Henriette Lunde (ed.)

Haiti Youth Survey 2009
Volume II: Analytical Report

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Abbreviations and acronyms

DHS	Demographic Health Survey (EMMUS in French)
ECVH	Enquête sur les Conditions de Vie en Haïti (HLCS in English)
EJH	Enquête sur la Jeunesse d'Haïti (HYS in English)
EMMUS	Enquête Morbidité Mortalité et Utilisation des Services (DHS in English)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HDI	Human Development Index
HLCS	Haiti Living Condition Survey (ECVH in French)
HTG	Haitian Gourde (exchange rate 01.04.2009 used: 1 USD = 39 HTG)
HYS	Haiti Youth Survey (EJH in French)
IHE	Institut Haïtien de l'Enfance
IHSI	Institut Haïtien de Statistique et d'Informatique
ILO	International Labour Organization
LAC	Latin America and the Caribbean
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MENFP	Ministère de l'Education Nationale et de la Formation Professionnelle (Ministry of Education)
MENJS	Ministère de l'Education Nationale de la Jeunesse et des Sports (Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport)
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PNEF	Plan National d`Education et de Formation (National Education and Training Plan)
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
PPS	Probability Proportionate to Size
PSU	Primary Sampling Unit
RPGH	Recensement Gènèral de la Population et de l'Habitat
RSY	Randomly Selected Youth
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USD	United States Dollar
WEI	World Education Indicators

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Most importantly, we wish to thank the Haitian people for their kind cooperation in responding to the survey. It is our hope that the results of the survey will inspire national planners and international donors to meet the expectations of the Haitians in the future. Needless to say, any errors or omissions in this report are the sole responsibility of Fafo.

December 2010,
Henriette Lunde

Preface

On 12 January 2010, Haiti was struck by one of the deadliest natural disasters of our time. A catastrophic earthquake, measuring 7.1 on the Richter scale, hit the capital, Port-au-Prince, and surrounding areas, causing the deaths of more than 300,000 people, according to the Haitian government. An additional 300,000 were injured and some 2.3 million, around one quarter of the total population, were displaced. In the course of one frightful Tuesday afternoon, the Haitian capital was completely destroyed. Homes, schools, hospitals, churches, ministries, even the presidential palace, were flattened.

The extent of the human misery caused by the earthquake is beyond the comprehension of outsiders, and is a tragic culmination of Haiti's long history of suffering. Over the two centuries since it gained its independence, Haiti has been on a downward track from its highpoint as the 'Pearl of the Antilles' to its current notoriety as the 'poorest country in the western hemisphere'. Abused and exploited by predatory rulers and national elites, former colonial powers and neighbouring countries alike, the Haitian people have had to endure poverty, structural injustice and political violence.

Access to social services and infrastructure was the poorest in the region, and the few functioning institutions that existed were predominantly located in the now destroyed capital. The Haitian government and international donors alike had for decades focused investment and development efforts on the Port-au-Prince region at the expense of other parts of the country. With the destruction of Port-au-Prince, the Haitian state has been literally reduced to rubble. To rebuild Haiti and, as the reconstruction slogan puts it, to 'build back better', is one of the biggest challenges a single nation and the international community has faced in peace time.

In demographic terms, Haiti is a young nation. Almost 60 percent of people living in Haiti are under 25 years of age. One-third of the population is aged between 10 and 24 and defined as 'youth' in the Haiti Youth Survey. The opportunities presented to these young people, who are now shaping their future roles within Haitian society, will have a significant influence on whether Haiti will prosper and grow, or fall back into economic decline and political violence. It is these young people who, within a few years, will be the parents, workers, artists, politicians and leaders of Haiti. When endeavouring to build back a better Haiti, it is the needs of this generation that must be borne in mind.

The data presented in this report was collected nine months prior to the earthquake and, to our knowledge, is the most recent national pre-earthquake baseline covering a wide range of topics related to the situation for Haitian youth. The objective of this report is to promote a broad understanding of the choices available to youth growing up in Haiti, by examining the opportunities open to them in three key sectors for social mobility: education, labour force participation and migration. The report also presents demographic data on the total population, household economy and infrastructure. Together with the statistical report and case study reports from the Haiti Youth Survey already published, this report presents a unique picture of the situation of young people in Haiti and provides fact-based knowledge on which to base the long-term, sustainable reconstruction of the country.

May-Len Skilbrei, Managing Director, Fafo – Institute for Applied International Studies

Executive summary

The Haiti Youth Survey (HYS) was conducted during the spring of 2009, nine months prior to the earthquake that according to the Haitian government killed more than 300,000 people and destroyed the capital Port-au-Prince. The HYS 2009 constitutes a baseline for the situation of Haitian youth at the time of the earthquake and locates the gaps necessary to fill in order to 'build back better'. The survey is a follow up to the 2001 Haiti Living Conditions Survey (HLCS), focusing specifically on youth (10–24). Around 2,000 households and 1,350 randomly selected youth participated in the survey. A tabulation report presenting the statistics from the survey is available in English and French.[1]

The HYS 2009 is part of a broader Haiti Youth Project financed by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Haiti Youth Project also includes individual qualitative studies on three core areas of youth participation in Haiti: youth and education, youth and armed groups, and finally youth and labour migration, with special emphasis on illegal labour migration to the Dominican Republic.

This report analyses three main routes to social mobility for young people in Haiti; namely education, labour force participation and migration. In addition it presents an overview of the demographic situation of Haitian households.

Sixty percent of the Haitian population is of working age, 15–64. The share of working age population relative to children has been steadily increasing over the past decades. Urban areas, primarily Port-au-Prince, had a much larger share of working age population than the rural areas, owing to the fact that adults migrated to the capital seeking work, while children and the elderly remained in the countryside. The population in the capital had also on average attained higher levels of education and was economically better off than people in other parts of the country. These demographic patterns mean that the earthquake exacted a disproportionally high toll on Haiti's human resources.

Despite high rates of urbanization, the majority of the Haitian population lives in the countryside and agriculture remains the most important occupation for Haitian workers. The level of education among the adult population is low. Of the population over 15, one in three has never attended school and more than half have not completed primary education.

More than two-thirds of Haitian households hosted a young person aged 10–24. These households were considerably poorer than households without youth. Before the earthquake, a quarter of Haitian youth had lost one or both their parents, and now the number of orphans is even higher. Orphaned youth or youth from poor households often move into households that are relatively better off, preferably in the urban areas. Youth in non-parental households may have different statuses, such as foster child, domestic worker or *restavek*. The status of the child or young person influences his or her living conditions in the household. Households are more likely to foster a youth if they don't have a child of the same gender and/or age category present. By complementing the composition of members the households ensure

[1] http://www.fafo.no/pub/rapp/20143/index.html
http://www.fafo.no/pub/rapp/20148/index.html

that all age- and gender appropriate tasks are taken care of. The substitution tendencies are particularly clear for girls.

Already before the earthquake, three-fourths of the Haitian population was living on less than USD 2 per day (PPP adjusted), indicating poverty, and half the population was living on less than USD 1 per day indicating extreme poverty. Two-thirds of households reported that their level of food consumption was inadequate at the time of the survey. Poverty was most pervasive in the rural areas. However, despite the severity of the economic situation, the proportion of people living in extreme poverty had declined by 14 percent since the HLCS 2001.

More than one-third of households had seen their economic situation deteriorate in the two years prior to the survey because of high international food prices and the deadly 2008 hurricane season. The strategies used by households to cope with their worsened economic situation provide clear indications of the probable consequences of the earthquake.

Food and health were the first casualties of household spending cuts. An overwhelming 86 percent of affected households had reduced the amount of food provided to household members and more than three-quarter had curtailed their spending on health care. These cuts clearly show that household coping capacity was already very low when the earthquake struck.

Young members are severely affected when the financial situation of their household deteriorates. Thirty-nine percent of affected households had delayed enrolling children in school and 23 percent had removed children who were already enrolled from school. Fourteen percent of households reported that they had sent a child member to live or work elsewhere because of their worsening economic situation.

Education: high enrolment, low educational output

Universal primary education for children is one of the highest prioritized Millennium Development Goals. It is also enshrined as a right in the Haitian constitution. The survey shows a positive development in youth enrolment. Since the Haiti Living Condition Survey was conducted in 2001, enrolment rates for 15 to 19 year olds had increased from 68 percent to 76 percent. For 20 to 24 year olds, the increase was even higher, rising from 29 percent in 2001 to 41 percent in 2009.

However, when measuring the educational progress of Haitian youth relative to their age and the number of years they have been enrolled, the picture is less optimistic. More than half of enrolled 16 year olds were still in primary school when, following a normal progression, the age for completing primary education is 12. The delay was caused by both late entry and an alarmingly high frequency of repetitions. More than 80 percent of enrolled youth aged 16 or older had repeated at least one class, and more than half had repeated several times. Among the young people who had finished their education or dropped out, the level of repetition was even higher, which means that although young Haitians spend an increasing number of years in school, they do not necessarily acquire the corresponding skills and competence.

Although the educational level of the youth population is steadily increasing with age, more than 60 percent of 24 year olds (the upper age limit of our sample) have still not completed grade 9. Thirty-one percent of 24 year olds are still enrolled in school and of these more than three-quarters are enrolled in grades 1 to 9. This demonstrates that getting children into school is not sufficient. In the post-earthquake reconstruction phase, a number of priorities must be

attended to: 1) ensuring the content and quality of education, and 2) that children proceed and graduate, rather than focusing solely on enrolment.

A lack of qualified teachers and weak regulation of the education sector leave the way open for unprofessional actors motivated by profit; these are major obstacles that need to be addressed in order to improve education in Haiti. There is also a need to carefully reassess the curriculum and education offered so that they correspond to the skills needed in the country. At present, the educational path Haitian children follow is very theoretical. Vocational and skills training are held in low regard, while university education is the preferred goal for students and their parents. However, the Haitian labour market offers very few opportunities for youth with university education.

Labour force participation: unemployment highest among educated youth

Youth unemployment in Haiti prior to the earthquake was one of the highest in the world. Thirty-five percent of youth aged 15 to 24 was unemployed according to the ILO definition, implying that they had no income in cash or kind, were able and willing to work, and had actively been searching for work the week prior to the survey. If discouraged workers are also included – those who had not been actively job seeking the previous week but satisfied the remaining criteria – the unemployment rate climbed alarmingly to over fifty percent. Further aggravating these numbers is the fact that close to three-quarters of the working age youth population are not considered part of the labour force and hence not included in the employment statistics. Most of these young people are still enrolled in school at a level much lower than their age suggests. As such, ineffective educational institutions function as storage for overage youth who would normally form part of the labour force.

Employed youth were primarily engaged in unskilled work in the informal sector, such as agriculture, petty trade, construction and domestic work. Very few had a written contract for their work. Formal jobs requiring educational skills were by and large unavailable to young workers. Considering the high costs and the number of years it takes an average Haitian youth to get through secondary education, it appears paradoxical that youth with primary or no education are twice as likely to participate in the labour force as youth who have attained some secondary schooling or higher (i.e. minimum grade 7). The ILO unemployment rate for youth with primary education or lower was already high at 27 percent, while the corresponding numbers for youth with education higher than primary was a staggering 47 percent. This clearly shows that Haiti, despite its urgent need for human resources, was failing to utilize the huge potential of its educated youth population. Rebuilding Haiti is a task which will need huge labour resources in the decades to come – a resource which Haiti has in abundance. The challenge will be to match the competence and skills in the population with the needs of the reconstruction phase and afterwards. A thorough mapping of the human resources available, as well as the gaps to be filled, is necessary to guide further investment in the education sector.

Migration: networks essential for internal migration

Lack of employment or education opportunities in their home areas puts pressure on Haitian youth to migrate. Before the earthquake there were two main destinations for young Haitian migrants; Port-au-Prince with the surrounding western region, and the Dominican Republic. The migration patterns for youth revealed clear gender tendencies: female youth tended to migrate to Port-au-Prince and urban areas in the western region, while male youth were more likely to cross the border into the Dominican Republic. Of male youth who had left the surveyed households over the past three years and not returned, almost half had migrated to the Dominican Republic compared to a mere 11 percent of female migrants. However, the opposite was true for Port-au-Prince and the west as these regions accounted for two-thirds of female but only one-third of male migrants. In total numbers, girls were more likely to migrate than boys and they did so at an earlier age. More than sixty percent of the youth who had out migrated over the past three years were girls.

