,** possibly because residents and local leaders knew each other.

**Justice:** Several summer 2012 **convictions represent a turning point in fight to end impunity for rape and incest.** The Martelly government has pushed forward impending **reforms of laws on paternity, gender-based violence, abortion and Haiti's medico-legal protocol** for responding to sexual violence. These steps reflect the government's increased commitment to fighting rape, allied with civil society.

### From Survival to Recovery

One of the most important **indicators of progress in the GBV field is the wellness of victims – their physical, psychological, and social recovery from sexual violence.** To date, there is a critical absence of data and literature about their journeys of recovery and survival. Data to date show that rape victims in Haiti have suffered immediate and long-standing physical and emotional injuries as a result of violent rapes, including gang rapes.

**Psychological Impacts:** While physical injuries may heal, not all do. Some victims have remained physically disabled for life as a result of rape. Emotionally, many report depression and post-trauma including suicidal thoughts and a fear of encountering their attacker(s). **For many younger women, the social stigma of rape and its perceived negative social impact on their prospects of marriage remain acute sources of depression and anxiety.** Specialized mental health services are lacking in many areas.

**Survivor's and Women's Leadership:** On the positive side, **rape victims and feminist groups have led a highly public advocacy effort to demand attention and resources to assist GBV victims and residents in Haiti's IDP camps,** as well as underserved provincial cities, towns and rural areas.

**International Solidarity:** UN agencies and humanitarian groups provided funding and supplies for women, including rape kits, and coordinated a provisional GBV Sub-Cluster and related Reproductive Health Working Group for agencies focusing on sexual violence and women’s health. However, local Haitian NGOs were tacitly excluded or declined to attend sub cluster meetings at the heavily guarded UN compound, including groups outside the capital—leaving out key groups in the GBV fight.

**Measuring Benefit:** Beyond Shock finds that there has been little focus on monitoring follow services for victims, and there is little data to measure the impact and benefit of interventions on recovery of survivors. The report presents the voices and portraits of GBV leaders, including several survivors, who discuss the role in the movement. They recount a journey of transformation from victims to becoming outspoken public advocates and leaders in the GBV fight. For many, helping others provides an avenue for healing and builds a sense of protective community that aids recovery and social reintegration.

**Adolescent Services:** With the spotlight turning to the overlooked crisis affecting adolescents, **some groups have formed safe spaces for girls and launched adolescent- and child-friendly GBV and health services.** These are positive signs of progress. So is the **larger national dialogue that indicates social mentalities toward rape in Haiti are changing with increased public awareness and state campaigns aimed at victims and also at educating men.**

**Men’s Leadership:** More men and teenage boys joined GBV security patrols and belong to men’s discussion groups focused on women’s empowerment and GBV. One Jacmel group is pushing to develop the **nascent men’s movement** but there is still a big gap in visible high-level male leadership.

### Forecasting the Future

Looking ahead, **Beyond Shock captures many lessons offered by the post-quake period**, including suggestions for priority action and recommendations listed in the report. **Given the current socio-economic climate, ongoing displacement, and rising violent crime in Haiti, the report warns that sexual violence is likely to keep increasing** in the period ahead, particularly as groups roll out new programs to find and help victims. To shift the tide, displaced women and girls in particular need urgent access to housing and economic assistance, while GBV victims need greater access to a broader package of holistic services, especially rural women and girls. There is much to do, and much that can be done. As the Haitian proverb says, *men anpil, chay pa lou. With many hands, the load is lighter.* ∞

## FOREWORD

Many inspiring phrases have been used to describe the strength of Haitian women. **Fanm se pote mitan. Fanm se wozo. Fanm se kajou. Fanm se banbou.** We have been compared to the crucial middle pillars of houses and temples. We say about ourselves that we are as resilient as the neglected reeds on the sides of roads and rivers that get trampled over and over again, but still manage to grow and thrive. It is sometimes said about us too that we are like mahogany or bamboo, that we get better as we age, and that we bend but do not easily break. All of this is true.

However, as this painstakingly researched report shows, Haitian women--particularly poor women--are as vulnerable as they are strong, vulnerable to what one woman's rights' activist, Carole Pierre-Paul Jacob of SOFA (The Haitian Women's Solidarity Organization), calls "the feminization of poverty" as well as natural disasters, disease and sexual assault.

On January 12, 2010, the devastating earthquake that struck Haiti killed a large number of the country's women, along with its men and children. Many of those who survived moved into improvised displacement camps, some in public squares and other open spaces. Young girls, who have always been at greater risk for sexual assault, were now even more so. Some had no choice but to resort to survival or transactional sex, or to move in with older males for protection.

It was obvious, even walking around the streets of Port-au-Prince a few months after the earthquake, that there were more pregnant girls around. This post-quake phenomenon of 'filles-mères,' or girl mothers, has affected girls as young as twelve, whose still developing bodies are less likely to survive childbirth. What this report documents is the link of youth and vulnerability to sexual violence and other gender aftershocks of the earthquake.

The sheet-thin walls of improvised tents offered little protection for these women and girls, some of whom had had been assaulted before during previously volatile political periods in Haiti. It is as if, members of a woman's grassroots organization told writer and activist Beverly Bell months after the earthquake, their bodies had never stopped shaking.

Rape is a structural and not a cyclical problem, a point stressed by SOFA's Pierre-Paul Jacob and other Haitian feminist leaders. In a country where rape was only made a punishable crime in 2005 and where rapists could once easily remedy their crime by marrying their victims, the problem needs to be addressed broadly and thoroughly. There is not, as many have wrongfully asserted, a "rape culture" in Haiti any more than there is anywhere else, where crimes in general, but particular sexual assaults, go largely unpunished, be they by one's neighbors or by MINUSTAH or UN forces. But like anywhere else, neither silence nor hyperbole will solve the problem.

"The question of violence," says Pierre-Paul Jacob, "is a matter of education and training. Our social education deserves to be critiqued and diagnosed and that way we'll finally arrive at solutions."

*This report, looking beyond the initial shocks of 2010, does not only offer bad news. It is a must-read report on an essential subject because you will not only learn about programs and advances in this field, but you will be inspired.*

*All of us who have followed or have been involved in gender-based violence issues in Haiti, rejoiced, for example, when Malya Villard-Appolon of KOFAVIV (The Commission of Women Victims) was recently named a 2012 CNN Hero for her work with raped women in displacement camps. Here you will learn more about Malya and other women like her, as well as many other individuals and organizations that have been trying to stop gender based violence in Haiti and seek justice for victims long before the earthquake. Other younger, newer leaders have risen out of the rubble, carrying the skills and structures they developed organizing female watch committees and safe spaces for girls in the displacement camps, into a growing diligence that has reached into some of the neighborhoods where families, some forcibly removed from the camps, have relocated.*

*Among those trying to take women's issues and concerns into national politics is singer and activist Barbara Guillaume, who co-founded NAP VANSE (Kreyol for WE ADVANCE), a women's rights organization that works in Cité Soleil and is also profiled in this report. This populated zone of the capital is one of the poorest and most vilified places in Haiti. "If we can change the worst of Haiti," Guillaume, a mayoral candidate from Cité Soleil, has said, then "we can change all of Haiti."*

*A lot of work remains to be done to change Haiti, especially for women. The number of vulnerable women and girls has grown, not only due to increased poverty, unstable living situations, but also due to physical disabilities resulting from earthquake-related injuries. As this report notes, specific post-quake conditions such as lack of housing fuel sexual violence and must be addressed to turn the tide.*

*The earthquake has also attracted plenty of well-meaning organizations from all over the world who want to work on issues of gender-based violence in Haiti and need to understand what is happening on the ground and how best to involve and include the participation of the women there who are trying to move beyond shock -- and shock value -- towards further empowerment, for themselves and each other.*

*Part of the solution must also be rural women -- women outside of Port-au-Prince--who have very little or no access to gender based violence services. It includes men and boys, who could be standing with women as they address the role of male perpetrators and male victims too, and push forward needed reforms regionally and nationally, via broader educational campaigns and in smaller community settings.*

*This report digs deeply to diagnose problems and also seeks out solutions. There can be no solution however, without the full inclusion of the women who fight this battle on the front lines every day, while still remaining pillars and unyielding reeds, while stumbling and not falling, while bending and not breaking, as they try to not just survive, but thrive, and move beyond shock to empowerment.*

*--Edwidge Danticat*



## About This Report

This report was developed by Haitian and US members of the PotoFanm+Fi partnership coalition<sup>i</sup> that formed after Haiti's January 2010 earthquake. It also benefits from recent research on sexual violence and pregnancy in Haitian adolescents by our groups' pilot PotoFi Haiti Girls Initiative, a participatory field research project carried out in October 2011 with eight Haitian local partners in the Port-au-Prince and Jacmel zones (see Annex III).

**Beyond Shock** provides an overview of broad and sectorial field progress made by frontline providers of services to sexual violence survivors since the earthquake. It reviews reports and data documented from 2010 to fall 2012 by myriad actors, spotlights successful programs approaches, and provides a comparative yardstick to evaluate overall advances by this movement.

## Background

This report was carried out in response to widespread reports of sexual violence in Haiti in the immediate aftermath of the historic January 12, 2010, earthquake. The *goudougoudou*, as local Haitians call the quake in Kreyol – a word that suggests shaking – was a disaster without parallel in terms of the sheer destruction of Haitian life and its social, economic, institutional, and governmental infrastructures.<sup>ii</sup> Over the past two years, many groups have published reports that document what some initially called an “epidemic of rape” inside Haiti's dangerous, overcrowded camps for displaced quake survivors.

The reports have varied wildly, from estimates of several hundred complaints of sexual violence cited in various reports by rights groups to over 10,000 cases by one research group.<sup>iii</sup> Most of these cases actually reflect complaints – what people said happened to them – versus “verified” (officially reported) incidents reported to the police or backed by a legal investigation, a medical examination, or other forensic evidence of assault. By comparison, the official cases have remained far below such figures. That's one reason why it's been difficult to put a reliable hard figure on cases of rape in Haiti, and why some advocates continue to urge prudence in interpreting statistics.

Official or not, within a post-disaster environment marked by insecurity and economic crisis, rising crime, and political tensions, women and girls have experienced what some call “a living nightmare” of constant, daily fear of rape and other threats, both within and outside Haiti's camps and tough streets. So have some boys and men, in cases of violence still largely hidden aside from recent rape scandals involving MINUSTAH forces that have garnered global attention – and condemnation (see *Minustah box, Security section*).

## New Faces, New Partnerships

Over two years have passed since the earthquake, and the national response to gender-based violence (GBV) is steadily evolving in Haiti. A growing array of groups and individuals — local and foreign, established and new — started or expanded programs to help survivors of sexual violence after the earthquake. They represent a tiny fraction of hundreds of humanitarian groups and volunteers who flooded into Haiti in the wake of the quake — some 1,700 relief workers from 40 organizations in the first week alone — an unprecedented global response.<sup>iv</sup> They joined an already clogged humanitarian aid field in a country dubbed a “Republic of NGOs.”

While some new actors chose to partner with long-established Haitian women’s groups and existing GBV programs, others have created fresh programs and alliances for advocacy at the local, regional, and global levels. Some reflect passion-driven projects launched by committed individuals and small groups with shoestring budgets or supported by outside donors and institutions, including hospitals and universities. As non-governmental actors, they work in parallel, ideally complementary partnerships with Haitian government agencies and other multi-sector actors, though in practice, many NGOs have carried out programs alone. This has complicated an already chaotic humanitarian response and created duplication, making the challenge of coordination and effective, timely delivery of help to survivors of sexual violence more difficult.

Many of the existing GBV programs focus primarily on providing medico-legal services to survivors of sexual violence. Those run by local actors address the long-term needs of survivors for services and economic support to help them recover, including psychosocial counseling, safer shelter, legal aid, education, training, and livelihood activities. There’s a fresh effort to integrate girl-friendly spaces and support groups for children and adolescents into previously adult-focused programs, including services for vulnerable orphans and *restavek* children (unpaid domestics) (see *Spotlight on Girls section*).<sup>v</sup> All are positive signs that Haitian civil society and relief groups are more engaged in addressing sexual violence.

