



HAITI'S UNTAPPED POTENTIAL:

An assessment of the barriers to gender equality



WORLD BANK GROUP

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to gender equality**



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Acronyms and Abbreviations

AGI	Adolescent Girl Initiative
CBO	Community-Based Women's Organization
CECI	Centre d'Étude et de Coopération Internationale
COVID-19	Coronavirus Disease 2019
DHS	Demographic and Health Survey
DRM	Disaster Risk Management
DRMKC	Disaster Risk Management Knowledge Centre
ECLAC	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
ECVMAS	Enquête sur les Conditions de Vie des Ménages après Séisme
EIC	Communal Intervention Teams
FCSs	Fragile and Conflict-Affected Situations
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HFS	High-Frequency Monitoring Phone Surveys
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HOPE	Opportunity through Production Encouragement Act
ICT	Information and Communication
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence
LAC	Latin America and the Caribbean
MAMs	Mechanisms for the Advancement of Women
MCFDF	Le Ministère à la Condition Féminine et aux Droits des Femmes
MEF	Ministère de l'Economie et des Finances
MSPP	Ministère de la Santé Publique et de la Population
NEET	Not engaged in education, employment, or training
PGRAC	Projet de Gestion des Risques et de Résilience aux aléas Climatiques

RBF	Results-Based Financing
SEIA	Digital Socio-Economic Impact Assessment
SNGRD	Système National de Gestion des Risques de Désastres
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infections
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UN	United Nations
UNFPA	United Nations Fund for Population Activities
WBG	World Bank Group
WBL	Women, Business and the Law
WDI	World Development Indicators
WDR	World Development Report
WHO	World Health Organization
WVS	World Values Survey

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Executive Summary

Although the world over has dealt with the COVID-19 pandemic, Haiti has been additionally rocked by earthquakes, hurricanes, and political upheaval in recent years. These shocks have come on top of existing fragilities, exacerbating dangers for marginalized and vulnerable populations. This gender assessment seeks to describe gender inequalities in Haiti on the heels of this difficult period. The World Bank Group (WBG) sees the closing of key gaps between men and women and expanding of women's and girls' voice and agency as critical to its goals of eliminating poverty and boosting shared prosperity. The assessment takes a broad and deep look at Haiti through a limited data landscape, relying on multiple data sources, including the Demographic Health Survey (DHS), a multitopic household survey conducted in 2016–17 for analysis of key gender gaps and the World Bank's High-Frequency Phone Surveys conducted in 2020 and 2021 for more-recent evidence, to identify gender gaps and inequalities. Where appropriate, the report makes comparisons to regional neighbors and other countries with similar economic profiles.

The report provides information on gender and key barriers to gender equality in Haiti for policy makers, operational teams and the general public with an interest on gender. The report starts with an overview of gender gaps in endowments, economic opportunities and voice and agency, following the conceptual framework of the 2012 World Development Report on Gender (WDR) (World Bank 2012) and the World Bank Group's Gender Strategy (World Bank 2016). Subsequently, it looks at four key areas where gender gaps are pronounced. The first of these deep dives examines labor market inequalities, including constraints and opportunities for women; the second, gender gaps in the legal and regulatory environment; and the third, risky behaviors and the disproportionate gendered effects of these. The fourth, written in concert with the World Bank's Disaster and Risk Management team, examines the gendered vulnerabilities that have arisen or become more apparent as a result of recent natural disasters. Based on the analysis and in line with Haiti's *Systematic Country Diagnostic Update* (World Bank 2022a), the final section discusses feasible short-term policy options to help narrow the gender gaps identified and presents medium-/longer-term policy options worth considering once the country reaches a more stable situation.

In the area of human endowment in education, girls have made significant strides in increasing attendance, though adult educational attainment remains low overall. Haiti has closed or reversed gender gaps in enrollment at the secondary and tertiary

levels, but not at lower levels. Boys still have higher net attendance rates than girls for primary school in urban areas and boys in urban areas have higher rates of completion for tertiary education. The closing of gender gaps in education has been noted throughout the Caribbean in Central America (Demombynes, Holland, and León 2010). Taken together, these facts underscore the significant dropout rates experienced by boys beyond the primary level, suggesting a new gender vulnerability that merits attention in order to keep boys from losing ground. Interventions that seek to improve the quality of and access to education for all children have been shown to have strong effects on enrollments and educational outcomes for both boys and girls. These include cash transfers, pedagogy programs for teachers, and in some cases infrastructure improvements. Furthermore, where girls have unique needs for assistance, such as with menstruation and negotiating schooling with chores and housework, programs targeted at girls are necessary to improve their educational outcomes (Evans and Yuan 2022). Extrapolating that finding to boys, identifying the reasons they are leaving school is key to determining policy solutions. The deep dive on risky behaviors examines some risks of school dropout that disproportionately affect boys.

Although gender gaps in educational attainment among the population ages 25–49 years narrowed between 2000 and 2017, adult men remain significantly more likely to have attended or completed secondary and tertiary education. These findings come from the latest household data, which reflect women's historic disadvantage in educational attainment. Education, important in its own right, is also associated with delayed age of marriage and pregnancy in Haiti, and mother's education is strongly associated with nutritional outcomes of children. Women who marry later in life and attain more years of education are also less likely to report intimate partner violence.

In Haiti women are uniquely vulnerable when it comes to reproductive health and suffer from high rates of maternal mortality and pregnancy complications, whereas men and young boys are more vulnerable in terms of risky behaviors. Women have limited access to reproductive health services, such as skilled birth attendants and birthing facilities, and limited control over and agency regarding decision-making about their health care. Maternal and infant mortality are high and the latter spiked following the earthquake in 2010. Women are more often the victims of domestic violence and may be more vulnerable when disaster strikes due to their health needs. With a lifetime risk of maternal death of 1 in 67 (in 2017), women in Haiti have the second-highest maternal mortality rate of any country in the world outside of Sub-Saharan Africa (only women in Afghanistan experience a higher rate). According to the latest data (from 2017), one in four women ages 15 to 49 years has experienced intimate partner violence. Despite the many challenges women face, girls have better nutritional outcomes than boys and women have longer lifespans and are less likely to engage in risky behaviors than men.

Women in Haiti have less voice when it comes to decision-making about their own health care, spending on household purchases, and visiting friends and family, but the figures are similar to neighboring countries. Some 40 percent of women report that someone else makes these decisions for them. Moreover, many women are unable to assert control over their sexual health, with 38 percent of women reporting they are unable to ask their partners to use condoms. Higher levels of education are generally correlated with increased decision-making, autonomy, child nutritional status, access to health services and other positive indicators in Haiti. Evidence from other countries shows that increased education is necessary, but not sufficient, to increase women's decision-making power (Samarakoon and Parinduri 2015).

In the area of labor markets, women are less likely to participate in the labor market and, when they do, they face higher unemployment rates or concentrate in a few sectors of employment, realities that may be driven by structural phenomena and gender stereotypes. Women are found more commonly in services, retail, trade, and textile manufacturing jobs, with men dominating fields such as construction. The segregation is notable and although women are not explicitly barred from working particular shifts or types of work, they are limited by cultural and social norms and expectations for their role in society. Before the COVID-19 pandemic, women faced higher unemployment rates: about 23 percent of women in urban areas were unemployed, compared to 17 percent of men. During the pandemic women were much more likely to leave the workforce than men, who were more likely to enter informal work, reflecting a pattern of low labor market attachment among women that was present before the pandemic and expanded during it. As shown in other countries, women's disproportionate decline in employment during the pandemic may be related to the unequal division of unpaid domestic work between men and women. Women are expected to bear more home and family duties, which increased during the pandemic. Because wage information is lacking in the data, we were unable to assess gender wage gaps, highlighting the need for further study.

Women's access to productive resources, including land and financial instruments, is statistically significantly lower than men's access. Only 8 percent of women in rural areas, where agriculture is the dominant sector, own land, compared to 14 percent of men. Overall rates of financial inclusion in Haiti are extremely low—only about one-third of Haitians have access to a bank account—and the gender gap is around 5 percentage points. So while gender gaps are noticeable, with women being less likely than men to have a bank account, savings, or have taken out a loan, these statistics should be considered in light of the low availability and access to financial instruments in general. The gender gap in access to resources is also lower in Haiti than in regional comparators.

In the legal and regulatory sphere, there is ample room for provisions that promote gender equality. Haiti has more restrictive laws and fewer legal provisions promoting gender equality than its regional comparators. Although equal ownership and access to assets and property ownership are guaranteed in the 2020 marital status decree, more research is needed into how and whether this and other gender equitable legislation are applied in practice. Despite extant legislation on sexual harassment, women report high levels of harassment in schools and the workplace and further that it limits their ability to make academic and professional progress. As in many other countries in the region, there are no legal provisions concerning paternity or (shared) parental leave, which reinforces gender stereotypes of women as the main caregivers in the household. One reason for the country's poor performance in terms of legal rights and protections for women and mothers could be that women are strikingly underrepresented in parliament, as well as in all other levels of government.

The deep dive on risky behaviors shows gender gaps in key areas that predict mortality and lower educational attainment. Boys have lower attendance rates than girls, which both limits continued progress in school—evidenced in lower enrollment ratios in higher levels of education—and provides opportunities for risky behaviors. Men are more likely to smoke, drink, and join gangs, possibly contributing to lower school attendance and completion. At the same time, women are more likely to be victims of domestic violence and violence in the workplace and at home. Many women and men in Haiti believe that wife beating is justified for one reason or another and women are very likely to experience physical, sexual, or emotional violence or some combination by their partners. Reports of emotional and physical violence increased over the period 2010 to 2017 for almost all age groups, while reports of sexual violence decreased for all age groups except among those 15–19 years old.

Existing gender inequalities and unique health needs of women have implications for Haitians' differential ability to recover from disasters by gender, further perpetuating and exacerbating these inequalities. Gender inequalities in economic opportunity, limited access to information, limited involvement in disaster management policies, and in the capacity for decision-making may place women in a position of higher vulnerability in the face of disasters. Recovery from natural disasters has proved difficult and each subsequent crisis has multiplied the effects of the previous ones, which is particularly worrisome for women. For example, the destruction and closure of hospitals and clinics has complicated access to maternal and neonatal care. Indeed, infant mortality rose sharply after the 2010 earthquake. Women are less likely to be employed and have less access to savings and credit and so lack a safety net and the ability to recover from disasters. They are likely to be engaged in services work, which may be less in demand following a disaster. Though we lack specific data from Haiti, evidence from other countries shows that women and girls in the aftermath of a disaster often fall into poverty and turn to transactional sex, putting themselves

at risk for more violence and disease. In addition, recent data from Haiti show that domestic violence and general insecurity have increased in recent years. Women and girls are also exposed to gender-based violence during aid distribution and in emergency shelters. Women are particularly vulnerable in their homes as well as in certain labor sectors and the general insecurity affects the ability of all Haitians to conduct business, manage personal affairs, and attend school and work safely.

In Haiti's complex context it is important to acknowledge that policy change is difficult to fathom at present, given the lack of basic security and profound governance challenges. As outlined in the *Haiti Systematic Country Diagnostic Update* (World Bank 2022a), lessons from WBG engagement in fragility, conflict, and violence environments on defining priorities call for a strong people-centered approach that prioritizes inclusion, supporting the most vulnerable while at the same time taking into consideration gender and youth issues. Recognizing Haiti's policy and security landscape, there is a need to distinguish between feasible short-term policy options to narrow or prevent gender gaps from widening further, and medium- to longer-term transformation efforts toward gender equality that are worth considering in a more stable political and security situation. More importantly, the effectiveness of any policy aimed at gender equality will require capitalizing on the social fabric formed by civil organizations currently working in the country.



Introduction

1. Introduction

This gender assessment comes at a difficult and critical juncture in Haiti's history. The country is currently reeling from natural disasters, including a devastating earthquake and tropical storm, the political fallout from the assassination of President Jovenel Moïse, and the economic and social consequences of the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic. In all, 2021 was a catastrophic year for Haiti's people. The back-to-back disasters have come atop a number of preexisting fragilities, including a patronage-based and clientelist system of governance, high levels of corruption, and disturbingly high levels of social unrest and violence. These difficulties have not been born equally across the population, with marginalized groups bearing the brunt of the suffering.

Economic growth has stalled in Haiti and large swaths of the population live below the poverty line. The country's GDP in 2012, the most recent year for which data are available, put GDP per capita growing at 4.3 percent. Projections by the World Bank indicate that growth dropped dramatically in the following years, contracting by 3.3 and 1.8 percent in 2020 and 2021, respectively. Official poverty headcount data from 2012 indicate that 59 percent of the population live in poverty and 24 percent in extreme poverty. The population of poor is more concentrated in rural areas, with three-quarters of rural Haitians classified as asset poor. The Gini coefficient in 2012 was 0.61, indicating high levels of inequality. It is expected that all of these metrics have worsened during the pandemic.

Haitian women are particularly vulnerable to the negative effects of crises. Women are marginalized in all spheres, from the home to the highest levels of government, leaving them at risk of slipping further behind as the country's crises and setbacks multiply. In many aspects of their lives, women disproportionately face violence, poverty, and mortality. With a lifetime risk of maternal death of 1 in 67 (in 2017), women in Haiti have the second-highest maternal mortality rate of any country in the world outside of Sub-Saharan Africa (only women in Afghanistan experience a higher rate). According to the latest available data (from 2017), one in four women ages 15 to 49 years has experienced intimate partner violence. Women are also more economically marginalized than men; less likely to be in stable, waged jobs; and virtually excluded from political institutions at all levels.

Though these challenges have been exacerbated by recent events, Haiti has traditionally had poor outcomes in gender equality. Women in Haiti have limited

access to health services and significantly higher rates of maternal mortality than do women in other countries in the Caribbean. Haiti has more-restrictive laws and fewer protections promoting gender equality than its regional comparators and has lagged behind its counterparts in the Caribbean in terms of gender equality (World Bank 2002). Haiti does not rank worse than its counterparts in all aspects, however, as rates of intimate partner violence are similar to neighboring countries, women are more likely to be working, and women tend to marry later in Haiti than in comparator countries. Though explanations for Haiti's underperformance on the measures mentioned above are lacking, some studies note that the lack of gender equality in policy making in particular may be a root cause of slow economic development, which could reinforce vicious cycles (Padgett and Warnecke 2011).

And yet, women and girls in Haiti demonstrate extraordinary resilience and a drive for change. Women are increasingly becoming more educated and active in questioning the status quo. Although gender gaps in education have historically favored men, these gaps have reversed for younger Haitians. In terms of current school enrollment, girls are doing better than boys at the primary and secondary levels, raising new concerns about boys' underperformance. Alongside human capital gains, there are signs that younger cohorts of women are questioning traditional gender norms. In the latest World Values Survey (2016), two-thirds of men agreed with the statement that when jobs are scarce, men should have more rights to a job than women, compared to only 12 percent of women—a substantial wedge that signals that many women fundamentally disagree with the status quo.

At the same time, men and boys are increasingly at risk of falling behind in some arenas. As in much of the world, boys have worse nutritional outcomes than girls. As girls' educational attainment rises, boys and male adolescents are more likely to drop out of school. Boys and men are more likely to engage in risky behaviors such as using alcohol and cigarettes and are more likely to commit suicide. They are more likely to join gangs, engage in criminal behavior, and have shorter life spans.

Gender disparities such as those described above can have far-reaching consequences that go beyond the level of the individual and affect progress toward poverty reduction and shared prosperity. Greater gender equality improves economic productivity, development outcomes of children, and the quality of societal policies and institutions (World Bank 2012). In the context of Haiti, gender norms and stereotypes, along with an increase in routine stress caused by recent natural disasters, may also be linked to risky behaviors that start in adolescence and contribute to increased gang and interpersonal violence, which exacerbates the country's structural vulnerabilities (Bermudez et al. 2019).

In light of these challenges, this gender assessment seeks to shed light on a wide range of gender gaps and barriers to gender equality in Haiti. It is intended as a broad overview for audiences who are new to Haiti while providing detail on key subjects that may provide additional resources to those seeking information on more-specific outcomes. The report covers a broad swath of topics affecting economic, social, and political outcomes ([see box 1](#)) and uses the latest data on education, health, labor force, laws, norms, violence, and other areas of concern. In particular, this report may be useful to policy makers and those seeking entry points in Haiti to address growth and poverty issues with a gender lens. Gender gaps serve to further entrench stagnation and poverty and there are significant potential economic gains to be had from ameliorating these gaps. This report stands in concert with the *Haiti Country Diagnostic Update* (World Bank 2022a), which highlights the threats of political instability and violence to growth and reform.

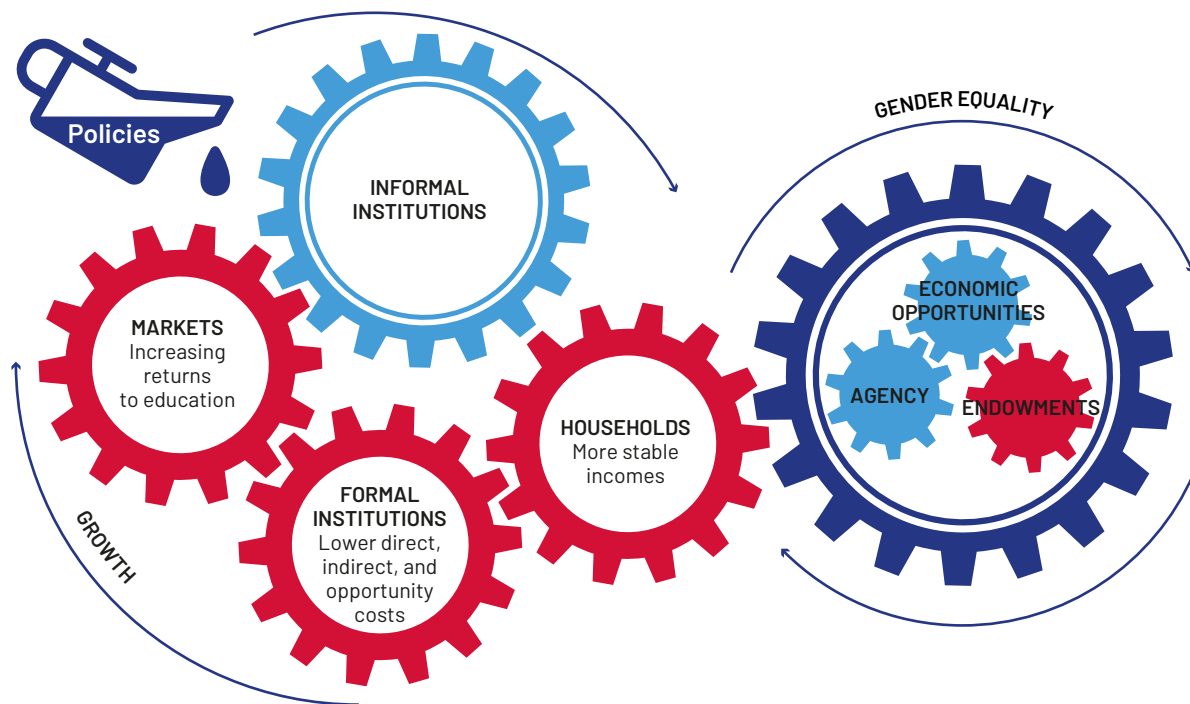
Box 1 Conceptual Framework for Gender Equality from the WDR 2012 (World Bank 2012)

The proper functioning of markets, institutions, and their interaction with households contribute to economic development and gender equality. Markets and institutions create the incentives and conditions that determine household decisions regarding the use of available resources, the preferences of household members, and their decision-making power within the household. According to the conceptual framework used in the 2012 World Development Report (World Bank 2012), household decisions contribute to gender equality and economic development through the efficient use of resources (economic opportunities), better-represented communities in policy-making institutions (agency), and better health and education outcomes (human capital endowments).

Gender gaps related to economic opportunities focus on the differences for household members in the use of time and access to productive inputs. In the case of equal capacity to practice agency, the ability to exercise control over resources (income, material assets), the freedom to make decisions within and outside the household, and the representation of opinions in organizations that influence the functioning of society are considered fundamental. Finally, education and health are analyzed as predictors of the potential that men and women can achieve in their communities.

This conceptual framework is illustrated in [figure 1](#) and interpreted as follows: propelled by economic growth, the gears representing markets and institutions turn, moving the household gear. The combined movement of these gears ultimately triggers the turning of the gear representing gender outcomes, thus increasing gender equality (World Bank 2012).

Figure 1 Gender Analysis Framework



Source: World Bank (2012).

This report draws on various data sources, but is still constrained by a lack of recent data on many core dimensions of gender equality. Serajuddin et al. (2015) characterize Haiti as a severely data-deprived country, and although this assessment was made more than seven years ago, little has changed since. Haiti's last multitopic household survey, the 2012 Enquête sur les Conditions de Vie des Ménages après Séisme (ECVMAS)¹, was conducted a decade ago. While we draw on these data for a select number of labor market indicators, much of our analysis relies on the more recent 2016–17 Haiti Demographic and Health Survey (DHS). DHS data are an excellent data source for topics such as population, health, nutrition, and gender-based violence, but not for other topics such as labor market participation. Therefore, we supplement the DHS data with other data sources, including the 2016 Haiti World Values Survey (World Values Survey 2016), the 2019 World Bank Enterprise Survey (World Bank 2019a), the World Bank's COVID-19 High Frequency Monitoring Survey, and various cross-country databases (including ILO modeled estimates and projections, the World Bank's World Development Indicator and Gender Data Portals, the World Bank's Women Business and the Law Index). Finally, throughout the assessment we refer to the current literature on Haiti as well as the global literature on gender equality. This way, we can piece together a picture of gender inequality in the country.

1 Data catalog available in: <https://catalog.ihns.org/catalog/5360>

Throughout this assessment, Haiti's performance is considered in light of the performance of a set of comparator countries. These include regional comparators (Jamaica, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, and Honduras), aspirational comparators (Montenegro and Ghana), structural comparators (Sudan, Zimbabwe, Chad, Djibouti, Somalia, and Sierra Leone), and gender-specific comparators (Botswana, Côte d'Ivoire, Indonesia, and Mauritania). Structural and aspirational comparators were identified using the World Bank's Find My Friends tool (drawing on WDI data). Gender comparators were identified based on Haiti's 2020 Women, Business and the Law (WBL) ranking and the 2020 UN's Gender Equality Index (World Bank 2022a; UNDP 2020).² The comparator countries used in this assessment are identical to those used for the concurrent *Haiti Systematic Country Diagnostic Update* (World Bank 2022a). In addition, Haiti's performance is sometimes compared to the regional averages for Latin America and the Caribbean (as a simplified regional comparator) and Sub-Saharan Africa (as a simplified structural comparator).

The analysis of gender equality in Haiti proceeds in two parts, starting with a stocktaking of the gender equality landscape and then zooming in on four thematic focus areas. Chapter 2 (stocktaking) provides a broad overview of gender gaps in endowments, economic opportunities, and voice and agency, thus following the conceptual framework of the 2012 World Development Report (WDR) on Gender depicted in [figure 1](#) and the World Bank Group's Gender Strategy (World Bank 2012, 2016). Each of the four sections of chapter 3 delves deeper into a key issue or gender gap identified in the stocktaking. The topics for these deep dives were selected based on relevance to the Haitian context, discussions with stakeholders, and data availability. World Bank country teams and local organizations were consulted on the relevance of the topics during brainstorming and consultation exercises. Chapter 3, section 1 examines labor market opportunities and constraints for women. Chapter 3, section 2 reviews the legal and regulatory environment that supports or hinders the reduction of gender gaps as well as gender-biased norms and attitudes. Chapter 3, section 3 provides an in-depth discussion of risky behaviors and the resulting health issues that disproportionately and distinctly affect either men or women. Chapter 3, section 4 looks at disaster risk management, a cross-cutting issue that has implications for all Haitians but presents unique challenges for women who may be particularly vulnerable, given preexisting inequalities. The final section discusses feasible short-term policy options to narrow or prevent gender gaps from widening further and medium- to longer-term transformation efforts toward gender equality that are worth considering in a more stable political and security landscape.

2 Botswana and Indonesia are the countries closest to Haiti's ranking in the WBL data (excluding Micronesia, due to its very small population size), while Mauritania and Côte d'Ivoire are closest to Haiti in the UN's Gender Inequality Index.



Stocktaking

2. Stocktaking

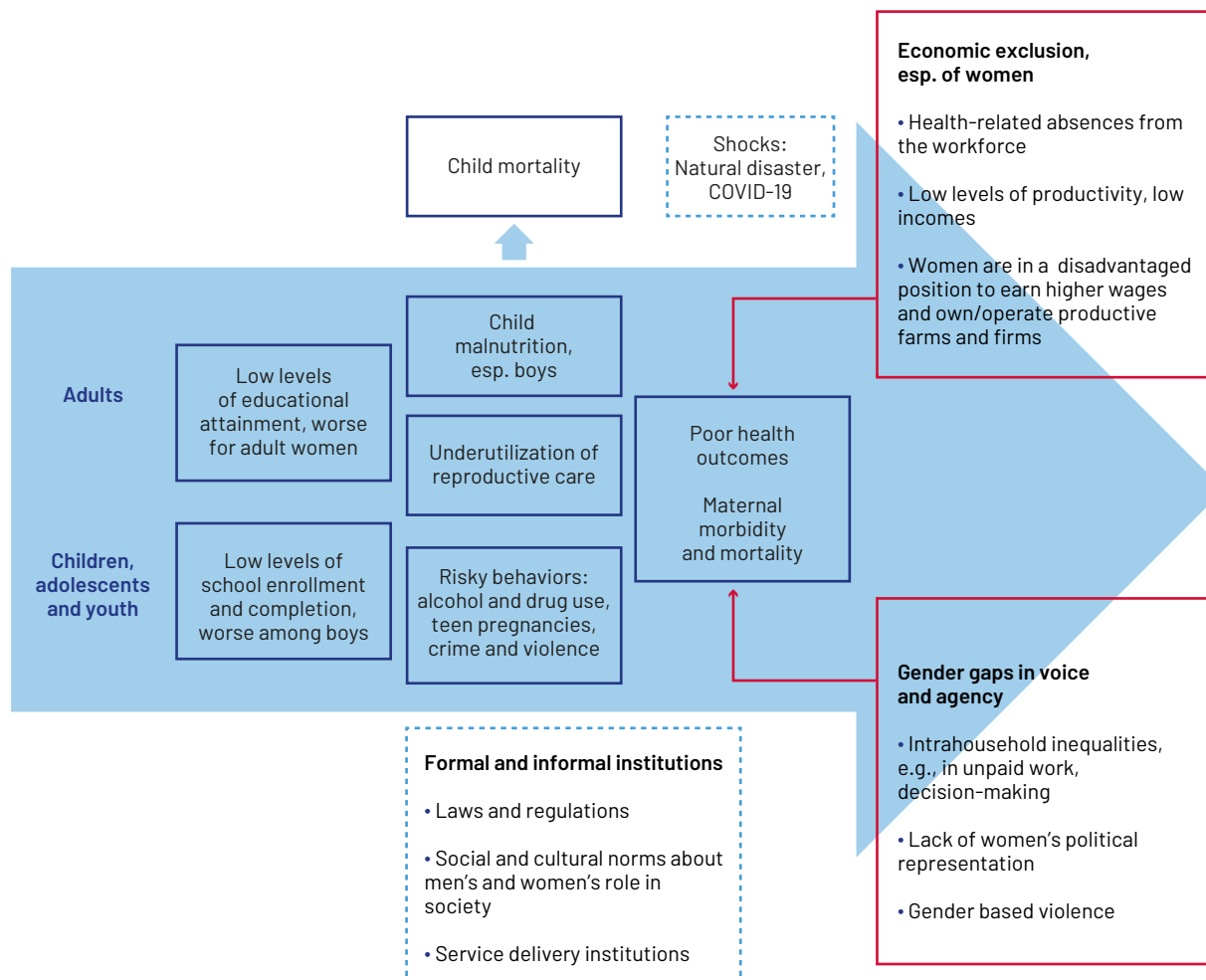
The ensuing section examines differences in human capital endowments, specifically education and health; physical capital endowments; and economic opportunities in Haiti through a gender lens. Education is addressed in section 2.1 and health is addressed in section 2.2. Under economic opportunities, physical endowments, such as access to property or financial assets, are discussed in section 2.3. As described above, this section relies primarily on the 2016–17 DHS. Although these data are a few years old, they come from Haiti's latest multitopic household survey, which was notable for collecting significant information on women's experiences. The analysis is supplemented, where appropriate, with other data sources described in chapter 1.

2.1. Education

Gender differences in educational attainment, well-documented around the world, provide an opportunity to investigate how families invest in their children where there are differential opportunities for boys and girls and yield insights into the potential trajectories of key socioeconomic indicators. Educational attainment is highly correlated with labor market opportunities and observing gender differences in education helps to understand a country's potential trajectory for moving toward gender equality in subsequent years or not. Moreover, gender gaps in human capital endowments matter in their own right and contribute to economic exclusion and gender gaps in voice and agency (as shown in [figure 2](#)).

Figure 2 Gender Gaps in Endowments Contribute to Gender Equalities in Other Dimensions

Endowments: The big picture



Overall educational attainment is low for all Haitians. Net attendance rates were approaching universal primary enrollment in 2017 in urban areas but fell dramatically short in rural areas. Secondary attendance was even worse, with less than a third of secondary-school age children enrolled in school. The overall rates of primary and secondary school attendance are lower in Haiti than in comparator countries in the region, such as the Dominican Republic and Honduras, but are higher than many comparator countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, such as Côte d'Ivoire and Chad ([table 1](#)).

Table 1 Net Primary and Secondary School Attendance Rates, Haiti vs. Comparator Countries

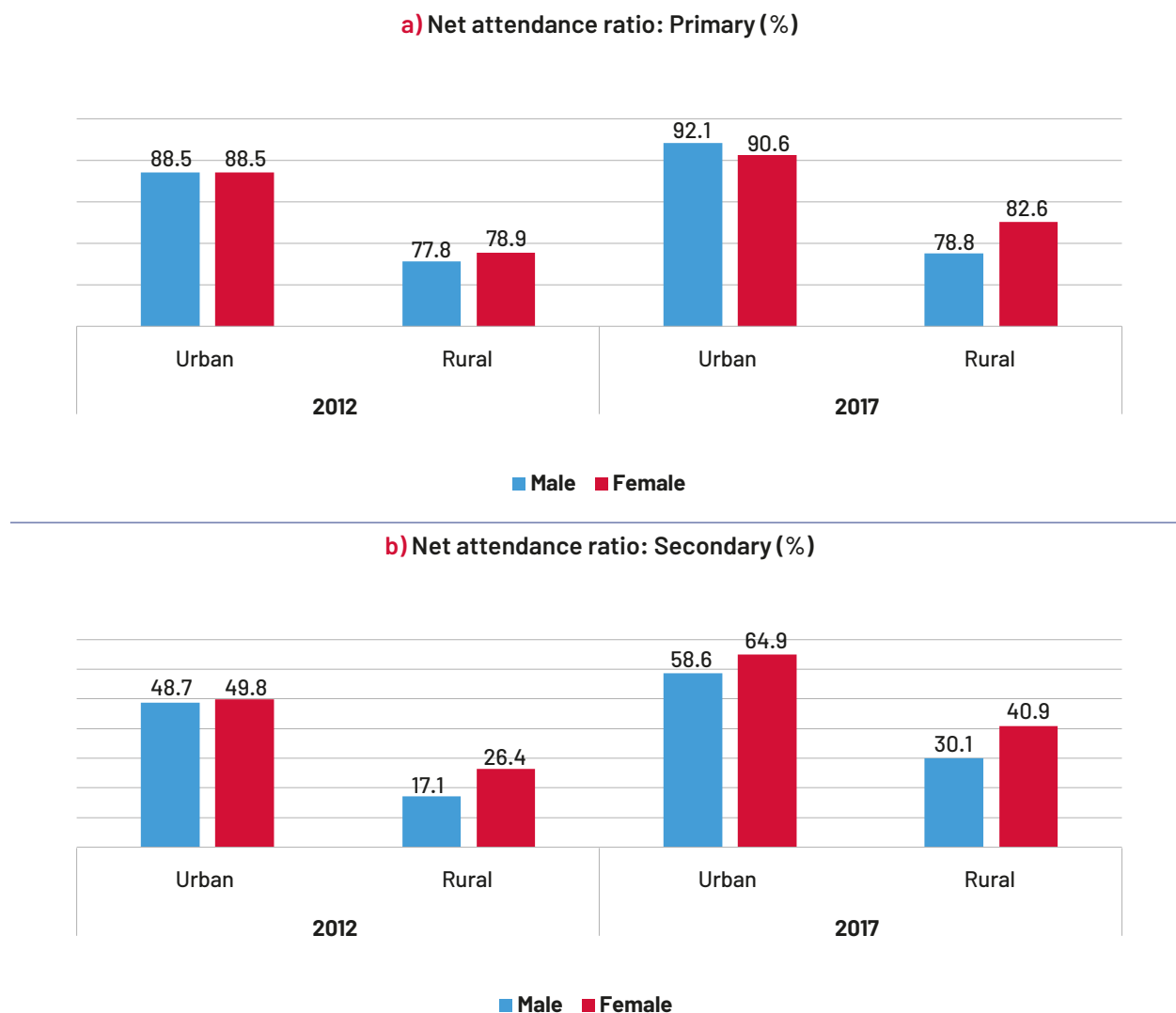
	Net primary school attendance rate	Net secondary school attendance rate
Haiti	84.1	45.6
Dominican Republic	90.1	53.6
Guatemala	89.5	44.4
Honduras	92.6	47.6
Indonesia	79.6	86.6
Chad	50.8	19.6
Côte d'Ivoire	68.0	28.4
Ghana	69.7	38.5
Mauritania	56.0	27.1
Sierra Leone	86.8	45.1
Zimbabwe	91.0	50.3

Source: DHS. The years of information are as follows: Haiti (2016–17), Dominican Republic (2013), Guatemala (2014–15), Honduras (2011–12), Indonesia (2017), Chad (2014–15), Côte d'Ivoire (2011–12), Ghana (2014), Mauritania (2019–21), Sierra Leone (2019), and Zimbabwe (2015). Jamaica, Botswana, Montenegro, Djibouti, Somalia, and Sudan were also considered in order to compare Haiti's performance, but there were no comparable data.

In Haiti, there have been significant gains in school attendance for both boys and girls, with girls edging out boys at almost all levels. Between 2012 and 2017, net attendance rates increased for primary and secondary levels of education and in both urban and rural areas, as shown in [figure 3](#). Gender gaps were narrow or marginally favored girls among several subgroups in 2012. By 2017, girls outperformed boys in terms of enrollment at all education system levels, except for primary education in urban areas, where gender gaps were minimal. Gender gaps in enrollment are particularly striking at the secondary level ([figure 3, panel b](#)); in 2017, girls had a net attendance rate of 65 percent in urban areas (compared to only 59 percent among boys) and 41 percent in rural areas (compared to 30 percent of boys).

Although it is encouraging to see more girls attending school, the emerging pattern of boys' educational underachievement is a cause for concern. Similar trends have long been noted in other Caribbean countries and are increasingly observed worldwide (World Bank forthcoming a). As discussed in Orlando and Lundwall (2010), boys' increasing alienation from the education system in the Caribbean, especially during adolescence, may contribute to a range of risky behaviors, such as dropping out of school, committing crimes or violent acts, and engaging in risky or unsafe sexual behaviors.

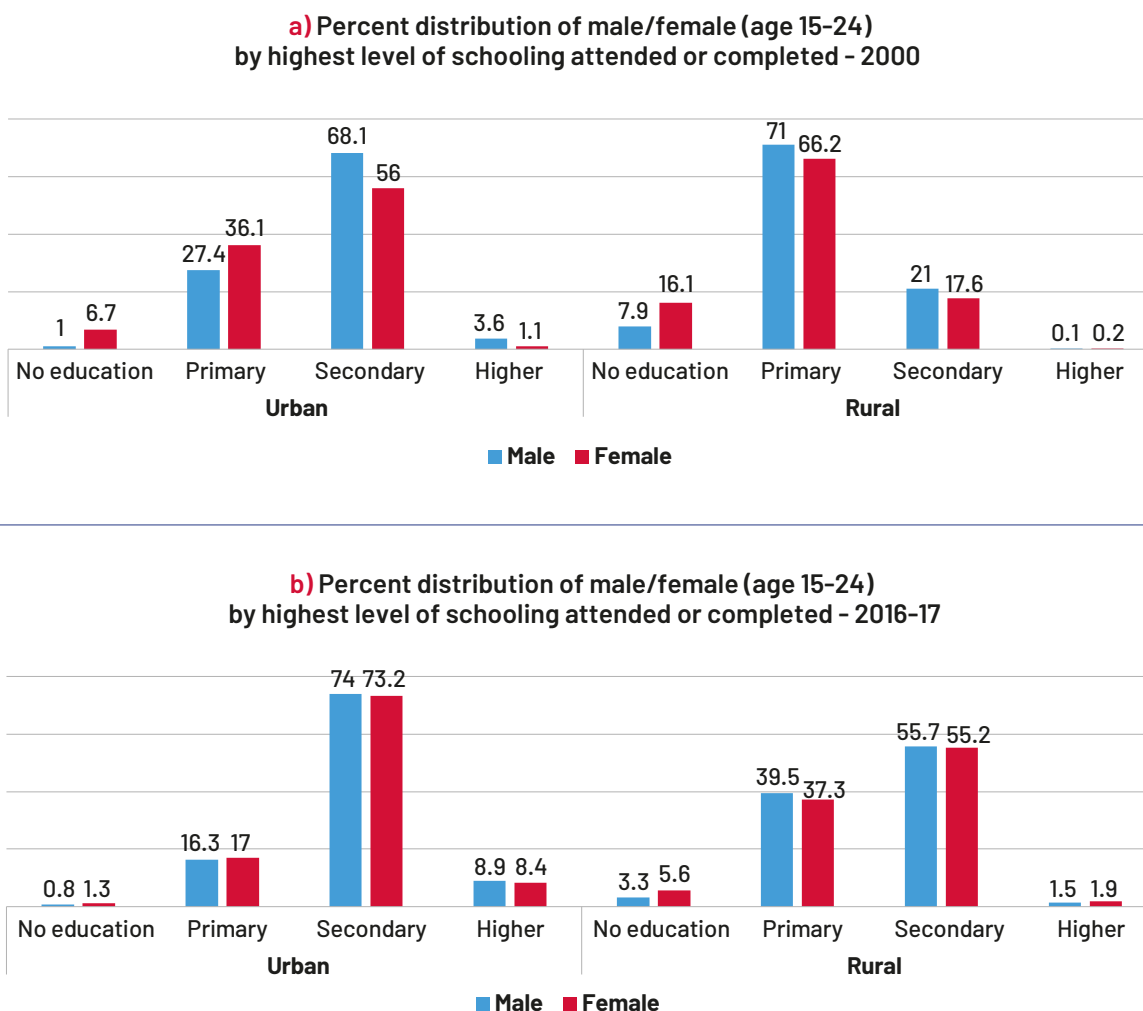
Figure 3 Net School Attendance Ratios of Males and Females in Haiti, 2012 and 2017



Source: DHS (2012, 2016–17). The net attendance ratio for primary school corresponds to the ratio of children of official school age who are enrolled in school to the corresponding official school age population. For primary school, this is the population ages 6–11 years and for secondary school, the population ages 12–17 years.

Due to girls' higher school attendance rates in recent years, gender gaps in educational attainment have largely closed for youth ages 15 to 24. In the year 2000, panel a in [figure 4](#) shows that men ages 15–24 were more likely than women of the same ages to have attended or completed secondary or tertiary education, while women were more likely to have attended or completed only primary education or never to have attended school, in both urban and rural areas. Panel b of [figure 4](#) shows that by 2017, these gender gaps had significantly narrowed at most education levels.

Figure 4 Highest Educational Level of Males and Females, Ages 15–24, 2000 and 2016–17

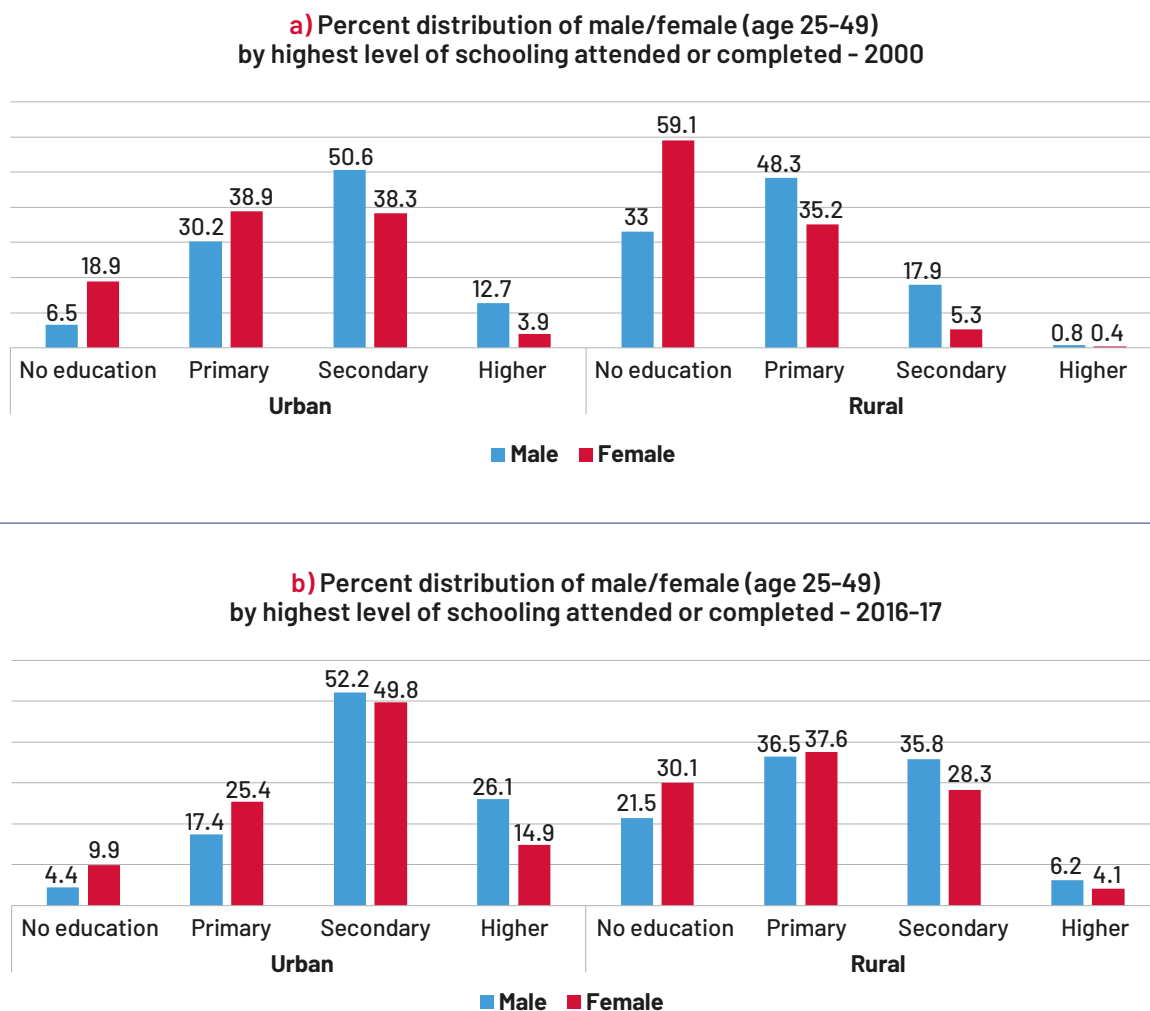


Sources: DHS (2000, 2016–17).

Among populations who have largely completed or aged out of formal education systems, women continue to have lower education levels than men. Although gender gaps among the population ages 25–49 narrowed between 2000 and 2017 ([figure 5, panel a](#)), adult men remained significantly more likely to have attended or completed secondary and tertiary education in the most recent available household data, which reflects women’s historic disadvantage in educational attainment ([figure 5, panel b](#)). This enduring gap for adults illustrates the point made by Evans, Akmal, and Jakiela (2020) that closing gender gaps in education will not be sufficient to close other important gender gaps such as those in wages and labor force participation among

the adult population for many decades. Moreover, as will be shown below, low levels of education among mothers in Haiti are associated with high rates of undernutrition among children. Given the low potential for closing educational gender gaps among adults, tackling undernutrition in children will require a different strategy.

Figure 5 Highest Educational Level of Males and Females, Ages 25–49, 2000 and 2016–17



Sources: DHS (2000, 2016–17).

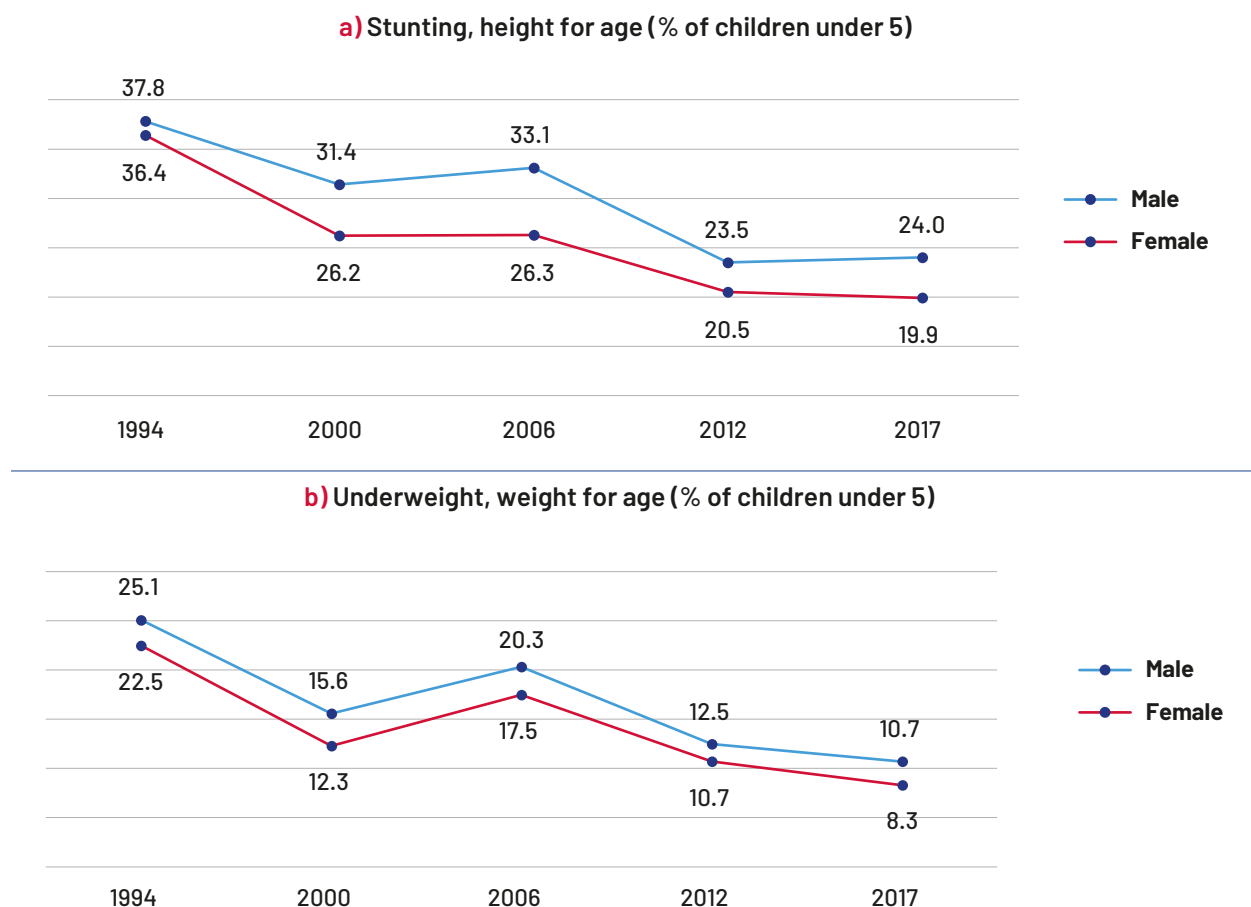
2.2. Health

While women face significant challenges throughout the life cycle such as access to health care and violence, men and boys are more likely to engage in risky behaviors. Women are more often the victims of domestic violence and may be more vulnerable when disaster strikes due to their unique health needs (Bott et al. 2012; Behrman and Weitzman 2016; Bermudez et al. 2019). While women in Haiti are at risk in terms of their health for a variety of reasons, boys have worse nutritional outcomes and men have shorter lifespans and are more likely to engage in risky behaviors. This latter finding is explored more fully in the third deep dive, and so this section focuses on health disparities in access, utilization, quality of care, and ultimate outcomes.

Beginning with childhood, nutritional outcomes are significantly worse for boys than for girls, though both groups improved between 2006 and 2017. In 2017, the last year for which we have data, 24 percent of boys were stunted, compared to only 20 percent of girls ([figure 6, panel a](#)). Similarly, 11 percent of boys but only 8 percent of girls were underweight ([figure 6, panel b](#)). A recent global meta-analysis shows that undernutrition is more prevalent among boys than girls (Thurstans et al. 2020). So while Haiti is in step with the rest of the world, the figures are nonetheless alarming. Yet, more research is needed to understand gender gaps in early childhood anthropometrics better.³

³ This gap remains an understudied phenomenon, though both biological (for example, differences between boys and girls in the immune and endocrine system) and social explanations have been proposed (for example, early weaning for boys or the fact that girls stay closer to the home and have more access to food being cooked, while boys play outside, where they have less access to food and expend more energy) (Thurstans et al. 2020).

Figure 6 Undernutrition of Males and Females, 1994–2017 (Selected Years)



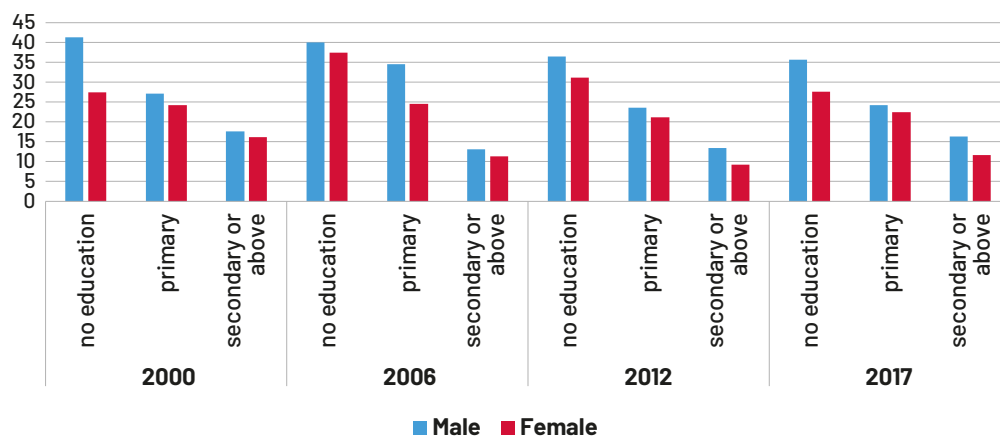
Source: World Bank Health Statistics⁴.

