

# 2010 Haitian Earthquake: Investigation into the impact of Gender Stereotypes on the Emergency Response



(CNN, 2010)



**Did Potential Gender Stereotypes, Held by Aid Workers, Impact the Effectiveness of the Emergency Relief Delivered in the Aftermath of the 2010 Haitian Earthquake?**

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## Abstract

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This research explores the notion that aid programmes may inadvertently be influenced by gender stereotypes, which can have repercussions for affected populations post a disaster. Stereotypes are present in all societies and can be consciously or subconsciously believed by a variety of people, including those who work within the humanitarian sector. Stereotypical beliefs consist of preconceived ideas and assumptions about people's behaviours and attributes. Yet often stereotypes can inaccurately represent groups. When the concept of gender is used ambiguously and in an uncritical manner, stereotypes may unknowingly influence aid programmes during emergency responses and have significant impacts for affected populations.

Through key informant interviews and desk-based research, this study examines emergency food distributions as well as support and protection mechanisms for rape and sexual abuse through the case study of the 2010 Haitian earthquake. Possible stereotypes held by aid workers are presented within these aid programmes and the potential impacts created are analysed.

Stereotypes appear to have influenced the emergency response and have had positive impacts, especially in relation to empowerment and equality for women as a result food distribution policies. Despite this however, the extent to which impacts have been negative is substantial. Within both food distribution and support and protection of sexual violence there have been implications. The stereotypes, which influenced food distribution policies created overwhelming pressures and time burdens for women whilst excluding homosexual men from receiving food rations. Furthermore, both homosexual and heterosexual men, who were victims of abuse, were systemically excluded from relief programmes as aid workers overlooked their needs. This dissertation concludes that in the practical application of aid, the concept of gender needs to be applied critically to ensure that the humanitarian sector acknowledges and recognises the impact gender stereotypes may inadvertently have on relief programmes. This is essential to ensure that affected populations receive adequate and effective relief.

## **Statement of Originality and Ethics Approval**

This thesis is the result of my own independent work/investigation, except where otherwise stated. Other sources are acknowledged by explicit references.

Signed..... (Candidate) Date .....

I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available for photocopying and for inter-library loan, and for the title and summary to be made available to outside organisations.

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## **Statement of Ethics Review Approval**

This dissertation involved human participants. A Form E1BE for each group of participants, showing ethics review approval, has been attached to this dissertation as an appendix.

## **Table of contents**

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<b>TITLE PAGE.....</b>	<b>I</b>
<b>ABSTRACT.....</b>	<b>II</b>
<b>STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY AND ETHICS APPROVAL.....</b>	<b>III</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....</b>	<b>V</b>
<b>ACRONYMS.....</b>	<b>VI</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>LITERATURE REVIEW .....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>CONTEXT: HAITIAN DAILY LIFE.....</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>FOOD DISTRIBUTION .....</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>GBV: RAPE AND SEXUAL ABUSE.....</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>CHALLENGES FOR THE HUMANITARIAN SECTOR.....</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY.....</b>	<b>39</b>
<b>APPENDIX.....</b>	<b>48</b>

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## Acronyms

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CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
IASC	Inter-Agency Standing Committee
IDP	International Displaced Person
IFRC	International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
IGLHRC	International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission
LGBT	Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PAHO	Pan American Health Organisation
UN	United Nations
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
WFP	World Food Programme

## Introduction

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The concept of gender and the gendered dimensions of disasters are extensively acknowledged within the humanitarian sector. However, the concept and its impacts are often not entirely understood (Hoare et al., 2012: 205). Despite the tremendous importance of gender, it is typically neglected within the humanitarian response. Many argue when the concept of gender is integrated within aid responses it is generally a “buzzword in agencies and staff providing humanitarian assistance” (Hyndman and Alwis, 2003: 212). This demonstrates that the concept is often ambiguous and is applied uncritically, without a clear understanding of its importance when practically applied to the delivery of aid. This research believes that often the concept is misused, and becomes purely as a ‘*tick the box*’ exercise, to meet policy guidelines. This paper maintains that when the concept is not critically applied it can create repercussions. A particular repercussion is that of gender stereotypes being believed and inadvertently followed.

Stereotypes exist in all societies. They manifest as overgeneralised beliefs about the way people will behave and the characteristics they will have (Anselmi and law, 1995: 195). It is therefore credible that this research considers that aid agencies may hold gender stereotypes. When aid agencies use the concept of gender uncritically, these stereotypes may unknowingly influence aid programmes in emergency responses, and may impact affected populations. This research believes that gender stereotypes are an important area for study as they are often overlooked and can have consequences in the practical application of aid. In the attempt to demonstrate the importance of this area, this research will endeavour to address the possible stereotypes that aid workers may presume, and demonstrate how these may influence aid responses, whilst highlighting how they may have impacted the affected population in the aftermath of the 2010 Haitian earthquake.

### **Aim**

The aim of this study is to demonstrate if potential gender stereotypes, held by aid workers, impacted the effectiveness of the emergency relief delivered, within the aftermath of the 2010 Haitian earthquake.

## **Research Questions**

In order to meet the aim of the study this dissertation poses the following research questions:

- Are there particular gender stereotypes which may be held by aid agencies?
- Why might these gender stereotypes be believed?
- What evidence is there that stereotypes are present within aid responses and what was the impact during 2010 Haitian earthquake?
- Do gender stereotypes held by humanitarian staff, create implications in adequately meeting the needs of the affected population?

## **Methodology**

This research has utilised multiple methodologies in the attempt to answer the research questions and fulfil the aim of the study. A combination of key informant interviews to provide primary research, and desk-based research, to provide supporting secondary qualitative data, has been conducted to effectively collect the required data. Secondary data is obtained from a variety of handbooks and reports published by aid agencies and other bodies, including the United Nations (UN), to see if aid programmes appear to be designed as a result of gender stereotypes. Even when this is not directly implied, it has been possible to analyse this, as a result of background information gathered from the literature review.

### **▪ Literature Review**

The literature review has used articles that were widely available within the public domain. These included: academic journals and books; media reports; United Nations (UN) reports and guides; Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) field manuals and evaluative reports. Such sources were accessed through Internet search engines, such as Google Scholar. The literature review has been used to highlight the current literature surrounding gender stereotypes. The literature review is considerably beneficial to this study as it effectively illustrates the academic theories relating to stereotypes, the implications stereotypes have for societies, as well as expanding these ideas within the realm of the humanitarian sector. Furthermore, it is a valuable research method. It



supports and provides justification for the research topic and demonstrates a need within the humanitarian sector to consider that those working within the field, may unknowingly, hold gender stereotypes, which may influence aid programmes.

- **Case Study**

This research has developed an in-depth single case study, in order to empirically investigate the 2010 Haitian earthquake and the aid response. This will be useful as it will allow for a detailed examination of the events in Haiti, and will allow for the notion of gender stereotypes to be highlighted. The 2010 Haitian earthquake was chosen as the timeframe, post the disaster, is sufficient for relevant information to be accessible, so that conclusions surrounding the impact of gender stereotypes can be made.

- **Key Informant Interviews**

Key informant interviews were conducted with those working within UK based and international NGOs. These were possible due to previously made professional relationships with staff members, as well as others generously responding to requests for participants. Five senior individuals were interviewed from differing organisations. Initially a higher number of participants agreed to partake and were recruited. However, due to factors out of the control of this research, including interviewees having alternative commitments, they were ultimately unable to partake. More interviewees would have enriched this study further, identifying a potential limitation within this research. Despite this, the information obtained was still extremely valuable. Due to the constraints of contradictory geographical locations, as the majority of interviewees being internationally based during the timeframe for interviews, face-to-face interviews were not possible. Semi-structured interviews were planned via Skype, so that questions and answers were not too restrictive and allowed for follow-up and probing questions. However, due to scheduling conflicts and the varying time zones of the interviewees, the majority of the interviews were eventually conducted through a correspondence of emails. This can be viewed as a limitation compared with semi-structured, face-to-face interviews initially planned. However, follow-up questions were still possible, but these were through a series of emails and not instantaneously as with face-to-face interviews.

The purpose of key informant interviews was to obtain some first-hand knowledge surrounding vital information of NGO policies relating to emergency response, as well as interviewees personal experiences and beliefs surrounding stereotypes. Such

information has proven invaluable in supporting secondary data and answering the research questions.

### **Ethics**

All ethical considerations have been adhered to. Oxford Brookes staff confirmed ethical approval before any interviews were conducted (See Appendix A). Interviewees were fully aware of the purpose of the interview and the aims of this study. Full consent of interviewees was given and all interviewees were made aware of their right to abstain from answering any questions. Additionally all interviewees asked to remain anonymous, especially as some of their answers did not reflect the official viewpoints of the organisations they work for. This has been fully respected through this research project. However, they agreed to be denoted, as *Key Informant* and understood that their answers would be used within an MA dissertation as either a general discussion point or as a direct quote to support the aims of the study.

### **Significance**

It is hoped that this study will draw attention to the influence gender stereotypes, held by aid workers may have on aid responses post a disaster. It is envisioned that the importance of using the concept of gender critically will be understood as a way to potentially prevent gender stereotypes from influencing aid responses. This dissertation has used the case study of the 2010 Haitian earthquake to provide empirical evidence that stereotypes created positive impacts as well as implications for beneficiaries, thus justifying the importance and significance of this study.

