Dimensions of power and gender based violence
in post-disaster societies
A case study on Haiti after the 2010 earthquake

Autor: Elin Holmström
Supervisor: Heiko Fritz
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Abstract

Haiti experienced the greatest urban disaster of international history in 2010 when the county was hit by an earthquake which triggered one of the largest responses of humanitarian assistance and disaster relief efforts ever identified. The Haitian population was harshly affected by the earthquake, killing approximately 200,000 people, injuring 300,000 and displacing over 2.3 million. Reports from the post-disaster period also revealed that gender inequalities were growing deeper and that cases of sexual based violence against women and girls increased massively. The history of Haiti shows similar patterns of discrimination and gender based violence against women and children.

Research upon gender based violence in the aftermath of disaster presents that disastrous events such as an earthquake, often is followed by an increase in gender based – and sexual gender based violence. Disasters could also provide a *window of opportunity* for change of traditional roles and social norms in societies where they are deeply rooted. In order to seize this opportunity disaster management needs to acknowledge and adapt to gendered needs and capacities in all stages of disaster relief efforts in order to provide these opportunities for the subordinated gender.

This research is studying the responsive policies of the Haitian government in the aftermath of the earthquake 2010, presented in the *Action Plan for National Recovery and Development of Haiti*. The aim is to investigate if any exercises of power could be observed to have affected the increase of gender based violence and sexual gender based violence for women and children in the post-earthquake responsive period.

The study will be carried out as a text-analysing, desk study and by applying the theoretical framework of Steven Lukes three-dimensional power approach and the theory of radical feminism abductively.

The findings of this research presents that power exercises by the government can be observed to have affected the increase of gender based – as well as sexual gender based violence in the period of study.

*Keywords*

Disaster response, gender inequality, sexual gender based violence, power, radical feminism
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<tr>
<td>APNRDH</td>
<td>Action Plan for National Recovery and Development of Haiti</td>
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<tr>
<td>DDR</td>
<td>Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration</td>
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<td>DRR</td>
<td>Disaster Risk Reduction</td>
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<td>FADH</td>
<td>Haitian Armed Forces</td>
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<td>GBV</td>
<td>Gender Based Violence</td>
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<td>HNP</td>
<td>Haitian National Police</td>
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<td>HRF</td>
<td>Haiti Reconstruction Fund</td>
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<td>HRW</td>
<td>Human Rights Watch</td>
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<td>IDP</td>
<td>Internally Displaced Person</td>
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<td>ICG</td>
<td>International Crisis Group</td>
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<tr>
<td>IFI</td>
<td>International Financial Institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IHRC</td>
<td>Interim Haiti Recovery Commission</td>
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<td>IRP</td>
<td>International Recovery Platform</td>
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<td>JICA</td>
<td>Japan International Cooperation Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MFA</td>
<td>Ministry for Foreign Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>MINUSTAH</td>
<td>United Nations Stabilisation Mission in Haiti</td>
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<tr>
<td>MSPP</td>
<td>Ministry of Public Health and Population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>ODI</td>
<td>Overseas Development Institute</td>
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<tr>
<td>PRV</td>
<td>Power: A Radical View</td>
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<tr>
<td>SGBV</td>
<td>Sexual Gender Based Violence</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>WB</td>
<td>World Bank</td>
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1 Introduction

1.1 Research problem

The world is experiencing an era of natural hazards with a prediction and notion that more are to be expected due to human kind's negative impact on the nature. Some nations are more at risk and vulnerable for natural hazards than others and within all nations there are some groups that are more vulnerable than capable to withstand and mitigate from a natural hazard than others (Wisner et. al. 2003:4f). Vulnerable and capable groups are differentiated by social, economic and political factors (Wisner et. al. 2003:Passim).

In the World Conference on Disaster Reduction in 2005 the United Nations (UN) together with the member states adopted the *Hyogo Framework for Action 2005-2015: Building the Resilience of Nations and Communities to Disasters*, declaring the necessity for the international community’s together with governments, the private sectors, stakeholders on regional, national and local levels to take prioritised action in disaster preparedness, responsive actions and long term recovery in order to increase the possibilities for sustainable development and poverty eradication with special focus on disaster-prone developing countries. The Hyogo Framework also declares that the primary responsible for identifying and taking the necessary actions to avoid vulnerable groups to suffer from disasters lies on the states. (UNa 2005:16).

In January 2010, Haiti experienced a natural hazard in form of an earthquake. Even if Haiti’s geographically lies in an earthquake-belt as well as often being hit by floods, tropic storms and hurricanes, this earthquake was the strongest earthquake hitting Haiti in over 200 years (ALNAP 2010:9). Due to the nations little preparedness, respondence capacity and underdeveloped recovery planning together with fragility of the state and its institutions, the earthquakes quickly developed to a disaster (ALNAP 2010:13). Though, research on disaster management presents that natural hazards and disasters can create opportunities for vulnerable groups to actually benefit from them. This since such an event can bring an change into rooted social norms, set roles and power structures when people, after the event of an hazard, need to adapt to other roles, switch priorities and set former hostilities aside. This possible change is called *the window of opportunities* (Horton 2012:Passim) (ODI 2014:Passim).
When the earthquake hit Haiti, a massive flood of international assistance were alerted with non-governmental organisations (NGO’s) travelling to Haiti accompanied with donating millions of dollars for disaster relief (ALNAP 2010:23). Though, reports from the early stage of the earthquake up until today have repeatedly stressed the importance of the Haitian government and other stakeholders to address the needs of vulnerable groups and work towards reducing the negative effects aggravated of the earthquake, especially for women and children that has faced an increase of inequalities, gender related violence, exclusion from decision making and years of displacement in illegal unsafe camps (Horton 2012: Passim).

According to International Recovery Platform (IRP) and their Guidance Note on Recovery - Gender, gender relationships are always consisting of power dynamics that divide different decisions between the genders (IRP 2013:3). IRP is presenting that core decisions that affect the community and which is usually made by one gender-groups, the subordinated gender will lack in benefits and resources for the decisions that is within its responsibility (2013:4) IRP further points out that this is a structure that is deeply rooted in the functions and values of the society and that it also goes on for generations since children are growing up with the structure being a normality (IRP 2013:4).

IRP are also pointing at that all societies are different in their ways to respond to an event such as a disaster (IRP 2013:5). Depending on the roles and values of the different genders within the society, men and women have different knowledge, responsibilities, capacities and also ways to react, respond and resilience to a disaster (IRP 2013:5). IRP are underlining the need for stakeholders to acknowledge differences of the genders and possible inequalities in the disaster preparedness, response, recovery and resilience efforts in order to not leave the subordinated gender in deeper inequality than before the event and avoid creating further vulnerability (IRP 2013:5,10). This includes having a cross-cutting gender perspective upon all enforcement of disaster management, especially in renewing national policies, in order to address the needs as well as capacities for both genders (IRP 2013:10).

1.2 Research objective

The objective of this research is to investigate if power relations in disaster responsive efforts can contribute to an increase of gender based violence and sexual gender based violence by applying the theoretical lens of Steven Lukes three-dimensional power approach and the theory of radical feminism.
1.3 Research questions

The theoretical framework will be applied on the case study of the Haitian governments responsive policies and responsive actions of the earthquake 2010 and answer the following research questions:

- *Can any examples of power exercises be observed in the Haitian governments responsive policies and actions of the 2010 earthquake?*

- *Can any exercises of power explain the situation for women and children in the aftermath of the earthquake?*

1.4 Previous research and research relevance

Research upon gender based violence in the aftermath of a disaster is wide and some are, as already mentioned, pointing out that disasters also could mean opportunity to change structured power relations, social norms and rooted traditions (ODI 2014: *Passim*). Though, more research are pointing out the difference, that vulnerable groups inequalities gets deeper and that gender based violence as well as sexual gender based violence are likely to increase in the aftermath period (Horton 2012:302f) (ODI 2014:4f) (Wisner et. all. 2003:6ff). The differentiation between if rooted norms of inequalities will decrease or increase after a disaster has to do with if different vulnerabilities, capacities and needs are acknowledged and addressed at all levels and in all aspects of disaster management (IRP 2013:10f).

Though, Wisner et. al. (2003:6ff) discusses that states that had questionable social norms and power structures before an event of a natural hazards could be using their power position in the responsive efforts in sense of favouring their voters in disaster relief policies in order to potentially keep their power (Wisner et. al. 2003:6ff). This instead, could be in complete disfavour for the vulnerable groups of the society if they are opposed to the ruling party or the structured social norms (Wisner et. al. 2003:7).

