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Editorial

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) has once again sounded the alarm over the risks of today's global warming. Floods, repeated storms, droughts, invasive species and increasingly frequent forest fires are just some of the expected consequences of this phenomenon, which gave what was probably one of its most spectacular demonstrations this winter (the UK, for example, was hit by the worst flooding since its meteorological records began 248 years ago, while California received just 12 mm of rainfall in a drought unparalleled since the winter of 1580. Sharp temperature and precipitation swings have been recorded across the planet. Yet there is nothing to say for certain that these extreme events are due to climate change). The IPCC also reports that the most vulnerable populations are in the front line: exposure to the impacts of climate shocks and natural disasters in general is closely associated with anthropic factors: socially, economically, culturally, politically and institutionally marginalised individuals run a higher risk than others. Economists, for one, have a duty to assess the impact of natural disasters and the capabilities of people hit by these disasters to adjust to an environment turned hostile. Impact evaluations call for the possibility of using micro, meso and macroeconomic data and the use of suitable statistical methods. The literature in this field has burgeoned over the last ten years with the promotion of methods based less on sophisticated econometric methods as before and more on the use of suitable data collected explicitly for the purpose. This movement is still ongoing. As public budgets are cut worldwide, governments and civil society in general increasingly feel the need to rigorously evaluate the impact of actual and potential disasters and economic and social policies. The study by J. Herrera, F. Roubaud, C. Saint-Macary, C. Torelli and C. Zanuso is just such an assessment. In January 2010, Haiti was hit by a massive earthquake. In addition to the death and disease toll, it is important to evaluate the disaster's economic and social impacts to be able to review the aid policies implemented, identify the people who remain vulnerable, define how to help them and assess Haitian society's resilience. The collection of suitable, high-quality data is vital to this process. This study is based on data from the Post-Earthquake Living Conditions Survey (ECVMAS) conducted by the Haitian Statistics and Data Processing Institute (IHSI) in late 2012, with support from DIAL and the World Bank.

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Post-earthquake living conditions in Haiti: a much-needed diagnosis

The earthquake that rocked Haiti on 12 January 2010 was one of the four greatest killers recorded worldwide since 1990. It smacked headlong into the metropolitan area of Port-au-Prince, home to over one in five Haitians, destroying public buildings and housing as it went. Despite the immediate response from the international community, with rescue teams and pledges of financial assistance and support for reconstruction and development, things are still far from back to normal.

Schoolgirls, Port-au-Prince 2012 © IRD/Claire Zanuso - Ref. Photothèque Indigo: 54589

1. Background

Haiti is one of the most vulnerable developing countries when it comes to natural disasters and the most exposed country in the region. The earthquake's repercussions were much more dramatic here than in other countries hit by stronger earthquakes. For example, an earthquake of the same magnitude hit Christchurch, New Zealand's second-largest city, that same year with no fatalities. Other recurring factors in addition to the country's vulnerability to natural shocks have contributed to Haiti's economic deterioration, with chronic political and institutional instability and a poor education system top of the list.

Following the phase of emergency aid to earthquake victims more than four years ago, the time has come to review and analyse its impacts on Haitian society. A robust, constructive diagnosis of the post-earthquake situation, especially household living conditions and the labour market, calls for high-quality representative statistical data that are hard to collect in crisis and post-crisis situations. Yet a diagnosis is needed if improvements are to be made on public employment, housing and sustainable reconstruction policies and to natural disaster management policies, including preventive measures. An assessment of this sort also needs to provide information on the impact of aid, especially international aid whose effectiveness has been questioned. Such was the purpose of the Post-Earthquake Living Conditions Survey (ECVMAS) conducted in late 2012. The Haitian Statistics and Data Processing Institute (IHSI) worked with DIAL and the World Bank to survey a sample of 5,000 households representative of the entire population. It was the first national

socioeconomic survey to be taken since the earthquake.