There is a strong negative association in Haiti between mothers' education and children's undernutrition, which holds for both boys and girls. In 2017, among mothers without formal education, 36 percent of boys and 28 percent of girls under age 5 were stunted ([figure 7, panel a](#)), and 15 percent of boys and 12 percent of girls were underweight ([figure 7, panel b](#)). In comparison, among mothers with secondary education or above, only 16 percent of boys and 12 percent of girls under age 5 were stunted ([figure 7, panel a](#)), while 7 percent of boys and 5 percent of girls were underweight ([figure 7, panel b](#)). Education may or may not be causally related to nutritional status, because no or low education is correlated with other risk factors for undernutrition, such as poverty and low wage work.

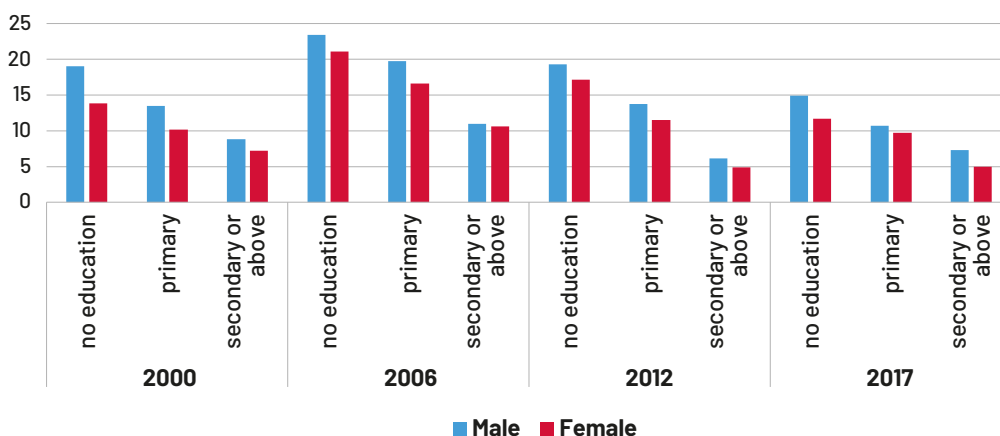
⁴ Data available in: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SH.STA.MALN.ZS?locations=HT>; <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SH.STA.STNT.ZS?locations=HT>

Figure 7 Undernutrition of Males and Females by Mother's Highest Educational Level, 2000–2017
(Selected Years)

a) Stunting, height for age (% of children under 5) by mother's highest educational level



b) Underweight, height for age (% of children under 5) by mother's highest educational level

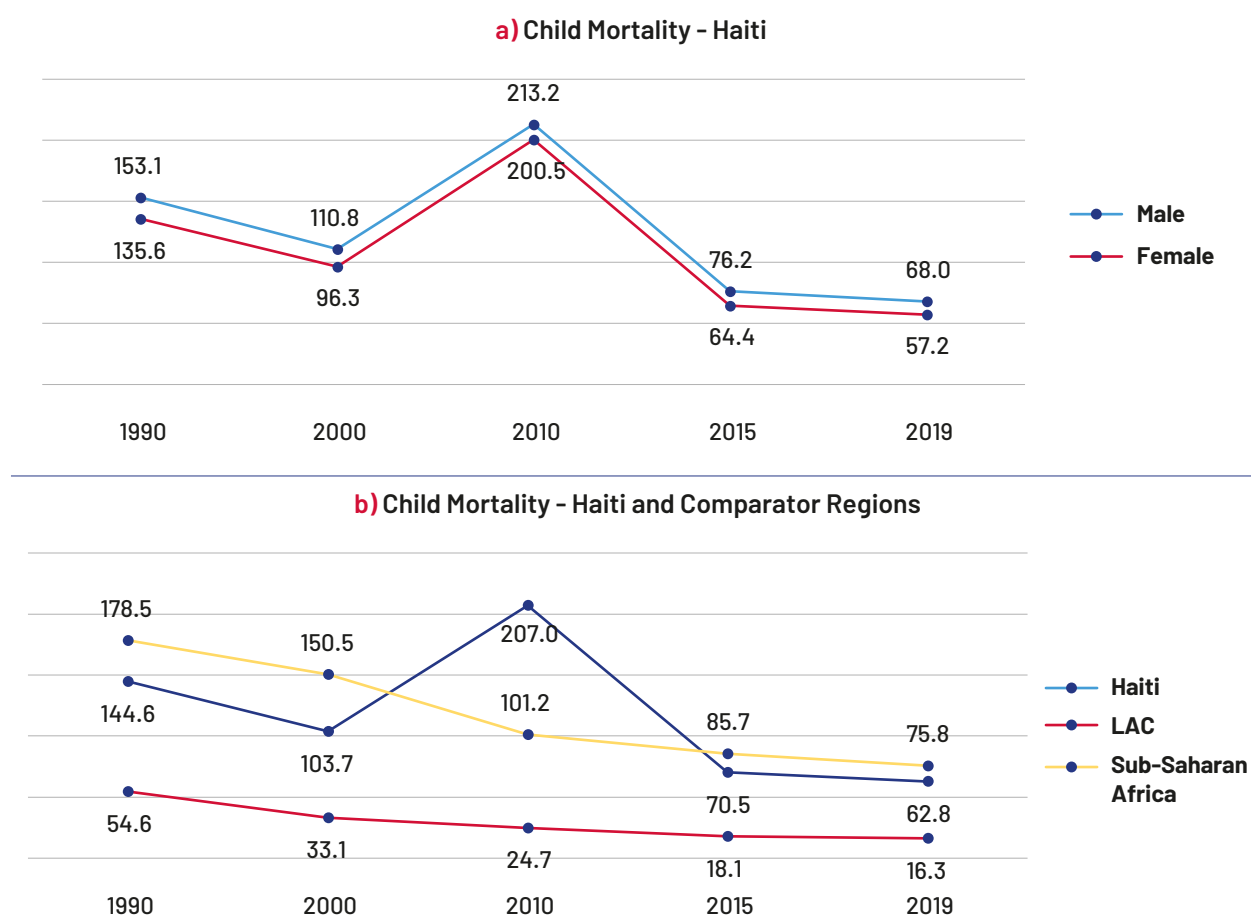


Sources: DHS (2000, 2005–6, 2012, 2016–17).

While all children have shown nutritional improvement in the preceding decades, the effect of recent emergencies is not fully understood in this context and is likely negative. Emergencies such as natural disasters and political crises often lead to acute child undernutrition (Marshall et al. 2021). Given the pandemic, recent earthquakes, and political upheaval there is a risk of an increase in malnutrition for all children and, according to some, an increased risk for women, given their roles as mothers (Mates and Khara 2014) and gender-specific vulnerabilities. Undernutrition may occur due to a short-term lack of access to food during emergencies (Singh 2010), but may become chronic, because it is the case that emergencies have lasting effects such as increased poverty, water-borne disease, death of caregivers, and other adverse outcomes experienced by children and families.

The child mortality rate remains extremely high and comparable to that of Sub-Saharan Africa. With a child mortality rate of 63 deaths per 1,000 live births in 2019, Haiti's child mortality rate remains a key concern ([figure 8, panel b](#)). UNICEF data further show that child mortality spiked significantly in the aftermath of the 2010 earthquake, though it came down between 2012 and 2019 ([figure 8, panel b](#)). Although more-recent data are not available, this historical trend raises concerns that the latest available data may underestimate current levels, given that Haiti experienced another devastating earthquake in 2021 as well as a severe tropical storm. With respect to gender gaps, male children are slightly more likely to die than female children, reflecting a global pattern whereby boys have a slightly higher probability of dying before age 5 than girls (UNICEF, WHO, and WBG, 2020; Costa, Da Silva, and Victora 2017). Nutritional statuses, including stunting and underweight, are similar among children in Haiti and in comparator countries in Sub-Saharan Africa ([table 2](#)).

Figure 8 Child Mortality in Haiti and in Comparator Nations, 1990–2019 (Selected Years)



Source: UNICEF. Note: The under-five mortality rate as defined here is, strictly speaking, not a rate (i.e., the number of deaths divided by the number of population at risk during a certain period of time), but a probability of death derived from a life table and expressed as a rate per 1,000 live births.

Table 2 Underweight and Stunted Children under Age 5, Haiti vs. Comparator Countries (%)

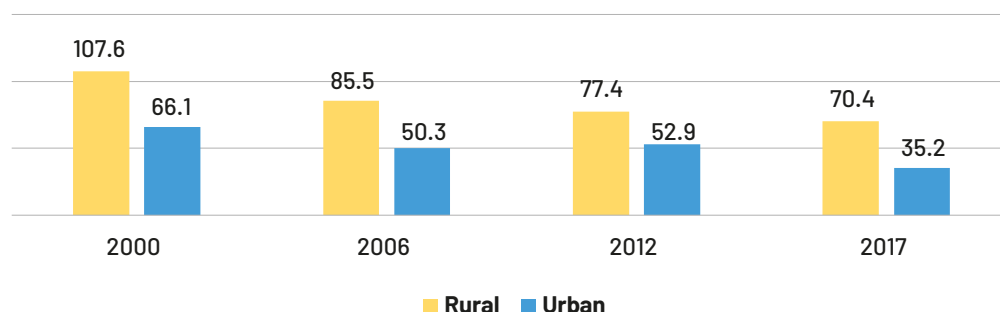
	Children stunted	Children underweight
Haiti	21.9	9.5
Dominican Republic	6.9	3.8
Guatemala	46.5	12.6
Honduras	22.6	7
Chad	39.9	28.8
Côte d'Ivoire	29.8	14.9
Ghana	18.8	11
Mauritania	25.8	16.8
Sierra Leone	29.5	13.6
Zimbabwe	26.8	8.4

Source: DHS. The years of information for each country are as follows: Haiti (2016–17), Dominican Republic (2013), Guatemala (2014–15), Honduras (2011–12), Chad (2014–15), Côte d'Ivoire (2011–12), Ghana (2014), Mauritania (2019–21), Sierra Leone (2019), and Zimbabwe (2015). Jamaica, Indonesia, Botswana, Montenegro, Djibouti, Somalia, and Sudan were also considered to assess Haiti's performance, but there were no comparable data.

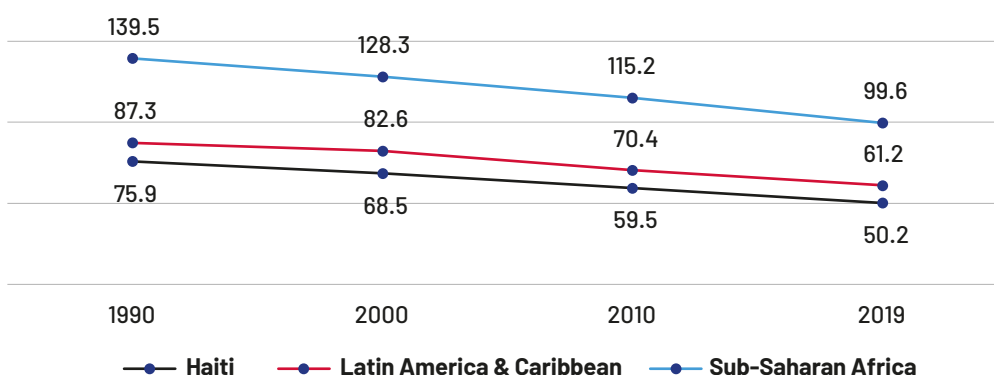
Adolescent pregnancy rates are high and though they have declined in the most recent data, pregnancy presents risks for girls as they enter adolescence. It is fairly common for adolescent girls to give birth in Haiti, especially in rural areas. The most recent DHS data (as of 2017) show that the adolescent fertility rate has been declining over time ([figure 9, panel a](#)) and was slightly lower than the average for Latin America ([figure 9, panel b](#)) in 2017. However, there are reports that adolescent pregnancy is on the rise again in the years since the most recent available data were collected. Girls in urban areas were less likely to become pregnant than those in rural areas, even though the rates were still quite high (35.2 percent in urban areas and 70.4 percent in rural in 2017). Adolescent pregnancy is associated with higher rates of miscarriage and neonatal and maternal death, as well as other complications. Early pregnancy is also correlated with obstetric fistula, which can have dire consequences when not treated (WHO 2022a). In addition to health complications and risks, evidence from other countries shows that girls who become pregnant are at greater risk for poverty and dropping out of school, with potential long-term implications (Azevedo et al. 2012).

Figure 9 Adolescent Fertility Rate in Haiti, 2000–2017, and in Haiti vs. Comparator Countries, 1990–2019 (Selected Years)

a) Adolescent fertility rate (number of live births per 1,000 women), by residence



b) Adolescent fertility rate (number of live births per 1,000 women), Haiti and Comparator Regions



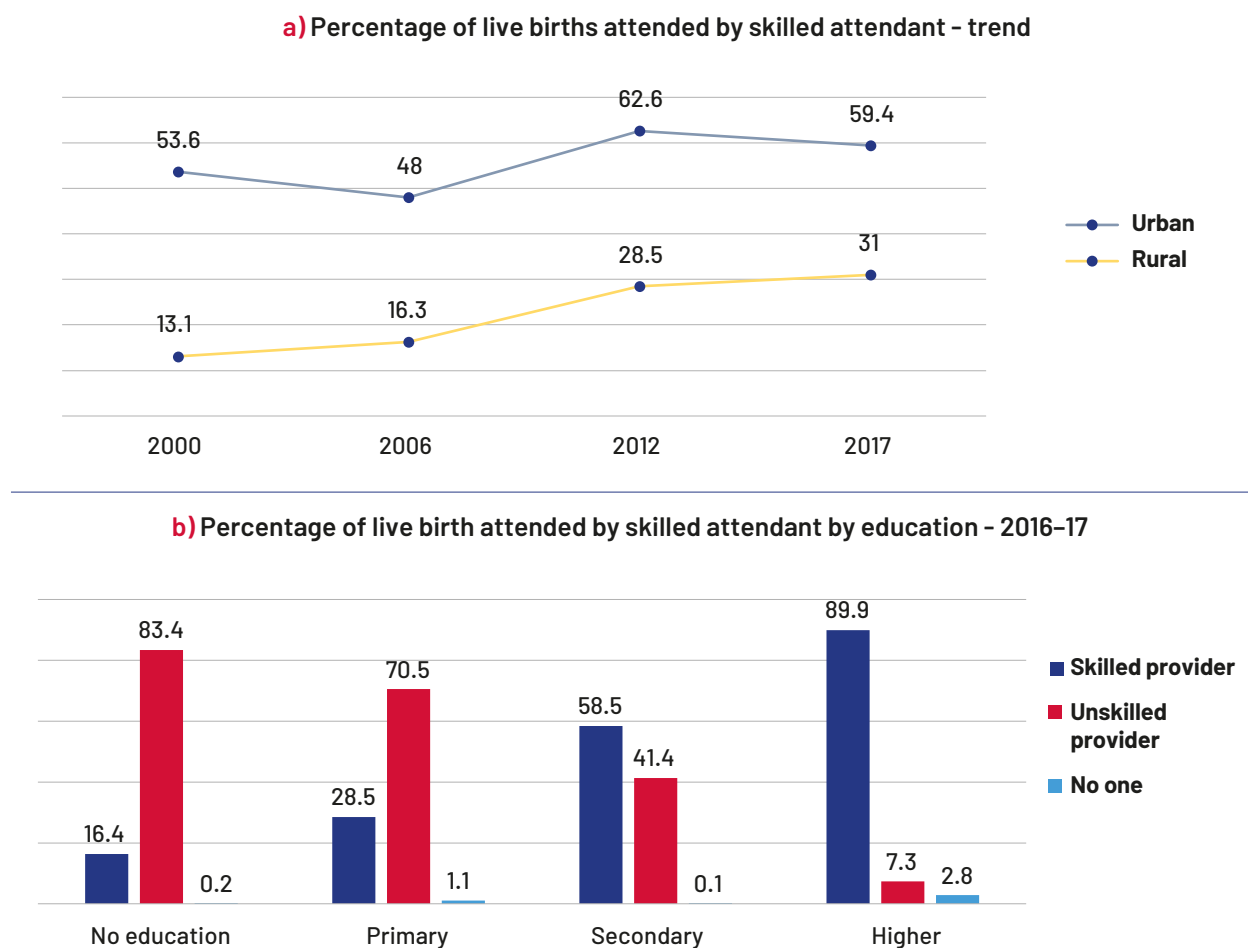
Sources: DHS (2000, 2005–6, 2012, 2016–17) and World Development Indicators⁵.

Note: Rates are expressed as number of live births per 1,000 adolescent women ages 15–19.

In Haiti, many births are not attended by skilled personnel, increasing risks for complications. Between 2000 and 2017, the percentage of live births attended by a skilled attendant substantially improved in rural areas, but urban areas saw a deterioration between 2012 and 2017 and only slightly improved over the year 2000 (figure 10, panel a). Most births attended by skilled personnel occurred in health facilities in 2017, while births at home were typically attended by traditional birth attendants, called *matrons*, who often have limited or no training. *Matrons* are trusted community members who provide a traditional model of care, including warmth, massages, “baths of leaves” postdelivery, and more-flexible payments at a relatively low cost. However, *matrons* often have little formal training and do not always have adequate incentives to refer women to health centers in case of complications (World Bank 2019b).

5 Data available in: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.ADO.TFRT?locations=HT>

Figure 10 Live Births Attended by Type of Place of Residence and Education, 2006–17, (Selected Years)



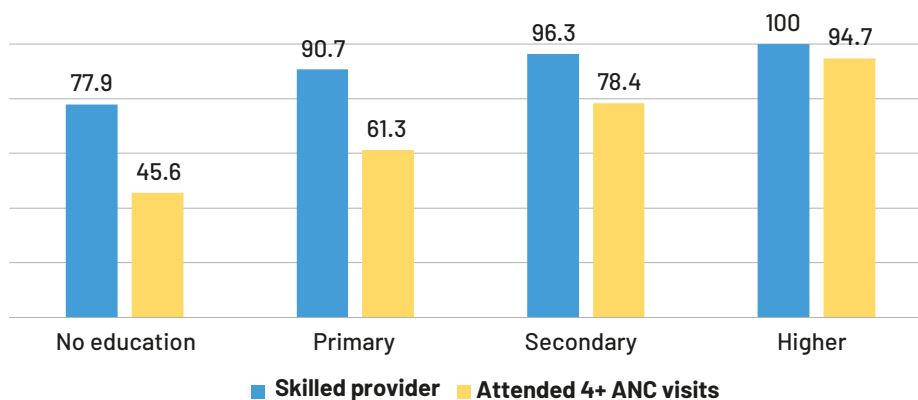
Sources: DHS (2000, 2005–6, 2012, 2016–17).

Note: The indicator refers to the percentage of women (ages 15–49 years) attended at least once during pregnancy by skilled health personnel (doctors, nurses, and midwives) within 2 years of the survey.

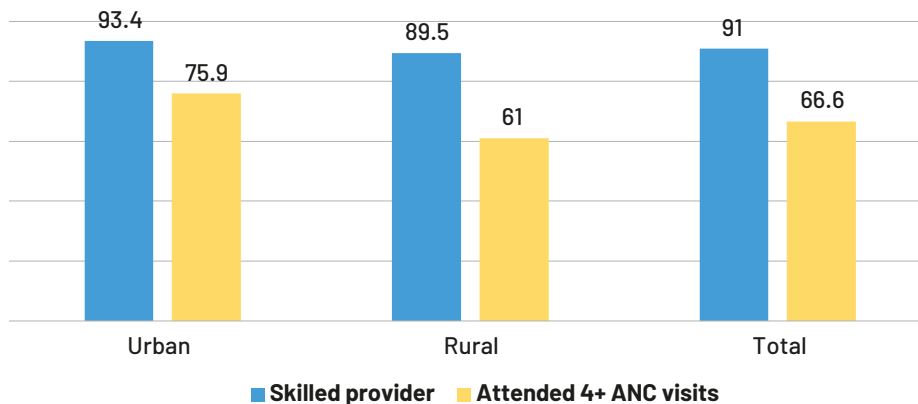
Women face difficult decisions about whether to give birth at a facility, because costs are high, the distance to the nearest facility may be great, and quality is often low or unknown. Qualitative data from focus group discussions conducted in 2018 show that most women in Haiti recognize that a health facility is a safer place to deliver than the home. At the same time, pregnant women seem to underestimate the probability of experiencing pregnancy complications. Care at health centers is also expensive and women rarely know in advance how much they will have to pay. In addition, concerns over respectful treatment, isolation, and the model of care practiced at hospitals, which is seen as lacking compassionate “touch,” often deter women from giving birth at a health facility (Dev et al. 2019; World Bank 2019b).

Figure 11 Antenatal Care Visits and Skilled Attendance, 2017

a) Percentage of skilled attendance and 4+ visits during ANC - by education



b) Percentage of skilled attendance and 4+ visits during ANC - by type of place of residence



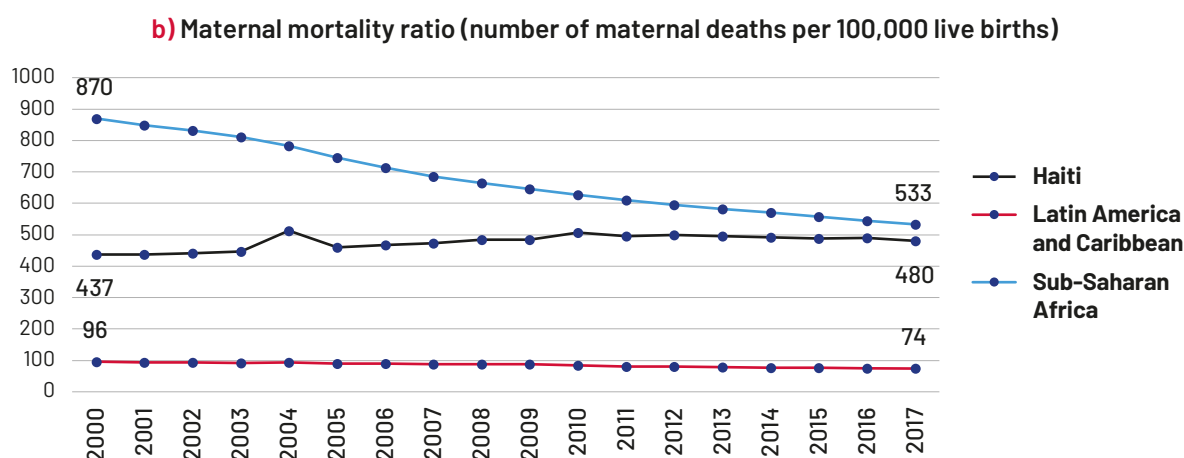
Source: DHS (2016-17).

Note: Antenatal care (ANC) was reported if it had taken place in the five years prior to the survey. Qualified providers include doctors, nurses, nurse-midwives, and auxiliary personnel.

Education also plays a role in receiving adequate care, with less-educated women much less likely to receive adequate antenatal care and much less likely to give birth in a facility. Panel a of [figure 11](#) shows that in 2017 fewer than half of women with no formal education attended the recommended four antenatal care visits, but almost 95 percent of women with higher education did; access to hospitals and the ability to pay likely also factor into these decisions. There was a strong correlation between attended or facility births and educational attainment, with only 16 percent of women with no education giving birth in the presence of a skilled attendant. This figure is in stark contrast to 59 percent of attended births among women with secondary education and 90 percent among women with higher education ([figure 10, panel b](#)).

Inadequate levels of antenatal reproductive care could be one reason behind Haiti's alarmingly high and rising maternal mortality rates. Attendance by skilled birth attendants (Wilson et al. 2011) and birth in health facilities (Campbell et al. 2006) are associated with a lower risk of maternal mortality. Although Haiti's fertility rate is close to that of regional comparators, Haiti's pregnancy-related mortality rate has been steadily increasing and far exceeds those of comparator countries in the Caribbean and Southeast Asia and is on par with countries such as Zimbabwe and Mauritania (table 3). With a maternal mortality rate of 480 per 100,000 live births in 2017, Haitian women face a staggering 1 in 63 lifetime risk of maternal death, the second-highest of any country outside of Sub-Saharan Africa (after Afghanistan). Haiti's maternal mortality rate has been increasing slightly since 2000, even as other regions have dramatically improved in this sphere (figure 12).

Figure 12 Maternal Mortality Ratio



Source: UNICEF⁶.

Note: Maternal death is defined as the death of a woman while pregnant or within 42 days of termination of pregnancy, irrespective of the duration and site of the pregnancy, from any cause related to or aggravated by the pregnancy or its management but not from accidental or incidental causes.

6 Data available in: <https://data.unicef.org/topic/maternal-health/maternal-mortality/>

Table 3 General Fertility Rates and Pregnancy-Related Mortality Rates, Haiti vs. Comparator Countries

	General fertility rate for the 3 years preceding the survey expressed per 1,000 women ages 15–44	Pregnancy-related mortality rate for the 7 years preceding the survey expressed per 1,000 women-years of exposure
Haiti	101	0.65
Dominican Republic	89	0.15
Guatemala	112	0.15
Honduras	107	–
Indonesia	80	0.23
Chad	230	2.06
Côte d'Ivoire	174	1
Ghana	131	–
Mauritania	170	0.76
Sierra Leone	146	1.12
Zimbabwe	144	0.9

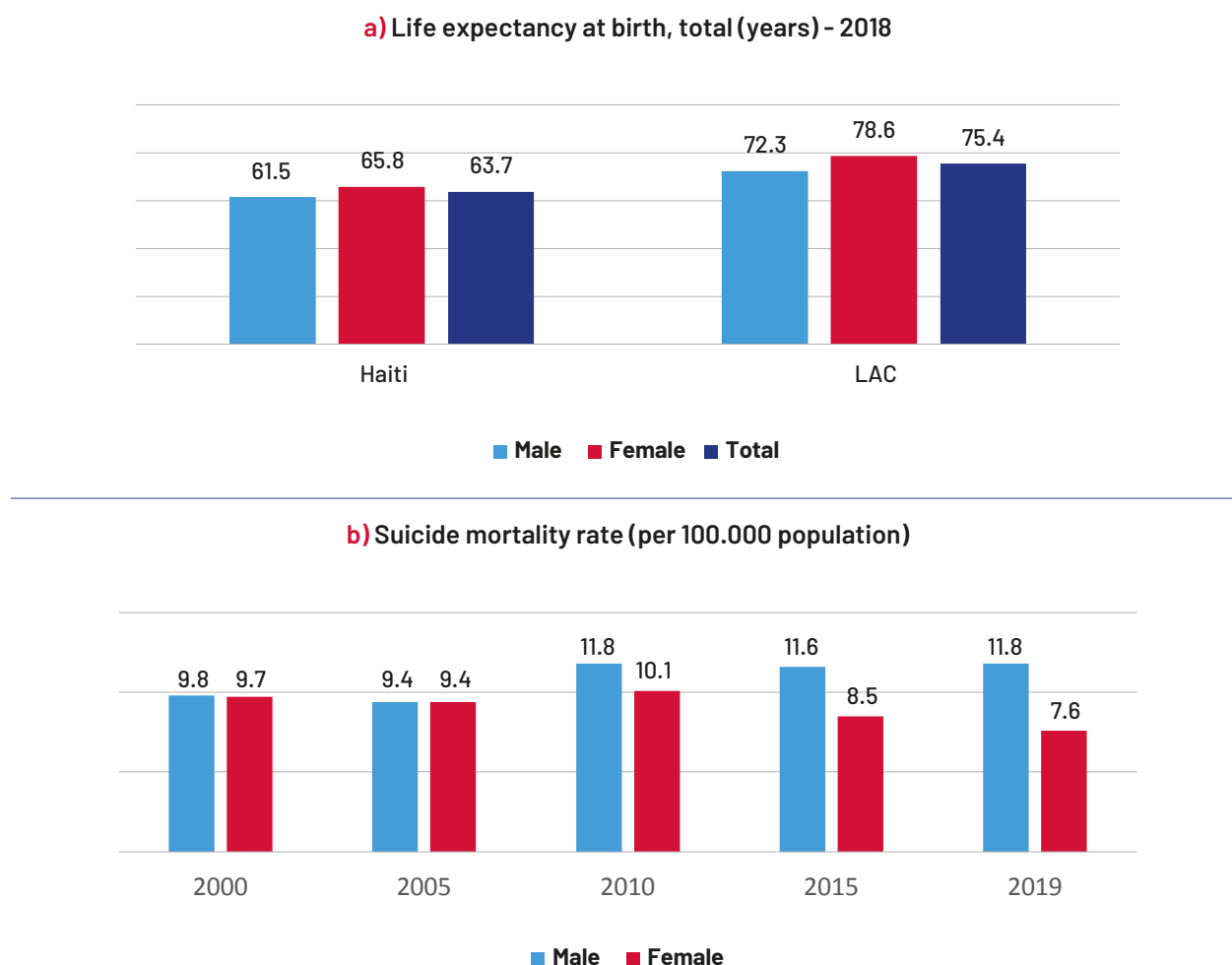
Source: DHS.

Note: Pregnancy-related deaths are deaths during pregnancy, delivery, and two months following delivery, including deaths due to accidents or violence. For the general fertility rate, the data for the Dominican Republic are from 2013 and those for Indonesia from 2017. For the pregnancy-related mortality rate, the data for the Dominican Republic are from 2007 and those for Indonesia from 2012. For the rest of the countries, the years of data collection are as follows: Haiti (2016–17), Guatemala (2014–15), Honduras (2011–12), Chad (2014–15), Côte d'Ivoire (2011–12), Ghana (2019), Mauritania (2019–21), Sierra Leone (2019), and Zimbabwe (2015). Jamaica, Botswana, Montenegro, Djibouti, Somalia, and Sudan were also considered in order to evaluate Haiti's performance, but there were no comparable data.

The destruction of hospitals and roads in a disaster situation and high caseloads during a pandemic complicate the accessing of care for women and their children. After Hurricane Matthew, access to pre- and postnatal care was difficult, and breastfeeding mothers were particularly at risk of malnutrition and dehydration (MCFDF 2016). With hospitals increasingly strained due to COVID-19 caseloads and some damage having been sustained during natural disasters, women's access to care remains compromised through decreased ability to address emergent health needs and has likely contributed to increased maternal mortality numbers, though updated data are needed to better understand these links. A survey of primary care and community health centers in Haiti showed that one-third did not have any electricity and those that did relied on nongrid alternate sources such as solar or generators (Shastri and Morse 2021).

Despite women's disadvantage in many health areas, men have a much lower life expectancy than women (62 vs. 66 years). Life expectancy for Haitians is lower than the average in Latin America ([figure 13, panel a](#)), and men die much earlier. This gender gap likely reflects various biological and social factors as established in the literature (for example, Hambleton et al. 2015), including men's disproportionate engagement in health-compromising behaviors, which we discuss in the deep dive on risky behaviors. Though suicide represents a relatively small proportion of deaths and thus explains a very small portion of the mortality gender gap, men are more likely than women to die from suicide in Haiti and the gender gap in suicides has been increasing over time ([figure 13, panel b](#)).

Figure 13 Life Expectancy at Birth and Suicide Mortality Rate of Males and Females



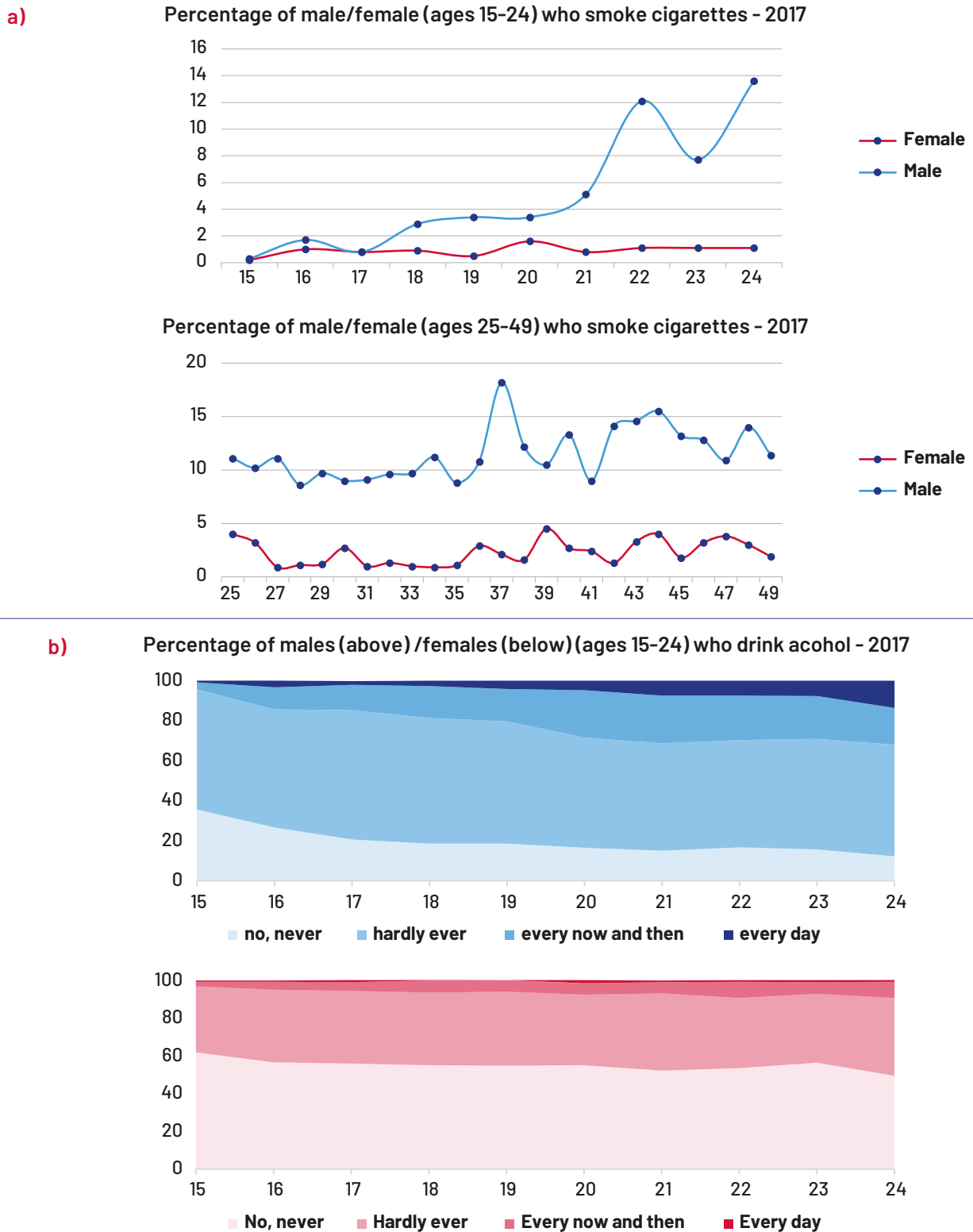
Sources: World Bank Health Statistics and World Development Indicators⁷.

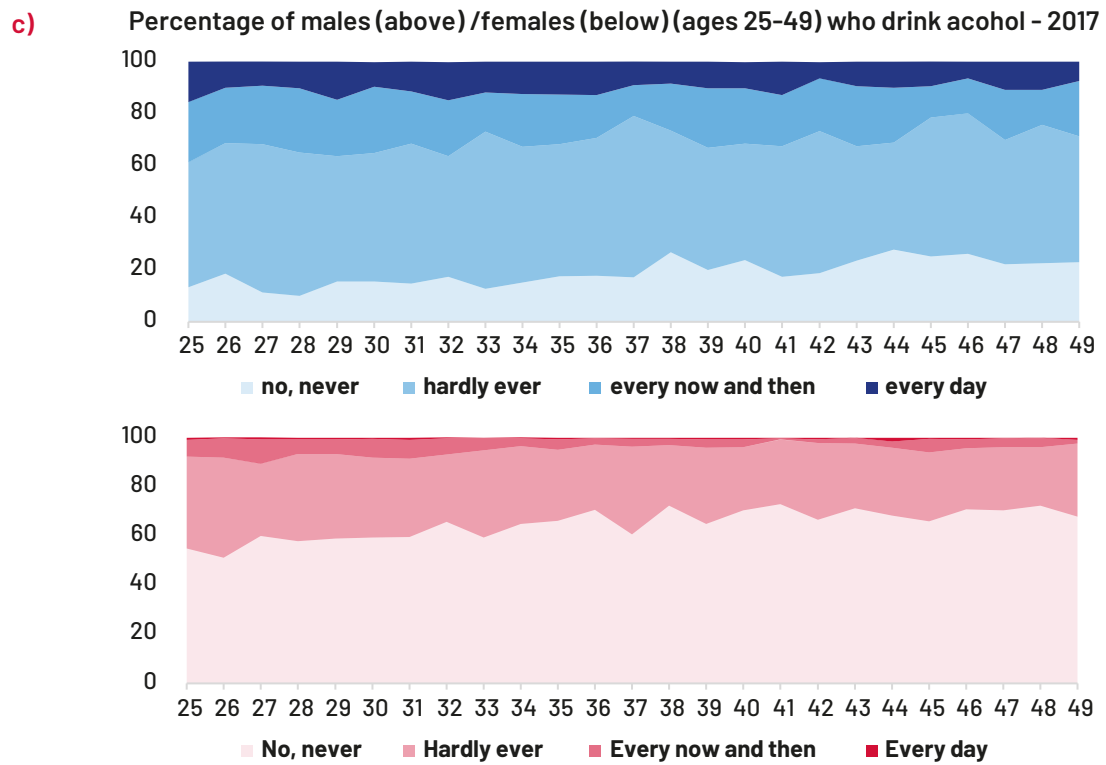
⁷ Data available in: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.LE00.IN?locations=HT>, <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SH.STA.SUIC.P5?locations=HT>

Among adolescents, more men than women reported engaging in health-compromising behaviors. As shown in [figure 14](#), adolescent boys and young men were significantly more likely than their female counterparts to smoke or drink alcohol in 2017. However, even among boys, alcohol consumption was uncommon before age 16 ([figure 14, panel b](#)), the legal drinking age, while cigarette consumption was rare up until age 18 and only increases significantly in the early 20s ([figure 14, panel a](#)). This finding is consistent with the Organization of American States (2016) data⁸, which show that the age of initiation of alcohol and tobacco use in Haiti occurs later than in many other Caribbean countries. Although the minimum age for consumption of cigarettes is 18 and for alcohol 16, there are no laws prohibiting the sale of these goods to minors that we could find. Cost may be a factor, because cigarette taxes are quite high (31 percent in total), reducing opportunities for consumption (PAHO 2022). Haitians ages 25–49 engage in more alcohol and cigarette consumption with a persistent gender gap ([figure 14, panel c](#)).

8 See report: <http://www.cicad.oas.org/oid/pubs/final%20school%20survey%20report%202016.pdf>

Figure 14 Cigarettes and Alcohol Consumption by Gender and Age, 2017





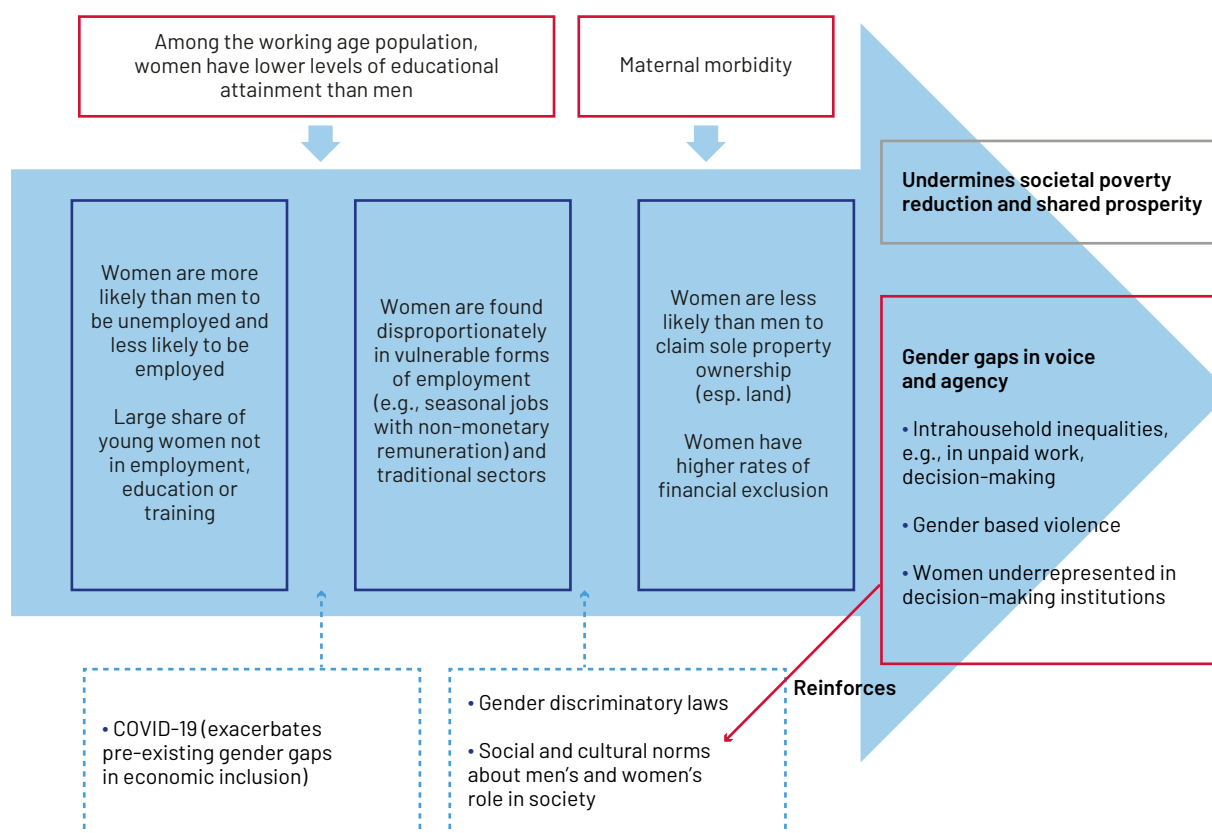
Source: DHS (2016-17).

2.3. Economic Opportunities

This section turns to gender differences in the labor market, economic opportunities, and access to productive assets. [Figure 15](#) shows schematically how gender gaps in economic opportunities undermine societal poverty reduction and shared prosperity and increase gender gaps in voice and agency. Notably, we lack comprehensive data on wages and pay, a key part of assessing gender gaps and women's opportunities, so this section relies on other measures.

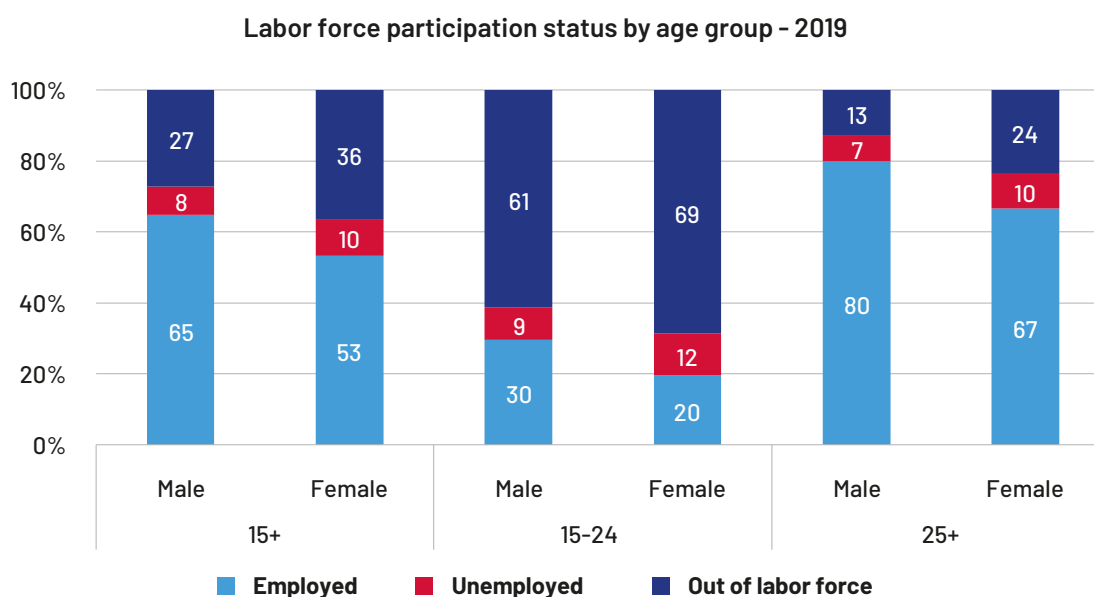
Figure 15 Conceptual Framework

Economic Opportunities: The big picture



Overall, youth labor force participation is low and it is even lower for young women. Among youth (15–24 years), only 30 percent of males and 20 of females were employed in 2019, before the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic (figure 16). Most youth—61 percent of males and 69 percent of females—were out of the labor force. An additional 9 percent of males and 12 percent of females met the definition of unemployed, that is, available and actively looking for employment. In contrast, older Haitians have more access to the labor market: 80 percent of males and 67 percent of females ages 25+ were employed. In this age group, 7 percent of males and 10 percent of females were unemployed, while 13 percent of the former and 24 percent of the latter were out of the labor force.⁹ As we will show in the thematic deep dive on gender inequality in the labor market, these gender gaps in participation further increased during the COVID-19 pandemic, though we also note distributional changes in types of employment. These changes are discussed in depth below.

Figure 16 Labor Force Participation of Males and Females



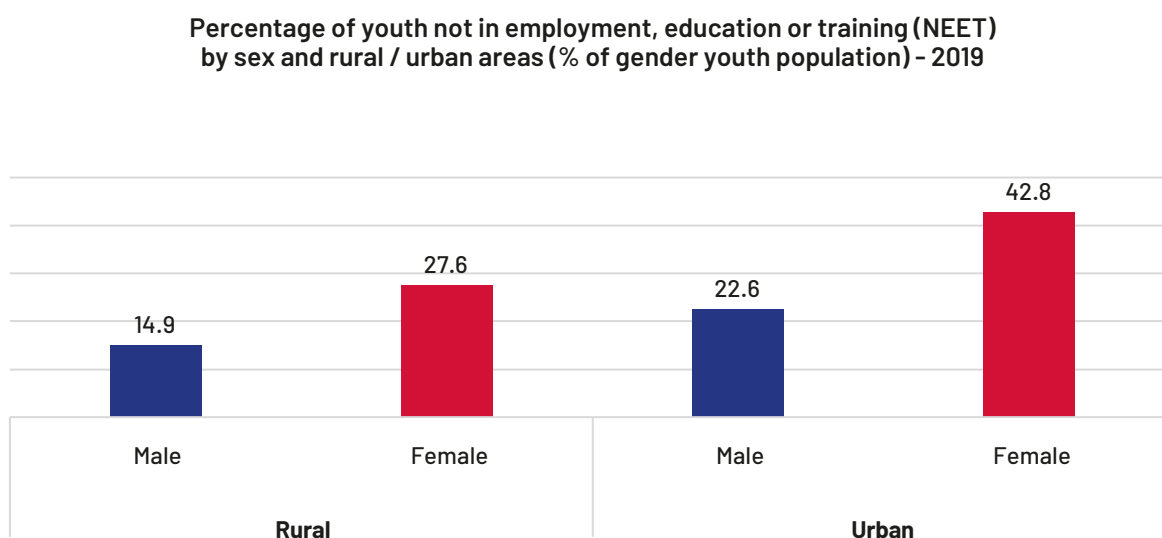
Source: ILO 2019.

⁹ These estimates are based on ILO modelled estimates for 2019. ILO modelled estimates, which are available on an annual basis, are based on reported estimates from household surveys whenever available but use various imputation methods to fill in gaps (ILO 2022). Because Haiti's last comprehensive labor force survey was in 2012, estimates for 2013 to 2019 are likely based on an imputation approach and therefore need to be regarded with some caution. Moreover, the ILO modelled estimates have not yet implemented the revised definition of employment adopted at the 19th International Conference of Labor Statisticians in 2013 for countries in which it would generate a methodological break (ILO 2013).

Low labor force participation of female youth is particularly concerning, because many young women are neither in education, employment, or training, especially in urban areas. As shown in [figure 17](#), 28 percent of female youth in rural areas and 43 percent in urban areas were not actively engaged in education, employment, or training (NEET), compared to 15 percent of male youth in rural areas and 23 percent in urban areas. While a large segment of the population remains out of school and training, there is little possibility of closing gender gaps in labor force participation through improved or increased educational attainment or skills.

On an aggregated national level, Haiti's employment indicators look like many of its comparator countries ([table 4](#)). For instance, the share of NEET youth is lower than in most comparator countries, but the overall modeled employment rates are higher than in most comparator countries. Stable female labor force participation (employed currently and in the last 12 months) is around 44 percent in Haiti, similar to the Dominican Republic's 43 percent and Zimbabwe's 41 percent.

Figure 17 Percentage of Youth not in Employment, Education, or Training by Gender and Rural or Urban Area



Source: ILO.

Note: Youth is defined as all persons between the ages of 15 and 24 (inclusive).

Table 4 Indicators on Economic Opportunities: Haiti vs. Comparator Countries

	Share of youth not in employment, education or training (NEET)—ILO modelled estimates for population 15–24	Unemployment rate—ILO modelled estimates for population 15+	Percentage of women 15–49 who worked in the 12 months preceding the survey and are working currently	Percentage of men 15–49 who worked in the 12 months preceding the survey and are working currently
Haiti	18.2	13.9	43.7	66.4
Dominican Republic	24.7	6.4	48.1	78
Guatemala	28.2	2.2	42.9	84.6
Honduras	28.1	5.7	44.3	86.5
Jamaica	27.4	7.7	–	–
Indonesia	20.5	3.6	55.4	98.6
Botswana	33.2	22.6	–	–
Chad	37.3	1.1	42.9	73.8
Côte d'Ivoire	34.3	3.3	67.1	82.2
Djibouti	18.5	26.3	–	–
Ghana	29.7	4.3	73.4	82.3
Mauritania	34.7	10.4	20.1	59.9
Montenegro	17.3	15.1	–	–
Sierra Leone	11.5	4.6	69	71.7
Somalia	27.7	18.8	–	–
Sudan	32.3	17.6	–	–
Zimbabwe	17.6	4.8	41.3	65

Sources: DHS, ILO.

Note: Data for youth not in employment, education, or training (NEET) and unemployment rate are for 2019 for all countries. For the rest of the indicators, the years of information are as follows: Haiti (2016–17), Guatemala (2014–15), Honduras (2011–12), Indonesia (2017), Chad (2014–15), Côte d'Ivoire (2011–12), Ghana (2014), Mauritania (2019–21), Sierra Leone (2019), and Zimbabwe (2015).

Young women face myriad constraints in accessing the labor market—including opaque hiring processes, sexual harassment and other safety concerns, and gendered norms around domestic work. Between 2012 and 2014, the World Bank-supported Adolescent Girl Initiative (AGI) provided technical and soft-skills training to over

1,000 young women in Port-au-Prince. Graduates of the initiative noted that one of the key challenges in securing employment was finding out about relative job openings, because employers recruit primarily through word of mouth and social networks, which places labor market entrants and those with small social networks at a disadvantage. The young women also highlighted sexual harassment as the key reason for demoralization in the job search. The difficult security environment in Port-au-Prince further aggravates this constraint. And finally, cultural values around domestic work and gender stereotypes regarding what jobs are appropriate for women limit the economic opportunities of adolescent girls, as families and communities might not support women working outside the home (World Bank 2015).