Researchers such as Horton (2003:315) and Overseas Development Institute (ODI 2014:1) on disaster management are urging the need for further research to be conducted upon the reasons for the increase of gender based violence and sexual gender based violence in the aftermath of a disaster. This since this is deepening inequalities in societies where women and children are likely to disfavour gravely in terms of lacking behind in development process (ODI 2014:4ff).
By analysing the case study of Haiti in the aftermath of the earthquake 2010, where the history of Haiti has been reported to have grave inequalities and high levels of gender based violence and sexual gender based violence towards women and children, through a constructed theoretical lens that investigate power exercises, this study could contribute to a new perspective upon the subject matter.

1.5 Research design

This sub-chapter will present the theoretical framework as well as the methodology in use in this research in brief and will be outlined more detailed in the specific chapters 2 and 3, followed by a presentation of the chapters of the research.

1.5.1 Theoretical framework

In order to answer the research questions and bring a new perspective upon gender based violence and sexual gender based violence in the aftermath of disasters, the results and findings of this research will be analysed through a theoretical framework that has been constructed for this research. The finding will be based upon evaluations of the governmental policies in the responsive period of the earthquake 2010 and will be analysed through Steven Lukes (2005) theory of three-dimensional power to investigate if any power exercises can be identified. Steven Lukes approach is discussing the theory about three types of power exercises that could be issues of non-decision-making, meaning issues being neglected to even acknowledge (Lukes 2005:4ff). After analysing examples of power exercises in the Haitian responsive period of the earthquake through the dimensions of power presented by Lukes (2005), the second theory of the research will be applied, radical feminism. This will be done, in order to see if the power exercises identified in the research could have affected the situation for women and children when looking upon the findings of power exercises through the lens of radical feminism.

1.5.2 Methodological framework

This research will be conducted as a qualitative desk study as the aim of the study is to try to find explanatory factors of an increase of gender based violence in the aftermath of the 2010 earthquake in Haiti by looking into possible power exercises of the government. There are plenty of information in English, from several different sources regarding the subject of study and valued at sufficient for conducting this research as a desk study and to answer the research questions.
Another factor that most likely would not be possible to do if doing a field study would be to look into the wide range of sources and therefore also weight in the variety of different perspectives upon the responsive actions in the research. This due to language barriers as well as possible biases both from the researcher and from the people of interest for this study.

As mentioned earlier, this research will be applying a theoretical lens upon a phenomenon abductively. This way of abductively approaching a phenomenon allows the researcher to study factors within the case study that addressing the theories of the framework and by this, be able to explain the phenomenon with a new perspective. This is called to reconceptualize and aims to gain new knowledge about the interpretative processes to understand isolated events in a bigger context. (Danermark et. al. 2002: 80).

This research aims at answering the research questions presented below by applying a theoretical framework abductively. Abductive research is according to Danermark et. al. (2002:87f) a research that could provide new perspective upon individual phenomenon’s within general structures.

1.6.3 Research structure

The first chapter is the introduction and presentation of the research. The second chapter will present the methodological framework that will be used in the research in sense of application of the theoretical framework and answer the research questions as well as going trough the selection of sources. The third chapter is presenting the theoretical framework which is constructed for this research. The theoretical framework chapter will also present how the framework will be operationalized and finished with presenting previous research on the subject matter. In the forth chapter, the result of the research will be presented where one sub-chapter will outline relevant periods of the Haitian history, followed by a brief description upon the earthquakes impact on Haiti. Afterword’s, the chapter will present the main policies of the governments response to the earthquake as well as the main policies that the government addresses the needs of vulnerable groups such as women and children. This will be followed by an outline of the situation for women and children in the aftermath. The fifth chapter is an analysis of the results presented in the previous chapter. The analysis chapter consists of two sub-chapters that are analysing the results of the main policies of the governments response, as well as an analysis of the policies addressing women and children specifically. In these two sub-chapters the theoretical framework will be operationalized and
the research questions will be answered. The sixth chapter is the conclusion of the analysis and research as such and will be followed by a list of references.

1.7 Limitations

One limitation identified when gathering information for this research is the lack of data and reports regarding gender based violence in the aftermath of the earthquake in Haiti 2010. The most researches and reports studied during the thesis writing are presenting the problematics of women and girls not reporting when they have experienced gender based violence or sexual gender based violence to authorities or to other stakeholders due to different reasons such as experiencing threats, fear or not having knowledge or ability to find anyone that could or wanted to address the violent action (AI 2011: Passim). Since there are no data found that is presenting potential gaps in reports of gender based violence (GBV) or sexual gender based violence (SGBV) the information gap will also be a problematic in this very research in terms of having to build the knowledge upon secondary sources presenting the problem of women and girls experiencing more GBV and SGBV than could be supported by data.

Another limitations addressed in the process of writing this thesis is firstly that I have no knowledge of French or Creole which are languages in Haiti. Though, since my research is focusing on finding observation of power dimensions by the government the response period of Haiti, a lot of research, evaluations and reports are written in English. What is a language problem when it comes to me not understanding French is that the government of Haiti mostly communicate in French. To avoid this research excluding the governments perspective, I have been looking in to secondary sources that are translating the texts in English which could be sufficient, but could also be a ground for biases since I do not have access to the main document, leaving me to rely on the translator to be transparent.

Another limitation addressed when choosing to conduct a desk study is due to the level of risk I would put myself into if I travelled there as a private person. The Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs (MFA) has communicated that Swedish citizens should avoid travels to Haiti due to the lack of security, political instability and high numbers of crime (MFA, 2017). These types of travel advices are valued by most Swedish insurance companies, meaning that if a Swedish citizen travel to a city, country or region with the recommendation to avoid travels, the insurance are not covering for example hospital care, possible loss of belongings etc. Therefore, a field study would mean to be a personal risk high risk of economical suffering in case I needed health care during the study.
1.8 Delimitations

The *Action Plan for National Recovery and Development of Haiti* (APNRDH) is stating the Haitian government’s main priorities in the immediate response period after the earthquake. Here, the government put special emphasis on the necessity to address the needs of vulnerable groups as women, children, and disabled people in order to avoid further vulnerability and suffering (Gov 2010:6f). Thus, the focus of this research will be on the policies that are especially addressing the needs of vulnerable groups and that shows examples of power exercises. The policies are focusing on all of the societies functions and are therefore necessary to delimit with respect for the limited space. Though, this research will focus on the policies that allows the research questions to be answered.

The group that this research is focusing on is generally women and children in Haiti. Women and children are pointed out to be a particular vulnerable group to natural hazards since the group *overall* do face a higher grade of difficulty in recovery, face a higher probability for injury, death and loss of livelihood than other groups (Wisner et. al. 2003:15). The vulnerability might not be applicable for all women and children in the affected area since other factors could increase some’s capacities for some women and children making them more prone than others in the same group to recover with the natural hazard (Wisner et. al. 2003:16).

There are several individuals, groups that might be addressed as a vulnerable or capable group in terms of mitigation opportunities to natural hazards that could have been effected unequally (Wisner et. al. 2003:16). This research will not look into other groups than women and children since the most information regarding disadvantages for women and children in the response and recovery period of the Haitian earthquake has been reported.

The reason for delimiting this research into only investigating the policies that are implemented by the Haitian government is due to the responsibility of the state to address and action upon possible human rights violations towards the population. This liability is also highly advocated in the responsive period after an natural hazard according to the Hyogo Framework for Action which is a declaration between UN and the member state on DRR (UN, 2005:14).
1.9 Ethical considerations

Since this thesis will be conducted as a desk study all necessary information collected will be from reports and evaluations made by NGO’s, governmental sources, other researchers etc. and not include any interviews with people affected of the earthquake. This probably decrease the level of harm that research participants could be put out for when having a dialogue about probably experienced traumatic subjects such as the earthquake, power structures and norms as well as possible experienced violence.

This research will look into possible use and miss-use of power dynamics in a very sensitive time period where one can imagine that the interest of stakeholders and disaster respondents that, one could assume, have the prior interest of helping the affected people and not increase any type of damage. This research is not conducted to put any respondent “on the spot”, but to investigate if power dynamics could have contributed to affecting the level of vulnerability for groups of the affected people.

Women and children in Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) context discussed to be a vulnerable group. It is necessary to also see women and children capable to address, respond to and impact their own lives too (IRP 2013:5). The focus of this research is not to point out women and children as being incapable of affecting their own future in case of an event such as a natural hazard, a disaster, nor in everyday life, but to investigate if other stakeholders could intentionally or non-intentionally could exercise power so that it could inflict or intervene in women and children’s capability of having the power of their own future when it comes to gender based violence. It is necessary to also state that men possible have been victims of power exercises that might not have been in favour for the needs of men or other groups of the Haitian society.
2 Methodological framework

This chapter will outline the chosen methodological framework that will be applied in this study and offer explanations of the choices. This chapter will start by explaining the selection of research design followed by a section presenting the choices of material for gathering information for the research.