2. *Natural disasters: a nascent field of study*

A number of studies based on macroeconomic data (especially EM-DAT) show that the impacts of natural disasters are getting worse. Poor countries are increasingly victim to these effects, firstly because of their growing populations and secondly because they are reportedly more vulnerable to such disasters due to such factors as rapid urbanisation, inequalities, environmental damage and a lack of planning and governance (Wisner *et al.*, 2004; Rasmussen, 2004). Yet few studies use microeconomic data to analyse disaster impact transmission channels more closely, even though such studies would explain why natural hazards cause such broad deviations in damage from one country to the next (Cavallo & Noy, 2009; Muller & Quisumbing, 2009).

There has been a worrying rise in the impact of natural disasters on economic welfare over the last decade. Research focusing more specifically on countries' resilience suggests that disasters have devastating effects on economic growth in developing countries because they prevent physical and human capital accumulation. Yet the channels behind this phenomenon remain unclear (Skoufias, 2003; Yamauchi *et al.*, 2008, 2009). Public policies need to be designed based on an accurate evaluation of the impact of past disasters in order to improve response strategies and prevent potential future disasters. Research in this area is still rudimentary considering the rise in the number of disasters this last decade, with the eastern Caribbean being one of the most natural-disaster-prone areas in the world. This poor state of affairs is generally due to two factors: a lack of data available to compare a population's situation before and after a disaster, and the many methodological challenges raised by such an analysis.

3. *Data thin on the ground*

The last statistical operations to provide data on employment and household living conditions in Haiti were conducted by the IHSI years before the earthquake. The Survey on Employment and the Informal Economy (EEEI, 2007) was carried out with Dial's support in 2007. The 2001 Living Conditions Survey (ECVH, 2001) and the 2000 Household Budget and Consumption Survey (EBCM, 1999-2000) were conducted with technical assistance from the French National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE). The last complete census dates back to 2003 and the next census – the 5th RPGH-2014 – was underway at the time of going to print. The different waves of the Mortality, Morbidity and Service Utilization Survey (EMMUS) collected more accurate and nationally representative data on health and education, with the latest EMMUS V dating back to 2012. Many surveys were taken of individual disaster victims living in displacement camps immediately following the earthquake and, subsequently, at national level. Yet these initiatives generally cover very small population samples.

4. *Three major methodological challenges*

In addition to the structural problems involved in such a large-scale operation in Haiti, the ECVMAS survey had to cope with a number of challenges raised by the particular situation created by the earthquake. This article looks at the three main methodological challenges.

Update an obsolete sampling frame

The project had to develop a sampling plan to contend with the massive destruction of housing, which made the sampling frame based on the 2003 population survey totally obsolete. In particular, the survey needed to cover the displaced population living in refugee camps (often households sharing their time between lodgings and camps). This called for some updating work until such time as the results of the next census became available. We also needed to survey the population living in the camps, an operation made all the harder by the fact that this population was and still is in constant flux. Regularly updated Displacement Tracking Matrix data collected by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) – number, location and people living in the camps periodically updated– were used to develop the sampling plan. Maps were also updated for the towns and cities with sharp urban expansion. This sampling plan updating phase made extensive use of mapping and satellite imaging tools.

The IOM set the July 2010 camp population at about 1,600,000 people, or the equivalent of over half of the capital's population. A large, but indeterminate number of households were living some of the time in their own lodgings and some of the time in the camps. So the earthquake made nonsense of the household concept, generally defined as covering all the people living under the same roof and sharing daily resources

and meals. This notion – a pillar of the household surveys – was upended by people dispersing throughout the camps and by households taking in family and non-family members (friends and neighbours) who had lost their homes. Although this phenomenon of households hosting the homeless formed part of the solidarity that softened the blow in the earthquake's aftermath, it was nonetheless a headache when it came to setting up a statistical survey.