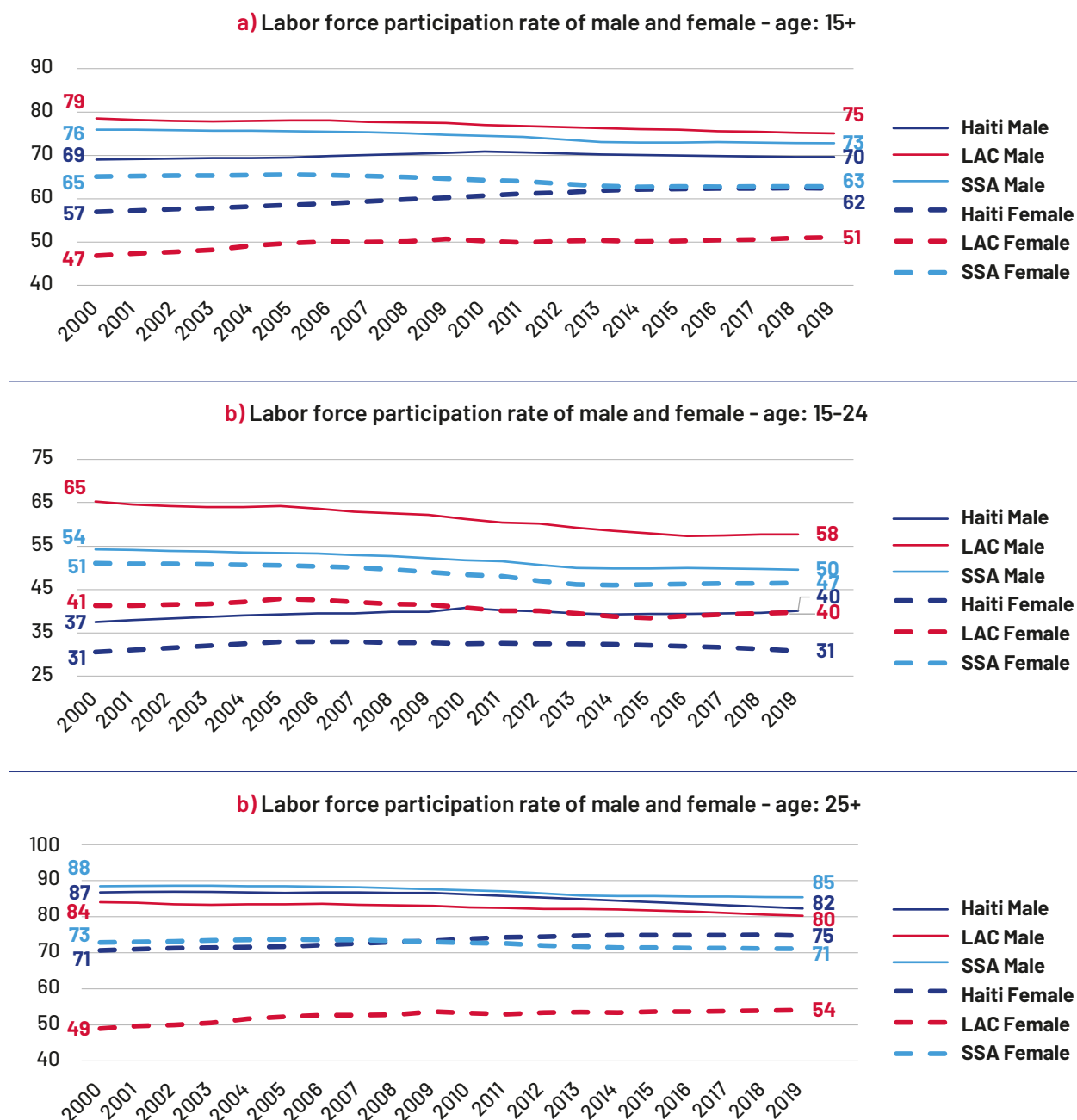
Sexual harassment is rampant in all Haitian workplaces and schools, dampening the potential effects of lifting women out of poverty through education or other means. A 2016 study found that 75 percent of women had experienced sexual harassment at work or school (Heartland Alliance International 2016). In the workplace, this harassment often takes the form of coercive sexual intercourse with supervisors or recruiters and women reportedly face severe repercussions if they do not engage in this behavior, including losing their jobs, not being hired, or other forms of mistreatment. In consultations with organizations in Haiti in 2022, participants noted that the sexual harassment problem was widespread and part of a culture of impunity, where despite extant laws prohibiting sexual harassment, its prevalence in the workplace leads many women to leave the workforce.

Female labor force participation has stagnated over the last decade in general and there is some evidence that the participation of young women has declined. [Figure 18](#) shows trends in male and female labor force participation for Haiti and comparator countries. Labor force participation of the population ages 15+ increased between 2000 and 2010 (from 57 to 61 percent), but stagnated from 2010 to 2019. Male labor force participation remained at approximately 70 percent throughout this time. However, labor force participation of female youth (15–24 years) slightly declined (from 33 percent at its peak in 2011 to 31 percent in 2019), while male labor force participation in this age group stayed constant at 40 percent. However, these trends need to be regarded with some caution, given that Haiti does not conduct regular labor force surveys and that the last multitopic household survey on which these projections are based is more than a decade old.

By regional standards, female labor force participation overall is relatively high, but labor force participation of all youth is depressed. With female labor force participation at 62 percent for the population 15+ ([figure 18, panel a](#)) in 2019, Haiti compares favorably to the LAC average (with a labor force participation of 62 percent) and is similar to SSA (63 percent). However, male labor force participation in Haiti (70 percent) was lower than in comparator regions (75 percent in LAC and 73 percent in

SSA). Likewise, [panel b of figure 18](#) shows that the labor force participation of female youth (31 percent) was significantly lower in Haiti than in LAC countries on average (40 percent) and in SSA (47 percent).

Figure 18 Labor Force Participation Rate by Gender and Age, Haiti vs. Comparator Countries, 2000-2019

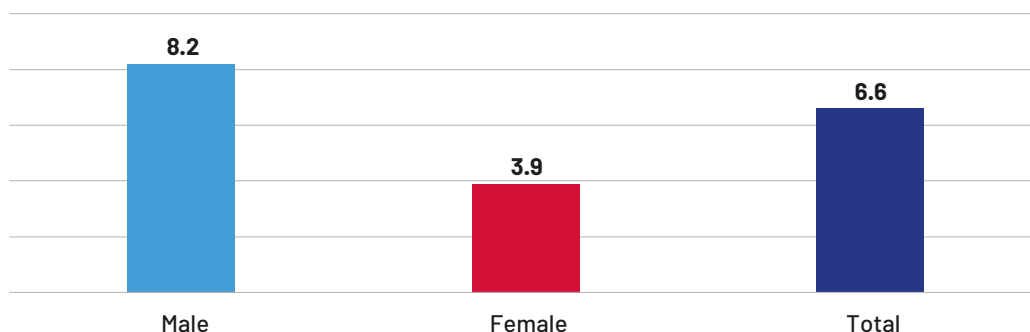


Source: ILO modelled estimates.

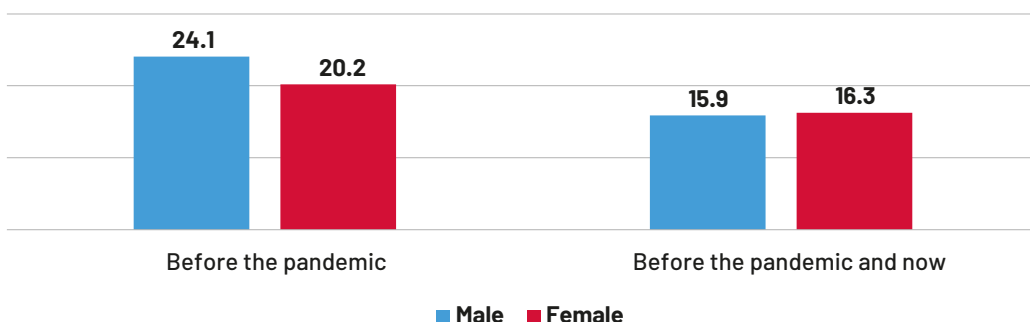
Recent disasters and the pandemic have further reduced stable and high-quality workforce opportunities for all Haitians. In the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic and immediately following Tropical Storm Elsa in July 2021, men were more likely to become part of the informal workforce than women, though many workers of all genders moved into informal jobs. [Panel a of figure 19](#) shows that 8.2 percent of men and 3.9 percent of women moved into informal jobs. This change closed the gender gap in formal sector jobs, with 16.3 percent of women and 15.9 percent of men in formal work at the time of the high-frequency phone survey. Informality is associated with less security, fewer legal protections, fewer benefits, and often lower pay. Moving into these jobs further disadvantages women, who are already more likely to be in less-secure and lower-paying jobs. Data from the high-frequency phone surveys show that only 20.2 percent of women reported being in a job that contributed to social security (formal workforce) before the pandemic ([figure 19, panel b](#)). Although the gender gap in formality narrowed significantly during the pandemic, the percentage of formal workers did decline, leaving an even larger share of Haitians without access to formal labor protections or benefits. The data from the HFS are more recent than the DHS, but these data should be viewed with some caution when extrapolating to the general population. More research is needed to confirm the extent of these changes and whether they will persist.

Figure 19 Percentage of Workers Moving into Informal Jobs and Contributing to Social Security by Gender, July–August 2021

a) Percentage of formal male/female workers pre-pandemic who became informal – July–August 2021



b) Percentage of employed individuals contributing to social security – July–August 2021

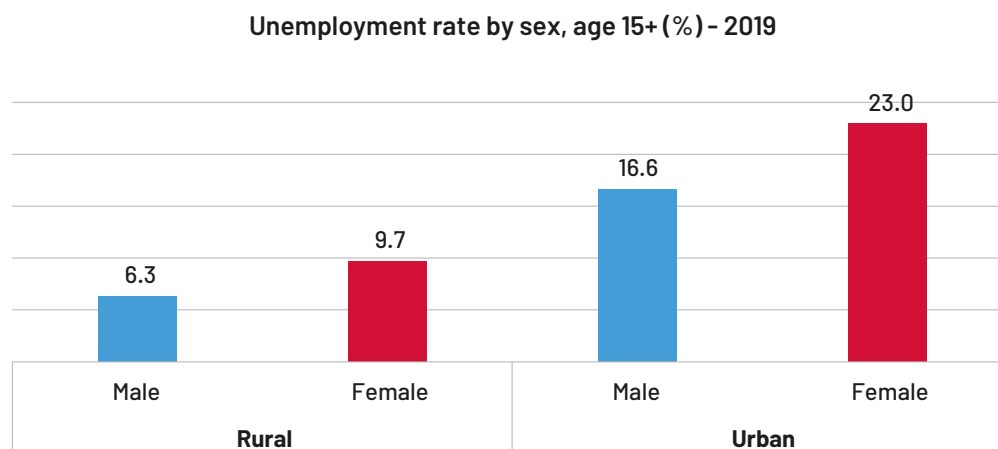


Source: World Bank High Frequency Phone Survey 2021– wave 1.

Note: The percentage of employees contributing to social security is calculated over the total number of people who had a job before the pandemic and at the time of the survey (worked during the prior week or conducted other activities to generate income or have a job or business that will come back).

According to modeled estimates, women are more likely to be unemployed in urban and rural areas than men, but overall, unemployment is higher in urban areas. Unemployment rates do not provide a complete picture of the labor market difficulties experienced by men and women; these were discussed in more detail above. However, this gap is important to note, because it captures those with a strong labor market attachment. A requirement for being classified as unemployed is being available and actively looking for employment. Women who attempt to engage fully in the labor force find themselves at a disadvantage compared to men and are less likely to find work ([figure 20](#)).

Figure 20 Unemployment Rate by Gender, 2019



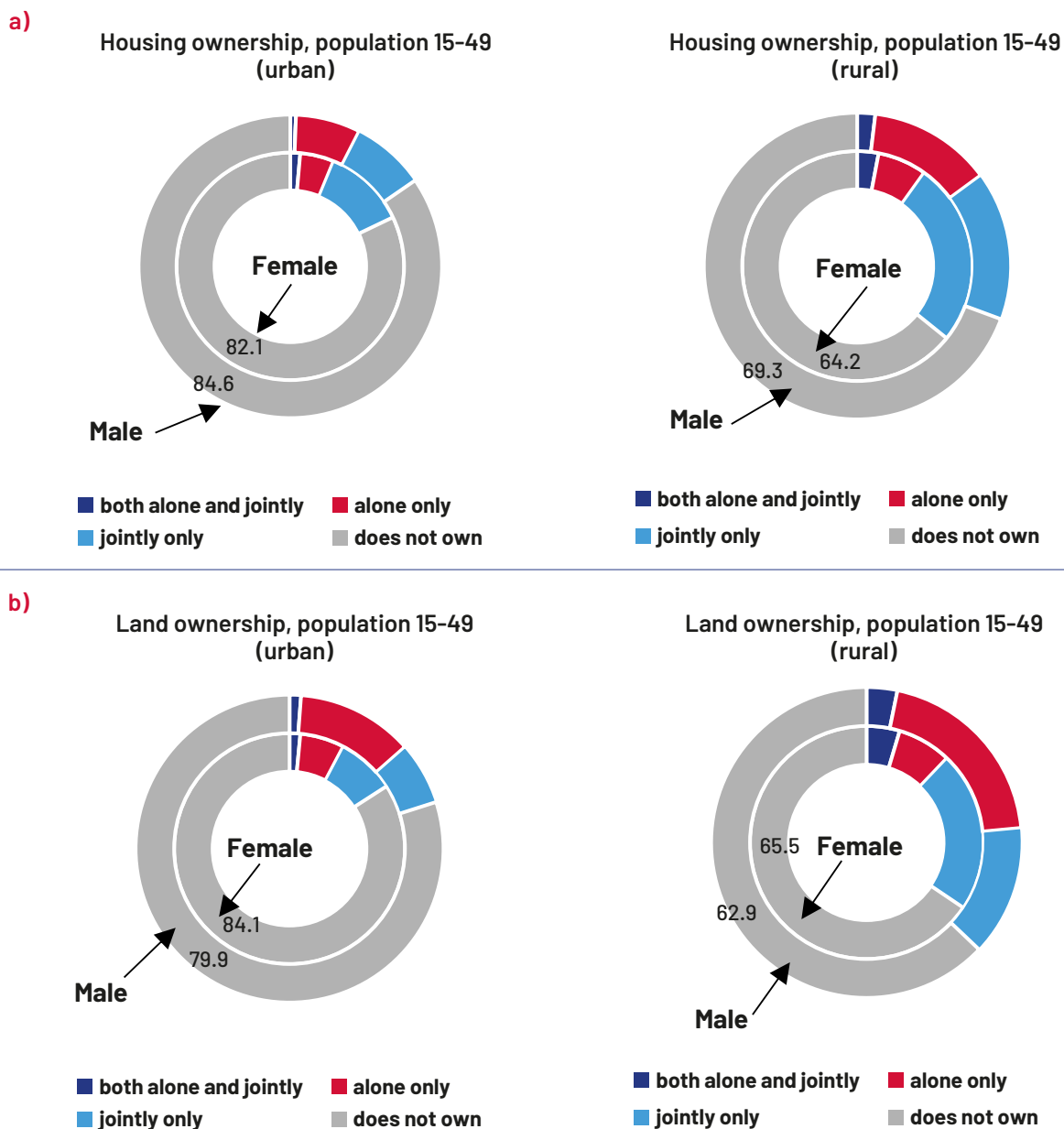
Source: ILO 2019.

Just as networks and the security situation have limited women's access to jobs, women have been less likely than men to claim sole ownership of productive assets, especially housing and land. Gender gaps in access to productive assets present additional obstacles to women's autonomy and ability to start businesses, take out loans, and engage in farming or other income-generating activities. In urban areas, 7 percent of men ages 15–49 reported owning a house alone, compared to 5 percent of women ([figure 21, panel a](#)); the figures in rural areas are 13 percent of men and 7 percent of women. However, women are more likely to have reported joint ownership of housing, so the proportion of women owning a house alone or jointly was slightly higher than the corresponding share among men ([figure 21, panel a](#)). Similarly, the 2017 data show a gender gap in land ownership in both urban and rural areas ([figure 21, panel b](#)). While 20 percent of men in rural areas owned land, only 8 percent of women did; in urban areas, the figures are 12 percent of men and 6 percent of women. Unlike for housing, and even though women are slightly more likely than men to report joint ownership, fewer women than men reported any land ownership (sole or joint).

Even when women own land, there is evidence that they are less tenure secure than men, which deters investment. Data collected in Central Haiti in 2013 show that women were less tenure secure than men on land they had inherited, while no such gender gap exists regarding purchased land. According to the Haitian Constitution, property rights are enshrined for all citizens, though the constitutional right may not be sufficient to ensure equal access for women in practice. The World Bank's Women, Business and the Law Index, which examines codified laws, considers women in Haiti to have unequal access to inherited or marital assets via a 1982 decree. A 2020 decree is understood among some in Haiti to have obviated the discriminatory 1982 decree, but

the provisions are not codified law and it is unclear how they work in practice. Research has shown that differential property rights by gender can lead to gender differences in conservation investment activities, such as tree planting, fallowing, and terracing. In one study, female respondents were less likely to undertake investment activities on their inherited land, limiting the potential for growth and income generation (Kelly, Deaton, and Amegashie 2019). This lower rate of investment in tenure-insecure land mirrors findings from Sub-Saharan Africa, where gender gaps in tenure security have been linked to differences in investments in land fertility and agricultural output by gender (Goldstein and Udry 2008). Moreover, tenure insecurity may inhibit structural transformation whereby landholders continue to engage in low-productivity agriculture because they must be present to defend the land from being taken from them. This ties landholders, and particularly women when they are more tenure insecure, to the land and prevents them from seeking out more-productive activities (see Goldstein et al. [2018] on Benin).

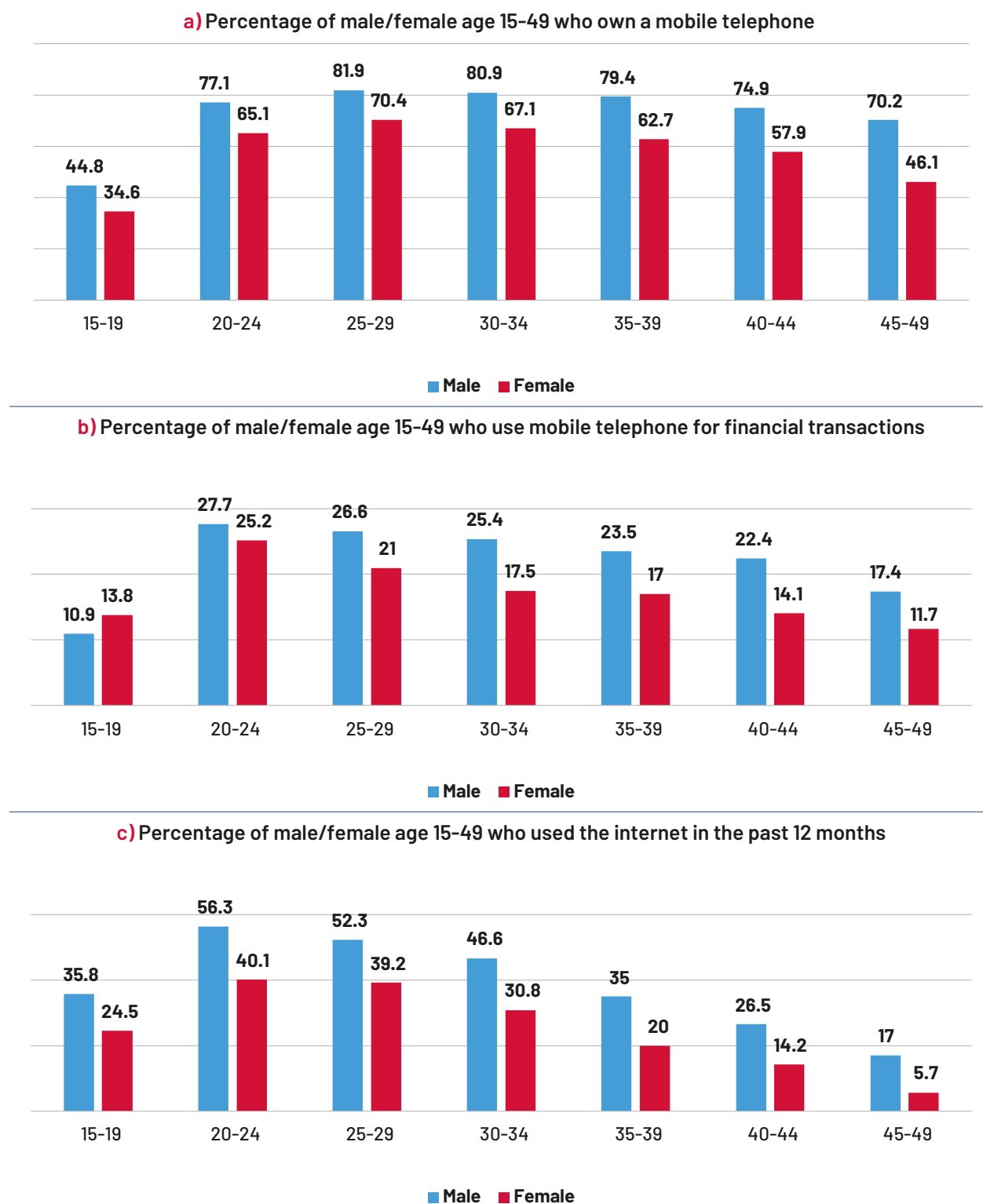
Figure 21 Ownership of Property by Gender, 2017



Source: DHS (2016-17).

Women reported lower access to information via mobile phones and the internet. The likelihood that women owned a cell phone in 2017 was 10-20 percentage points less than for men, depending on age group. Women were also less likely to use mobile phones for financial transactions or to have accessed the internet recently. These figures should be viewed with caution, given the rapid pace of digital adoption, but even if recent changes were equal among men and women, women's lower starting point means they remain at a disadvantage.

Figure 22 Digital Access by Gender, Ages 15–49

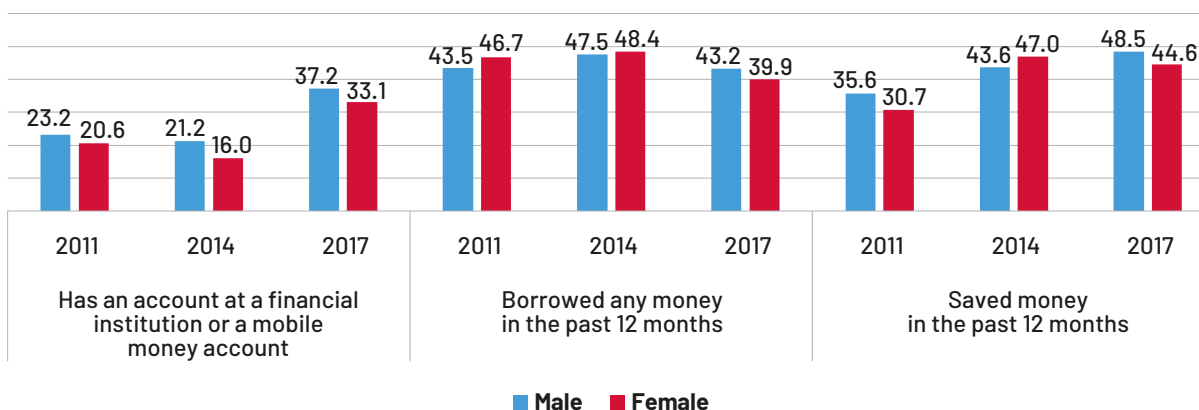


Source: DHS (2016–17).

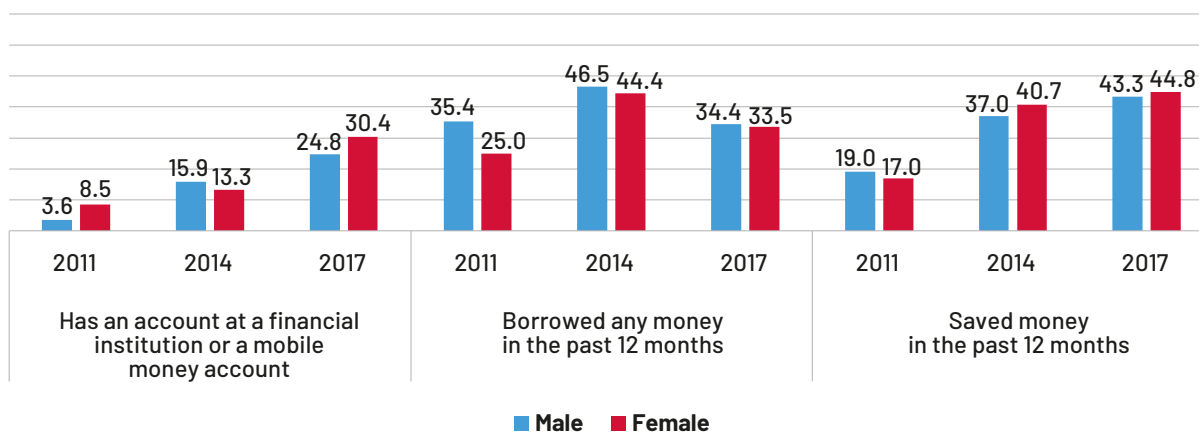
Overall access to financial instruments is low and women have historically reported lower levels of financial inclusion than men, but access to bank accounts and savings is trending upward for women. Women were less likely than men to have borrowed money in the last year (40 vs. 43 percent of men), less likely to have a bank account (33 vs. 37 percent), and less likely to have saved any money (45 vs. 49 percent)([figure 23, panel a](#)). However, [panel b of figure 23](#) suggests that these gender gaps may be reversing among the youth. Haitians ages 15–24 have been increasingly gaining access to bank accounts, with women outpacing men in this respect in 2017. More than 30 percent of women ages 15–24 had a mobile money account or an account at a financial institution and almost 45 percent of women of the same age group saved some money in the year previous to the survey. In the most recent data from 2017, men and women had comparable rates for all three of these financial inclusion measures. Low levels of financial inclusion prevent Haitians from being able to grow their businesses and respond to shocks and may exacerbate poverty and financial insecurity (Adams 2018).

Figure 23 Account Ownership, Loans, and Savings by Gender and Age, 2011–17 (Selected Years)

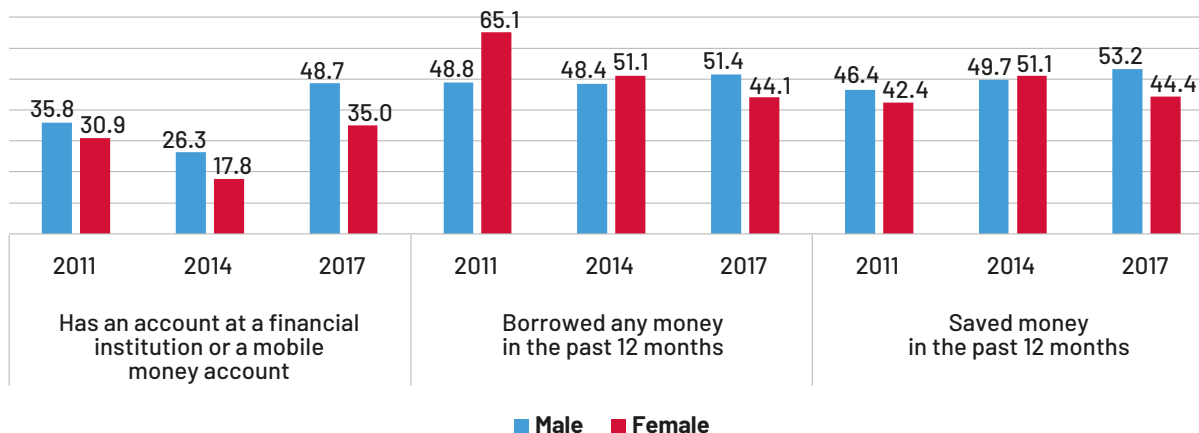
a) Account ownership, borrowed and saved money (% of population ages 15–49)



b) Account ownership, borrowed and saved money (% of population ages 15–24)



c) Account ownership, borrowed and saved money (% of population ages 25–49)

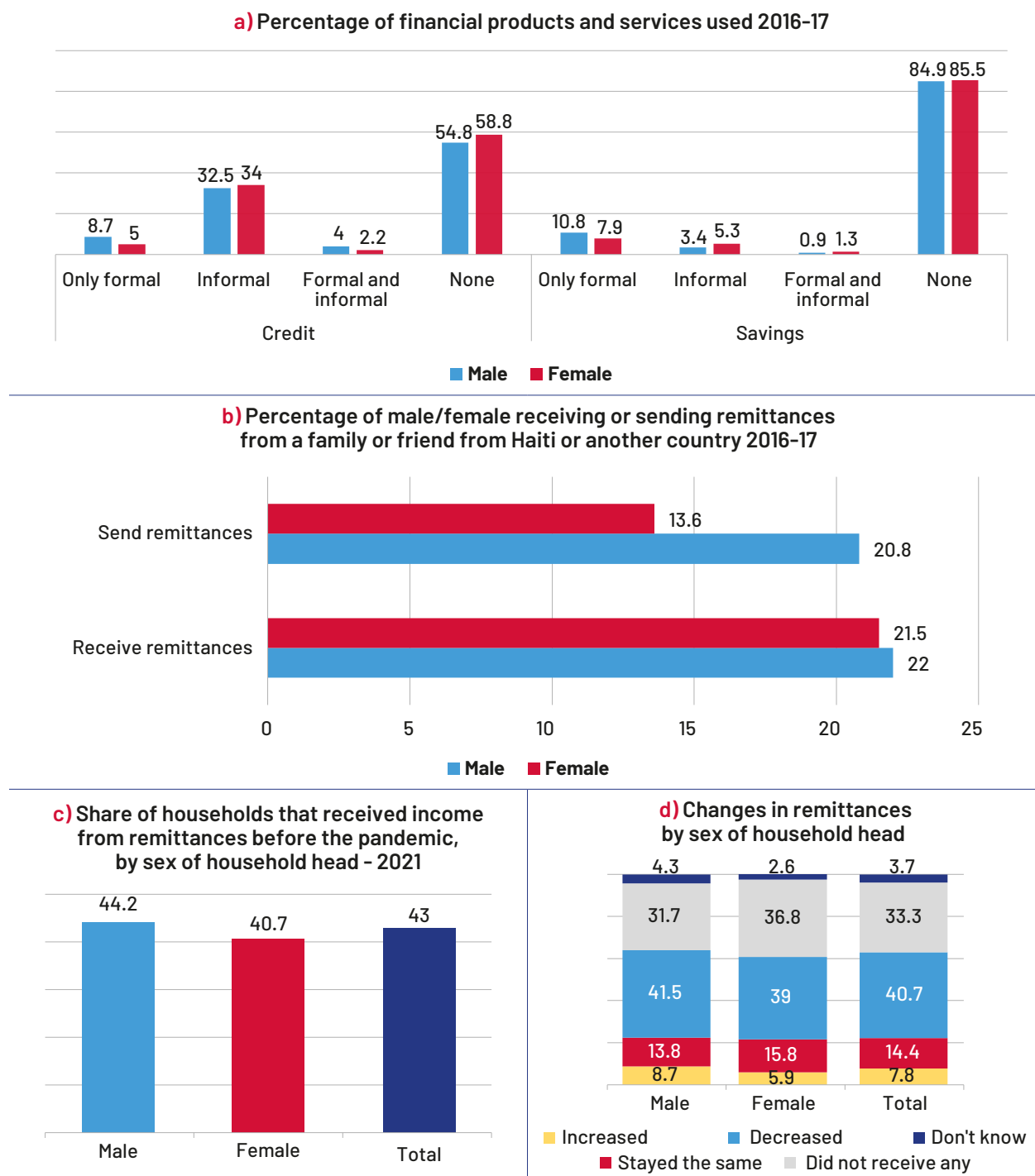


Sources: Global Index (2011, 2014, 2017).

Despite increasing financial inclusion rates, the vast majority of Haitians do not have formal savings or credit opportunities and gender gaps are small. Approximately 85 percent of Haitians had no access to savings instruments and only 12 percent of men had any savings in a bank or formal institution ([figure 24, panel a](#)). Comparatively, 9 percent of women had some formal savings. A higher proportion of Haitians reported having access to credit, but these for the most part are informal. Informal credit instruments may be family or friends, but are often predatory lenders who charge very high interest rates. One study of microfinance institutions showed that interest rates in Haiti were about 45 percent (Campion, Ekka, and Wenner 2010), but are likely variable. Women are slightly more likely to have only access to these informal credit instruments, which are difficult to repay given high interest rates and may further entrench women in poverty.

Women were slightly more likely to receive remittances but much less likely to send them. Haiti receives millions of dollars in remittances every year, a figure that has been rising. In 2020, remittances increased substantially over 2019 due to insecurity, according to some reports (Orozco and Spanswick 2021). Women were slightly more likely to receive remittances than men, though we lack data on the amounts received. Interestingly, a non-negligible portion of Haitians was also sending remittances and there was a gender gap in sending. Only 14 percent of women said they had sent remittances in 2017 ([figure 24, panel b](#)), while 21 percent of men said they had. Social norms around men's roles as providers could limit women's ability to send remittances and might contribute to the higher tendency of men to migrate for work. Alternatively, women may be less able to send remittances due to the many constraints and barriers discussed above.

Figure 24 Types of Financial Products Used and Remittances by Gender

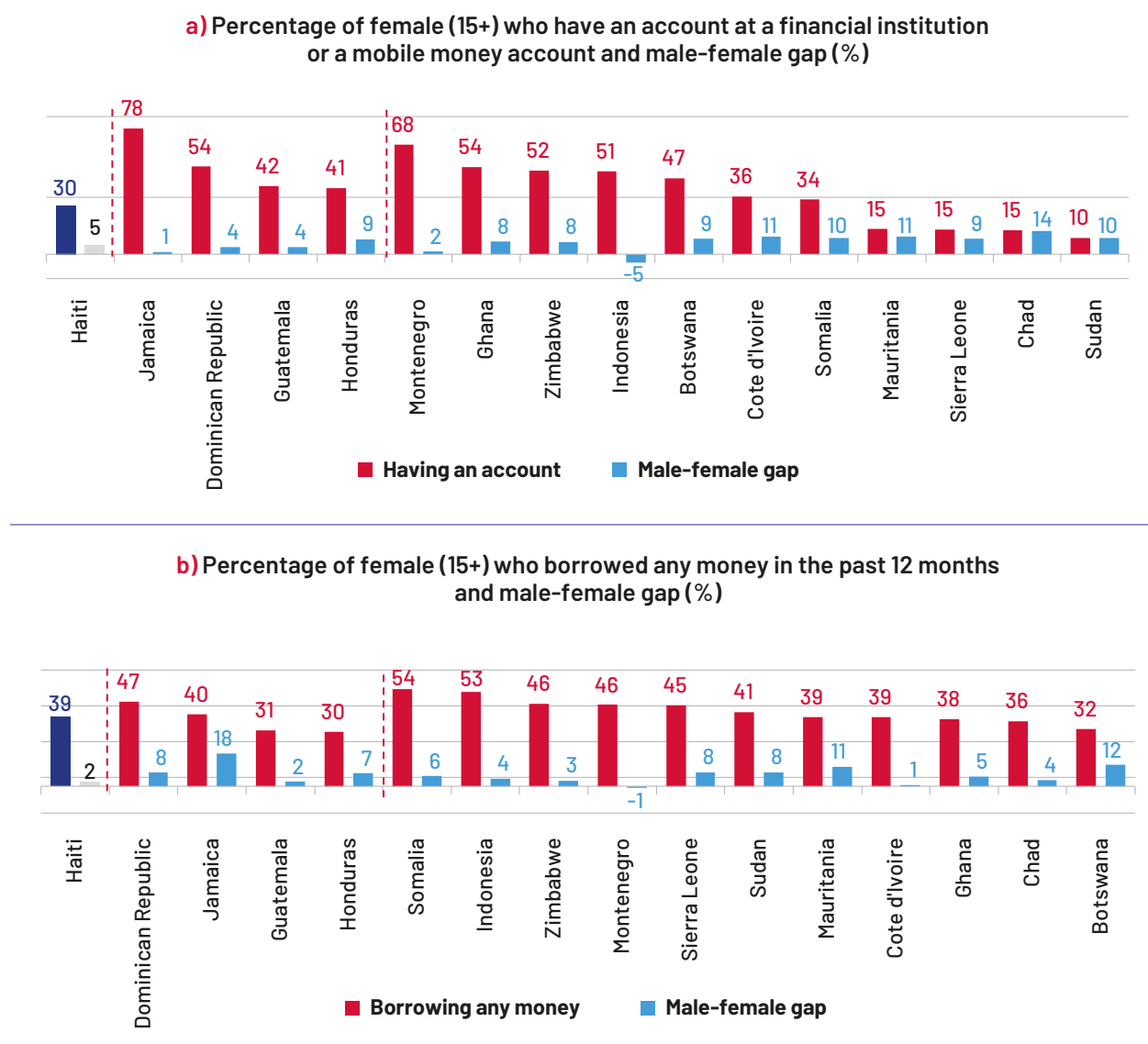


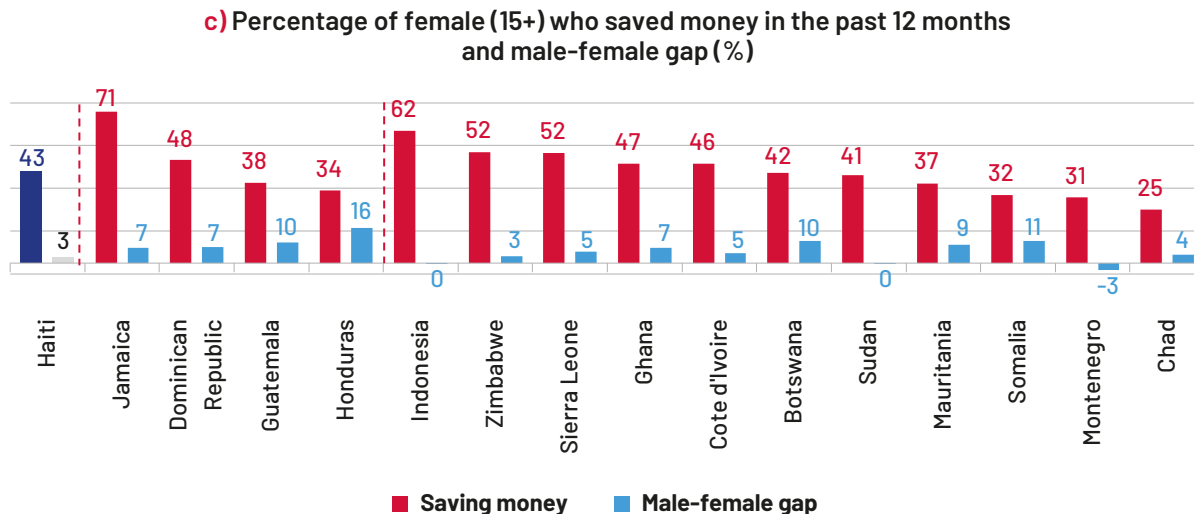
Sources: Financial Capability Survey, 2016-17 (panels a, b); World Bank High-Frequency Phone Survey - wave 1, 2021 (panels c, d).

Note: Formal credit includes mortgages, loan from duly authorized commercial entities, credit cards, and credit from micro finance institutions. Informal credit includes loans from informal money lenders, loans from family or friends or neighbors that need to be repaid, and self-help groups. Formal savings include savings/deposit account/checking account in a duly authorized entity and debit card. The sample of the HFPS comprises 1,480 households of which 35 percent were female headed and 65 male headed.

The gender gaps in financial inclusion we see in Haiti are comparable to those in comparator countries, reflecting differential access to financial instruments worldwide. Access to mobile money and bank accounts for females is much higher in countries like Jamaica (74 percent) and Guatemala (42 percent) than in Haiti, which is on par with countries like Somalia (34 percent) in this regard ([figure 25, panel a](#)). However, the gender gap in bank account access is much closer to comparator countries in the LAC region, such as Honduras, with a 9 percentage point gender gap, and Guatemala, with a 4 percentage point gender gap. Rates of borrowing ([figure 25, panel b](#)) and savings ([figure 25, panel c](#)) are similar across the LAC region comparators and Sub-Saharan Africa, with gender gaps close to those seen in Haiti.

Figure 25 Gender Gaps in Productive Resources, Haiti vs. Comparator Countries





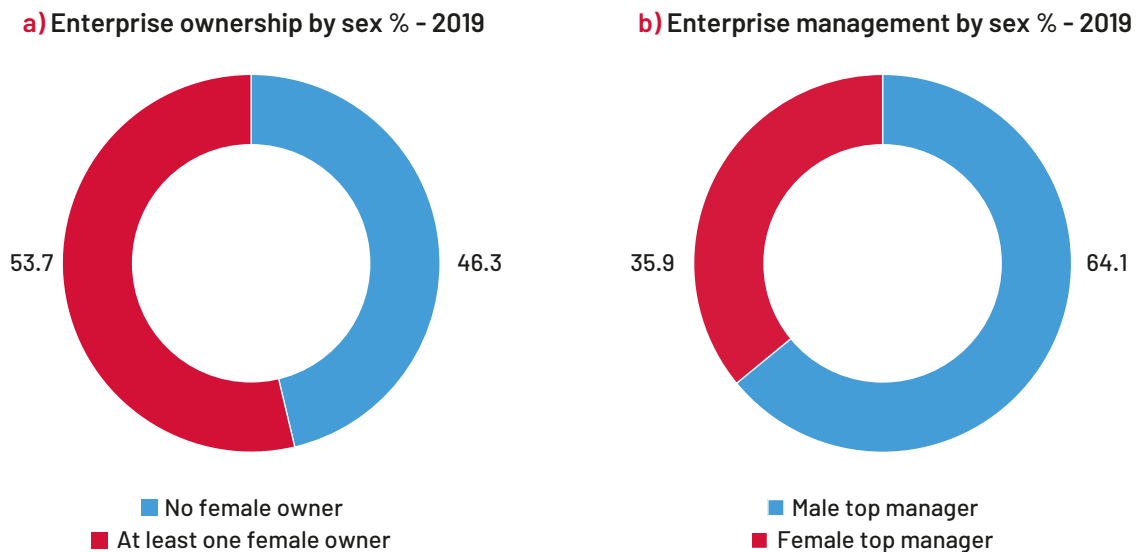
Source: Global Financial Inclusion, Data Bank – World Bank.

Note: Data for Sudan, Somalia, and Jamaica are from 2014; for the rest of the countries, the data are from 2017. The female-male gap is the percentage point difference between males and females.

Women entrepreneurs play an important role in Haitian society by owning small firms, employing workers, and fomenting trade. Slightly over half of all firms have a female owner or co-owner ([figure 26, panel a](#)), though women manage only 36 percent of firms ([figure 26, panel b](#)). The data were collected in 2019 by means of interviews of personnel at 149 firms and represent businesses that employ 5 or more employees and have at least some private ownership.¹⁰ A recent World Bank Private Sector Diagnostic also notes that in Haiti, compared to other FCSs, women entrepreneurs seem to play a greater role, especially in Port-au-Prince (World Bank 2021a). Moreover, these figures (from the Enterprise Surveys) do not include microbusinesses, which women often run. A number of ethnographic studies emphasize the importance of *madan saras* (small-scale women traders) for the country's retail industry (for example, Stam 2012; Hossein 2015; Joos 2017; more on this in the deep dive on labor force participation).

¹⁰ The Haiti Enterprise Survey, however, departed from the global methodology and included some businesses in the professional and support services activities, which are not normally part of the standard Universe of Inference of Enterprise Surveys (<https://microdata.worldbank.org/index.php/catalog/3756>).

Figure 26 Enterprise Ownership and Management by Gender, 2019



Source: World Enterprise Survey (2019).

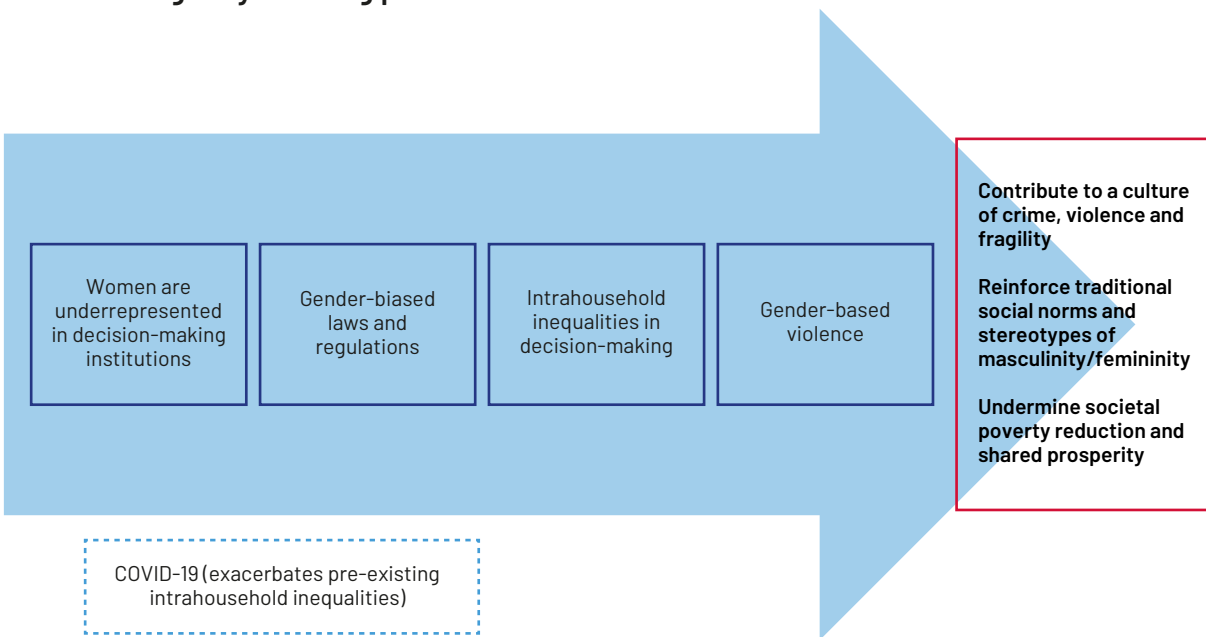
Women entrepreneurs face legal and structural constraints in running their businesses, potentially resulting in lowered productivity and legal stature. As noted by the World Bank (2021a), women-owned firms tend to have fewer employees than men-owned firms and lower levels of labor productivity. Women entrepreneurs have historically been legally disadvantaged in a number of ways. For example, until 2020, women did not have the same ownership rights to immovable property as men nor could they choose where to live in the same way as men. The 2020 Marital Status decree ameliorated, at least on paper, many of these legal distinctions by sex, and the 2017 data clearly reflect the old regime, but more data are necessary to know how this decree is being applied and whether women and men enjoy equal rights in practice. More-recent data may show improvements, but even so, women entrepreneurs are starting with less access to capital and information, fewer assets, and the weight of traditional gender roles. More research is needed to see how these legal changes will affect women's status and opportunities moving forward.

2.4. Voice, Agency, and Representation

The last part of the stock-taking reviews gender gaps in voice and agency. Such gaps can contribute to a culture of crime, violence, and fragility and reinforce traditional gender norms and stereotypes that limit women's opportunities to engage in labor markets as well as political and social communities, consequently limiting economic development and shared prosperity.

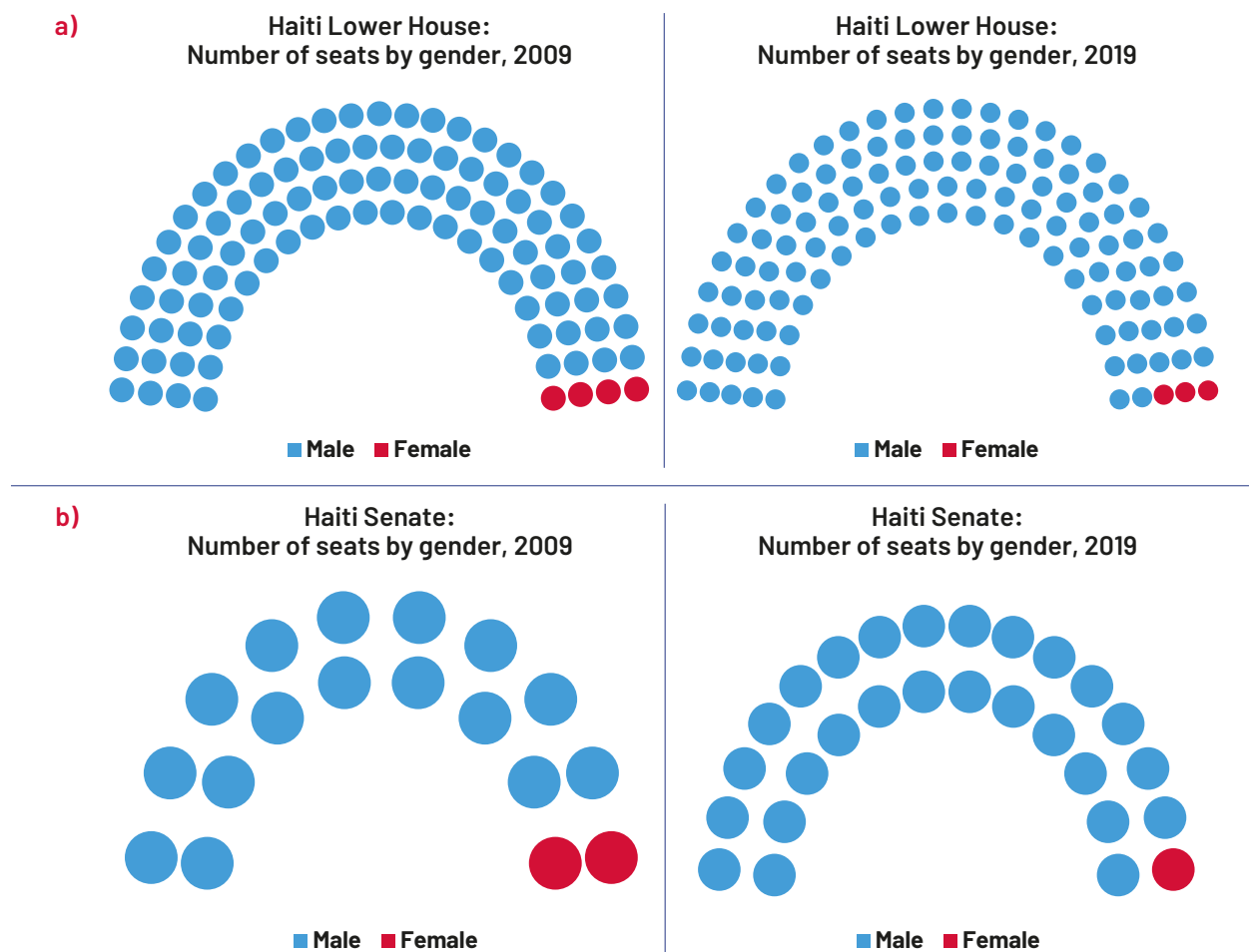
Figure 27 Conceptual Framework

Voice and agency: The big picture



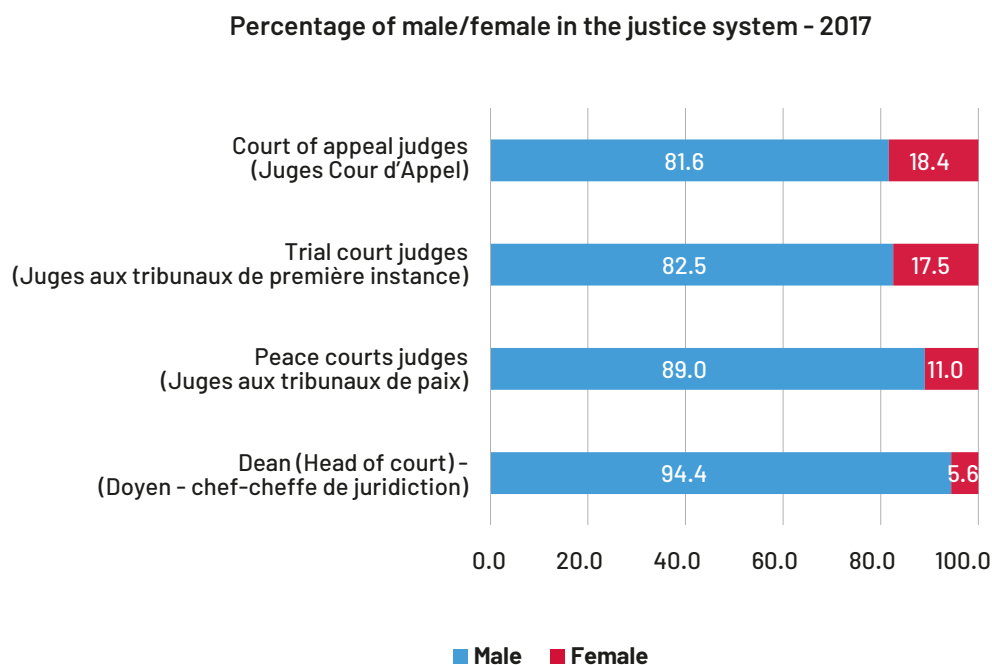
Women are strongly underrepresented in all branches of government. Women's share of seats in the lower house and senate declined from 2009 to 2019 ([figure 28](#)) despite the presence of a quota mandating women's representation at 30 percent. Likewise, women are underrepresented in the judiciary ([figure 29](#)). Increasingly, senior and influential positions are less likely to be held by women, with less than 6 percent of the highest judiciary positions held by women and only 1 seat in the senate held by a woman. An absence of women in the legislative branches is detrimental to the interests of women. Women in legislatures have been shown to put forward more bills on "women's issues" (women's health care, maternity leave, gender equality, child nutrition and welfare, education, and so forth) than men would otherwise (Bratton 2002; Osborn 2012). Additional evidence—also from other countries—shows that when women are in government, there are role model effects that can encourage more women to enter government (Bhalotra, Clots-Figueras, and Iyer 2018).