2.1 Qualitative research

This study is outlined as a qualitative research since the aim of qualitative research is to create an in-depth explanation to the research problem in the findings (Creswell 2014:235). The idea of qualitative research is to gain more knowledge about a certain problem for a specific group in a specific context in order to create an understanding for that case particularly by looking deeper into a few variables (Ibid). This differs from quantitative research that instead tend to focus on a broader understanding of a problem by investigating variables and factors that could result in a wider knowledge about the context in study. The findings in a qualitative research could often be applicable to other cases than the actual case the research focus on, since it often provides a broader, more generalizing result (Creswell 2014:204ff).

Typically for a qualitative desk study is to gather information from multiple sources of data such as from different forms interviews, observations, evaluations and documents rather than from data source which is more common for quantitative studies (Creswell 2014: 234).

The aim of this research is to create possible explanatory factors (result) of the increase of gender based violence (problematic) for women and children (group in focus) in the aftermath of the 2010 earthquake in Haiti (context) by answering the research questions which would better be conducted through a qualitative research. This since the research per sei is limited and interested of finding results for a specific phenomenon that might not be applicable to other cases than for Haiti, which are definitions of a qualitative research.

2.2 Case study

This research is investigating a specific case by going in-depth into factors that could give a new perspective to the phenomenon of an increase of gender based violence in the aftermath of a disaster. This is done by looking into previous research, evaluations and stories shared to other researchers by women and children affected by the event.
In order to collect all the information necessary to answer the research question a wide time frame will be covered in this research by firstly, presenting background information about relevant history of Haiti and further looking resources evaluating and reporting about the responsive period of 18 mounts after the earthquake. The favourable method is to conduct this research as a case study since a lot of professionals on the subject in focus have presented reports and evaluations of organisations and stakeholder in the relief process that would be enough to cover the information needed for this research.

A case study is also discussed to offer a more detailed knowledge about a case as well as to provide a possibility to identify intervening factors in a specified phase of time that could have resulted into the complexed phenomenon of study (Creswell 2014:290).

**2.3 Abductive method**

Conducting a research abductively helps to create an understanding of a complex phenomenon of the reality. Abduction could provide a deeper knowledge of a phenomenon by looking at the phenomenon with a new perspective, in this case, by applying a new analytical framework. (Danermark et. al. 2002:88.)

When approaching a phenomenon abductively, the researcher is looking for factors in the case of study that is in line with the chosen theory and analytical framework in order to possibly explain the phenomenon with a new perspective. This is called to *reconceptualize* and aims to gain knowledge about the interpretative processes to understand isolated events in a bigger context. (Danermark et. al. 2002: 80.)

Danermark et. al. (2002) is explaining that research with an abductive approach aims to find explanatory factors for individual phenomenon’s that also could further explain general structures or parts of them which are less easy so gain knowledge about. Danermark is discussing that it often is easier to research upon individual events to gain possible knowledge about general structures than to try to isolate general structures as the subject of study (Danermark et. al. 2002:88). Steven Lukes (2005) three-dimensional power framework is not only addressing visible or concrete phenomenon’s, but also the phenomenon of non-visible and structuralized types of power exercises. This could be a way to possible find explanatory factors of general structures as Danermark et. al. (2002) is discussing and will be applied in this research.
2.4 Material and selection of sources

This research will be outlined as a desk study, through the methodological framework that has been outlined in this chapter. The primary material that will be studied in order to answer the research questions are reports local women organisations that has advocated in Haiti prior to the earthquake and are aware of the women and children’s prior situation to the earthquake as well as their situation in the aftermath period. Also, sources from scholars that has studied the governments responsive policies and the situation for women and children in the responsive period are included. These sources are crucial for me in order to understand possible power exercises in the responsive period that could have been structuralised into social norms and traditional roles as the theoretical framework allows to investigate. In order to understand the groups of which their situation this research is studying, sources consisting testimonies of the groups will be a prior source of information.

Other sources that this research is based upon are reports from agents of NGO’s that have been present in the post-earthquake period in Haiti, as well as some of the NGO’s being present before the event. The reports from NGO’s are seen as secondary sources since these reports could be biased in favour of the NGO. These reports are necessary to be studied with consideration that the information presented by stakeholders in the response, recovery and mitigation process and therefore, might not be transparent enough to point out when power have been exercised that could have affected an increase of gender based violence.

2.5.1 Secondary sources

When conducting a desk study it is necessary to be transparent regarding the problematics the researcher not gathering information from core sources and instead rely on others information upon the subject of interest instead.

The reports and evaluations of the post-earthquake period in Haiti are coherently reporting about failing in coordination, inclusion of local organisations, overseeing the needs of vulnerable population and spending too much donation and aid funding’s on mainstreamed approaches which showed to be inapplicable to the Haitian culture and history (Horton 2012:399) (AI 2011:2f). Some reports are pointing at the international humanitarian assistance to be failing (Horton 2012:298) and others are pointing at that the government of Haiti was in such a weak stage before, but especially after the disaster, limiting them from taking a leading role and therefore, left NGO’s having to lead relief work (Herard 2012:1ff). This research will be investigating both division of the publications upon the subject in order to provide a
transparent research and answering the research questions. Though, the research is aiming at looking at possible power exercises conducted by the government and therefore, the main sources that are represented are reports regarding the policies made by the government. What is important to keep in mind, is that the action plan for immediate response is presented by the government, but in collaboration with other international disaster relief actors since the actors are necessary for the implementation of the governmental policies in the post-disaster response period (GOV 2010:6).
The theoretical framework that will be used in this research is the three-dimensional power framework by Steven Lukes (2005) combined with the lens of radical feminism. Lukes framework can be used in order to identify exercises of power that, without the framework, can be hard to otherwise identify or observe while the theory of radical feminism is discussing power as primarily male domination over females. Thereafter, possible findings of power relations will be examined through the lens of radical feminism. This operationalization will be further and more detailly outlined in the end of this chapter. Firstly, this chapter will address the theories that will be used in this research, starting with explaining Lukes three-dimensional power, followed by presenting ideas of radical feminism. It is necessary to, already in this stage, point out that radical feminism is build and presented by many theorists with different perspectives on what radical feminism actually is and what factors the theory is focusing on. Therefore, the part upon radical feminism theory will not address all different versions of the theory, but instead address the overarching perspective of it as well as presenting some critiques. Critiques of Lukes three-dimensional power will also be outlined in the end of the specific part upon that theory. This in order to offer transparency to the research, addressing that different point of views upon the research theories could be considered as well.

3.1 Three-dimensional power

This part will firstly present Lukes three-dimensional power approach broadly, followed by explaining the different dimensions one by one.

When Steven Lukes published the first edition of his book *Power: A Radical View (PRV)* in 1974 and entered an already ongoing debate regarding power and domination exercises in the social – and political sciences. In PRV Lukes is presenting other scholars such as Mills, Hunter and Dahls perspective on different power exercises and addresses that the focus of the debate was to identify “*how they could think about theoretically and how to study it empirically*” (Lukes 2005:1). In 2005, Lukes published the second edition of PRV where Lukes explains the theoretical and empirical view upon power and introduces other scholars views on power exercises in the one – and two-dimensions. Even if Lukes is sharing the point of views of power being present in the examples addressed in the first two dimensions, he criticise them for being too narrow and inaccurate. Lukes is underlining the importance of trying to see what is hard to see when it comes to power exercises and addresses the need for
scholars in the power debate to broaden their perspectives in order and focus on that power is
the most effective when it is the least observable (Lukes 2005:1). Therefore, he continues
with presenting another dimension of power, the three-dimensional, that is trying to address
underlying power exercises that are hard to see and acknowledge, but still present and
effective.

In the three-dimensional framework Lukes is taking on the power debate with the question in
mind: “How do the powerful secure the compliance of those they dominate – and, more
specifically, how do they secure their willing compliance?” (Lukes 2005:12).

Lukes framework of three-dimensional power will be used as an lens to investigate if power
has been exercised by authorities and stakeholders in the responsive period after the 2010
earthquake in Haiti in order to identify if it could have an impacted of increasing gender based
violence.

Followed is a description of one – and two-dimensional power even if the third dimension
will have the main focus in this research. This due to the importance of one understanding the
first two dimensions of power in order to better identify the third dimension as well as get an
overview of the concept.

3.1.1 One-dimensional power

The one-dimensional power is based on concrete, observable behaviour which is presented by
the scholars Wolfinger, Dahl and Polsby and discussed by Lukes in PRV. Dahl describes
power in his book The Concept of Power from 1957 as: “A has power over B to the extent
that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do” (Lukes 2005:16).