We had to consider a number of different scenarios for this highly unstable situation, since the survey strategy needed to be tailored to the country's actual situation when data collection was launched. Data collection started in August 2012, when the IOM's most recent census at the time set numbers still in the camps at 369,000 people. A separate sampling plan was therefore developed for the camps and a more flexible definition of the household notion was adopted to factor in the geographic dispersal of families so that the analysts could then look into the real changes to this concept in the case of Haiti.

Build a suitable questionnaire

The 2012 Haiti ECVMAS questionnaire was a variation on the 1-2-3 Survey, whose methodology was developed by Dial laboratory researchers to measure the informal economy and poverty. Two major adjustments were made to this generic framework. The first tailored the questionnaire to Haitian circumstances, drawing on the groundwork already done to set up the 2007 Employment and Informal Economy Survey (EEEI) conducted by the IHSI with Dial's assistance. The second change was made to include the upheavals caused by the earthquake. In addition to the economies of scale gained from drawing on 2007 EEEI input, this common framework also made it easier to compare the results of the two surveys so that we could analyse the dynamics before and after the earthquake.

Analysis of household living conditions is not restricted to material and monetary considerations, which is why a section on the different – subjective and non-monetary – dimensions of welfare was included in the questionnaire based on the corresponding model also developed by Dial. Specific earthquake-related issues were also considered, such as the disaster's direct impact, household response strategies, aid received, and residential and employment pathways (before and after the earthquake).

Use a computer-assisted survey tool (CAPI vs PAPI)

Material problems following the earthquake made it very hard to conduct a conventional nationwide survey. It was therefore decided to use a computer-assisted personal interviewing technique (CAPI) with GPS[1] rather than the more classic strategy of paper-assisted personal interviewing (PAPI).

The CAPI method consists of administering a questionnaire in a face-to-face interview, where the interviewer enters the data directly onto a computer. This tool can also be used to tailor the questionnaire to the interviewees depending on the answers they give, with automatic skips over irrelevant questions and the inclusion of bespoke modules for certain situations (such as sections on farming and informal production activities).

The CAPI program can conduct a large number of checks and cross-checks during the actual interview. Error messages pop up in real time if the application detects any discrepancies. At key points in the interview, the application prompts the interviewer to run a consistency check to identify any questions that need going back over. These automatic real-time checks improve data quality and reduce post-collection data cleaning time. In a further step to gear methodology to the situation on the ground, a workshop was held to translate the questionnaire into Creole. The questionnaire was therefore produced in two languages with a bilingual CSPro[2] questionnaire entry form.

In addition to a real-time check on field operations for optimal data quality, the CAPI tool raises collected data availability during the survey itself. This means that the technical team back at headquarters can check data quality while data collection is in progress. Although paper questionnaire surveys do conduct reinterviews, teams cannot return to the household or critical area when errors are found at the data input or first quality test stage since this phase generally occurs months after the end of the field operations (especially when using the double entry option).

Last but not least, the ECVMAS survey using the CAPI tool gave partners an opportunity to build the IHSI's capacities and provide it with

1 A series of tests were conducted on potential data collection tools. The partners ended up choosing a 2 GB PC NL2 tablet computer and a USGlobalSat BT 359 Bluetooth GPS.

2 Census and Survey Processing System (CSPro) is a software package used to enter and edit survey data.

the tools it needs to use this technology for other statistical operations in the future (the forthcoming census, the 5th RPGH-2014, is being conducted using CAPI).

5. *Research in partnership*

The IHSI was partnered with the project right from the outset to help build the capacities of an institution key to reconstruction, but also to guarantee public ownership of the findings. The first results were hence presented in September 2013 to a press conference held by the Haitian Ministry for the Economy and Finance, with the Minister in attendance. Immediately following this, a feedback conference was held by the IHSI and DIAL (under the French National Research Agency (ANR) Haiti Earthquake Impact Evaluation (EISHA) project)[3] in association with the ANR Kal-Haiti project and with the support of the French Embassy and the regional representation of the French development research institute IRD. This conference presented the first findings and the partnership tools developed by the two ANR projects. Over 200 people attended this two-day event in Port-au-Prince (students, professors/researchers, former ministers, international and local NGOs, etc.).