## **Literature Review**

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This literature review shall engage with key concepts that are vital to this research and will be useful in allowing an analytical framework to be developed, which will facilitate the analysis of the research question. These concepts have enabled the studies reviewed to be framed through a particular lens constructed subsequently. The concepts used are important as they influence the manner in which the empirical chapters are analysed. It is therefore paramount that the lens, which is formulated as a result of the literature, is clearly presented.

Literature focusing upon the possible effects of aid workers having gender stereotypes during emergency relief programmes is somewhat limited within the humanitarian sector. There is significant literature surrounding the need for a gendered lens to be incorporated effectively within emergency response. However, there is a limited volume of literature surrounding how the misuse of the concept may result in gender stereotypes, potentially resulting in negative and positive impacts for affected populations. The effects gender stereotypes have, as they assume that men and women will fulfil particular gender roles are emerging, but currently not at a significant rate. This identifies an apparent gap within both the literature and current research, which this research paper hopes to address.

### **Stereotypes**

The preconceived ideas about people's behaviour prior to disasters are manifested as stereotypes. Ashmore and Del Boca (1979) define stereotypes as "a structured set of beliefs about personal attributes of a group of people" (Deaux, 1998: 206). Stereotypes can further be defined as "overgeneralised beliefs about people based on their membership in one of many social categories" (Anselmi and Law, 1998: 195). These definitions illustrate the widely accepted understanding of the concept as a whole, and demonstrate the definition that will be recognised for the purpose of the study.

Gender stereotypes are influenced and often formulated due to preconceived ideas surrounding what is generally regarded as socially accepted roles and behaviours for men and women. Gender roles impact stereotypes. Eagly (1979) work supports this notion by affirming that gender stereotypes are the foundation to gender roles and the socially acceptable beliefs surrounding appropriate behaviours for men and women

(Prentice and Carranza, 2002: 269-270). Accompanying this, Anselmi and Law's (1998) work is also significant to the understanding of the current viewpoint about gender and stereotypes within society. They express how societies define gender roles in relation to stereotypical behaviours and emotions, which are believed to be suitable for men and women. They further argue that these ideas influence both the perceptions of others as well as one's own feelings and behaviours (Anselmi and Law, 1998: 195). The work of Anselmi and Law (1998) is significant for this study, as it highlights gender stereotypes are embedded within a society, and can determine a society's belief about which behaviours are 'acceptable'.

'Doing Gender', West and Zimmerman (1987), is an important article surrounding the construction of gender roles and stereotypes, which illustrate significant current literature. This literature argues that any behavioural differences between men and women are neither biological nor natural. Any differences are socially constructed and reinforced by society. This viewpoint is valuable as it alludes to the idea that expected behaviours are socially constructed, and are therefore not necessarily natural or accurate. Furthermore, it also suggests that socially constructed roles could be deconstructed, and in time, those behaviours, which are deemed acceptable and suitable, could change.

There are many gender stereotypes, which are held by societies, including aid workers. These stereotypes can be consciously or subconsciously believed. Gendered stereotypes state which roles and behaviours are 'suited' to one particular gender more than the other. These are identifiable within a wide range of literature including: Anselmi and Law 1998, Goffman 1976, Prentice and Carranza 2002, Zimmerman 1987, to note a small number. Stereotypically it is over-assumed that all women are nurturing, patient and sensitive (Cranny-Francis, 2003: 143). It is argued that this over-generalised view is formed due to a perception by society that presumes that men are the opposite of women. Men are viewed as fulfilling behaviours and emotions that women typically should not. (Prentice and Carranza, 2002: 269). Such a viewpoint highlights particular gender stereotypes held by societies. Such perceptions lead to the generally clichéd view, that men are strong, financially dependent and stable, dominant, assertive as well as rational and authoritative (Deaux, 1998: 207 and Cranny-Francis, 2003: 145).

## **Cross-Cultural Stereotypes**

There is a varied debate among the literature surrounding if such stereotypical behaviour is culturally universal or specific to particular cultures. Anselmi and Law (1998) argue that culture is an important factor which forms opinions and often provides a shared lens to view the reality of society (p.156). A proportion of social scientists maintain that when different cultures are compared and contrasted there are gendered roles, which are universally associated with men and women (Wade and Touirs, 1998: 165). However, there is considerable evidence to suggest that every society has a set of beliefs unique to its culture. Kimmel and Messner (1992) suggest that male gender roles differ from country to country. However Lazur and Majors (1998), insist that men from different cultures and ethnicities, but are of the same age, experienced and fulfil the idea of masculinity differently (p.180). This suggests that behaviours associated with men and women are culturally specific and that the formation of particular stereotypes relate to different cultures.

However, research from Williams and Best (1990), provides valuable evidence that stereotypical beliefs held by societies are somewhat culturally universal. This work does not examine if men and women actually follow certain behaviours, but instead examines if people within societies believe and expect men and women to behave in such a way. This research identifies the power of people's perceived ideas about which attributes are believed to be associated with men and women. This research is significant as it investigates which stereotypes people generally believe; even if in reality such behaviours do not reflect how people really behave. Participants from 25 countries were interviewed in order to determine to what extent people believed three hundred traits applied to women, men or both equally. It was significantly agreed upon that 49 stereotypes were associated with men and 25 to women (Anmsel and law, 1998: 157). For instance, men were viewed as stronger and aggressive, while women were identified as nurturing and less active (Deaux, 1998:207). Despite potential limitations of this research, due to the study of 25 countries, the results appear to be noteworthy enough to suggest that a considerable number of beliefs are cross-culturally universal. Furthermore, as this study does not examine if men and women actually follow such behaviours, but instead investigates people's perceived opinions surrounding stereotyped beliefs about behaviours (Anmel and Law, 1998: 157). It will be useful to this dissertation, which attempts to investigate if preconceived gender stereotypes held by humanitarian staff, have implications on aid programmes.

## **Implications for Society**

There is evidence and research to suggest that the social construction of stereotypes can cause implications within societies. Discrimination and prejudice towards those who do not conform to such behaviours and roles that are expected of them, in some instances can be frequent. Stereotypes often misrepresent individuals and groups of people. Discrimination due to gender stereotypes is a result of people being treated unjustly because they do not meet expectations that are formed on the basis of gender (Anmel and Law, 1998: 202). As behavioural expectations are socially constructed, it can be extremely difficult for groups and individuals to defy such expectations, even if the gendered stereotype does not represent the reality of men and women (Brannon, 2004: 160). This is will be paramount for this study, as it will highlight areas that may be apparent within the empirical chapters.

Evidence of this can be illustrated from Cranny-Francis et al (2003), who argue that men may experience “the stereotype of superman which acts as a form of prison” (p.145). Authors such as Eisler, who state that social expectations in relation to certain behaviours can cause repercussions, further reinforce this. It is argued that men, who either knowingly or unknowingly conform to traditional male roles, may find situations where they are required to follow behaviours which are perceived as feminised, stressful and difficult to adapt to. Additionally, if men are expected to fulfil such activities generally associated with women, such as caring for children and sharing emotions, it may cause men to become stressed and feel like they are unable to perform such tasks successfully (Eisler et al, 1998: 134-135). Additionally, it may also be possible that either men or women are more likely to be victims to the implications of stereotype. A significant number of theorists including, Allen 1995, Bobo 1990, Gick and Fiske 2001, state that stereotyping provides a magnitude of distortions and incorrect generalisations that contribute to considerable disadvantages (Brannon, 2004: 166). Such evidence is valuable to this research, as it illustrates negative effects stereotypes and expected behaviours can have.

As observed by a substantial quantity of literature, gender often positions attributes associated to men and women in a hierarchical form (Cranny-Francis et al. 2003:2). Masculine roles are often seen as positive and feminine roles associated with women are viewed negatively (Butler, 1999:17). The concepts of femininity and masculinity, which persistently dictate what it means to be a man and women, will be paramount to the research. They provide a basis from understanding the notion of gender stereotypes and

show a foundation as to why such ideas surrounding 'suitable' behaviours for men and women are formulated.

### **Femininity and Identity**

The concept of femininity can be defined as attributes and behaviours, which are generally associated with women and girls. The way the notion of femininity shapes identity will be an important aspect in understanding gender stereotypes. It can provide illustration as to how societies may construct particular beliefs about expected behaviours. The concept of femininity further interlinks with the concept of the private sphere, which may prove useful to this research question.

Gendered norms can relate to femininity and masculinity, and have power and influence among societies. Such ideas will have impact upon this research. As Butler (2004) argues, a norm is not the same as a law. Society as a whole is expected to follow a law, yet a norm still has a great degree of power as it operates through social practices and becomes normalised. The normalisation creates a status for norms, which in the case of gendered norms can influence the behaviour of a society. She further extends this idea in relation to masculinity and femininity by claiming that gender and gendered norms provide parameters for the way societies should behave. Butler (2004) further expands upon this by asking what does it mean for a society and individuals if such norms are not followed and members within a society are "not quite masculine and not quite feminine" (p.42). This demonstrates how the attributes associated with masculinity are fluid and can interchange between men and women. This is an important aspect, which must be understood for the purpose of the research question. This is further reiterated by Saegert (1980), who argues that the notions of femininity are too narrow and too fictional. It is suggested, that there is a vast difference between the theoretical concepts of femininity and reality. This may lead women and men to feel "alienated and engendered by the gap between the symbolic and lived experienced" (Saegert, 1980: 97). This is significant, as it identifies how the reality of men and women is not as straightforward as the notions of femininity may sometimes suggest. It is unreasonable to be able to assume that men and women will always act in a certain way due to the concepts of femininity and the like.