Lukes continues to describe Dahls perspective on power only being observable when it is a
conflict of interest and one opponents get her will trough and the other one does not. This
could also be explained as one is succeeding and the other one is defeated in the conflict
(Lukes 2005:16). In this pluralist view on power the distinction of power exercise needs to be
separated from ones capacity of using power and one’s actual use of power, more specified as
potential and actual power. This dimension could only be distinguished when there is an
observable conflict of interest and power is exercised in favour for one’s interest. It is not
addressable when one is possessing power and not actively uses it (Lukes 2005:16ff).

In the cluster of one-dimensional power only actual, observable behaviour of power are
relevant (Lukes 2005:17f).
3.1.2 Two-dimensional power

The two-dimensional power is associated with the scholars Bachrach, Baratz and Schattschneider whom argued that the concept of one-dimensional power was not effective to explain how power can be exercises (Lukes 2005:20-21). Bachrach and Baratz shares Dahls explanation of the one-dimensional power, but points out that it only addresses one out of two faces of power where one-dimensional power is limited in explaining actual and observable power exercises in concrete decisions (Lukes 2005:20).

Bachrach and Baratz addresses the second face of power being exercised “to the extent that a person or group – consciously or unconsciously – creates or reinforces barriers to the public airing of policy conflicts, that person or group has power.” (Lukes 2005:21). They further explains that those who possesses power has the power to set the rules of the game, deciding upon which subject will be discussed and which will not (Lukes 2005:21). Those in power can decide upon if an alternative to their own preferred agenda will be acknowledged in the decision-making process or not. If those in power would decide not to acknowledge the alternative, they can use their power to avoid it by using force, manipulation, influence, coercion or by exercising authority (Lukes 2005:21). If any or all of these possibilities for those in power to avoid alternatives to the political agenda, it will be in terms of non-decision-making since the alternative will not be presented or acknowledged in the political discussion at all (Lukes 2005:21).

Bachrach and Baratz describes the two-dimensional in addition to the one-dimensional power as: “Power is also exercised when A devotes his energies to creating or reinforcing social and political values and institutional practices that limit the scope of the political process to public consideration of only those issues which are comparatively innocuous to A.” (Lukes 2005:20).

In terms of non-decision making the expression “Mobilization of bias” that was coined by Schattschneider is a focal point, meaning that political organisations have the power of determining the agenda of which subject should be brought up and acknowledged and which subject to be rejected and sorted out from the debate by indoctrinating B to compline with A’s preferred alternative of the interest matter (Lukes 2005:20).

Though, it is necessary to distinguish that all forms of power discussed in the two-dimensional power are when B is aware of that the own alternatives will be set aside in favour of A’s alternative. This would, as Lukes discusses, means that B is aware of that A’s
alternative is the preferred and chose to neglect the own alternative. This is, according to Luke, an actual and observable conflict (Lukes 2005:22ff).

Lukes is further explaining Bachrach and Baratz concept of power that it is containing power exercise in terms of both decision-making and non-decision-making. In decision-making, power usage is present when expressed and overt alternatives are sorted out from the agenda and therefore will not be acknowledged (Lukes 2005:22). Power exercise in non-decision-making are when alternatives are suppressed from entering the political arena and therefore will not take place on the agenda. Non-decision-making can further be explained as demands being suffocated and covert before even being voiced or before it has reached the process of decision-making. They further explains that political organisations and institutions also may use their power in order to shape which alternatives of a subject of interest that will be acknowledged by those in power, by eliminate potential issues from entering the political arena and therefore, being avoiding the need to ever acknowledge them (Lukes 2005:22ff).

3.1.3 Three-dimensional power

In his book PRV, Lukes present his three-dimensional power as he thought that the one- and two-dimensional powers were missing some power exercises which are more invisible and also, according to Lukes, are more effective. Lukes describes the reasons for why he thinks the two first dimensions are inadequate:

Lukes present the one- and two dimensions are too narrow and too focused on actual behaviour even if he does think that the two-dimensional power contain some aspects of power being present as well as when it comes to non-decision-making, meaning, that an issue or alternative is avoided to even make a decision upon since it never reached the political agenda (Lukes 2005:25,27). Though, Lukes discusses that issues in this manner are consciously hindered to enter the decision-making-process and therefore might create a latent issue. Lukes continues to describe that there are other ways for non-decision-making of potential issues than what is described in the two-dimensional power by individuals, institutions and those who possesses power overall by biasing the system to make potential opponents to not be aware of their real interests at all (Lukes 2005:26). Further explained, social and institutional forces or groups can also be powered by cultural – and social structures and patterns and not only by individuals and groups choices of alternatives, covert or overt (Lukes 2005:26ff). Lukes continues explaining that power also can be exercised when ones actual will and real interest are unknown and unconscious due to a biased system,
collective forces and social arrangements. This could also mean, according to Lukes, that the instance that possesses the power could as well be unaware of them exercising power (Lukes 2005:27f). Examples of when the three-dimensional power is being exercised could be through control over mass media, information or through school indoctrination that could fundamentally shape the biases of the receiver. This, according to Luke, could hinder the receiver from being aware of their actual will and grievances which could be harmful and thereby, being the most effective power exercises (Lukes 2005:28).

3.2 Radical feminism

The theory of radical feminism is covering all topics within the society, but lies its grounding focal point at discussing the problematicities of gender inequalities and the reasons for it.

This research is mainly focusing on addressing potential exercises of power in the responsive period by the Haitian government through the concept of Lukes three-dimensional power as presented above. Though, this study is not aiming on power exercises that affects all but some groups of the society in study, namely women and children. Therefore, it is necessary to apply a feministic lens on top of possible finding of power exercises. This in order to investigate and possibly, explain the reason for gender based violence in Haiti after the earthquake 2010.

As already mentioned, the spectrum of radical feminism is wide and could be applied upon many different situations in order to try to find explanatory means for them to occur, sustain or change into something else. I will hereby summarize what radical feminism stands for when it comes to the discussion of power.

Radical feminism is firstly differentiating their perspective from other branches within feminist theory. For example, liberal feminisms do find power as a positive aspect as long as all has the possibility to possess power equally (Munro 2003:79f). Radical feminists perspective upon power is that it is funded in subordination and dominance relation where equality is not present. Some radical feminists points at the example of dominance and subordination comes from master and slave relation where one is always dominant and one always subordinate. (Munro 2003:80) (Allen 2016).

When it comes to about power and gender, the radical feminist Catharine MacKinnon argue these power relation is present in female and male relations where women are subordinated and men dominant (Allen 2016). According to MacKinnon, women cannot escape the fact of
being a women and that that means that she always will be subordinated men, according to men. This is due to, she continues, social and cultural deeply rooted patterns that has evolved through history (Munro 2003:80). MacKinnon har gotten a lot of critique on how the presenting women as vulnerable victims that are incapable of breaking from social norms (Munro 2003:80).

Some radical feminist, among them Marilyn Frye, has presented another perspective within the radical feminist branch that is stating that power and domination can show two faces (Macdonald 2015). The first face according to Frye is power and control over access where the one that possesses power has unconditional access and the one that does not have any power at all is unconditionally accessible (Macdonald 2015). Frye further explains the first face as the powerless being in a manipulative system where they are forces into a subordinated group by the powerful through the implementation of barriers and thought manipulation (Allen 2016).

The second face of power exercise is, according to Frye, when the ones that possesses power has created the landscape of what is said and “sayable” where men are the ones she identifies as the ones possessing power and women the powerless. Women are, according to Frye, not keen on claiming power since they are structuralized into not being the dominant and powerful (Macdonald 2015) (Allen 2016). Though, Frye continues to present that women often are lacking possibilities of defining their subordinated roles, but instead control their accessibility of the body and mind (Macdonald 2015). Another radical feminist, Carole Parman, sees male domination as a patriarcal construction where men always are seen as accurate to be a females master (Allen 2016). Parman explains that this dominate behaviour is also seen in the politics where men exercises political power to secure female subordination (Allen 2016). According the radical feminist Nany Fraser, the explanation of male dominance in politic of Parman is inadequate. Fraser instead points at males way of subordinating women is secured and structuralized in social practices and cultural norms (Allen 2016).

3.3 Operationalization

Lukes (2005:29) three-dimensional power concept can be divided into three clusters where each outline the features of the dimensions. This is offering a more structured template for operationalisation of Lukes framework and will be used when analysing the results of the research. The two-and three-dimensions will include examples that Lukes has presented.
One-dimensional power:

- Visible behaviour
- Decision-making and the process of decision-making
- Conflict of interest
- Actual and observable conflicts

Two-dimensional power:

- Decision-making and non-decision making
- Covert or overt grievances, issues and potential issues
- Observable overt or covert conflict
- Subjective interests such as grievances and/or policy preferences

Example: Mobilization of bias, barriers to other alternatives than preferred by the power possessor, deciding the rules of the game, decides the political agenda. (Lukes 2005:29).