Then in January 2014, on the fourth anniversary of the earthquake, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry for the Economy and Finance, INSEE, IRD and ADETEF held a conference-debate entitled "Four Years after the Earthquake in Haiti: What Impact Has it Had on the Population and What Repercussions on Public Policies?". The IHSI-DIAL team presented the first results of the ECVMAS survey to this conference attended by over 100 participants (including NGOs, technical assistance and development players, researchers, administration heads, and TV, radio and Internet reporters). Their purpose was to inform the post-disaster monitoring mechanism to be set up and policies to be put in place to help set in motion a real development process in Haiti, with a particular focus on international donors.

6. *The earthquake's impact on household living conditions and the labour market*

Four years have passed since the earthquake and the international organisations' official line is optimistic despite the series of disasters that have hit the country since (floods, hurricanes, epidemics, etc.). News has it that the emergency aid has achieved its goals and the displaced persons camps are shrinking as the reconstruction programmes kick into action. Can we embrace this positive view of the economic and social situation with its promises of a brighter future, even though everyone agrees that it will take time? Will international aid prove to have been effective? Was the people's resilience to such disasters enough to offset the negative effects of the earthquake? An analysis of the large-scale surveys conducted by the IHSI with DIAL's support in 2007 and in 2012 clearly shows that the assessment is nowhere near as positive.

Living conditions

The ECVMAS survey results paint a detailed and recent picture of the people of Haiti. They are mainly young (half of the population is under 21 years old) and just over half live in the countryside (52%). The conurbation of Port-au-Prince alone counts just over one-fifth of the population. Urban growth is driven by internal migration as people leave the neglected rural world for the more attractive cities. The demographic dependency ratio remains relatively high (68%) despite having fallen six points since 2007. Illiteracy, especially among adults, is an acute problem with 23% of the population unable to read and write (34% in rural areas, 10% in the capital and 15% in secondary towns). Gender and intergenerational inequalities are quite pronounced. For example, 28% of the female population is illiterate as opposed to 19% of the male population. The rate of illiteracy is seven times higher among the older population (aged 56 and over) than among the younger generation (10 to 14 years old). Nearly 60% of Haitians have no more than a primary school education and less than 5% have a vocational qualification or higher education.

In 2012, the most common household type was a couple living with other family members, accounting for nearly four in every ten households (39%). This coresidence reflects the pervasiveness of the choice of an extended family model, but probably also the constraint imposed by the difficulties of finding adequate housing. Household type trends point to an increase in the relative weight of the most vulnerable households, i.e. extended lone parent households (rising from 13% to 16% of total households from 2007 to 2012). A factor of vulnerability generally mentioned is the large number of lone parent house-

3 All information on the ANR's EISHA project, project analyses and survey results can be found at: http://www.desastres-naturels.fr/fr

holds whose head is a working woman bringing up her children on her own. Haiti has a particularly high rate of female household heads compared with other developing countries. In 2012, just over four in ten households nationwide (44%) were headed by a woman, marking a clear increase of 3.5 points over 2007.

Changes in dwelling types over the period find a sharp rise in the share of makeshift accommodation from 2007 to 2012, especially in the capital where it now accounts for over half (54%) of all housing. Access to public services is very poor with less than one-third of the population benefiting, and then mainly in the towns and Port-au-Prince. In 2012, one-third of the population had no access to improved water sources or public street lighting. Waste collection concerns barely one in ten households. Residential overcrowding shot up from 2007 to 2012. In 2007, 46% of households did not have enough bedrooms in their dwelling. By 2012, the phenomenon was much worse at 56%, especially in the towns and cities. There are many negative sides to living on top of one another like this, especially when it comes to young people's development.