### Global Allies

Outside Haiti, the voices of global allies in the feminist and human rights movement have also helped to further raise the issue of women’s rights in Haiti as being of central importance in addressing the roots of sexual violence and supporting Haitian women’s voices in the reconstruction effort. Initially, women’s groups abroad sent funds and resources to provide food, tents, medicine, hygiene kits, and supplies for pregnant women that addressed specific needs of women and girls in displaced camps (see *Safe Shelter section*). To date, many hands support the Haitian-led movement to fight gender-based violence.



*Photo © Nadia Todres. 2011.*

### Objectives

With many new actors and so much movement in the sexual violence arena, there's been a growing interest and demand for information about progress that's been made and the impact of so much activity on preventing sexual violence and helping survivors. This request has come from many quarters: government officials in Haiti and abroad, leading NGOs, activists, donors, and most importantly, the Haitian populace, which has witnessed an arc of sexual violence in the aftermath of natural disaster. Many groups are keenly interested in the lessons learned to date and what programs serve as models to scale up. They want to know what shifting challenges and priorities face frontline actors.

Our team wanted to look at the big picture of the sexual violence movement in Haiti and measure progress to date. We wanted to look at the myriad data and anecdotal reports from 2010-12 to better grasp the trends that have been documented and how these may be changing. We wanted to find out why some groups have reported very different numbers of cases and how the picture compared in different sites. We wanted, above all, to highlight groups and programs that are making a tangible difference in the lives of survivors and their families, and to identify the positive progress that's been achieved in response to the reported escalation of post-quake violence.

### Interview Subjects

Our reporting team interviewed 60 field providers of GBV-related services in Haiti from June through November 2011 and received updates from additional groups through September 2012. Many local

programs work in the non-profit field and represent smaller service-based programs. We sought updates and perspectives from international groups with Haiti initiatives as well.

### **“Holistic” Services Focus**

Our reporting gathered updates from service providers in eight areas that represent essential aspects of a holistic or integrative (linked) response to sexual violence. These include: *Reporting; A Focus on Girls; Research; Security; Housing (and Safe Shelter); Legal Justice; Health Care (including Post-Rape Medical Care; Mental Health; Reproductive Health); Spotlight on Vulnerable Populations (the Disabled; Sex Workers; LGBT and HIV-affected) and Perpetrators; Prevention, Community Education and Advocacy; and Mobilizing Men and Boys*. Our findings are presented in the *Sector Progress* part of this report.

### **A Special Focus on Girls**

Our report takes a special look at the plight of girls threatened with sexual violence in post-quake Haiti. In mid-2010, UNFPA reported a dramatic *tripling* of the pregnancy rate in Haiti. The majority were said to be “unwanted” pregnancies linked to increased prostitution and sexual violence. Other 2010 studies by researchers at Partners in Health, Human Rights Watch, Interact Worldwide and the Small Arms Study, among others, (*see boxes about these groups in this report*) confirmed a post-quake spike of pregnancies, including “early pregnancies” affecting very young and older teenage girls.<sup>vi vii</sup> These reports also found a link between increased transactional sex (often called “survival sex” -- informal exchanges of sex for money, shelter, food and other services) – and rape.

In mid-2011, PotoFanm+Fi launched the pilot PotoFi Haiti Girls Initiative (“PotoFi”), a participatory field research survey of 2000 pregnant adolescents and their families. It was conducted at different sites in both urban and rural zones to examine any links between early pregnancy, rape, and selling sex. The survey found very high number of surveyed teenagers who said rape was the source of their pregnancies. Some admitted they were selling sex to survive, often for shelter. A summary of these findings is presented in Annex III.

These collective reports and camp-based surveys show that girls have been being disproportionately impacted by the fallout of the earthquake, due to their increased economic and social vulnerability. For this report, we re-examined the documented cases and data to learn more about this emerging picture of post-rape pregnancies and early motherhood. A discussion of the reality facing adolescents and younger girls is presented in the section *Spotlight on Girls*.

### **Acknowledgements**

This Progress Report was developed by a small team of individual journalists and Haiti-based advocates from the new PotoFanm+Fi coalition, working in collaboration with local NGOs in Haiti. Key Haitian partners in the parallel PotoFi girls survey include APROSIFA, KOFIVIV, ANAPFEH, and the Lig Pouwva

Fanm in Port-au-Prince; and Fanm Deside, CEFOJ and SOFA Sud-Est in the Jacmel zone. Members of other local groups also provided input and participated on the study Steering Committee.

### About the Editorial Team

**Anne-christine d'Adesky**, writer of this report, is Project Coordinator for PotoFi. She is a journalist, author, documentary filmmaker, and co-founder of the PotoFanm+Fi initiative. She conducted the bulk of field interviews in Haiti and founded the PotoFi Haiti Girls Initiative. She divides her time between Oakland, CA, and Haiti, where she has family roots. She began reporting on Haitian affairs and human rights in the mid-90s. She is author of two books: a post-Duvalier novel about Haiti, *Under the Bone* (FSG, 1994); and the non-fiction *Moving Mountains: The Race to Treat Global AIDS* (Verso, 2004). She is co-producer of the film documentary *Pills, Profits, Protest: Chronicle of the Global AIDS Movement*, (Outcast Films), shown on US Showtime, and is helping to produce a new film documentary on Haiti and food security, *Hands That Feed*.

- **Soeurette Policar**, a Haitian women's rights advocate and early member of PotoFanm+Fi, served as president of the Lig Pouvwè Fanm group in Haiti in 2010 until recently. She was Field Coordinator for the PotoFi Haiti Girls Initiative field survey and coordinated supplemental interviews and the "Portraits In Leadership." She is Chief Operating Officer of Cecosida, an AIDS information and media training organization in Port-au-Prince.
- **Edwidge Danticat**, a Haitian author and women's rights advocate, wrote the foreword to this report. She was an early participant in PotoFanm+Fi's outreach activities, including joint presentation of the Gender Shadow Report to the PDNA in New York in spring 2010.
- **Harriet Hirshorn**, a New York city-based journalist and documentary videographer, conducted several field interviews with Haiti NGO providers and assisted with data collection. She produced a film on the famed Raboteau trial in Haiti and recently produced short videos on child protection and trafficking for Heartland Alliance and its partners in Haiti.
- **Julie Sutherland**, a San-Francisco-based visual artist and graphic designer, is the web manager for the PotoFi Haiti Girls Initiative and an early member of PotoFanm+Fi.
- **Sally Engelfried** is an Oakland--based professional editor, librarian, and writer of children's books. She helped edit this report.
- **Nadia Todres** is a photographer who has been documenting adolescent girls for the past two years in post-earthquake Haiti. She has worked alongside the Haiti Adolescent Girls Network (HAGN) which is working to create 'safe spaces' for girls in Haiti, as well as with NGO's and various creative art projects including *Girls United: Haiti* with JP/HRO and *LIDE*. She recently founded the Center for the Arts, Port-au-Prince that is working to empower adolescent girls through the arts. Her work can be seen at <http://www.nadiatodres.com> and the work of the Center for the Arts, Port-au-Prince can be seen at <http://>

[www.facebook.com/centerfortheartspap](http://www.facebook.com/centerfortheartspap). A visual essay from *Girls United: Haiti* is presented in this report.

- Haitian reporters from the **Radyo Fanm** (Women’s Radio) citizen’s journalism project conducted Haiti interviews with grassroots leaders for our Portraits in Action profiles. They are **Sophia Apollon, Nahomie Alcuis, Esther Alcuis, Mania Milien, Claudine Saintil**, and **Fredline Jean-Brice**. Independent journalist **Guerline Petit** provided supplemental reporting.
- Other members of the initial 2010 PotoFanm+Fi coalition, including **Alice Backer**, web manager for PotoFanm+Fi’s parent website; **Martha Wallner**, a media activist; lawyer **Taina Bien-Aime**; and scholar **Nancy Dorsinville** provided additional help.
- Volunteers for the PotoFi survey data tabulation including **Kate Shaheed, Nicole Whear**, and **Susie Frankel, RN** (also a nurse volunteer in Haiti after the earthquake).

**Expert Review:** Colleagues and scholars with expertise in thematic areas generously provided input, contacts, data sharing, and advance review of sections of this report. Thank you to **Athena Kolbe**, PhD, of the Small Arms Survey research project (security); **Lisa Davis**, Esq. at MADRE; **Meena Jagannath**, Esq., BAI-IJDH; **Blaine Bookey**, Esq., of Hastings Law School; and **Jayne Fleming**, Esq. of Reed Smith (law); **Herns Marcelin**, PhD of INURED and **Avid Reza** of the VACS and US CDC (research); **Rosaline Benjamin**, PshD, of IDEO-Uramel (mental health); **Amanda Klasing**, Human Rights Watch women’s division (reproductive health); anthropologist and author **Tim Schwartz**, PhD (GBV reporting, child protection); **Alexis Erkert** of Other Worlds Are Possible (housing); **Kettly Alysee** of ANAPFEH (sex workers); **Kirsty Bourret**, Midwives for Haiti (midwifery) **Ramiz Alakbarov**, UNFPA and **Marissa Billowitz** of International Planned Parenthood Foundation (IPPF) (reproductive health); **Rachel Belt** at Hospital Bernard Mevs Project Medishare and **Gérald Oriol Jr.** at SIEPH (the disabled). Thanks also to Professors **Claudine Michel** and **Mark Schuller** of the **Haitian Studies Association** for their interest in this report.

#### Special Thank You

We offer a special thanks to survivors who agreed to share their personal journeys of recovery with us, and the grassroots leaders who spoke about rebuilding the movement, as well as organizations and individuals who provided program information and data for this report.

We warmly thank PotoFanm+Fi volunteers, partners, report reviewers, and colleagues in the field for their active interest and collaboration on the scope of the report and our complementary PotoFi Girls participatory research field survey.

Looking ahead, we invite stakeholders in the field to share future program updates and data with our reporting team and comments on this report. PotoFanm+Fi also invites individuals and groups sharing our mission to join our partnership initiative to fight sexual violence and support women and girls to play a leading role in Haiti’s recovery.

#### Partners and Steering Committee

**Partners:** PotoFanm+Fi works in partnership on projects with local and international partners. Staffmember Soeurette Policar served as President of the Lig Pouvwa Fanm, a key partner, in 2010-11; Fisline Rateau, an administrator, is also President of ODELPA, a rural women's association now allied with PotoFanm+Fi; Kettly Alysee is head of ANAPFEH. We also worked with several other local partners in Port-au-Prince and Jacmel on the PotoFi adolescent survey project (see Annex III).

**Steering Committee:** An advisory body of representatives from several local and international NGOs working with women and on sexual violence issues provided advance input for PotoFanm+Fi's work on this report and parallel field research. They include representatives of key partners in Port-au-Prince and the Haiti Adolescent Girls Network (HAGN).

**Additional Input:** Additional input on the goals of the report and specific sector challenges was provided by professionals in Haiti from: Partners In Health, Midwives for Haiti, GHESKIO, UNFPA, UN Women, SOFA, Kay Fanm, HAGN, ANAPFEH, the IRC, the National Dialogue on Sexual Violence, SEROvie; social workers and teen residents at the J/P HRO camp; Haitian National Police (PNd'H), Brigade de Protection des Mineurs (BPM) and MINUSTAH officials. In Jacmel, Limye Lavi, an agency helping *restavek* children, provided input on rural outreach and introductions to youths of CEFOJ, a local NGO partner in Jacmel.