The gendered migration patterns are explained by different sets of opportunities for boys and girls at the different destinations. Prior to the earthquake, work in the capital was more easily available to girls than to boys. Female labour was primarily in demand in private household, where girls were needed as domestic workers. Some were paid employees, others, primarily the youngest, carried out domestic tasks in exchange for food, housing and, in some cases, education. High living costs made it very difficult for rural youth to settle in the capital without a pre-existing network and in fact very few even attempted it. An overwhelming 97 percent of youth who migrated to Port-au-Prince already had contacts there and 80 percent had relatives. This shows that chain migration, whereby relatives prepared the ground for new members to arrive and assisted them with housing and integration, was a precondition for success. The dependence on relatives worked as a disadvantage for young male migrants as households were more likely to take in female youth.

For Haitian youth who crossed the border to the Dominican Republic, the presence of peers at the destination was as important as that of relatives. In the Dominican Republic, young Haitians primarily engage in hard, manual labour on the sugarcane plantations or construction sites, therefore it was a more likely alternative for young men than women. Domestic female labour is in demand in the Dominican Republic, but relatively few Haitian girls cross the border. Most of the migrants cross illegally and expose themselves to a high level of risk during the actual border crossing and also during their illegal stay. Female migrants are in addition particularly vulnerable to sexual exploitation and abuse. Young girls and women may be less willing than their male counterparts to expose themselves to the risks of the illegal border crossing, and may also be discouraged from migrating, or even forbidden to do so, by other family members. However, in post-earthquake Haiti, without the alternative of migrating to Port-au-Prince, more girls are likely to take the risk of illegal border crossing.

Large-scale youth migration in and from Haiti is the result of a failed labour market. Although remittances from migrants are vital to the survival of many Haitian households and make a substantial contribution to the country's GDP, migration is in fact exhausting much needed human resources. Young Haitians express a strong desire to stay and contribute to the rebuilding of their country, as long as the opportunities are provided to do so. Otherwise, the educated and privileged will flee to the west, upholding the brain drain, while the rural poor will continue to enrich the Dominican Republic with underpaid labour.

How a country manages to facilitate the transition from dependent child to providing adult is crucial for its economic as well as its social development. It is also of importance for political stability and national security. A large youth population is a great potential for growth. However, conditioned by the opportunities for social mobility and entering adulthood, a large youth population can either be a liability or become a productive resource. Young people are in general better educated than the elder generation; they are strong and healthy with long working lives in front of them and they are ambitious and motivated to gain a place for themselves in the local society. Haiti's large youth population is arguably Haiti's largest untapped resource, but it needs to be appropriately supported.

Chapter 1 Introduction

Henriette Lunde

In 2001, Fafo conducted the Haiti Living Conditions Survey (HLCS)[1] in collaboration with the Haitian bureau of statistics, the Institut Haïtien de Statistique et d'Informatique (IHSI), and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The HLCS 2001 was the first living conditions survey ever carried out in Haiti and has been widely used and cited. The Haiti Youth Survey (HYS),[2] conducted during spring 2009, was a follow-up exercise to the HLCS 2001 which focused specifically on youth. In the eight years between the two surveys, Haiti had experienced a period of political instability, violence and social unrest, followed by a period of stabilization and extensive international presence. The HYS 2009 includes several of the same indicators used in the HLCS 2001, and contributes to assessing the degree to which the situation for Haitian youth had improved, stagnated or deteriorated in key sectors such as education and labour force participation prior to the earthquake. The survey was a collaborative effort between Fafo and the Haitian research institute, Institut Haïtien de l'Enfance (IHE). The fieldwork was conducted by IHE, while project development and the analysis and reporting of the results were carried out by Fafo.

The HYS 2009 is part of a broader Haiti Youth Project financed by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Recognizing the importance of young people as key actors in development and peace processes, the Haiti Youth Project examines different areas of youth participation and involvement, combining qualitative and quantitative approaches. For the qualitative work, three core areas of youth participation were explored in separate fieldwork projects: youth and education, youth and armed groups, and finally youth and labour migration, with special emphasis on illegal labour migration to the Dominican Republic. Two reports have so far been published from the qualitative studies and a third is forthcoming. The findings from the qualitative studies also informed the design of the questionnaires used for the HYS 2009.

This report is based first and foremost on analysis of the survey data, but it also draws on empirical material from the qualitative field studies. The statistical findings from the HYS 2009 have been published in a tabulation report which is available in both English and French.[3]

[1] Also known by its French name *Enquête sur les Conditions de vie en Haïti* or *EVCH 2001.*

[2] The French name for the Haiti Youth Survey is *Enquête sur la Jeunesse d'Haïti* or *EJH 2009.*

[3] The Haiti Youth Survey tabulation report can be downloaded at http://www.fafo.no/pub/rapp/20143/index.html (English version) and http://www.fafo.no/pub/rapp/20148/index.html (French version).

The Haiti Youth Survey

The survey data covers five national regions, one of them being the Port-au-Prince metropolitan region. The situation in Port-au-Prince has changed so dramatically since the time of the survey that the data presented in the report should be read as portraying the situation as it was at the time of the earthquake, not the current situation. Understanding how things were before, however, is important if past mistakes are to be learned from and 'build back better' is to become a reality. The extent to which the data for the other regions still applies since the earthquake depends on the indicator in question. While literacy and schooling levels, for instance, are not likely to have changed significantly as a result of the quake, variables such as household economy and food security may differ.

The general background variables applied in the analysis are as follows:

The **urban-rural** classification follows the 2003 census in Haiti.

The **income quintiles** are based on monthly household per capita income as reported by houseold respondents. Per capita household income is calculated by dividing the total monthly household income by the number of persons in the household. Based on this, households are grouped into income quintiles.

Education is generally reported as highest level completed and defined as follows:
No formal education: never been enrolled in school or been enrolled but did not complete grade 1.
Incomplete primary: completed a grade between 1 and 5.
Primary: completed grade 6.
Lower secondary: completed a grade between 7 and 9.
Upper secondary: completed a grade between 10 and 12 (Rheto).
Philo/University: completed grade 13 (Philo) and/or at least one year of university.
Vocational training: completed skill training.

The education variable is based on the traditional Haitian education system, not the reformed system.[4]

The **regions** are defined as follows:
Port-au-Prince: Metropolitan communes in Département de l'Ouest (downtown Port-au Prince, Carrefour, Cité Soleil, Delmas, Petionville and Tabarre).
West: All communes in Département du Sud-Est and Département de l'Ouest, except the metropolitan ones.
North: Département du Nord-Est and Département du Nord.
South: Département de la Grand'Anse, Département des Nippes and Département du Sud.
Transversale: Département de l'Artibonite, Département du Centre and Département du Nord-Ouest.

[4] For a comparison of the two systems, see Chapter 3, Figure 3.1.

To the extent possible, the indicators are constructed using the standard definitions established by the international community. For example, employment indicators use standards laid down by the International Labour Organization (ILO) and education is measured using indicators promoted by UNESCO.

The questionnaires

Two main questionnaires were used in the survey; a household questionnaire and a questionnaire for randomly selected youth. The *household questionnaire* collected basic demographic and socio-economic data on all household members. In addition, detailed information on key areas of young peoples' lives such as education, labour force participation and migration was collected for all youth members of the household (aged between 10 and 24). A separate section was included for youth who had left the household in the previous three years. This was done to find out about the experiences of youth who had left the country, for instance by migrating to the neighbouring Dominican Republic. Finally the household questionnaire also contained questions on household level covering topics such as household economy, dwelling and infrastructure.

The *randomly selected youth questionnaire* was answered by a youth member in each surveyed household with member(s) in the 10 to 24 age bracket. The youth respondent was randomly selected from eligible household members by means of a pre-printed Kish table supplied on the front page of each household questionnaire. The randomly selected youth questionnaire contained questions for the selected individual to answer, covering the same general topics addressed in the household questionnaire as well as additional questions relating to relocation, security and trust.

The sample

The survey had a stratified two-stage cluster sampling design with stratification by region. The sampling frame was obtained from the Haitian bureau of statistics, IHSI, and is based on their 2003 census. The national sample was stratified into five reporting domains: Port-au-Prince (including surrounding metropolitan communes), west, north, south and Transversale regions. In each region 20 primary sampling units (PSUs) or clusters were selected, except in the Port-au-Prince region where 40 clusters were selected because of the higher relative population size. At the first stage of the sampling, 120 clusters were selected based on a probability proportionate to the number of households in each cluster (PPS).

Prior to the second stage of sampling, each selected cluster was mapped and all households were listed. From the updated lists, 17 households from each cluster were randomly chosen. In each reporting domain, 340 households were selected for interview, except in the Port-au-Prince region where 680 households were selected. The sample thus consisted of 2,040 households.

Two of the clusters selected in the sample, both located on islands, could not be reached during the survey period. One of the islands was inaccessible because of prolonged difficult

weather conditions; the other because of political instability and unrest. This meant that a total of 118 clusters were visited and a total of 2,006 households were included in the survey. From those, 1,966 interviews were completed, yielding a 98 percent response rate. A total of 1,416 of the visited households were eligible for the youth questionnaire based on the criterion that at least one of its members was aged between 10 and 24, and a total of 1,345 randomly selected youth completed the interview. The response rate for the youth questionnaire among eligible households was 95 percent.

The high response rate of the survey was ensured by repeatedly returning to households where an able respondent was reported to be temporarily absent. No substitutions were made. The survey covered a total sample population of 9,006 individuals.

Data quality

During the survey period, about 100 people were employed as mappers, listers, interviewers, supervisors, coordinators, administrators and data entry staff. The training of coordinators, administrative and data entry staff was carried out by IHE in early February 2009. The mappers and listers were recruited from IHSI and all had previous experience and training. They received two days of additional training for the Haiti Youth Survey, provided by IHE and IHSI staff with input from Fafo.

A total of 48 interviewers were trained for the Haiti Youth Survey. Of those, 40 participated in the survey. The interviewers were recruited from IHE and the Initiative pour le Développement des Jeunes (IDEJEN). All the interviewers had previous experience of carrying out household surveys and, from 12 to 28 February 2009, also underwent nine days of specific training for the Haiti Youth Survey, organized jointly by Fafo and IHE. The training included a day of testing questionnaires, studying manuals and using different types of information forms in the classroom, as well as a day of field practice. Based on the field practice and the classroom test, the supervisors graded the interviewers assigned to their group on a scale from 1 to 6 on the basis of seven criteria for evaluating their interviewing skills. The highest possible score was 42, and interviewers scoring less than 30 were excluded from the survey. The supervisors for the survey were all IHE staff who had extensive experience of supervising household surveys. The ten supervisors selected for the survey participated in the entire interviewer training session, as well as receiving two separate days of supervisor training.

The final group of field staff consisted of ten teams, each with four interviewers and one supervisor. Two coordinators from IHE and the project leader from Fafo were also involved in the whole period of fieldwork.

The mapping and listing started on 26 February 2009 and lasted 5 weeks. The exercise was conducted as closely as possible to the time of the interviews so that the household lists would be accurate. The interviewing began in the Metropolitan region on 18 March and ended in the Département du Sud-Est and Département de l'Ouest on 17 April 2009.

A number of quality checks were carried out during the fieldwork. Completed questionnaires were inspected by the supervisors in each cluster so that any errors or inconsistencies could be corrected before leaving the cluster. Most of the questionnaires were also checked by coordinators in the field before being sent to the IHE office in Port-au-Prince. Data controllers at IHE re-checked the questionnaires before sending them for data entry. Data entry was carried out immediately, and questionnaires that were unacceptable were returned to the

interviewers for correction and further visits to the households concerned. To minimize the risk of data entry errors, every questionnaire was entered twice and controlled for consistency.