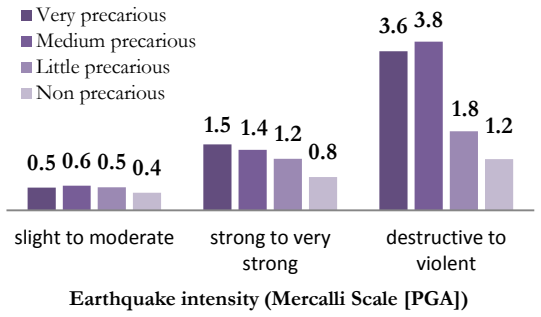
Three years after the earthquake, one-third of households had to seek loans while 13% had to dig into their savings and just over one-third (36%) barely managed to make ends meet. Although financial stress falls with the level of household income, 80% of Haitian households felt that stress prevailed over financial affluence, revealing the extent of the insecurity. A comparison of household earnings with the level of income deemed by households to be the minimum required to live finds that nearly eight in ten households (79%) can be classified as "subjective poor". A strong feeling of inequality also reigns in the communities, as over six in ten households (63%) felt that their standard of living was below the other households in the community.

Impact of the earthquake

The findings belie the popular belief that the earthquake struck at random and that households living in non-makeshift housing suffered the most. Material and human damage was huge in the area hit by the earthquake, but did not affect all the households in the same way. The earthquake may well be a natural phenomenon, but the disaster was also the result of massive social inequalities and vulnerabilities that magnified the quake's effects among the most disadvantaged. These vulnerabilities are still there, if not worse, following the earthquake such that the next shock will hit an even more vulnerable population.

In Haiti, three times more makeshift dwellings than permanent buildings were destroyed in the hardest hit areas. Moreover, makeshift housing in the least-affected areas suffered greater damage than permanent buildings in the hardest hit areas. Basically, earthquakes do not kill; poorly constructed buildings kill.

Housing destruction score based on earthquake intensity and building vulnerability



Source: ECVMAS 2012, IHSI/DIAL/World Bank; US Geological Survey; Authors' calculations
NB: Only covers households that have not changed housing since the earthquake
Reading note: The average destruction score for very poor housing in strong to very strong intensity zones is 1.5 (on a scale from 0 to 9), which is a higher score than for permanent housing in the destructive to violent areas (1.2).

Institutional assistance came mainly in the form of emergency aid, which fell short and wide of the people's needs. Institutional assistance largely overlooked the population outside the conurbation of Port-au-Prince, even though just over six in ten of the households hit were outside the capital. What is more, nearly half of the victims found shelter with other households (family, friends and neighbours), for the most part outside of the capital, reflecting the vitality of solidarity despite broad social disparities. In fact, more earthquake victims were living outside the camps than in them where a large proportion of the aid was concentrated. Most of the households had ceased receiving aid even though their situation had not improved. A full 80% of the population reported that aid had stopped more than three months before the survey. Reconstruction aid reached just 7% of the households that suffered extensive damage to their housing. And a mere 2% had received assistance to clear debris. Seven in ten (71%) of the households whose dwellings had been totally destroyed had undertaken reconstruction work (and 11% had stopped). Most of the rubble clearing work had

been done by the people themselves and some of the debris had still not been cleared. All in all, the aid provided by the institutions was short-term emergency aid that did nothing to sustainably improve the population's living conditions in the long term.

The political authorities and multilateral organisations appear to share an optimistic view of the future of the post-earthquake population. Yet the results of the ECVMAS survey paint an altogether different picture in which household insecurity and vulnerability, far from being mitigated, have risen. The state of affairs is also a far cry from the exultant public statements on the amount and effectiveness of aid provided. Last but not least, the reduction in the number of people in the camps cannot be analysed without considering the quality of the housing occupied by the people who were living in the camps.