**Dissemination of Report:** PotoFanm+Fi is plans to share this report with Haitian and international agency officials, including the Ministry of Women's Affairs and Women's Rights (MCFDF) and other key ministries; advisors to President Martelly on legal and health reforms; UN stakeholder agencies; UN GBV subcluster and RH Working Group members; the Clinton Global Initiative Haiti team; the UN Special Rapporteur on Sexual Violence, the US Embassy in Haiti, and US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's office. The report will also be shared with groups who were contacted for this report and the Haitian and international media. A PDF copy of this report will be available for download in English and French at our project websites: [www.potofanm.org](http://www.potofanm.org) and [www.potofi.org](http://www.potofi.org). We plan a Kreyol radio program summarizing the contents of the report, produced with Radyo Fanm for free distribution to Haitian community radio stations. Additional information will also be posted on our websites.



*PotoFi Steering Committee Meeting, Haiti. Photo credit: Soeurette Policar, 2011.*

## Sponsors

The author and the PotoFanm+Fi initiative are grateful to the **Trocaire Foundation** in Haiti for providing seed support for this progress report and parallel pilot PotoFi Haiti Girls Initiative field survey, and for lodging and logistical support for this work. A special thanks to Trocaire's Country Director **Regine Dupuy** and former Program Officer **Mala Roche** for early support of PotoFanm+Fi's mission and PotoFi's participatory research. Thanks also to **Soeurette Policar**, formerly at the Lig Pouvwwa Fanm, for providing meeting space for steering committee and report-back events in 2011 and **Fisline Rateau** of **ODELPA** for her participation in project activities.

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At the administrative level, we thank **Jensine Larsen** and **Vega Tom at World Pulse Voices**, a Portland, OR- based nonprofit media advocacy organization that champions women's voices globally, for providing fiscal sponsorship of our work.

## Methods

The assessment methodology for this Progress Report included conversations with over 60 frontline providers, including taped, structured interviews with 45 representatives; additional telephone conversations; a dozen visits to programs and facilities (including 4 camps, 2 slum clinics, 5 hospitals); discussions with social workers and medical staff at JP/HRO, PIH and MSF camp and field clinics; and one-on-one discussions of the research and goals with members of local survivor groups; and the PotoFi research Steering Committee.

Sexual Violence and GBV case data and reports were provided by the following groups and individuals: the state agencies BPM, UCL-FVV of the national police and SIEPH, the agency assisting the disabled; the Haitian women's ministry (MCFDF) and advisory National Dialogue; medical providers GHESKIO, MSF-H, MSF-B, MDM, ZL/PIH, Medishare; We-Advance; the hospitals HUEH, Bernard Mevs, Hopital de la Paix; MSF-H CRUO, PACS centers, J/P HRO's camp clinic; the local NGOs SOFA, Kay Fanm, KOFAVIV, Fanm Deside, Limye Lavi, AFASDA, SEROvie, FACDISC, INURED; the legal rights groups BAI-IJDH and RAPP program, and PROJUSTICE; the rights groups RNDDH, HRW, Amnesty International;; the international UN agencies UN Women, UNFPA, UNIFEM, UNHCR; the UN GBV Sub-Cluster, and UN RH Working Group; the international NGOs MADRE, HAGN, the IRC, the IOM, Heartland Alliance's We-Lead program, US CDC, Small Arms Study (SAS), IGLHRC, NYU CHRGI, Architecture for Humanity; the scholars and researchers Athena Kolbe, Robert Muggah, Tim Schwartz and Mark Schuller; and lawyers at Hastings Law CGRS program and at Reed, Smith law firm.



Supplemental online research and follow up email communication was done with authors of several camp-based surveys. This report builds upon additional interviews and journalism work, including visits to local women's and survivor groups by the author immediately after the earthquake and throughout 2010 - 2012. For this report and our companion PotoFi field survey, our teams obtained advance informed consent from the parents or guardians and legal representatives of minors and sexual violence victims interviewed, and consent for any photographs taken that appear in this report.

### Limitations

This report is not exhaustive; our reporting team was unable to meet with some important players in the cross-cutting fields of the GBV response due to limits of scheduling and availability. Much of the reporting comes from groups with headquarters in the capital. We sought additional information from groups in other areas of western Haiti, primarily Jacmel. We conducted email and telephone queries to get information about selected programs, but not all groups responded or had summarized data available for our review. We also had respect confidentiality with regard to disclosure of private information about cases by doctors, counselors, lawyers, and law enforcement sources.

With these caveats, we believe our report represents a strong pool of voices, collective observations, experiences, analyses, and data about the post-earthquake response to sexual violence, and captures major currents and emerging issues in this shifting landscape.

### Spotlighting the Positive

Much of the reporting about sexual violence focuses on tragedy and the abuses suffered by victims. In Haiti, before and after the earthquake, these stories are too numerous to capture in order to do justice to the scale of tragedy and crime. But less attention has been paid to journeys of recovery and healing by survivors-turned-advocates and the efforts of advocates, agencies and Haitian authorities to respond. We shine a spotlight on these community leaders in our Portraits of Leadership and Portraits of Recovery, who speak in their own words about the journey and the lessons of the recent period.

Our reporting was also designed to document *what others reported to us about their program progress* and their informed observations, as well as data – a big picture report. While we report on delays, gaps, and failures in the response to sexual violence, we deliberately sought to document what services *were* provided, as well as forward action and new initiatives. We also sought greater clarity and collective reflection about what occurred immediately after the earthquake versus later, as outside humanitarian agencies declared the emergency period over, ended food aid and other services, and began withdrawing, paving the way for local and state programs and groups to take over.

While multiple viewpoints, analyses, studies, data and voices are presented here, the contents of this report remain the sole property of the author and the reporting team of PotoFanm+Fi.

## INTRODUCTION AND DISCUSSION

### Resetting the Clock

The historic 7.0-magnitude earthquake that struck Haiti at 4:53 p.m. on January 12, 2010 remains the defining event of a lifetime for many Haitians who survived it. It caused massive destruction to the capital and southwestern cities and human losses on a scale still being calculated. Statistics vary, but the death toll has been estimated at 150,000 to 316,000<sup>viii</sup> Haitians, including many women and children.<sup>ix</sup> Another 300,000 were injured, including 5000 with crush injuries so severe they required amputations.<sup>x</sup>



Downtown Port-au-Prince, 2011.

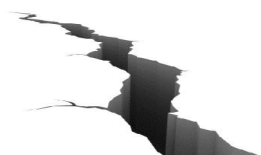
Photocredit ©Harriet Hirshorn

An estimated 1.9 million families lost their homes,<sup>xi</sup> and 1.3 million became displaced overnight. Much of the capital, Port-au-Prince, was leveled, while smaller cities like Léogâne saw 90% of public buildings destroyed.<sup>xii</sup> Some 600,000 fled the capital and destroyed provincial cities for less-affected zones, including the Artibonite, central Haiti, and north.

The from-above televised satellite images of the earthquake from CNN and other news outlets provided many viewers with a dramatic view of the altered Haitian landscape – the mountains of rubble and twisted rebar – approximately 10 million cubic meters of debris. Two years later, nearly half of it had been removed.

At first, even homeowners camped in their driveways, too afraid of daily aftershocks to risk sleeping indoors. Others sought refuge in some 1300 hastily erected, overcrowded camps for Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) that soon turned Port-au-Prince into a massive tent city, marked by row upon row of blue, tan, white, or other aid tents and loose tarpaulins occupying any available space.

For weeks afterward, a patina of dust made people look like ghosts as they walked around and over the giant mounds of broken rebar and concrete and wood that once housed their lives, stopping periodically to peer inside the dimness, to place their ears against a crack, still listening against logic for signs of life. The loss was not only human and physical, but the loss of the nation's history and identity. Nearly every major institution fell: the National Palace, National Assembly, Port-au-Prince Cathedral, National Museum – all were gone. So were essential public and private ones: hospitals, universities, schools, churches, police stations, courthouses, prisons, hotels, national highways, airports, sea ports, even cemeteries...the list goes on.<sup>xiii</sup>



### Social and economic aftershocks

The half-minute tremor was also followed by daily natural aftershocks for months that added to the fear and trauma of residents. Other aftershocks – physical, psychological, social, and economic – continue to be felt. Many, who had jobs in a country where unemployment was already very high, lost them and are still jobless. The collapse of the government and so many institutions, including small businesses, especially affected Haiti's middle class as well as the poor majority. On that day, the broad base and economic center of Haiti's life collapsed. While the wealthiest of Haitians – an estimated 10 percent of the population – also suffered and were among the dead and badly injured, they owned stronger, insured homes that withstood the shaking. They had the means to raze, fix and rebuild.

Not so Haiti's growing middle class. Some fell into poverty and are also homeless. This economic class has deeply struggled alongside with an already very destitute majority of the population. Meanwhile, Haiti's poorer citizens have fallen into deeper desperation.

### Rising Hunger

While the economic impact of the quake is still being calculated, gross damages were estimated at over \$7.8 billion – higher than Haiti's GDP. The destruction of the ports, open-air markets, and roads for transporting goods including agricultural products heavily impacted women who make up the majority of rural farmers, and also women market vendors.<sup>xiv</sup> The massive 6-month influx of free food aid to camp dwellers, while providing lifesaving food to millions, also hurt the informal economy that so many women rely on. In time, some aid groups began purchasing local food from local vendors, and hired local

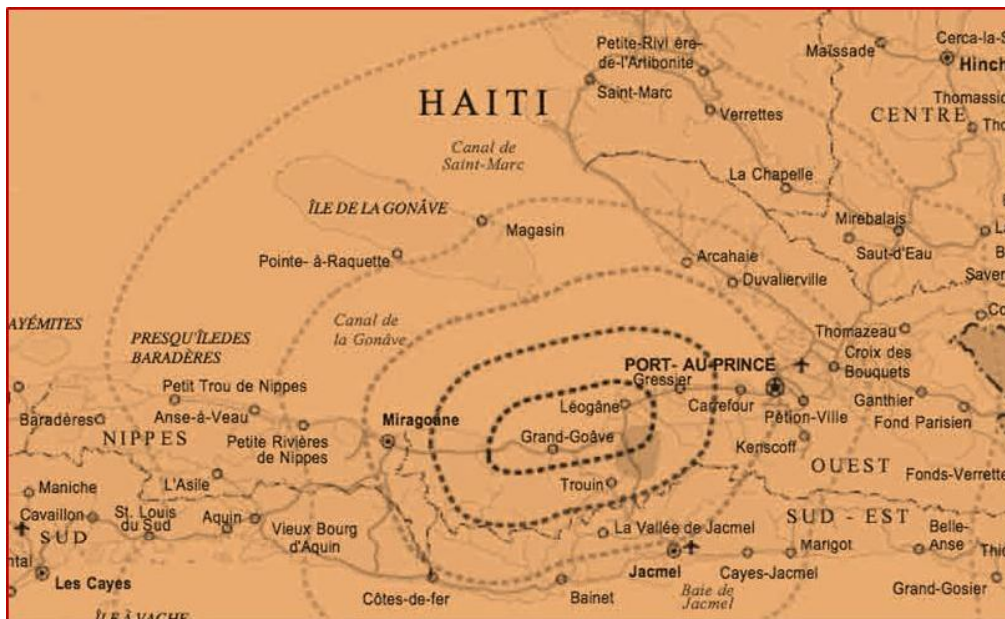
women to cook it – creating some jobs. When food aid began to taper off, after the initial six month emergency period, a new food crisis followed for a majority of displaced Haitians who remained jobless.