The data was entered in Epi Info and converted to SPSS before being sent to Fafo. The data cleaning and analysis was conducted by Fafo.

The contents of the report

The rest of the report is structured as following; in the next chapter, Chapter 2, Anne Kielland and Henriette Lunde present the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the general Haitian population and households, and analyse, in particular, the characteristics of households with youth members. The chapter provides extensive baseline data on the situation in Haiti prior to the earthquake at both the national and regional levels. Of particular relevance to the post-earthquake situation, the chapter also documents the kinds of coping strategies Haitian households often turn to in times of economic crisis. In Chapter 3, Silje Sønsterudbråten analyses the state of schooling for Haitian youth. Although there have been some improvements in this sector since the 2001 living conditions survey, the results show that the Haitian education sector remains one of the weakest in the world, with huge challenges both in terms of quality and access to schooling. Youth participation in the Haitian labour market is described by Amsale Temesgen and Henriette Lunde in Chapter 4. This chapter presents data on youth labour force participation and unemployment rates as defined by the ILO. It also discusses socio-economic factors that affect the likelihood of young Haitians being able to enter the labour market. In Chapter 5, Henriette Lunde analyses migration patterns among Haitian youth, both as an individual coping strategy and as a means of social risk management for households. The chapter analyses migration trends, in particular in relation to gender and destination. The sampling procedure is presented in the technical appendix. A table appendix is included which demonstrates the values for figures used in the report that do not contain exact values. The tables in the appendix also contain additional data not presented in the figures.

Chapter 2 Population and households of Haiti

Anne Kielland and Henriette Lunde

Introduction

The data presented in this report was collected nine months prior to the earthquake. Despite the high death tolls, which may amount to as much as three percent of the total population, the overall population structure at national level described in this chapter has probably not been appreciably affected by the earthquake. In the case of Port-au-Prince, however, the data should be taken as the baseline that prevailed at the time of the disaster rather than as a description of the situation today. As will become evident in this chapter and the following, Port-au-Prince differed from the rest of Haiti in several important respects. The capital hosted a disproportionately large part of the working-age population and the inhabitants were more educated and economically better off than people living in rural areas. The massive displacement from the capital towards rural areas following the earthquake has somewhat altered the urban vs. rural distribution. This may, however, only be temporary as many of the internally displaced are likely to return to the capital once the situation stabilizes.

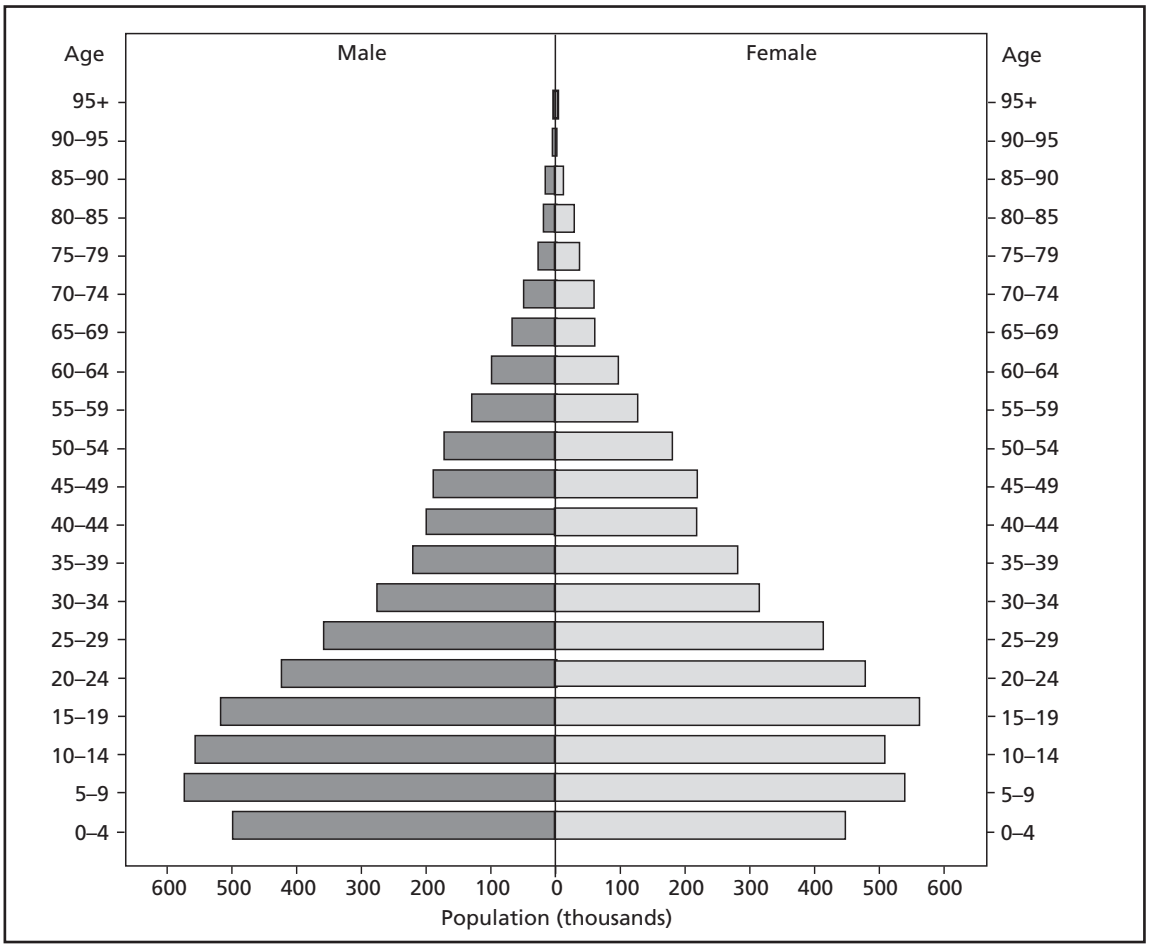
Characteristics of the general population

Increasing share of working-age population

The Haitian population is made up of 48.5 percent men and 51.5 percent women, meaning that there are 94 men for every 100 women. Haiti has a young population and a demographic structure that is typical of a developing country. Thirty-six percent of the population, over a third of all inhabitants, is under 15 years of age. Forty-three percent is under 18 and thus defined as children under international human right law, while 57 percent is under 25. Thirty-three percent fall into the category of youth, which is defined in the Haiti Youth Survey (HYS) as those in the 10–24 age bracket. As seen from Figure 2.1, there are relatively few 0–4 year olds compared to the 10–24 age bracket. This could be due to a decline in fertility but is more likely to stem from the underreporting of the presence of very young children in households.

According to the employment indicators used for measuring the Millennium Development Goals, the official working age is defined as 15 years of age and above (ILO 2009: 20). Working age is also frequently defined as 15 to 64. To make the findings from the Haiti Youth Survey comparable with surveys using both definitions, we have chosen to classify older people, namely those aged 65 and over, as a separate group.

Figure 2.1 Population pyramid, per 1000 inhabitants



There has been a steady increase in the number of working-age people relative to the number of children, in the population since the first Demographic and Health Survey (EMMUS-I)[1] was conducted in 1987 (Table 2.1). The Haiti Youth Survey shows a continuation of that trend, with the proportion of children under 15 continuing to decline in relation to the standard working-age population aged 15 and above. People over 64 still constitute a small share of the population.

Table 2.1 Tends in age composition since 1987

	EMMUS-I 1987	EMMUS-II 1994–1995	EMMUS-III 2000	EMMUS-IV 2005–2006	HYS 2009 2009
<15	46	42	42	40	36
15–64	51	52	53	55	60
65 +	3	5	6	5	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Dep. ratio	0,96	0,91	0,9	0,83	0,69

The dependency ratio in the population is measured by dividing the number of people under 15 and over 64 by the number of people between 15 and 64. Table 2.1 shows how the dependency ratio has declined steadily from 0.96 in 1987 to 0.69 in 2009. The main cause of the change is the falling population share of individuals under 15.

[1] Enquête Morbidité, Mortalité et Utilisation des Services (DHS in English).

Rural migration in search of employment

Haiti is predominantly a rural country. At the time of the survey almost two thirds of the population (64 percent) lived in rural areas. Prior to the earthquake, the proportion of the population living in rural areas had remained stable since the Haiti Living Conditions Survey (HLCS) was conducted in 2001 (IHSI/Fafo 2003). This does not mean that urban migration from rural areas had come to a halt but that, as shown in Figure 2.2, age composition varies greatly according to where people live.

Most strikingly, the urban population had a heavy preponderance of working-age people between 15 and 44, while very few people over 60 were living in cities. This would seem to indicate a pattern in which youth and people of working age migrate to the cities in search of employment but return to the rural areas when they retire. The uneven distribution of older people in urban and rural areas can also be explained in part by the fact that large-scale labour migration to Port-au-Prince is a fairly recent phenomenon which escalated in the 1970s and 1980s as a result of changes in national and international policies (see Chapter 5, box 5.1). Two-thirds of Haiti's urban population lived in Port-au-Prince prior to the earthquake.

Figure 2.2 Urban/rural distribution of the population, by age (n=8,993)

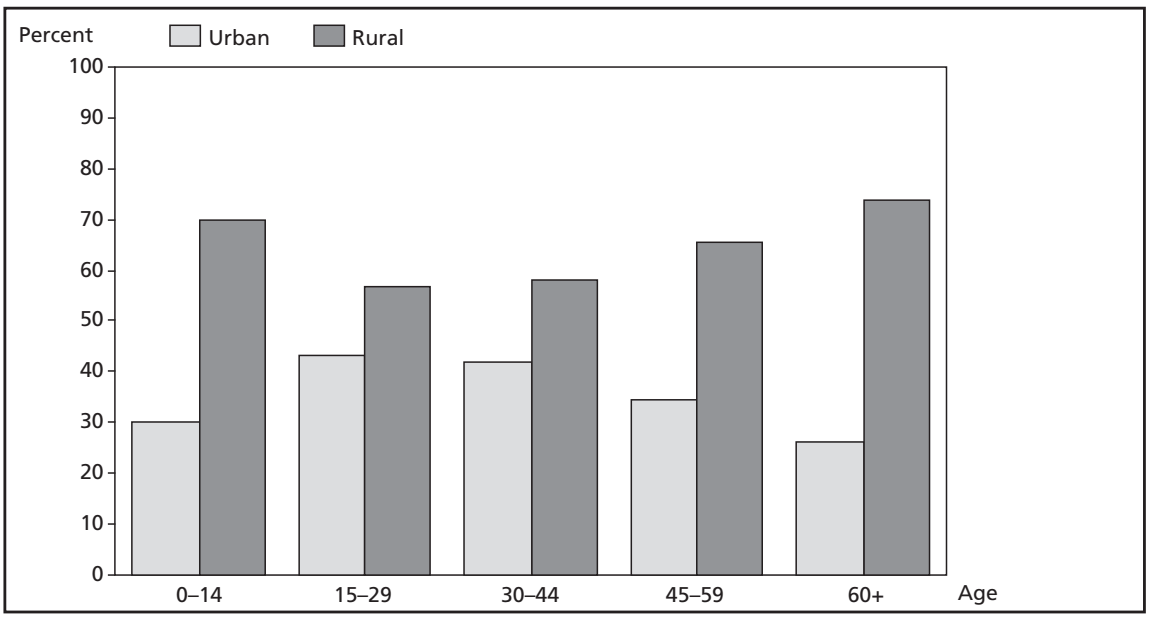


Table 2.2 shows the detailed distribution of the population by 5-year age brackets in rural and urban areas, segregated by gender. The estimated total population of 8.3 million is taken from the fourth Recensement Gènèral de la Population et de l'Habitat (RPGH), the most recent national census conducted by the Haitian bureau of statistics, Institut Haïtien de Statistique et d'Informatique (IHSI), in 2003. The figure resulting from the census has been chosen as the baseline since it represents the most recent official count.