The endeavour to separate sex from gender and to illustrate that gender is a social construction and not a biological or natural state is argued by wide range of feminist academics. This illustrates how gender stereotypes are constructed through society and

not necessarily determined through biology (Moore, 1994: 36-38). Despite this however, due to women's ability to reproduce, a women's identity and gendered roles can be influenced by the biological differences between men and women, and can stereotypically link women to nurturing and caring of children, and the position of them within the domestic private sphere (Rosaldo, 1974:23-26).

### **Masculinity and Identity**

The social dichotomy of gender attempts to set out ideals of masculinity, which is often determined as a result of cultural and social norms. Due to the binary nature of the concept, masculine attributes are contradictory to feminine traits and can include features such as independence, unemotional, strong and aggressive. Expanding on this, Pleck coined the term *Male Role Identify*, which identifies the way masculinity is conceptualised by society (Brannon, 2004: 163), which can be an important to understand features associated with masculinity. There have been varied research relating to the social attributes and expectations of masculinity which all add value to the discourse (Brannon, 2004; Junni, 1984; Thompson and Pleck 1986).

The concept of hegemonic masculinity is also important to briefly note. This notion attempts to explain particular power relations within society where men are positioned higher in society and have dominance over women. It further represents the idealised form of manhood, and what it means to be a man (Connell, 2005: 832-835). Due to the subordination of women as well as the negative characteristics associated with this idea, many scholars critique the concept of hegemonic masculinity (Collier, 1998). However, it can be argued that certain aspects within hegemonic masculinity, such as providing financial support and being a father can be viewed as positives (Connell, 2005: 840).

However, there are implications regarding the concepts of masculinity as well as hegemonic masculinity. A significant issue is that there is considerable evidence to suggest that not all men follow notions and attributes which are socially expected of them, such as being unemotional and aggressive. This highlights the reality that not all men follow traditional roles and preconceived notions about what it means to be a man. This reality could have implications within the wider field of the humanitarian sector, as it may be assumed, due to socially constructed ideas that men may not need particular assistance, for example in relation to more feminine traits such as dealing with emotions after a traumatic experience. Pleck (1981) reinforces this idea with research *Gender-Role Strain*, which critiques aspects of masculinity by stating that cultural and social



standards, which expect men to follow the standards of masculinity. This can cause negative outcomes such as low self-esteem and negative psychological characteristics as a result of failing to fulfil male role expectations or the fulfilment of these expectations but as a result of negative consequences such as having a reduce participation within the family (Pleck et al, 1993: 88).

Despite the fact that the concept of masculinity has and continues to change, there is still constrains from society for men to live up to the idealisation of what society believes a man should be. This is further supported by Brannon (2004), who argues that “the prohibition against being a sissy and the rejection of the feminine are strong components of modern masculinity” (p. 163). However it has been identified that significant numbers of men do not conform perfectly to the construction of masculinity, demonstrating that the concept is too limited and may provide problems for society as well as individual men who do not adhere to it. This creates the question of what problems may be caused by this restrictive notion that men can feel socially bound to fulfil. In relation to humanitarian programmes, this is something this research hopes to address by investigating if gender stereotypes held by relief workers have implications among aid projects.

The construction of masculinity can also negatively view LGTB people and can create implications. Patriarchal culture states that gay men lack masculinity and in past and present societies there is often a degree of prejudice and discrimination directed towards LGTB people. Often such notions are due to the belief that such people do not fit neatly into the binary concept of male and female, masculine and feminine (Connell, 1999: 143), This is further detailed by Butler (1999) who states that the concept of gender, at times, is used in a manner which is too restrictive. This restrictiveness creates implications for particular members of society, notably LGBT communities, due to an assumption surrounding the concept of heterosexuality (p.26, 31,)

Furthermore, the use of the construction of masculinity by relief workers may also create negative effects for LGBT persons during emergency response. Evidence to support this can be illustrated from within India in the aftermath the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami where certain groups were disproportionately affected yet were marginalized and often invisible within the relief effort. A particular group which experienced this, was the Aravani community. Aravanis view themselves in a way that cannot be represented using the conventional two-gender framework. They see themselves

neither male nor female. This had immense impacts in the relief efforts as many Aravanis were unable to obtain ration cards and were often refused access to emergency housing, which was gender segregated. (IGLHRC/SEROVIE, 2010:8). This illustrates implications from previous disasters, and demonstrates the power of gender stereotypes, which used the gender binary – female and male distinction. As well as potential implications that can be created when individuals or groups do not conform to the socially accepted gendered roles and behaviors.

### **Masculine Women and Feminine Men**

For the purpose of this research paper, it is important to note that despite femininity being generally associated with women and masculinity with men, the concepts are not fixed features within either men or women. Men are able to exhibit feminine traits and women masculine traits. Despite this, even when societies recognise such ideas, there can often still be an expectation that men and women will conform to certain attributes and behaviours, which is believed to be more suitable to their gender. This demonstrates the deep complexity of this area. It highlights that societies may not be able to adapt towards men and women who do not 'fit' the mould of what is deemed socially acceptable behaviours and roles (Moore, 1194: 64-66). Such discourse suggests that there is a spectrum surrounding which feminine behaviours are socially acceptable for men and vice-versa for women.

### **Gender stereotypes in Emergency Response**

The literature surrounding gender stereotypes and emergency response is somewhat limited. However, there is a small degree of literature which will provide information paramount to this dissertation and demonstrates that there is a need for this area to be researched to a greater degree.

Despite the overall limited emphasis on emergency response within the academic literature, Fordham and Ketteridge (1998) illustrate a key piece of literature. The article '*Men Must Work and Women Must Weep*', identifies how the socially constructed ideas about the 'suitable' behaviours and roles for men and women, in a post-disaster situations, can create implications. It emphasises how the incorrect notion where women are considered emotional and passive can have a negative effect. They are assumed unable to be actively involved within the restoration of the community and are also bypassed for disaster management roles. It is further argued that such ideas are an incorrect generalisation, which reinforces stereotypical beliefs and behaviours.

(Fordham and Ketteridge, 1998: 81). In addition it can be argued that gender stereotypes surrounding what is seen as acceptable behaviours for men and women can also contribute to gendered impacts, which can occasionally result in disturbing consequences (International Federation Red Cross and Red Crescents Societies, 2010:7).

It can also be highlighted how the stereotypical notions of masculinity can have damaging effects. Research suggests that men may feel compelled to take high risks in order to protect their families, communities and properties, often due to the notions of masculinity and gendered expectations. This could account for an overwhelming number of victims of 1998 Hurricane Mitch in El Salvador and Guatemala being men ((Fordham and Ketteridge, 1998: 92 and Symth, 2007). Furthermore, it can have implications for the psychological health of men. It explores how men often do not feel able to express feelings relating to the traumatic effects of disasters as it defies the notion that men as 'supposed' to be strong and unemotional (Fordham and Ketteridge, 1998: 92), which additionally demonstrates the implications created as a result of gender stereotypes. This article further argues that due to the inaccurate perception that men do not need to seek emotional support, that counselling and psychosocial support systems are often gendered towards women. This is due to the social construction whereby it is common that care-giving is associated with women and private sphere – an entity which can be seen to out of a man's domain and difficult for them to enter. It can be argued that this leads to the feminisation of these support mechanisms, which alienates men and facilitates a system where there is no suitable mechanism where men can ask for help. (Fordham and Ketteridge, 1998: 92-93). This thereby demonstrates significant implications created by gender stereotypes believed by aid workers. It illustrates how this area needs to be researched further to highlight any effects of stereotypes in more depth and potentially suggest policy recommendations to ensure that the needs of beneficiaries can be met effectively.

The issue of male victims of sexual abuse and rape further demonstrate potential implications. This is illustrated by UNHCR (2012) guidelines for working with '*Men and Boy Survivors of Sexual and Gender-based Violence in Forced Displacement*'. Even though there is a focus on refugees within a conflict situation, it still links male rape and sexual abuse to internally displaced people (IDPs), which suggests that these experiences can also be apparent among populations after an environmental disaster. Illustrating how this can be identified as a key piece of literature. This report is contemporary, being the first time that UNHCR has published guidelines for UN staff and other aid workers.

These guidelines attempt to assist staff in being able to identify and support male victims of sexual abuse and rape. It supports how negative ideas within society, such as the stigma towards male rape victims, may be a contributing factor to a lack of recognition and protection mechanisms for (UNHCR, a, 2012). These guidelines reiterate how aid agencies can overlook the needs of male victims as it identifies the absence of detailed statistics about the proportion of male victims as well as appropriate protection and support mechanisms (UNHCR, a, 2012). This reaffirms how potentially gender stereotypes and the social construction of masculinity can create implications, as it allows for specific groups of people to be viewed as not vulnerable to rape.

### **Some Conclusions: Effects of Gender Stereotypes within Emergency Response**

Stereotypes are a powerful part of society. They can generalise people's perception and beliefs about what roles and behaviors are suitable and socially acceptable. Gender stereotypes are integral to identity and interlink with socially constructed gender roles as well as the construction of identity for men and women. The notions of masculinity and femininity are an essential part of gender stereotypes and can have a great impact upon societies. The way both masculinity and femininity construct identity is an important area which needs to be understood in order for the effects of gender stereotypes to be addressed.