While major hunger in Haiti existed before the quake, it has worsened. Haiti's National Food Security Coordination recently estimated that nearly one in two people (4.5 million) is now food insecure – up from 2.5 - 3.3 million people in 2010.<sup>xv</sup> This pattern also lurks behind rape statistics. As of June 2012, WFP was providing food to 1.7 million people a month, including school meals for a million schoolchildren.<sup>xvi</sup>

A body of reports since 2010 have noted the rise of transactional sex that followed the earthquake – a mirror of the increase of reported rapes -- particularly among women and girls in IDP camps. Desperate to survive, they have sold sex for food and shelter, for some money, and to assure male protection in the dangerous camps. Some reports have documented the sexual demands made by male camp managers and men overseeing food aid distribution in camps who demanded sex in exchange for giving out food, water, or tents. Many of those interviewed claimed they had never sold sex before, but the earthquake had left them no option. Others noted thefts and attacks of women and girls for food, seeds, food vouchers, and food aid packets. Many reported on the rapes and thefts of teenage girls left alone to sit in camps to secure food aid or safeguard family belongings. The link of post-quake hunger and food insecurity to rape merits more attention by GBV program advocates, as does housing. They are related to the disastrous economic picture for women that frames sexual violence.

### **Administrative Chaos**

The earthquake also created an overnight administrative nightmare following the collapse of both residential homes and government buildings, including Haiti's national archives building. Gone forever or buried in rubble were people's personal documents, as well as the historic records of the nation and its citizens: birth and death certificates, identity documents, land titles, property deeds, voting cards, prison records, etc. For months, Haitians lined up to get their identity cards reissued; without one, they couldn't apply for jobs or vote, get food aid or a job. Home owners couldn't repair homes without deeds proving their ownership, or later, fight off squatters claiming their property. The paper trail is vast, and some of it wasn't recovered. Many of the nation's records have since been restored. But this official headache made it harder and more costly for Haitians to recover.



### Gender Faultlines

Looking back, there is a critical gender dimension to the 2010 earthquake and its aftermath – gender faultlines – that frames the problem of increased sexual violence in Haiti reported after the earthquake. Many lying within the rubble were women and girls who made up some two-thirds of the dead, according to one early UN agency estimate. Women and children also made up many of the newly disabled<sup>xvii</sup> and the newly homeless living in IDP camps.

It's also critical to examine and understand the roots of sexual violence and gender within Haitian society, culture, and law, and its relationship to economic issues – how and where the issue of gender and women's empowerment intersect to make women and girls more vulnerable to violence and socioeconomic crisis. It's equally important to consider how such factors affect the response to rape.

### Historic Gender Inequity

A quick glance at a few statistics reveals a stark gender picture that got much worse after January 2010: Pre-quake, almost half of Haitian households were headed by women (44 percent), and of these, 60 percent lived in extreme poverty, even by developing world standards. An estimated 83 percent of women worked in Haiti's informal economy as market vendors or, in rural areas, as subsistence farmers. Nationally, 60 percent of women were illiterate, compared to 55 percent of men, but after elementary school, the gap widened.<sup>xviii</sup>

As gender advocates everywhere are quick to point out, sexual violence doesn't occur in a vacuum. It reflects gender, social, and family dynamics, as well as community and even national dynamics, and is often linked to economic issues and to insecurity – crime and lack of rule of law. There are cultural norms, spiritual traditions, and social attitudes that shape views toward sexual violence and that are

reflected in Haiti's laws, which themselves derive from the French penal code and culture. All of these factors were thrown into stark relief with the earthquake, an event that not only physically leveled Haiti's administrative capital and major cities, but badly damaged its essential social and economic fabric. The patterns of family and social protection were lost, especially for children, particularly girls. In the aftermath, families, communities, and neighborhoods were torn apart. Individuals were left to fend for themselves in a new landscape rife with threats, both natural and man-made.

### Overnight Insecurity

The immediate period following the earthquake was marked by a vacuum of basic services, including health care and security. The police were absent, their administrative headquarters and many police stations fallen, their units without equipment, including weapons, vehicles, and even gas needed to patrol and protect citizens. "You have to understand that we experienced a period where no one was there to enforce the rules," explained Pierre Esperance, Executive Director of the Haitian National Human Rights Defense Network (RNDDH), reflecting back to early 2010.<sup>xix</sup> "At that moment, whoever had a gun did what he wanted."

"There was no protection and even now, in the camps, there is nothing to protect people," said Carole Pierre-Paul, director of the Haitian Women's Solidarity group SOFA (Solidarite Fanm Ayisyen), a leading women's rights non-governmental organization (NGO) in fall 2011 (*see SOFA box in Prevention, Community Education, and Advocacy section*). "Men enter the tents as they wish and there is nothing to stop them," she added, exasperated. And as SOFA's director pointed out, "The population that's been affected by all of this is vast."

The collapse of a portion of Haiti's National Penitentiary made things worse. Some 4000 inmates, including 500 hard-core gang leaders and convicted rapists, escaped. They turned up in former neighborhood and tent communities to settle scores, regain turf, and resume criminal activities (*see Security section*). While all types of crimes increased in this lawless climate, women and girls were especially vulnerable to theft and violent crime. Many early media reports attributed the spike of rapes, including gang rapes in camps, to escaped prisoners.

A close review of 2010 police and court data, however, suggests this assumption was not correct. Looking back, only a few cases of sexual assault are linked to the names of penitentiary escapees and other convicted criminals. Instead, the majority of post-quake rapes are crimes were committed by individuals known to the victim – acquaintances or someone familiar from one's circle -- even in some cases of gang rape, though attacks by strangers continue to be documented. Rape remains primarily a familial crime, as it was before the earthquake, rather than a problem of 'stranger rape.'

Overall, far more cases of domestic violence involving physical aggression have been reported than rape cases – typically a 3:1 ration at some agencies – although media reports have focused on rape. This pattern was also true before the earthquake (*see Reporting section for details*). The impact of the

earthquake on Haiti's economy has also been catastrophic, and is seen by some advocates as a trigger for men's violence against women in the aftermath of disaster.<sup>xx</sup> Post-quake mental health data from psychologists at IDEO shows some male clients report stress, frustration, and acute depression exacerbated by joblessness. The additional trauma and personal losses endured by individuals and families are additional factors that, together, have made it harder for some individuals to recover from sexual assaults. Instead, women and girls report depression, trauma, fear, a desire for revenge, and suicidal thoughts and actions. (see *Mental Health section*).

### Poor Planning and Dangerous Camps

Looking back, the gender dimension is especially visible in the lack of planning and attention to housing issues for women and girls and their daily activities by humanitarian and Haitian groups. Much ink has been spilled by women's advocates and the media in many reports detailing the appalling and dangerous conditions facing residents of camps and informal settlements and how they have impacted women and girls. Many Haitians and outside groups rushed to set up tent communities without considering the negative consequences for female residents or, for example, the newly disabled. They dug pit latrines far from sleeping areas and failed to provide toilets with doors that locked or security and lighting for washing, cooking, and bathing – traditional domestic activities for women and girls.

Here are two examples that reflect the unfolding narrative of gender violence linked to the deepening crisis of homelessness and lack of safe refuge for rape survivors.<sup>xxi</sup> (see *Safe Shelter section*):

*“Overcrowding, lack of privacy, and weakened family and community structures, among other things, render women and girls particularly vulnerable to rape and other sexual violence,” stated a coalition of legal and rights advocates who released *Our Bodies Are Still Trembling*, a July 2010 expose of sexual violence in 22 of Haiti's IDP camps jointly published by a coalition of Haitian and US NGOs, including the Institute for Justice and Democracy (IIDH) and MADRE.<sup>xxii</sup>*

Six months later, Amnesty International noted:

*“Prolonged displacement has seen a breakdown in the networks and structures – based on family and community – that had afforded women at least some degree of protection from violence, and support in dealing with its consequences.”<sup>xxiii</sup>*

While some agencies established protective zones in IDP camps – women- and girls-only resting areas, safe play areas for children, nursing and baby tents – most didn't. As theft increased, so did the pressure on families to safeguard their few belongings, particularly food aid. Parents instructed their elder children – often girls – to stay in tents and watch younger children as they sought work outside camps.<sup>xxiv</sup> This too, increased girls' vulnerability and left many teenage boys idle and unsupervised. Some advocates point to the fact that girls and women were forced to take shelter with male relatives and family friends as an additional factor that may help explain a collective observation of a rise of reports of incest – one of a number of post-quake trends that have emerged.

As the reports increased, advocates increased pressure on Haitian and UN authorities, particularly MINUSTAH and the Haitian police, to protect camp residents and patrol inside the camps at night. Agencies responded by providing more police units and solar lamps to camps, along with whistles and flashlights to women and girls. Darkness and lack of lighting was deemed a major contributor to rapes occurring in camps. Yet later data from an ongoing study of post-quake crime by researchers Athena Kolbe and Robert Muggah of the Small Arms Survey call to question the role of darkness in sexual violence cases. In their multi-camp survey, they found slightly more rapes occurred during the day than at night. That's when younger women and girls in particular were left alone inside tents while parents or guardians left to seek work. The SAS findings call for a closer look at the assumptions that have been made about sexual violence and the implications for prevention and protection (*see Security section*).



Photo Credit:© Harriet Hirshorn, 2011.

Much of the reporting to date has also focused on the IDP camps, but sexual violence has increased outside camps, too, particularly in the slum areas to which camp residents have returned following forced evictions and the closure of camps (*see Housing section*). Less is known about the current picture for residents of newer informal settlements, including Camp Corail-Cesselesse, a dusty, denuded stretch of land dubbed “Canaan” after the biblical Promised Land. Some 100,000 people were living there at the one-year anniversary mark in conditions dubbed worse than the shanties, without schools or markets, and with the closest hospital some miles away. As one Oxfam aid worker stated to a reporter, “It’s Haiti post-earthquake in a nutshell.”<sup>xxxv</sup>

In the weeks after the earthquake, a large number of urban residents sought refuge in the countryside and in provincial cities, staying with relatives or friends. While many later returned to Port-au-Prince, the population has increased in rural areas such as the Artibonite, where poverty is high and where cholera arrived as a fresh disaster in 2011 (*see Health section*). There, hospitals are also documenting an increase of sexual violence cases.



As advocates point out, it's important to remember that the statistics on sexual violence mean that more individuals are reporting incidents of sexual violence and this could reflect the increased advocacy and public awareness that have taken place since the earthquake –the 'silver lining' to an otherwise catastrophic picture. But about a lack of pre-quake data makes it difficult to know just how much sexual violence has increased. We take a close look at these statistics and the puzzle of data in the *Reporting and Monitoring and Research* sections.

### The Rural Picture

Much of the focus on rape in Haiti has centered on camps and the situation in Port-au-Prince. Yet the smaller coastal cities and towns, including Léogâne and Jacmel, closer to the epicenter of the quake, suffered major damage and took in many refugees from the capital. The quake affected Les Cayes, damaging agricultural production which in turn, impacted women's livelihood.<sup>xxvi</sup>

In general, conditions of life remain far more acute and difficult for rural residents in Haiti, who make up the majority of the population. Some of Haiti's ten departments (a geographic zone) have only one or two district hospitals for a large area with bad or nonexistent roads blocking access to more distant areas. Community clinics often lack resources or trained staff, including a regular doctor. They may also be located a distance from where people live. In much of rural Haiti, the gap is filled by nontraditional healers, including herbalists (*dokte fey*), voodoo priests (*hougans*), trained midwives and self-taught traditional birth attendants. These are the providers that rural rape victims typically seek out for help after an assault. They provide spiritual counseling and traditional herbal remedies but may lack Western medicine, including aspirin for pain, or pills to block the risk of post-rape pregnancy or exposure to HIV – post-rape preventive services that are part of the emergency protocol available from hospitals and approved providers. (see *Reproductive Health* section).<sup>xxvii</sup>

In its pilot 2011 adolescent girl survey, the PotoFi team found that *100 percent* of the girls interviewed from Cap Rouge, a rural area above Jacmel with 18,000 residents, reported seeking help after rape or for their early pregnancies from midwives, traditional healers, or voodoo priests. There were no doctors available for them and only one nurse. "All the problems you find in the capital are even worse here in the countryside," stressed Roseline Patalon, a leader at SOFA Sud-Est, the southeast chapter of the women's agency SOFA. Speaking for rural women, she said matter-of-factly, "We have been left to fend for ourselves."