The IOM's latest headcount taken in December 2013 still finds 146,573 people (39,464 households) living in 271 camps. Amnesty International has exposed the forced eviction of households from the camps (three-quarters of which are on private land). The government has successfully petitioned the IOM to exclude the 54,000 people in the Canaan, Jerusalem and Onaville camps from their official count on the basis that, "The area has become a neighbourhood in which people intend to stay." In the capital, nearly one in ten people still lives in a camp. And nine in ten households that have spent time in a camp have still not found adequate housing. Housing should therefore be high on the reconstruction agenda to reverse the very real slide of displaced camps into slums, which is provoking severe shortages and making the population even more exposed to the ongoing cholera epidemic.

Remittances are an important source of income in Haiti. This was already the case before the earthquake and it remains the case today. In both the 2007 and 2012 surveys, half of all households reported receiving remittances. In the aftermath of the earthquake, remittances between households formed an important aid mechanism: 13% of Haitian households received an extraordinary remittance in the six months following the earthquake. These extraordinary remittances were sent more to households in the camps and victims of damage, suggesting that this type of aid was targeted in part. Yet not everyone received a remittance. A total of 83% of households whose homes collapsed did not receive any extraordinary remittances. A remittance is inevitably an unfair aid mechanism, because potential beneficiaries are those who can count on a social network with resources. Save that access to such resources is highly dependent on the household's own resources.

Remittance amounts have increased on the whole since the earthquake: over half of the households reported higher sums in 2012 than in the year preceding the earthquake. In the camps, however, the flow of remittances looks to be drying up. In late 2012, a majority of "refugees" (55%) reported remittance amounts below those they received the year before the earthquake. The most probable explanation for this is that the households that have exhausted their potential remittance resources have no other choice than to stay in the camps, whereas the households assisted by their support network have found alternatives to the camps and have left.

Labour market

On the labour market, which forms the main driving belt between macroeconomic dynamics (growth and foreign aid) and household living conditions, the situation is critical. The total labour force participation rate rose nine percentage points from 2007 to 2012. This extraordinary variation most probably reflects the population's impoverishment. In an attempt to offset the downturn in their living conditions, families are forced to send secondary household members to work in the hope that they will bring in extra income. This strategy concerns rural young people in particular. The increase in the labour force participation rate concerns mainly the household's secondary members. The already high rate of 24% of children sent to work by their household head in 2007 reached disturbing proportions at 39% in 2012.

The unemployment rate stood at 14% in 2012, a relatively high level for a developing country with no unemployment benefit system. This rate was slightly lower than in 2007 (17%). If we extend the definition of unemployment to individuals without gainful employment, available to work but not actively looking for a job, then the unemployment rate in the broad sense of the term comes to nearly three in ten Haitians (29%) nationwide in 2012 (40% in the conurbation of Port-au-Prince). In 2007, the extended unemployment rate was 41% of the labour force, so this represents a decrease of nearly 12 percent-

age points. These unemployment levels are among the highest in the developing countries.

Yet the downturn in the unemployment rate is not a positive development. Like the rise in labour market participation rates, it reflects the fact that Haitians are finding it harder to wait for a job corresponding to their level of education and/or aspirations. They have to find work to support the family, irrespective of the quality of the jobs on offer (for employees) or created (for the self-employed).

In 2012, the vast majority of gainfully employed individuals worked in agriculture (47%) or the informal sector (45%). The formal private sector (5%) and the public sector (3%) played a very small role. In urban areas, the informal sector reigns supreme accounting for 70% of jobs in secondary towns and a full 77% in the metropolitan area. The country is dramatically under-administered on the whole and the government is non-existent in rural areas, where just 1% of jobs are in the public sector. There was no substantial change in the public employment share from 2007 to 2012. It still stood at around 3% of total employment in 2012. This stability suggests that no massive government-subsidised employment scheme has been put in place despite the fact that such countercyclical measures are usually taken to counter the negative effects of economic crises.