This research hopes to successfully examine the effects of gender stereotypes held by aid agencies engaged in an emergency response. The constraints of such stereotypes must be acknowledged and in some instances challenged. Men and women may have different needs within post-disaster situations, and there has been extensive research to illustrate the importance of gender mainstreaming and applying a gendered lens within emergency response. However, this research believes that often this concept is applied uncritically and can reinforce the occurrence of stereotypes. The purpose of this research is to address the importance of understanding gender stereotypes and the effects it may have within an aid response. Men can exhibit feminine qualities and women male attributes and relief must be tailored to incorporate this and to acknowledge that there may be instances when the expectations held by NGO staff, may not reflect the accurate needs of affected populations. The constraints and implications caused by those within the humanitarian sector having gender stereotypes needs to be acknowledged and challenged. It is hoped that this research clearly demonstrates the power of gender stereotypes and provide policy recommendations where needed, in order to provide adequate and effective relief.

## **Context: Haitian Daily Life**

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This dissertation shall use the 12th January 2010 Haitian earthquake as a case study in order to highlight the affect gender stereotypes can have on emergency relief. Due to the limitation of space this research will not explore every possible aid programme that was implemented, but will identified those, which it is believed had greater impact on the affected population. Areas surrounding Gender Based Violence (GBV); rape, sexual abuse protection and support mechanisms as well as emergency food distribution, will be examined in an attempt to demonstrate any positive affects. As well as any implications caused potentially by gender stereotypes held either consciously or subconsciously by humanitarian actors. Before investigation in those relief areas, it is important that a contextual overview is given in regard to the scale and impact of the disaster as well as a brief discussion of gender relations prior to the earthquake. This may have impacted the affects of the disaster, the aftermath and subsequently the relief programme.

### **Haiti before the Earthquake**

In order to understand the magnitude of the disaster it is important that a brief overview of Haiti's socio-economic status be presented. Haiti was the poorest State in the Western Hemisphere (World Bank, 2013), which had a substantial influence on the impact of the earthquake. Poorly constructed houses and infrastructure with relatively high levels of poverty (MSB, 2010: 2), were contributing factors to the serve enormity of the earthquake. Prior to the earthquake, Haiti was considerably unequipped to deal with an environmental disaster and high levels of poverty were a triggering factor to this (Duramy, 2011: 1195).

It is essential that a brief overview of gendered relations and roles are offered, as structures within a society preceding a natural disaster need to be examined in order to understand the context of the disaster more effectively. Haiti's economy was overwhelming dominated by the informal sector, with the economy being approximately eighty-five per cent informal (MSB, 2010: 3). Pre-disaster 51.8 per cent of the population were female (PAHO, 2013:1) with extremely high proportion of women being economically active (MSB, 2010: 3). Despite being economically active and somewhat independent at a household level, there was still a significant unequal status for the majority of women. This unequal status is often as a result of socially constructed gendered roles and relations. These reveal which roles are acceptable for men and

women, and often led to the marginalisation of women. Before the earthquake, men were primarily responsible for roles which reflected and were associated with masculinity. They partook in more strenuous tasks that included: large-scale agricultural work, land clearing and care of large livestock. It can be argued that this is due to gendered view whereby men are seen as being physically stronger and more suited to such activities. In addition, eighty-two per cent of men were part of the formal labour markets, which took them into the public sphere of employment compared with less than forty per cent of women (MSB, 2010: 1). It can be further argued that this also highlights the power of socially constructed roles. It is deemed more acceptable for men to have dominance within the public sphere, while women's roles and responsibilities place them mainly within the private sphere. This further reinforces the binary nature of gender.

Women's responsibilities on the other hand, covered small agricultural work such as weeding, and care of small animals such as goats. It can be suggested that such tasks are deemed acceptable as due to the construction of femininity, women are believed to be more delicate and therefore less suited to more physically demanding tasks. Further, women were also expected to purchase household essentials; prepare and cook food; clean and care for children (MSB, 2010: 1). This also demonstrates how the construction of gender and femininity can deem certain behaviours better suited to women. It is often assumed within society that women will be caring, nurturing and sensitive and thus will be more suited to caring for children than their male counterparts (MSB, 2010: 2). This demonstrates a gendered role for women, most likely being present in Haitian society prior to the earthquake. This highlights the power of gendered roles and demonstrates how they can construct the activities and behaviours men and women carry out in their daily lives.

The 'typical' family unit was structured with a man, wife and children. There was an unequal status within the unit. Haitian society permitted men to have as many wives as they could afford, whilst women were expected to remain monogamous (MSB, 2010: 2). This situation further highlights gendered relations in Haiti. Despite this 'typical' family structure, there were a proportion of female-headed households as well as male-headed households consisting solely of men. Often homosexual men who had been ostracised by their family and communities formed such households (OHCHR, 2012: 2). This can be identified as a contributing factor as to why before the earthquake, four times as many male-headed households faced extreme food insecurity than female-headed households

(MSB, 2010: 3). However, it is also important to note that twenty-six per cent of female-headed households in Port-au-Prince were considered extremely poor compared with seventeen per cent of male-headed households (Gardella 2006: 12). This illustrates the power of gendered relations, as those who did not fit the stereotypical family unit, either by being female-headed or households consisting of homosexual men, were disproportionately less economically and food secure.

It is also important to note how gender relations can be a contributing factor for high levels of GBV, mainly towards women. Before the earthquake, there were extremely high levels of GBV towards women and girls. Twenty-six per cent of females aged fifteen and over confessed to experiencing GBV at least once (Arend, 2012:1), yet due to the nature of such violence it is highly probable that higher instances go unreported. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) has very little formal recognition and practical use within Haiti. CEDAW is an international Bill, which supports the rights of women and is supposed to act as a national agenda to stop all forms of discrimination of women (United Nations, 2009). It appears it had made very little progress in Haiti, as there was a high prevalence rate of GBV such as domestic abuse and rape that was, to a degree, accepted by society (MSB, 2010: 4). Domestic abuse was also seen as a family matter which should not be resolved outside of the household (Gardella, 2006: 14), which was further a contributing factor to its high occurrence and further illustrates gender relations in Haiti. Additionally, before the earthquake twenty-six per cent of all women and girls over fifteen years of age reported experiencing some form of GBV (Arend, 2012: 1). It is also critical to state that due to the sensitive nature of such incidents, especially sexual violence and the traditional gendered norms, which allow men the right to control and physically assault female partners, that such figures of GBV may be much higher (Gage and Hutchinson, 2006: 21).

Such incidents demonstrate the gender relations and power structures that affected men and women as well as LGBT communities. These power structures and gendered roles before the earthquake will be significant for examining the affect of the earthquake and the subsequent aid response. It is paramount that it is understood how disasters and aid responses can affect people differently depending on their gender (Hoare et al: 2012: 206).

### **The Disaster: Earthquake**

On 12<sup>th</sup> January 2010, the largest earthquake in two decades struck Haiti. The earthquake centre was fifteen miles Southwest of the Capital, Port-au-Prince (Margesson and Taft-Maroles, 2010: 2), which was followed by two severe aftershocks of 5.9 and 5.5 on the Richter scale (BBC, 2010a). The affect of the earthquake was catastrophic, “the scale of the disaster was comparable to the Indian Ocean Tsunami of 2004” (Grunewald and Binder, 2010: 7). The material loss of the disaster was enormous. It was estimated that the loss within Haiti was equivalent to more than the whole of Haiti’s national income (Grunewald and Binder 2010: 8). Infrastructure was demolished; schools, houses, offices, hospitals, even UN buildings and the presidential palace were destroyed (BBC, 2010a. Duramy, 2011: 1195). Eyewitness testimonies stated that buildings “folded like cardboard” (Duramy, 2011: 1196).

The number of people affected was substantial. Both the Haitian Government and the United Nations estimated that the death toll was between 250,000 and 300,000. The same number of people was injured or left permanently disabled (Duramy, 2011: 1194-1195). There was a large volume of IDP’s, with reports indicating that between 1million and 1.5million survivors were left homeless (BBC, 2010a). The mortality rate and the identification of those injured can be explained through a gender analysis. This provides evidence that understanding gender roles and stereotypes during emergency relief is significant.

The earthquake hit at 4.53pm local time when many men were working in office buildings in or near the capital Port-au-Prince. Within Haitian society, men are more likely to work in the public sphere as part of the formal sector. This is seen as a suitable role for men. It can be argued that a higher male mortality rate may be associated with a higher proportion of men falling victim to the collapse of office buildings, as there were less women working within office buildings than were men. Furthermore, a higher proportion of survivors had sustained injuries such as burns from gas cooking canisters. Reports indicated that such injuries were more common with women (MSB, 2010: 1-2). It can be presumed that this was due to gendered norm where household activities, such as cooking were more associated with women. It is highly probable that such gender roles may account for the differing mortality and injury rates among men and women. Socially constructed gendered norms placed women within the household where they would be more likely to sustain such injuries.



This study illustrates the significance of gender and how vital gendered aspects and a contextual understanding is critical and needs to be considered by aid agencies.

In response to the earthquake a large-scale relief operation was conducted by a multiple of organisations, particular areas will be assessed by this dissertation.

## **Food Distribution**

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When a disaster, such as an earthquake strikes, it can increase the vulnerability of the affected population. External assistance is often required if the extent of the disaster overwhelms a national government's capacity to respond effectively. Due to the scale of the Haitian earthquake, international agencies and NGOs attempted a large-scale relief operation in order to meet the basic needs of the affected population. Aid agencies and international actors follow protocols and guidelines such as the Code of Conduct for International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement and NGO in Disaster Relief as well as the SPHERE Handbook and Guidelines.