### The Hidden Majority: Adolescent Girls

Looking at cumulative 2011 data collected by various groups, a sobering pattern emerges: not only are adolescent girls in the heavy crossfire of sexual violence, they represent a majority of reported rape cases (see next section, *Reporting and Monitoring*). This is compared to adult women, who are the majority of domestic violence survivors. Far more women suffer physical aggression from intimate partners – beatings and verbal abuses – than sexual aggression, the category that includes rape.

Statistically, many groups show three times more overall gender-based violence occurs than rape-only cases. But over 60% of rape cases affect teens and younger girls, based on post-2010 data. To date, less media attention has been paid to the factors of age and economic vulnerability of girls, or to the much larger problem of domestic violence that affects adult women



Photo Credit: ©Harriet Hirshorn, 2011.

In one of many surveys done in Port-au-Prince after the earthquake, a University of Michigan group estimated that 3 percent of their respondents – all female except for one male – in Port-au-Prince had been sexually assaulted since the earthquake. There, half were girls under the age of 18.<sup>xxviii</sup> It's unclear, say advocates, how many parents are reporting the rapes of their daughters, but many post-quake reports have included testimonies by parents, such as this testimony by a mother named Guerline documented by Amnesty International in its one-year anniversary report:

*My daughter was raped and so I sent her to the provinces [outside Port-au-Prince]. Four men raped her... She is 13 years old. That happened around 2 AM, a Tuesday in March... I don't remember the date... They told me that if I talked about it, they would kill me... They said that if I went to the police, they would shoot me dead... That's why I didn't go to the police. I'm scared. They threatened me... There is nowhere safe where I can live so I had to keep quiet... I didn't take my daughter to the hospital. She was too scared. I sent her to another town where some relatives live... Ever since, I've been unable to get this out of my head... At Place Mausolée, there is no security at all. I am already a victim but I don't know where to go... There is no place for me to go.*

The impact of rape on younger women and adolescents includes serious psychological damage and physical injury to still-developing bodies. This can lead to internal injuries that impact their reproductive system (*see Health sector*). There is also a perceived loss of virginity, which has major social consequences in a country and society that prize virginity and regard it as a requirement for marriage. In interviews, advocates say it's common to hear of girls being rejected by boyfriends and male suitors, or by their families as their prospects for marriages are considered ruined.<sup>xxix</sup> They also say girls who have

been raped take up prostitution, feeling similarly “ruined.” Both represent social aftershocks of rape that call for counseling for victims and families, and a change of social attitudes toward rape victims.

These myriad post-quake trends reveal that the aftershocks of violence not only continue to run along gender lines, but along subcurrents of age and vulnerability. Left behind, often alone, to fend in dangerous camps, no longer attending school, raising infants born of rape, subjected to unwanted sexual aggression and violence, the lives of Haiti’s girls in the wake of disaster represent a *cri de coeur* to the world – a cry of the heart for help.

### Other Trends

Several other notable trends began to emerge in the immediate period after the earthquake, including the finding on incest. Many reports have noted an increase of sexual activity as well as informal prostitution among adolescents and young children. In short, teenage girls are selling sex to survive, as are their mothers. This activity has also led to sexual abuses and assaults, and to a wave of post-quake pregnancy. In this report, we look at the evidence to date that argues for sexual violence as a direct cause of unwanted pregnancies, and the fallout that has followed, including illegal abortions, obstetric emergencies, and a struggle to survive for young mothers of children born of rape.

The attackers have included both older and young men – some quite young boys who have assaulted even younger girls. They’ve also included some rapes by female on other females – a sub-current of violence also to prostitution, according to an early analysis by Haitian lawyers (see legal section).

Like girls, more teenage boys became orphaned or heads of household after January 2010. They, too, remain in urgent need of money and means to support siblings, and out of work or sick parents. Several reports have found that boys are buying sex from girls. Some of this activity is connected to youths’ membership in street gangs.<sup>xxx</sup> Many are too young for formal jobs and some have dropped out of school to find work. Youths in the poorest slums are easy prey for urban gangs who offer them social protection, friendship, food, and money, in exchange for their entry into thug life, Haitian-style. All of these factors are found within the observed trends of post-quake teen prostitution.<sup>xxxi</sup>

The increase of sexual violence among adolescents has increased the demand for adolescent services including safe housing for teenage victims. But to date, there is a major gap of these services (*see Safe Housing section*)

Among children, the plight of *restaveks* or live-in domestic workers (from the French word “*reste avec*” – to stay with) deserves particular attention. Over the years, much has been written about the abusive treatment of restaveks, who advocates consider child slaves who are made to do menial chores for their room and board, and often terribly mistreated, and denied access to education. According to Limye Lavi, a local agency in the Jacmel area that helps restavec children, these youth remain vulnerable to sexual violence.<sup>xxxii</sup> Many were displaced and newly abandoned by caretaker families after the earthquake.

They are now among the rising number of street children who have also taken up prostitution and joined youth gangs to survive.

### The Extra Vulnerable

Among those most affected by the earthquake are disabled Haitians. It's well known that physical disabilities render individuals more vulnerable to crimes, including physical assault and theft, and for females, sexual violence. To date, the early data from the post-quake period supports this assumption, showing increased sexual violence among disabled versus non-disabled women in one study (*see data and discussion in Vulnerable Populations section*). Here, too, more advocates are doing outreach and focusing on the needs of the disabled, which could be a reason more cases have been documented. But overall, there's a dearth of data or monitoring of sexual violence among the disabled, particularly outside of Port-au-Prince that makes it difficult to draw comparisons to the pre-quake period.

There are other groups who also appear to remain vulnerable to sexual violence, including sex workers. Advocates for the rights of sex workers say rape is commonplace and that there is little protection for sex workers. They have also documented a real increase in the ranks of women – as well as teenagers and pre-teens – who have become street prostitutes. These girls have been subjected to gang rapes and repeated abuses. Advocates at the organization SEROVie reported in 2010 that LGBT individuals living in the camps were being raped because of their sexual identity and transgendered individuals in particular continue to be targets of rape. The invisibility and additional stigma facing sexual minorities in Haiti are factors that also impact on protection and prevention programs for sexual violence. (*see Vulnerable Populations, Mobilizing Men and Boys sections*).

### School Drop Outs

Along with other buildings, the Education Ministry and many schools and universities collapsed or suffered damage on January 12<sup>th</sup>. Immediately, Haitian education officials teamed up with the UN agencies, and later created an Education Cluster network to implement temporary steps to provide classes for children in tents. But many elementary students remained out of school, adding to their vulnerability to sexual violence, and to their inactivity, noted agency officials. Myriad agencies and volunteers, often Haitian women in camps, set up schools for children in the camps, and began to rebuild schools and institutions of higher learning. The earthquake also had a severe impact on high school and university students, particularly those in private institutions. Parents no longer had money to pay for their schooling. Others waited months to a year to resume classes. So did teachers, who remained without pay for a period of time (as did many Haitians working for agencies or businesses that shut down).

Rape and other violence added to the interruption of education for sexual violence victims and their families, according to various field surveys taken in selected communities and with victims. As advocates often stress, domestic violence and rape are crimes that impact all members of a family, including

dependent children in a household. When the mother or head of household is injured or too frightened to go out to find work or food, or a child has been injured, the entire family suffers and bears the cost of recovery too. Here too, statistics are lacking to document how many girls are no longer in school, or for how long they dropped out. But the pattern has been noted. (*see Prevention, Community Education and Advocacy section*)

Given their traditional caretaking role, many families kept girls at home where they have cared for injured and ill family members or watched younger siblings. This too, spelled drop outs from school. Rapes and rising insecurity has also led some families to keep girls at home and out of school. Finally, the subsequent impacts of rape – injuries, post-post trauma, early pregnancies, and teenage motherhood have forced an unknown number of girl victims to remain at home. Some are breastfeeding and need to find work now to feed their newborns; others have no child care and cannot resume schooling. The educational needs of these younger victims, particularly pregnant adolescent and new mothers, have fallen by the wayside.

Rape of mothers and heads of household also impacts on access to schooling for their children, particularly for women forced to flee abusive men after rape or battery that they depended upon to help cover education costs for their children. Even when school is free, there are small fees – the cost of uniforms, books, a meal at lunchtime – that are too much for a family with nothing or very little. How many children have suffered indirect impact on their schooling due to sexual violence in the recent period is unknown. Traumatized mothers are also afraid to let their children leave their side after rapes occur. (*see Mental Health section*).

### Economic Consequences of Rape

The economic impacts of rape – the costs of loss of ability to work and function, the cost of treatment and hospitalization in some cases – may also negatively impact on needed money to support schooling for children. Today, many of the agencies helping rape victims address clients' needs related to training for adults, education for girls, and school fees for their children, but as with other services, the need far outstrips demand.

#### Tallying the Cost of Rape

There are direct economic costs of sexual violence which are hard to calculate but an important issue for advocates and policymakers to examine. Veteran Haiti researchers recently took a stab at this within a study of the costs to households of violent crime which has sharply risen in Haiti (*see Security section*). In an August 2012 article in *The Guardian*,<sup>xxxiii</sup> Athena Kolbe and Robert Muggah of the Small Arms Survey (SAS) reported that, "Since mid-2011, the average costs of a physical or sexual assault on a typical household member amounts to a fifth of their annual income." They derived their figures from a study of some 3000 households, including 113 households who had reported sexual violence from July August 2011 to July 2012.<sup>xxxiv</sup>

They also noted that, "...residents of the capital city's slums are more than 40 times more likely to be a victim of homicide than other urban dwellers. The incidence of sexual violence is also especially pronounced among young women and girls regardless of what strata of society they come from." Additional costs also included funeral costs and bribes – typically \$16 –paid to police to assure their cases progress. While the study is rough, and doesn't provide comparative breakdowns of types of violence crime -- rape vs. murder, for example -- their snapshot presents compelling evidence of the heavy financial toll of sexual violence on families and victims, beyond the well-known and devastating emotional, health, and social impacts.∞

### The Newly Homeless

As of May 2012, some 400,000 Haitians displaced by the quake remained in the IDP camps, a 14 percent drop since February and the sharpest decline in recent times, according to the IOM. That left 73 percent of the original displaced population still living in 602 camps, most in the crowded metropolitan Port-au-Prince area. A good number of individuals were convinced to leave the camps with \$500 stipends to find housing elsewhere. But others suffered a second catastrophe, with a wave of forced evictions, some backed and directed by government officials. What's become of many is anyone's guess, say housing activists. They have loudly protested the failure to resettle displaced survivors, placing equal blame on humanitarian agencies and Haitian officials.

While Haiti's recovery plan calls for building up smaller cities and investing in rural areas, the cash hasn't followed, leaving the newly homeless with few options. The housing crisis has also pitted private home and landowners against poor, displaced Haitians who can't afford to rent because there are now fewer affordable rentals. The arrival of so many foreign aid groups willing to pay skyrocketing rental prices has exacerbated the picture.

The housing crisis is viewed by many as a main culprit fueling the crisis of sexual violence and insecurity. Much of the initial increase of sexual violence in 2010 was reported among camp residents. Now that they are returning to former neighborhoods, will they face less – or more – sexual violence? Given the latest SAS crime data showing a skyrocketing trend of violent crime, advocates assume that sexual violence will continue to pose a serious threat to residents of the worst slum areas where gang activity and organize crime are on the rise (*see Security section for more on gangs*).

The demand for housing includes a national need for safe shelters for sexual violence survivors and their families, including group homes for adolescents and children -- a major gap (*see Safe Housing section*). Efforts are now underway to build more safe houses, but there is still an urgent need for housing for younger victims and their families, linked to programs that are tailored for adolescents.