More children and old people in rural areas

There were clear differences in age composition between rural and urban areas. Most importantly, while 40 percent of the rural population was under 15, only 30 percent of the urban population was in that age group. Also, a larger share of the rural population was elderly (5 percent compared to 3 percent in urban areas), leaving urban areas with a considerably larger

share of the population within the standard working age of 15 to 64 (66 percent compared to 55 percent in rural areas). The overrepresentation of children and older people in rural areas means that the rural population of working age had a considerably higher dependency burden than the urban population. While the urban dependency ratio was 0.5, meaning that for every child or older person in the population there were two people of working age, the comparative rural dependency ratio was 0.82. Since the earthquake the variation in age composition between rural and urban areas has probably diminished, at least temporarily, because of the large-scale displacement that has taken place.

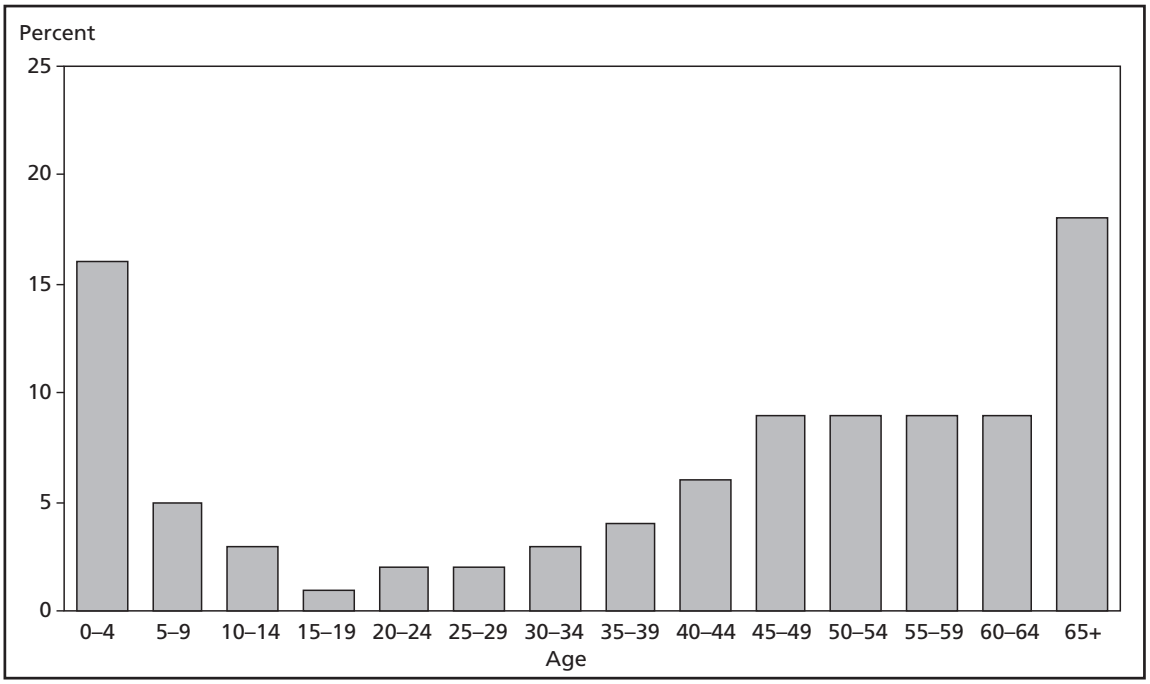
Women accounted for a larger share of the working-age population than men (61 percent compared to 57 percent). This difference was most striking in urban areas where 69 percent of women were of working age, compared to 64 percent of men. Together these two findings show the difference in migration patterns between men and women: while working-age women moved to urban areas, men tended to go abroad. This is consistent with the findings of the qualitative study on youth and labour migration (Lunde 2010) and will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

Table 2.2 Age distribution of population in 5-year brackets, by area of residence and gender

	Urban			Rural			All		
Age	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All
0–4	10	8	9	14	12	13	12	11	12
5–9	13	9	11	13	15	14	13	13	13
10–14	11	10	10	14	11	13	13	11	12
15–19	11	13	12	12	11	11	11	12	12
20–24	12	12	12	8	8	8	9	10	10
25–29	10	12	11	7	8	7	8	9	8
30–34	8	8	8	6	6	6	6	7	7
35–39	6	7	6	4	5	5	5	6	5
40–44	5	5	5	4	4	4	5	5	5
45–49	4	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
50–54	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
55–59	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
60–64	2	2	2	3	3	3	2	2	2
65 +	2	4	3	5	6	5	4	5	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100.0	100	100	100	100
N	1,398,688	1,619,387	3,018,075	2,648,847	2,678,393	5,327,240	4,047,535	4,297,780	8,345,315

Most people in Haiti have birth certificates. While 16 percent of 0–4 year olds have not been issued with a birth certificate, the level of registered births increases rapidly by the age of 15 (Figure 2.3). This finding may suggest that some people do not obtain such documentation until it becomes a practical necessity, for instance, when enrolling children in school. Birth registration declines after the age of 40 and then stabilizes at around 90 percent for the older section of the population.

Figure 2.3 Share of population without a birth certificate, by age (n=8,993)



The educated and wealthy are less likely to be married

Relationships in Haiti exist in a variety of forms, indicating a higher or lower degree of commitment and stability. Many terms are used, some of which overlap. For the purposes of the Haiti Youth Survey, relations were recorded as *maryaj, plase* and *vivavèk,* in addition to the more generally recognized statuses of single (never married), separated, divorced and widowed.

Maryaj refers to a formal, legally-binding marriage while *plase* refers to a more informal, common-law marriage. Both are fully recognized as marital unions in Haiti. *Vivavèk* describes a union which is less formalized and less stable than a marriage. Contrary to what might be assumed from the direct meaning of the word, a *vivavèk* relationship does not imply that the couple share a common household.

There was some variation in marital rates across the Haitian regions. The Port-au-Prince area had the lowest marriage rates, with 40 percent of the population aged 15 and over in either *maryaj* or *plase* relationships, while the rate was highest in the Transversale region where a total of 56 percent was married.

Table 2.3 shows that almost half of the population aged 15 and over is married, with slightly more in *plase* rather than *maryaj* relationships. Over a third is single and has never been married. The marital status of the rest is quite evenly distributed between *vivavèk*, widowed and separated. Interestingly, hardly any of the respondents reported that they were divorced. This is probably because of the social stigma attached to divorce although it is increasingly accepted by the small, urban middle class.

As shown in the previous section, a larger share of the working-age population was living in urban areas, leaving the countryside with more children and older people, relatively speaking. The likelihood of being married in Haiti increases by age and decreases by age squared (confirming its natural non-linear relationship) and so one could thus expect a larger share of the urban population to be married. This was, however, not the case. Both types of marriage were more common in rural areas where around half the population was married (*maryaj*

or *plase*) compared to 40 percent in urban centres. The likelihood of being married in Haiti decreases according to educational level (controlling for age and age squared). The fact that fewer were married in urban areas probably reflects therefore the generally higher educational level of the urban population (see the section on education).

Table 2.3 Marital status (percent), by age and gender, population aged 15 and above (n=5,882)

	Single, never married			Married (maryaj or plase)			Vivavèk			Widowed			Divorced, separated		
	M	F	All	M	F	All	M	F	All	M	F	All	M	F	All
15–29	80	62	70	13	26	20	6	9	8	0	0	0	0	2	1
30–44	12	8	10	76	68	72	7	10	9	1	4	2	4	9	7
45–59	4	3	4	81	67	74	3	4	3	3	13	8	8	13	11
60+	3	2	2	70	35	51	3	2	2	18	51	36	5	10	8
All	41	32	36	47	45	46	6	8	7	3	9	6	3	7	5

Men were reported as single and never married much more frequently than women, while women were more often referred to as widowed. Such findings normally stem from the fact that the average marriage age for men is higher than for women and that life expectancy is higher for women.

The percentage of men and women reported as married was reasonably similar, with around a fifth being in a formal *maryaj* and a quarter in a *plase* relationship. This, however, conceals a clear preponderance of married women when looking at the female population as a whole. Overall, an estimated 31,000 more women than men were registered as being in a formal marriage and 48,000 more in *plase* relationships. The preponderance of women reported to be in marriages and relationships probably stems from the fact that their spouses have migrated.

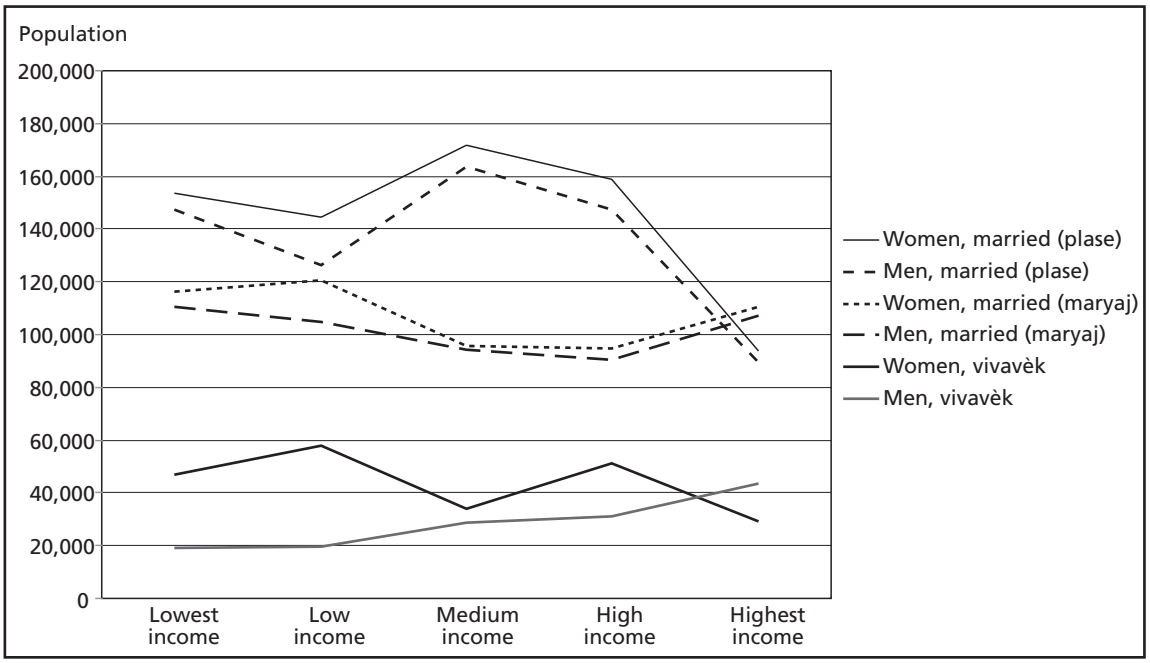
Eight percent of women and six percent of men were registered as being in a *vivavèk* relationship. In actual figures, this means that that there were 77,000 more women than men in such relationships, thus suggesting that a third of female *vivavèks* were probably in relationships with men who either had another primary association (most likely marriage), were migrants or considered themselves to be single.

The preponderance of formally married women over formally married men was roughly equal in urban and rural areas, while the surplus of women over men in *plase* marriages was greater in urban areas. Looking at the regions, the greatest disparity between the numbers of married men and women was in Port-au-Prince and in the northern region.

Both men and women are more likely to be single the higher the per capita income of their household. They are also less likely to be or remain a widow or widower as their income increases. Figure 2.4 shows relationship type by gender and income quintile in absolute numbers. Relative to income, the number of formal marriages is represented by a U-shaped curve which is mirrored, in the case of *plase* marriages, by a bell-shaped curve. In other words, *plase* marriages are most common among people on a medium income, and formal marriages least common among those on a medium to high income. Only in the highest income quintile is formal marriage more common than *plase*. While age correlates with both marital status and income, in Haiti a relatively limited share of per capita income variations can be explained by age.

While the likelihood of a man's primary relationship being *vivavèk* increased according to income, in the case of women it was those in the poorest income quintile who were more likely to be in such a relationship. Among the poorest there are considerably more female *vivavèks* than males while, in the case of the two highest income quintiles, the numbers of men and women in *vivavèk* relationships are similar.