There were a variety of services as well as basic needs, which the affected population in Haiti experienced in the aftermath of the earthquake. A particular area this research will focus on is the issue of food security and the distribution of emergency food rations. It is internationally recognised through a variety of declarations, conventions and treaties which recognise that there is a right to adequate food (Hopkins, 2013: 44) both in emergency and non-emergency situations, and demonstrates the importance of food distribution as an area that this project will examine. The main aim of emergency food aid is to provide an adequate quality and quantity of food in a timely manner to affected populations, in order to reduce the risk of acute malnutrition and mortality. The intention is that such distributions will enable individuals, households and communities to survive the aftermath of a disaster and recover effectively (Hopkins, 2013: 457). Emergency food programmes ought to be carried out and monitored using the scope from the internationally agreed standards such as the SPHERE project. The SPHERE standards specifically state that affected populations should be targeted on the basis of need alone (The SPHERE Project, 2011: 23,143, 193) Thus providing evidence of which standards the food distribution in Haiti should have followed.

### **Food Distribution in Haiti**

There was a significant need for emergency food relief as the price of food strongly increased and the availability of food worsened in the affected areas such as Port-au-Prince (Young et al: 2011: 2). The majority of households had to adopt food coping strategies, such as consuming a smaller number of calories or skipping meals altogether. Such food insecurity was wide spread among the different demographic of victims, even effecting families who would have been considered wealthier prior to the earthquake.,

These families lost any assets which could have assisted them in obtaining food (CNSA, 2010: 631). Thus demonstrating how the effects of the disaster did not discriminate among those living in the affected areas. Many households were identified as being food insecure, it was estimated that between thirty-one and fifty-two per cent of households experienced such vulnerability (CNSA, 2010: 3 and Echevin, 2011: 2). This saw 1.3 million individuals, or 250,000 households in need of emergency food rations (CNSA, 2010: 50). A figure which indicates that during the emergency phase, nearly double the number of households were food insecure (Echevin, 2011: 2). In response, the WFP conducted its most complex operation targeting the delivery of dry food rations, such as rice, beans, oil and sugar two days after the disaster (WFP, 2011: 6-18).

The impact of gender stereotypes can be seen significantly during the food distribution, and is demonstrated through only women being targeted and entitled to exchange coupons for dry rations.

### **Women-Only Food Distribution**

The female-only food distribution programme only registered female members of households and only permitted women to obtain food vouchers and enter food distribution sites (WFP, 2010 and CNN, 2010A). Women were allocated twenty-five kilograms of rice, which it was expected to be distributed among all family and household members (BBC, 2010b and CNN, 2010B=b). The food distribution plan included a minimum of eight international humanitarian agencies, including CARE, World Vision and Save the Children, who followed the female-only targeting criteria in the initial emergency phase (CNN, 2010b).

A particular gender stereotype, which may have influenced the specific targeting of women, could be the idea women are typically considered being caring and nurturing (Cranny-Francis, 2003: 143 and Deaux, 1998: 206). The generalised assumption that women act on the needs of others before themselves and are more caring than men, is a significant gender stereotype. It can be argued that this was a factor in the WFP's decision to target only women. It is believed that women will more likely distribute food rations fairly and equally among the household, as it is assumed that all women shall follow the social expectation that they will care for the family (Esterik, 1999: 229). This is further supported by interviews of NGO workers. The interviews conducted alluded to, that despite the SPHERE standards maintaining that women, girls, boys and men are equal in relation to assistance and policy should reflect this. It is also important to note,

however, that the SPHERE standards, also allow differential distribution to be based on perceived vulnerability. So, it can be argued that women-only targeted can be justified through this believe (Key Informant, 2. 2013). There is often an underlying and even sub-conscious perception of those working within the sector who may believe, due to gender inequalities within some societies, that women are better suited to receiving certain items such as mosquitoes nets or food rations as they will be more responsible for them (Key Informant, 2,4. 2013).

Such an assumption surrounding the behaviour of women is often exceptionally generalised and assumes that all women will act as a homogenous group in the same way. The behaviour of groups is something which is hard to predict. Just because social norms expect women to act in a certain manner, does not mean that in reality they will. Nevertheless, this particular gender stereotype held by aid agencies appears to have been significant in the justification for the food distribution during the initial stages of emergency relief in Haiti.

Further rationalisation for female-only targeting can be illustrated on the basis that it is anticipated that men will act inappropriately and food rations will not be equally distributed. Due to the construction of masculinity, there is a gendered stereotype which presumes that men will be self-regarding and authoritative which would have negative implications especially for women (Cranny-Francis 2003: 143), who may not receive sufficient food rations. Additionally there is the stereotypical notion that it is a man's role to be the financial provider (Deaux, 1998: 206), this gender role could potentially influence men to sell much-needed rations, placing households in a possible state of food insecurity. These gendered notions could be seen as a contributing factor to justify the decision of the WFP, NGOs and the Haitian authorities to implement women-only targeting. In the belief that it would create a more equal and effective food aid distribution for most vulnerable, as women would be the most responsible and best suited to receive food vouchers and dry rations.

### **Women-Only: Positive Impact**

A positive outcome can be identified as women having increased control, equability and empowerment. This advantage can be highlighted as a result of the research collected from key informant interviews. These empirical observations have indicated that targeting women exclusively can have considerable benefits. A leading member of an international NGO discussed in great detail, how this particular approach to food

distribution is based on the belief that it will enable women to exercise a greater degree of equality in post-disaster situations (Key Informant No. 3, 2013). The interviews conducted also revealed the importance of addressing the empowerment and equality of women, as often there are considerable inequalities between men and women before a crisis. These frequently become manifested in the aftermath of a disaster. Such inequalities can, in some instances, cause momentous suffering for many women. (Key Informant No. 2, 2013). Furthermore, key informants expressed the importance of aid programmes evaluating a contextual analysis of a society, to identify gender imbalances and assesses how aid programmes are implemented, may have ramifications for gender equality among different societies (Key Informant No.1, 3, 213). This dialogue from key informants illustrates the perceived benefits and the rationale behind the women-only food distribution conducted during the aftermath of the Haitian earthquake.

There is a wide range of literature, which supports this particular impact. Improving empowerment and creating equality between men and women is paramount as disasters have the capacity to exacerbate vast imbalances in societies. Evidence of this can be identified from resource allocation within societies. Resources are often controlled more by particular groups, which in many instances mean men possessing higher control of resources over women (Wiest, 2000: 67). Differences in power relations, age, gendered norms and family structures can immensely affect the vulnerability of individuals and their access to assistance programmes to disasters (Enarson and Morrow, 2000: 6, Begum, 1993). Often women exercise less economic, social and cultural power, which exacerbates in the aftershock of a disaster (Enarson and Morrow, 2000: 6-7). Research has also indicated that women's authority drastically increases within the household when they are given direct access to food aid (El-Solh, 1995: 1). This often means that women are able to make decisions surrounding other elements within the household, and often this contributes to a higher priority given to health, education and nutrition, which has vital advantages for the household (Holmes et al., 2009:3). This supports the argument given by key informants, that female-only targeting provides a platform for women, to some degree, to counteract the high prevalence of inequalities often experienced in post disaster situations. It also enables women to obtain a role and responsibility.

A further benefit can be identified as the facilitation of equal food division within households. Primary research, from key informant interviews, has also determined that if women are the main recipients of food relief then it can have positive repercussions

for the entire household. It is assumed by those interviewed that women will distribute food equally among household members (key Informant No.1-4, 2013). It can be argued that this equality among a household is possible as it challenges traditional gendered norms, which often favour men in food allocation (Agarwal, 1997: 16). Men and boys having priority in the division of food often leads women and girls to suffer higher rates of undernourishment and malnutrition (Wiest, 2000: 68). Due to cultural and social norms, it cannot be assumed that women will automatically receive an equal proportion in aid distribution (IASC, 2006: 59, 71). Yet, when women are provided with food rations it appears that “families are more likely to eat properly” (WFP: 2010). Women-only food distribution can have further advantages in particular cultural environments. As the context chapter has previously examined, Haiti was and continues to be, commonly polygamous. Those working within the humanitarian sector have expressed the importance of relief workers understanding and analysing the effect culture in polygamous society has, and how it can influence who receives humanitarian supplies such as food rations (key Informant No.3, 2013). In polygamous societies, when male-headed households are targeted, rations often have to be distributed among many of their wives and households. This can have adverse effects by increasing malnutrition and food insecurity (El-Solh, 1995: 1 and IASC, 2006:66), demonstrating further occasions where women-only distribution can create equalities among food allocation amongst a household.

An additional positive outcome of aid agencies having preconceived ideas and stereotypes about who is best suited to receive food rations and thus influencing the targeting criteria can be illustrated with women having an increased responsibility and activeness in regards to the aid given. By permitting only women to be active in the collection of food, allows them not to be dependent on their male counter-parts and not to be viewed as being helpless passive victims waiting for men to obtain food supplies (Binder and Tasic, 2005: 613). This particular depiction of women, especially within the media, can be considerably popular especially among larger organisations that appeal for donors. This illustrates a considerable strength to female-only distribution as a result of gender stereotypes, which deem women to be more suited recipients of food rations.

### **Women-Only: Negative Impact**

Despite the positive elements of the female-only distribution, there were significant implications. These need to be addressed in order to provide a balanced overview of the

impacts of gender stereotypes, which may be held by actors during emergency relief, have in disaster situations. As well as demonstrating the implications when it is assumed by aid workers that certain behaviours and social structures are unanimous within affected populations.