Three-dimensional power:

- Focuses on groups and institutions
- Decision-making and controlling the political agenda which not has to be through decision-making
- Issues and potential issues
- Observable overt or covert and latent conflict
- Subjective and real interests
- Rooted structures, traditional roles, social norms

Example: Indoctrination in media, education, social process, political propaganda, control over information, structuralised patterns and social norms. (Lukes 2005:29).
This research will put emphasis on investigate if any examples of the third power dimension can be found in the Haitian government policies in the action plan. Though, the power exercises in the third dimension are often harder to distinguish and often needs to be built on hypothesis on which real interests could be covered according to Lukes (2005:28f). He also explains that examples of exercises in the first and second dimensions reveals three-dimensional power exercises (Lukes 2005:29). Therefore, the analyses will identify all three dimensions of power and thereafter, analyse the examples through the lens of radical feminism to investigate if any of the examples found can have an impact on the increase of gender based violence in the aftermath of the earthquake.

Below is a summarization of what the radical feminists think of power:

- All: Power relations are unequally distributed between the genders.

- All: Power is founded in domination and subordination-relationships where one is empowered and the other unempowered.

- MacKinnon: Women are always subordinated men due to men constructed the structures of society where they are dominant and have the capacity to keep their dominance.

- Frye: Women are subordinated men, if, belong to a manipulated system where men created barriers for women to be equal.

- Frye: Power is showed if one has unconditional access to the other that, instead, is unconditionally accessible.

- Parman: Power is constructed by political patriarchy that secure continuous subordination of women where men are always seen as fit to be women’s masters.

- Fraser: Power is secured by men trough implementation in social structures and norms.

3.4 Previous research

Research upon disaster management is specifically addressing the need to protect vulnerable groups from harm in the aftermath of a natural hazard, this with special attention towards women and children (ODI 2016:6) (Horton 2012:298). Examples of women and children’s vulnerability factors before the event of an hazard has to do, according to research with their ability to withstand and mitigate from an hazard in terms of which environmental, economic and social circumstances (Horton 2012:298).

If the pre-conditions are not working in the vulnerable groups favour in terms of ability to mitigate from a natural hazard, the humanitarian, global sector has identified the necessity for stakeholders to work in favourable matters towards identifying and fulfil special needs for these specific groups in order to avoid their further vulnerability (Wisner et. al. 2003:6).

According to the book At Risk (2003) that is discussing different perspectives upon disaster vulnerability states which had questionable social norms and power structures before an event of a natural hazards could be victims of power being exercised by the political leadership in sense of favouring their prior voters in disaster relief policy implementation in order to keep the power position in the long run (Wisner et. al. 2003:6ff). This instead, could be in complete disfavour for the vulnerable groups of the society if they are opposed to the ruling party (Wisner et. al. 2003:7).

Further, previous research is addressing that natural hazards are creating a window of opportunity to social norms and set gender roles if the subordinated gender are provided and acknowledged for their responses to the disaster that might not be of their traditional tasks (ODI 2014:4ff). If these opportunities instead are not provided, the subordination of the gender are likely to deepen than the stage prior to the event (Horton 2012:302f) (ODI 2014:4f).

There are many different interpretations and ideas about how to tackle gender based violence in disaster management settings. (ODI 2014:2). Though, weighting in the researchers perspectives upon power exercises and traditional roles that has been presented in this chapter, has not found to be investigated through the constructed theoretical framework that will be applied to this research. Therefore, possible new perspectives upon these subjects can contribute to the research and management on the subject in the future.
4 Results

This chapter will present the research results starting with an outline of relevant events of Haiti’s history that are important to take into account to understand the vulnerabilities of Haiti with special emphasis on vulnerabilities of the Haitian women and children. This will be followed by a chapter regarding the immediate impacts of the earthquake in brief and afterwards an outline of the Haitian governments main policies of the responsive periods together with how these policies has been evaluated. Another sub-chapter will describe the policies targeting vulnerable groups followed by a presentation the aftermath-situation for women. These results will thereafter be analysed in the following chapter where the theoretical framework will be applied and the research questions will be answered.

4.1 Background on Haiti

Haiti’s history is associated with political instability, high levels of corruption with elites putting the money for public resources in the pockets of their own. Haiti also has a history of high level of poverty among the population (Horton 2010:299). Haiti is the poorest country in the Americas and has often been recognised as a failed state with a weak and fragile governance (ALNAP 2010:8).

In the year of 1804, Haiti was born and declared an independent state after the African population that were brought to the country for slavery overthrew the French colonisers in a bloody civil war (ALNAP 2010:8f). Eleven years after, the US occupied the country and took over the former French colonisers violent way of governing. When the US withdraw in 1934 they still kept fiscal control until 1947 (ALNAP 2010:8f).

Between 1957-1986 Haiti was a dictatorship, ruled by first Papa Doc and later his son, Baby Doc under a new order that was enforced by military (ALNAP 2010:9). Multi – and bilateral funds were pouring into the country during this period with the intention for supporting healthcare and education for the poor population, though corruption kept the money in the hands of the dictators and the elites that had close connections and relation with the dictators (ALNAP 2010:9f). During the era of Papa Doc and Baby Doc’s dictatorship gender inequalities were severe and gender based violence as well as sexual gender based violence an everyday issue for women in Haiti. The “Docs” not only excluded women from policies and programmes, but also systematically sent out military to rape and abuse women if they engage
in political activity (Horton 2012:298). During Papa Docs and Baby Docs era, Haitian public services has suffered and the state deepening its fragility (ALNAP 2010:12).

In 1991, Haiti saw the first democratically elected president, Aristide whom got overthrown by a military fraction in a coup d’état, seven months after the he became president. Aristide gained power again in the end that year when the military stepped down due to US military efforts entering the country in order to bring back democracy and security to the nation (ALNAP 2010:8ff). Thought the history of Haiti, there has been 57 presidents since the time of their independence where 23 of them has been overthrown by military fractions, 3 where executed and 7 died in office. Only 11 presidents since 1804 has made it through a full term (ALNAP 2010:9).

In 1996, Haiti saw its second democratically elected president, Préval whom was the president at the time of the earthquake. In this time, Haiti’s future was seen as very bright thanks to the former president Aristide’s efforts of increasing security when he enforced demobilization, disarmament and reintegration (DDR) of the Haitian Armed Forces (FADH) and put more effort on stabilizing the Haitian National Police (HNP) (ALNAP 2010:10). Though, the nearest future turned into another era of violence for Haiti due to detected corruption scandals and human rights abuses by the HNP, massacres of the population along the border of Haiti and the Dominican Republic, former DRR weapons re-circulating to unknown owners and rumours of fraud in the election (ALNAP 2010:10).

Haiti has a trough out their history received billions of dollars in foreign aid and donations in order to create stabilization in the economy, politics and to efforts for sustainable development. Out of Haiti’s total GDP in 2007, 20% was from aid and donations (ALNAP 2010:10). Though, the international efforts has received a lot of critique from the Haitian government for not subsequently sustaining aid throughout longer periods and for not keeping the inflow consequent leaving the government with gaps in the economy and creating continuously instability of the economy which has been argued to have contributed to weakening the Haitian state (ALNAP 2010:11). International donors has pointed out the inability of the Haitian state institutions to end political violence, economic and social instability for the Haitian people with special focus on the poor, despite the massive inflows of aid and donations, as an evidence of Haiti being a failed state (O’Connor et. al. 2014:311).
In the modern history of Haiti, the USA and the International Financial Institutions (IFI’s) implemented liberal economic policies as a deal for them to continue their aid to Haiti (Horton 2012:299). This liberalisation of the Haitian economy has met critique from Haitian women organisations for deepening gender inequalities in the Haitian society due the policies weakening local farming and opened up for manufacture industry where the former farmers got employed, mainly women working in the industry for low salaries of clothing production (Horton 2012:299) (Dupuy 2010:5).

Since 2007, reports has been showing that the Haitian government improved the countries level of democracy due to special efforts and investments on the country’s security and judicial sectors. Examples of the efforts are increasing funds for the HNP which has resulted in a lower level of crime rate together with rising the populations trust towards the HNP (ALNAP 2010:10), but also due to the UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) that got deployed in Haiti 2004 which mission is to foster stability and to reduce criminality in the country (ALNAP 2010:10).

In 2009 75% of the Haitian population lived under the poverty line. The Haitian populations traditional source of income from farming had since the mid 80’s showed to be less profitable which resulted a massive urbanisation to the areas around Port-au-Price for seeking job opportunities (ALNAP 2010:10ff). This has created large illegal settlements in that area were most of the people lived in extreme poverty. This also stressed the public services such as health, education, water supplies and transportation which also, due to the former privatisation could be enjoyed for a higher price tag than most of the Haitian population could not afford. This contributed to many Haitians involving in the informal sector with a rise of criminality following (ALNAP 2010:10ff). Though, MINUSTAH has since 2007 worked with DDR in these areas and managed to decrease the level of criminal gangs and uncontrolled arms (ALNAP 2010:12).