Figure 2.4 Marital status, by household income per capita quintile, population aged 15 and above (n=3,513)



Taking into account possible inaccuracies resulting from relatively large confidence intervals, Figure 2.4 still indicates a probable disparity between the numbers of men and women in the same relationship category and also suggests that it may be influenced by income. The highest preponderance of women over men in *plase* marriages was found in the three lowest income quintiles while the highest prevalence of women over men in formal marriages was found in the second lowest income quintile. The findings support the notion that the greater number of women in such relationships can be partly explained by the high rate of male migration found in the lower income groups.

Half the population are Catholics

The Haitian population is predominantly Christian. A total of 93 percent profess to be Christian, over half of them Roman Catholics. The remaining 43 percent are Protestants, of whom ten percent are Baptists (Table 2.4). Five percent of Haitians have no religious belief.

Table 2.4 Religious affiliation (percent), by area of residence and gender, population aged 15 and above (n=5,340)

	Catholic	Protestant	Vodou	Non-religious	Total
Urban	51	40	3	6	100
Rural	50	45	1	5	100
Male	53	37	2	7	100
Female	48	48	1	3	100
All	50	43	2	5	100

Only two percent of the population reported that they practiced vodou (Table 2.4). However, the total number of vodou followers is likely to be underestimated because vodou is often practiced in tandem with Catholicism. A respondent who practices both will give Catholicism as his or her primary affiliation, Catholicism being the formal religion. This is not inconsistent with the practice of vodou as a more private set of beliefs focused on family spirits, or *lwas.* While most Protestants disapprove of vodou, many Catholics see their religion as complementing their vodou beliefs. Vodou has its origin in African religions that were brought to Haiti by slaves. As slaves were forbidden to practice their own religions during the colonial period, vodou evolved as a slave religion from the belief system centred around ancestral spirits practiced in Africa, but within the acceptable form of the religion practiced by the colonizers, Roman Catholicism. As such, the images used by both are similar but their inherent meaning differ (Desmangles 1992).

While Catholicism is relatively evenly distributed among the population, Protestantism is found more in rural areas than in urban areas (45 percent versus 40 percent) and is more frequently reported among women than men (48 percent versus 37 percent). Roman Catholicism is a legacy of colonialism and continued to be the official religion after Haiti won its independence in 1804. Protestantism was brought to the country by North American missionaries at around the same time. The missionaries prioritized rural areas and combined preaching with the establishment of schools and health posts. They also encouraged baptism and marriage and performed them for free (Haggerty 1989). That Protestantism has a stronger foothold in rural areas is likely to be a result of this approach.

A third of the adult population has never been enrolled in school

A third of Haiti's population aged 15 and over has never been enrolled in school or received vocational training. Table 2.5 shows that this proportion is particularly high in rural areas where around 40 percent have never attended school. In addition, 26 percent of the population have started primary school but failed to complete it. Drop-out from primary schools is more common in rural areas where 29 percent started but did not complete it, compared to 20 percent in urban areas. Education attendance rates in the adult population are lower for women than for men.

Overall 41 percent of the Haitian population aged 15 and over has completed primary education or higher (Table 2.5). The urban-rural divide remains strong, with only ten percent of rural inhabitants having completed one grade at upper secondary level or higher, compared to 34 percent of people in urban areas.[2]

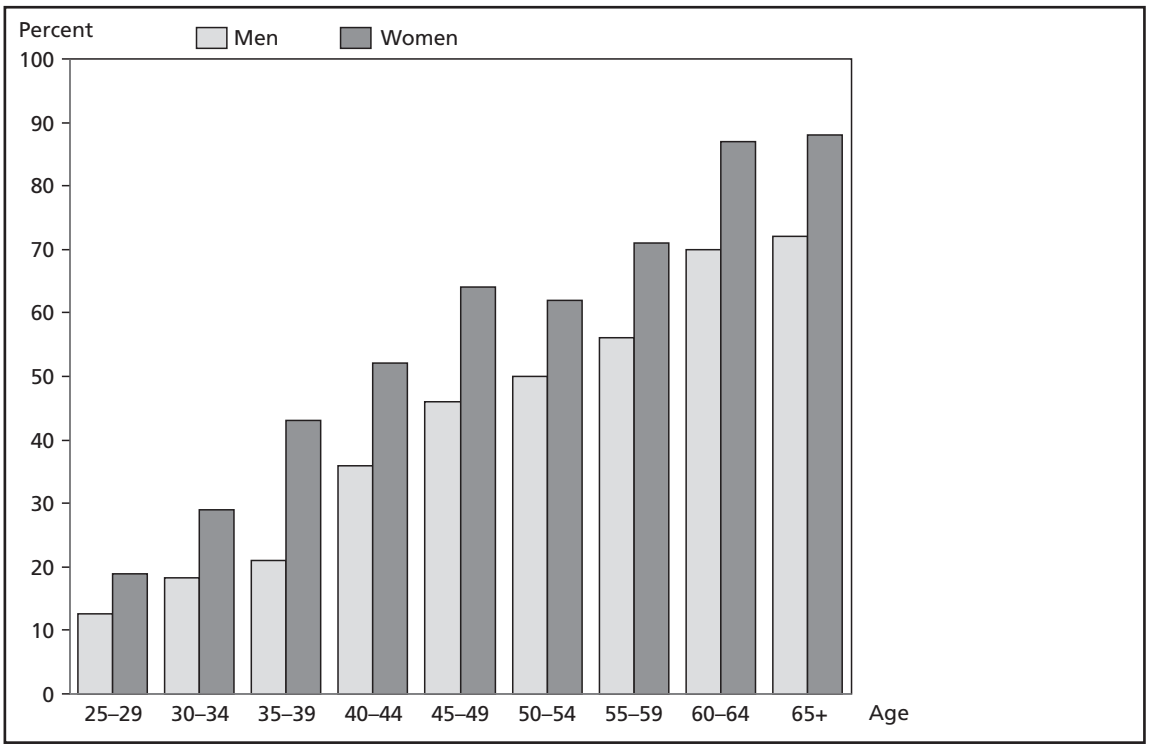
[2] For an overview of the Haitian education system, see Chapter 3, Figure 3.1

Table 2.5 Highest level of completed education (percent), by area of residence and gender, population aged 15 and above (n=5,882)

	No formal education	Incomplete primary	Primary	Lower secondary	Upper secondary	University/ Philo	Total
Urban	17	20	8	20	22	12	100
Rural	41	29	7	12	8	2	100
Male	27	27	8	16	14	7	100
Female	36	24	7	14	12	5	100
All	32	26	8	15	13	5	100

Educational attainment in the Haitian population has progressed over the past few decades. While over 50 percent of men and 60 percent of women aged 50 years and over have never attended school, these values have dropped to 13 and 19 percent respectively in the 25–29 age group (Figure 2.5). However, there is still a gender gap and women aged 25 and over are less likely than men in the same age group to be educated. For women under 25, however, this is no longer the case. The education situation for youth aged 10 to 24 will be discussed in the next chapter.

Figure 2.5 Share of individuals without any formal education, by age and gender, population aged 25 and above (n=3,900)



Over a third of the adult population is illiterate

Haiti has two official languages: French and Haitian Creole. While all Haitians speak and understand Creole, French has, since the birth of the nation, been a distinctive feature of the higher social classes. Despite being the language of the people, Creole was not granted official status as a national language until the Constitution of 1987. Creole is the informal everyday

language, but French remains the formal language used in schools, newspapers, the law and the courts and official documents. Since 1979 schools have been allowed to use Creole as a language of instruction. At the time of the survey, most young people attended schools where French and Creole were given equal prominence as languages of instruction.

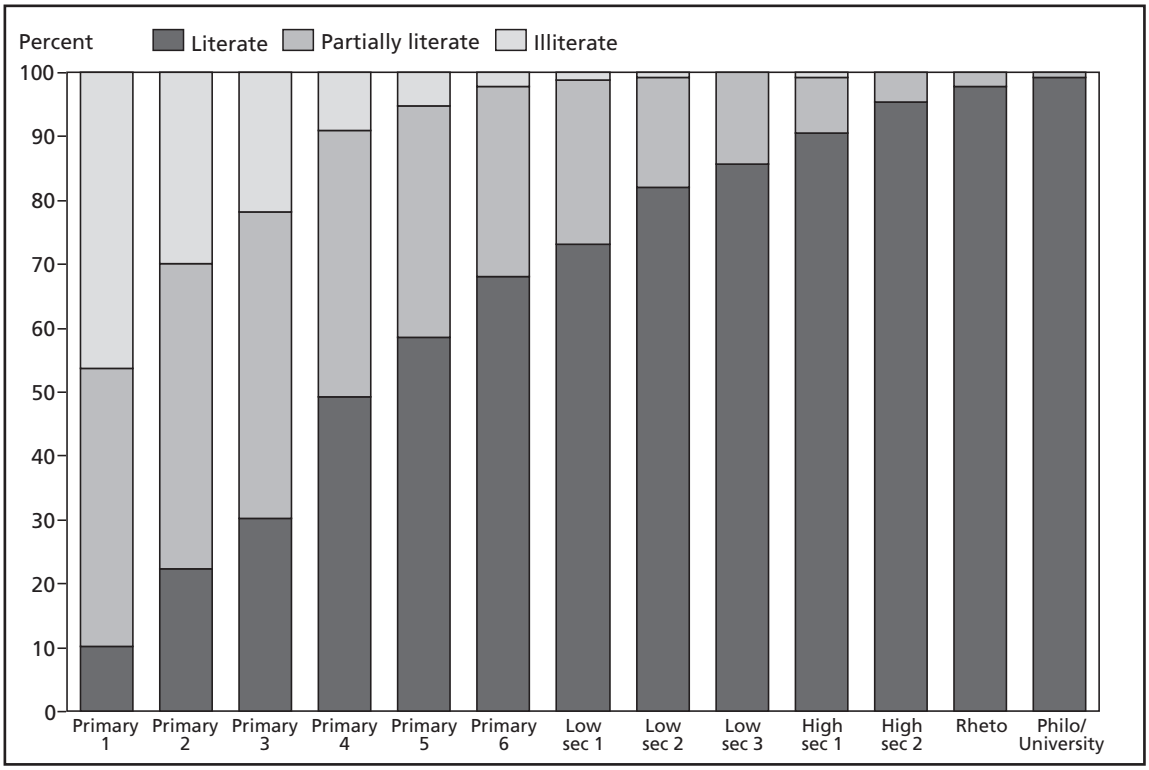
Illiteracy is still a widespread problem in Haiti (Table 2.6). More than a third of the population (35 percent) is unable to write in either Creole or French. While 32 percent of the population aged 15 and over can write proficiently in both French and Creole, a total of 45 percent can write well in Creole and 34 percent in French. In other words, people who write French well are also likely to write well in Creole, while the 10 percent of the population that can write well in Creole can only do so with difficulty in French.

Table 2.6 Writing skills in Creole and French (percent), population aged 15 and above (n=5,882)

		Writing Creole			Total
		Yes	With difficulty	No	
Writing French	Yes	32	2	0	34
	With difficulty	10	10	0	20
	No	3	8	35	46
Total		45	20	35	100

Investment in education does not guarantee learning. Figure 2.6 shows the level of literacy in both French and Creole for the population, based on the highest grade completed. After completing four years of primary school, less than half of the students are able to read and write well, and ten percent are completely illiterate. Of the adult population, only 70 percent of those who had completed six years of primary education were fully literate. After finishing lower secondary education, or nine years of schooling, almost 15 percent were reported as being only partially literate. The challenges of the Haitian education sector are discussed in a qualitative report within the Haiti Youth Project (Lunde 2008). This is also discussed further in the next chapter.