Figure 28 Participation in Haiti Lower House and Senate by Gender, 2009 vs. 2019



Source: Data (revised as of December 18, 2020) from Inter-Parliamentary Union – Women in parliaments; <http://archive.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif-arc.htm>. Tool for graphics: <https://app.flourish.studio/@flourish/parliament-chart>.

Figure 29 Participation in the Justice System by Gender, 2017



Source: Avocats sans frontières (2019, 28).

Women's share in cabinet positions increased during the term of the last president of Haiti, but representation in the legislature and high government positions is still far from gender parity. Women held one-third of cabinet positions in the 2016–19 presidential term compared to only 19 percent in the 2006–11 term ([figure 30](#)). Women have made significant inroads in the highest level of government in recent decades, but these changes have not been visible in the law. According to the World Bank's Women Business and the Law (WBL) report (World Bank 2022c), Haiti's legal environment has not changed with respect to gender inequalities. We review women's political participation in more depth in the deep dives and the full results of the Haiti study from WBL are available in an annex.

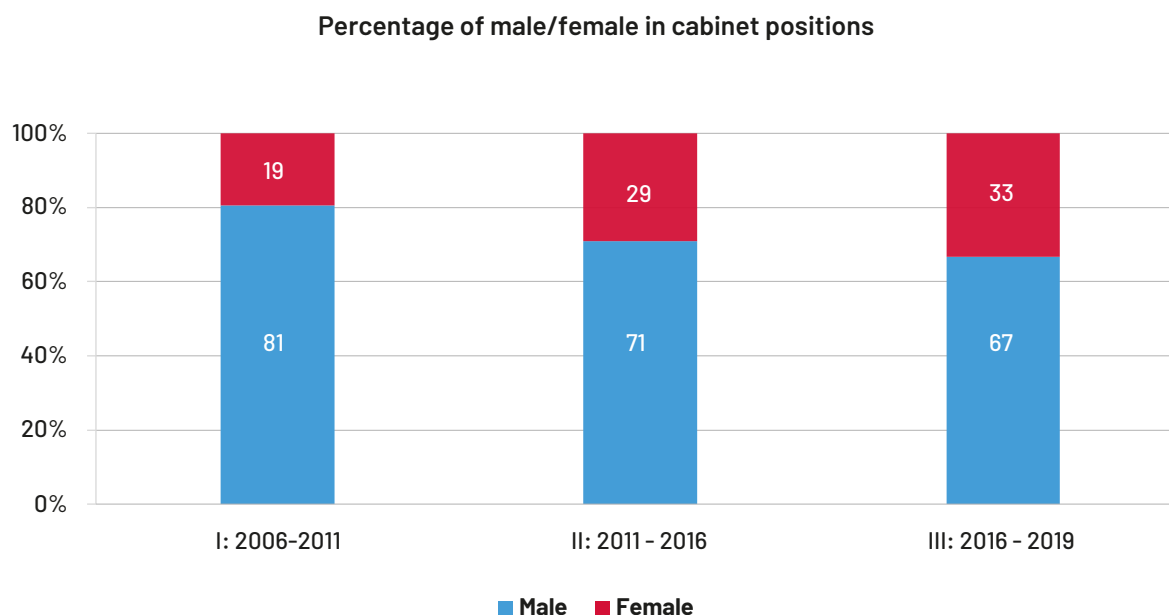
Women's legislative representation is still far below that of comparator countries. Each of the comparator countries in [table 5](#) has female representation in the double digits in the lower or single house. In the case of Zimbabwe, the upper house is almost gender equal, with 44 percent of seats held by women. Haiti's gender quota in the legislature is clearly not enforced, leaving it far behind its economic and regional peers.

Table 5 Women's Participation in the Legislature, Haiti vs. Comparator Countries (%)

	Females in lower or single house	Females in upper house or senate
Haiti	2.5	3.6
Dominican Republic	26.8	9.4
Guatemala	19	–
Honduras	21.1	–
Indonesia	18.2	–
Chad	14.9	–
Côte d'Ivoire	11	12.1
Ghana	13.1	–
Mauritania	20.3	–
Sierra Leone	12.3	–
Zimbabwe	31.9	43.8

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union. Data revised as of February 2019.

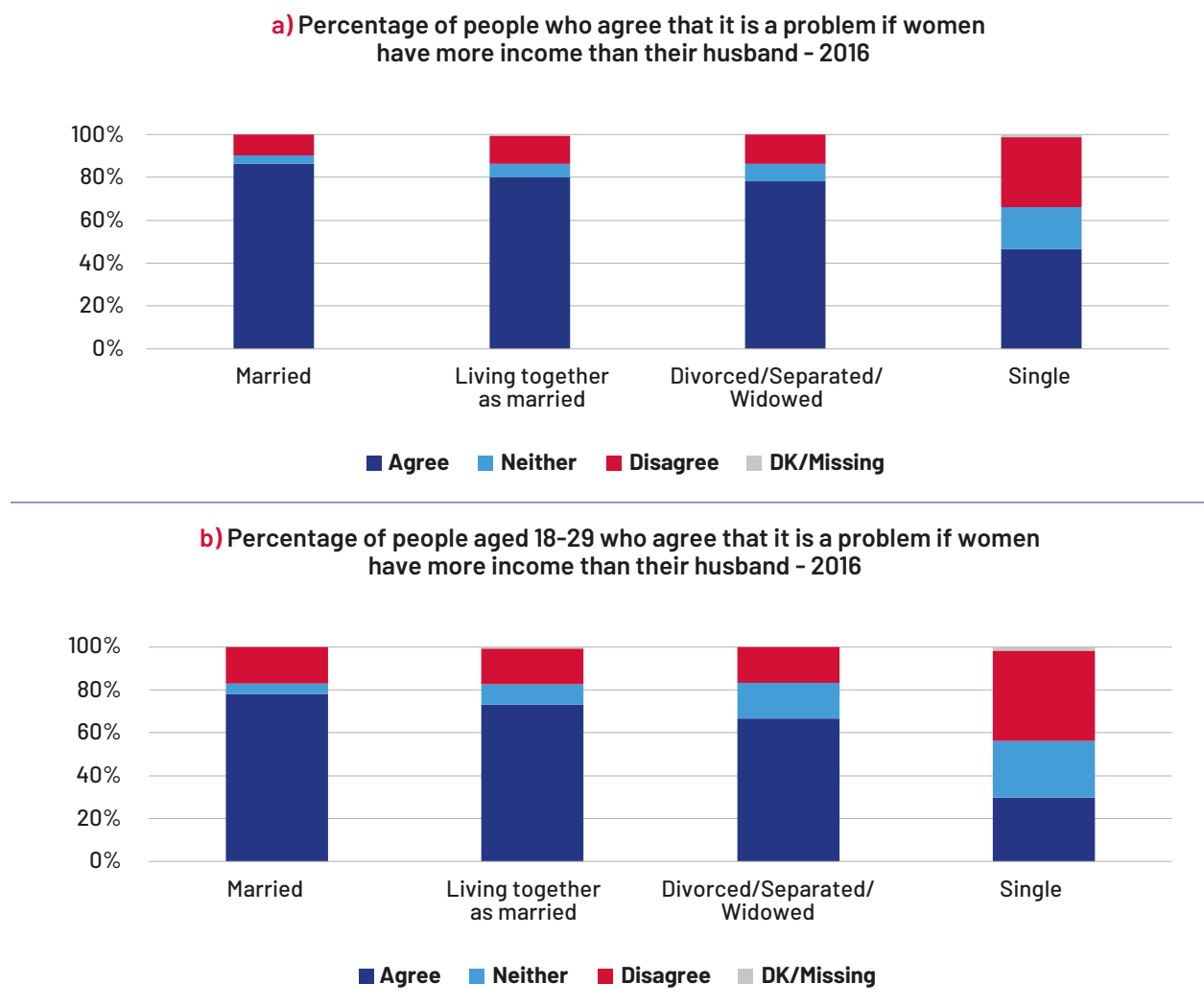
Figure 30 Participation of Males and Females in Ministerial Cabinet Positions



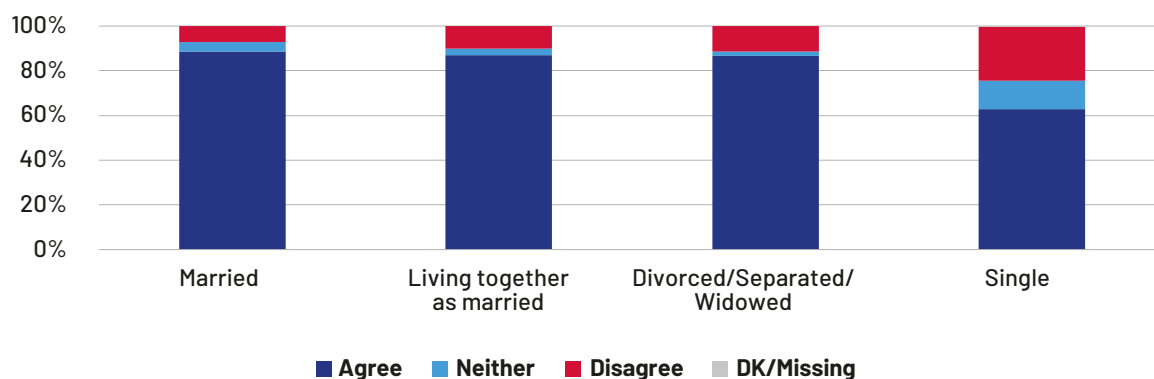
Source: ECLAC. Data validated by the Mechanisms for the Advancement of Women (MAMs), based on official government data. In the absence of information sent by the MAMs, information is collected directly from government and ministry websites. The indicator corresponds to a cumulative calculation over the presidential term for each country. Data are presented for the last three presidential terms. Data current as of July 8, 2019.

Alongside the legal and political environment, traditional gender norms limit women's autonomy. Men and women display gender inequitable attitudes and views in the most recent World Values Survey (from 2016) (World Values Survey 2016). An estimated 86 percent of married Haitians agreed it is a problem if women earn more than their husbands ([figure 31, panel a](#)). Even among single men and women, approximately one in two agreed with this statement. Younger Haitians held more-progressive views on gender roles with respect to income. [Panel b of figure 31](#) shows that almost half of young, single respondents disagreed with the statement that women's having more income than their husbands would create problems. This shift could be a sign that younger generations are changing their perspectives. Updated data would be necessary to confirm these posited trends.

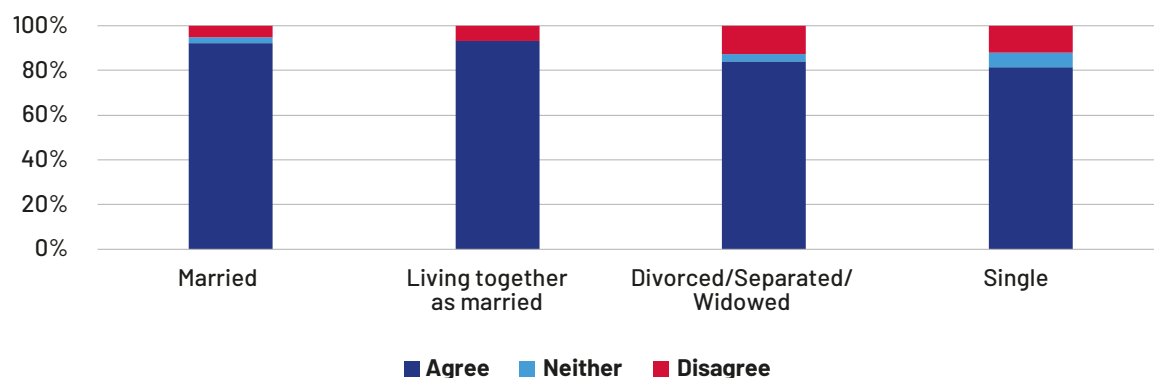
Figure 31 People's Views on Women's Having More Income than Their Husbands, by Marital Status and Age, 2016



c) Percentage of people aged 30–49 who agree that it is a problem if women have more income than their husband – 2016



d) Percentage of people aged 50+ who agree that it is a problem if women have more income than their husband – 2016

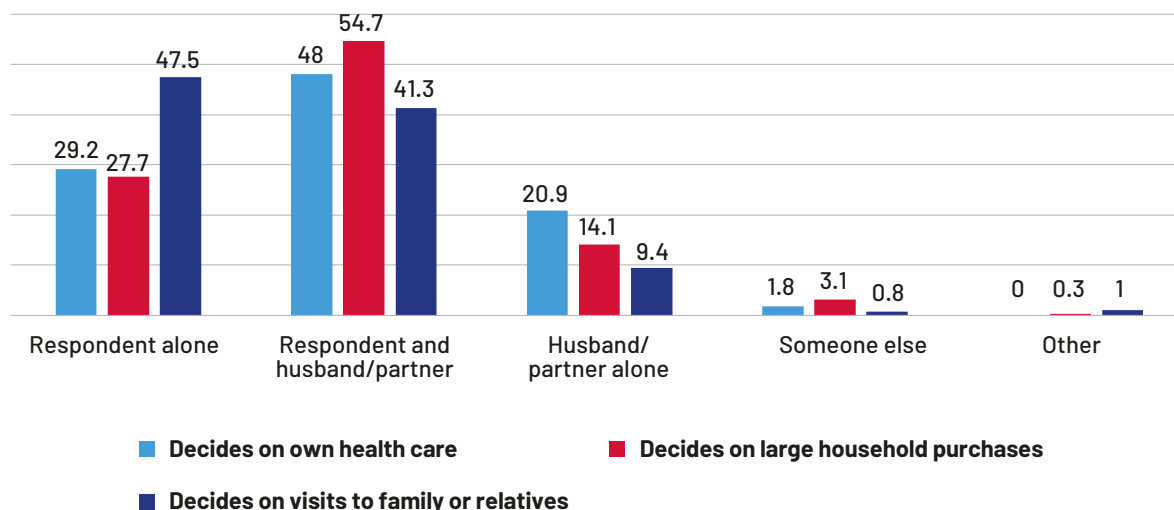


Source: World Values Survey (2016).

Women are often limited in their decision-making power in their households. The DHS collects data on three distinct and important household-level decisions that can indicate women's autonomy and agency: large household purchases, health care, and visits to family and relatives. [Figure 32](#) shows that although almost half of female respondents felt they could make decisions about visiting family and relatives themselves, a substantial share of women reported that their husband/partner made decisions on women's health care and large household purchases (21 percent and 14 percent, respectively). We should not extrapolate too much from these data because they represent only one angle of empowerment, but in combination with women's poor health outcomes and lack of access to land and housing tenure, they suggest that women are less able to make decisions about their own lives and less able to take advantage of opportunities, leading to poorer outcomes.

Figure 32 Decision-Making Power of Females, 2017 (%)

Percentage distribution of currently married women by person who usually makes decisions about:
Own health care, Large household purchases, Visits to family or relatives - 2017

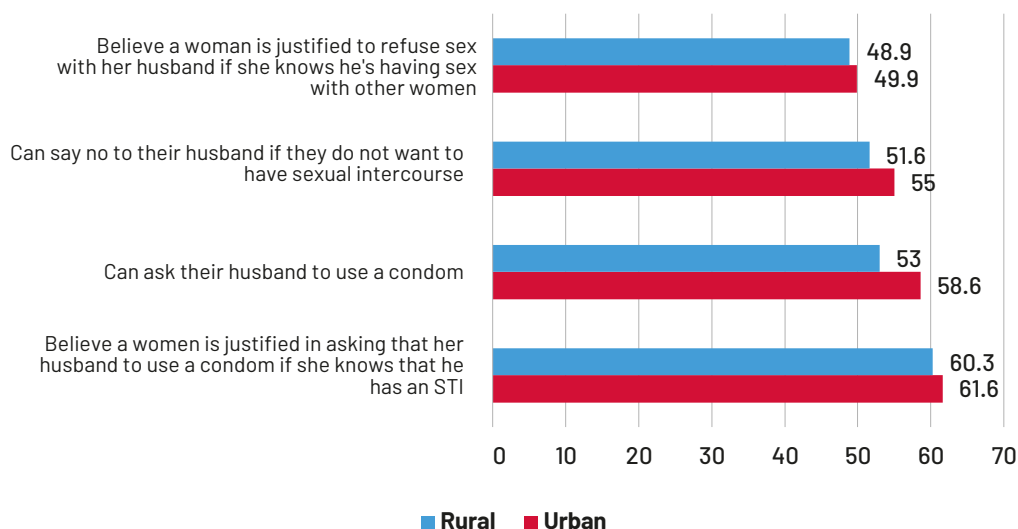


Source: DHS (2016-17).

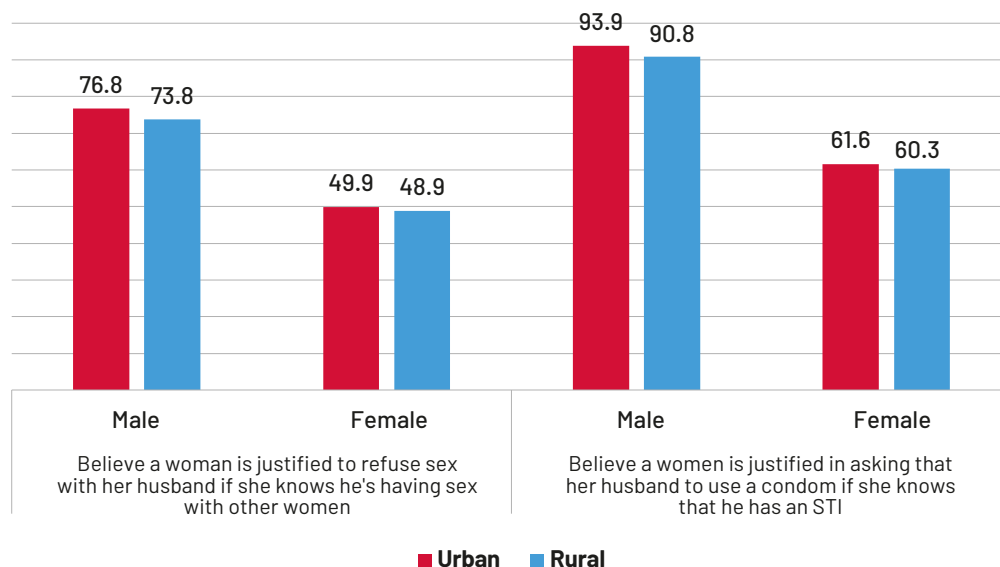
Women's bodily autonomy is limited with respect to reproductive and sexual health within marriage through lack of decision-making power and social and cultural norms dictating men's dominance. This lack of decision-making power may exacerbate the existing health disparities discussed above and puts women at greater risk for HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases. As shown above, about 21 percent of women reported that their husbands or partners made their health care decisions. Only 55 percent of women and 52 percent of men believed a woman is justified in refusing sex with her husband if she does not desire it ([figure 33, panel b](#)); the percentages are slightly higher in urban areas ([figure 33, panel a](#)). Somewhat paradoxically, fewer than half of both men and women thought that infidelity is a justifiable reason to refuse one's husband if she knows he is having sex with other women ([figure 33, panel b](#)). Putting women at greater risk for sexually transmitted infections (STIs), 62 percent of women and only 60 percent of men believed that women can ask their husbands to use a condom when it is known that the latter have an STI.

Figure 33 Decision-Making Power of Females in their Relationships, 2017

a) Percentage of females (age 15–49) by their beliefs – 2017



b) Male/female views on negotiating safe sex with their partner (%)

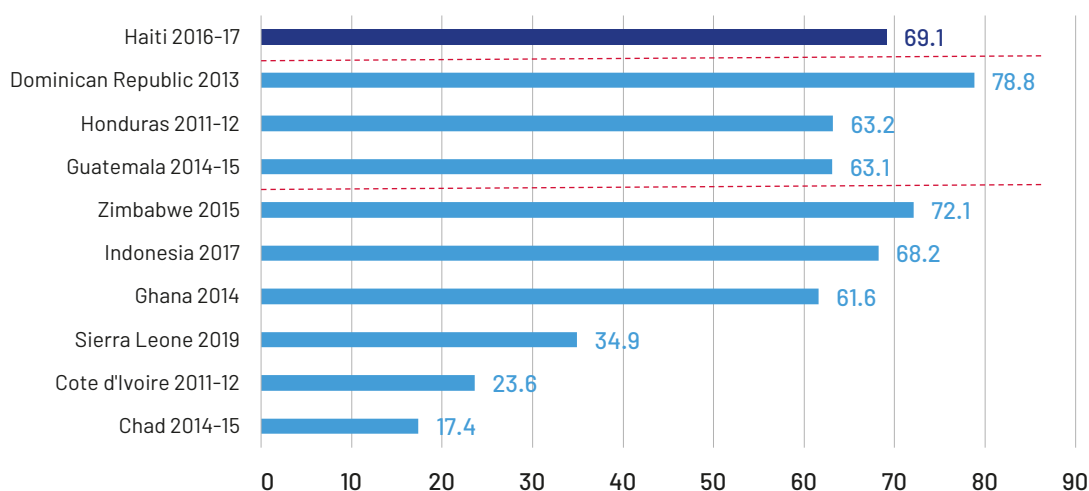


Source: DHS (2016–17).

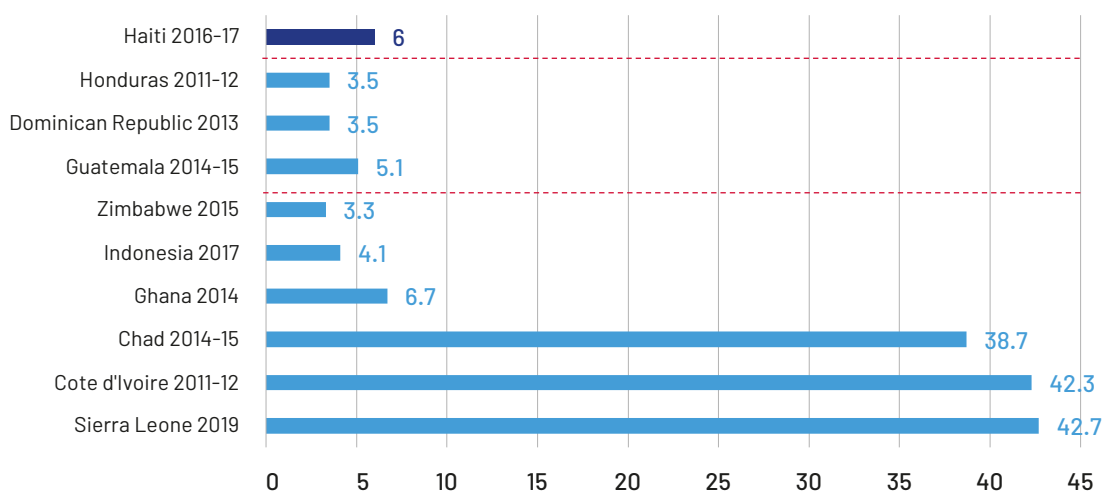
However, women's decision-making power in Haiti is not worse than in most other comparators. Low levels of female autonomy in health-care decision-making, large purchases, and visiting family and friends were common in comparator countries around the same period ([figure 34](#)). Around 60 percent of women reported that they alone or jointly make such decisions in Haiti, slightly fewer women than in the neighboring Dominican Republic and slightly more than in Honduras or Guatemala.

Figure 34 Decision-Making Power of Females regarding Main Decisions beyond Relationships, Haiti vs. Comparator Countries

a) Percentage of females who say that they alone or jointly have the final say in all of the three main decisions (own health care, making large purchases, visits to family, relatives, friends)



b) Percentage of females who say that they alone or jointly have the final say in none of the three main decisions (own health care, making large purchases, visits to family, relatives, friends)

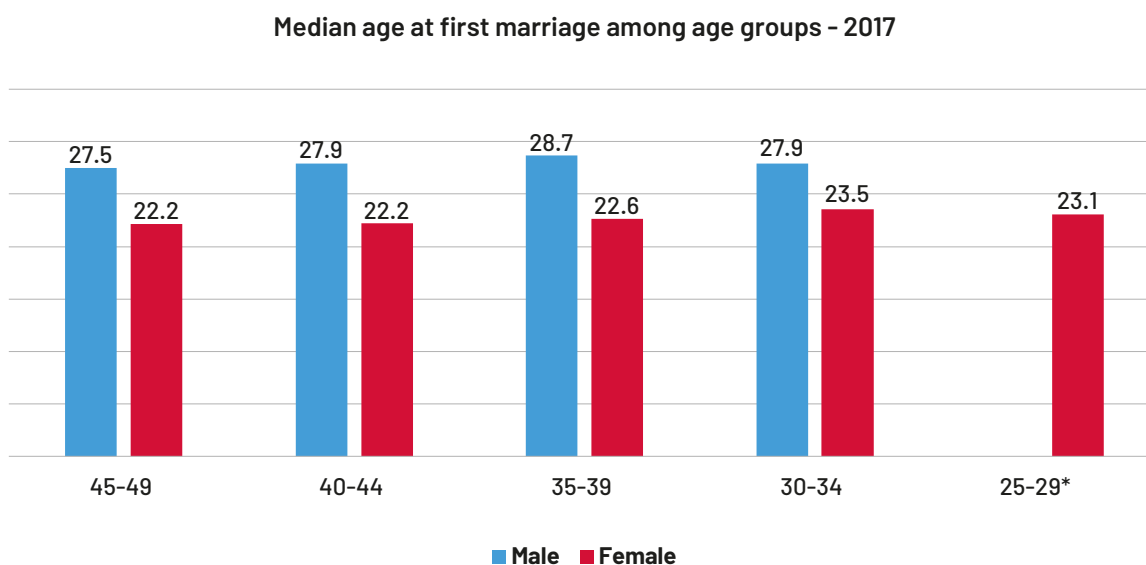


Source: DHS data.

As in most countries, Haitian women's average first age of marriage is lower than that of Haitian men. Age at first marriage has stayed relatively constant between cohorts with a slight uptick for women. Among women 45-49 years old, age at first marriage was on average 22.2 years, whereas for men of the same age range it was 27.5.

In the youngest age group, fewer than 50 percent of males had yet to be married, and though more than 50 percent of males ages 25–29 were married, their median age of marriage was 23.1, higher than the national average and higher than those of older cohorts, suggesting that age of marriage may be rising. Child marriage is permitted by law and not uncommon, but higher than in comparator countries. The legal age of marriage for women in Haiti is 15 years old and for men it is 17 years old. About 18 percent of girls are married before age 18 (Girls Not Brides 2021). Reports suggest that the recent earthquakes have increased the incidence of early marriage and teenage pregnancy due to increased poverty, joblessness, and associated needs to reduce household food needs (Girls Not Brides 2021).

Figure 35 Median Age at First Marriage by Gender, 2017

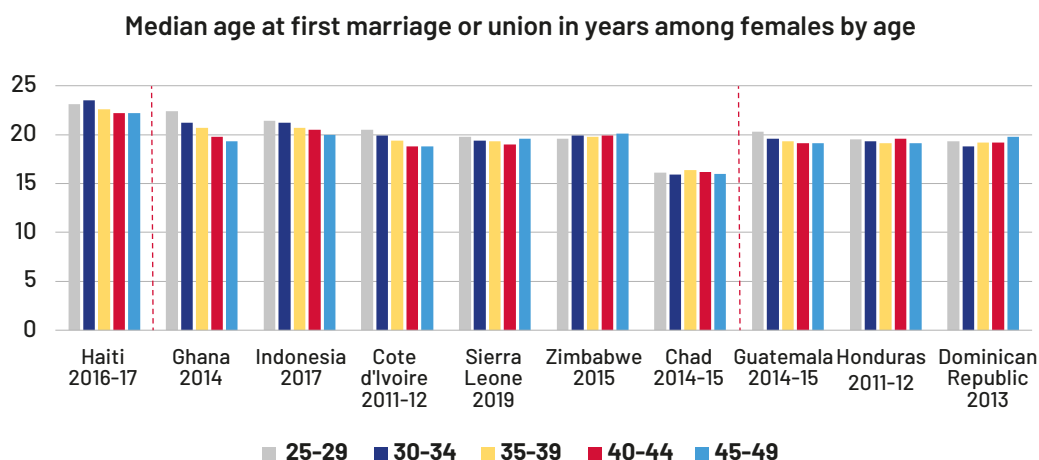


Source: DHS (2016–17).

Note: *Not calculated because less than 50 percent of the respondents started living for the first time with their spouse or partner before reaching the beginning of the age group.

Nevertheless, women in Haiti marry slightly older than in comparator countries. Data are unavailable for all comparator countries, but median age at first marriage was higher for all age groups than in many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America ([figure 36](#)).

Figure 36 Median Age at First Marriage, Haiti vs. Comparator Countries

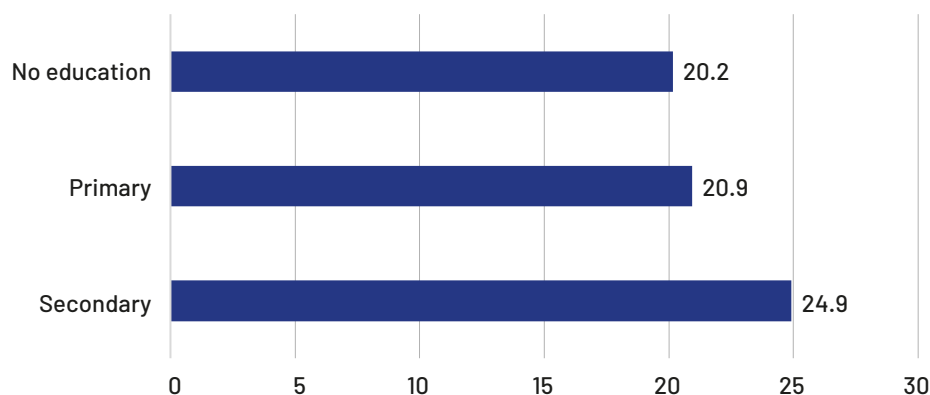


Source: DHS.

There is a positive relationship between a women's education and her age at first marriage. While women with no education marry, on average, at the age of 20, women with completed primary education marry at the age of 21, and women with at least some secondary education marry at the age of 24, as shown in [figure 37](#). Closing education gender gaps bodes well for increasing age at first marriage as well, yet research has shown that increasing educational attainment does not necessarily increase age at first marriage or reduce the incidence of early pregnancy (Petroni et al. 2017).

Figure 37 Median Age at First Marriage among Females by Educational Attainment

Median age at first marriage among females (ages 25 - 49) by highest educational attainment

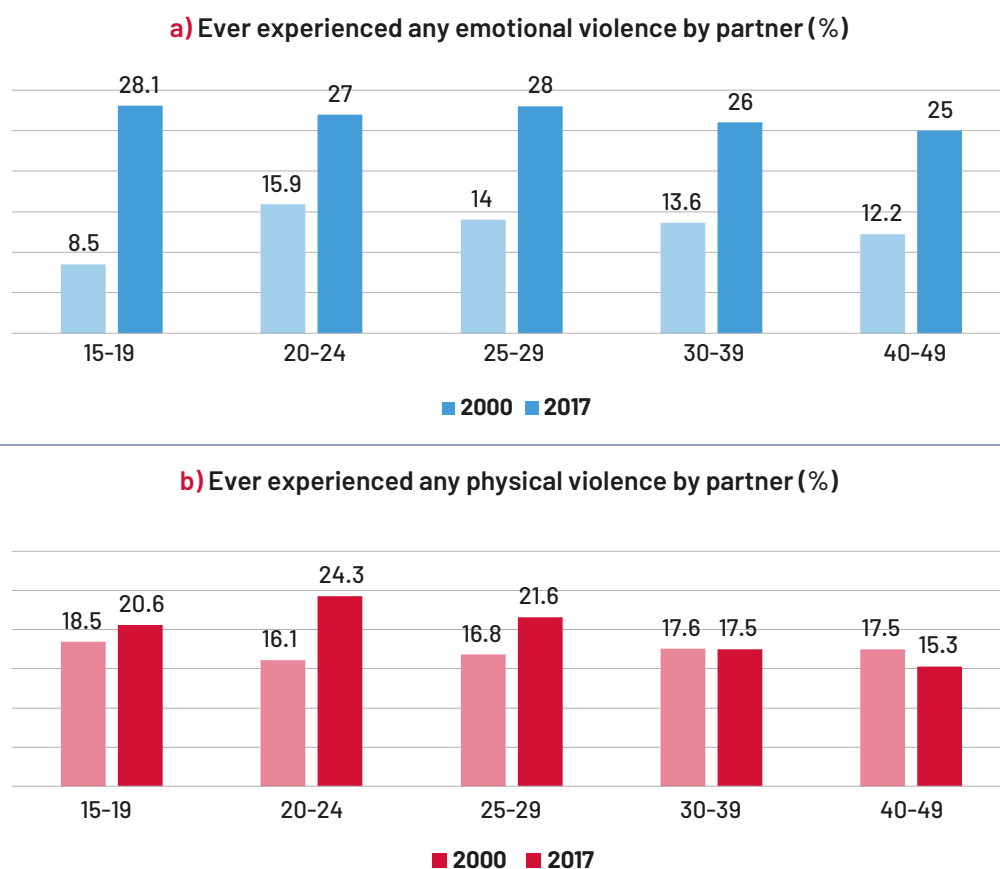


Source: DHS (2016-17).

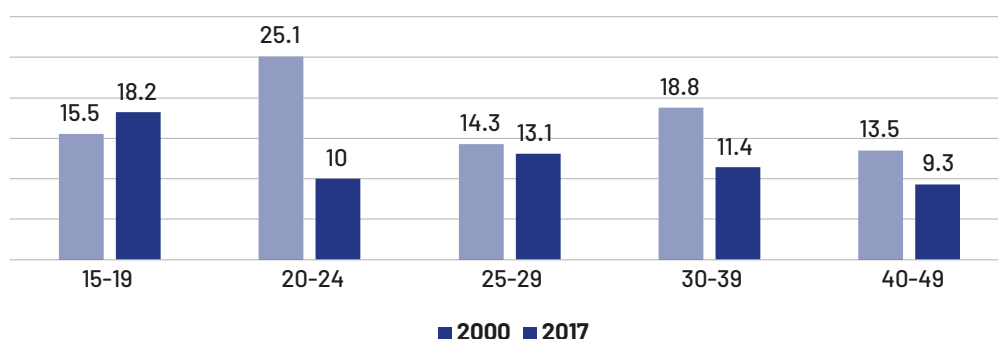
Note: Higher educational level is not calculated because less than 50 percent of the respondents started living for the first time with their spouse/partner before reaching the beginning of the age group.

Many Haitian women experience emotional, physical, or sexual violence by their partner—starting at a young age. Of Haitian women, 26.3 percent had experienced emotional violence by a partner and 18.6 percent had experienced physical violence. The incidences of both appears to have increased in recent years, with higher rates of violence reported in 2017 than 2000 ([panels a and b of figure 38](#)). Respondents reported fewer incidences of sexual violence over the same time period ([figure 38, panel c](#)). Evidence from other countries and past pandemics shows that disaster situations and pandemics often exacerbate domestic violence and so more-recent data are needed to understand the effect of COVID-19 and more-recent disasters in Haiti (Cannon et al. 2021). With the available data from Haiti, we explore effects of these natural disasters in the fourth deep dive ([section 3.4](#)) and suggest that a deeper exploration of the causes behind an increase in domestic violence be explored in future research. As joblessness and poverty have increased and families spent more time together in lockdown, isolated from outside distractions and help, women are likely to have experienced increased violence.

Figure 38 Intimate Partner Violence Experienced by Women, 2000 and 2017



c) Ever experienced any sexual violence by partner (%)



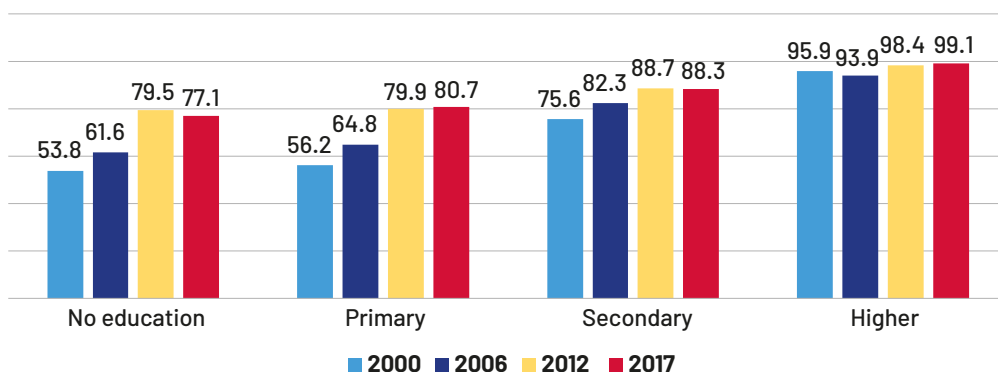
Sources: DHS (2000, 2016-17).

Note: "Ever experienced any emotional violence by partner": spouse has ever humiliated her, threatened her with harm, insulted her, or made her feel bad about herself. "Ever experienced any physical violence by partner": spouse has ever pushed, shaken, or thrown something; ever slapped or twisted her arm or pulled her hair; ever punched her with the fist or something harmful; ever kicked or dragged her; ever tried to strangle or burn her; or ever threatened her with a knife/gun or other weapons. "Ever experienced any sexual violence by partner": spouse has ever physically forced her to have sex when she did not want to, ever forced her to engage in other sexual acts when she did not want to, or ever forced her with threats or in any other way to perform sexual acts she did not want to.

Women's attitudes toward intimate partner violence are closely linked to their level of education and have become more somewhat progressive over time. As shown in [figure 39](#), in 2017, 77 percent of married women with no education disagreed with wife beating (for any reason) and this share continuously increases with rising education, from 81 percent among those with primary education and approaching 100 percent among those with higher education. In addition, disagreement with wife beating increased over the period between 2000 and 2012 for all education groups. The most-recent data suggest that the trend stalled between 2012 and 2017, with no further shift in attitudes around wife beating.

Figure 39 Haitian Females Who Disagree with Wife Beating by Education (%)

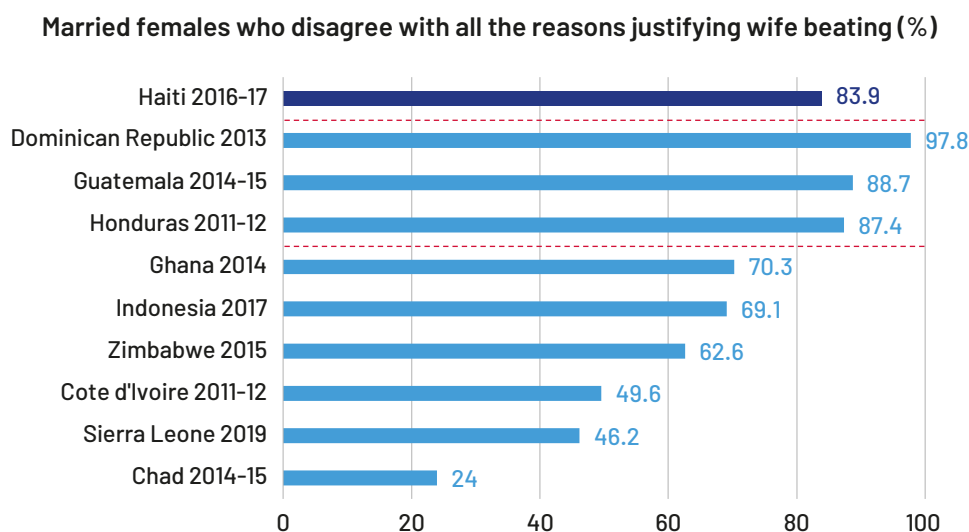
Percentage of married females who disagree with all the reasons justifying wife beating (age: 15-49)



Sources: DHS (2000, 2005-6, 2012, 2016-17).

Women in Haiti were more likely to support at least one justification for physical violence than women in other countries in the LAC region, but attitudes are still more progressive than in comparator countries from other regions. An estimated 84 percent of women in Haiti disagreed with all reasons presented justifying wife beating, a prevalence that is lower than in regional comparators (for example, Dominican Republic: 98 percent; Guatemala: 89 percent; and Honduras: 87 percent). Among comparators from other regions, however, a much smaller percentage of the population disagreed with all reasons for wife beating—ranging from 24 percent in Chad to 70 percent in Ghana ([figure 40](#)).

Figure 40 Women Who Disagree with Wife Beating, Haiti vs. Comparator Countries (%)

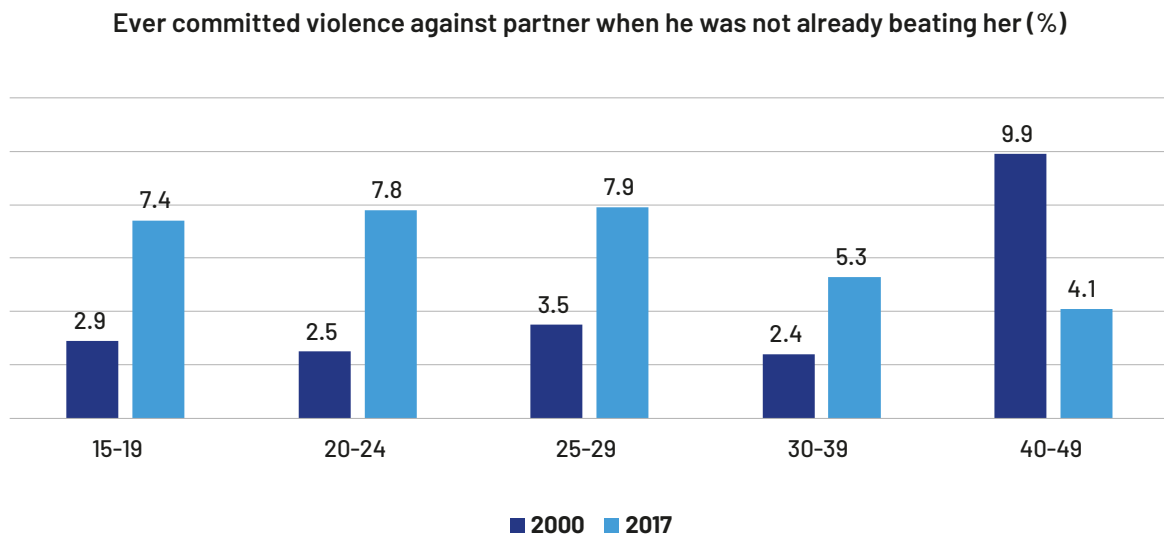


Source: DHS data.

Note: Reasons for justified wife beating include if she burns food, if she argues with husband, if she goes out without telling husband, if she neglects children, or if she refuses to have sex with husband.

There are also cases of women's committing physical violence against their partners, but this happens less frequently. Some 8 percent of women reported having committed one-sided violence against their partners with little variation between age groups. These numbers increased for all age groups from 2000 to 2017 ([figure 41](#)). Without further information, it is difficult to discern the causes of increased partner violence on the part of women, but the differences are notable and merit more research. It is important to note that the data on women's acts of violence against their partners are self-reported by the perpetrators, whereas the data on women's experience of violence are self-reported by the victims. This fact means that comparison of victimization across the genders is not possible, because different social norms or individual attitudes may dictate how women respond to questions about their own versus their partners' actions.

Figure 41 Physical Violence Committed by Women



Sources: DHS (2000, 2016-17).

Note: "Ever committed violence against partner when he was not already beating her": ever physically hurt husband when he was not hurting her.



Thematic Deep Dives

3. Thematic Deep Dives

3.1. Gender Inequality in the Labor Market

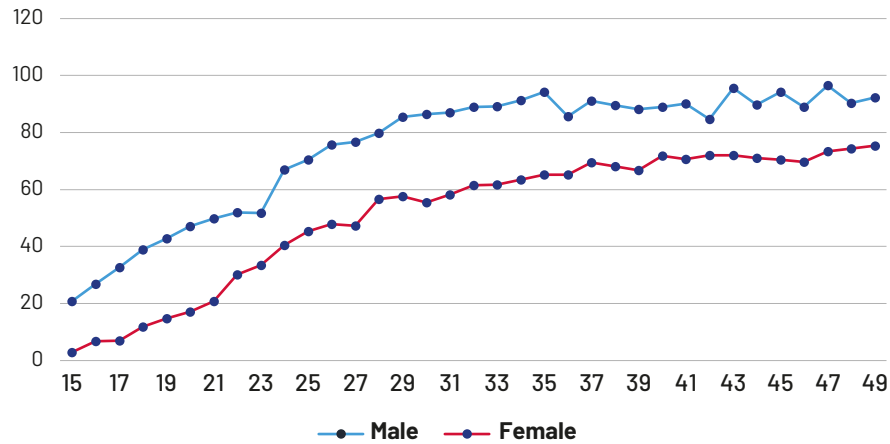
In addition to the intrinsic value of enhanced autonomy, education, and skills, greater economic inclusion of women can promote economic growth and poverty reduction and improve the quality of institutions and development outcomes of the next generation. As shown in the stocktaking, women are much less likely to be engaged in work in Haiti. Fewer women than men actively participate in the labor force; even when they do, they face much higher unemployment rates, with gender gaps particularly pronounced for youth (ages 15–24 years). In this section, we explore in greater depth the demographic profile of women and men who are engaged in the labor market and the types of jobs they pursue. For this we draw on additional data sources (beyond the modelled ILO data that were the focus of [section 2.3](#)), specifically the 2016–17 DHS and the 2012 ECVMAS. While these data sources are less recent than the modelled ILO data for 2019, they enable us to be more specific about the barriers and constraints women face when entering the labor market and thus better identify solutions for overcoming these barriers.¹¹ In addition, we draw on the 2020 and 2021 High-Frequency Phone Surveys (HFS) data for a more up-to-date picture of how women's and men's employment fared in light of the pandemic and recent shocks affecting the country.

Unlike in many countries, there are no clear life-cycle effects of women's employment in Haiti, nor are there significant differences in employment by marital status. As shown in [figure 42](#), the gender gap in employment hovers between (approximately) 20 and 30 percentage points up until the mid- to late 30s and then slightly narrows. Interestingly, the share of employed women increases steadily between the ages of 15 and 45, unlike in many other countries where women's employment decreases at age 30, as women increasingly care for children (see Gaddis and Ranzani 2020 for Mauritius; World Bank forthcoming b for Tunisia). This aggregate trend suggests that the effect of having children on women's aggregate employment is more muted in Haiti than in many other countries. However, individual-level multivariate analysis at the end of this section will demonstrate that having young children (below the age of five) is still negatively correlated with a woman's employment.

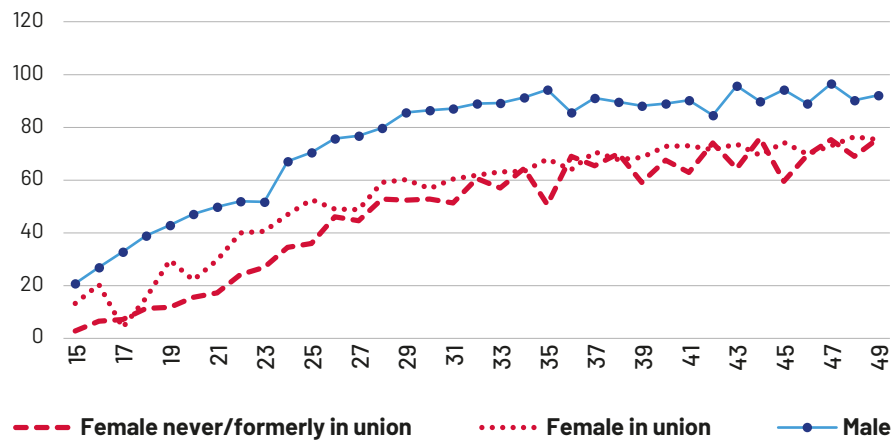
11 It should be noted that the DHS uses a simplified question sequence to measure employment (for example, "Have you done any work in the last seven days?"; "Have you done any work in the last 12 months?"), which is not strictly comparable to the more rigorous approach used in labor force surveys and underlying the ILO modelled estimates. Nonetheless, we consider these questions as a proxy for employment variables and use them to identify (a) individuals who are currently employed, (b) not currently employed but were employed in the last 12 months, and (c) neither currently employed nor employed in the last 12 months.