Human rights reporters and NGO’s in Haiti has throughout the years repeatedly reported that Haitian women suffers high levels of gender inequalities and discrimination. The Human Rights Watch (HRW) are stating that Haitian women and girls has suffered high risk of abuses and that women were considered the subordinated gender and classified as “second-class-citizens” (HRW 2011:13). They continue to argue that sexual violence has been a tool for repression under several leaderships, including the dictatorship era. In Haiti, there has also been many criminal gang formations that threaten and performed rape as a tool for terror
(HRW 2011:17). In 2006, the UN reported that over 50% of the women and girls living in irregular settlements in the areas around Port-au-Prince has suffered rape or sexual abuse where gang rape were a common factor of many of the reported victims (HRW 2011:17). MFS also reported high numbers of rapes where 66% of these reveal that they were threatened by guns during the act (HRW 2011:18).

In 2009, the Haitian Women’s Ministry together with local women organisations and UN agencies presented a plan against sexual violence on women. This plan was the starting machine of stating rape as a crime in Haiti as well as handing out certificates to victims of rape to have free care for their damages at all health facilities in the country. It showed that there was a need for more certificates than they first expected (HRW 2011:19).

The Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) has reported about Haitian women’s situation prior to the 2010 earthquake and addressed that most women were working in the informal sector, with low salaries and many of them, in extreme poverty. (JICA 2016:15) They continue with reporting that due to state fragility, the government has applied power relations upon socioeconomic factors that has delimited women’s development and increased their vulnerabilities as an outcome (JICA 2016:15).

In Haiti, the majority of voters in the elections has always been men. Some argue that some reasons to that are due to gender-blind and discriminating polices or women, for the most part, stand unrepresented in the parliament. Women held less than 4% of the parliamentary seats between the years 2007 to 2010 (JICA 2016:16). The Women’s Ministry has been reported to be a positive contribution and representative for women’s needs in Haiti, though, the Ministry lacks funds and has reported about having limited access to influence decision-making (JICA 2016:16).

Haiti has not only been going through a history of political instability, but also been suffering from with several events of natural hazards with disastrous outcomes. Some of them are the hurricane season of 2008 that resulted in the death of up to 800 Haitians and severe floods and the tropical storm Jeanne in 2004 where 5000 Haitians lost their lives (ALNAP 2010:8). Haiti has been limited in their possibilities in implementing disaster preparedness, response and recovery due to political instability, changing investment environment and the short time frames between natural hazards hitting the country which all has contributed to a catch-22-situation for Haiti (ALNAP 2010:13).
4.2 The earthquakes impacts

Many Haitians had a better future to look in front of than ever before at the time of the devastating earthquake hitting Haiti on the 12th of January 2010, killing approximately 200 000 people and injuring 300 000, ending up displacing over 2,3 million people (O’Connor et. al. 2014:310). This earthquake was the biggest urban disaster in international history and had the largest impacts on the Haitian society and its people of all natural hazard ever hitting the country. It triggered one of the largest responses of humanitarian assistance and aid inflow (O’Connor et. al. 2014:310).

The government and institutions of Haiti was hit hard, with the earthquake resulting in the destruction of most of the governmental buildings and the death of thousands of civil servants, including ministers, doctors, educators and police officers (O’Connor et. al. 2014:310). One of them most affected departments were the Women’s Ministry that launched the plan of violence against women, with their building being evened with the ground and the Minister not surviving (Horton 2012:301).

4.3 The Haitian governments main response policies

The Action Plan for National Recovery and Development of Haiti (APNRDH) was structured by the Haitian government together with the business community of Haiti and presented on the 31st of March 2010 (ICG 2010:15).

The government put forward the main objective of the action plan as turning the disaster into an opportunity for changing vulnerability into capacity for the population and the country to become a strong state by 2030 (O’Connor et. al. 2014:323f). This will be done through economic liberalization-policies, forwarded in the action plan, aiming at boosting economic growth, international investment and trade which will turn into job opportunities for the population and decentralize the population from the crowded areas of the capital (Dupuy 2010:4ff).

The creation of export opportunities, modernization of the agricultural sector, development of a professional construction sector in order to: modernize constructions to better withstand hazards, promotion of manufacture industries which will and open up for tourism is the “backbone of county’s reconstruction”. This, the government continues, will create job opportunities for the population (GOV 2010:9).
The government of Haiti together with the UN and US created the organ *Interim Haiti Recovery Commission (IHRC)* as the organ for coordination and implementation of the action plans policies (Dupuy 2010:1). IHRC was chaired by president Préval, co-chaired by the prime minister Bellerive and former US president Clinton and consisted of 17 voting members (Dupuy 2010:1) Of the voting members, 10 were representatives of the international community such as the *World Bank (WB)* as well as representatives from the major donor states as the US. The other 7 representatives of the IHRC were from Haiti, consisting of representatives from the judicial sector, 1 from each the Chamber of Deputies and Senate, trade unions and the business community (Dupuy 2010:1). The IHRC also created a Multi-Donor Trust Fund, called the *Haiti Reconstruction Fund (HRF)* to coordinate and distribute the massive inflow of donations to the projects of the action plan (GOV 2010:53).

*The International Crisis Group (ICG)* has put forward critique upon the crowd which the members of the IHRC represents such as the parliament representatives are representing the president and the prime-minister and no other parties are included, nor any of the members are from the local, women – or grassroot organisations which is a must for creating sustainability of the policies (ICG 2010:17). They continue to state the trust of the HRF to work as a donation and financial coordinator, is inadequate since 60% of the donations are channeled through the NGO’s that has their own agenda for action and therefore (ICG 2010:17).

Women organisations has described that NGO’s present in the country have been as exclusive of local organisations which has resulted in local knowledge and local actors that has trust among the population and therefore, can speak for them in relief planning arrangements, get excluded from decision making and policy prioritization. Instead, they continue, the NGO’s and the IHRC are implementing mainstreamed templates on disaster relief that the Haitian population are going to live with when the NGO’s left (Horton 2012:300). This has deepen the inequalities for women, they continue, since they are unaware of the complexity of Haitian women’s history and therefore, overlooked their needs (Horton 2012:299). They also see the problematics of the international community also excluding the government in disaster response due to them sees them as fragile, weak and unfit to deal with the response (Horton 2012:299).

Local women and grassroot organisations have demonstrated their unacceptance of the liberal, economic policies of the action plan and instead put forward the need for policies for accessible public healthcare, public schools, increase the salaries for industry workers and to
expand the infrastructure, transportation and communication nets in Haiti (Dupuy 2010:6) (Horton 2012:300).

Though, the main policy of the action plan is stated above, the government also describes their policies that will target the needs of vulnerable groups such as women. These policies upon what they call cross-cutting issues as women inequality are considered, even if they are not written, in all of the policies in the action plan (GOV 2010:10). Though, the governments present that there are two policies that especially target vulnerable groups. These are described below.

4.3.1 Policies regarding vulnerable groups

The sub-chapter Healthcare [food security, water and sanitation] (GOV 2010:37) is addressed as one of the core sub-chapters of the action plan that targets vulnerable group’s needs and present the need to provide affordable and accessible healthcare with special prioritization on newly disabled, children with special focus on those who suffers from extreme malnutrition, women and elderly people. The government states that they will, together with the international relief stakeholders, provide affordable healthcare to this group and that the efforts will be co-ordinated through the Ministry of Public Health and Population (MSPP) which all stakeholders has to report back to about which efforts they have implemented (GOV 2010:37). Further, the government introduce that MSPP will start a partnership with the private sector operators to increase and broader the care for the population with special focus on providing healthcare and maternal care to the inhabitants in internally-displaced-person (IDP) camps (GOV 2010:37).

Under the other sub-chapter Social protection which is another part which target the needs of vulnerable groups, the government present immediate improvements of living conditions for the Haitian population, importance of responding to these groups immediate health needs and forward the necessity to engage the State in the social sector in the work forces that currently work on these objectives (GOV 2010:33f). Here, the government present the efforts of starting a public and private sector partnership to provide access to basic services such as health and education to the population over the whole country with guidance of the state (GOV 2010:34). Here, policies to address food insecurity and extreme poverty is put forward. This will be done through creating job opportunities for households and women since women suffered a great loss of their former informal jobs (GOV 2010:33f). Examples of jobs that will be offered in the new job program are high-intensity labour such as reconstruction of infrastructure,
developing water sheds, road maintenance, clean-up and recycling of materials or engaging in maintaining a civil and land registry (GOV 2010:32f).