Figure 2.6 Literacy (in either French or Creole), by highest level of education completed, population aged 15 and above (n=5,882)



Agriculture the most important occupation

Almost a quarter of Haiti's total population aged 15 and over is employed in the agricultural sector (Table 2.7). Even three percent of the urban population was working in agriculture, compared to 36 percent in rural areas. Agriculture employs far more men than women (36 and 12 percent respectively). Commerce and petty trade is the second largest sector, employing 21 percent of the population, with the share of the population involved, not surprisingly, being higher in the cities. The majority of workers engaged in commerce are women. Almost a third of adult Haitian women were reported as being involved in trade and commerce, compared to only around ten percent of men. These gender patterns in employment are evident also in the youth population (see Chapter 4).

The share of the population engaged in studies or apprenticeships is 22 percent, with the numbers roughly equal across gender and area of residence. The self-reported unemployment rate of 16 percent was higher in urban areas and much higher among women than men. It is important to note that this unemployment rate is based on what the respondents gave as their main occupation. As such it is not comparable to the youth unemployment rates presented in the Chapter 4 which have been calculated in line with the standards of the International Labour Organization (ILO).[3]

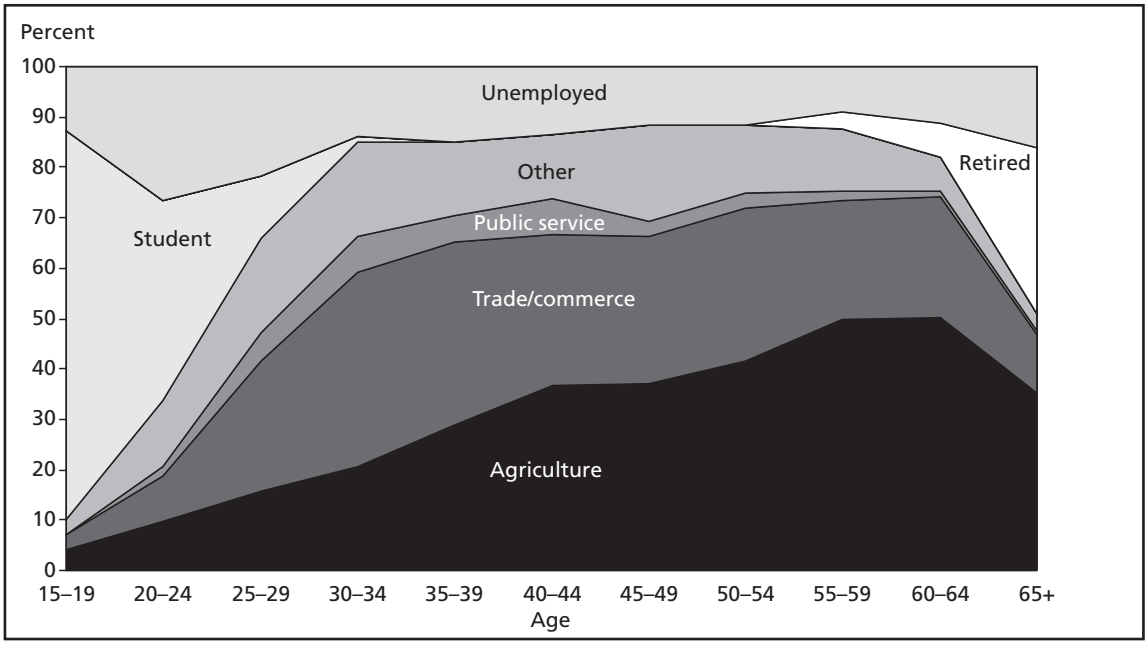
[3] According to the ILO, an unemployed person is someone over 15 years of age who has not worked for pay or profit (or pay in kind), who has not been temporarily absent from a job and who has not participated in unpaid family work for at least one hour during the reference period, one week in the case of HYS 2009.

Table 2.7 Main activity (percent), by area of residence and gender, population aged 15 and above (n=5,882)

	Agricul-ture	Trade/ commerce	Public service	Other	Student/ apprentice	Retired/ Gran moun	Unem-ployed	Total
Urban	3	26	5	18	25	2	21	100
Rural	36	18	2	8	20	3	13	100
Male	36	9	4	17	23	2	10	100
Female	12	32	3	8	21	3	22	100
All	23	21	3	12	22	3	16	100

Looking at age brackets, Figure 2.7 shows that age is a significant factor in the employment sector. The share of the population working in agriculture increases markedly in line with age. While only ten percent of 20 to 24 year olds work in agriculture, half of 55- to 64 year olds have agriculture as their main activity. Up to the age of 30, a substantial share of the population is made up of students or people who are learning a trade, and over the age of 50, a steadily increasing share is reported as being retired. Trade and commerce activities are most common among young adults aged between 30 and 40 while the share of 30 to 60 year olds who were reported as having other types of jobs remained stable. Unemployment rates are highest among young people, peaking in the oldest youth cohort of 20 to 24 year olds. From the age of 30 onwards, unemployment rates stay fairly stable until retirement age.

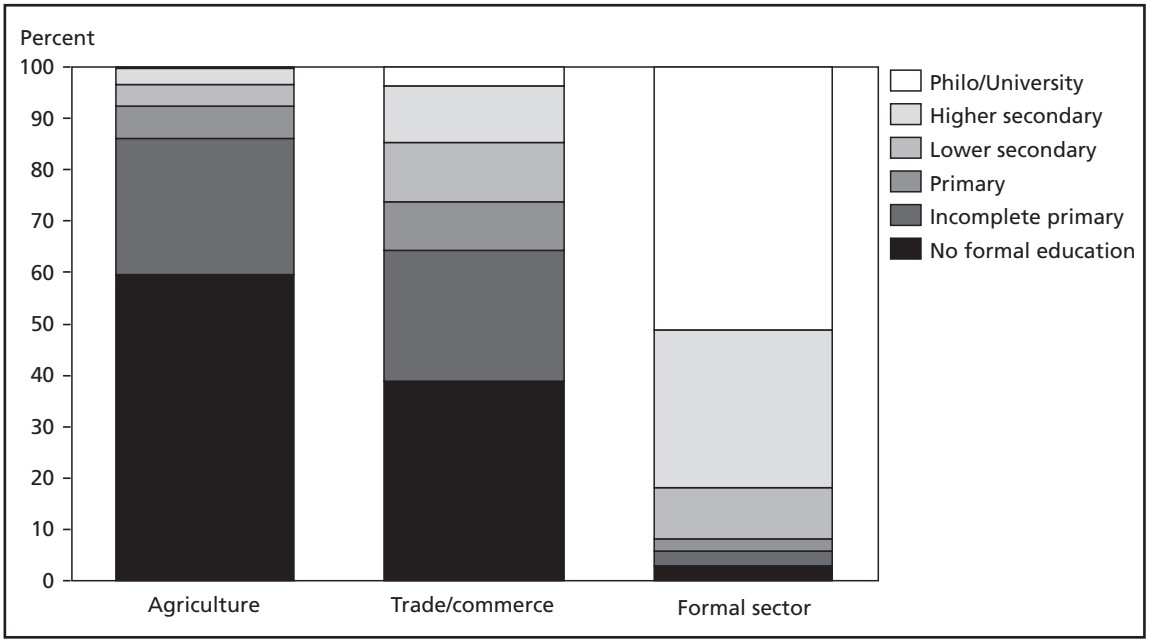
Figure 2.7 Main activity, by age, population aged 15 and above (n=5,882)



The likelihood of being employed in the agricultural sector falls sharply according to the level of educational attainment. Figure 2.8 shows that while 59 percent of people with no education work in agriculture, few have agriculture as their main activity after completing six years of primary education. No one with a university degree was recorded as having agriculture as

their primary occupation. Also the share of the population involved in petty trade and commerce declines sharply if they have completed primary education.
Having undergone higher education strongly increases the chances of being employed in the formal sector. Hardly any public servants featured among those who had failed to complete some form of lower secondary degree. As Figure 2.8 shows, the chance of finding employment in the formal sector increases markedly in line with having undergone higher education. However, it is important to bear in mind that formal sector employment makes up only a small share of the Haitian labour market.

Figure 2.8 Level of completed education, by main activity, population aged 15 and above (n=5,746)



Household characteristics

High prevalence of female-headed households

Haiti has a high prevalence of female-headed households, with the overall figure standing at 42 percent at the time of the survey. In the case of urban households, it was 46 percent while, in the case of rural households it was 39 percent. By comparison, in the Dominican Republic 38 percent of urban households and 30 percent of rural households are headed by women (CESDEM /Macro 2008). While this proportion is high from an international perspective, it is considerably lower than the 53 percent that was recorded in the Haiti Living Conditions Survey, HLCS 2001 (IHSI/Fafo 2001). As female-headed households were found to be somewhat smaller than male-headed households (4.4 members compared to 4.7), the population share living in female-headed households amounted to 40 percent.

The HLCS 2001 emphasizes how households go through life cycles. The stage of the cycle is often determined by the age of the household head. Around 15 percent of Haitian households have a very young household head (under 30 years old). Urban households, especially those in Port-au-Prince, had the highest share of younger household heads (Table 2.8). Around 20 percent of households had an elderly head (aged 60 or over). While this was the case for a

quarter of rural households, only a tenth of households in Port-au-Prince had a household head over 60. While these findings are generally consistent with the results of the HLCS 2001, the share of young household heads had dropped substantially in the Port-au-Prince area, indicating that a wave of young households had matured without being replaced by many new ones. The fact that the total share of households with a young head had dropped should also be related to the general aging of the population since 2001, as shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.8 Age of household head (percent), by area of residence (n=1,966)

	Area of residence				
	Port-au-Prince	Other urban	Rural	HYS 2009	HLCS 2001
< 30	18	16	14	15	17
30–39	30	26	21	24	19
40–49	26	19	23	23	23
50–59	17	17	18	18	16
60+	9	21	24	20	25
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Low level of education among female household heads

The educational level of household heads in Haiti is low. More than a third of male and over half of female household heads have never been enrolled in school and have no formal education (Table 2.9). In addition, one in four male and one in five female heads had started but not completed six years of primary school. Two-in-five male heads had completed primary and, of them, two-thirds had also completed a lower secondary degree. Around one in four female heads had completed primary, most of them continuing on to secondary school. Comparing these numbers to the rates for the overall adult population over 14 years of age (presented in Table 2.5), it is clear that household heads had a lower than average educational level, something that can almost certainly be attributed to their age.

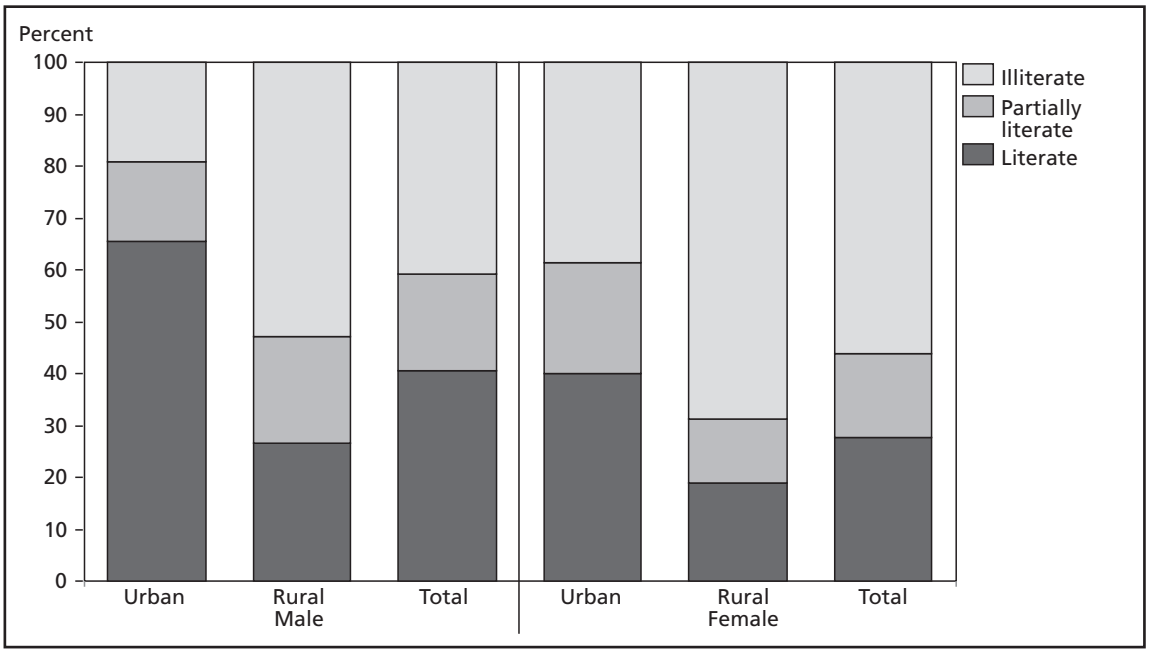
Table 2.9 Highest level of education completed by household head (percent), by gender (n=1,966)