Figure 42 Current Employment by Gender, Age, Marital Status, and Younger Persons in Household, 2017

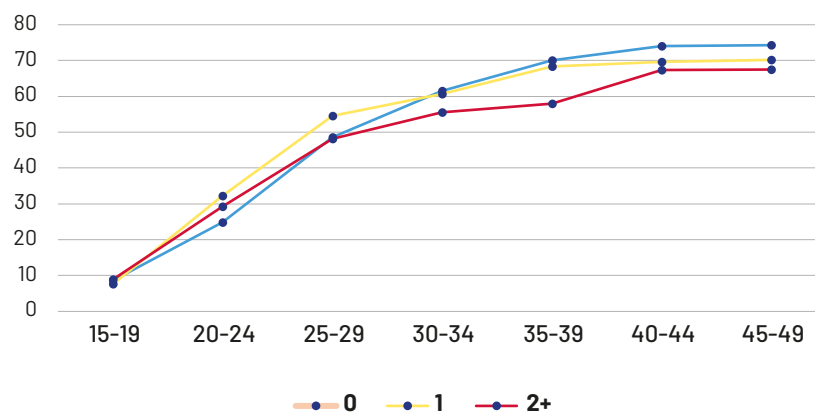
a) Percentage of male/female (15-49) currently employed by age - 2017



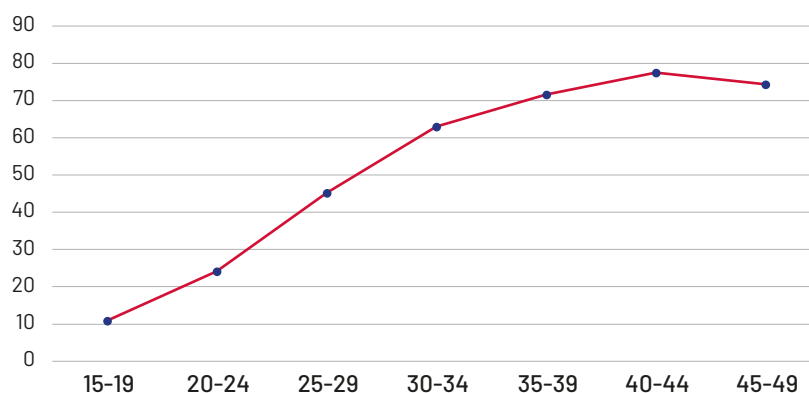
b) Percentage of male/female (15-49) currently employed by marital status and age - 2017



c) Percentage female (15-49) currently employed by age and number of children 5 and under in household



d) Percentage female (15-49) currently employed who live in the same household with at least one other younger female (10 years or older)



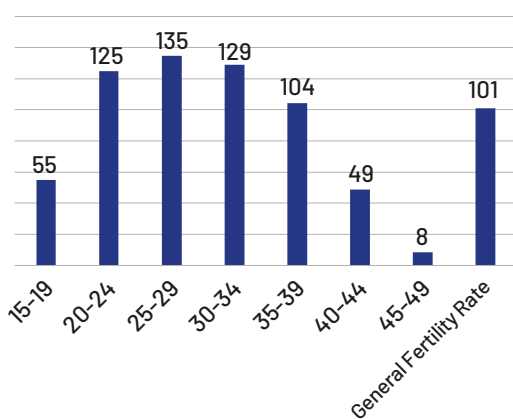
Source: DHS (2016-17).

In addition to women's employment rates being lower overall, women enter the labor market later in life. Labor market engagement increases with age for both men and women, though it rises more sharply for the former. More than 50 percent of men in each cohort older than 21 years were employed in 2017, whereas the female cohorts do not break the 50 percent employment mark until 27 years of age. As detailed in [section 2](#), a large share of young women were not in education, employment, or training. Young women also reported less-consistent employment. While it was common for young women (15-25 years) to not have been actively engaged in the labor market over the 12 months preceding the 2017 survey, this was less likely to be the case among older respondents.

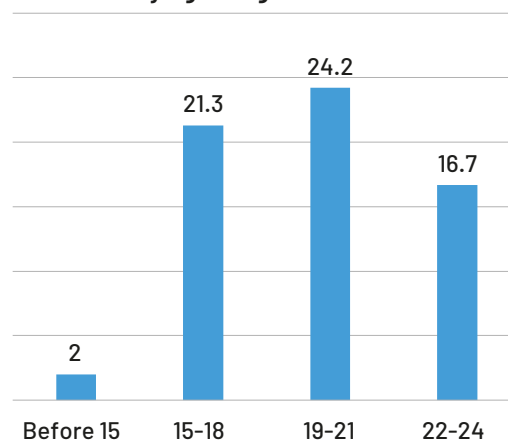
Figure 43 Fertility Rates and Birth of First Child by Age, 2016-17

a)

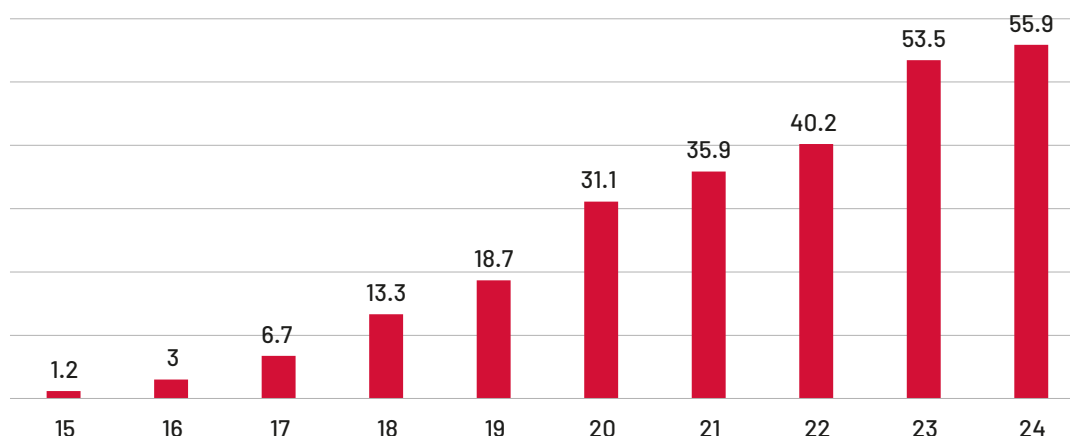
Age-specific fertility rates and total fertility rate (per 1,000 women) - 2016-17



Percentage of female aged 25-49 who gave birth to their first child by age range - 2016-17



b) Percentage of females 15-24 who have had a live birth – 2016-17



Source: DHS (2016-17).

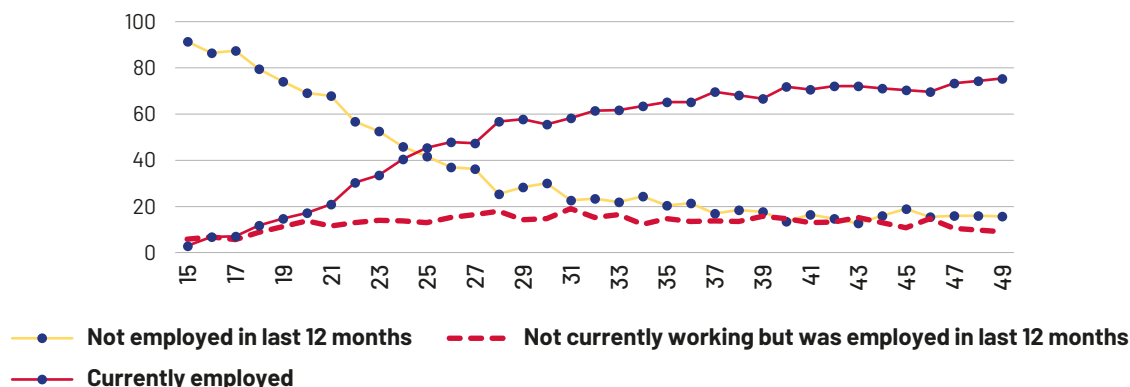
Note: General fertility rate for the 3 years preceding the survey expressed per 1,000 women ages 15-44.

Additionally, women are less likely to have consistent employment over time. Among adult women not currently employed, a significant share was employed at some point over the previous 12 months. We lack detailed information on the reasons for these women's having left the workforce; this low labor market attachment could be due to any number of reasons, including childbearing and rearing, or it could be a mark of higher instability for women due to the type of job or sector or job conditions. Among women ages 25+, and beyond to those who were currently employed at the time of the survey, an additional 10-20 percent were employed at some point in the past year ([figure 44, panel a](#)). While a similar pattern holds for men, a much larger share of them were currently employed ([figure 44, panel b](#)), and a smaller share was unemployed at the time of the survey but had been employed in the previous 12 months. It appears that men are more likely to be employed in general and more likely to be employed consistently and have higher rates of labor market attachment.

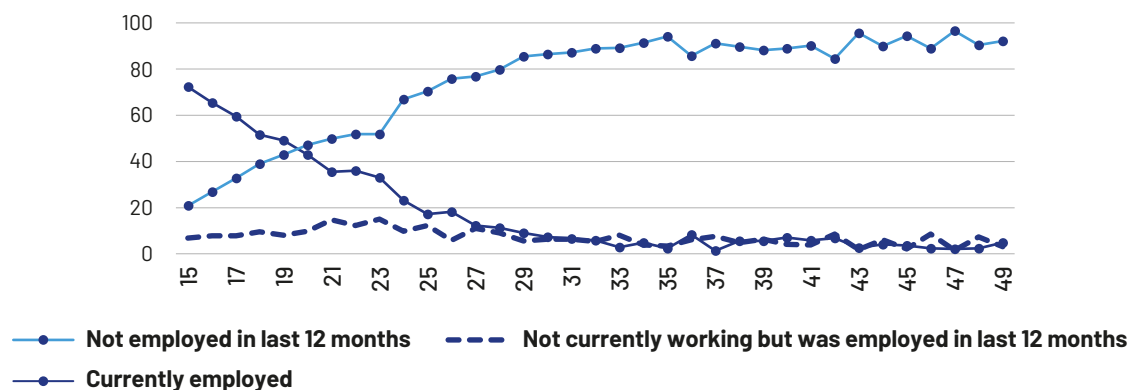
In nonagricultural sectors, for ages 15-24, 43 percent of men and 40 percent of women were employed year-round ([figure 48](#)). Permanent jobs were even less common in agriculture for people between 15 and 24 years old: only 38 percent of men and 34 percent of women were in continuous employment. For people ages 25-49 years, the proportion of men with continuous employment in the agricultural sector was substantially greater than the proportion of women (62 vs. 42 percent). However, because women were more likely than men to be employed in nonagricultural sectors, men were only marginally more likely than women to hold a permanent job overall.

Figure 44 Employment Status by Gender and Age, 2017

a) Percentage of females (15-49) according to their employment status by age - 2017



b) Percentage of males (15-49) according to their employment status by age - 2017

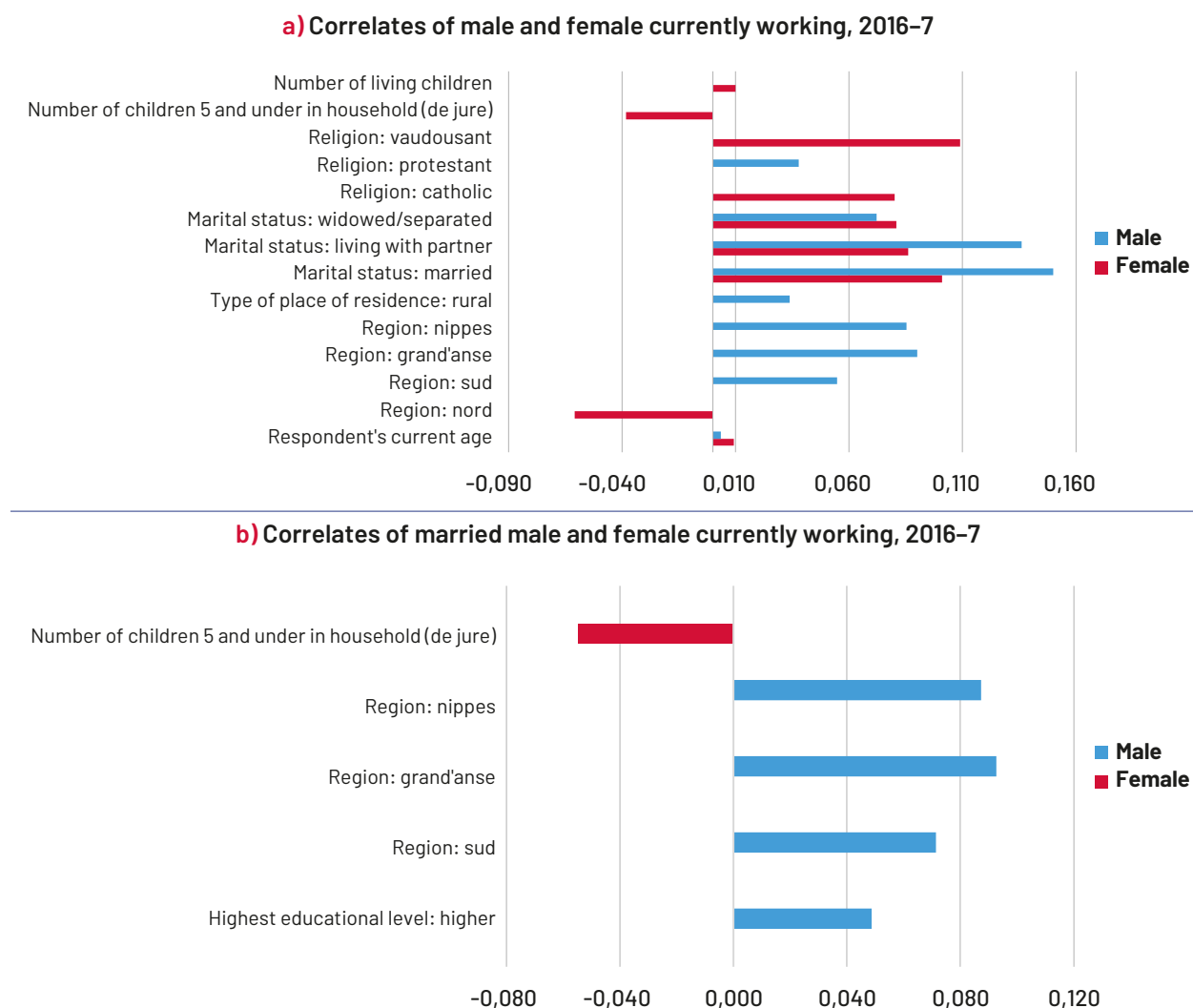


Source: DHS (2016-17).

Looking at averages, even disaggregated ones, can often mask underlying correlations. We conduct a multivariate analysis of women's employment status on a number of personal characteristics in order to understand the conditional association of each variable with employment in the Haitian context. The model's output is given in [table 8](#); variables with point estimates that were statistically significant, such as marital status and number of living children, are also displayed in [figure 45](#).

Women with children are less likely to be employed. As shown in panel a of [figure 45](#) and in [table 8](#), each additional child under the age of 5 living in the household reduces the probability that a woman is currently employed by 4 percentage points, without any corresponding association for men. The effect is even stronger for married women at above 5 percentage points ([figure 45, panel b](#)). Even though [figure 42](#) does not show a clear life-cycle pattern in women's employment, the early years of motherhood do affect women's chances of being employed negatively.

Figure 45 Correlates of Engagement in the Labor Market by Gender—Marginal Effects



Source: DHS.

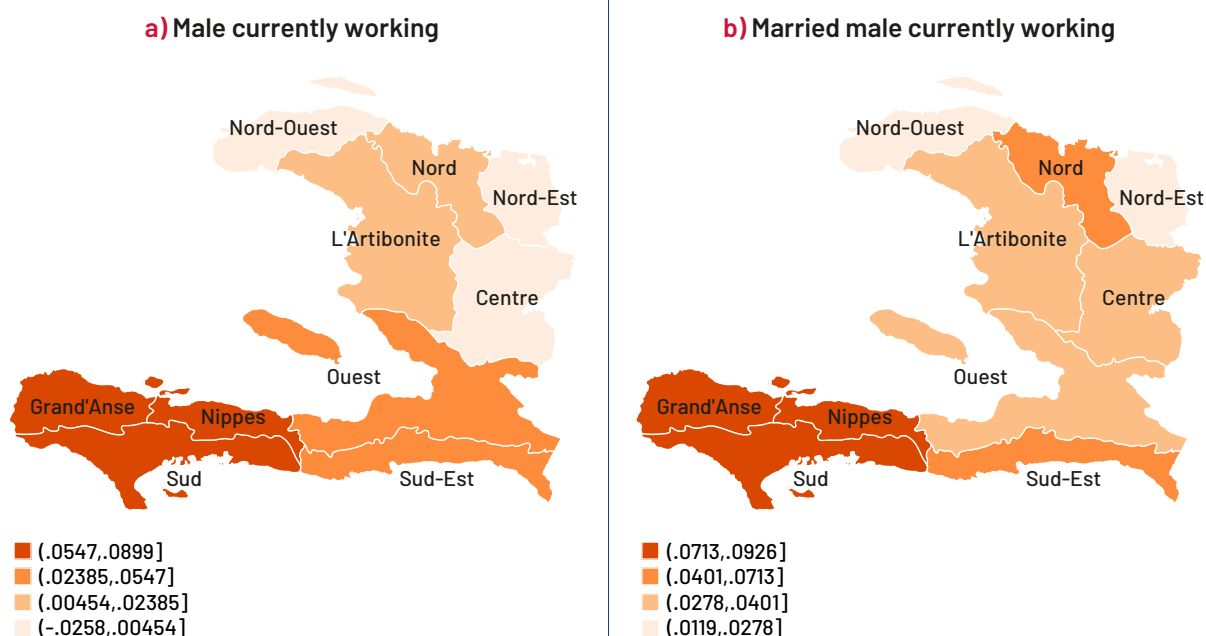
Note: The estimates presented are for people between 25 and 49 years of age, with significant coefficients reported at least at 10 percent.

In contrast, marriage or cohabitation does not decrease the probability of working, but rather is associated with higher workforce participation rates. Being married or living with a partner is associated with an increase in the likelihood that a woman is currently employed of approximately 10 percentage points (relative to never married women). The total number of living children is associated with a small increase in women's probability of being employed (of approximately 1 percentage point per child), possibly a reflection of the cost of children, but this effect is quantitatively small and insignificant in the sample of married women. Age is positively associated with the likelihood of being employed among both men and women, but only in the samples of all women and all men.

Perhaps surprisingly, there was no significant association between a woman's or man's education and being employed. The exception is married men with higher education, who were approximately 5 percentage points more likely to be employed than men without any education. Likewise, in the sample of married men and women, partner's age and education were not significantly correlated to the probability of being employed. In addition, there were some regional effects, with men in the Sud, Grand'anse and Nippes regions being significantly more likely to be employed than men in the metropolitan area ([figure 46](#)).

Education does play a factor in which types of jobs women are accessing. Women who have never been married and women with higher education were much more likely to be in professional/technical/managerial programs. Although panel a of [figure 47](#) shows that overall, only 9.3 percent of women are in these fields, they were overwhelmingly single and highly educated ([figure 47, panel c](#)). In contrast, widows, often a vulnerable and marginalized group, were more often found in household and domestic employment and other work categories. These jobs tend to be informal and thus offer fewer protections and benefits, compounding the vulnerability of widows. Agricultural workers were largely married and have a lower level of education overall for both men and women.

Figure 46 Marginal Effects of Males' Engagement in the Labor Market by Region

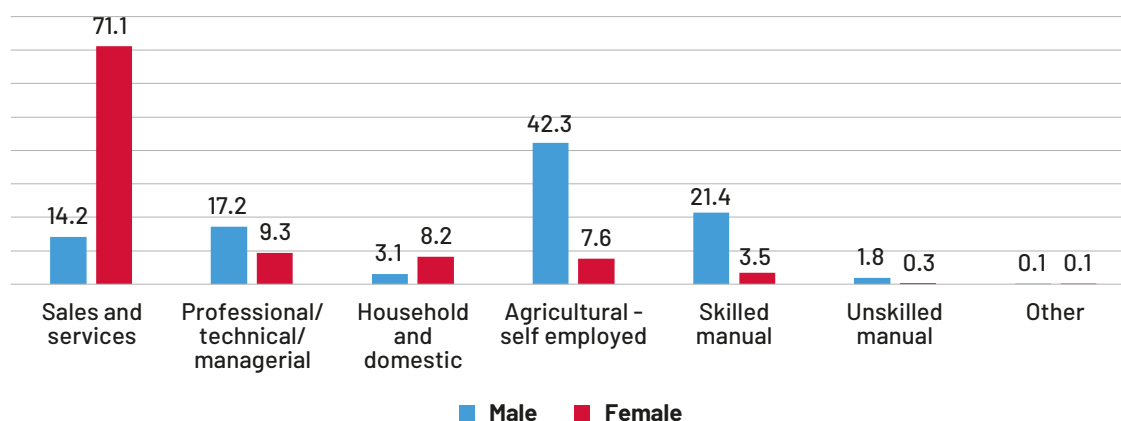


Source: DHS (2016–17).

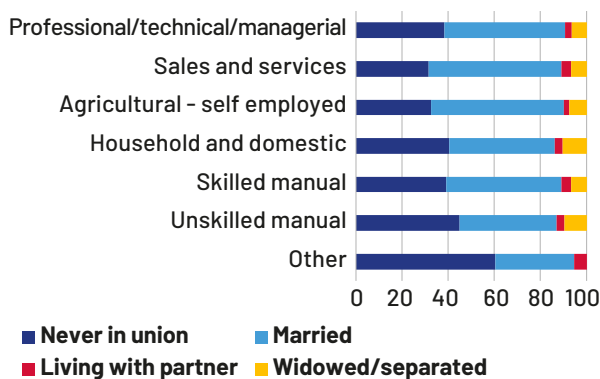
Note: Ouest does not include a metropolitan area; this is the reference category in the model for the region variable. The coefficients are statistically significant at least at 10 percent for the departments—Grand'anse, Nippes, and Sud.

Figure 47 Type of Occupation by Marital Status and Highest Educational Level, 2016–17

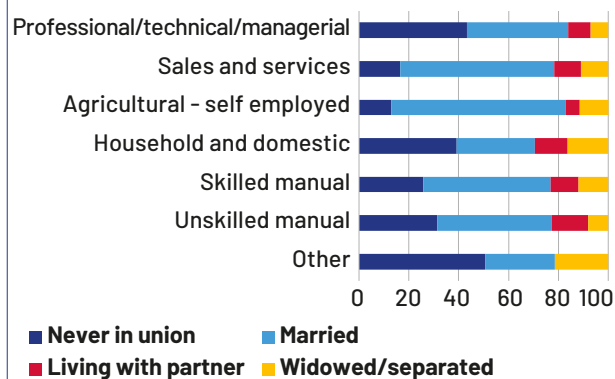
a) Percentage of male/female in each type of occupation – 2016–17



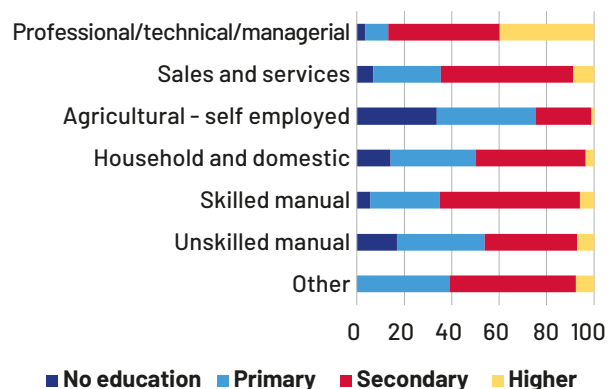
b) Percent distribution of males in each type of occupation by marital status – 2016–17



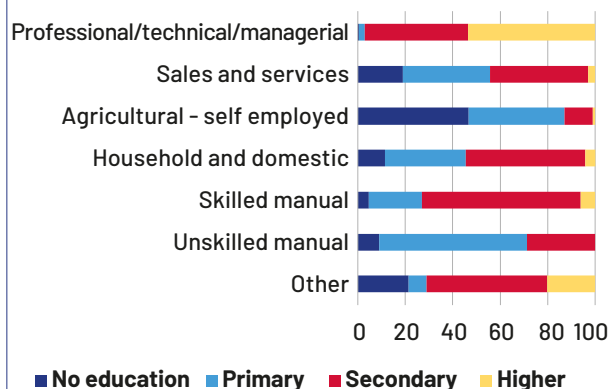
Percent distribution of females in each type of occupation by marital status – 2016–17



c) Percent distribution of males in each type of occupation by highest educational level – 2016–17



Percent distribution of females in each type of occupation by highest educational level – 2016–17



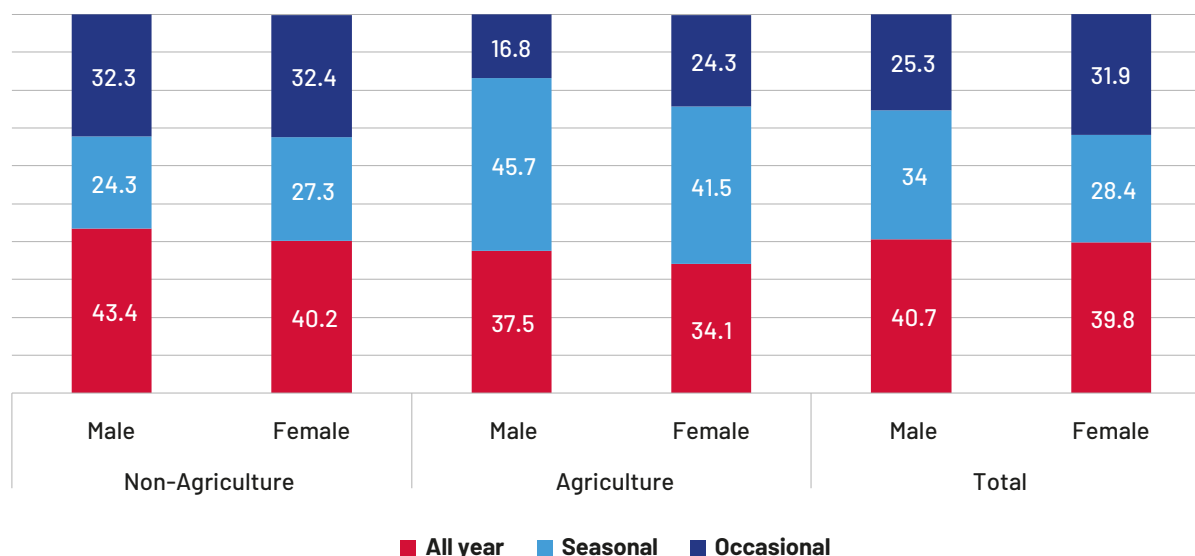
Source: DHS (2016–17).

Regardless of age ranges, men are more likely to work year-round compared to women. For the 15-24 age range, men have more chances to work full year in both agriculture (37.5 percent) and non-agriculture (43.4 percent) sectors, showing a difference concerning women of 3 percentage points ([figure 48, panel a](#)). For women aged 25-49, 65 percent work year-round compared to only about 40 percent of women aged 15-24 who work all year. Nevertheless, women in the 25-49 age range are much less likely than men in the same age range to work all year.

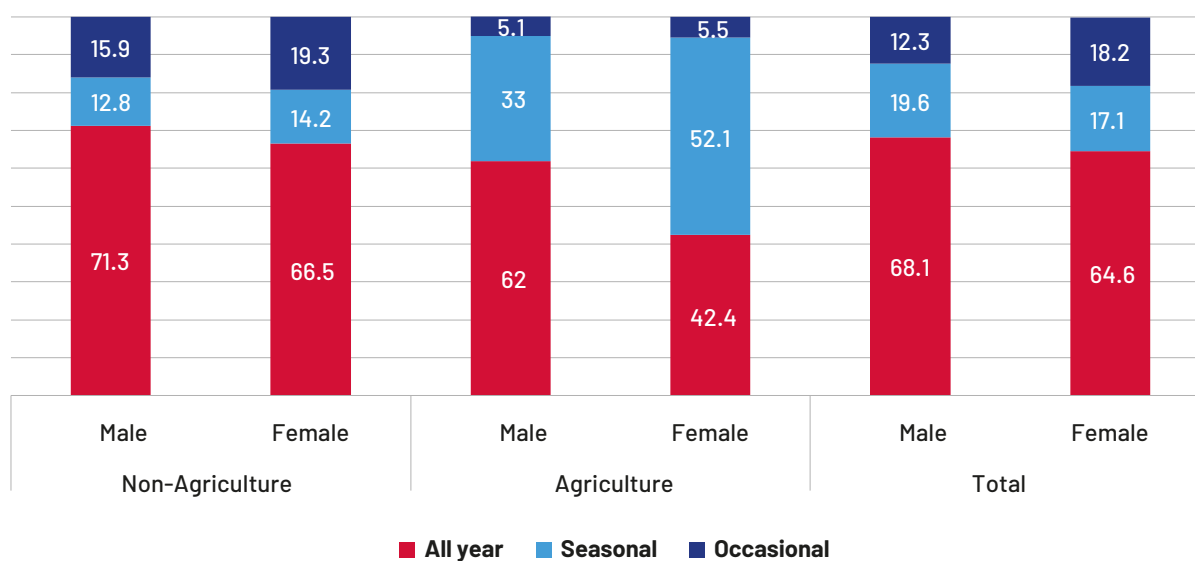
The majority of workers receive some combination of cash and in-kind wages in the agricultural sector, but where cash is the more common form of wages, women are disadvantaged, highlighting their precarity and lack of high-quality jobs. In nonagricultural sectors, for both age ranges 15-24 and 25-49, women were much less likely than men to be fully remunerated in cash (52 vs. 88 percent and 55 vs. 90 percent) in the 2017 data ([figure 48, panel b](#)). In agriculture, being remunerated solely in cash was uncommon for both men and women, though women in both age ranges were still disadvantaged. Approximately 61 percent of both women and men, for ages 15-24, in the agricultural sector were remunerated in both cash and in kind, while for ages 25-49, a higher percentage of women were paid in this form (82 vs. 73 percent). For those between 15 and 24 years of age, 16 percent of women and 10 percent of men working in agriculture were unpaid. Across sectors, these gender differences were more muted for ages 15-24—with 49 percent of women and 56 percent of men receiving remuneration exclusively in cash. This gap widened when the age range changes to 25-49 (51 vs. 67 percent). In consultations in 2022, organization leaders reported that in-kind and noncash payments have decreased in recent years and thus agricultural remuneration represents an area of future research.

Figure 48 Continuity of Employment and Earnings

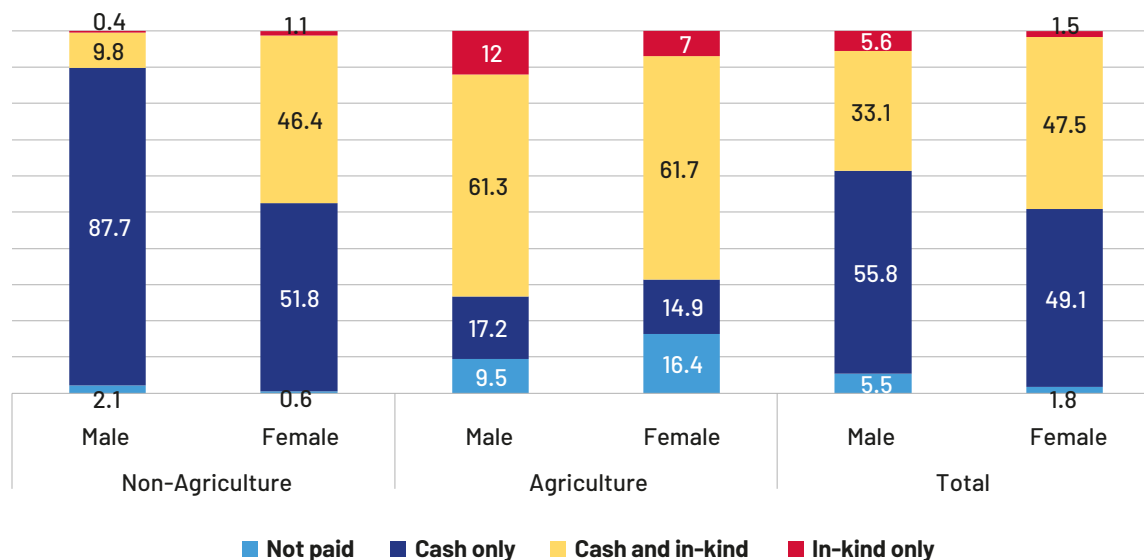
a) Continuity of employment among those employed (aged 15 - 24) in past 12 months (%) - 2016-17



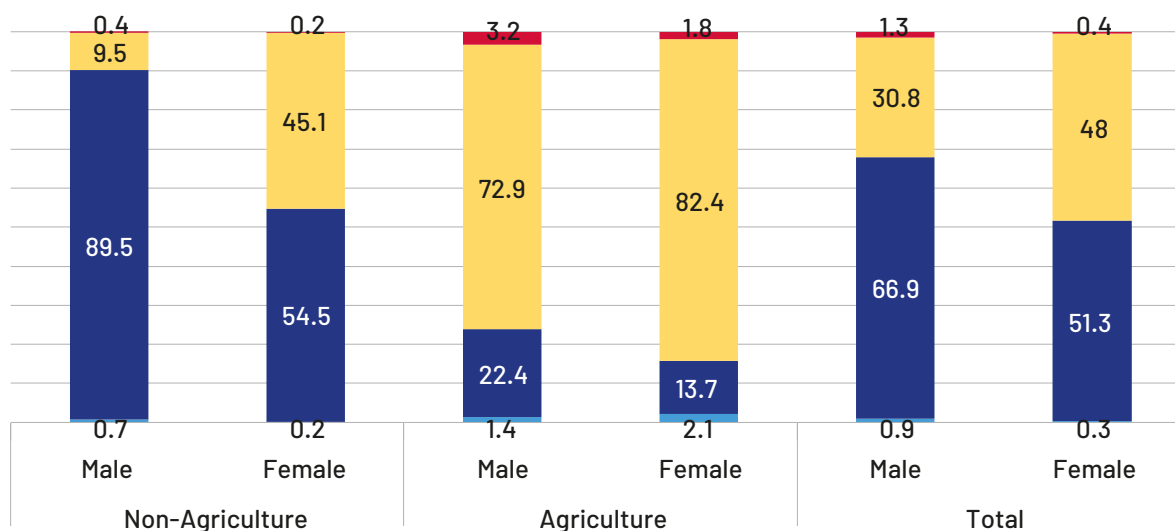
Continuity of employment among those employed (aged 25 - 49) in past 12 months (%) - 2016-17



b) Type of earnings among those employed (aged 15 - 24) in past 12 months (%) - 2016-17



Type of earnings among those employed (aged 25 - 49) in past 12 months (%) - 2016-17

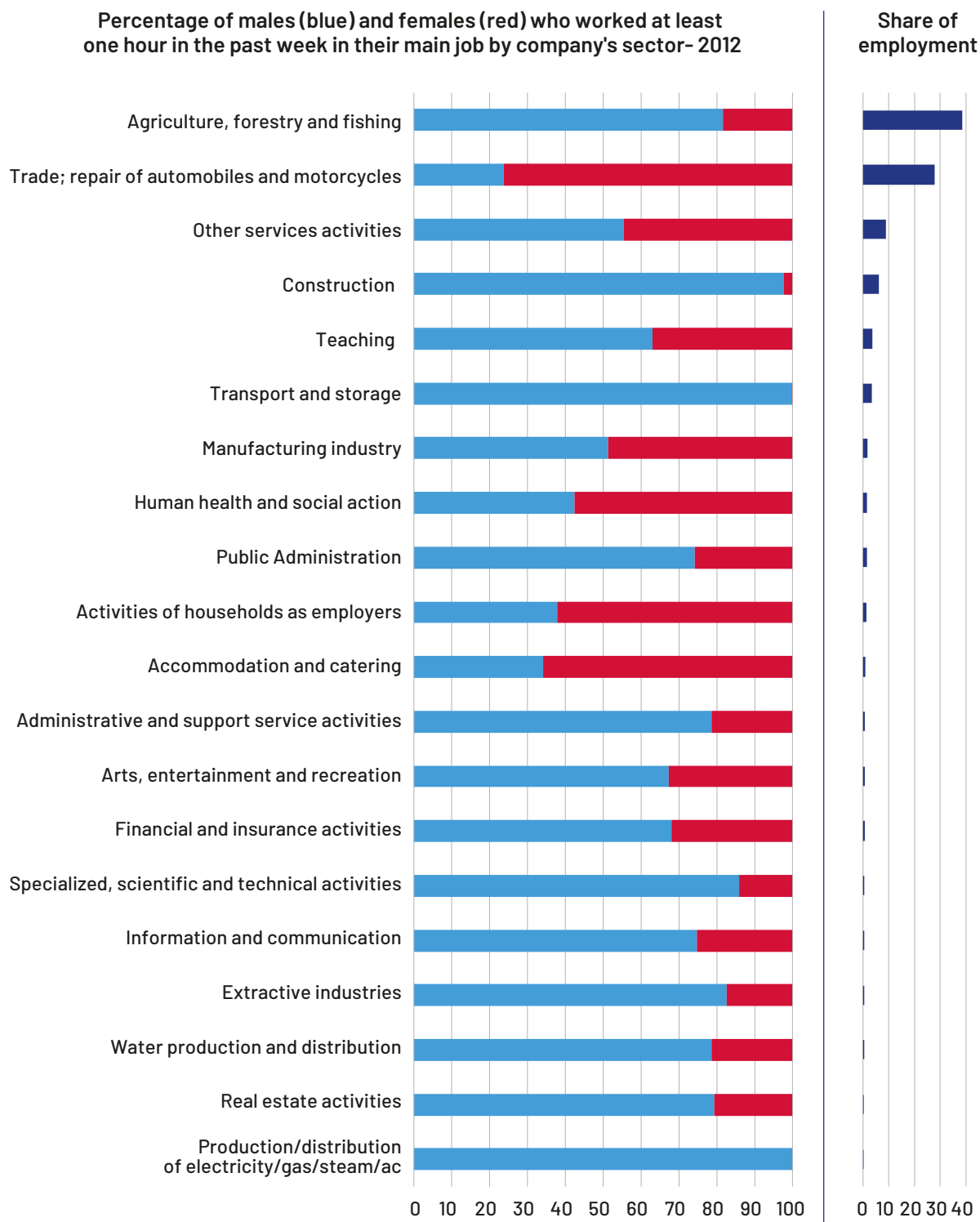


Source: DHS (2016-17).

Note: The categories "Non-Agriculture" and "Agriculture" group the respondents' occupations. "Non-Agriculture" includes professional/technical/managerial, clerical, household and domestic, skilled manual, unskilled manual occupations, and sales and services occupations. "Agriculture" includes agricultural—self-employed and agricultural—employee occupations.

The Haitian economy shows strong patterns of sectoral segregation. Data from 2012 indicate that in the agriculture sector, most workers were men, while women dominated in the retail sector. These data on employment by sector, visualized in [figure 49](#), are derived from the ECVMAS 2012 and therefore need to be regarded with some caution—though patterns of sectoral and occupational segregation are usually relatively stable over time and data from the HFS in 2021 suggest that this remains the case ([see section 3.4](#)). In the agricultural sector, which in 2012 accounted for 38.5 percent of total employment, 81.7 percent of workers were male. Conversely, women accounted for 76.3 percent of workers in trade, the second-largest sector in 2012. Men also made up the large majority of workers in the construction sector (97.7 percent), transport and storage (99.8 percent), public administration (74.2 percent), administrative and support services (78.6 percent), specialized scientific and technical activities (85.9 percent), ICT (74.7 percent), extractive industries (82.7 percent), real estate (79.3 percent), and utilities (78.6 percent in water production and distribution, and close to 100 percent in electricity/gas/steam production and distribution). Women, on the other hand, made up a disproportionate share of domestic workers (activities of households as employees—62.1 percent) and workers in accommodation and catering (65.9 percent). Women also had a strong presence in other services (44.5 percent), manufacturing (48.7 percent), and health and social action (57.6 percent).

Figure 49 Distribution of Employees by Gender in the Sector of the Company for Which They Worked a Minimum of One Hour in the Previous Week



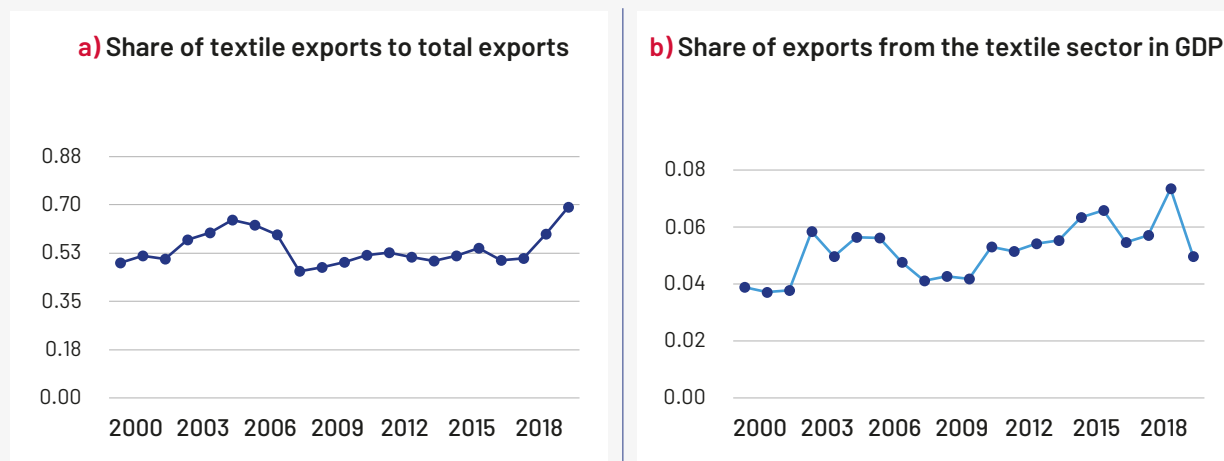
Source: ECVMAS (2012).

Box 2 Economic Potential in the Textile Sector for Women in Haiti

Haiti's textile sector is low-wage, highly feminized, and growing rapidly, presenting a significant opportunity to increase the quality of jobs and wages for a large population of women. Given women's high representation in the sector, retail reforms have the potential to increase ability of women to provide for themselves and their families and materially improve the lives of many Haitians.

Textile exports represent the majority of Haitian exports and almost all production is designated for the external market. As a share of exports, textiles have been relatively stable since the year 2000 and are a key sector for focus by the government and its trading partners ([figure B2, panel a](#)). In an attempt to bolster the sector and employment and to diminish corruption, the United States' Haitian Hemispheric Opportunity through Production Encouragement Act (HOPE) was passed in 2006 and extended in 2016. HOPE gives special trade benefits to Haiti including flexible and duty-free access to the U.S. market for apparel exports and use of third-country materials and inputs. Alongside, the share of exports from the textile sector in GDP almost doubled over the past two decades, growing from 3.9 percent in 2000 to 7.3 percent of GDP in 2019 (the decline in textile exports in 2020 and the increase in share of GDP in 2020 are likely explained by the COVID-19 pandemic and overall GDP contraction) ([figure B2, panel b](#)).

Figure B2 Textile Exports in Total Exports and GDP



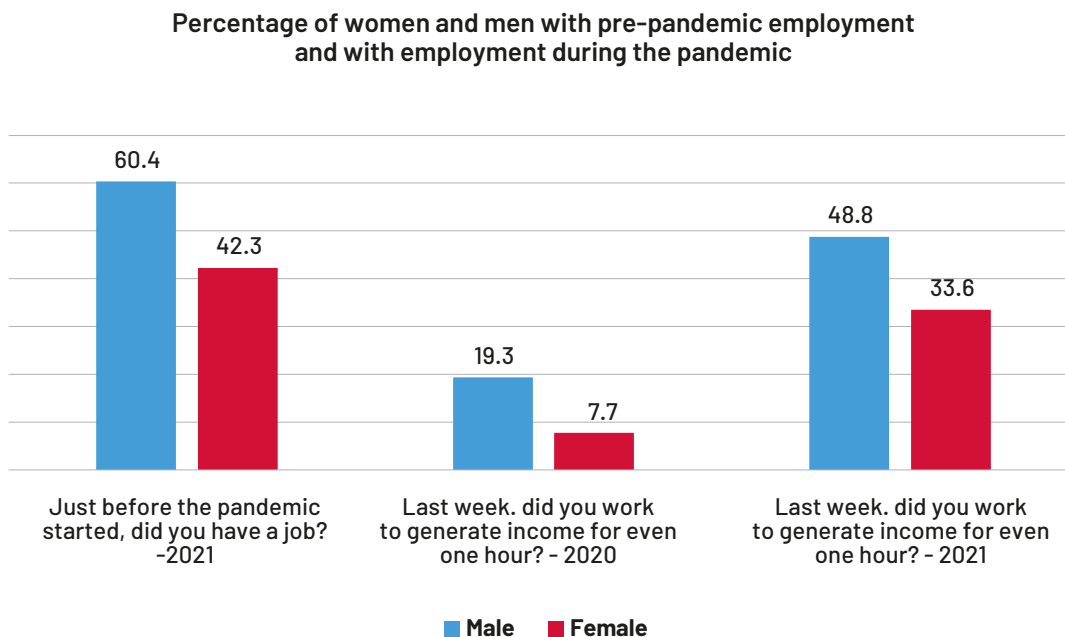
Source: An original graph using data from the Ministère de l'Économie et des Finances, Haiti, and WB database.

Women represent the majority of the workers in the textile sector, but entry-level wages are low and women are underrepresented at the managerial level. The textile industry is one of Haiti's largest employers and approximately two-thirds of the employees in the textile sector in Haiti are women (Shamsie 2017). However, as shown in the literature (IFC 2019), very few women are managers or at the senior level. Entry-level jobs in textiles are generally open to women with low educational attainment, which is common in Haiti. As we show in [section 2.1](#), despite improvements in educational attainment, women ages 25–49 continue to have lower levels of schooling than men.

Jobs for women in textiles pay low wages, keeping women entrenched in poverty. Entry-level jobs in textiles are required by law to the minimum wage for sector F (Radio Metronome 2022), which was raised to 685 gourdes per 8-hour work day in February 2022. Textile workers began agitating for higher wages, with their protests peaking in early 2022 and culminating in an agreement to increase the minimum wage for many sectors, including textiles (Jamaica Gleaner 2022). Despite this recent increase, the minimum wage is low compared to regional comparators and disproportionately disadvantages women. The textile sector holds great importance for the national economy of Haiti and great potential to lift many women out of poverty, but low wages and few opportunities for advancement hold women back.

The COVID-19 pandemic and recent shocks have significantly affected employment levels of men and women and there is a risk that they may exacerbate preexisting gender differences in the labor market. By official statistics, COVID-19 infections in Haiti have been lower than in rest of the Caribbean and globally (WHO 2022b), though testing capability has also been low and official tallies could undercount true caseloads (Canada, Global Affairs Canada 2022). Nevertheless, indirect effects of the pandemic are large and widespread. High-Frequency Phone Surveys conducted in May of 2020, at the height of the country's first wave of COVID-19 infections, show that only 19 percent of men and 8 percent of women had worked during the previous week, a significant decline compared to before the pandemic, when 60 percent of men and 42 percent of women reported working ([figure 50](#)). In July–August 2021, which coincides with the country's third wave of infections (where infections were as high as or higher than in the first wave), employment had partly recovered, with 49 percent of men and 34 percent of women reporting they had worked during the previous week, but was still lower than before the pandemic. These numbers also show that the proportionate decline in employment during the pandemic, especially during the first wave in May 2020, was larger for women than for men. This trend, which has been observed in many countries worldwide, risks exacerbating preexisting gender differences in the labor market (Kugler et al. 2021).

Figure 50 Employment Status Before and During the COVID-19 Pandemic



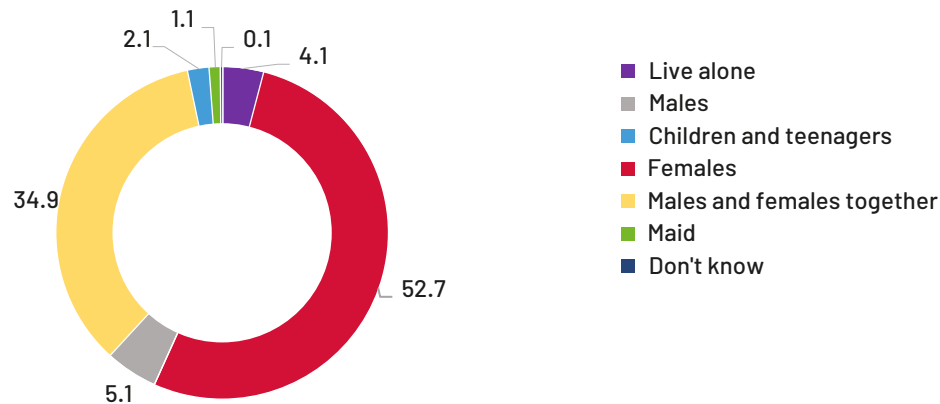
Source: High-Frequency Phone Survey (2020–21).

Note: The months of data collection were May 2020 and July–August 2021.

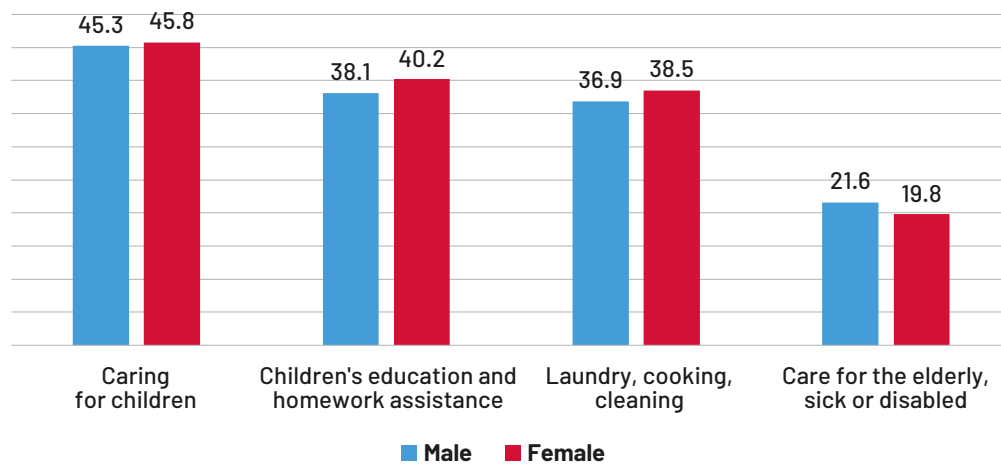
A likely reason for women's disproportionate decline in employment during the pandemic is the unequal division of unpaid domestic work between men and women. When asked about intrahousehold allocation of domestic work in May–June 2020, 53 percent of households reported that females were doing the bulk of domestic work, while only 35 percent said that males and females were sharing responsibilities equally ([figure 51, panel a](#)). Moreover, in the 2021 HFS, slightly more females than males reported that their responsibilities in the household for childcare (46 vs. 45 percent), children's education and home assistance (40 vs. 38 percent) and laundry, cooking and cleaning (39 vs. 37 percent) had increased during the pandemic ([figure 51, panel b](#)). A slightly higher percentage of men than women, however, reported that their responsibilities for caring for the elderly, sick, and disabled had increased during the pandemic (22 vs. 20 percent). Overall, these numbers suggest that women are still doing the majority of domestic work but that men have stepped up during the pandemic, which may or may not lead to a more egalitarian distribution of household responsibilities in the future. Changes in domestic responsibilities in Haiti were also present globally. School closures and the economic pressures of the pandemic imposed costs that were disproportionately borne by women. Women-led firms closed at a higher rate and female entrepreneurs were more likely to take on domestic and care work than male entrepreneurs (Goldstein et al. 2022).