4.3 Post-disaster situation for women and children

In a report from Amnesty International (2011:2) they are urging the Haitian government and the international community to ensure security in IDP camps and in illegal settlements were affected people lived since the earthquake. The urge is to ensure that human rights are fulfilled and underlines the responsibility to take necessary actions to answer to high levels of gender based violence against women and girls in the camps (AI 2011:2). Their strong message is founded upon disaster relief efforts and policies for being inadequate in protecting women and girls from exploitation and rapes in the camps (AI 2011:3).

Due to the inefficiency of security stakeholders women and children have turned into becoming more vulnerable to exploitation and abuse than they were before the earthquake, especially for girls under the age of 18 (JICA 2016:23) Amnesty conducted interviews with women and girls in the camps that are telling a story of how gangs of men shoot firearms in order to scare people away first and afterwards drag women out of their tents and conduct sexual acts with them against their will (AI 2011:3,7).

Many organisations has, even if some women and girls did chose to report sexual and gendered based violations, only received fractions of the real numbers (JICA 2016:23f) and many of the victims has been turned down when trying to report to the police due to the victims not affording the sum of money the officers asked for in order to file the report. Those victims that did file a report, often had to testify outside the police station where others can hear their testimonies (AI 2011:15). The Haitian government were deploying police officers to the HNP, but only half of the recommended number of officers were established. The government gave the security mandate to MINUSTAH under the leadership of the government, though, MINUSTAH reported about them meeting obstacles in their communication with the government, not being able to establish meetings and reports as well as criticising the government’s action plan and governmental coordination for being insufficient and sometimes, impossible (AI 2011:13f).

Amnesty forwarded complaints to the government in mid-2010 and pointed at the necessity of re-establishing the plan of violence against women that the Women’s Ministry, that after the earthquake has been absent or unincuded in the responsive actions, in order to comprehensively collect information and register reported conducts of gender based violence
Two years after the event, the plan was still not re-established (HRW 2011:14). Amnesty also forwarded the critique of the perpetrators of those conducts do not get judicial consequences and the protection system subsequently lacks in its mechanism for addressing gender – and sexual gender based violence (AI 2011:7).

When it comes to health for women in the aftermath of the earthquake, the maternal health has especially been reported to be inadequate with numbers of 15 percent out of estimated 63000 pregnant women are reported to most likely face complications when giving birth that are life-threatening according to JICA (2016:24). In the responsive period, most women gave birth outside on the streets since the hospitals were overcrowded with other patient that were heath in the earthquake (Ibid).

Continuously, further reports regarding women’s increase in vulnerability in the mounts after the earthquake has to do with lack of job opportunities since the market places where many women have sold smaller goods were down as well as childcare institutions not yet functioning, leaving women to be stranded in the IDP camps (JICA 2016:25). Local women organisation continues with criticising the IHRC for contributing to further exclusion of women’s needs and for reinforcing traditional gender roles since women’s informal roles as caretakes and local spokespersons in the disaster relief has not been acknowledged (Horton 2012:299). Though, they point at the acknowledgement of men’s responsive contributions in sense of search, rescue and reconstruction efforts has gotten a lot of acknowledgement for their contributions (Horton 2010:299).

Further interviews are addressing that it is far to go to see doctors or health facilities after been victim of rapes and that the transport cost more money than they can afford. Therefore, they could not go. Some are also stating that they did not file any reports after the abuse since got threaten by the perpetrators of being killed if they did (AI 2011:10f).

In 2012 and article regarding child abuse and neglect based on a survey in Haiti. Sumner et. al. that conducted the survey and article present the results of Haitian children suffering from a risk to a high-risk of becoming sexually exploited, both prior to the earthquake and two years after the event (Sumner et. al. 2012:53). Among the children that answered that they have been forced to conduct sexual acts and did not file a report of the crime to professionals, they answer that they did not report due to “didn’t think it was a problem” (Sumner et. al. 2012:53). This, according to Sumner at. al. (2012:53) shows that social norms are present in the society of study and that the abuses needs to be acknowledged by authorities as a illegal.
action which will increase children’s perspective upon that the act is an abuse and also to understand their human rights.
5 Analysis

This chapter will answer the research questions by analysing the results presented in the former chapter through the theoretical framework, starting with three-dimensional power in the first two sub-chapters. These chapters will answer to the first research question.

The last part of the analysis is a sub-chapter where the examples of power presented in the first section will be analysed through the lens of radical feminism. This part will answer to the second research question.

It is necessary to once again state, that the aim of this section is to find possible examples of Lukes three-dimensional power. Though, as Lukes states it, this power dimension is hard to observe and can only be hypothetically explained by looking at patterns of two-dimensional power that seem to be a structuralised phenomenon and thereby turn into a three-dimensional power exercise (Lukes 2005:25f). Therefore, this part will analyse possible examples of two-dimensional power as well as three-dimensional power since they are related.

5.1 The Haitian governments main response policies

This and following sub-chapter will analyse the results through the theory of three-dimensional power and answer the first research question: Can any examples of power exercises be observed in the Haitian governments responsive policies and actions of the 2010 earthquake?

The economic policies of which the governments action plan relied upon for decreasing the vulnerability of the country of Haiti and for the vulnerable population in the long run has gotten a lot of critique for excluding the women and children’s actual needs and wills (ICG 2010:17) As presented in the result, women organisations even demonstrated and repealed to the economic liberalisation reform and pointed at the manufacturing industries as paying too low wages for women to support their families. The women organisations were instead promoting policies such as accessible public health care and education for the population, pointing at these reforms to be the most accurate for empowering women and children and decreasing their vulnerabilities. (Dupuy 2010:6).

Analysing the above results through the dimensions of power presented by Lukes (2005) one could firstly see that the example would be in line with two-dimensional power since women
organisations have a subjective policy preference than the government in an observable conflict of interest (Lukes 2005:22,29). Further observed, the issues that women organisations are putting forward are facing non-decision-making in order for the government to implement the policies that they prefer and thereby leave other alternatives and issues out from decision-making (Horton 2012:300) (Dupuy 2010:6). Here, one can state that the government sets the political agenda in line with the two-dimensional power (Lukes 2005:276).

Further, the 7 Haitian representants of the IHRC were supposed to represent the population and the government of Haiti and thereby put forward which policies to be prioritized in the responsive period. Though, the ICG has forwarded that the commissions local agents are only representants that were like-minded of the president, leaving opponent parties without any seats and thereby, without influence in the process (ICG 2010:17) (Dupuy 2010:1). Dupuy (2010:1) further states that no seats were upheld by representants from the grassroot level nor by representants that channels the voices of the Haitian women.

The power of the government to pick out whom to be included in setting and controlling the agenda and strategy for the responsive policies shows a clear aspect of two-dimensional power. More detailly explained, the instance that possesses power exclude potential opponents and potential issues from the decision-making-arena (Lukes 2005:22,29). This needs to be further discussed in sense of being a pattern that has repeated itself throughout Haiti’s history, where women has been discriminated and excluded from influencing the political power and also been stated to be “secondary-citizens” that are “subordinated men” (HRW 2011:13). The commission, IHRC, the pattern shows once again which draws a conclusion of this has become a set norm. Set norms and structuralised power exercises that are rooted in the society are features of three-dimensional power exercise according to Lukes (2005:26,29) and could, be shown as an exercise of the government in this case.

This will be further discussed in following sub-chapter of policies in the action plan that the government put forward as addressing the needs of women and children (GOV 2010:33).

5.1.1 Policies regarding vulnerable groups

The policies addressed by the government to specifically give attention to the needs of vulnerable groups are those regarding healthcare and social protection (GOV 2010:33,37). Though, reports upon the situation for women and children in the aftermath of the earthquake
are harshly reporting that these policies has been ineffective and that the period instead reports a high increase of vulnerability (JICA 2016:Passim) (AI 2011:Passim).

The policy regarding healthcare which is presented as the core policy to address the needs of women and children do point out the necessity of maternal care, affordable healthcare with priority on children, women and other vulnerable groups (GOV 2010:37). Though, reports are stating that these factors are among the core ones that the population are lacking (JICA 2016:24).

To continue where the discussion ended in the previous chapter of the governments main policies, the two-dimensional aspect of the government setting the agenda and mobilize biases upon their prioritizations and aim with the action plan do not shows in reality. It could be that they have either, underestimated the vulnerabilities of women or, simply lacked the means to address these factors. Though, the government did focus on private sector development of the health care system (GOV 2010:37), which if, inclusion of women in the IHRC would not be of preference. In the prior period to the earthquake, the private instances of basic services such as health care were inadequate or not affordable for the vast majority of the population and the public services overloaded (ALNAP 2010:10ff). This is therefore another example of two-dimensional power exercises where preferred alternative of those whom lack power are excluded from the political agenda (Lukes 2005:21f), which has already been discussed in previous chapter, is a structured pattern in Haiti.