	Male	Female	All
No formal education	38	54	45
Incomplete primary	24	20	22
Completed primary	8	6	7
Lower secondary	11	8	9
Higher secondary	12	9	10
Philo/university	6	3	5
Total	100	100	100

As for literacy rates in general, the survey found large differences in the reading and writing skills of household heads in urban and rural areas (Figure 2.9). Two-in-three male household heads in urban areas were considered fully literate, compared to only one in four in rural areas. For female heads the difference was smaller but considerable: while only one in five heads in

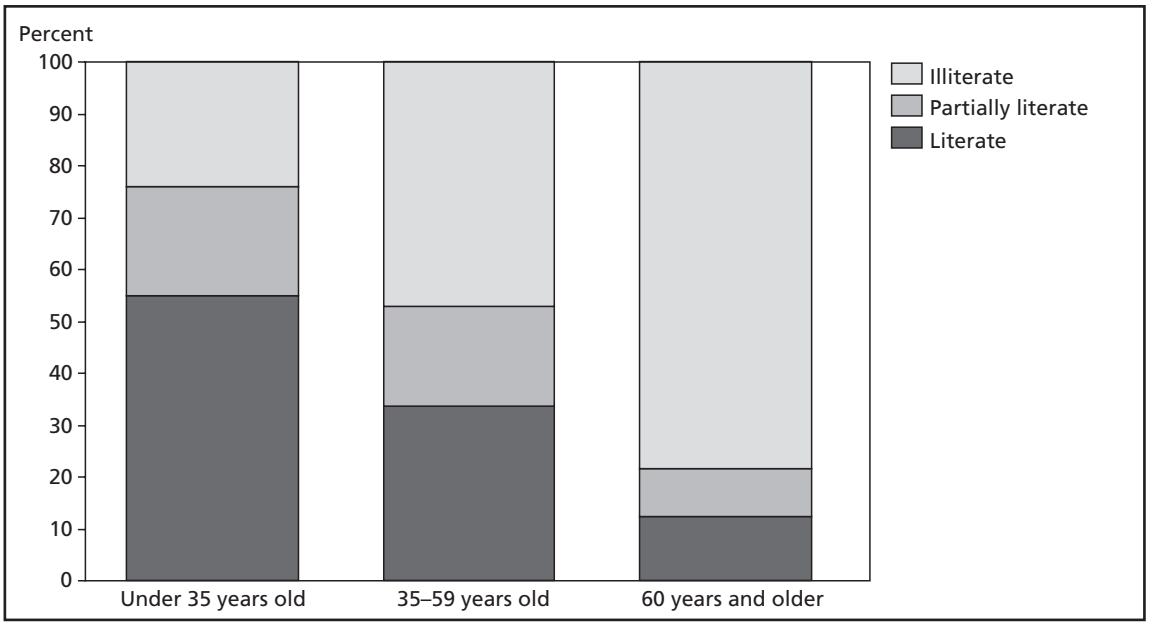
rural areas were fully literate, twice as many were in the urban areas. More than half of male and over two-thirds of female household heads in rural areas were completely illiterate.

Figure 2.9 Literacy (in either French or Creole) for male and female household heads, by area of residence (n=1,966)



Literacy rates also fell sharply with increasing age. More than half (55 percent) of household heads below 35 could read and write French and/or Creole well, compared to only 12 percent those aged 60 and above. One in four of younger household heads were completely illiterate, while this was the case for almost four-in-five of older ones (Figure 2.10). It is evident that there has been a positive development in the education sector over the past few decades, but the overall low level of literacy, even among the new generation of household heads, is still a cause for serious concern. Emphasis needs to be given not only to improving and strengthening the formal education sector but also to providing literacy training for adults.

Figure 2.10 Literacy rates (in either French or Creole) of household heads, by age (n=1,966)



A third of female household heads live with their husbands

Forty-six percent of Haitians aged 15 and over live in either a *plase* marriage (26 percent) or the more formal *maryaj* (20 percent) (Table 2.3). For household heads this share is higher. Almost two-thirds of all household heads are married and, in the case of male household heads, the figure is as many as four out of five (Table 2.10). It is perhaps more striking that as many as two in every five female household heads are married. In 31 percent of female-headed households, the husband also lived in the home, yet the wife was considered the head. In about ten percent of female-headed households, the household head was married but the husband lived elsewhere. One in four female household heads is widowed and 17 percent are separated, while only 5 percent had never married. These numbers are fairly similar to those found in the HLCS 2001.

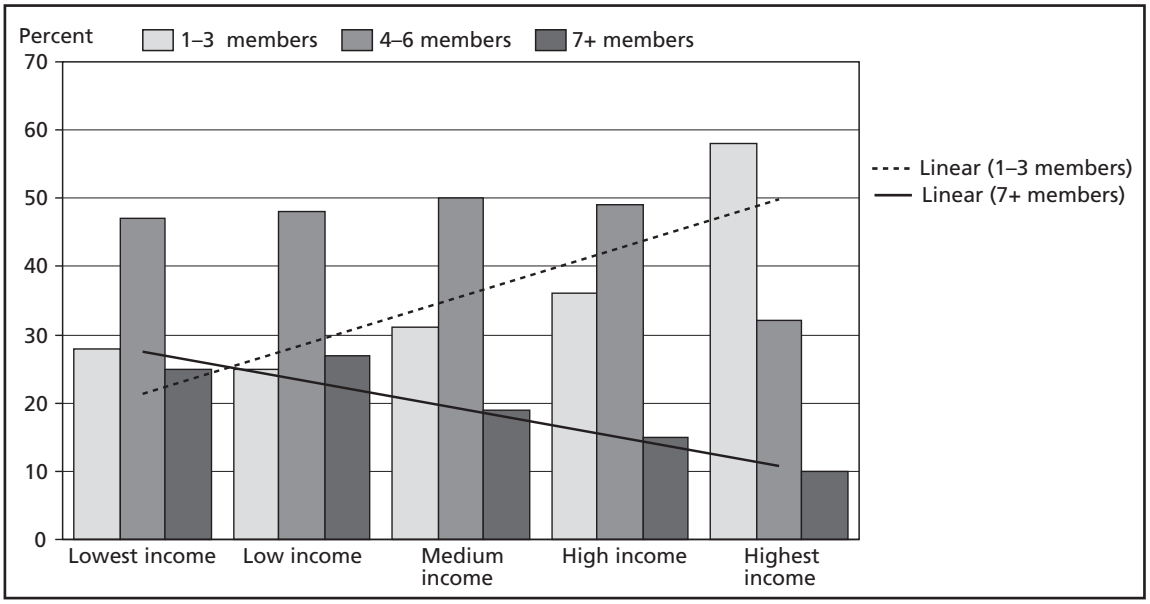
Table 2.10 Marital status of household heads (percent), by gender and area of residence (n=1,966)

	Male	Female	Urban	Rural	All
Married (maryaj)	37	15	25	29	28
Married (plase)	44	26	34	37	36
Vivavèk	4	13	10	6	8
Widowed	5	25	11	15	13
Separated/diovorced	5	17	12	8	9
Single, never married	6	5	9	4	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Smaller households have higher per capita income

The average household in Haiti consists of 4.6 members. Rural households are on average slightly larger than urban ones, with 4.8 members compared to 4.4. The variations are relatively

Figure 2.11 Share of households with 1–3 members, 4–6 members and more than 7 members, by household income per capita quintile (n=1,966)



small when comparing female- to male-headed households and urban to rural households, although female-headed and urban households have a slightly lower member average.

Looking at all households, 36 percent have only 1–3 members, 45 percent have 4–6 members and 19 percent have 7 or more. Figure 2.11 shows how per capita income is closely related to household size. Fifty-eight percent of households in the highest per capita income quintile have 1–3 members and only 10 percent have more than 7 members. By comparison, only around one in four households in the two lowest income quintiles have 1–3 members, while around one in four have more than 7 members.

Households mainly grow in size because more children are born, and smaller households tend to have fewer dependents relative to household size. The household dependency ratio was calculated as the number of household members aged 0–14 years, plus the number of household members aged 65 and over, divided by the total number of household members. Large households had a higher total income than small households but, because of the relatively high number of dependents, per capita income fell below that of smaller households (see Table 2.11).

Table 2.11 Mean monthly household income (HTG), income per capita and dependency ratio, by household size (n=1,966)

Household size	Mean monthly household income	Mean monthly household income per capita	Mean dependency ratio
1–3 members	4,428	2,329	.29
4–6 members	5,775	1,217	.41
7+ members	7,560	932	.45

The child dependency ratio of households was estimated as the number of household members aged 0–14 divided by the total number of household members. Table 2.12 shows a considerable variation in the dependency ratio of Haitian households, as calculated by area of residence and gender of the household head, indicating social as well as geographical variations. Rural households had a much larger share of dependents than urban ones, both when considering children separately and when including elderly household members in the dependency measurement. Female-headed households had more dependents than male-headed households in both urban and rural areas.

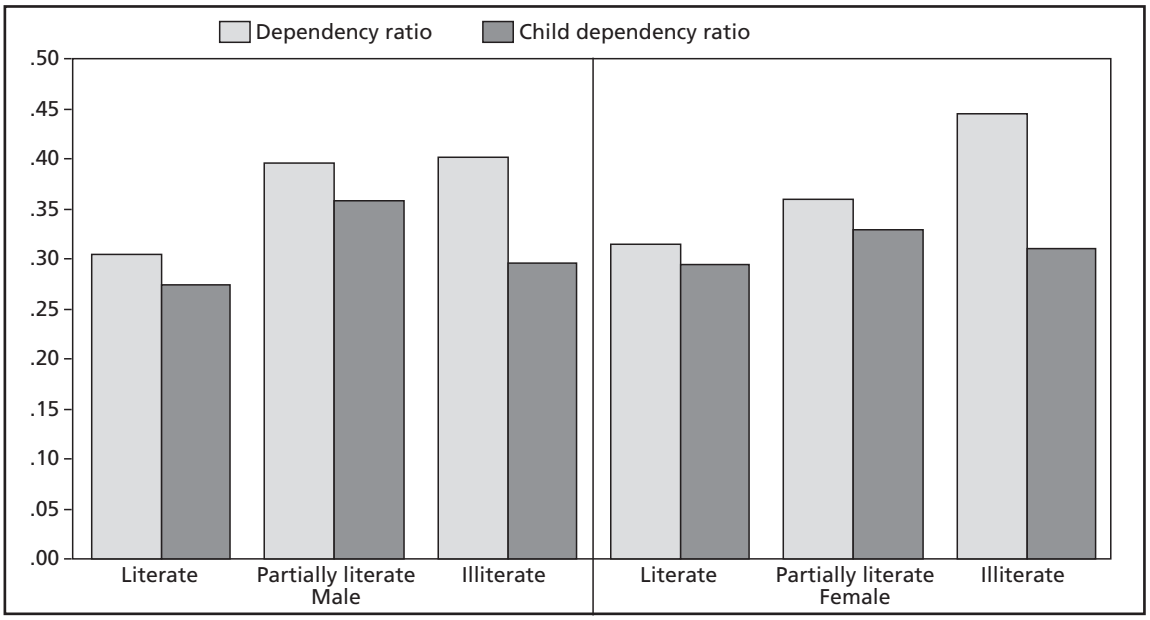
Table 2.12 Dependency ratio and child dependency ratio, by area of residence and gender of household head (n=1,966)

	Urban			Rural			All		
	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All
Dependency ratio	0.28	0.32	0.30	0.41	0.45	0.42	0.36	0.40	0.38
Child dependency ratio	0.24	0.27	0.25	0.33	0.34	0.33	0.30	0.31	0.30

The dependency ratio also correlates with the level of literacy of the household head (Figure 2.12). Households headed by a literate male have a dependency ratio of 0.31 while those only partially literate or illiterate have a dependency ratio of 0.40. In female-headed households, there is a more gradual increase in the dependency burden as the reading and writing skills of the household head get weaker, with the ratio increasing from 0.32 dependents to 0.45. Child dependency ratios are less affected by the literacy skills of household heads. The highest child dependency ratios are found among partially literate household heads, with the most

distinct bell-shaped curve found among households headed by men. The difference between the dependency ratio and the child dependency ratio demonstrates that households with illiterate heads are much more likely to house elderly dependents.