### Reversing the Tide

On the positive side, Haitian feminists and established agencies have moved quickly to recover and respond to the demand for more services for sexual violence survivors. In the section that follows, we

look at the steps women leaders, survivors groups, and official actors have taken to respond. While the earthquake has shone a stark light on sexual violence and revealed its deep economic and social roots, it has also spawned a fast-growing, already stronger grassroots movement to address gender crimes and pursue justice for victims and their families. This national movement is led by seasoned and newly-minted activists who have emerged from the IDP camps to speak out on behalf of victims and their right and needs. A flotilla of local groups is at the helm, including Kay Fanm, SOFA, KOFAVIV, FAVILEK, KONAMAVID, AFASDA V-Day, Fanm Deside, OFAVA, CAFVAS and ANAPFEH – groups contacted for this report.

Many more groups, including rural women leaders and committees of popular peasant coalitions and social movements are also taking the fight forward. A nascent men’s movement is also afoot, led by fathers and brothers and male community leaders who organized security in the camps and are poised to become strong allies to women-lead agencies (see Mobilizing Men and Boys section).

At all levels, then, there is much activity, including new efforts to prevent sexual violence and the domino effect of problems it may engender, extend rural services and reform national protocols and policies to meet the demand for a comprehensive, integrated response.

### Look Ahead

For now, nearly two years after one historic tragedy set in motion the present aftershocks of disaster, grassroots advocates continue to advocate for urgent action and greater funding for local groups by government leaders, UN and larger international agencies and donors, and community leaders. While services steadily improve and are further extended to rural areas, there is still reigning impunity for crimes of rape and the demand for myriad services and justice is unmet. Advocates point to the worsening economic and social conditions that are spurring the current spike of violent crime and predict that more sexual violence will follow. They look at the post-quake generation of street children and abandoned babies and teenagers turning to prostitution and young mothers being asked to raise children of rape and ask: What will happen to these children – our children? What is their future? What are we going to do to help them? Their views and concerns are highlighted in the following section and Sector Progress discussions.

### Community Mobilization, Prevention and Education: Rebuilding A Movement

The gender dimensions of the Haiti quake are reflected in the immediate heavy losses sustained by Haiti's women's movement and key state ministries and agencies that lost dynamic leaders. The impact was severe and personal for local groups, as well as institutional. They lost their directors, their mentors, their closest friends, their sisters in the struggle, their members and staff, their institutional offices and records (*see box below*). These losses compounded the personal shock, injuries and losses they also individually sustained, including homelessness. At KOFIVIV, for example, leaders, staff and members alike took refuge in the dangerous IDP camps. There, some of them have suffered new rapes and even the rapes of their daughters, compounding their losses and shock even as they worked to recover and rebuild their organizations and extend emergency services to other victims. The efforts of these women and advocates can aptly be described as very courageous and even heroic, given the direct threats some faced for denouncing criminals and pursuing justice.

#### 'Inestimable Losses'

A full accounting of the impact of the earthquake on Haiti's women's and sexual violence movement continues to this day. But the list includes the death of many beloved leaders. The collapse of the women's ministry building robbed Haiti of its Director-General Myrna Narcisse Theodore, feminist leader Myriam Merlet, as well as ministry collaborators Mitnel Azor and Jean Yxon Andre. Also killed that day was Magalie Marcelin, the founder of Kay Fanm, one of the only local groups then operating a safe shelter for GBV survivors. The dead include Anne-Marie Coriolan, founder of Solidarite Fanm Ayisyen (Solidarity with Haitian Women, or SOFA; as well as Mireille Neptune Anglade, the founder of the Lig Pouvwwa Fanm (League of Women's Power); and Gina Porcena, a prominent academic. A number of women who served as advisors to the government on women's rights also perished.<sup>xxxv xxxvi</sup>  
<sup>xxxvii</sup> Non-Haitian women also died, including, for example, Andrea Loi Valenzuela, a human rights attorney with MINUSTAH who focused on gender crimes.

There were also young women leaders who died when the School of Nursing fell, and others who perished in other schools, hospitals and government agencies. Many women and girls were injured and are among those who suffered severe crush injuries and limb amputations. Today, these survivors have also emerged to helm a nascent disability movement (*see box, The Disabled*).

In an interview shortly after the quake, Haitian Radyo Kiskeya journalist Liliane Pierre-Paul, a feminist, summed up the feelings of many in Haiti when she stated, "We've lost so many leaders, so many women leaders, and so many women at all levels that it's just... just... inestimable."<sup>xxxviii</sup>

#### New Leaders Step Up

Today, a new generation of leaders has stepped up to take the helm of the many organizations that lost their directors in 2010. At SOFA, Carole Pierre-Paul has continued to provide steady leadership and assist other women leaders to recover while her sister, Liliane, remains among the most prominent women journalists at Radio Kiskeya, a community station located directly across the street from SOFA's offices in Port-au-Prince. At Kay Fanm, Yvette Gentil has taken charge, with support from other members of the KONAP coalition, including Danielle Magloire, who remains as head of Rights and Democracy – Haiti and a force in the National Dialogue, the official advisory group to the women's ministry (MCFDF) on sexual violence.



For those stepping up to fill the shoes of dynamic mentors, the learning curve has been steep and the expectations and demands very high. They have had to take charge amid the overwhelming demands of an extraordinary historic moment and the rushed entry of many newcomers and outside groups to the women's rights and sexual violence arenas. These include donors and humanitarian groups who arrived daily seeking to make an impact, offer help as well as funds, but often with prior agendas or without any prior history of work in Haiti or relationships to guide a new partnership. Not surprisingly, tensions later arose among older and newer groups in the rush to act and the competition for funds to rebuild.

### Government & UN Coordination

#### Haiti's Ministry of Women's Affairs and Rights & the UN GBV Sub-Cluster

Haiti's Ministry of Women's Affairs and Rights (MCFDF in French) remains the key government agency responsible for guiding Gender and GBV-related policies and reforms of law (*see Legal section for more*).<sup>xxxix</sup> The fall of the ministry building and death of its Director-General Theodore and others dealt a heavy blow to Haiti's women's movement and left a void of government leadership on gender issues in the immediate aftermath of the disaster. Among those killed were staff working on discussions of the Law Against Gender Violence.<sup>xl</sup> The ministry was also later robbed. These successive losses left surviving staff reeling at a small, understaffed government agency already coping with too few resources before the earthquake. The ministry set up a provisional office, but it took many weeks to recover its activities.

Given these conditions, a provisional UN "Sub-Cluster" on GBV, led by UNICEF, UNFPA, and other key UN groups, stepped in to provide post-quake coordination and communication among many of the field actors launching programs on gender-based violence, following the UN's One Response "cluster" model for humanitarian action. A Child Protection Sub-Cluster was also formed, as were Clusters for agencies focusing on provision of essential services such as clean water, sanitation, education and health. A Reproductive Health Working Group, chaired by UNFPA, also helped to host initial weekly meetings of key groups focused on delivering emergency assistance to pregnant and nursing women. Many of these actors joined multiple clusters – a dizzying and constantly changing array of NGOs and key contact persons.

A decision to host the GBV Sub-Cluster (GBVSC) meetings at the well-guarded UN base, where many UN agencies were housed, also drew sharp criticism from some Haitian feminist groups including established groups doing GBV work. Some declined to participate because they opposed the UN's role in the relief effort, one they viewed as a tacit Occupation. Local groups found it difficult to access the meetings at the UN "Log Base" compound that were conducted in English and French, not Kreyol. The meetings were eventually moved to a more accessible site outside the compound, but only after months of criticism. Groups outside the capital and outside Haiti felt left out. Many did participate in an electronic GBVSC "listserv" for members to share information. But reliance on the Internet to communicate was difficult for groups in areas of Haiti who often lack consistent web access.<sup>xli</sup>

The women's ministry also faced challenges in 2011 when a proposal was made to absorb it into the larger Ministry for Social Affairs – a move strongly rejected by women leaders. The MCFDF retained its institutional role, but continues to work with modest funds, personnel, and equipment, contend Haitian feminists who urge greater state support for this critical agency. Today, Minister Yanick Mezile guides a recovering agency that has helped to define an ambitious national agenda to address gender-based violence, within an overall mandate to support women's rights and needs, particularly in this critical period of post-quake recovery. It has played an active role in supporting women's participation in many areas of the reconstruction, including elections. The ministry has also advocated for greater protection and services for women in the IDP camps.

Last year, the Ministry helped guide a process of legal reform including the introduction in early 2012 of a comprehensive law on gender-based violence that would address domestic violence, and proposed reforms of laws on paternity and abortion. The Ministry has also represented Haitian women within international bodies and frameworks, and pushed for greater national and international attention and resources to address gender-based violence. Recently, it helped implement a new Canadian-backed "START" GBV program in three large camps and continues to provide much-needed Haitian government leadership on women's issues, working closely with the National Dialogue and local women's community groups. ∞

Today, a cadre of established women's organizations – SOFA, Kay Fanm, Fanm Deside, and AFASDA among them – are considered the old guard or "establishment" of the women's movement and its step-sister, the sexual violence movement. These grassroots groups work closely with the women's ministry

and approved medical providers like GHESKIO, PIH and MSF to provide services for referred clients. Many newer activists and voices have emerged from within other grassroots organizations and camp-based committees too, particularly younger women. CAFVAS and OFAVA represent two groups who have expanded their work on gender based violence in the Port-au-Prince zone, while Asosyasyon Le Boy is a local women's group in Le Borgne that has led the response there (see boxes, this section and Prevention, Community Education and Advocacy section).

Among survivor-led groups, KOFVIV, the Commission of Women Victims for Victims, two dynamic leaders, co-founder Malya Apollon-Villard and Eramithe Delva, have become better known vocal advocates on the international scene as well as in Haiti, leading street protests to demand justice for rape survivors. So have members of FAVILEK, a network with longtime roots in Haiti, and KONAMAVID; both groups joined international allies in an advocacy campaign demanding action from both world and Haitian leaders (see Legal section).<sup>xiii</sup> KOFVIV greatly stepped up its direct outreach in IDP camps, where many of its 1000 members lived in 2010. The organization has since expanded its outreach to rural areas, too.

The survivor-led groups got help early on from legal and rights groups who began monitoring cases and helped groups like KOFVIV rebuild their lost data archive and begin a fresh case registry. Among them, MADRE, Digital Democracy and legal volunteers from the international Lawyers Earthquake Response Network, a group that includes U.S. law schools, offered legal aid and trainings to support the demand for justice (see boxes, *Reporting and Monitoring and Legal sections*). KOFVIV produced one of the first reports capturing the spike of post-quake sexual violence with a spring 2010 report that catalogued 230 incidents of rape in 15 camps in Port-au-Prince, covering the period January 13 to March 21, 2010.

### Early Steps

Within several weeks of the earthquake, most of the established women's organizations had managed to secure or buy tents to set up interim offices and take up their former activities. Some relocated or merged with other institutions. By then, women and girls began trickling out of camps to seek help for rape from Kay Fanm, SOFA, AFASDA and KOFVIV, all with established programs. But with their own offices and safe houses damaged, these groups had nowhere to shelter victims or refer them to safe refuge (see *Safe House section*). Some allowed members and victims to sleep on the ground within tented areas of parking lots where they set up their interim field offices. Leaders at these agencies increased pressure on government officials, UN and humanitarian groups to provide more security and nightly patrols in camps, locked latrines, and lighting, as well as food aid, and materials to wash, cook and clean to women and girls. Staff and members of these groups personally took in victims including younger girls until they could find homes for them.



May Day “Rezo Fanm” (Women’s Network) protest, 2012.