Under the policy of social protection that will be a partnership between the public and private sector according to the governments action plan, the solution to women’s loss of informal jobs due to the earthquake is brought up (GOV 2010:33). The creation or a system for social protection for vulnerable groups are going to target the subjects of healthcare, education and food security which is further described as creating job opportunities (GOV 2010:32f). The examples of jobs that are fronted are jobs in the within reconstruction of infrastructure, development of water sheds, road maintenance etc. (GOV 2010:32f). Though, the recognition of the majority of women relying on informal jobs prior to the earthquake (JICA 2016:16) or the minority in manufacturing industries (Dupuy 2010:5) is telling that high-intensity labour opportunities might not be an opportunity for women. It is necessary to front that my aim is not to victimize women here by saying that they might not be able to perform road construction etc., but to underline what the local women organisation in Haiti presented, of women not being acknowledge for their actual skills as work such as head and co-ordinators
of communities, head of households and caregivers (Horton 2010:299). According to previous presented research upon gender based violence in the aftermath of disaster societies, IRP forefront the necessity of all responsive policies to be inclusive of vulnerable groups capacities (IRP 2013:5,10). This, in order to secure that the window of opportunity is taken advantage of and social structures and norms can be changed to equal rights and opportunities for women and children of the society (Horton 2012:Passim) (IRP 2013:Passim) (ODI 2014:Passim).

In the example of job opportunities presented under the sub-chapter social protection in alliance with what is presented by researchers of the subject matter, the government is exercising within this police, exercising three-dimensional power (Lukes 2005:26,29). Further explained, if the government neglect women’s capacities and present job opportunities that would not be applicable on the majority of the female population, one could see that the government is controlling information in a way that is telling the society of what is considered a job and what is not. By this, the government could be indoctrinating a perception of some tasks are worthy to acknowledge and some are not, but they are clearly also creating barriers for the group (Lukes 2005:26).

It is necessary to acknowledge the lack of security and protection women and children has reported to suffer from in the aftermath of the earthquake. The analyse of the exclusion of women organisations that has been the main promoter for women rights, together with the Women’s Ministry in pre-disaster Haiti, becomes important to analyse further (HRW 2011:19). The the Women’s Ministry are, as stated, not included in the IHCR and has been absent from the structuring and implementation process of the APNRDH (AI 2011:14) and were, prior to the earthquake, financially limited in implementing their agenda and plan that worked against abuse and sexual violence of women (JICA 2016:16) and by which has not been a priority to implement in the responsive period by the government even though it points out women’s needs and situation (AI 2011:7). In the aftermath of the earthquake, it is clear, that the government has done too little to actually acknowledging women and children’s need and vulnerabilities since the promotors of these are excluded and the plan upon actions necessary to address sexual exploitation is not re-established (AI 2011:7) (Horton 2012:299).

When the government do present that addressing needs for the vulnerable groups of the population is a core message of the action plan (O’Connor 2014:323), it becomes contradictory. Here, the government again create barriers to women and children to promote
their needs and grievances which is a clear exercise of two-dimensional power (Lukes 2005:20ff). Though, by saying that they do prioritize vulnerable groups needs, they could also be ensuring the compliance of women (Lukes 2005:20). By saying that the issue has reach decision-making and the decision is going to be of preference of those whom not possess power, compliance can be reached (Lukes 2005:20f). Here, the government also exercises the features of political propaganda and control over information in accordance to three-dimensional power (Lukes 2005:26f).

Above, an analysis upon observed power dimensions in the Haitian governments policies in post-earthquake Haiti has been presented. It is also necessary to bring up the message of IRP, presented in the research problem of this study, of children in societies where structures of inequalities that are deeply rooted in the functions and values, the children will grow up with the structure of this being a normality (IRP 2013:4).

The last part of this chapter want to put emphasis on the result of the survey, presented by Sumner et. al., upon child abuse in Haiti where the majority of the children that had been forced to conduct sexual acts “didn’t see it as a problem” (Sumner et. al. 2012:53).

5.2 Analysis through the theory of radical feminism

This sub-chapter will analyse examples of power, presented in above sub-chapter, through the lens of radical feminism in order to answer the research question: Can any exercises of power explain the situation for women and children in the aftermath of the earthquake?

Firstly, looking at the example of women being excluded from political power through history and in the responsive period of the earthquake, is in line with the radical feminist theory of a patriotically rooted system where men possesses power and dominate, subordinated women (Allen 2016). It is necessary to point out that most radical feminist are not seeing women as a subordinated gender, but that women becomes subordinated due to men constructing the norms in the society (Munro 2003:80).

According to the radical feminist Frye’s, explanation of how the society of power is distributed between the gender. Further explained, Frye underlined her theory of women being subordinated men in societies where men manipulate, in the first face of power, the system by structurally forcing women into a subordinate group by keeping women from means that could address their powerlessness (Macdonald 2015).
In the case of Haiti, the majority of women and children that were victims of gender based violence and sexual gender based violence, did report that they did not know whom to turn to about these issues (AI 2011:15). Though, those who did want to report the abuses were facing obstacles from the state apparatus, in forms of HNP, which are reported to ask the victim for money in order to file the report, if the victim did not pay, the crime was unreported (AI 2011:15). Analysing this example through Frye’s radical feminism, it would be an example of the first face of power (Macdonald 2015). This, since men whom possesses power, creates barriers and strips the subordinated groups from possibilities of accessing power which, according to Frye keeps the groups and favour men’s continuous possession of power (Allen 2016) (Macdonald 2015).

According to the radical feminist Fraser (Allen 2016), men’s power is being secured through implementation in social structures and norms. This could be in aligned with the message of IRP, of children in inequal and deeply rooted structures grow up with the structures being normality (IRP 2013:4). As the analyse ended in the last part of this chapter, gender based violence and sexual gender based violence could have become a structure of inequality within the Haitian society, which, in that case would secure men’s possession of power trough generations to come (IRP 2013:4) (Munro 2003:79/).
6 Conclusion

The findings of this research have contributed to developing the knowledge on how power exercises can impact the situation for women and children after a disaster.

In the case of Haiti, women have been excluded from the political arena through history and during some periods, even been victims of politically structuralised sexual gender based violence. In the aftermath of the earthquake, women were again excluded from the political platform of IHRC and once again, women and children faced a period of a massive increase of gender based violence and sexual gender based violence.

By applying the theoretical framework of Steven Lukes three-dimensional power approach it is possible to unfold power exercises that are hard to identify, but yet, structuralised into a society which makes them more effective than other power exercises. The most effective power exercise, according to Lukes is the stage of three-dimensional power, when the powerless are unaware of their real interests and thereby not express or identify that they are victims of power abused.

In the analyse, several cases of two-dimensional power were identified such as exclusion of opponents in the political arena, excluding overt issues from decision-making such as policies addressing women and children’s needs and grievances and by creating barriers of potential issues to reach the political arena as in, intentionally or non-intentionally, has been observed when women and children cannot report about abuse.

Patterns of two-dimensional power can indicate exercises of three-dimensional power if it could observed as repetitive, rooted in structures and by controlling the political agenda through non-decision-making. The examples forwarded in the analysis of gender exclusion being patterned and the government having total control of who to have influence of the political agenda, which, in the case of the responsive period and IHRC, have been supporters of the current president, are all features of three-dimensional power exercises. All these examples have been observed and discussed in the analysis of this research and answered the first research question.

The second research question “Can any exercises of power explain the situation for women and children in the aftermath of the earthquake?” was answered by identifying explanatory factors of power inequality through the theory of radical feminism. The analyse unfolded that
patriarchally structured societies intentionally, could use mechanisms to subordinate women and thereby keep domination and continuous power. The analyse discusses how Haitian children that have been victims of sexual gender based violence are unaware of that action being an abuse. Analysing this matter through the theory of radical feminism, compliance of subordination of women and continued power to men can, by children’s being structuralised into subordination as a normalisation, be secured in generations to follow.

6.1 Recommendations for further research

This research has been focusing on the governments exercises of power and how they could affect women after an natural hazard. I do see a necessity to also research upon international NGO’s possible use of power in the same context of disaster response and recovery efforts. This in order to see if the miscommunication between the responsible actor, reading the government, and the implementing actor, NGO’s, in disaster relief could be hindering relief efforts and thereby be hindering the affected population from enjoying their human rights.

Another recommendation is to conduct research upon other countries affected by natural hazard with the same theoretical framework. If that would be done, the rehabilitee of the theoretical framework could be increasing or, it could be seen to be inadequate for investigating power relations in the period after a hazard. This could help the disaster management advocators to search for better tools and framework for their future work.
8 References

8.1 Published sources


8.2 Unpublished sources

8.3 Other sources