Given that earned income forms the majority of Haitian individuals and households' income, analysis of this indicator can be used to assess the quality of the jobs generated by the different productive sectors and to measure the standard of living. From 2007 to 2012, the population's median earned income more than halved at constant prices (-57%), when Haiti was already one of the poorest countries in the world. The proportion of workers earning less than the minimum wage of €1.8 per day (70 gourdes) rose from 36% to 57%. Factoring in those working without pay, the national Gini coefficient came to 0.76 in 2012. This coefficient is one of the highest in the world. Yet it was not always so. In 2007, although inequalities were high, they stood at around about the African average. Since then, they have skyrocketed. The total Gini coefficient shot up 0.15 points, from 0.61 to 0.76, in the space of just five years. This phenomenon can only be due to disruption on the labour market, which probably has more than a little to do with the earthquake. All the inequality indicators concur over the deeply inegalitarian nature of the country. So it comes as no surprise to find that, in 2012, just 5% of Haitians were very satisfied with their main job and 29% were fairly satisfied, while nearly two-thirds of workers saw their job in a negative light.

Not only has the situation deteriorated sharply since 2007, but it has taken the heaviest toll on the young. For example, 20% of children aged 10 to 14 worked a job in 2012 as opposed to barely 1% in 2007. Average remuneration for young people dropped nearly 60% in five years while their elders' earnings improved 20% over the same period. All the indicators tell the same story. Young people have been forced to go to work in extremely insecure conditions. The fall in unemployment rates is particularly spectacular for these youngsters, irrespective of their place of residence, plummeting 23 percentage points in five years. The young generations have had to drastically cut their wage aspirations and drop out of their education, which could have negative economic and social repercussions (discouragement from staying in the education system, widespread dissatisfaction, frustration, rising violence, etc.). In addition, not all young people are in the same boat. Those from modest backgrounds are at a particular disadvantage, with the resulting broadening of inequalities that this entails. This sacrifice of the younger generation could well feed an intergenerational vicious circle and potentially put long-run economic growth at risk. Such a spiral would lead Haiti into a long-term poverty trap from which it would be hard to escape.

7. Conclusion

The earthquake that hit Haiti may well have been a natural phenomenon (an exogenous shock), but the disaster had a particularly pronounced social impact due to sharp social inequalities and vulnerabilities exacerbating its effects among the poor.

When official aid did arrive, it was too little, too late and wide of the mark. Most of the victims found shelter outside the camps with friends, family and neighbours. Yet institutional aid concentrated on the displaced persons camps, overlooking most of the victims. Aid was short lived as most households ceased receiving aid even though their situation had not improved. However, in an incredible show of solidarity, the population found the wherewithal to mitigate the consequences of the earthquake. The main coping strategy in the aftermath of the earth-

quake was to send secondary household members out to work. This was followed by drawing on the support network and household solidarity, especially where remittances were already the main (if not only) source of income for many households. Nonetheless, even a support network has its limitations when it comes to coping with such a massive (covariant) shock. Despite billions of dollars pledged, households felt that international aid largely evaporated. The idea of an "assisted" country whose population opportunistically took advantage of the refugee camps does not stand up to close analysis based on the ECVMAS survey.

One of the main reasons for aid ineffectiveness is poor institutions. The country is dramatically undergoverned and lacks managers to develop and implement public policy. The very poor quality education system remains in the hands of the private sector. Public services (water, electricity, education, security, sanitation, justice, roads, etc.) are inaccessible to a large part of the population. The institutions are also further undercut by corruption.

Haiti needs to take up the challenges and opportunities represented by its young, increasingly educated population, the prevalence of extended households, the very strong solidarity links observed within the population despite wide economic disparities, the population's high mobility and an employment structure with a strong very small business sector. In so doing, the country could build a fairer society offering a brighter outlook to future generations.