Photo Credit: ©Meena Jagannath RAPP-IJDH-BAI

With help from UN Women, KONAP leaders provided workshops on addressing sexual violence to police and MINUSTAH units, and worked with medical teams to distribute GBV reference cards with information on where victims could seek help. They also worked with the women’s ministry to bring coordination to a fragmented multi-agency response and improve the response time of ambulances and hospital providers at the few institutions operating in the first weeks after January 12th.<sup>xiii</sup> Most of the women’s and survivor groups also began distributing “dignity hygiene kits” – soap, sanitary pads, and essential items for washing – to women’s groups in camps, with support from groups like MADRE and the UN agencies. They also set up outreach programs to selected camps, and members provided *accompagnement* – a catch-all phrase that blends support and rape counseling, mediation and conflict resolution, and physical accompanying of the victim to medical or legal services. Among groups, KOFAVIV helped coordinate a large outreach network of volunteers, many rape survivors themselves, to find and refer victims of sexual violence to emergency services. (see boxes on KOFAVIV and other groups).

The psychosocial teams at URAMEL and IDEO joined to provide trauma and specialized psychosocial counseling to victims, while psychologists and counselors at GHESKIO and several public hospitals provided ambulance and emergency medical services, including examinations and medical certificates and help with pregnancy complications after rape in some cases.<sup>xiv</sup> But in the early days, with so many badly injured, most public and private hospitals damaged and inoperable, and the streets filled with mountains of rubble, gaining access to emergency services for rape was beyond difficult for many survivors of rape, certainly within the mandatory 72-hour legal reporting window (see *Legal Justice section*). The women’s organizations worked early on to help train Haiti’s overwhelmed police on protocols to respond to rape survivors. Other partners, including BAI, stepped up legal trainings for court officials, while outside groups like MADRE and volunteer international lawyers from the LERN network helped rape survivors at KOFAVIV and FAVILEK and those seeking temporary asylum on grounds of rape (see *Legal Justice section*).

### Mobilizing Civil Society

**Organization: National Dialogue on Violence against Women  
(Concertation Nationale sur la Violence Faites aux Femmes)**

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**Primary Zone: National**

**Primary Target Group: Haitian Civil Society, Advisory role to government**

The National Dialogue on Violence against Women was established in 2004 to serve as an official advisory body to the Haitian government and particularly the Ministry of Women's Condition and Women's Rights (MCFDF), as part of Haiti's preparation for the Beijing +10 Conference in spring 2005. Referred to simply as "La Concertation Nationale" by locals, this critical women's advisory body grew out of an earlier task force on GBV set up by leading feminists, some of whom continue to play a pioneering role in the fight against sexual violence. Others tragically perished in the earthquake.

The National Dialogue was given an official role to help coordinate, communicate, and advocate for initiatives and normative standards on GBV among three sectors: the Haitian government (Ministries of Women, Health and Justice), civil society, and international agencies. It has been particularly designed to help the MCFDF in its assigned role as the key government agency to develop and implement national policies, legal reforms, and myriad other initiatives aimed at promoting gender equality and reducing violence against women. At the time of establishment reports of overall violence and sexual violence had greatly increased as a result of political conflict that continued after the departure of populist leader Jean-Bertrand Aristide. The women's ministry itself was struggling with severe cuts in funding, reduced staff, and inadequate resources needed to achieve an already ambitious agenda of national action, as well as fulfilling Haiti international obligations as a UN member.

Danielle Magloire, a key figure in the National Dialogue, is also a founder of the CONAP (referred to in this report by its Kreyol acronym KONAP), a leftist coalition of Haitian women's advocacy NGOs. KONAP members were key promoters of the need for a body of experts on women's issues outside government who could help network between the various sectors and agencies and introduce forward-looking innovations and lessons from other countries. These activities include research and data collection, promotion of legal reforms, GBV prevention, and education and programs to help vulnerable groups such as domestic workers, or *restaveks* (see *Vulnerable Populations section*)

As a tripartite body, the National Dialogue initially included the MCFDF women's ministry, the Public Health and Population ministry, and Justice and Public Security ministry. NGOs were represented by KONAP as well the mental health group URAMEL (see box), the medical groups GHESKIO (see box), Doctors of World France, Caritas, POZ, and Haiti Solidarity International, among others. KONAP groups are also closely allied to Francophone Canadian and Caribbean groups.

The period 2004-2009 – before the earthquake – were years marked by great strides by both Haiti's MCFDF and its ally advisory National Dialogue. The ministry had a laundry list of To Do's in 2004 that was nearly completed two years later. It included developing, field-testing, and distributing some of the medico-legal tools now used to document GBV and establish an evidence base for legal cases. These include a now-approved GBV medical protocol, manual training for nursing staff, flyers on the need to report rape before 72 hours, a GBV registration form, a medical certificate, and a directory of services "Kat Referans" (see Annex). The National Dialogue has also helped the government with data collection and analysis – a very important, ongoing task – to better understand the changing picture of violence against women and girls, and to assess the impact of initiatives being taken. It also helped develop gender trainings given to members of the police, judiciary, and government agencies at the national and local levels. "We did a lot to help advance the rights of women," said Magloire in August, looking at pre-quake activities of the advisory body.

Two major victories achieved in 2005 bore the National Dialogue's imprint: the historic passage of a 2005 law on rape that makes it a severe crime punishable by 10 years to life imprisonment;<sup>xiv</sup> and the development of a five-year National Plan of Action (2006-2011), a normative framework to guide the country's response to GBV. In the years that followed, the group helped broker conversations among civil society actors and international groups across Haiti.

Then came the earthquake, a shattering event in which women leaders who had helped build the advisory body perished, and leaders like Magloire at KONAP, among others, coped with deep personal losses of colleagues and the damage caused to women-led institutions. "We continue to suffer from that shock," said Magloire. "We continue every day to confront things that are linked to what we lost."

In the early days after the earthquake, feminist leaders like Magloire wore multiple hats as they worked to reestablish their own institutions and helped government leaders at the women's ministry recover. (Magloire is also Executive Director of the Haitian branch of the Canadian NGO Rights and Democracy [Droits et Démocratie]). As reports of sexual violence cases began rising, the National Dialogue resumed its activities, working in emergency conditions as the world's aid agencies began flooding into Haiti.

Magloire is a very outspoken leader, and she is blunt when it comes to politics and policy. "One of the difficulties has been that so many groups have come here and started activities without informing anyone," said Magloire, referring to the myriad NGOs and volunteers who set up ad hoc efforts to help quake survivors. "It was chaotic. There was no respect for the norms and protocols. People weren't even aware that Haiti had had a women's movement and groups here who have been working on this issue of violence against women for many years," added Magloire. "They just arrive and start doing anything any which way." She readily acknowledged the help and funds provided by some international and feminist groups, including longtime Canadian allies, but remained critical of others who, she felt, "want to speak for Haiti, and speak for us."

In a mid-2010 interview, Magloire said she had observed a trend of increased "promiscuity" among young girls and was aware of rising pregnancies reported by UNFPA and human rights groups. "It's clear that there is a link between the violence and the conditions women face now," she said. She also confirmed increased reports of sexual violence affecting adolescents. "The girls are the most vulnerable," said Magloire. "But at the same time, we have to carefully document all of this."

Today the National Dialogue is helping officials at the women's ministry to push forward the evolving national plan of action on GBV and facilitating civil society debates of planned reforms of legislation related to gender and GBV. It continues to collect data and monitor trends in the official GBV picture, issuing regular reports. ∞

### Expanding Rural Outreach

While groups in the capital benefited from a rapid influx of humanitarian groups, relief groups took longer to respond to the needs in areas where rubble blocked roads. The road from Port-au-Prince to Jacmel was blocked for a short period with fallen rocks in sections. Without waiting for outside help, local groups including Fanm Deside and Limye Lavi, a group dedicated to fighting trafficking and helping orphans and *restavek* children, quickly established outreach to camps. So did SOFA members in Jacmel and the outlying Cap Rouge zone.

"We have a lot of women who lost their houses here. They have nothing and they are suffering. So we are trying to help them," stated Rosaline Patalon, a SOFA Sud-Est leader in Cap Rouge, in a late 2010 interview. As in Jacmel, SOFA members there confirmed seeing reports of rape January 12<sup>th</sup>, but lacked hard statistics. "We are seeing women here who say they were raped,"<sup>xlvi</sup> she and other SOFA representatives confirmed. "We can't be sure of what's increased or not [with rape], because we don't have the means to know all that," said Patalon. "But we do encounter these cases here -- we always have." Services were also limited. "We don't have a lot we can do for them, but we offer counseling and whatever help we can,"<sup>xlvii</sup> said Patalon. The local clinic in Cap Rouge had a visiting nurse, but limited medicine. Most residents relied on traditional healers, and midwives.



Rural women have little access to GBV services.

Photo Credit:© 2011 Alexis Erkert, Other Voices Are Possible.

Patalon said the earthquake had damaged already weak rural health services in the region, although some areas and communities were benefiting from government and arriving NGO efforts to rebuild public and private health services and centers. New resources and medicine were also arriving via cholera prevention programs. Other groups had funded or helped rebuild homes for women, but housing was still lacking, as was safe housing for rape victims. Rural women leaders like her were also coping with limited resources to reach clients in villages outside the immediate catchment area, and they lacked means to document the impact of the earthquake on women's lives.

Distance and lack of roads remained major hurdles for clients to seek help from groups in Jacmel. In 2010, it took 20 minutes by motorcycle or 4-wheel drive Jeep to ride up from Jacmel to Cap Rouge because a once-paved road was so eroded. Many still rely on donkeys to get around mountainous areas. Today, SOFA Sud Est outreach workers travel hours by foot to find clients or escort them to clinics below—usually too late to register an “official” report of rape. Moreover, as in urban Haiti, many women fear reporting the cases to the police, since the police are accused of abusing women and demanding bribes to help them.<sup>xlviii</sup>

In northern Haiti, AFASDA is among the groups with an established program for sexual violence victims, and a long-running safe house in Cap Haitien (see *AFASDA-V-Day box, Safe House section*) The zone was less affected by the earthquake, but groups and hospitals there still saw an increase of reports of rape after January 2010.<sup>xlix</sup>

### Illuminating Snapshots

Despite an overall dearth of hard data about the rural post-quake rape picture, there are many reports of rapes documented by agencies, the police, legal groups helping victims and via media reports. A recent illuminating snapshot comes via a March 24, 2012, Haitian news report of the rapes of 21 teenage girls in the Artibonite area. The assaults had taken place in a prior three-week period.<sup>1</sup> The news was picked up by *AlterPresse* because the cases had reached the attention of local authorities, including the court in the coastal city of Gonaives. All 21 girls had quickly sought help, managed to secure medical certificates within 72 hours (the mandatory legal limit for reporting rape in Haiti in order to obtain the certificate) and retained the clothing worn during the assaults, and filed legal complaints—a series of

successful actions that remain an exception, even in the capital. Seven of the teenagers had never had prior sexual relations, three were younger than 15, and one was a girl of 8 reportedly assaulted by a 14-year-old boy, according to advocates. Other 16-year-old girls were living with far older men – aged 49 to 54 – another kind of forced sexual exchange, often for lodging. One girl had been raped by her pastor after her parents sent her to live with him for protection; when she got pregnant from rape, he sought to have her abort the pregnancy.

Such stories are all too common across Haiti, say advocates. What's encouraging about this otherwise tragic news, and which does represent an advance, is the fact that the teenagers knew to report the case and were given support by families and advocates to do so, and that police and service providers were on hand with resources to quickly respond. At press time, 14 presumed rapists had been picked up; 7 were actively being sought by police. This points to the improving community awareness and police response to sexual violence since the quake, despite an overall very poor service picture.

### Left Out: The Provinces

After the earthquake, SOFA Sud-Est and Fanm Deside, among others, extended their outreach services to communities beyond their prior zones of operation. Limye Lavi, an agency focused on child protection that fights trafficking (*see box, Limye Lavi*), also increased its outreach to assist vulnerable children. In 2011 interviews, directors at these agencies said they'd encountered or heard of sexual violence cases but often lacked the staff or resources to respond to more distant cases. "The zone is really large," said SOFA's Patalon. "Our women walk all day sometimes to respond to calls (for help).