Figure 51 Participation in Household Responsibilities (%)

a) Which household group had the most responsibility in the home such as cooking, washing, childcare, or others (%) - May/Jun 2020



b) Percentage of males/females for whom household responsibilities increased during the pandemic - 2021



Sources: Digital Socio-Economic Impact Assessment (SEIA)(2020); High-Frequency Phone Survey (2021).

In conclusion, gender gaps persistent in the labor market highlight disadvantages women in Haiti. Women face high barriers to entry and labor force attachment, resulting in lower rates of labor force participation and higher rates of unemployment. Women's overwhelming presence in sectors such as textiles and domestic work points up potential areas for reforms that could be particularly effective in improving women's situations, and so future work should include deeper investigation into the potential for policy reform using with updated data.

3.2. Laws and Social Norms

This deep dive addresses some of the possible constraints and barriers to enhancing female participation in the labor force and in society at large as enshrined in the legal and normative frameworks of the country. [Section 2](#) already touched on the fact that traditional gender norms, attitudes, and role models limit women's autonomy. There is also a large literature documenting how social norms may govern human behavior when they become salient to decision-making (World Bank 2017a). This section broadens the scope to look at formal laws and regulations so as to arrive at a more comprehensive understanding of how formal and informal institutions constrain women's opportunities and choices.

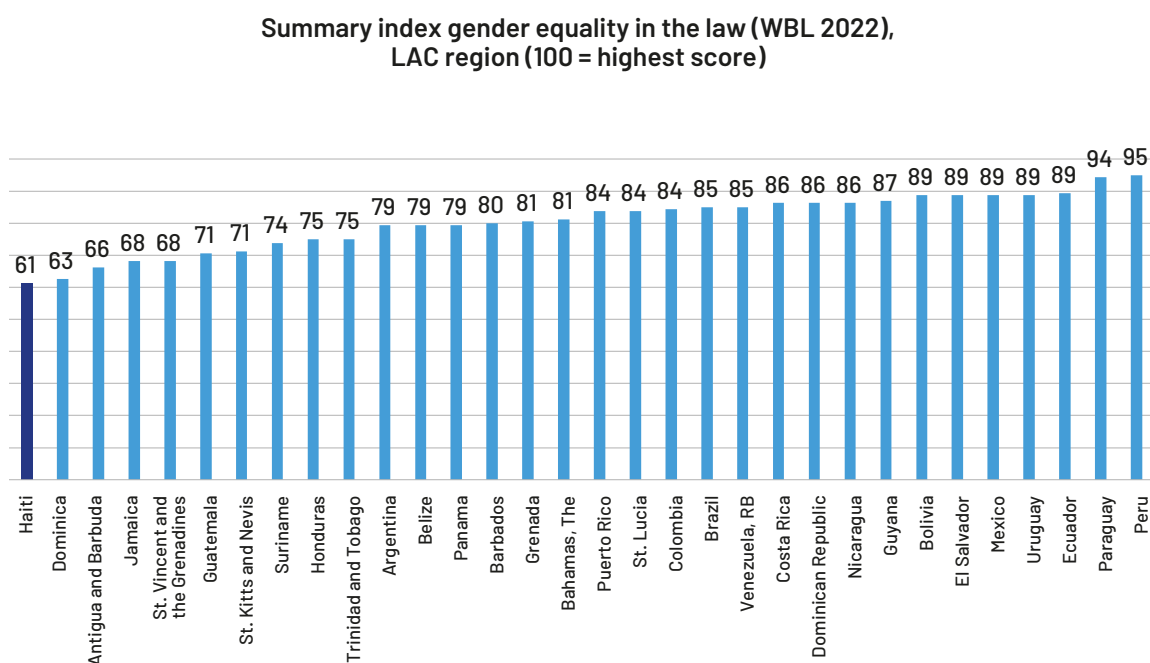
This section sees laws and norms that are examples of formal and informal institutions that can be biased against women. Laws and regulations are formal institutions that can affect women's participation in society through outright bans, such as limiting shifts worked or prohibiting women's inheritance of property, or by limiting economic opportunities, such as by linking land tenure or earning potential to marriage. These laws also may entrench gender gaps through omission, such as declining to provide maternity or paternity leave. Social norms may be associated with laws and regulations and are defined alternately as the informal rules that govern behavior in groups and societies (Bicchieri, Muldoon, and Sontuoso 2018) or as individuals' perceptions about which attitudes and behaviors are typical or desirable (Cooper, Paluck, and Fletcher 2013). Social norms can prevent women's participation through desire to conform, by inviting social censure, and by shaping familial or social pressures.

Turning first to the formal institutions and statutory laws, gender bias in the legal system is high by regional standards. Haiti has more-restrictive laws and fewer protections promoting gender equality than its regional comparators. The World Bank's Women Business and the Law (WBL) Program collects unique descriptive data on women's economic inclusion in legal and regulatory frameworks in 190 economies. A score is calculated based on comparing existing laws to ILO standards and other benchmarks such as whether the length of paid maternity leave meets or exceeds 14 weeks and whether women are explicitly barred from certain types of jobs or shifts. These scores reflect laws as they are written and do not account for implementation. They also do not reflect constitutional provisions or international commitments to gender equality that have not been enshrined in law.¹² Data from the 2022 edition show that Haiti scores lower than all other countries in the LAC region in terms of the overall legal gender equality (World Bank 2022c) ([figure 52](#)). The WBL group gave Haiti a score of 61.3 out of 100. The regional average across Latin America and the Caribbean was 80.4, putting Haiti last among its regional comparators in terms

12 More information is available on the WBL website and from the WBL Haiti Factsheet <https://wbl.worldbank.org/content/dam/documents/wbl/2022/snapshots/Haiti.pdf>.

of facilitating women's access to the labor force and having a legal framework that promotes gender equality. A fuller explanation of the WBL in Haiti is available in the [table 13](#) in the annex or online.

Figure 52 Equality in Legal Provisions, Haiti vs. Comparator Countries

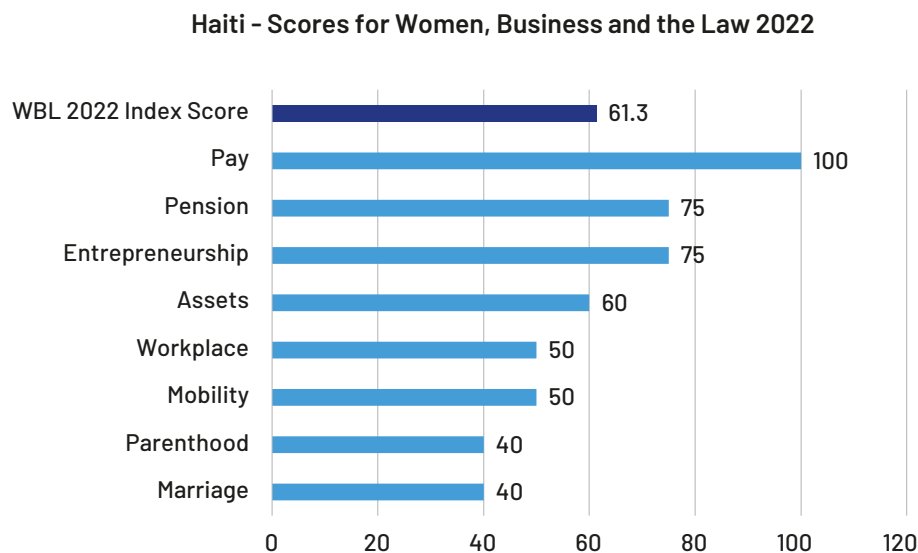


Source: WBL (2022).

Note: Index ranges from 0 to 100.

When looking at individual components of the WBL index score, Haiti scores lowest in terms of laws regarding mobility, the workplace, marriage, and parenthood. The WBL areas are summarized into eight indicators, which are derived from women's interactions with the law as they move through their careers: Mobility, Workplace, Pay, Marriage, Parenthood, Entrepreneurship, Assets, and Pension. Of these indicators, Haiti scores lowest in terms of women's interactions with the laws regarding mobility, the workplace, marriage, and parenthood, where the country only achieves 40–50 points (out of a maximum score of 100). [Figure 53](#) presents more detail. Haiti scores the highest on pay, due to the facts that Haiti has a law mandating equal pay for the same work and that the legal framework does not explicitly bar women from working shifts at night, jobs deemed dangerous, or jobs in the industrial sector, all of which tend to pay more. The lack of explicit bars does not mean that women have full access to these jobs in practice, but the legal framework is at least conducive to access.

Figure 53 Haiti's Scores for Women, Business and the Law (2022)



Source: WBL (2022).

The lack of legally enshrined support for parenthood means that bearing a child erects additional barriers to participating in the labor force, particularly for women, who are more likely to be responsible for child-rearing. Haiti's legal code provides 12 weeks of paid leave to mothers who are in formal employment, which is, however, less than the ILO-recommended minimum of 14 weeks of paid leave to mothers (ILO 2000), and further does not offer paid leave to fathers or any form of shared parental leave. Men working in public administration do receive one week of paid parental leave, but this benefit is afforded to a very small number of families. The previous section shows how having a child under the age of five is associated with lower rates of female labor force participation in a multivariate model. The combination of these two facts means that parenthood and gender-biased parental leave policies present a significant barrier to women's employment.

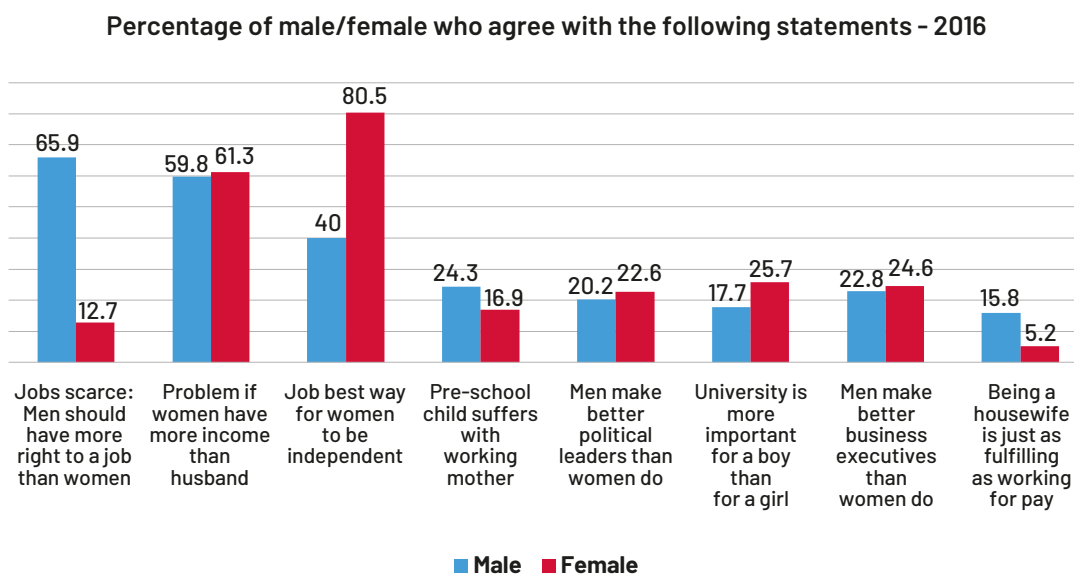
The lack of legal protections in a number of dimensions disadvantages Haitian women, as we see fewer economic opportunities for women. An extensive literature documents this phenomenon. Islam, Muzi, and Amin (2019) show that unequal laws not only discourage women's participation in the private sector workforce, but also decrease women's likelihood of becoming top managers and owners of firms. Similarly, Hyland, Djankov, and Goldberg (2020) find that more-egalitarian laws pertaining to women in the workforce are associated with higher female labor force participation and a smaller wage gap between men and women. In the realm of property ownership, Gaddis, Lahoti, and Swaminathan (forthcoming) show that countries with more-gender-egalitarian legal regimes have higher levels of property ownership by women, especially housing.

Despite this evidence, it is not clear that putting in place more-gender-equitable laws would prompt changes. The WBL does not account for implementation of laws or the enforcement of penalties associated with transgression of the law. Passing more and better gender-equitable laws is perhaps a necessary but not sufficient condition for increasing gender equality.

Beyond laws, traditional cultural values, social norms, and gender stereotypes further limit women's economic opportunities, but there is some evidence that attitudes around gender and gender scripts are changing among both women and younger generations. The World Values Survey is a useful source for understanding attitudes around gender, gender scripts, and gender roles among various age groups, though these results should be viewed cautiously given the time that has passed since data collection. Although individual attitudes are not always consistent with social norms, they are useful for contextualizing trends when information directly on social norms is not available. Consultations with organizations in Haiti have suggested that the 2016 WVS may not fully represent the views of Haitians today. In the 2016 round of the World Values Survey for Haiti, more than two out of three men agreed with the statement that when jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women. Likewise, 60 percent of men and women agreed that it is a problem if a woman has more income than her husband. However, when we examine younger cohorts and the specific views of women, as we discuss below, attitudes diverge.

Women expressed attitudes that were significantly more progressive on women's place in society than those espoused by men. Updated data are necessary to confirm this divergence, but women's progressive attitudes are most obvious for the statement "When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women," which was supported by 66 percent of men but only 13 percent of women, a significant gap in the 2016 World Values Survey. Likewise, as shown in [figure 54](#), 81 percent of women—but only 40 percent of men—agreed with the statement that jobs are the best way for a woman to be independent. This statistic suggests that many women may fundamentally disagree with traditional gender role models, even if they are unable to act on or express these views in public. To further explore how gender role attitudes of men and women differ by sociodemographic characteristics, we run a simple multivariate model. We regress men's and women's gender role attitudes on indicators of age, number of children, and the respondent's education level. The marginal effects (together with the associated confidence intervals) are plotted in [figure 55](#).

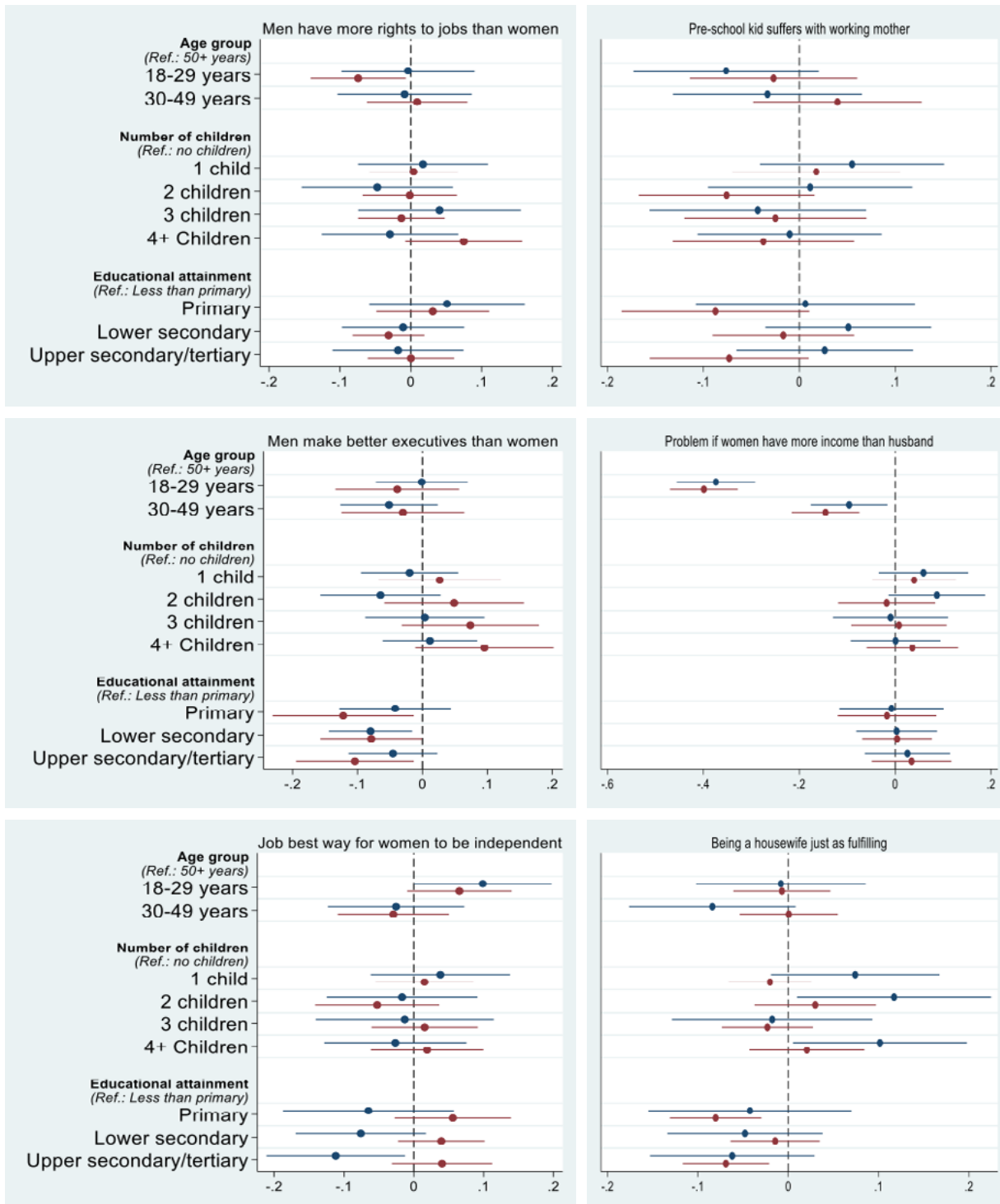
Figure 54 Views on Gender Roles in Society by Gender, 2016



Source: World Values Survey (2016).

In relative terms, younger Haitians and those with higher education held more progressive views on women's access to jobs and role in society. Reinforcing the idea that traditional gender roles are being challenged, the 2016 WVS shows that younger Haitians espoused more-progressive views of gender, women's roles, and gender equality. Education may also serve to expand attitudes and beliefs about traditional gender roles, though it is notable that within age groups, women tended to hold more-progressive views than men. For instance, women ages 15–29 were much less likely to say men have more rights to jobs than women, whereas men in this same age range held views on this subject that were close to men age 30–49 and over 50. Haitians with more education were more likely to disagree with the statement that men make better executives, but while women strongly disagreed with the statement, men's views were similar among those without any formal education. In other cases, such as whether it is a problem if women make more money than their husbands, views were fairly aligned between the sexes and correlated closely with age (more agreement with the statement among older respondents) and education level (less agreement among more-educated respondents).

Figure 55 Marginal Effects on Views on Gender Roles in Society by Gender, Age, Number of Children, and Education

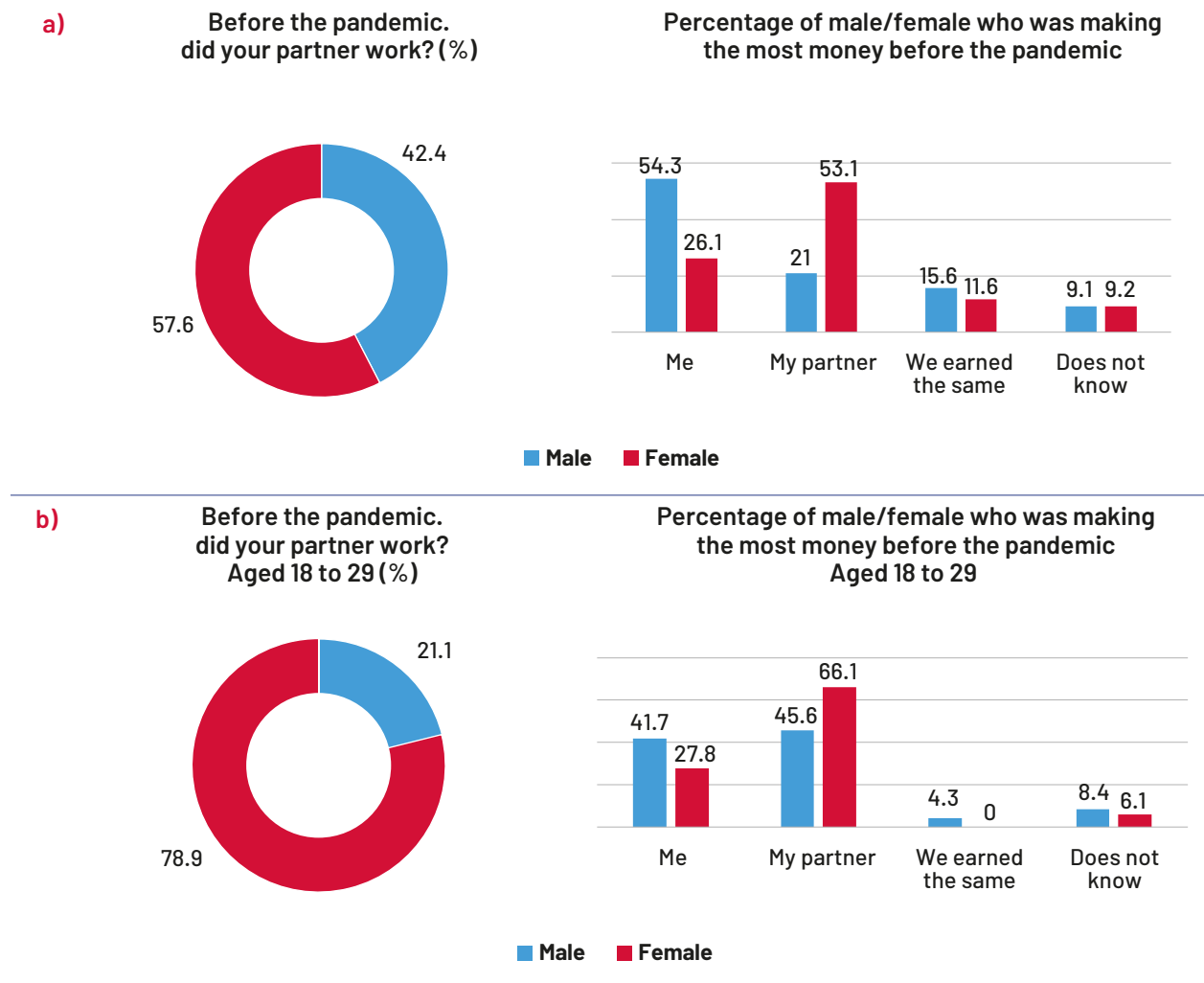


Source: WVS (2016).

Note: Marginal effects of males in blue and of females in red. Figures show the point estimate and 95 percent confidence interval. Dependent variable is coded as 0 (disagrees with the statement or neutral) vs. 1 (agrees with the statement).

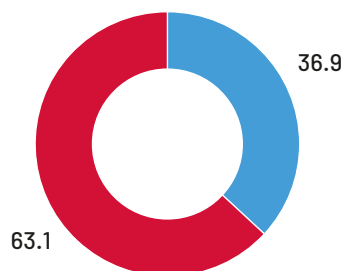
Traditional gender roles and scripts, though challenged by the young and educated, are consistent with the observed pattern of women's having fewer job opportunities and lower incomes than their partners. As shown above, younger Haitians expressed more-progressive views than older Haitians, but the influence of traditional gender roles is still keenly apparent in the data. Partnering appears to have tended to rely on some level of negative assortative mating on employment and earnings, as seen in [figure 56](#). While more than 70 percent of women with a partner responded that their partner was working before the pandemic, less than 36 percent of men could say the same. Far more men than women said that their partner earned more than them before the pandemic as well. The pandemic upended many labor force situations and more information is needed to see how women were particularly affected during this time.

Figure 56 Employment Status and Earnings Compared to Partner by Gender

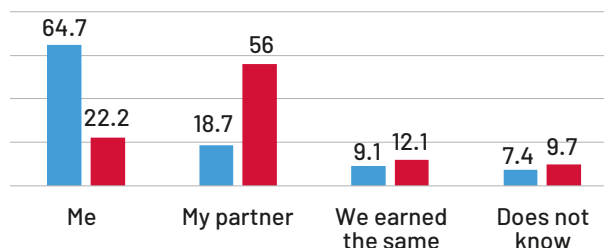


c)

Before the pandemic,
did your partner work?
Aged 30 to 49 (%)



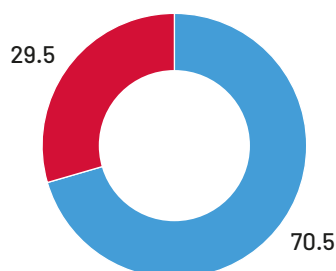
Percentage of male/female who was making
the most money before the pandemic
Aged 30 to 49



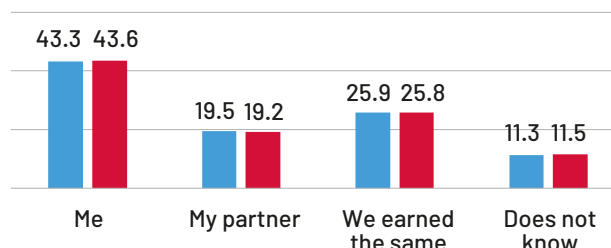
■ Male ■ Female

d)

Before the pandemic,
did your partner work?
Aged 50+ (%)



Percentage of male/female who was making
the most money before the pandemic
Aged 50+



■ Male ■ Female

Source: High-Frequency Phone Survey (2021 – wave 1).

Note: The graphs in panel a include all ages.

Both social norms, including women's traditional roles as caregivers, and the legal framework limit women's ability to fully engage in society. We lack concrete data on social norms, or perceptions of expected behavior, and so rely on the attitudes and beliefs present in the WVS to describe societal constraints to gender equality. Research shows that social norms are often more conservative than attitudes and so extrapolations should be considered in that context (World Bank 2022d). Additionally, the data reflecting gender attitudes are from 2016, and so further work is needed to understand the trajectory of changes among youth as well as the effects of recent crises on gender-equitable attitudes among Haitians.

3.3. Risky behaviors

This deep dive analyzes risky behaviors through a gender lens, with a focus on the interconnections between school dropouts, substance abuse, and violence. Risky behaviors, which often manifest during adolescence but may continue into adulthood, can undermine human capital accumulation and access to productive jobs and contribute to crime and violence. This deep dive first revisits educational attainment, drawing from the data and the literature to better understand its association with risky behaviors, then takes a closer look at early marriage and sexual initiation, intimate partner violence, general insecurity, and finally alcohol consumption and cigarette use. Gender dimensions in this section are important and are different from other areas of focus for this paper—labor force participation, for example—as there are areas in which both girls and boys find themselves at higher risk.

Academic and socio-emotional skills gained during schooling are an important factor in determining labor market prospects and boys' educational attendance and attainment in Haiti is an area of increasing concern. As discussed in [section 2.1](#), the most recent data show that girls have higher school attendance rates than boys, particularly at the secondary level. Although girls are still largely disadvantaged in labor markets, as discussed in the deep dive on women's labor force participation and barriers, the widening gaps in educational attainment do not bode well for boys.

Low school attendance and dropout might have immediate consequences as well as long-term labor effects by contributing to risky behaviors and criminality by youth. Armed violence in Port-au-Prince and other parts of the country, often committed by gangs, causes significant disruptions to the economy and essential services (World Bank 2022a). While there are few data on the demographic characteristics of gang members, data from 2009–10 suggest that average rank-and-file members are often in their early to mid-20s and that the groups are overwhelmingly comprised of males (Kolbe 2013). The underlying reasons for this violence are complex and cannot be reduced to simple explanations. However, qualitative studies from other countries in Latin America suggest that youth often view violence as an opportunity pathway resulting from poverty, disruptions to the family, lack of agency, and norms of masculinity. Moreover, young men often pointed to the education system as a driver and possible solution to youth violence (Williams and Castellanos 2020). Likewise, evidence from high income countries suggests that there is a direct causal relationship between higher educational attainment and a reduced lifetime involvement in criminal activities (Machin et al. 2011; Cook and Kang 2016).

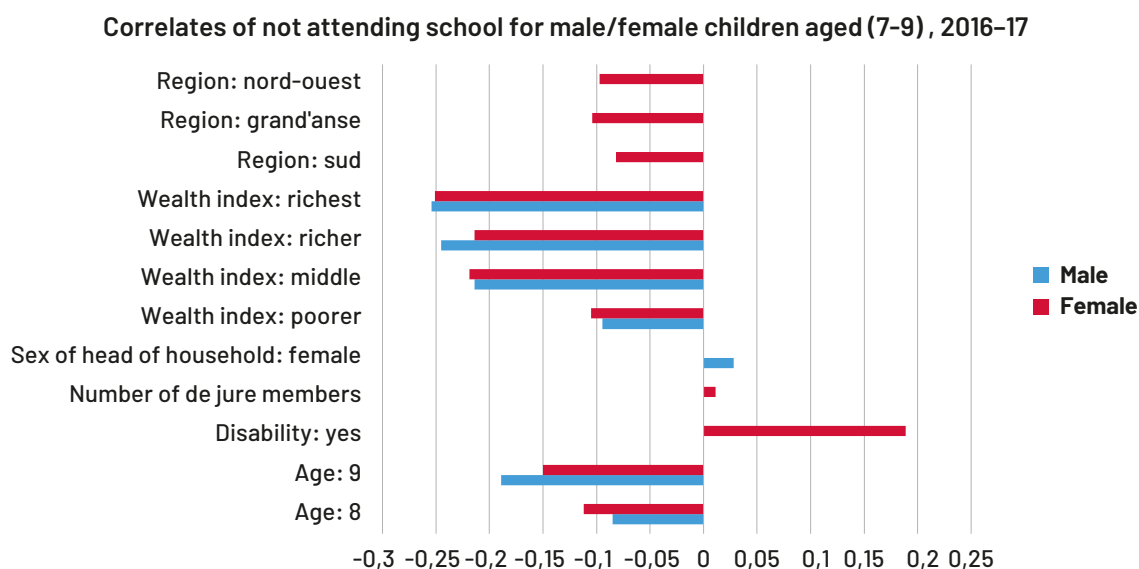
Further, criminality and lack of safety may lead to lower educational attainment, reinforcing a cycle of violence. There are reports from Haiti that gang activity and criminality itself prevents children from starting or resuming their educations, because

parents are concerned over the safety of their offspring.¹³ This suggests that policies that promote longer retention of Haitian students in the education system, particularly of boys, could be a mechanism to interrupt a vicious cycle of school dropout and violence.

Multivariate analysis shows that not yet having attended school between the ages of seven and nine was closely linked to poverty for both boys and girls. Using data from 2017, we show that children ages seven to nine years were significantly more likely to not be attending school if they were from the poorest quintile (figure 57 and table 9 in the annex). Compared to being in the lowest quintile, being in the second-poorest quintile reduced the likelihood of a child's not attending school by 10 percentage points, while being in the highest wealth quintile reduced this chance by 25 percent. These associations were broadly similar for boys and girls. Although attendance rates were low for all children at age seven years, most children eventually did go to school, as evidenced by the much higher proportion of children ages eight to nine years attending school.

The multivariate model identifies a few risk factors for nonattendance that are gender specific. For girl children, having a disability increased the risk of not attending school by a substantial margin—19 percentage points—all else being equal. Moreover, girls from the Nord-Ouest, Grand'anse and Sud regions were less likely to attend school than girls from the metropolitan region.

Figure 57 Factors Associated with Not Attending School by Gender—Marginal Effects



Source: DHS (2016–17).

Note: The coefficients reported are significant at least at 10 percent.

13 <https://www.unicef.org/lac/en/press-releases/increasing-number-schools-haiti-targeted-gangs-unicef>.

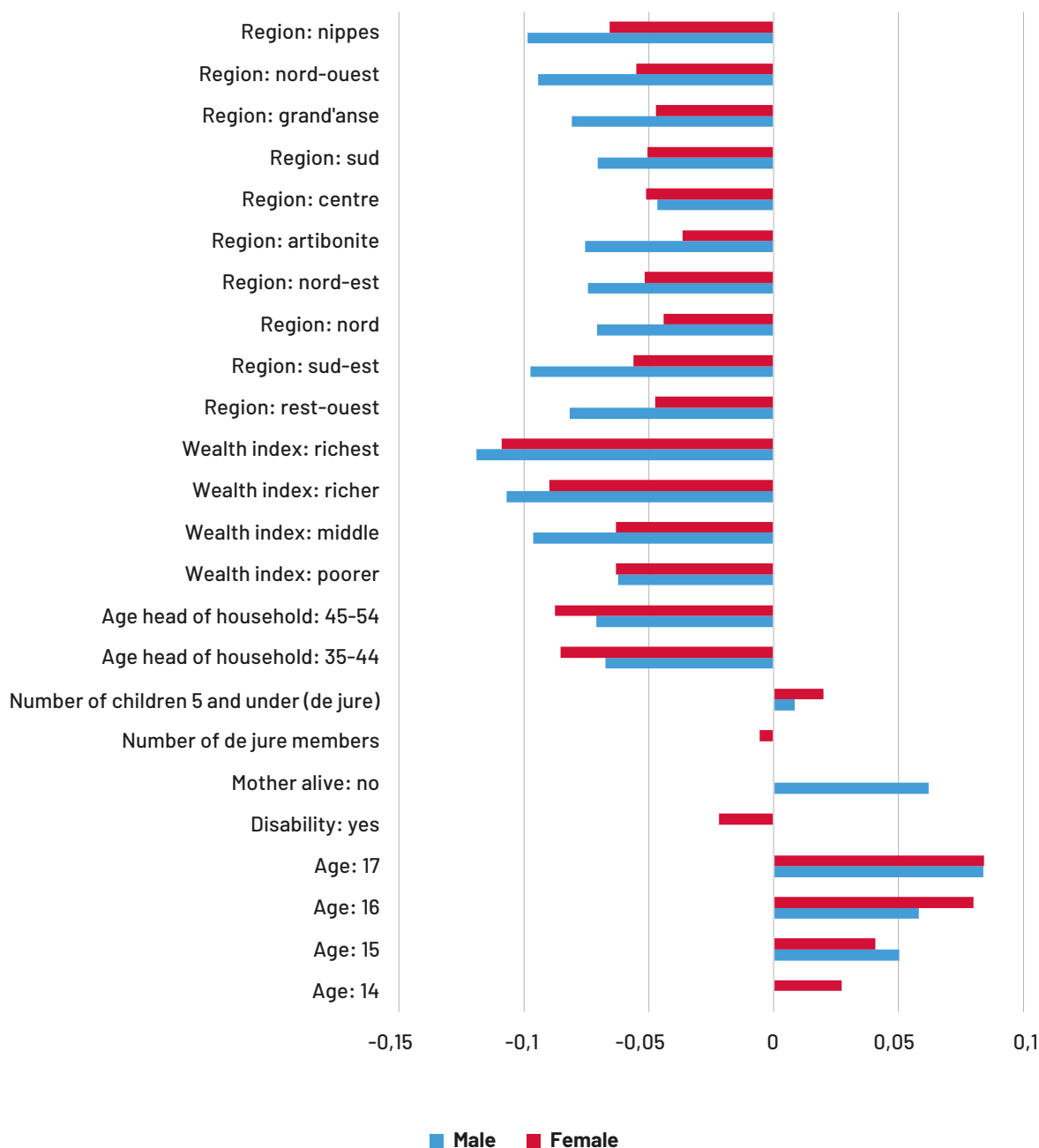
Although early attendance rates have some bearing on ultimate attendance, we now turn to dropout rates to more closely link school with risky behaviors in adolescence. As discussed above, there are observed and anecdotal correlations between low educational attainment and criminality. If youth who leave school remain largely unemployed, gangs and criminal and other risky behaviors may provide enticing alternatives to boredom. Girls and boys face very different risks during early adolescence and so focusing on a subset of older children enables us to investigate the importance of additional variables for which data are only collected for the population ages 15 and above (for example, religious affiliation, marital status, alcohol consumption).

Poverty status and living in a household with a very young head significantly increased the likelihood that a child ages 10 to 17 years would drop out of school and most of these effects were very similar for boys and girls. Compared to the poorest quintile, children in the second-poorest quintile were approximately 6 percentage points less likely to drop out. Children in higher wealth quintiles were even less likely to drop out, with girls in the highest quintile households 11 percentage points less likely and boys 12 percentage points less likely than those in the lowest quintile households (see [table 10](#) in the annex for more detail). Moreover, living in a household where the head is 35–55 years old reduced the chance of dropping out by approximately 9 percentage points among girls and 7 percentage points among boys, compared to a household with a head 15–24 years. Living in a household with a very young head could either reflect that the child has very young parents or that she or he lives on her or his own and both factors could plausibly increase the risks of dropping out of school. Among older children, the likelihood of dropout increased, which reflects overall low educational attainment in the country.

Regional effects are much stronger for boys than girls, as is the effect of losing a mother. All regions outside of the capital had higher dropout rates than the metropolitan area, with boys seeing almost twice the risk of girls in some regions compared to the metropolitan region ([figure 58](#)). Interestingly, there is a negative association between having a disability and dropping out for girls (–2 percentage points), but this fact may be a function of very few girls with this status being enrolled early on. As noted above, disability status is very highly associated with low enrollment early on. Given that girls with disabilities were much less likely to attend school in the first place ([figure 57](#)), this difference could either reflect selection effects or a strong desire for girls with disabilities to stay in school. For boys, orphans are a particularly vulnerable group; we find that boy children are more likely to drop out of school if their mother is no longer alive (+6 percentage points).

Figure 58 Factors Associated with Dropping Out of School by Gender—Marginal Effects

Correlates of dropping out of school for male/female aged (10-17) , 2016-17



Source: DHS (2016-17).

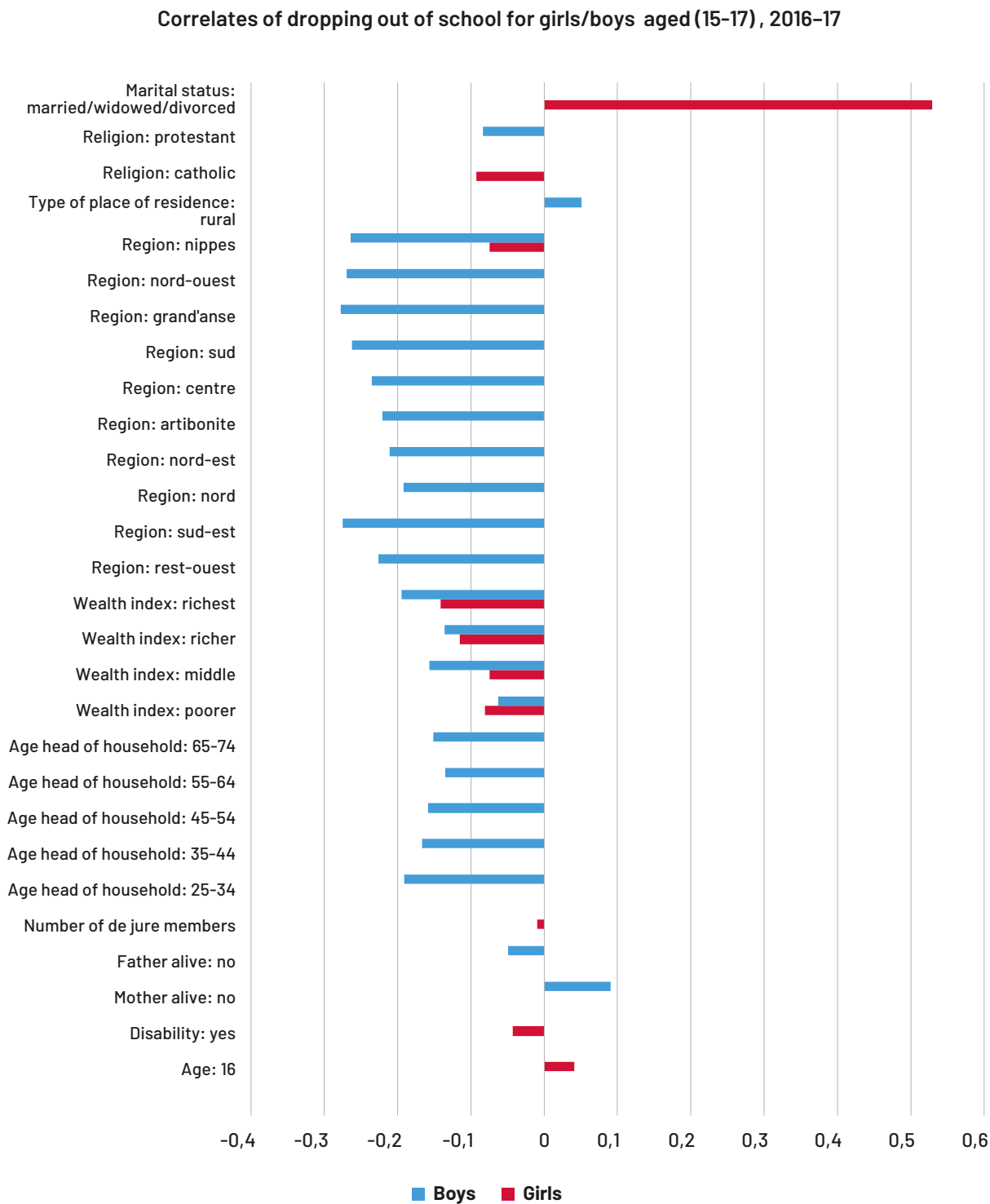
Note: The coefficients reported are significant at least at 10 percent. The dependent variable "dropping out of school" is calculated as the highest educational degree attained, either no education/preschool, primary, or secondary (less than four years completed), and school attendance status, either dropout or left school two or more years ago.

For girls, risks associated with school dropout are more concentrated in early sexual initiation and child marriage. The multivariate analysis in [table 11](#) in the annex shows that being married increases a girl's chances of dropping out of school by 52 percentage points, a very large effect. Unlike in many countries, being pregnant was not statistically significantly related to a girl's chances of dropping out. However, the point estimate is positive and large (16 percentage points), which could indicate that we do not have enough data points (that is, girls who are currently pregnant) to estimate this effect precisely. Consultations with organizations in 2022 indicated that teenage pregnancy was increasingly common and problematic for young Haitians, possibly exacerbating the risk of dropout, alongside the health issues associated with early pregnancy.

Self-reported religious affiliation has some bearing on dropout rates, but it is difficult to draw strong conclusions because the results are mixed. Being Catholic reduced a girl's probability of dropping out of school by 9 percentage points, while being Protestant reduced a boy's probability by 8 percentage points. For boys in this age group, having a mother who was no longer alive increased the chances of dropping out by 9 percentage points, consistent with what we see for all age groups. Interestingly, having a father who was no longer alive decreased the probability of dropping out by approximately 5 percentage points. The latter finding is somewhat puzzling and may reflect increased determination to finish school, but more likely than not merits further investigation.

Alcohol consumption is not significantly related to the likelihood of dropping out of school in a multivariate model. However, as noted in [section 2.1](#), age of initiation of alcohol use in Haiti occurs relatively late (rarely before age 16), which could explain the lack of association. Otherwise, the regressions confirm the importance of poverty status (for boys and girls) and of living in a household with a very young head in relation to the likelihood of dropping out of school (for boys only).

Figure 59 Determinants of Dropping Out of School by Gender—Marginal Effects

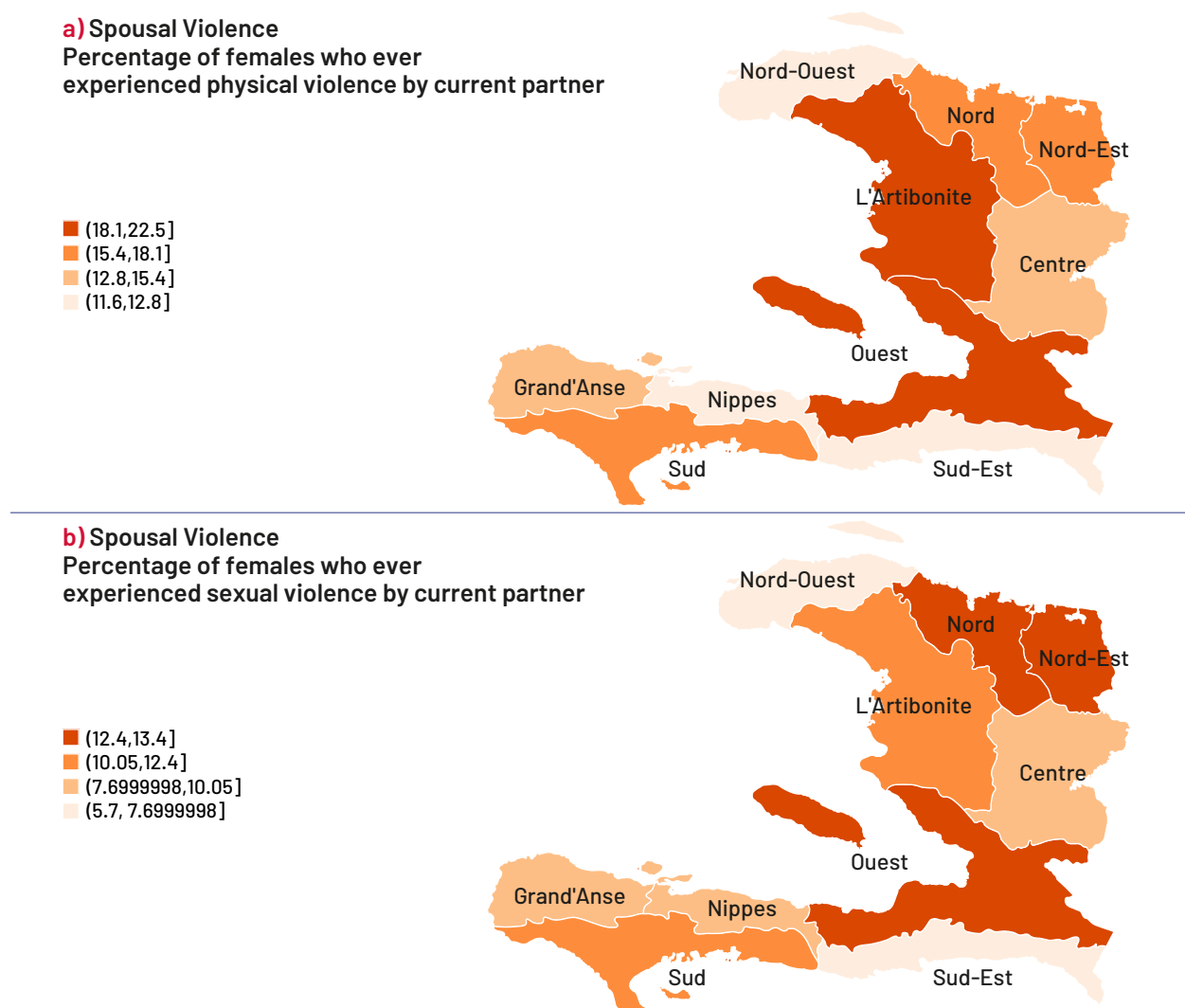


Source: DHS (2016-17).

Note: The coefficients reported are significant at least at 10 percent.

Intimate partner violence is widespread across the country, particularly in the regions Nord, Nord-Est, L'Arbonite, and Ouest (the last includes the capital). As shown in panel a of [figure 60](#), the share of females who ever experienced physical violence by their current partner varies between 11.6 percent in regions such as Nippes, Sud-Est, and Nord-Ouest and 22.5 percent in regions such as Ouest and L'Arbonite. Similarly, between 5.7 percent of women (regions Nord-Ouest and Sud-Est) and 13.4 percent of women (regions Nord, Nord-Est, and Ouest) experienced sexual violence by their partner ([figure 60, panel b](#)). While IPV is not a risky behavior per se (though a highly dysfunctional and negative behavior), we argue that it is strongly associated with a specific type of risky behavior, namely alcohol abuse.

Figure 60 Intimate Partner Violence by Department



Source: DHS (2016-17).

Note: Physical violence refers to ever been pushed, shook, or had something thrown; ever been slapped; ever been punched with fist or hit by something harmful; ever been kicked or dragged; ever been strangled or burnt; ever been threatened with knife/gun or other weapon; or ever had arm twisted or hair pulled. Sexual violence refers to ever been physically forced into unwanted sex, ever been forced into other unwanted sexual act, or ever been physically forced to perform sexual acts respondent didn't want to engage in.

Reported intimate partner violence in Haiti is on par with rates in comparator countries. More than one-quarter of Haitian women ages 15–49 reported emotional violence by a partner, a rate that lies somewhere in the middle when compared with regional and economic comparators ([table 6](#)).

Table 6 Intimate Partner Violence, Haiti vs. Comparator Countries

	Percentage of ever married women (15–49) who have ever experienced emotional violence committed by their husband or partner	Percentage of ever married women (15–49) who have ever experienced physical violence committed by their husband or partner	Percentage of ever married women (15–49) who have ever experienced sexual violence committed by their husband or partner	Percentage of ever married women (15–49) who have ever experienced emotional violence committed by their husband or partner if husband/partner gets drunk very often	Percentage of ever married women (15–49) who have ever experienced physical violence committed by their husband or partner if husband/partner gets drunk very often	Percentage of ever married women (15–49) who have ever experienced sexual violence committed by their husband or partner if husband/partner gets drunk very often	Percentage of ever-married women (15–49) who have committed physical violence against their husband or partner ever
Haiti	26.3	18.6	11.2	66.8	51.9	34.4	5.8
Dominican Republic	30.5	19.4	5.4	56.8	50.4	16.7	15.9
Guatemala	23.7	17.3	5.2	63.6	55.7	25.7	4.9
Honduras	32.1	20.2	6.5	73	59.9	27.8	7.5
Chad	24.1	26.4	10	49.4	56.7	18	6.5
Côte d'Ivoire	19	25	5.7	38.1	44.1	15.9	2
Ghana	33.4	20.6	8.2	63.4	54.4	24.6	7
Mauritania	15.9	5.3	5.9	–	–	–	1.5
Sierra Leone	45.9	49.8	8.1	66.2	77.3	21.6	6.4
Zimbabwe	31.5	30.7	12.7	63	55.9	30.5	3.6

Source: DHS. The years of information are as follows: Haiti (2016–17), Dominican Republic (2013), Guatemala (2014–15), Honduras (2011–12), Chad (2014–15), Côte d'Ivoire (2011–12), Ghana (2008), Mauritania (2019–21), Sierra Leone (2019), and Zimbabwe (2015). Jamaica, Indonesia, Botswana, Montenegro, Djibouti, Somalia, and Sudan were also considered to compare Haiti's performance but there were no comparable data.