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Université Paris-Dauphine
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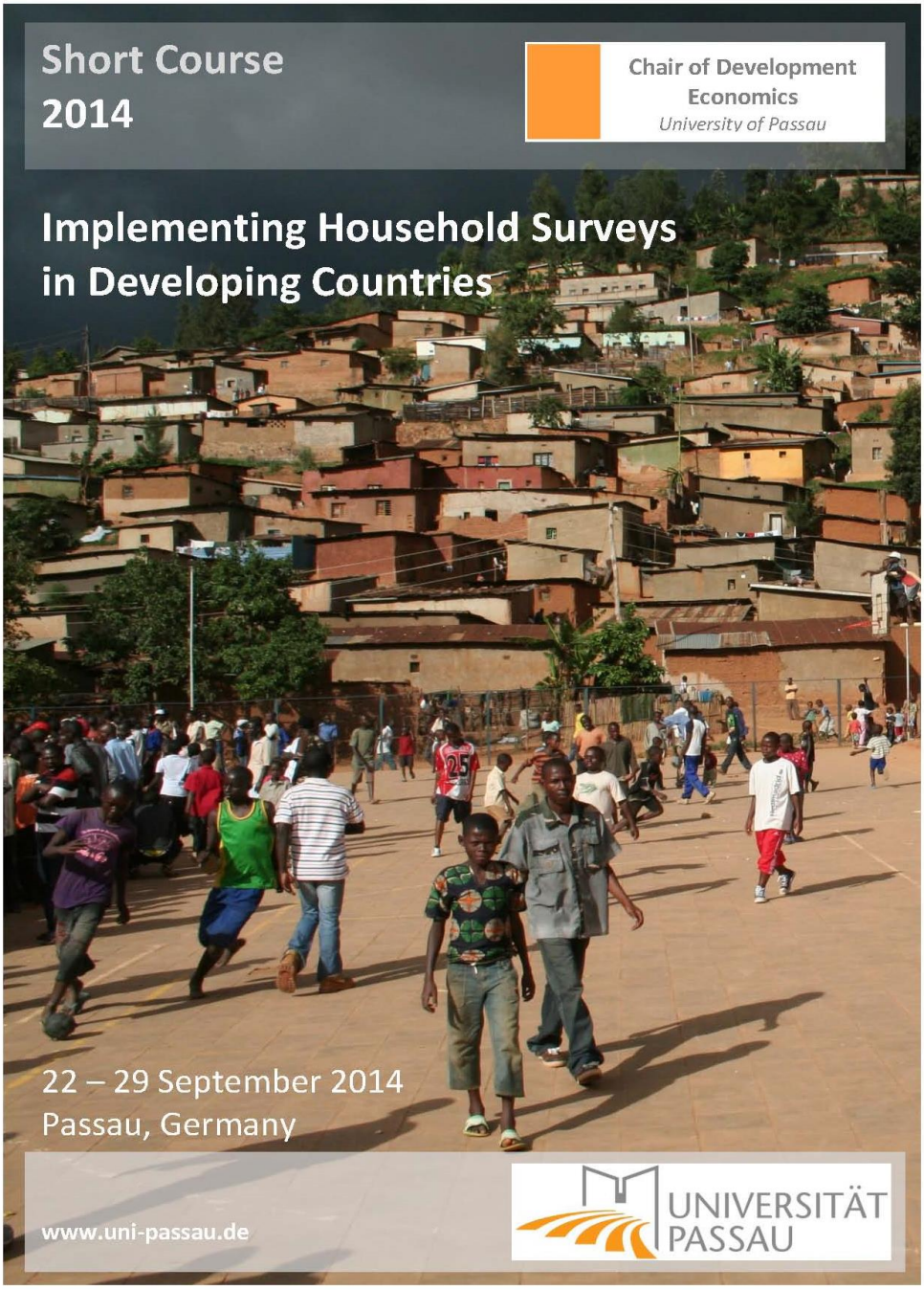

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