While the Jacmel zone is relatively well-resourced to help survivors with established groups like Fanm Deside, SOFA and Limye Lavi to help survivors, smaller cities and rural areas lack such resources. As of mid-2012, there were no formal help centers or safe houses for sexual violence survivors in the cities Les Cayes, Jeremie, and Gonaives, though local women's groups were help victims on an individual case basis find refuge in private homes or providing money to rent rooms on an emergency basis. Local officials in those cities also struggled in 2010 to assist a steady influx of displaced refugees from Port-au-Prince.

There, too local women's and community organizations have extended their outreach to IDP camps and individuals since evicted who are resettling in other areas. In these smaller and coastal cities, rape victims are typically referred to the police, who themselves have limited officers and resources, including a lack of vehicles to help transport victims to hospitals or personnel to arrest suspects. Advocates also stress that women fear the police who have been accused of rapes and asking women for bribes to intervene. (*see Security and Child Protection section*).

In Léogâne, MUDHA (the Movement for Dominican Women of Haitian Descent) established model IDP camps run by women that provided greater security via mixed patrols – effective steps to reduce sexual violence, according to reporters who visited the camps.<sup>ii</sup> Its members also expanded outreach in the zone, as have several other women's rights groups. But the demand outstrips the supply, including a local demand for mental health training to address post-trauma.

"In general, there is a lack of resources to address this problem in the provinces," stated Guerda Constant, director of Limye Lavi. Her organization has worked closely with the IOM and groups focused on child protection to help minors reporting abuse, including *restaveks*. Based on her observations, many girls working before the earthquake as *restaveks* – unpaid domestic workers – became homeless

when families they lived with lost homes or died on January 12. These vulnerable children remain at high risk of sexual abuse, including trafficking. “We see these children who have nowhere to go now,” stated Constant. “They are the ones I worry especially about.” (see *Spotlight on Girls* section)

### Caribbean Solidarity

A growing number of international feminists and groups, including Dominican activists, have helped to shed light on sexual violence in smaller cities and the Haiti-Dominican border area. Right after the earthquake, the late Sonia Pierre, already a globally famous human rights activist and founder of MUDHA, organized emergency convoys of food and other aid to families seeking refuge along Haiti’s border, areas often far from arriving aid groups.<sup>iii</sup> MUDHA’s model IDP camp management in Léogâne has highlighted the positive impact of recruiting local women to serve in mixed security patrols, and the importance of establishing protected areas in camps for children to play, mothers to nurse, and girls to learn – and sleep. (Note: Local women’s groups and UN agencies including UNICEF also share credit for setting up “baby tents” in camps to provide young nursing mothers with privacy and a safe space to care for their newborn children and to receive education.<sup>iiii</sup> (see *Reproductive Health* section)

Post-quake, several Haitian feminist groups joined forces with allied Caribbean and Latin America colleagues to launch a collective feminist international solidarity camp “Myriam Merlet” on the Haitian-Dominican border. This project drew global attention to women’s needs and voices in Haiti’s reconstruction. Maria Suarez, a journalist with FIRE (Feminist International Radio Endeavour), helped lead a radio advocacy project to broadcast women’s voices out of Haiti. Another activist-reporter, Beverly Bell of the U.S.-based group Other Worlds Are Possible, has given voice to women and youth who are emerging leaders in Haiti’s social movements and within new camp communities. This also underscored the need to amplify women’s voices from Haiti within media coverage of the recovery.



## Follow the Money

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Shortly after the earthquake, women leaders began demanding that Haitian and global leaders address the impact of the disaster on women and girls, and provide funding to support relief aid to women in the IDP camps. Topping the list of demands was urgent funding to improve security, emergency health and GBV services. Since 2010, the demand for funding has remained high on the list of priorities put forward by feminist leaders in and outside Haiti.

Women's concerns were presented in a preliminary Gender Shadow Report (GSR) on the Post-Disaster Needs Assessment (PDNA) reconstruction blueprint that was produced by a loose coalition of Haitian, diaspora and international groups and feminist leaders, The Haiti Equality Collective. Their March 31, 2010 preliminary shadow report noted the lack of women's input on the PDNA and on Haiti's decision-making advisory bodies including the nascent Interim Commission for the Reconstruction of Haiti (IHRC). The PDNA blueprint did not mention gender-based violence or address underlying social, economic and structural inequities that created more hurdles for women to recover from the disaster compared to men. The gender shadow report called for adoption of a gender rights framework to guide Haiti's rebuilding effort, including benchmarks in key technical sectors such as housing, urban and rural development, education, agriculture and the economy. The report listed top recommendations for priority action put forward by Haitian feminists and social movements to address cross-sector gender gaps.

In a parallel step, the Washington, DC-based advocacy group Gender Action began closely tracking funding of the recovery effort by International Financial Institutions, or IFIs, and added its voice to a growing global chorus of women's and community groups demanding IFI monies be urgently directed to Haitian women's needs. Gender Action also edited and released a final version of the joint Haiti Gender Shadow Report in December 2010.<sup>lv</sup>

In a follow up May 2011 report on funding to date for GBV in Haiti, Gender Action reported that the two IFIs – the World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) – had granted almost \$500 million for relief and rebuilding projects in Haiti from January 2010 to May 2011 alone. But only one grant had been provided to address gender-based violence out of 78 post-earthquake grants totaling \$223 million, and only due to persistent Gender Action advocacy.<sup>lvi</sup> Gender Action stated: "The other 77 World Bank and IDB grants approved for Haiti, comprising 99.9 percent of their post-earthquake expenditures, ignore GBV. Remarkably, all of the IFI's solar lighting projects' stated objectives – to provide generators for emergency centers, medical units, refugee camps, and refrigeration for vaccines – neglect to include the reduction of GBV."

The GBV grant came from the World Bank-backed Rapid Social Trust Fund, a multi-donor endeavor to help the world's poorest countries and build social protection systems to safeguard poor and vulnerable groups against severe shocks like food, fuel and financial crises.<sup>lvii</sup> Representatives of the World Bank's Latin America and Caribbean Poverty and Gender Group (LCSPG), aware of the demand for action by Haitian and international feminists, agreed that Haiti's historic earthquake and the emerging GBV crisis in IDP camps fit the Trust's severe shock category. The GBV grant represented a first of its kind for the LCSPG – an IFI funding breakthrough of sorts related to gender and disaster.<sup>lviii</sup>

The Trust money was given to KOFAVIV,<sup>lix</sup> via its US partner MADRE, to launch their GBV survivor-led "Women Say Enough is Enough" community outreach and training campaign in five IDP camps. That campaign began in November 2010 and quickly mobilized KOFAVIV members in and outside of camps, joined by advocates from other survivors and grassroots groups, to distribute security supplies (including whistles, cell phones, lanterns, tarps, etc.) and provide trainings for local women<sup>lx</sup> (see KOFAVIV and MADRE boxes).

The grant was the result of a direct lobbying effort in spring 2011 of World Bank and IDB officials by Haitian and diaspora leaders that was organized by the DC-based Haiti Advocacy Working Group (HAWG), an ad-hoc coalition that included Gender Action as a founding member.<sup>lxi</sup> Gender Action co-chairs HAWG's sub-group on IFI's and Debt and played an active role in pushing the bank to fund anti-GBV efforts. This included organizing meetings between Haitian grassroots women leaders and key US officials, including the State Department's Global Ambassador for Women at Large Melanne Verveer and Special Assistant for Violence Against Women Sandrine Rukundo. Gender Action also joined a nascent GBV-focused Haitian Women and Girls Allies (HWGA) coalition with US-based NGOs doing Haiti GBV advocacy work, including MADRE, Other Worlds Are

Possible, and TransAfrica. Gender Action also played an active role as a member of the Jubilee Debt Network Council in a successful global campaign to cancel Haiti's \$279.1 million dollar debt to International Monetary Fund, a debt built up over the years by prior and corrupt regimes.<sup>lxii</sup>

According to Gender Action's President Elaine Zuckerman, "The World Bank's \$500,000 GBV Haiti grant specifically responds to heavy Gender Action advocacy demonstrating that no initial World Bank post-earthquake investments addressed appalling GBV rates among Haitian women living on streets and in camps." While that's progress, it's still barely a dot on the overall map of Haiti funding. "The World Bank's GBV grant amounts to a mere 0.09 percent of total World Bank post-earthquake spending in Haiti," confirms Zuckerman. And what that's perhaps shocking, given the heavy impact of sexual on women,, it's better than the IDB's record. "Gender Action's monitoring of Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) post-earthquake commitments to Haiti totaling \$1 billion for over a hundred projects reveals that none of them specifically address GBV," reports Zuckerman.

It's no small irony, then, that the lone GBV grant to Haiti represents a milestone of sorts for IFIs. Gender Action's analysis finds that the World Bank has historically only financed projects with a specific focus on gender-based violence in three countries – the Ivory Coast, Democratic Republic of the Congo, and recently, Haiti.

Officials at both bank can argue that funding for other reconstruction projects – road building, debris clearance, judicial and security improvements, rural development, for example – provide a broad benefit to women as a class and thus to GBV survivors as a subcategory. This is true. But no funds have been provided to address a major problem -- rape -- that a wealth of studies have now linked to specific post-economic conditions and factors, including displacement, lack of housing, insecurity, and rising violent crime in IDPs and areas where camp dwellers are being resettled.

Gender advocates also point out that a lack of transparency has left out Haitian NGOs and smaller groups from applying for reconstruction funds since many have involved "no bid" contracts without public RFPs – Requests for Proposals. Studies by aid watchdog groups have found that billions of dollars of Haiti reconstruction funds were given to US and outside contract agencies, some of them the 'no bid' contracts. As of September 2011, only 2.4 percent of the \$205 million in aid contracts by the US government in Haiti had gone to Haitian companies, according to an analysis by the Center on Economic and Policy Research of the Federal Procurement Database System. A May 2012 report by independent journalist Jacob Kushner also found that \$10.2 billion in aid pledged to post-earthquake reconstruction in Haiti was largely bypassing the nation's local producers and importers.<sup>lxiii</sup>

In September 2012, Gender Action's Claire Lauterbach authored another investigative report, a case study assessing the financial and gender dimensions of Haiti's draft National Housing and Urban Development policy, a World Bank-backed plan (*see Housing section for more discussion*).<sup>lxiv</sup> The case study asked: will Haiti's vulnerable and poor women benefit from the plan? Gender Action found that the housing policy, which heavily relies on private investment to build new housing, would burden the poor, especially women "with expensive and unobtainable housing by relying on private solutions, ignoring Haitians' Constitutional right to decent housing." Gender Action uses its "Essential Gender Analysis Checklist"<sup>lxv</sup> to assess the quality of gender integration, finding that "... in almost all respects, the Policy does not address women's vulnerability" and does not address women's housing needs.

The case study also found the World Bank was not adhering to its own agency gender policy and suggested five key recommendations to improve the draft policy, including one that tops the list for GBV survivors and advocates: that housing projects include subsidy schemes for displaced women and their families and women-headed households as well as other vulnerable groups. In an monitoring update, Lauterbach reported that, as of Oct 20, 2012, total World Bank commitments for Haiti totaled \$547,740,000, while disbursements were less than half that amount, at \$205,829,500. The IDB's commitments stood at \$960,827,230, with \$357,110,737 of disbursements.<sup>lxvi</sup>

Gender Action, with partner organizations such as HAWG members, is pressuring these taxpayer-funded banks to live up to their anti-GBV rhetoric by investing more in preventing and treating GBV.

Looking ahead, Gender Action hopes to partner with groups fighting GBV in Haiti to improve local capacity to do financial and gender monitoring of IFI, US and Haitian government-funded projects. Their goal is the mantra on many lips in Haiti: "Follow the Money."<sup>∞</sup>

### Adopting a Human Rights Frame

Human rights groups in and outside of Haiti were also quick to provide documentation of the increased sexual violence in camps, including the Haitian Platform of Human Rights Organizations (POHDH), the