Women's experience of intimate partner violence is strongly linked to their partner's alcohol consumption. Among women whose partner is often drunk, 52 percent report having experienced physical violence, compared to only 12 percent of women whose partner doesn't drink. A similar pattern is present for women reporting sexual and emotional violence. Women whose partners drink experience these types of violence more frequently on average ([figure 61](#)). This number is slightly lower than in comparator countries such as Guatemala or Honduras, but the association between intimate partner violence and alcohol use is present across comparator countries ([table 6](#)).

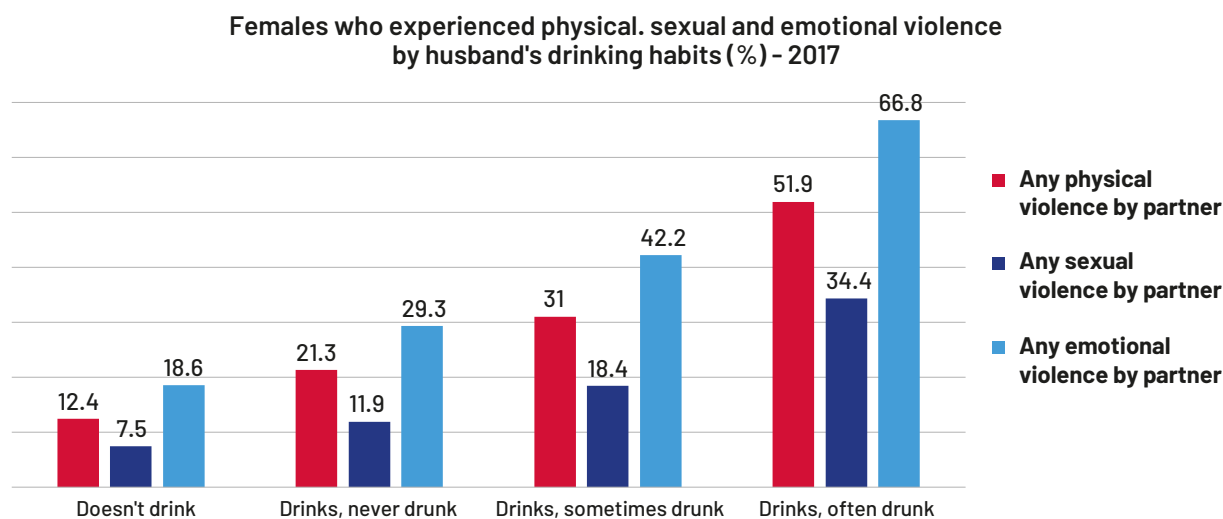
Box 3 *Madan Saras—An Enduring Symbol of Haitian Women's Strengths and Vulnerabilities*

Women who lack educational qualifications and access to formal labor markets are often found working in the business of moving goods around the country and are called madan saras. Loosely translated as "women traders" or "petty traders," madan saras are almost all women and are instrumental in the movement of agricultural and other goods from hard-to-reach rural areas to cities and towns. By linking markets, madan saras fill a critical gap in Haiti's transportation and internal trade infrastructure, ensuring their own livelihoods and those of many rural families (Gandini, Monje Silva, and Guerrero 2021). These workers represent 80 percent of Haiti's informal labor market (UNDP 2015). However, theirs is a profession that poses significant risks to those who engage in it.

Madan saras tend to have low educational attainment and often come from long lines of women who engaged in similar work. They may work in small geographic areas on foot or with pushcarts, transporting goods between rural marketplaces, or transport larger loads on "mototaxis" or vans between rural areas and cities. Some madan saras even work internationally, crossing into the Dominican Republic and to nearby islands to trade goods (Hossein 2015). This extensive and frequent travel is at odds with women's traditional gendered roles as caretakers. Madan saras often struggle to find childcare for their children and, like many women, may be forced to choose between work and children (Gandini, Monje Silva, and Guerrero 2021).

As solo entrepreneurs who travel outside of their home regions, madan saras face dangers on the road and in public marketplaces. Beatings, rapes, and targeted violence against women traders in public marketplaces have been documented by scholars since at least the 1950s, and likely well predate any documentation, given the profession's history of more than 200 years (Hossein 2015). Gender-based violence targeting madan saras has anecdotally increased in recent years, endangering livelihoods for this vulnerable group and their families as well as disrupting the fragile institution of trade that these women support in Haiti.

Figure 61 Alcohol Consumption and Intimate Partner Violence Experienced by Women

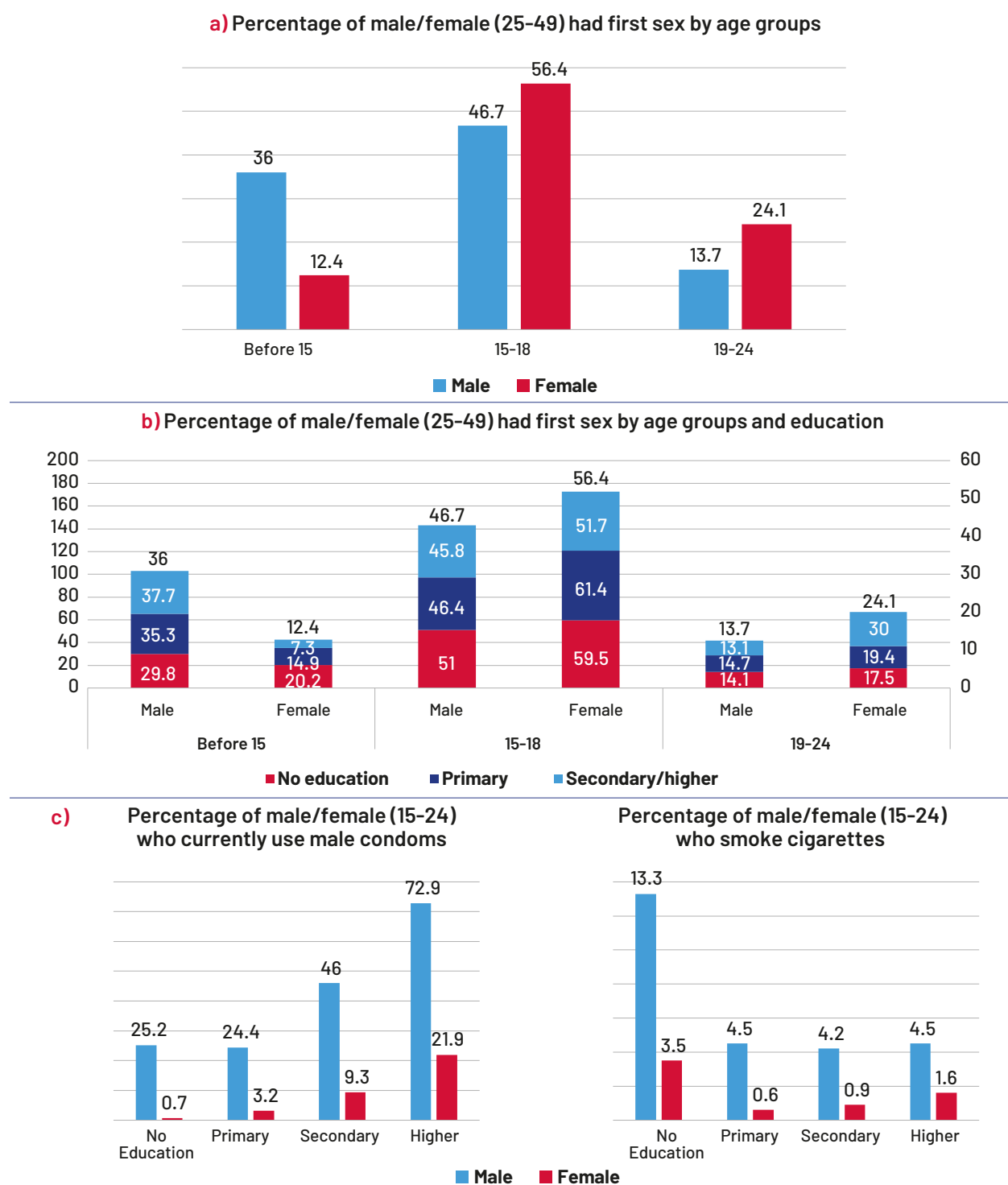


Source: DHS (2016-17).

On a societal level, gang activity is also highly correlated with gender-based violence. In a study of the drivers of sexual violence against women in Port-au-Prince, the authors found that women are targeted by gang members and thus are especially vulnerable to violence in areas where gangs and guns are prominent. Social norms support and even justify the harassment of women and many women enter coercive survival romantic relationships, but do not escape the associated violence, only contain it (Maclin et al. 2022).

Men and boys engage in sexual behavior earlier, but are more likely to report using a condom when they do. Risky sexual behavior is associated with increased incidence of HIV and other sexually transmitted infections (Taylor-Seehafer and Rew 2000). More than 83 percent of boys reported that their first sexual experience happened before age 18, while almost 70 percent of girls reported the same ([figure 62, panel a](#)). However, 36 percent of boys said their first sexual experience happened before age 15. The low prevalence of girls reporting sex before age 15 (12.4 percent) could be indicative of many factors. Girls may be more attuned to social desirability bias and misreport or boys could be engaging in sexual intercourse with older or riskier partners. Condom use increases with education level: almost half of male adolescents with some secondary education and 73 percent with higher education reported using a condom during sexual intercourse, though percentages for female adolescents are much lower ([figure 62, panel c](#)). This disconnect needs more research to be explained; it might reflect either women's empowerment or some social desirability bias on the part of men.

Figure 62 Health-Risk Behaviors in Young People by Gender, Age, and Education



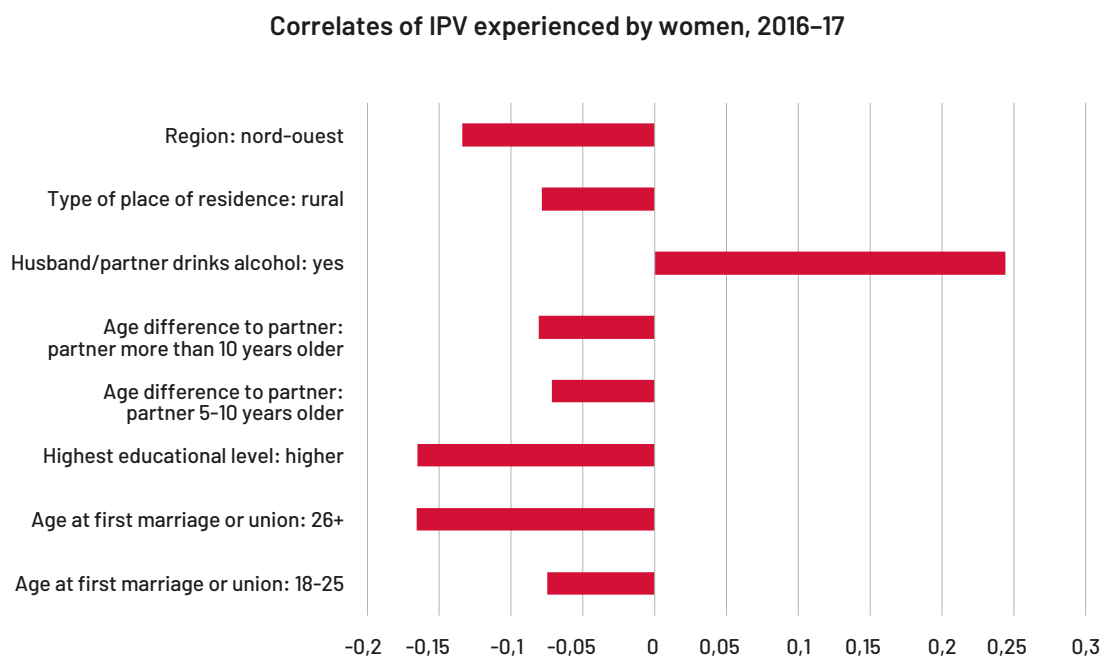
Source: DHS (2016-17).

Note: Results on first sexual intercourse are not presented for those in the 25-49 age range. Because the age of first sexual intercourse is analyzed for this age range, the age asked about must be lower than the age range analyzed. For this reason, the percentages of men and women do not add up to 100 in panels a and b. For panel c, the percentages are calculated over the total number of young people in the 15-24

age range.

In a multivariate framework, the partner's alcohol consumption is the strongest predictor of women's experience of intimate partner violence, while higher levels of women's education and older age at first marriage appear to be protective. Women who marry before age 18 are much more likely to report intimate partner violence than women who marry as adults ([figure 63](#)). This is a pattern that is consistent around the world, with women who marry after 18 much less likely to experience intimate partner violence (Kidman 2017). Women with higher levels of education are the least likely to report any form of intimate partner violence. It is unclear here whether education is actually protective against violence or whether reporting is lower due to social stigma and higher levels of knowledge in these groups. In unconditional models, age is often associated with lower levels of intimate partner violence, but it is notable that when controlling for other characteristics, age is not significantly associated with victimization. Women in rural areas and in the Nord-ouest were slightly less likely to report gender-based violence in 2017.

Figure 63 Marginal Effects on Intimate Partner Violence Experienced by Women



Source: DHS (2016–17).

Note: The coefficients reported are significant at least at 10 percent.

3.4. Disaster and Risk Management

Due to its geographic location, Haiti is subject to multiple hazards, making its population one of the most exposed to natural disasters. Earthquakes represent the country's highest hazard risk, followed by cyclones, environmental degradation, droughts, and epidemics (European Commission 2020). Between 2000 and 2019, Haiti was ranked globally as the third-worst affected country by impacts of climatic events (Eckstein, Künzel, and Schäfer 2021). It has the highest disaster risk index in the LAC region and ranks worst among Caribbean countries in all three dimensions of risk: hazards and exposure, vulnerability, and lack of coping capacity ([table 7](#)).

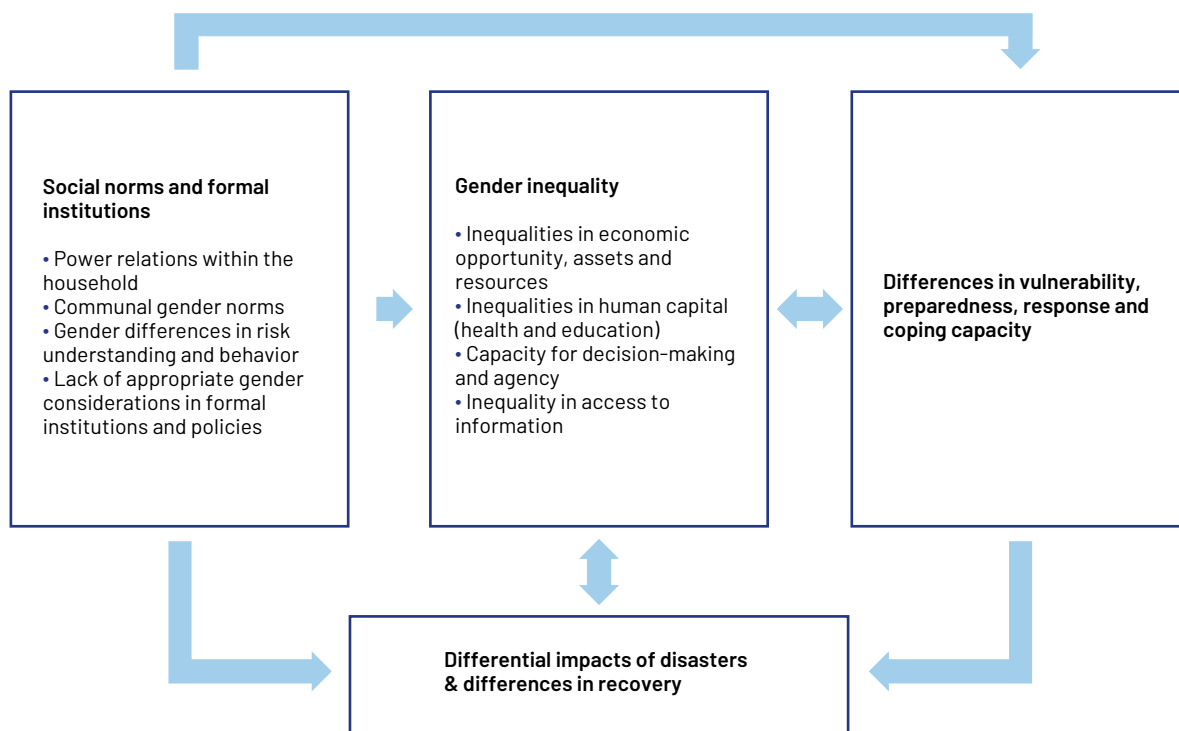
Most recently, the country has suffered successive disasters with devastating human and economic costs. The earthquake of 2010 is estimated to have killed 220,000 people and destroyed the equivalent of 120 percent of GDP (World Bank 2021b). The outbreak of a cholera epidemic shortly after claimed an estimated additional 10,000 lives (MSPP 2020). In 2016, Hurricane Matthew resulted in over 500 deaths, displaced 175,000 people, and caused damages and losses equivalent to around 32 percent of GDP. The country has been further weakened by the COVID-19 pandemic and 2021 earthquake, the latter had an economic impact equivalent to 11 percent of GDP and which came amidst a long political crisis (World Bank 2021b).

Climate change is expected to increase the frequency and severity of hazards. Climate projections for Haiti estimate that temperatures could rise by 1.7°C by 2070, possibly leading to cyclonic events of increased duration and intensity (Ministère de l'Environnement 2013; World Bank 2011). Likewise, the dry season will likely become harsher, with the number of hot days projected to increase throughout the country (World Bank 2011). The potential future maximum losses from hurricanes and earthquakes occurring within a 250-year return period are estimated at US\$1.6 billion (13.3 percent of 2016 GDP) and US\$2.41 billion (27.5 percent of 2016 GDP), respectively (World Bank 2017b). Furthermore, Haiti's vulnerability is exacerbated by poor adaptive capacity. Political governance is marked by a weak institutional framework and public institutions lack the necessary human and financial resources, which greatly reduces the state's ability to effectively address disaster risk management (UNDP 2019).

Prevailing gender norms and inequalities can cause men and women to experience disasters differently. The social and economic roles assigned to women and men may influence their understanding and perception of disaster risk. Additionally, gender inequalities in terms of economic opportunity, human capital and the capacity for decision-making may place women in disproportionate exposure to disasters: women's economic insecurity, limited access to information, and limited involvement in disaster management policies are among the factors that may increase their vulnerability (Neumayer and Plümper 2007; Erman et al. 2021).

Differences in vulnerability could in turn lead to differences in impacts of disasters and have implications for individuals' ability to recover from disasters, further perpetuating existing inequalities (figure 64). In the aftermath of disasters, redistribution of postdisaster workloads may place different responsibilities on men and women. The destruction of infrastructure in a disaster situation can exacerbate existing disparities in access to essential services. Women and men may also have different needs during temporary accommodations due to risk factors such as gender-based violence and sexual violence. Additionally, differences in financial inclusion may also imply limited access to resources for recovery thereby creating feedback loops that reinforce existing inequalities.

Figure 64 Conceptual Framework on Gender and Disasters



Source: Adapted from World Bank (2012) and Erman et al. (2021).

Recognizing that disasters can reflect and reinforce gender inequality, this deep dive zooms in on disasters and disaster risk management (DRM) in Haiti. Following the conceptual framework of the World Bank's 2021 report on Gender Dynamics of Disaster Risk and Resilience (figure 64), it analyzes gender differences in vulnerability, preparedness, and coping capacity. The analysis then examines gender dimensions of disaster impacts and unequal recovery following disasters. It concludes with an analysis of the progress made in implementing gender considerations in risk management

policies at both the national and community levels and identifies remaining gaps. The analysis in this deep dive is constrained by data availability. Where possible, the analysis makes use of mobile phone surveys while acknowledging the limitations of these data. Qualitative interviews are also used to shed more light on gender dimensions in DRM.¹⁴ Finally, where data do not exist, the deep dive hypothesizes on how women may be differentially affected.

Table 7 Risk Scores, Haiti vs. Other Caribbean countries, 2020

Country	Risk and exposure (0–10)	Vulnerability (0–10)	Lack of adaptability (0–10)	INFORM Index (0–10)	Rank in the LAC region (1–33)
Haiti	8.0	8.4	9.0	8.5	1
Dominican Republic	6.4	4.7	6.3	5.7	12
Jamaica	6.5	4.3	6.8	5.7	12
Dominique	5.1	5.1	4.7	5.0	17
Trinidad-Tobago	4.4	4.5	5.6	4.8	19
Cuba	6.9	3.4	3.6	4.4	21
Bahamas	5.6	2.6	5.2	4.2	23
Saint Lucia	4.3	2.9	5.1	4.0	26
Saint Vincent	4.3	3.2	3.9	3.8	27
Antigua Barbuda	3.0	2.4	5.2	3.3	29
Grenada	1.9	3.3	5.2	3.2	30
Saint Kitts & Nevis	2.3	2.5	3.8	2.8	32
Barbados	3.1	2.2	2.9	2.7	33

Source: European Commission (2020).

Note: Risk is on a scale of 0–10, with 10 being the highest risk.

¹⁴ The qualitative evidence presented is drawn from key informant interviews and focus group discussions conducted by the Centre d'Étude et de Coopération Internationale (CECI) in July–August 2021 as part of a study commissioned by the World Bank to improve understanding of gender gaps in the field of disaster and risk management in Haiti. Key informants were selected from national, departmental, and local government agencies; civil society; and donors. Interviews were conducted in Port-au-Prince, the South (South and Grand'Anse departments) and North (North and North-East departments). Focus groups were conducted in the South, Grand'Anse, North, and North-East departments with representatives of women heads of household, women of various ages, and people with disabilities (World Bank forthcoming c).

3.4.1 Vulnerability to disasters

3.4.1.1 Factors that predispose women to vulnerability to disasters

Women are disproportionately vulnerable to disasters. As discussed in [section 2](#), in Haiti gender inequalities exist in three key domains: economic, human capital and voice and agency. These existing inequalities predispose women to vulnerability to disasters. [Box 4](#) provides an overview of the inequalities in each domain and implications for disaster vulnerability.

Limitations in access to information may contribute to vulnerability, particularly for women. Despite the progress that has been made in education, among adults (25–49) gender gaps still exist, with women having lower educational attainment ([see section 2](#)). Lower literacy rates may limit women's access to disaster and climate change information and constrain women's ability to take preventive measures to protect themselves and those under their care or to reduce the risk of loss of their property and assets (World Bank forthcoming c). Additionally, evidence suggests that while internet access is low overall in the country, women have slightly lower rates. According to the High-Frequency Phone Survey of December 2021, 8.5 percent of male respondents lived in a household with internet service, compared to 6 percent among female respondents.

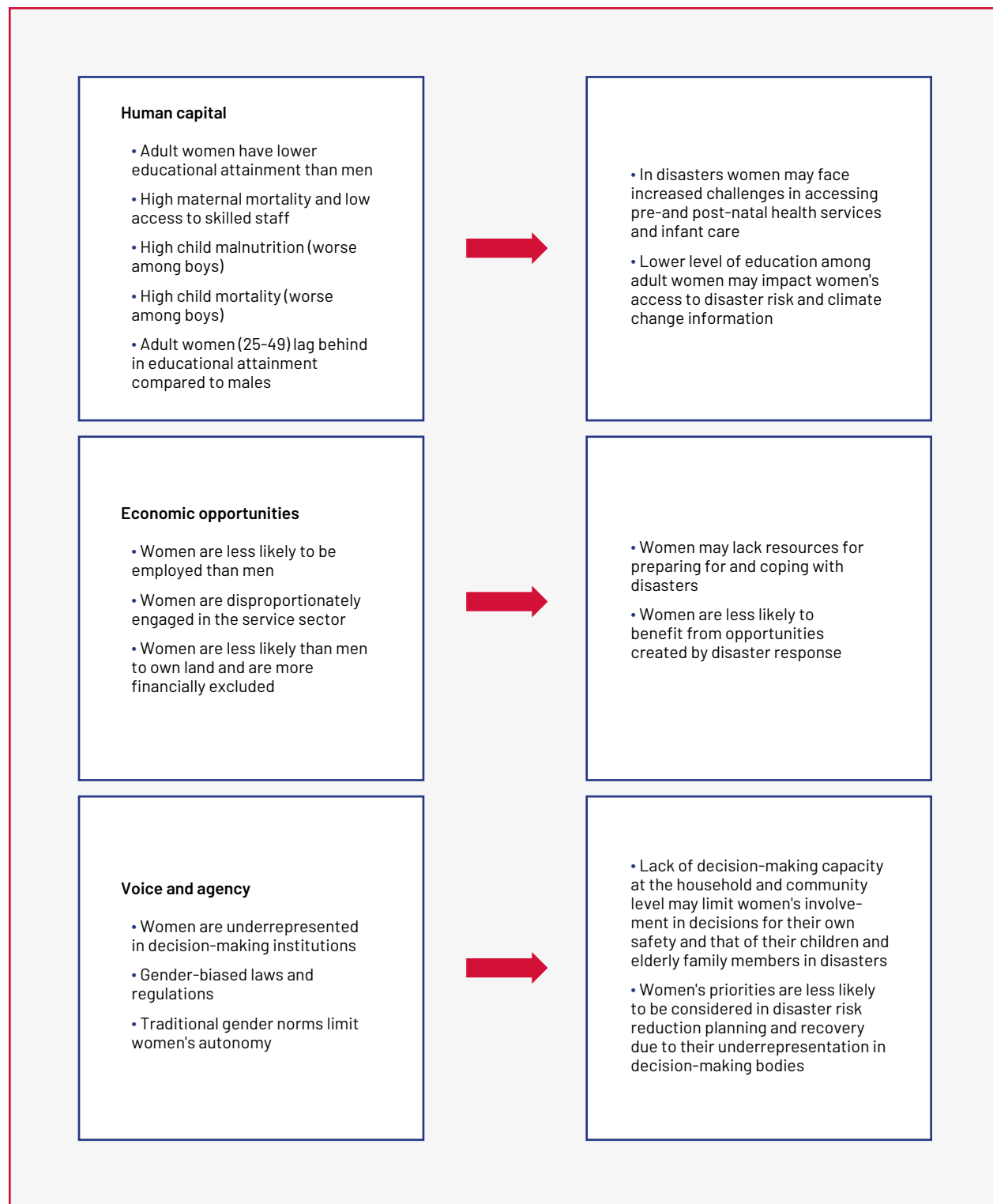
Preparedness plans and communications are not adapted or accessible to women. Predisaster sensitization is generally done using posters (images and explanatory note), but nonliterate people (including a majority of women in rural areas) do not necessarily understand the messages conveyed by these posters. Furthermore, qualitative interviews suggests that while women are targeted as members of the wider community, there are neither strategies nor specific follow-up mechanisms to ensure that they receive and integrate the sensitization and early warning messages (World Bank forthcoming c).

Box 4 The Role of Women in Disaster-Preparedness Activities

In general, it is men who participate more in community meetings organized during preparedness activities or other disaster risk management (DRM) training activities. This is explained by the fact that women have to fulfill other obligations (such as going to the market or taking care of children) at the time chosen for the meetings. Even when we consider these factors, it is still not easy to obtain a large participation of women. Thus, there is not a major role given to women in preparedness. (Nongovernmental specialist in the DRM sector, unpublished interview, Port-au-Prince, 2021)

Women's limited access to paid work and their disproportionate responsibility for domestic work may also hinder their ability to prepare adequately for disasters. Women are less likely to be employed and hence could have fewer resources to prepare for disasters. As discussed in the thematic deep dive on the labor market ([section 3.1](#)), women in Haiti also tend to perform the majority of the domestic tasks. This allocation of domestic labor may limit women's ability to participate in meetings and integrate into community decision-making. Women may lack the time, flexibility, or skills required to attend trainings dedicated to building resilience and developing adaptation options that are not necessarily organized around women's domestic schedules. Additionally, daily tasks entrusted to women such as caring for the elderly and providing water become more difficult during times of crisis. Evidence from the current pandemic shows that in times of crisis, women are more likely to report an increase in domestic workload ([see section 3.1](#)). Furthermore, the responsibility of caring for children and the elderly—without transportation—is an additional factor that contributes to women's vulnerability and disaster-related morbidity. Lack of autonomy may also mean they may not be in control of the decision to evacuate (World Bank forthcoming c).

Box 5 Key Inequalities between Men and Women in Haiti and Implications for Vulnerability to Disasters



Source: Authors' illustration

Gender differences in disaster risk perception and in reaction time may also play a role in disaster vulnerability. Although there is little research on gender-based differences in disaster risk perception, the few existing studies indicate that, with similar exposure, women have greater risk perception than men (Erman et al. 2021). Women and men may also have different considerations that determine their ability to respond quickly. Women must determine and incorporate into their decision whether the severity of the disaster risk (in terms of potential impact) outweighs other risks they may face in going to a shelter, in terms of gender-based violence or poor sanitary conditions. They may be reluctant to seek shelter if communal facilities do not have separate private spaces for women and families. Qualitative interviews from Haiti also suggest that women tend to want to make sure they have taken the essentials and put certain assets in “safe” storage before moving. This delays their evacuation and can increase the risk of danger. On the other hand, men may also want to first physically secure assets. For example, in the South, as Tropical Storm Elsa approached in July 2021, members of the local disaster risk management committee noticed that women and their dependents (children and elderly) were present in the temporary shelter before the men, who waited until the last moment to go to the shelters (World Bank forthcoming c)

During disasters, women face challenges in meeting their health needs and those of the newborns, infants, and children in their care. Disasters affect access and availability of health services (UN Women and Care 2021). Women and young children in Haiti are particularly vulnerable, given the existing high maternal and infant mortality as well as high malnutrition rates ([see section 2](#)). For example, qualitative evidence suggests that after Hurricane Matthew, access to pre- and postnatal care was increasingly difficult and nursing mothers were particularly at risk of malnutrition and dehydration (World Bank forthcoming c).

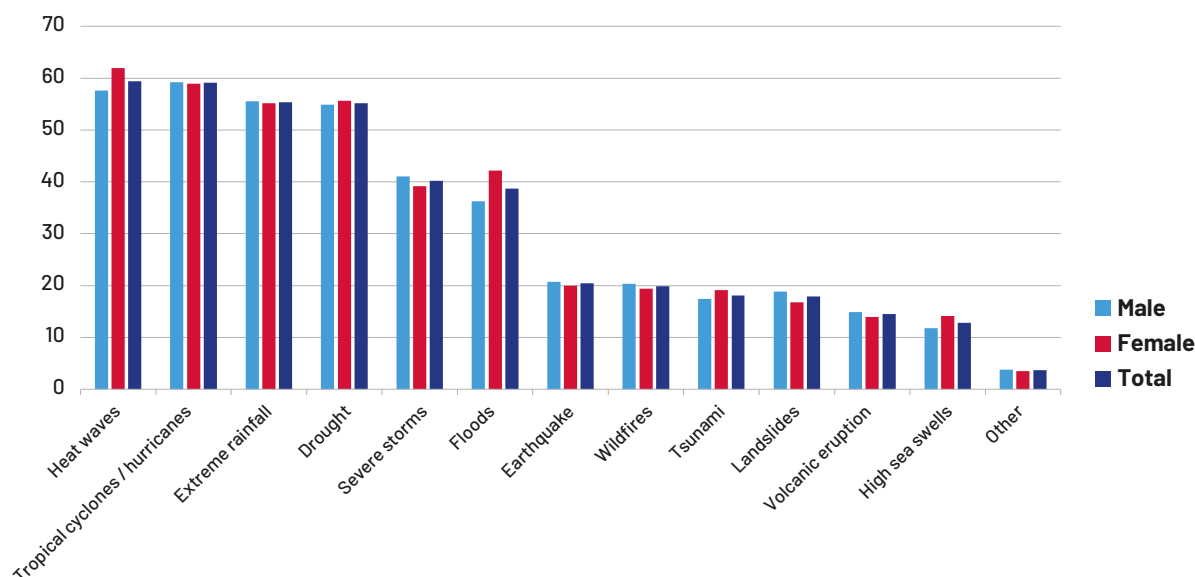
3.4.1.2 Insights from mobile phone surveys on vulnerability at the household level

A mobile phone household survey in December 2021 shows that overall exposure to disasters is high across the entire population. An estimated 23 percent of respondents reside in households threatened by one to two hazards while 68 percent reside in households facing three or more hazards. Mobile phone survey conducted in November and December 2021 show that cyclones, heat waves, droughts, and extreme rainfall are the hazards most reported by households. To examine gender differences, data are disaggregated by the sex of the household head. However, it is important to bear in mind that the comparison of male- and female-headed households can only speak to differences across households, but cannot provide any information on gender differences within households, as most women live in male-headed households.¹⁵

¹⁵ For this and subsequent sections in this deep dive, data from the HFS are restricted to the sample of respondents who are heads of households and disaggregated by sex. Nevertheless, limitations of using the sex-of-household-head dichotomy are acknowledged (see Munoz Boudet et al. 2018 for a discussion on the limitations of such disaggregation).

There do not appear to be significant differences between male- and female-headed households in the self-reported assessment of whether a household faces hazards, suggesting that exposure to hazards is high among the entire population ([figure 65](#)).

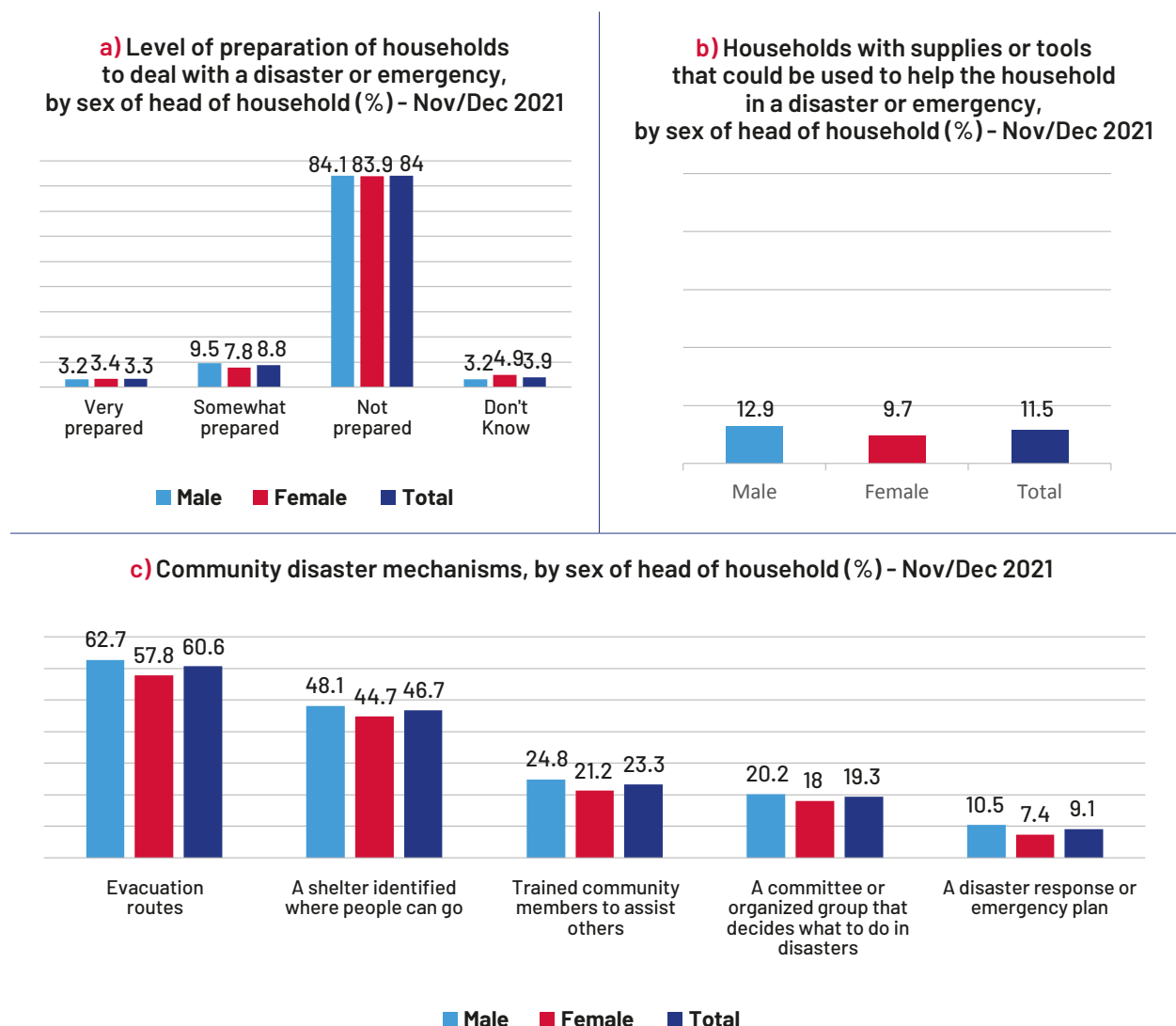
Figure 65 Households Threatened by Natural Hazards, by Gender of Head of Household (%), November–December 2021



Source: High-Frequency Mobile Phone Survey, November–December 2021. The sample comprised 2,631 households of which 42.5 percent were female headed and 57.5 male headed.

Despite the majority of households' reporting being at risk to natural hazards, most households are unprepared and women-headed households are slightly less likely to report having the necessary supplies or a response plan for disaster situations. Nearly 84 percent of households reported not being prepared to deal with disasters or emergencies and the rate is similar among male- and female-headed households ([figure 66, panel a](#)). Most households also lack supplies for disaster and emergency use and this is slightly worse among female-headed households, 9.7 percent of whom report having emergency supplies compared to a slightly higher, albeit still low rate of 12.9 percent among male counterparts ([figure 66, panel b](#)). Availability of community disaster mechanisms is also low nationally ([figure 66, panel c](#)). Only 61 percent of households have evacuation routes. While the likelihood of living in a community with a disaster or emergency response plan is particularly low, it is even lower among female-headed households, with only 7.4 percent reporting living in communities with this mechanism in place ([figure 66, panel c](#)).

Figure 66 Self-Reported Assessment of the Level of Preparedness of Households



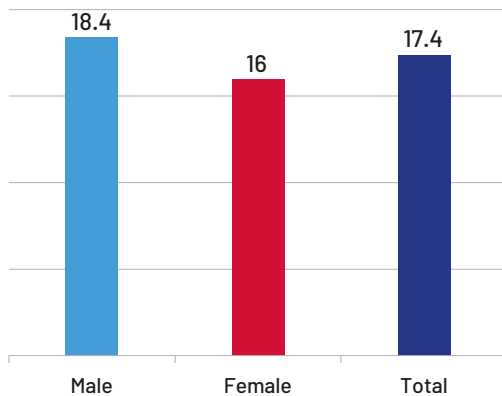
Source: High-Frequency Mobile Phone Survey, November–December 2021.

Access to information is limited for most households. Only 17 percent of households reported having access to an early warning system and the lack of risk information is only slightly more pronounced among female-headed households in which discussions of disaster responses are also slightly less likely to occur ([figure 67](#)). However, further analysis in a multivariate regression framework shows that having an early warning system or discussion of disasters in households does not appear to be associated with sex of the household head or any of the factors examined ([figure 68](#)).¹⁶

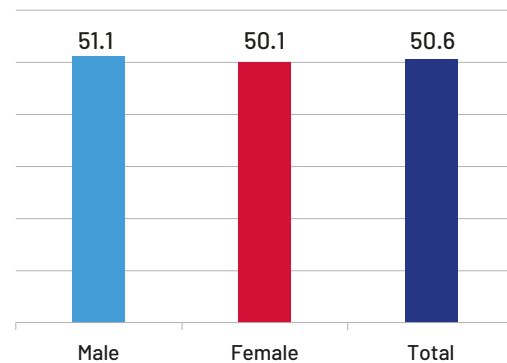
¹⁶ The variable of presence of early warning system was regressed on the head of household head's sex, age, education attainment, number of children in the household (categories: zero children, one–two children, three or more) and region dummies in a probit model. There was no significant association between living in a community with an early warning system and sex of the head or any of the other variables. Similar results were obtained when considering whether discussion on disasters within households is correlated with any of the aforementioned factors.

Figure 67 Access to Information on Disasters

a) Percentage of households that reported that their community had an early warning system, by sex of head of household - Nov/Dec 2021



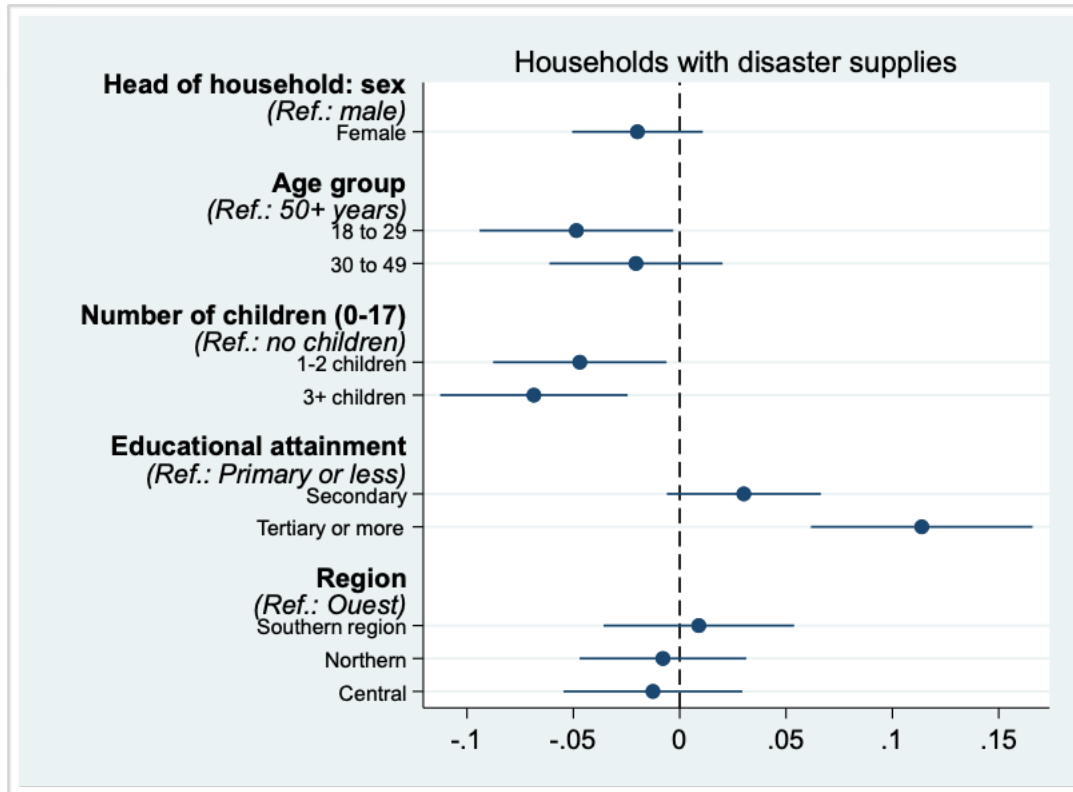
b) Talked at home about or planned what respondent would do in the event of a disaster or emergency by sex of head of household (%) - Nov/Dec 2021



Source: High-Frequency Mobile Phone Survey, November–December 2021.

Overall, these results suggest that vulnerability is high and preparedness low among the majority of households regardless of sex of the head. At the same time, the above disaggregation by sex of household head may mask other factors such as household composition that could be related to vulnerability. After controlling for other factors, sex of household head is not significantly associated with preparedness. Rather, the presence of three or more children in the households reduces the probability of having adequate supplies by 6.8 percentage points. On the other hand, having a household head with more education increases the probability of having supplies.

Figure 68 Correlates of Disaster Preparedness (Whether a Household Has Supplies for Use in Disasters or Emergencies)

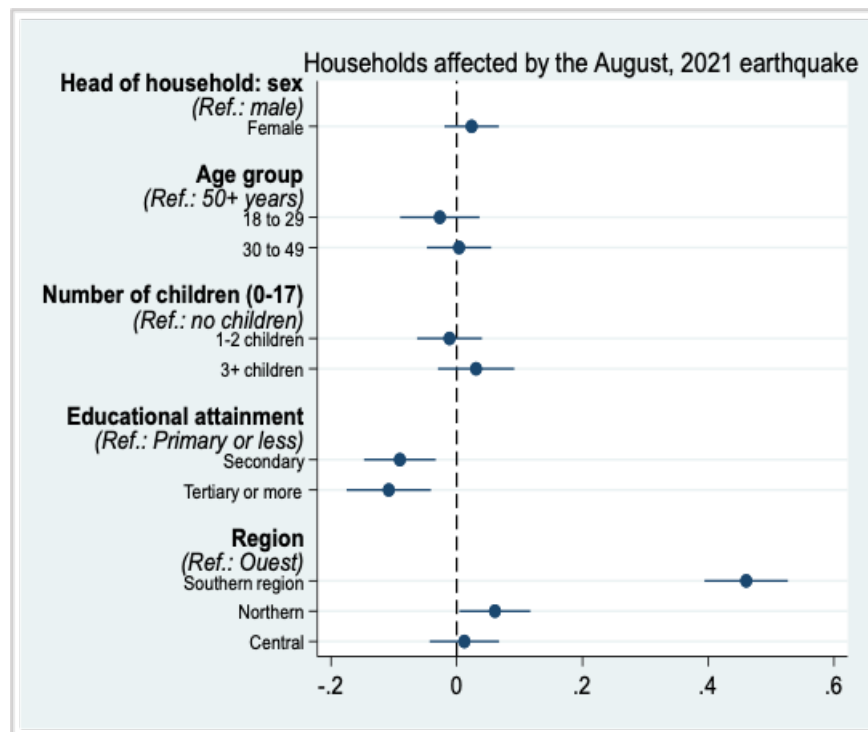
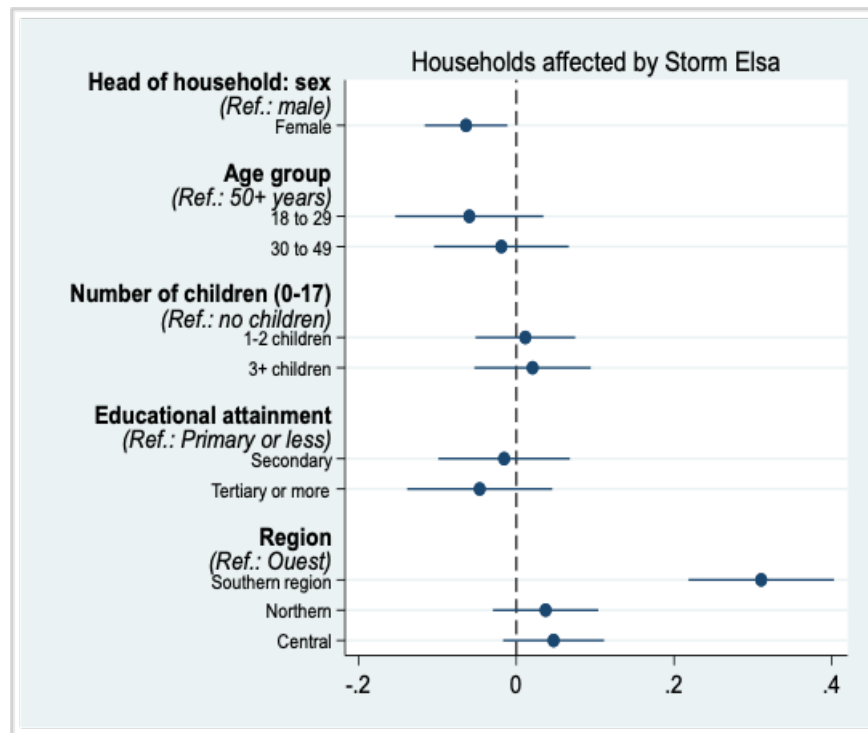


Source: High-Frequency Phone Survey, November–December 2021.

3.4.2 Impacts of disasters and gender dimensions of recovery

Evidence from mobile phone surveys suggests that the location of a household, rather than the sex of its head, is the main predictor of whether a household is affected by disasters. Exploratory multivariate regression shows that region of residence is the significant variable in explaining the likelihood of whether a household reports having been impacted by Tropical Storm Elsa or the earthquake in 2021 ([figure 69](#)). Both events hit the southern peninsula of Haiti. As is to be expected, for both events households in the southern region are more likely to report having been impacted. Households with a female head are less likely to report being affected by Tropical Storm Elsa. On the other hand, there are no differences by sex of head in reporting impacts from the earthquake. As discussed above, the absence of differences by sex of household head does not imply absence of gender differences in impact, given that this variable does not capture within-household gender differences. In the following subsections we consider possible reasons why women may be more impacted by disasters, supplementing the analysis with qualitative information.

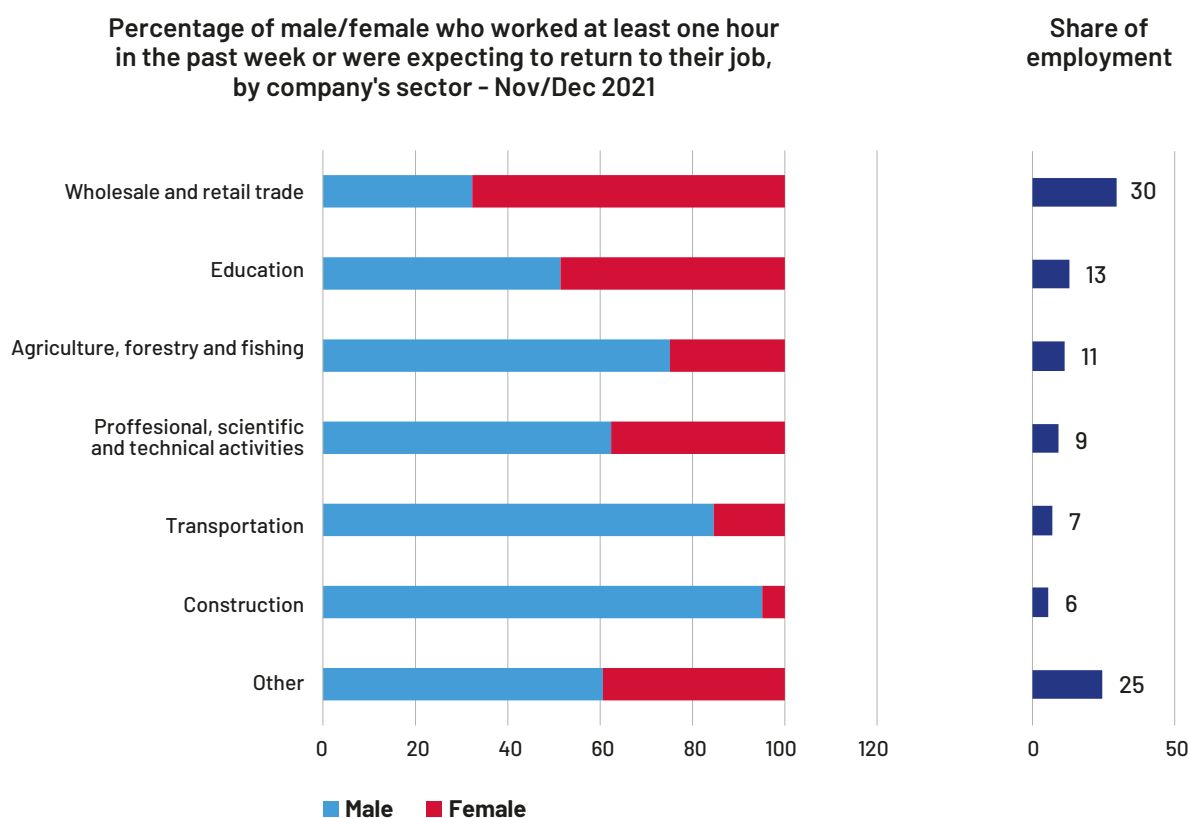
Figure 69 Examining Correlates of Disaster Impacts



Sources: High-Frequency Phone Survey, wave 1 (July–August 2021) and wave 2 (November–December 2021).