A particular disadvantage is that female-only targeting increases the time-burden of women in an emergency phase. It is widely accepted and understood that in the aftermath of a disaster women often have an increased workload (UNFPA, 2013). Those working within the relief sector have indicated the importance of understanding the roles performed by men and women prior to a disaster and how aid programmes should be adapted accordingly in order to meet beneficiary needs adequately (Key Informant No.2, 2013). Women within Haiti had multiple duties both preceding and post the earthquake, which are linked to their productive and reproductive roles. Women often have high responsibilities within the private sphere of caring for children and elderly, household activities, as well as additional activities within the informal sector (Holmes et al., 2009:10). It can be argued that this increased time-burden intensified as a result of the food aid policies conducted within Haiti. Lines for food vouchers and rations were extremely long and took a great amount of time. Due to socially constructed gender roles, it can be argued that once receiving food aid, women were still expected to perform tasks related to their gender within the household (Hoare et al, 2012: 207).

Evidence has consistently shown that a woman's increased burden can have a negative affect upon the attention and energy given to children, education, and overview health concerns of the household, as well as women taking suitable care of themselves. Women cannot adequately divide their time, as often they have an extensive number of responsibilities (Holmes et al. 2009: 6 and UNFPA. 2013), demonstrating the additional burden and pressures which women experienced. By understanding the dynamics of a household and the gendered roles, which women appear to generally follow, enables aid agencies to recognise the time constraints women face and to understand that perhaps the targeting of other household members, i.e. men, would have meant that their workloads may not have increased. This illustrates the importance of understanding the contextual aspects in post disaster situations.

Another negative dimension is that of increased violence, especially towards women as the female-only food distribution created great tensions among men and women (CNN, 2010b). It can be argued that a proportion of male members of society perceived the

food distribution in a very negative way, as news outlets have reported men being considerable vocal in their annoyance towards the food distribution (CNN, 2010b). A variety of evaluative reports has noted that Haitian women were in a vastly more dangerous position and were increasingly vulnerable to violence and sexual exploitation (Hart, 2011 363). An increasing number of media outlets both nationally and internationally, reported frequent and high levels of unrest and violence surrounding food distribution points (Schinina et al., 2010: 160). Due to the nature of the targeted distribution, women were frequently the focus of the discontentment. Women were attacked and robbed upon leaving the distribution points, and reports have indicated that there was still a degree of sexual coercion with women being forced to exchange sexual activities to obtain rations that had been stolen from them initially (BBC,b, 2010 and Hart, 2011: 363-364). An anecdotal news report depicts this precisely. It reported an elderly woman, widowed due to the earthquake, unable to carry the rations and helped by a man nearby. As soon as they left the security of the food distribution point and were out of sight, he stole her ration and the woman was unable to obtain anymore (CNN, 2010b). This further provides evidence of the negative impact created due to the female-only food distribution.

The decision to run female-only food distribution was a factor of the gender stereotype potentially held by aid agencies that saw women as the ideal recipient of food aid. The over-generalised notion that they are more caring and more likely to distribute food fairly among the household led to a multitude of implications. It overlooked how it would create tensions and ill feeling among men, and resulted in high levels of violence which women were extremely vulnerable to (Heinzelman and Waters, 2010: 4). Investigation has indicated that the WFP's guidelines in regard to gender and food distribution are believed by a significant number of humanitarian workers to simply mean the targeting of women for food assistance instead of contextually assessing the needs of affected populations (El-Solh, 1995: 2), which it can be argued was an influence for the ration targeting in Haiti. This highlights how there is often a misconception that gender is a pseudonym for women. Gender must be applied critically and accurately to understand how aid programmes may impact affected populations negatively. It can also be argued that in some instances aid agencies are influenced by the belief that they are incorporating gender into programmes. However often they presumed stereotypical views about the roles and behaviours of men and women which may influence elements of emergency relief, as seen with the female-only food distribution.



An additional implication as a potential consequence of the food distribution targeting was that it failed to anticipate how it would exclude particular groups. The WFP publicly stated that by targeting women-only it would still allow men to meet their nutritional needs, as the majority of men would have some female relative or companion who would be able to feed them (Metz, 2010: 35 and CNN, 2010). This viewpoint is further supported by a humanitarian actor, who when questioned stated that they would assume that there will generally be a female relative or friend who would be able to distribute food rations to single men as it was unlikely that they did not have even a distant female relative (Key Informant 4. 2013). This may have been true for the majority of men but a proportion of single men had lost their mothers and sisters in the earthquake and therefore would find it increasingly difficult to obtain food rations. Single men interviewed stated they did not agree with the distribution plan entirely as it left them without food (CNN, 2010). This highlights the complications which were experienced and demonstrates negative impacts which may have been influenced by gender stereotypes held by humanitarian agencies.

An additional group that found themselves excluded was the LGBT community, especially homosexual men and transgender people. They were disproportionately overlooked and ultimately their nutritional needs were not met. Members from the LGBT community are extremely vulnerable in post disaster situations as often their needs are unintentionally ignored by actors in emergency relief (IGLHRC,/SEROVIE, 2010: 1). It can be argued that aid agencies followed the stereotypical view that the majority of Haitian adult men were married and that the population conformed to the 'traditional' (heterosexual) household unit, which included male and female members (Brown, 2012; 1). Scholars have reinforced this notion by expressing that this household structure is considerably misrepresented as the normative, default structure, and often overlooks the visibility and needs of other sexual identities (Howes et al, 2013: 2). Before the earthquake, the LGBT communities experienced discrimination and prejudice as part of their daily lives (Fahamu Refugee Programme, 2013). Families frequently reject LGBT people. This often created a significant number of male-headed households without female members. This was the impetus for the implications during food distribution, as a large proportion of gay men and transsexual people were unable to obtain food rations. There were simply no women to obtain food on their behalf (IGLHRC/SEROVIE, 2010: 5).

In what can be seen as an attempt to support these plights, the American Red Cross distributed ration cards to men if females were not nearby. However, this did not solve the predicament of homosexual men and transgender people, as it was still a requirement that women queued for the rations (IGLHRC/SEROVIE, 2010:6). This demonstrates implications because the situation of LGBT were not understood and analysed effectively. Evidence of the sheer desperation can be highlighted from reports that various gay men dressed as women in the attempt to collect food. However, when discovered they were physically attacked by men within the vicinity (IGLHRC/SEROVIE, 2010: 5). These eyewitness testimonies demonstrate the extent to which particular members from the LGBT community were in need of food supplies but were excluded as their social situation and needs were not adequately understood.

The experiences of the LGBT communities demonstrate the repercussions of not using the concept of gender critically in the practical application of aid. The severity of this is emphasised by a variety of scholars, most notably Judith Butler. She states that the heterosexual assumption can have adverse affects and needs to be critiqued (Butler, 1999: 2), such affects have been highlighted within the food distribution in Haiti. Furthermore, Butler (1993) declares that the presumption of heterosexuality needs to be destabilised in order to accurately view LGBT people (p.28-29). Thus illustrating the significance of this research and the idea presented within, that the concept of gender is useful to understand and view societies, but when it is used uncritically it creates a dichotomy. This can have negative impacts upon particular communities.

Despite the targeting being justified by the benefits discussed, there appears to be a significant number of implications that have been addressed. This illustrates the negative impacts which can be created when aid agencies and the like appear to have preconceived gender stereotypes and overgeneralised beliefs surrounding the behaviours of a society, which can incorrectly influence aid policies. Thus demonstrating how the concept of gender must be understood and applied critically and should not be used simply for the sake of it. A gendered approach to food distribution should not just mean the targeting of women, but the lens of gender should include an analysis of the needs of all communities and should be unpacked to recognise that in some instances the needs of certain groups may be overlooked when the distribution to women only is applied.

## **GBV: Rape and Sexual Abuse**

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An additional area, which will be used to demonstrate the effects of gender stereotypes on emergency aid responses, will be that of protection and support mechanisms in relation to GBV in the aftermath of the earthquake. This has been selected as a suitable aspect of investigation as GBV had a high prevalence rate in the emergency phase and suitably highlights how stereotypes potentially held by aid agencies can create repercussions for particular members of affected populations. It is also useful to illustrate the importance and justifies the need for aid agencies to use the concept of gender critically within the programmes and not just as a way to state that requirements have been satisfied.

### **GBV in Post Disaster Situations**

GBV can be defined as an umbrella term for any violent act towards a person based on gender. There are various forms which include some of the following: sexual violence and exploitation, domestic violence, trafficking, forced marriage and rape. Generally GBV is directed towards women and girls with men seen as being the main perpetrators, yet it is vital to acknowledge that men and boys may also be survivors of such violence (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2008 :313.)

GBV is a significant occurrence in humanitarian settings. In post-disaster environments often infrastructures, social norms and previous mechanisms to maintain law and order can breakdown as a result of stresses from disasters. This can manifest as increased rates of GBV (UNFPA, 2005: 25). GBV is considered universally and legally as a serious Human Rights violation and is a fundamental problem for beneficiaries and aid agencies. (IASC, 2006: 4). There are particular guidelines and mechanisms, which are supposed to be followed in order to protect and support affected populations (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2008: 318-320). Yet despite this there were still extremely high rates of GBV, especially sexual abuse and rape reported in Haiti (Amnesty International, 2011).

### **Stereotypical Assumptions and GBV**

It can be argued that there are considerable stereotypes held either consciously or subconsciously, in relation to GBV by societies including professionals working within the humanitarian sector. From a variety of sources including academic journals, NGO field manuals and interviews with NGO staff there appears to be an underlying stereotype that men, as a rule, are not the victims of GBV, especially in the form of rape

and sexual abuse. This research attempts to analyse and evaluate possible reasons why such a viewpoint may be held in order to understand the potential implications, which may occur during an aid response.