Sectoral and industrial gender segregation in the labor market may lead to differential impacts of disasters by gender. Employment opportunities in Haiti are highly differentiated by gender. According to the HFS of December 2021, the wholesale and retail trade is composed primarily of women (68 percent). Women entrepreneurs in Haiti such as the Madan Sara ([see section 3.1](#)) are undercapitalized and concentrate their activities in the food, retail, and small business sectors with low profit margins. In comparison, construction and other higher-paying infrastructure sectors are dominated by men. Disasters often result in job losses in the service sectors due to business closures or reduced resources, but can boost construction and adjacent sectors in the process of replacing and repairing damaged or lost infrastructure.

Figure 70 Sector of Employment by Gender



Source: High-Frequency Phone Survey, November–December 2021.

Note: Percentage distribution reported for those who worked at least one hour the previous week or were expecting to return to their job (business). In addition, only sectors for which the share of employment is at least 5 percent are shown. The rest are included in the category of “others,” which includes manufacturing; human health; public administration, extraterritorial organizations; accommodation and food service activities; repair of household goods and vehicles; financial and insurance activities; arts, entertainment, and recreation; administrative and support service activities; electricity, gas, and water supply; information and communication; activities of households as employers, real state activities; mining and quarrying; and personal services and associated activities.

Structural and logistical barriers may complicate access to disaster assistance for women, and when it is available, it may not meet their needs. Qualitative interviews suggest that when it comes to aid distribution, men are more likely to receive aid first. Kits are usually prepositioned in warehouses before the hurricane season, but there are no clear specifications for assessing and providing the appropriate responses to the needs of different groups such as pregnant women, mothers, or people with disabilities (World Bank forthcoming c).

Women are vulnerable to exploitation in postdisaster situations, both in their homes and in the communities. Key informant interviews and focus groups revealed that disasters have a more profound impact on Haitian women than on men ([see box 6](#)). In particular, the redistribution of postdisaster workloads often places additional responsibilities on women in both the domestic and community spheres (World Bank forthcoming c).

Women are likely to be exposed to gender-based violence in transitional shelters and during aid distribution. The key informant interviews and focus groups carried out in 2021 revealed that women are exposed to gender-based violence in transitional shelters and during aid distribution in the aftermath of disasters (World Bank forthcoming c). This situation might be one of the reasons why women would prefer to take refuge with other family members where they feel safer, though doing so may limit their access to formal aid.

Box 6 Gender-Based Violence in Postdisaster Situations

Women tend to be victims of gender-based violence in postdisaster aid contexts. Especially when it comes to distribution, it is men who receive the aid, especially if it is a substantial amount (such as a bag of rice or something else that requires greater physical strength). It happens that women come back from the distribution lines beaten and without having received anything. At this point, the context is set for haggling, especially if they have children. It also happens that women find themselves in a situation where they engage in prostitution to ensure their survival. In this type of situation, men have power relationships with women who are the most vulnerable and usually the victims. (Head of a community-based women's organization (CBO), unpublished interview, Northern Haiti, 2021)

The interventions of NGOs or other charitable organizations do not take into account the realities of certain groups (women, people with disabilities, elderly people, etc.). During distributions, they are victims of jostling/pressure/violence from men. There is insufficient integration of women and women's organizations, people with disabilities, [and] the elderly . . . from the preparation phase for better coordinated and adapted responses to disaster risk management. (Key informant interviews, Southern Haiti, 2021)

Women living with a disability are doubly victimized than men. Despite their disability, they take care of everything at home. And if on top of that, they are pregnant or breastfeeding, their case becomes even more complex in times of disaster. (Mixed discussion group, Les Cayes, Southern Haiti, 2021)

With increased stress on households, disasters also increase the perpetration of gender-based violence. Food and income insecurity can also expose women and girls to sexual exploitation and trafficking and early marriage for household survival. After the earthquake in 2010, data collected in four camps revealed that 14 percent of respondents reported that since the earthquake, one or more members of their household had experienced sexual violence. Of the victims, 86 percent were women and girls (Alam, Applebaum, and Mawby 2016).

The Ministry for the Status of Women and Women's Rights (MCFDF) is responsible for ensuring that gender and protection aspects are included in transitional shelters' management procedures, but the staff does not necessarily have the skills required to implement them. Over the past two years, there have been efforts to set up shelter management committees, but not all committees have received appropriate training. Although some spaces used as shelters (temples and schools in particular) have been refurbished with separate restrooms for men and women, they do not yet meet the international standards relating to shelter, accommodation, and recovery as established in the guidelines for the integration interventions targeting gender-based violence in humanitarian action ([box 7](#)). As attacks are still part of the daily life of people's receiving assistance in shelters, there is a great need for resources and initiatives to reduce the risk of attacks.

Box 7 Interviews on the Spaces Used as Shelters in the Community

The spaces used for the accommodation of victims or people at risk during disasters are the premises of schools, churches, gymnasiums, etc. structures which, a priori, were not built to be shelters. In these spaces, there is no gender distinction because it is not a real shelter but a pre-identified space for use in a case of force majeure. Difficulties therefore arise in terms of toilet blocks, water, and food. (Mayor, city of Cap-Haitien, unpublished interview, Nord Department, 2021)

At the level of the structures that serve as temporary shelters, it is still necessary to ensure the positioning and protection of the most vulnerable people in the groups, such as people with disabilities; pregnant, breastfeeding women or women with young children; the elderly. The population is more aware than before of the existence and location of sites that serve as temporary shelters in their area. Some vulnerable people preferentially choose to visit family members whom they consider having less risky homes. (Mayor, the city of Les Cayes, unpublished interview, Sud Department, 2021)

Lower financial inclusion among women means that they may not be able to access postdisaster financial assistance. Women have less access to the land and assets needed to obtain financing and are therefore less able to absorb shocks. According to the Haitian Constitution (article 36), women and men have equal rights to property,

land, and assets. The civil code stipulates that no distinction should be made between male and female heirs in any aspect and that married women are free to make a will without their husband's authorization (articles 583, 605, and 735). Despite this, the de facto lack of control over land ownership may limit women's access to postdisaster financial or in-kind assistance (inputs, tools, etc.) for damaged land or crops. Due to their lack of access to formal financing mechanisms, women are more likely to sell animals or other assets or take out small informal loans at sometimes-exorbitant usury rates to meet family needs (World Bank forthcoming c).

Women with disabilities may be doubly disadvantaged by disasters. People with disabilities require more-specialized assistance following disasters. Just as kits do not meet the needs of pregnant women, people with disabilities do not seem to receive specific attention during the development of DRM-related strategies and actions, limiting their ability to recover from natural disasters at the same rate as those who can more easily benefit from standard care and benefits (UN Women and Care 2021).

Although both genders are affected by loss of jobs, housing, crops, and assets as a result of disasters, recovery may be slower for women. Inequalities in access to economic opportunities discussed extensively in the thematic deep dives may make women less likely than men to secure livelihoods or immediate means of subsistence and therefore of recovering.



Policy Options

4. The Way Forward: Identifying Policy Options in a Complex and Challenging Environment

This Gender Assessment comes at a difficult and critical moment in Haiti's history. The country is currently reeling from natural disasters, the economic and social consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic, and political instability and insecurity. These back-to-back crises have come atop several preexisting institutional fragilities and high levels of social unrest and violence. This assessment focuses on gender inequalities, which is both just one issue among the many facing Haiti and one that cross-cuts and intersects with several sectors and challenges. Although we cannot ignore the many issues facing Haiti as a whole, because they may ultimately prevent progress on gender inequality, neither can we finalize this report without a nod to policy options. Some may be feasible as the crisis eases and governance improves and others—necessary to achieve gender equality—will require institutions that are much more stable and physical security.

The implementation of policies to address gender inequality will vary with the current situation and will require support from a variety of actors. Engagements in fragile and conflict environments call for a strong people-centered approach that prioritizes inclusion, supports the most vulnerable, and takes in consideration gender and youth issues (World Bank 2022a). Successful implementation in a fragile and complex environment like Haiti can benefit from the experience and strength of actors in government, civil society, and NGOs in Haiti, as well as in international lending and assistance institutions.

In order to identify potential policies that are context appropriate and can be effective in the current environment, we relied on several expert sources. This section draws on the recent *Haiti Systematic Country Diagnostic Update* (World Bank 2022a), the literature, interviews with experts at the World Bank in the fields of policy and those with particular expertise on Haiti, and discussions with organization leaders in Haiti to identify both short- and long-term policy options that respond to key constraints to achieving gender inequality in Haiti. We focus on six key areas that were identified in this Gender Assessment: women's health care, education, social norms, labor market access, response to gender-based violence, and disaster and risk management. In line with the Systematic Country Diagnostic framework, we lay out alternative policies

and consider their feasibility in the current context, using the shorthand of short-term and long-term policy options. We define short-term policy options as ones that have been shown to be feasible in fragile and conflict environments as well as effective at reducing gender inequality in complex contexts. Long-term policy options describe policies that are ultimately necessary for improving gender inequalities in Haiti but that require functioning institutions, security, and stability.¹⁷

4.1. Women's Health Care

4.1.1 Ensure continued use, access to, and delivery of reproductive health care services for women

Women's unique health needs, especially among pre- and postpartum women, require particular attention from policy makers—both short- and long-term policy options exist to address these needs. This document shows that women face significant challenges in accessing health care; relatedly, women have high rates of maternal mortality and complications with pregnancy. Women may be reluctant to visit health clinics and skilled care providers for reasons of cost, distance, and fear of low-quality and impersonal care, choosing instead to rely on traditional and often untrained providers who are closer to home.

Policies to address women's outcomes should focus on these constraints, namely by improving the quality of care and friendliness of and access to formal care for women. Mobile outreach teams and female health providers who are deployed to rural areas can help women become more familiar with and less hesitant to access formal health-care facilities. This was a successful strategy during the COVID-19 pandemic and could be employed with other types of health care in order to address women's concerns about utilizing formal care for reproductive and maternal health, family planning, and familial care. Efforts at mobile outreach can be coordinated with local women's organizations and nongovernmental organizations to improve messaging around accessing health-care services and to ensure take-up.

Policies to address distance and cost may require longer-term institutional investment in new health facilities, training of new providers, and the creation and publication of fee waiver or cost assistance programs to increase access. Investment in provider training may ultimately improve quality of care, but the evidence on the effects of training programs on patient outcomes is mixed (Dharmar et al. 2008; Salisbury et al. 2021). Complementary policies may be necessary to accelerate impact.

¹⁷ The internal consultation process took place during October and November 2022. A total of eight virtual sessions were held to discuss findings and prioritize policy options. See list of WB sector experts in [table 14](#) in the annex.

Existing results-based financing (RBF) schemes should be continued and expanded in the health-care space. Haiti's experience, after almost two decades of implementation, shows that these incentives are an effective tool for strengthening primary health care ([see box 8](#)). Furthermore, incentives have proven more effective and substantially less expensive than training and technical assistance alone. In the short term, existing schemes should be continued and expended upon. In the long term, schemes could be expanded to other areas and clients, but successful RBF programs will require a strong institutional backer either within the government or an appropriate partner.

Box 8 The Potential of Results-Based Financing to Improve Women's Access to Maternal Health Care

Pay-for-performance schemes were first piloted in Haiti in 1999 and subsequently expanded to include many non-government-provided services. The World Bank undertook an impact evaluation of these schemes, which aim to offer incentives for hospitals to provide more and higher-quality primary health-care services such as childhood immunizations and maternal health-care services. From 2010 to 2017, indicators for incentivized services were compared to indicators for non-incentivized services. The results-based financing scheme was complemented with timely monitoring, technical assistance to organizations, and suggestions for corrective actions if goals were not met.

Pay-for-performance significantly increased the provision of maternal health care. The share of recently pregnant women who gave birth with the assistance of a health professional increased by 9.2 percentage points and births in a modern health facility increased by 4 percentage points in rural areas.

Sources: Eichler, Auxila, and Pollock (2001); Zeng et al. (2013); World Bank (2022b).

4.2. Education

With an estimated 56 percent of the population under the age of 25, Haiti's youth represent a potential source of resilience and the emergence of a new generation of leaders. As youth face worsening conditions, they will require support to strengthen human capital and to expand productive employment opportunities (World Bank 2022a). This assessment showed that educational attainment overall is low in Haiti, with increasingly worrying dropout rates for boys. Policies that are designed to address the low quality of education and increase attendance rates are necessarily long-term investments. Both the current situation, where many schools remain closed, and the need to consistently revisit and update curricula to meet the demands of the global economy and the job market mean that long-term policies should be considered to address the identified constraints.

Policies to address boys' dropout and reduce risky behaviors should be carefully linked to the drivers of dropout and boys' specific needs. Reasons for school dropout

by boys have been shown to be distinct, depending on geographic location. Limited productive opportunities in rural areas encourage youth to migrate to urban centers, while high unemployment and underemployment leave urban youth vulnerable to recruitment by gangs (World Bank 2022a). Both in-school youth, who are at risk of dropping out, and out-of-school youth will need targeted programming. For the latter, providing job training or second-chance learning programs, especially when they are linked to employment opportunities, can help affected boys to return to a safe and productive path to adulthood (World Bank 2021c). Work-study programs, public sector internships, and other youth- services programs that target in-school youth before they drop out can provide incentives to continue studying and acquiring skills that will be useful in the transition to work, thus improving labor market outcomes (World Bank 2021c; Le Barbanchon et al. forthcoming).¹⁸

Long-term investments in the quality of and access to schooling should be implemented to increase attainment and improve boys' and girl's educational outcomes at all educational levels. The current security situation precludes many important policies to improve educational outcomes. As the situation improves, the country could implement conditional or unconditional cash transfers, pedagogy programs for teacher, or infrastructure improvements (Evans and Yuan 2022).

Boys and girls may require different interventions and policies to improve educational outcomes. Because girls have unique needs such as menstruation and negotiating schooling with chores and housework, programs targeted at girls are necessarily different than those targeted at decreasing dropout rates for boys, for example. Community-level or multifaceted interventions such as fostering parental engagement in conversations around gender stereotypes related to boys' and girls' education and chores at home may be employed.

4.3. Labor Market Access

4.3.1 Facilitate women's engagement in the labor market

Although girls' education levels are catching up to those of boys, women in Haiti are less likely to be active in the labor market, more likely to be searching for work, more likely to be in informal employment, and relatively segregated into particular sectors. The reasons for these disparities are multiple and policies to address key constraints could open opportunities for women to close the gender gaps in labor market access. Most of these policies are most relevant for the long term, because their implementation requires sustained investment and stable institutions.

18 In Uruguay, jobs from a work-study program were offered in the main state-owned companies in Uruguay, but effects were observed on the private sector post-program earnings, highlighting the transferability of general skills acquired during early work experience.

The transition from school to work may be particularly difficult for young women, who can benefit from programs to train and recruit them to new positions. This assessment indicates that labor force participation of Haitian female youth is lower than that of young men and contributes to high rates of not-in-education-employment-or-training among women (NEETs), especially in urban areas. Cognitive, socio-emotional, and in-demand technical skills are important for successful school-to-work transitions by young women (World Bank 2022e), but women can also benefit from role models and information to support labor market entry.

Youth employment programs can be designed with incentives, innovative recruiting, and with nontraditional roles in mind in order to more effectively target women. On the supply side, providing additional incentives or funding to actively recruit women from target populations can be useful to make programs more amenable to recruiting women. Women and their families can benefit from incentives as well. Programs that offer childcare, food and transport allowances, and flexible hours to accommodate household responsibilities can make them more accessible to women. Job training programs that are designed with particular trades or sectors in mind where women are traditionally underrepresented may offer supplementary training. Programs covering topics such as self-esteem, civic engagement and leadership, reproductive health, GBV, preparation for the workplace, and financial literacy and business skills can help women remedy informational, social, and financial capital gaps from their traditional schooling as well as the lack of role models and networks.

Just as training programs may attract more women by providing incentives that account for the burden of childcare and home responsibilities, women's labor force participation in general may benefit from freeing up women's time in the poorest and most vulnerable households.¹⁹ Analysis from this assessment shows that women with young children (ages five or younger) are less likely to be employed, whereas there is no significant association among men. Mothers in poorer households are more likely to be active in the labor market than better-off mothers and thus may on the one hand have less ability to pay for childcare and on the other more need for it. Moreover, children from disadvantaged backgrounds would benefit from quality childcare services, even more so in a humanitarian-response context. As an additional benefit, care services have the potential to create job opportunities for women in Haiti.

Addressing care constraints in poor and vulnerable households has been shown to be effective in many contexts outside Haiti and a variety of policies could be adapted to the Haitian context as governance improves. Childcare provisions can be integrated into existing safety net programs, including cash assistance and public works programs, thus leveraging existing infrastructure and resources. These could include mobile creches

19 There is compelling evidence of the positive impact of childcare availability on women's employment, including in low- and middle-income countries (see review of evidence in Devercelli and Beaton-Day 2020).

as well as home- and community-based services.²⁰ Colombia's Hogares Comunitarios de Bienestar addresses both labor market participation and childcare needs by providing full-day care for small groups of children at the home of a community member.²¹ Finally, policy makers may choose to focus the expansion of community-based childcare in areas where rates of female labor force participation are already high.

4.3.2 Expand access to productive assets and support for entrepreneurial activity for women

Leverage on the digital economy together with digital literacy campaigns can increase women's financial inclusion. Low levels of financial inclusion prevent Haitians from being able to grow their businesses and respond to shocks (Adams 2018). Mobile money (that is, mobile-phone-based digital wallets) and digital banking have the potential to narrow the gender gap in financial inclusion in Haiti. With electronic banking and mobile money, more people not in the traditional banking system are able to carry out financial transactions. Instead of having to make long and expensive trips to bank branches, these technologies enable clients to perform transactions via mobile phone. This enables women to save money, pay fees, receive payments, join cooperatives, gain access to and repay loans, and ultimately supports them in the exercise of their agency and control over their livelihoods, while freeing up time for them to perform other activities. To encourage and assist women in making the transition to the digital economy, efforts are needed to raise awareness about the benefits of these technologies as well as digital literacy campaigns to make sure users feel confident doing the transactions.

The ASPIRE Project is implementing an adaptive social safety net program in Haiti to help households build resilience against shocks. Direct recipients of the cash transfer are mothers or female caregivers of children. As beneficiary households (more specifically, women) have the option to receive their payment through digital means, the project supports capacity building in financial inclusion and the use of digital money (World Bank 2021e).

20 Rwanda, for example, is experimenting with implementation of an innovative community- and home-based early childhood development program under its expanded public work scheme (World Bank 2021d).

21 Other countries have designed child/family allowances targeting the poorest segments of their populations. Examples include the child support grants in South Africa and Thailand.

4.4. Harmful Gendered Social Norms

Women's care responsibilities in the home are strongly associated with gendered social norms and may benefit from institutional interventions. Although a small portion of women are in the formal workforce and thus do receive mandated maternity leave, more men are in formal jobs and introducing paid paternity leave in some form could alleviate this gendered imbalance of care and encourage a more equal distribution of household responsibilities. The absence of paid leave for fathers tends to reproduce a gendered distribution of care responsibilities.²² Enacting paid paternity leave could be an important first step in supporting parental responsibility sharing, though it would need to be carefully designed with the context in mind. Del Rey, Kyriacou, and Silva (2021) have shown through study of 159 countries that paid parental leave is positively associated with women's participation in the labor force. Additionally, allocating a certain amount of parental leave only for men is associated with more equal distribution of household chores (Yavorsky, Qian, and Sargent 2021; Patnaik 2019) and provides more opportunities for men to be involved fathers.

Long-term social-norms change will require addressing ideals of masculinity and behaviors that lead to GBV. Empowering women and girls is a necessary but not sufficient strategy to prevent GBV. Strategies to engage men and boys and to promote population-based norm and behavior change within communities have been shown to be effective in other contexts (Arango et al. 2014; Heise 2011).

Focusing on the community level can be effective in tackling gender roles and attitudes, with special attention to the inclusion of boys and men as change agents. The literature and evidence from other countries offer blueprints for successful community-level interventions to sensitize students and workers to gender issues with the ultimate goal of preventing and responding to GBV. These include the SASA! Model,²³ which has been piloted in Haiti and showed positive effects elsewhere (Raising Voices, LSHTM, and CEDOVIP 2015) by providing training to change behaviors relating to power imbalances between men and women.²⁴ Other proven gender-sensitization interventions include Gender Equity Movement in Schools (GEMs), which focuses on positively influencing behaviors and gender norms around equal participation in society among students between the ages of 12 and 14 (ICRW 2017); Program H, originally launched in Brazil, which consists of training young men (ages 12–24) about their role in society and how their behaviors are potentially linked

22 In the Caribbean, for instance, Suriname is the only country that has (recently) introduced paid paternity leave (for only 8 days) and, with regard to shared paid leave for parents, Colombia is the only country in the LAC region with legal provisions (42 days of shared leave).

23 Originally designed by Raising Voices in 2008 to prevent violence against women and reduce HIV risk in Kampala, Uganda, the program is intended to promote the balance of power between men and women in relationships and communities.

24 In 2010, Beyond Borders (a U.S.-based NGO) adapted SASA! jointly with the complementary methodology Power to Girls, which combines girl-centered programming and a comprehensive community mobilization process that highlights the roles of schools and caregivers. The two programs were brought together as the single, dual-model program Rethinking Power in communities unfamiliar with either stand-alone model (Contreras-Urbina et al. 2021).

to sexually transmitted diseases and violence (Doyle and Kato-Wallace 2021); Program M, developed to work specifically with young women (ages 15 to 24) to promote their health and empowerment through similar critical reflections about gender, rights, and health as Program H; and Coaching Boys into Men, which focuses on educating male high school students in the prevention of emotional, sexual, and physical violence in romantic relationships (Miller et al. 2012).

4.5. Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence

4.5.1 Strengthen prevention of and response to gender-based violence

Women in Haiti are targeted for harassment and violence in their homes, in their communities, and at work. From abusive employers to dangers on the way to work and school and gang violence, women are at a higher risk of violence, which limits their ability to participate fully in society. Policies to address violence cut across many sectors and will require significant normative change as well as policy change, but the response to and prevention of GBV can be strengthened in the short term in the current environment by expanding services through existing entities and community-based models such as Women and Girls' Safe Spaces (WGSS).

Improving response to and prevention of GBV will require increasing both the quality and quantity of services. At present, access to services for GBV survivors is extremely limited in Haiti and highly dependent on external funding (World Bank 2022f). The security situation makes proximity even more important to equitable and effective access, because travel can be dangerous in the current climate. As such, responding to and preventing GBV in the short term should leverage and expand existing emergency-contact services in areas where there is limited availability of such services. When having a physical presence is challenging due to the security situation, solutions could include implementing a GBV-response hotline, counseling and mental health support through telemedicine, or messaging.

Existing community-based services can respond to GBV, as well as provide physical safe spaces in which women and girls can spend time and extensive support for the mentoring and empowering of women and girls, by offering access to health, psychosocial and other services, and community to foster opportunities for mutual support and collective action (GBV Responders' Network n.d.). In the long term, ensuring adequate funding and personnel for the Ministry for the Status of Women and Women's Rights (MCFDF) will support the expansion of these services. MCFDF is a key agent in identifying local organizations with expertise in GBV response and prevention and in empowering women and girls in geographic areas with high GBV prevalence.

4.6. Disaster and Risk Management

4.6.1 Enhance the key role of women as stakeholders in disaster risk management and resilience

Women in Haiti have been shown to be more vulnerable to natural disasters and their effects and more likely to be excluded from disaster preparedness, which both disempowers women and leaves them at greater risk. Policy solutions for increasing the gender-transformative nature of disaster preparedness programming will need to respond to current crises and be flexible in the face of the sustained and ongoing risk of future natural disasters.

To address the immediate needs of women in conflict, there should be adequate and timely training on gender and protection aspects provided to the different stakeholders involved in DRM. These groups include, among others, MCFDF, the General Directorate of the Civil Protection and its partners, and volunteer teams and leaders of civil society (particularly women's) organizations. These groups have varying capacity and knowledge on the particular needs of women in emergency situations and require training to be brought up to appropriate levels. For instance, MCFDF is responsible for ensuring that gender and protection aspects are included in transitional shelters' management procedures, but the staff does not necessarily have the skills to implement them (World Bank forthcoming c).²⁵

Subsequently, those needs must be met by responding to disasters with woman-friendly shelters, safe spaces, and women-specific health care, for example, and can be put in place by aid distribution organizations in the short term. Women's health needs during disasters should be met with menstrual kits, pre- and postnatal care, and support for pregnant and lactating women, whether they are in shelters or camps or staying in their homes. Women also face harassment in aid distribution, which can be mitigated by increasing the female presence among personnel and training aid personnel and volunteers, but also by setting predetermined time slots for pickups to avoid overcrowding (Erman et al. 2021) and working with local leaders to ensure that women are safe when accessing aid distribution points. Working with women's organizations to ensure that the most vulnerable households are identified and their needs met is also key.

Effective disaster and risk management that serves all requires the active participation of women in decision-making and governance of DRM and climate-change issues as well as reconstruction. Women often lack networks and access to spaces in which DRM decisions are made, meaning their particular needs are not met

25 Over the past two years, there have been efforts to set up shelter management committees, but not all committees have received appropriate training.

in preparation and reconstruction efforts. Women's organizations leaders are poised to represent women's interest in DRM committee structures, but could benefit from training programs to build their capacity to play an active role in the sector. This sharing of DRM knowledge within women's networks will expand the circle of women available to take on dynamic roles in DRM committee structures at all levels (World Bank forthcoming c). Reconstruction efforts can provide employment opportunities, but many women lack the skills to participate in and compete for construction work. Thus, recovery programs could incorporate technical skills training for women so they can participate and benefit from reconstruction efforts (World Bank forthcoming c).

At the national level, a comprehensive gender-transformative process to ensure that the national Disaster Risk Management System is needed to ensure the mainstreaming of gender-equality considerations in DRM.²⁶ Many gender-equitable policies are in place, but are not adequately implemented or lack important details. At present, risks related to gender-based violence are not adequately addressed in the National Disaster Risk Management Plan 2019–2030 and should be included. Efforts should be amplified to ensure that the 30 percent quota²⁷ for women in the public sector is met at all levels of the SNGRD structure. Female representation has great potential to ensure that women's needs are accounted in the planning for and met in the response to disasters. In particular, women are underrepresented in technical and managerial positions in the SNGRD, and may require additional training or outreach to bring more gender parity to these positions (World Bank forthcoming c).

Adjustment of communication strategies from awareness campaigns, early warning systems, and contingency strategies is needed to ensure women receive and understand the messages. Predisaster sensitization is generally done using posters, but nonliterate people (including a majority of women in rural areas) do not necessarily understand the messages conveyed by these posters. They are better able to understand verbal messages that come from community structures, such as grassroots community organizations, churches, schools, and other groups they frequent or, where appropriate, voice messages delivered via robocalls (World Bank forthcoming c).

26 The National Disaster Risk Management Plan 2019–2030 recognizes that gender inequalities cause disasters to affect women and men differently and emphasizes the importance of increasing the presence of women in the national DRM system and the need to promote gender awareness at the community level.

27 As mandated in the Constitution of Haiti, there is a quota principle of at least 30 percent of women at all levels of national life including public service. In addition, any law relating to political parties must operate its structures and mechanisms in accordance with the same quota principle of at least 30 percent.

Box 9 Adopting a Comprehensive Approach to Integrate Gender Considerations in DRM and Climate Resilience in Haiti

The World Bank is currently implementing the PGRAC project, which finances infrastructure investments in 5 key departments and provides technical assistance in 140 communes of Haiti to improve the resilience of the Haitian population against hydrometeorological hazards. It is part of a larger effort by the government of Haiti supported by international partners in the DRM sector. During preparation, various diagnostics were carried out to identify opportunities to improve the safety of women and girls during emergency evacuations. These included the preparation of a gender gap analysis, a review of the official shelter management guide, and field interviews with and Municipal Civil Protection Committees and communities.

Based on the analysis, the PGRAC includes a strong focus on actively engaging women in DRM. For instance, each shelter built and rehabilitated is required to have at least 50 percent female membership in the shelter management committees (where women participation is generally low); also, at least 50 percent of women must hold leadership positions in these committees (so that they are in fact involved in decision-making). In addition, shelters built and rehabilitated under the auspices of the project will meet international standards for shelters regarding the physical safety and the needs of women and girls (for example, separate areas to ensure women's privacy, separate toilets, and dedicated storage space for the assets of women merchants, among others).

Source: World Bank (2019c).

The collection of gender-disaggregated disaster data in order to understand gaps, opportunities, and lessons learned about disaster prevention, preparedness, response, and recovery is needed. Data disaggregated by sex or other relevant characteristics are not systematically and consistently collected to determine the impacts of disaster on men and on women and the specific needs of vulnerable populations in disaster recovery stages. Assessments that focus equally on the categories of people affected and on the facilities by affected sector would provide more-comprehensive postdisaster information on the needs of the most vulnerable and how to provide them with assistance (World Bank forthcoming c).

In the long term, aid organizations and the government should invest in upgrading shelter infrastructure and design to make shelters safer for girls and women. Continually providing training for protection volunteers will ensure that shelters are safe and supported by trained protection volunteers. Haiti has developed evacuation shelter standards that take protection into account, though it is unclear to what extent these are currently being applied. The standards state that shelters must have functional lighting, women-only bathrooms, and separate and ample spaces. Investments in shelter renovation and improvement should prioritize these actions and others for the well-being and safety of women. Finally, shelter management committees should include at least 50 percent women (World Bank forthcoming c).

Annex

Table 8 Probit Analysis Results of Factors Associated with Women's Labor Market Engagement—
Marginal Effects

	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)
	Female	Male	Married Female	Married Male
Sociodemographic characteristics	Currently working			
Respondent's current age				
	0.00925***	0.00357***	0.00363	0.00148
	(0.00144)	(0.00126)	(0.00258)	(0.00157)
Highest educational level (Reference: No education)				
Primary	0.0125	0.0195	0.00314	0.0244
	(0.0183)	(0.0204)	(0.0286)	(0.0202)
Secondary	0.00170	-0.00297	0.00407	0.0245
	(0.0203)	(0.0205)	(0.0363)	(0.0214)
Higher	0.0267	0.0225	0.0379	0.0487*
	(0.0290)	(0.0254)	(0.0571)	(0.0279)
Region (Reference: Metropolitan area)				
Rest-ouest	-0.00756	0.0293	0.0103	0.0350
	(0.0342)	(0.0287)	(0.0487)	(0.0303)
Sud-est	0.0192	0.0314	0.0512	0.0525
	(0.0458)	(0.0332)	(0.0629)	(0.0332)
Nord	-0.0610*	0.0184	-0.0390	0.0452
	(0.0321)	(0.0296)	(0.0474)	(0.0286)
Nord-est	-0.0100	0.00454	0.0453	0.0119
	(0.0320)	(0.0353)	(0.0464)	(0.0392)
Artibonite	0.0370	0.0136	0.0431	0.0278
	(0.0352)	(0.0270)	(0.0442)	(0.0261)

	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)
	Female	Male	Married Female	Married Male
Centre	-0.0472	-0.00597	-0.0217	0.0333
	(0.0296)	(0.0306)	(0.0463)	(0.0333)
Sud	-0.000311	0.0547**	-0.0258	0.0713**
	(0.0360)	(0.0269)	(0.0556)	(0.0279)
Grand'anse	-0.0213	0.0899***	0.000359	0.0926***
	(0.0306)	(0.0238)	(0.0513)	(0.0251)
Nord-ouest	-0.0145	-0.0258	0.00403	0.0253
	(0.0304)	(0.0328)	(0.0482)	(0.0322)
Nippes	-0.0236	0.0854***	-0.0365	0.0872***
	(0.0331)	(0.0267)	(0.0493)	(0.0261)
Type of place of residence (Reference: Urban)				
Rural	-0.00901	0.0339*	0.00133	0.0151
	(0.0244)	(0.0175)	(0.0281)	(0.0177)
Marital status (Reference: Never in union)				
Married	0.101***	0.150***	-	-
	(0.0236)	(0.0208)		
Living with partner	0.0860***	0.136***	-	-
	(0.0293)	(0.0321)		
Widowed/separated	0.0808***	0.0721**	-	-
	(0.0280)	(0.0280)		
Religion (Reference: No religion)				
Catholic	0.0801**	0.0245	0.0817	0.0140
	(0.0357)	(0.0174)	(0.0568)	(0.0212)
Protestant	0.0576	0.0377**	0.0430	0.0307
	(0.0353)	(0.0177)	(0.0574)	(0.0209)
Vaudousant	0.109**	-0.0480	0.0529	-0.0459
	(0.0488)	(0.0486)	(0.101)	(0.0653)

	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)
	Female	Male	Married Female	Married Male
Number of children 5 and under in household (de jure)				
	-0.0382***	-0.00645	-0.0548***	-0.00390
	(0.00843)	(0.00704)	(0.0139)	(0.00770)
Number of living children				
	0.00990**	0.000546	0.00503	-0.000882
	(0.00427)	(0.00368)	(0.00651)	(0.00365)
Partner's total number of years of education				
	-	-	-0.000538	-0.00322
			(0.00106)	(0.00209)
Partner's age				
	-	-	0.00189	-0.00129
			(0.00200)	(0.00139)
Observations	8,290	4,395	2,689	2,440

Note: *** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.1. Standard errors in parentheses.

Table 9 Probit Analysis Results of Factors Associated with Not Attending School by Gender—Marginal Effects

	(1)	(2)
	Female	Male
Sociodemographic characteristics		
Never attending school		
Age of household members (Reference: 7)		
age: 8	-0.112***	-0.0851***
	(0.0199)	(0.0214)
age: 9	-0.150***	-0.189***
	(0.0218)	(0.0207)
Disability (Reference: No)		
Yes	0.189***	0.0154
	(0.0527)	(0.0275)
Mother alive (Reference: Yes)		
No	0.0848	0.0519
	(0.0641)	(0.0473)

	(1)	(2)
	Female	Male
Father alive (Reference: Yes)		
No	-0.0337	0.0239
	(0.0294)	(0.0321)
Number of de jure members		
	0.0110***	0.00298
	(0.00409)	(0.00378)
Number of children 5 and under (de jure)		
	0.0102	0.0148
	(0.0113)	(0.00982)
Age in 10-year groups: Head of household (Reference: 18–24)		
25–34	0.0684	-0.0657
	(0.0546)	(0.0684)
35–44	0.0418	-0.0507
	(0.0532)	(0.0669)
45–54	0.0319	-0.0656
	(0.0536)	(0.0690)
55–64	0.0101	-0.0638
	(0.0536)	(0.0693)
65+	0.0803	-0.0736
	(0.0572)	(0.0679)
Sex of head of household (Reference: Male)		
Female	-0.0111	0.0281*
	(0.0168)	(0.0170)
Wealth index (Reference: Poorest)		
Poorer	-0.105***	-0.0943***
	(0.0334)	(0.0317)
Middle	-0.219***	-0.214***
	(0.0329)	(0.0321)
Richer	-0.214***	-0.245***
	(0.0382)	(0.0368)
Richest	-0.251***	-0.254***
	(0.0387)	(0.0382)

	(1)	(2)
	Female	Male
Region (Reference: Metropolitan area)		
Rest-ouest	-0.0214 (0.0500)	0.0213 (0.0516)
Sud-est	-0.0530 (0.0556)	-0.0107 (0.0494)
Nord	-0.0646 (0.0536)	-0.0260 (0.0469)
Nord-est	-0.0436 (0.0546)	0.0224 (0.0506)
Artibonite	-0.00387 (0.0516)	0.0162 (0.0473)
Centre	-0.0616 (0.0486)	-0.00363 (0.0455)
Sud	-0.0817* (0.0496)	0.0208 (0.0561)
Grand'anse	-0.104** (0.0503)	-0.0346 (0.0468)
Nord-ouest	-0.0972** (0.0467)	-0.0498 (0.0461)
Nippes	-0.0711 (0.0638)	-0.0589 (0.0524)
Type of place of residence (Reference: Urban)		
Rural	-0.00391 (0.0314)	0.00502 (0.0318)
Observations	2,228	2,287

Note: *** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.1. Standard errors in parentheses.

Table 10 Probit Analysis Results of Factors Associated with Dropping Out of School by Gender—Marginal Effects

	(1)	(2)
	Female	Male
Sociodemographic characteristics	Dropout of school	
Age of household members (Reference: 10)		
age: 11	-0.00368 (0.00892)	0.00566 (0.00962)
age: 12	0.00335 (0.00961)	0.0111 (0.00988)
age: 13	0.00420 (0.00997)	0.0192 (0.0119)
age: 14	0.0273** (0.0120)	0.0173 (0.0107)
age: 15	0.0406*** (0.0131)	0.0502*** (0.0137)
age: 16	0.0801*** (0.0158)	0.0582*** (0.0147)
age: 17	0.0843*** (0.0147)	0.0839*** (0.0149)
Disability (Reference: No)		
Yes	-0.0218** (0.0101)	0.0247 (0.0166)
Mother alive (Reference: Yes)		
No	0.00347 (0.0131)	0.0621*** (0.0227)
Father alive (Reference: Yes)		
No	0.0128 (0.0115)	-0.00171 (0.0104)
Number of de jure members	-0.00550** (0.00237)	-0.00248 (0.00196)
Number of children 5 and under (de jure)	0.0198*** (0.00539)	0.00852* (0.00498)

	(1)	(2)
	Female	Male
Age in 10-year groups: Head of household (Reference: 15–24)		
25–34	-0.0585 (0.0441)	-0.0486 (0.0385)
35–44	-0.0852** (0.0431)	-0.0674* (0.0369)
45–54	-0.0876** (0.0437)	-0.0711** (0.0360)
55–64	-0.0660 (0.0429)	-0.0362 (0.0363)
65–74	-0.0646 (0.0447)	-0.0539 (0.0365)
75+	-0.0620 (0.0471)	-0.0473 (0.0402)
Sex of head of household (Reference: Male)		
Female	-0.00837 (0.00804)	-0.00484 (0.00751)
Wealth index (Reference: Poorest)		
Poorer	-0.0631*** (0.0169)	-0.0622*** (0.0161)
Middle	-0.0631*** (0.0172)	-0.0962*** (0.0170)
Richer	-0.0897*** (0.0185)	-0.107*** (0.0186)
Richest	-0.109*** (0.0174)	-0.119*** (0.0185)
Region (Reference: Metropolitan area)		
Rest-ouest	-0.0475** (0.0224)	-0.0817*** (0.0259)
Sud-est	-0.0562** (0.0235)	-0.0973*** (0.0250)
Nord	-0.0441* (0.0243)	-0.0706*** (0.0257)

	(1)	(2)
	Female	Male
Nord-est	-0.0516** (0.0230)	-0.0744*** (0.0272)
Artibonite	-0.0365* (0.0214)	-0.0754*** (0.0250)
Centre	-0.0511** (0.0234)	-0.0466* (0.0273)
Sud	-0.0506** (0.0244)	-0.0703** (0.0288)
Grand'anse	-0.0471** (0.0230)	-0.0808*** (0.0266)
Nord-ouest	-0.0549** (0.0229)	-0.0943*** (0.0252)
Nippes	-0.0657*** (0.0227)	-0.0986*** (0.0265)
Type of place of residence (Reference: Urban)		
Rural	0.00374 (0.0114)	0.00715 (0.0128)
Observations	5,352	5,839

Note: *** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.1. Standard errors in parentheses.

Table 11 Probit Analysis Results of Factors Associated with Dropping Out of School by Gender—Marginal Effects

Determinants of dropping out of school for girls and boys ages 15–17 years–Probit (Margins)		
	(1)	(2)
	Girls	Boys
Sociodemographic characteristics	Dropping out of school	
Age of household members (Reference: 15)		
age: 16	0.0413**	-0.00968
	(0.0202)	(0.0223)
age: 17	0.0325	0.00901
	(0.0210)	(0.0218)

Determinants of dropping out of school for girls and boys ages 15–17 years–Probit (Margins)		
	(1)	(2)
	Girls	Boys
Disability (reference: No)		
Yes	-0.0427**	0.0162
	(0.0209)	(0.0412)
Mother alive (Reference: Yes)		
No	-0.0219	0.0902**
	(0.0212)	(0.0444)
Father alive (Reference: Yes)		
No	0.00462	-0.0497***
	(0.0261)	(0.0176)
Number of de jure members		
	-0.0101*	-0.00559
	(0.00537)	(0.00450)
Number of children 5 and under (de jure)		
	0.0136	0.00679
	(0.0115)	(0.0129)
Age in 10-year groups: Head of household (Reference: 15–24)		
25–34	0.0643	-0.191**
	(0.0513)	(0.0745)
35–44	0.0145	-0.167**
	(0.0460)	(0.0728)
45–54	-0.0143	-0.159**
	(0.0452)	(0.0740)
55–64	0.0104	-0.135*
	(0.0427)	(0.0746)
65–74	-0.00393	-0.151*
	(0.0452)	(0.0780)
75+	0.0530	-0.0312
	(0.0628)	(0.0977)
Sex of head of household (Reference: Male)		
Female	-0.0112	-0.00275
	(0.0194)	(0.0178)

Determinants of dropping out of school for girls and boys ages 15–17 years–Probit (Margins)		
	(1)	(2)
	Girls	Boys
Wealth index (Reference: Poorest)		
Poorer	-0.0813**	-0.0630*
	(0.0333)	(0.0354)
Middle	-0.0748*	-0.157***
	(0.0389)	(0.0362)
Richer	-0.115***	-0.136***
	(0.0415)	(0.0463)
Richest	-0.141***	-0.195***
	(0.0398)	(0.0408)
Region (Reference: Metropolitan area)		
Rest-ouest	-0.00417	-0.226***
	(0.0396)	(0.0663)
Sud-est	-0.00599	-0.275***
	(0.0417)	(0.0652)
Nord	-0.0135	-0.192***
	(0.0430)	(0.0678)
Nord-est	-0.0259	-0.211***
	(0.0422)	(0.0674)
Artibonite	-0.000422	-0.221***
	(0.0403)	(0.0649)
Centre	-0.0311	-0.235***
	(0.0406)	(0.0658)
Sud	-0.0499	-0.262***
	(0.0375)	(0.0644)
Grand'anse	-0.0100	-0.278***
	(0.0422)	(0.0634)
Nord-ouest	-0.0480	-0.270***
	(0.0366)	(0.0645)
Nippes	-0.0742**	-0.264***
	(0.0349)	(0.0686)

Determinants of dropping out of school for girls and boys ages 15–17 years–Probit (Margins)		
	(1)	(2)
	Girls	Boys
Type of place of residence (Reference: Urban)		
Rural	-0.00181	0.0504*
	(0.0248)	(0.0297)
Religion (Reference: No religion, Vaudousant)		
Catholic	-0.0924**	-0.0425
	(0.0369)	(0.0305)
Protestant	-0.0530	-0.0836***
	(0.0347)	(0.0277)
Marital status (Reference: Never married)		
Married/widowed/divorced	0.529***	
	(0.0963)	
Currently pregnant (Reference: No)		
Yes	0.159	
	(0.107)	
Drinks alcohol (Reference: No, never)		
Every day/every now and then	0.00860	-0.0176
	(0.0327)	(0.0292)
Hardly ever	-0.00875	-0.00559
	(0.0176)	(0.0215)
<i>Observations</i>	<i>1,421</i>	<i>1,360</i>

Note: *** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.1. Standard errors in parentheses.

Table 12 Probit Analysis Results on Intimate Partner Violence—Marginal Effects

Experience physical or sexual or emotional violence by partner	
Age in 10-year groups (Reference: 15–24)	
25–34	0.0201
	(0.0297)
35–44	-0.0450
	(0.0315)

Experience physical or sexual or emotional violence by partner

45+	0.00712
	(0.0435)

Age at first marriage or union (Reference: Under 18)

18-25	-0.0747***
	(0.0258)
26+	-0.166***
	(0.0325)

Highest educational level (Reference: No education)

Primary	0.00136
	(0.0284)
Secondary	-0.0503
	(0.0359)
Higher	-0.165***
	(0.0480)

Employment status (Reference: Not employed in last 12 months)

Not currently working but was employed in last 12 months	-0.0153
	(0.0244)

Partner worked during the last 12 month (Reference: Not employed in last 12 months)

Partner employed in last 12 months	-0.0111
	(0.0451)

Age difference to partner (Reference: Partner younger)

Partner less than 5 years older	-0.0476
	(0.0359)
Partner 5-10 years older	-0.0715*
	(0.0381)
Partner more than 10 years older	-0.0809**
	(0.0370)

Educational difference to partner (Reference: More educated than partner)

Same years of education as partner	-0.00702
	(0.0309)
Less educated than partner	-0.0141
	(0.0243)

Experience physical or sexual or emotional violence by partner	
Husband/partner drinks alcohol (Reference: No)	
Yes	0.244*** (0.0225)
Type of place of residence (Reference: Urban)	
Rural	-0.0784*** (0.0289)
Region (Reference: Metropolitan area)	
Rest-ouest	0.0201 (0.0551)
Sud-est	-0.0625 (0.0607)
Nord	-0.0299 (0.0534)
Nord-est	-0.0737 (0.0468)
Artibonite	-0.0308 (0.0531)
Centre	-0.0442 (0.0512)
Sud	-0.0480 (0.0548)
Grand'anse	-0.0899 (0.0581)
Nord-ouest	-0.134*** (0.0497)
Nippes	-0.0539 (0.0566)
Observations	3,800

Note: Estimates presented are for women between ages 15–49 years. *** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.1. Standard errors in parentheses.

Table 13 Legal Equality for Women—Women, Business and the Law (2022)

	Question	Answer	Legal Basis
Mobility	Can a woman choose where to live in the same way as a man?	No	Décret du 8 Octobre 1982 Fixant un Nouveau Statut à la Femme Mariée, Art. 5
	Can a woman travel outside her home in the same way as a man?	Yes	No restrictions could be located
	Can a woman apply for a passport in the same way as a man?	No	Passport application procedures
	Can a woman travel outside the country in the same way as a man?	Yes	No restrictions could be located
Workplace	Can a woman get a job in the same way as a man?	Yes	No restrictions could be located
	Does the law prohibit discrimination in employment based on gender?	Yes	Code du Travail, Art. 3
	Is there legislation on sexual harassment in employment?	No	No applicable provisions could be located
	Are there criminal penalties or civil remedies for sexual harassment in employment?	No	Criminal: No applicable provisions could be located Civil: No applicable provisions could be located
Pay	Does the law mandate equal remuneration for work of equal value?	Yes	Code du Travail, Arts. 135 et 317
	Can a woman work at night in the same way as a man?	Yes	No restrictions could be located
	Can a woman work in a job deemed dangerous in the same way as a man?	Yes	No restrictions could be located
	Can a woman work in an industrial job in the same way as a man?	Yes	No restrictions could be located
Marriage	Is there no legal provision that requires a married woman to obey her husband?	Yes	Décret du 8 octobre 1982 fixant un nouveau statut à la femme mariée, Art. 2
	Can a woman be head of household in the same way as a man?	Yes	No restrictions could be located
	Is there legislation specifically addressing domestic violence?	No	No applicable provisions could be located
	Can a woman obtain a judgment of divorce in the same way as a man?	No	Code Civil, Arts. 216 et 265
	Does a woman have the same rights to remarry as a man?	No	Code Civil, Art. 213
Parenthood	Is paid leave of at least 14 weeks available to mothers?	No	Code du Travail, Art. 321
	Does the government pay 100% of maternity leave benefits?	Yes	Code du Travail, Art. 321
	Is paid leave available to fathers?	No	No applicable provisions could be located
	Is there paid parental leave?	No	No applicable provisions could be located
	Is dismissal of pregnant workers prohibited?	Yes	Code du Travail, Art. 330(b)

	Question	Answer	Legal Basis
Entrepreneurship	Does the law prohibit discrimination in access to credit based on gender?	No	No applicable provisions could be located
	Can a woman sign a contract in the same way as a man?	Yes	Décret du 8 Octobre 1982 Fixant un Nouveau Statut à la Femme Mariée, Art. 2
	Can a woman register a business in the same way as a man?	Yes	No restrictions could be located
	Can a woman open a bank account in the same way as man?	Yes	Décret du 8 octobre 1982 Fixant un Nouveau Statut à la Femme Mariée, Art. 2
Assets	Do men and women have equal ownership rights to immovable property?	No	Décret portant Réforme des Régimes Matrimoniaux du 9 avril 2020, Art. 1203; Décret du 8 octobre 1982 Fixant un Nouveau Statut à la Femme Mariée, Art. 8
	Do sons and daughters have equal rights to inherit assets from their parents?	Yes	Code Civil, Art. 605
	Do female and male surviving spouses have equal rights to inherit assets?	Yes	Code Civil, Art. 627
	Does the law grant spouses equal administrative authority over assets during marriage?	No	Décret portant réforme des régimes matrimoniaux du 9 avril 2020, Art. 1203; Décret du 8 octobre 1982 Fixant un Nouveau Statut à la Femme Mariée, Art. 8
	Does the law provide for the valuation of nonmonetary contributions?	Yes	Décret portant réforme des régimes matrimoniaux du 9 avril 2020, Arts. 1186- 1193
Pension	Is the age at which men and women can retire with full pension benefits the same?	Yes	Women: Loi du 28 août 1967, Art. 183. Men: Loi du 28 août 1967, Art. 183
	Is the age at which men and women can retire with partial pension benefits the same?	Yes	Women: Loi du 28 août 1967, Arts. 184 to 186. Men: Loi du 28 août 1967, Arts. 184 et 186
	Is the mandatory retirement age for men and women the same?	Yes	Women: No applicable provisions could be located. Men: No applicable provisions could be located
	Are periods of absence due to childcare accounted for in pension benefits?	No	No applicable provisions could be located

Source: <https://wbl.worldbank.org/en/data/exploreeconomies/haiti/2022>.

Table 14 World Bank Sector Specialists Who Participated in Expert Consultations to Identify and Prioritize Policy Recommendations

Sector	Participant	Position
Disaster Risk Management	Naraya Carrasco	Senior Disaster Risk Management Specialist
	Viviana Sandoval Sierra	Consultant
Education	Quynh T. Nguyen	Economist
	Axelle Latortue	Consultant
Energy	Stephanie Nsom	Consultant
	Niki Angelou	Consultant
Gender-Based Violence (Social Sustainability and Inclusion)	Manuel Contreras Urbina	Senior Social Development Specialist
Health	Marvin Ploetz	Senior Economist
Finance, Competitiveness & Innovation	Mariana Vijil	Senior Economist
Social Protection & Jobs	Cornelia Tesliuc	Senior Social Protection Specialist
Transport/Infrastructure	Malaika Becoulet	Senior Transport Specialist
	Xavier Espinet Alegre	Transport Economist

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