The construction of masculinity plays an important role in understanding the potential foundations of this possible stereotype. Masculinity has often been constructed as a binary to femininity, and states which behaviours and attributes are 'suitable' for men (Cranny-Francis, 2003:145). It states that men are 'supposed' to be strong, dominant, aggressive and fulfil sexual prowess. However, women are 'supposed' to be dependent and submissive (Eisler et al, 1988: 134). The reality however, is that not all men and women behave in such a way (Brannon, 2004 166), as this is an over-generalisation (a stereotype) about their behaviours. An over-generalised belief can create implications when it presumes that men are unable or unlikely to be victims of sexual abuse and rape. This demonstrates an apparent reason why society, including aid workers, may have the perception that women are the victims of GBV. This facilitates the common belief that men are the perpetrators of violence and reinforces the less exposed reality that women are sometimes the perpetrators of violence, and men are intermittently victims (Duramy, 2010: 1029). This illustrates the impact of gender stereotypes and illustrating how stereotypes held by humanitarian workers, may not show and understand the true realities of men and women.

### **The Reality of GBV in Haiti**

Despite such assumptions, sexual abuse and rape incidents were not gender specific with victims being both male and female (Louvri, 2012: 43). There have been extensive academic research and news reports surrounding the significantly high prevalence rates of sexual violence and rape towards women and girls, especially in the IDP camps (Arend, 2012: 2-4, Duramy, 2011:1195-1198, and New York Times, 2010). Over 70 per cent of households interviewed confessed to being more anxious about sexual abuse post the earthquake (Louvri, 2012: 38). It can be maintained that this was due to the extensive increase in rapes within the first 150 days after the disaster. Over 250 cases were reported (Amnesty International, 2011). Furthermore, at least fourteen per cent of households had a minimum of one family member who admitted being abused or raped (Louvri, 2012: 35), illustrating the extent to which abuse was occurring.

However it is paramount that attention is drawn to the adult male victims in the aftermath of the earthquake, which it can be argued, are often overlooked. Fourteen per

cent of men interviewed divulged that they had been victims of sexual abuse and rape (Arend, 2012: 2 and Duramy, 2011: 1198). Additionally grassroots NGO SEROVIE, recorded that heterosexual and homosexual males were “coerced into engaging in sexual relations with straight-identified men for food or money” (IGLHRC/SEROVIE, 2010: 4) This highlights how the assumption that women are the main group vulnerable to sexual violence is inaccurate within the case study of Haiti. It is also vital to note that due to the very sensitive nature of sexual violence, there is often a tendency of underreporting, making it probable that there were higher incidences of male and female victims (Stark and Ager, 2011: 127).

The overwhelming majority of reports, in the aftermath, have focused on the needs and the experiences of girls and women, and have side-lined the experiences of men and boys. Evidence of this can be identified from a wide range of sources available within the public domain (Arend, 2012: 2-4, Duramy, 2011:1195-1198, and New York Times, 2010). It can be argued that this is due to the stereotypical assumption that men are not the victims, but the perpetrators of abuse. It is important not to undermine or discredit the experiences of female victims, as such crimes are horrendous human rights violations and more needs to be done to protect and support women in post-disaster situations. Nevertheless, this research feels it is important to recognise and address that there appears to have been a lack of reporting from media sources and academic studies to highlight and acknowledge the extent of male victims and their needs in regard to abuse in post-disaster situations. There is a lack of recognition that sexual violence can affect men (GSDRC, 2013: 2). This demonstrates a negative impact due to gender stereotypes and identifies how such assumptions have been reinforced by a lack of media and scholarly attention.

### **Equal Assistance for all?**

Despite what appears to be the underreporting and acknowledgement of male victims, in practice men should still be provided with adequate protection and support mechanisms for sexual abuse and rape in post disaster situations. The humanitarian principles which are depicted in a variety of sources that include; The Conduct for Red Cross and Red Crescent Movements, (IASC) and the SPHERE Handbook. These maintain that aid is given based upon the needs of the affected population (International Federation Red Cross and Red Crescents Societies, 1995: 1), whilst “all possible steps should be taken to prevent or alleviate human suffering” (SPHERE, 2004: 16). The humanitarian imperative further maintains that all members of an affected population

have the right to assistance and have the right to protection and security (SPHERE, 2013). This demonstrates that protection and support mechanisms should be targeted and accessible for both men and women. This is acknowledged further when NGO staff from differing organisations state “any humanitarian worker should ensure that they deliver the assistance as the needs of the affected community, to ensure that everyone receives assistance, including instances of GBV” (Key Informant No.3, 2013). This highlights a clear understanding by those interviewed that “men and women, girls and boys are entitled to equal amounts of humanitarian assistance and protection” (Key Informant No.1, 2013). It is also important to note, however, a key aspect in addition. Humanitarian assistance is also qualified based on the perceptions of an affected population’s vulnerability and the different needs and vulnerabilities of particular groups. It can therefore be argued that the lack of recognition that men can also be victims of sexual abuse and rape could be a result of gendered vulnerability being accessed inaccurately, due to the concept of gender being used uncritically.

This suggests that within all humanitarian situations, including Haiti that both men and women should have GBV, including sexual abuse and rape, protection targeted towards them equally. However, investigation into the case of Haiti has indicated that in practice such targeting was not apparent. Evidence of this can be identified from a variety of sources, including, UN evaluative reports, interviews conducted with UK and international aid workers and NGO operational guides. For instance when interviewed key informants were unable to express programme specifics or any personal experiences relating to sexual violence support mechanisms suitable for men. They did however reiterate that there should be equal opportunity for all to receive assistance related to GBV. Yet it was generally assumed that women would be more vulnerable than male-counterparts (Key Informant No.1-3, 2013). This illustrates how on paper, at a policy level, men and women are given equal opportunity to access services to support and protect from sexual violence, yet practically on the ground, often women are still believed to be the group in need, with assistance tailored towards them.

This viewpoint is supported by Arend who argues “both community members and service providers held myths and stereotypes about GBV that may have compromised GBV service provision” (Arend, 2012: 4). This further demonstrates how in practice the needs of male victims were not always met and identifies a significant implication as a result.

### **Implications caused**

There appears to be a multiple of implications due to the assumption that men are significantly less likely to be victims of sexual abuse and rape. It can be argued that the implications represent the power assumptions and stereotypes can have in a post-disaster situation. An NGO worker, when interviewed, provides further enlightenment, stating that, “stereotypes [are] unfortunately exist in the organisation itself” (Key Informant No.4). This demonstrates and supports the notion that gender stereotypes may be present within the humanitarian sector and thus may provide both positive and negative impacts for affected populations.

A considerable implication can be identified as the complexity of procedure for male victims wanting to report such crimes through official channels. Both homosexual and heterosexual male victims were extremely stigmatised by the police force in Haiti. There appeared to be a common misbelief that male victims had ‘allowed’ themselves to be attacked or that heterosexual victims were in fact trying to disguise their sexual orientation and therefore rape or abuse had not been committed (IGLHRC/SEROVIE, 2010: 5 and Louvri, 2012: 44). Evidence has determined an overwhelming number of rapes, which were reported to the appropriate channels, went without punishment (Madre, 2011:4). This resulted in considerable repercussions, both physically and psychologically for male victims who were unable to seek support and justice (GSDRC, 2013:1). Demonstrating a considerable implication as a result of gendered stereotypes and identifying the repercussions of the concept of gender being used uncritically.

Furthermore, an additional implication can be viewed since there is a lack of support for raped men (UNHCR, a 2013 :4) It is possible that those working within the field may be prevented from seeing and anticipating male victims of sexual abuse and rape, due to the concept of gender being misused. Another consequence of gender stereotypes and the assumption is that only women will be victims. Russell (2007) expands upon this by stating, “efforts to reach out to male survivors have been handicapped by a lack of awareness of the issues on the part of survivors and staff alike” (p:22), illustrating that is a lack of recognition with the humanitarian sector towards male sexual abuse and rape.

This can be seen within the aftermath of the earthquake and is demonstrated by a UN evaluative report which depicts that “sexual and GBV service provision in Haiti seemed generally unprepared to support male victims” (Seelinger and Wagner, 2013: 12). This

creates the implication whereby they are no suitable or specific targeting for male victims, as it is assumed and expected by aid workers that men will use the services already in place (key Informant No.2). This is despite these being mainly accessed by female victims and the fact that male and female survivors have differing needs (Russell, 2007: 23). The expectation that male victims will seek out support services in the same environment as women can create adverse repercussions. Evidence has suggested that due to the stigmatisation of male rape victims and the social construction that men are strong and the perpetrators of violence that men are likely to feel unable to seek assistance. Psychological assistance in the aftermath sexual abuse may be viewed as a feminine issue – an act that is more likely to be associated with women, further providing a feminised environment and can be a contributing factor to why male survivors are hesitant to discuss the attack and their feelings relating to it (Russell, 2007:23). Such an environment can justify why men may feel alienated and even emasculated, which are possible obstacles in allowing male victims to seek support services they need (UNHCR.b. 2013)

This can lead to inadequate service provision or even the exclusion of groups in receiving support for sexual abuse and rape. Within Haiti there was a lack of discourse surrounding sexual abuse and rape service provisions for men, “leading to the wholesale exclusion of these groups” (Seelinger and Wagner, 2013: 12). Additionally it has been discovered that “adult males and boys feeling or fearing sexual and GBV were not eligible for shelter services” (Seelinger and Wagner, 2013: 12). This highlights a shocking implication, whereby male victims were systematically rejected from accessing the services they needed due to an oversight, based on the stereotypical assumption, that in the aftermath of the earthquake they would not experience sexual abuse and rape.

### **Understanding the Influence of Gender Stereotypes**

This particular aspect within the aid response to the Haitian earthquake has demonstrated that a gendered approach needs to fully understand, that the perceptions of those working within the humanitarian sector can reinforce implications in regard to GBV protection and support mechanisms. Preconceived ideas and stereotypes held by aid workers should not influence aid responses. Acknowledgment is needed to understand that such stereotypes may be formulated and followed subconsciously.



This research has highlighted that there is a need to clearly understand and identify the GBV concerns of men and not to overlook the possibility that they may be victims as well as perpetrators. Due to the very sensitive nature of GBV, especially in relation to sexual violence, the precise data surrounding numbers of victims may never be completely accurate (Stark and Ager, 2011: 127). Therefore, aid agencies and the alike, need to recognise how the construction of masculinity, as well as social stigmas towards male victims of sexual abuse, may have negative effects on those reporting and seeking support mechanisms. Education for NGO staff and local law enforcement, as well as specific mechanisms should be established to ensure that both heterosexual men and those from the LGBT communities are not overlooked in relation to GBV in post disaster situations. GBV should not be seen as an issue which only affects women 'and a gendered lens needs to be use effectively to ensure that a comprehensive and holistic approach is taken to protect and support all members of an affected population.

Such a focus of the potential needs of men in relation to GBV, is not to undermine or side-line the concerns of women and girls, as evidence has indicated that they are at considerable risk in post disaster situations. It can also be argued that more needs to be done to protect women and girls from GBV in post disaster situations. It is self-evident that recognising and acting upon GBV in relation to men, should not reduce or prevent additional methods of protection for women and girls. However, this research has acknowledged that there is a need to recognise that men, as well as women, may be targeted and exploited sexually in humanitarian settings. Further it has highlighted that some humanitarian workers may overlook this in the practical application of aid due to the preconceived and overgeneralised idea that women are weaker and more likely to be victims than men. This demonstrates the importance of a gendered lens being used in such a manner to highlight particular needs of men and women. Further research is needed to fully understand the extent to which men are victims of GBV and which particular mechanisms may effectively protect and support them. Using the concept of gender uncritically may result in gender stereotypes, which this research has demonstrated creates significant implications for affected populations.

## **Challenges for the Humanitarian Sector**

Recognising the existence of gender stereotypes within the humanitarian sector and the influence these can have within aid programmes is a considerable challenge for those working within the field. The concept of gender needs to be applied critically and not purely for the sake of it, to allow appreciation of the impact this can have on the effectiveness and the adequacy of aid programmes. Often stereotypes are believed without societies, including aid workers, realising and appreciating this. In itself this can have implications in understanding the prevalence of such beliefs. With further research and understanding it is hoped that those working within the sector will be able to appreciate the prevalence and effect of stereotypes on beneficiaries. It is hoped that changes within the usage of the concept of gender will enable changes to be made regarding policies.

By using the concept of gender in a more critical manner, it will enable staff to consider that stereotypes may be present within an organisation and therefore may be impacting upon aid responses. This research has highlighted the issues of gender stereotypes and it is hoped that this has successfully demonstrated and highlighted the vast and expansive significance of such a topic. The mere fact that not all members of the affected population in Haiti received adequate and effective food relief and GBV protection and support in relation to their needs, questions the extent to which stereotypes influence a variety of aid responses. This research believes that such an occurrence is unacceptable and stereotypes should not influence aid responses and create instances where not all communities receive the aid services they need and are entitled to.

Changing stereotypes is not a quick and simple process. However, this paper believes that by highlighting the impacts of stereotypes, it will facilitate aid workers to acknowledge that stereotypes may potentially be influencing their work. Acknowledging the potential of gender stereotypes is the start of change and hopefully the stepping-stone for those working within aid programmes to begin to consider how stereotypes may be influencing aid policies. Hopefully this will ensure that all members of an affected population will obtain sufficient aid.

## Conclusion

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The research aim has been to determine if potential gender stereotypes, held by aid workers, impacted the effectiveness of the emergency relief delivered during the aftermath of the 2010 Haitian earthquake. This was fulfilled through a variety of research questions.

This paper has established particular assumptions held by aid workers and potential reasons for these. Complementary to this, the impacts of such viewpoints have also been established. There have been specific positive outcomes resulting from gender stereotypes, which can be identified during the women-only food distribution. Women obtained more power and control, whilst providing equality within household distribution. Despite this, the overwhelming majority of impacts have been identified as negative. There have been increasing implications during both food distribution and GBV protection and support mechanisms. The food distribution criteria increased women's times burden as they were expected to perform not only their everyday household tasks, but also had to wait hours for food relief. It also exacerbated violence towards them and made female-headed households more vulnerable to sexual exploitation, as previous chapters have demonstrated. Further implications have illustrated how male-only, often homosexual households were placed in an extremely precarious position. This was a result of the fact that as they did not conform to the stereotypical belief surrounding the Haiti household structure and were unable to access emergency food relief. Additionally, both heterosexual and homosexual males were generally overlooked as recipients of GBV protection and support mechanisms. It was expected that any victims would seek support, which had been targeted realistically for women and thus understandably felt alienated and uncomfortable doing so. Furthermore, it has also revealed that particular emergency programmes excluded adult males fearing or fleeing GBV. It is the opinion of this study, that such instances are outrageous and it is hoped that the areas, which have been highlighted within this research, will be taken seriously.

It is important to note that, the scope of this study is to some extent narrow. Only one case study has been analysed, and demonstrates a potential limitation within this research. Despite this, the case study has been examined in considerable depth, focusing primarily on food distribution and GBV protection mechanisms and thus justifies the use

of only one case study. Further, this study has highlighted a vital area, which may have previously gone unnoticed. This provides support, as this paper can be seen as a springboard for additional research to determine if the effects of stereotypes can be illustrated within additional aid responses.

Notwithstanding the limitations, this research has drawn attention to an essential area. It has demonstrated how gender stereotypes held by aid workers had repercussions for affected populations in the aftermath of the 2010 Haitian earthquake. It has highlighted that the concept of gender must be used appropriately and more critically within the humanitarian sector. The concept must be used to fulfil a purpose, and not purely for the sake of it, as a way to 'tick policy boxes'.

The very fact that certain groups became more vulnerable during the distribution of aid, as well as particular groups being excluded from certain aid services is deplorable and should not be the case, as everyone has the right to receive adequate and effective relief. It is hoped that this research has successfully demonstrated the importance of how preconceived assumptions, held by aid workers, need to be recognised and sometimes challenged to ensure that the needs of survivors in the aftermath of a disaster are suitably understood and met. Those working within the humanitarian sector need to be impartial and more needs to be done to ensure that stereotypes and assumptions held by aid workers are not negatively impacting affected populations.

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# Appendix

## (A) Ethics Form

Faculty Of Technology, Design & Environment, Oxford Brookes University  
ARCHITECTURE / PLANNING / REAL ESTATE & CONSTRUCTION

### RESEARCH ETHICS FORM E1BE FOR STUDENTS ON TAUGHT COURSES

Please read the Guidance Notes at [www.brookes.ac.uk/res/ethics/forms](http://www.brookes.ac.uk/res/ethics/forms)

#### Section A - You & your project

What is your name?

First name EMMA	Surname CRAWFORD
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What is your student number?

1	2	0	7	4	2	1	6
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What is your email address?

12074216	@brookes.ac.uk
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What is your supervisor's name?

First name Supriya	Surname AKERKAR
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What is your supervisor's email address?

Saker Kar	@brookes.ac.uk
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In which Department are you studying?

Architecture  
 Planning  
 REC

What course are you taking?

CENDEP:
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What is the topic area of your research?

Disaster & Emergency Practice
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On what kinds of topics will you be collecting data from the participants in the research?

Gender stereotypes + opinions of NGO workers
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#### Section B - Your participants

What kind of participants will be involved in your research? (Please tick one - if more than one, then complete a separate form)

Professional/management group  
 Members of the general public  
 Vulnerable individuals

Briefly describe these participants

NGO workers
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How many participants will be involved?

5	Number of people
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How will the participants be selected?

previous professional relationship / contacts
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#### Section C - Your data collection

When is your data collection likely to start?

d	d	m	m	y	y	3
0	1	0	7	2	0	3

What will be your method of data collection?

In-depth interviews  
 Face-to-face surveys  
 Direct observation  
 Other, please specify

Telephone  
 Email  
 Post

What kind of data will you be collecting?

Quantitative/statistical/numerical  
 Qualitative/written/text  
 Images/drawings/maps

Will it be possible to avoid asking for personal data from the participants?

Yes  No

Will it be possible to ensure the participants are not being deceived in any way?

Yes  No

Will it be possible to ensure the participants remain completely anonymous?

Yes  No

Will it be possible to ensure the participants do not suffer any negative consequences?

Yes  No

#### Section D - Declaration

I declare that I will

- give all participants an information sheet conforming to university guidelines
- not contact any participant until my supervisor has approved my information sheet, research questions and methodology
- be sufficiently well-trained in necessary methods of data collection and analysis

Student signature

Date

<i>Emma Crawford</i>	
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Supervisor signature

Date

<i>Supriya Akerkar</i>	
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Module Leader signature

Date

<i>[Signature]</i>	19.09.13
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You may only start fieldwork when this form has been signed by your supervisor & your Module Leader

**Emma Crawford**  
**Student No.** 1207421  
**Email:** emmaloucrawford@hotmail.com