Figure 2.12 Dependency ratio and child dependency ratio in all households, by level of literacy and gender of household head (n=1,966)



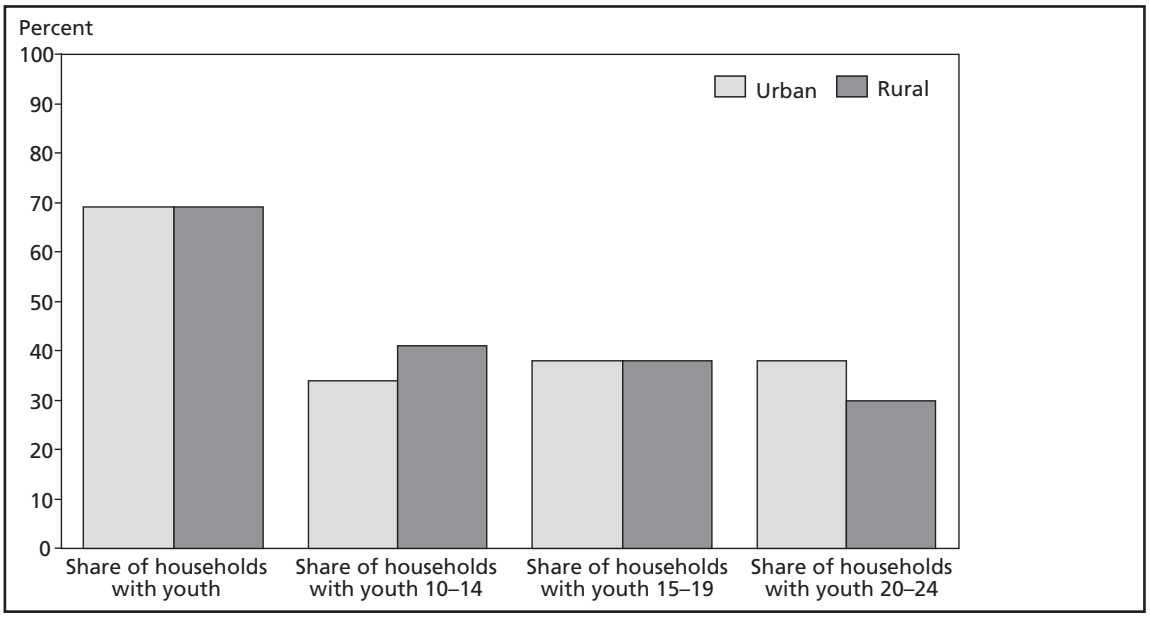
Since the earthquake, dependency ratios in rural areas might have decreased slightly because of the displacement of working-age people from the Port-au-Prince area to the countryside. The *dependency burden* on rural households, however, will have increased because the displaced population has little chance of making a living in rural areas and is primarily dependent on family members and other social networks for survival. As a significant proportion of rural households were living at subsistence level prior to the disaster, they have very little capacity for supporting additional household members. Only one in five in rural areas said that they were able to support family members in need of help before the earthquake (Lunde, ed. 2009). In Port-au-Prince, twice as many were able to help, and many were supporting their families in the countryside. In the aftermath of the earthquake it is important that the resilience of the population not directly affected by the earthquake is strengthened so that they are able to receive and support the huge numbers of internally displaced people.

Characteristics of youth households

Youth live in poorer households

There are youth aged 10–24 present in 69 percent of Haitian households, with an average of 1.5 per household in both urban and rural areas. Youth living in rural households have a lower average age than those living in urban households (Figure 2.13).

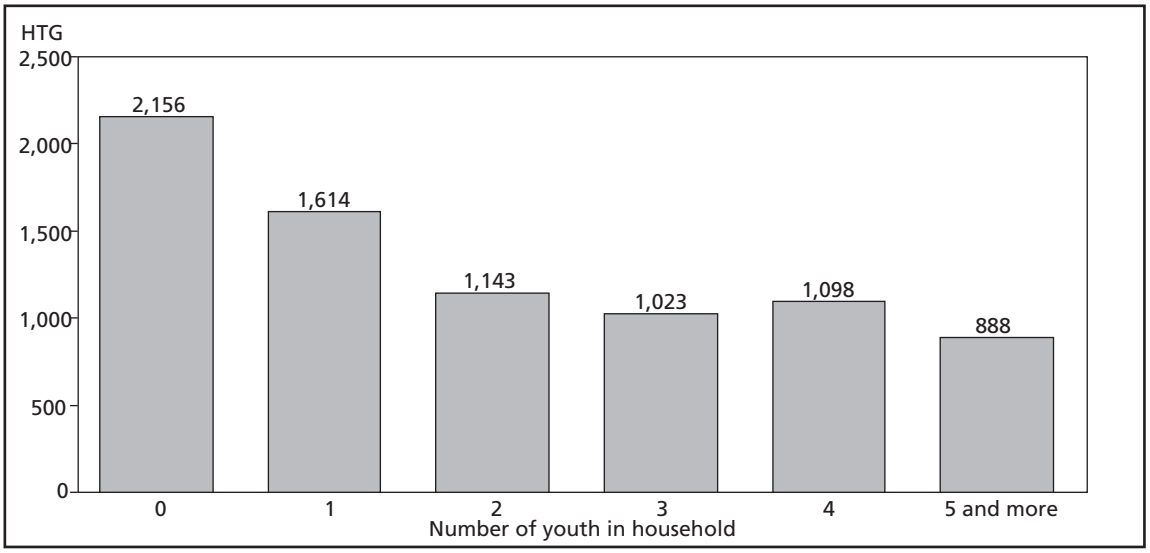
Figure 2.13 Share of households with at least one youth, by age of youth and area of residence (n=1,966)



The mean monthly income in households with youth is considerably lower than in households where there are no youth: 1,285 Haitian Gourdes (HTG) (USD 33) per capita monthly compared to HTG 2,156 in households where no youth are present. The youngest youth live in the poorest households, with a per capita income of HTG 1,007. Youth aged between 15 and 19 live in households with a monthly per capita income of HTG 1,194 while even the older youth live in households that are considerably poorer than average (HTG 1,391 compared to the national average of HTG 1,557).

Household per capita income correlates negatively with the number of youth living in each household (Figure 2.14). Households with only one youth still have a monthly per capita income above the national average of HTG 1,557, but this decreases sharply if there are two or three youth in the household. In the case of households with five or more youth, the monthly income per capita falls to HTG 888.

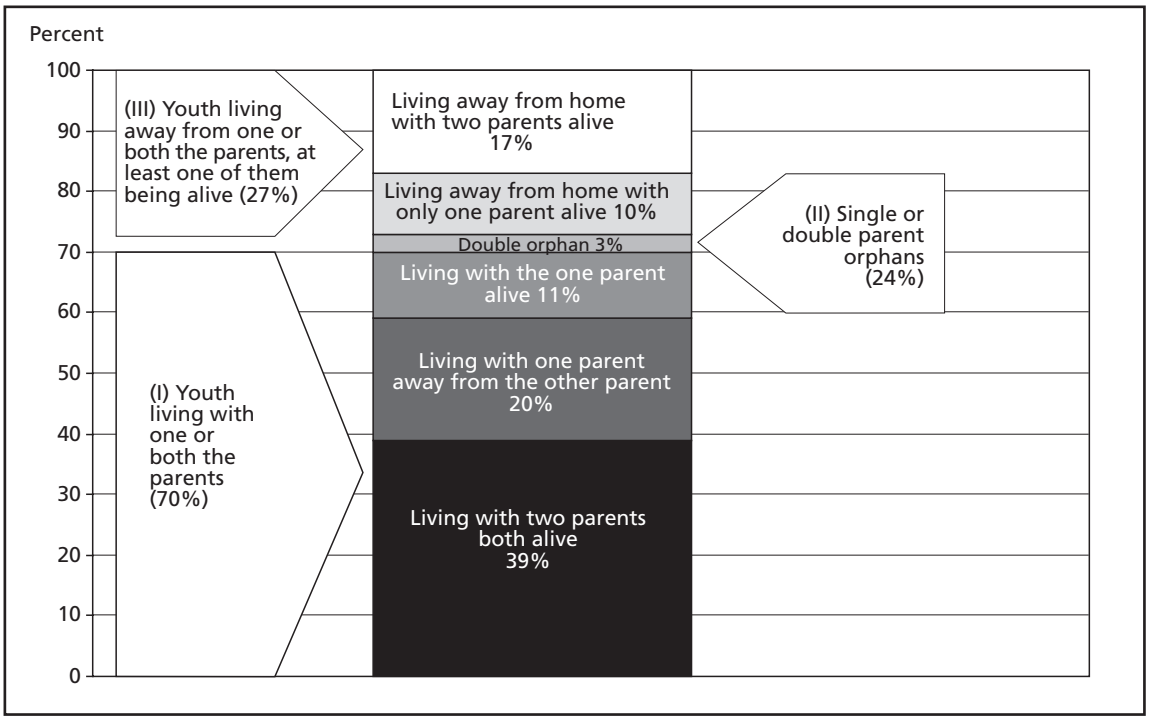
Figure 2.14 Mean monthly household income per capita (HTG), by number of youth household members (n=1,966)



A quarter of all youth have lost one or both parents

Haitian youth can be broadly divided into three main groups with some important areas of overlap: I), youth living with one or both parents; II), youth who have lost one or both parents, in other words, orphans, and III), youth living away from both parents even though at least one of the latter is alive. Figure 2.15 shows the three groups and where they overlap: single-parent orphans living with the one remaining parent (overlap between groups I and II), and single-parent orphans living away from their one living parent (overlap between groups II and III).

Figure 2.15 The living arrangement of youth and survival status of their parents, all youth (10–24) (n=3,044)



The different sub-categories within youth group I are shown in the three lower fields of the column in Figure 2.15. In total, 70 percent of Haitian youth between 10 and 24 live with one or both of their parents and 39 percent live with both. Among the one in three youth who live with just one of their parents, two-thirds live away from the other one while one-third have lost the other parent and are thus single-parent orphans. It is much more common for youth to stay with their mothers than with their fathers. Twenty-five percent of all youth live with their mother, while only six percent live with their father.

The three fields in the middle of the column show sub-categories of youth within group II: orphans. Around a quarter of all youth have lost one or both of their parents, 7 percent have lost their mothers, 14 percent their fathers and 3 percent both. While those who have lost both for obvious reasons live with neither, only two percent of youth who are maternal orphans remain with their fathers, while ten percent are paternal orphans who have remained with their mothers.

The top two fields of the column show the two sub-categories within youth group III: youth who have one or two parents. Overall this group comprises 27 percent of all youth. Seventeen percent live away from both parents, five percent live away from their father, and five percent live away from their mother.

The following sub-sections will focus on the two youth groups who no longer live with their parents, in other words, orphans (group II) and youth who have left their parents (III).

Maternal orphans do not remain in their father's household

Three percent of the youth in the sample had lost both their parents. Seven percent had lost just their mother. Only a quarter of maternal orphans continued to live with their father. These households were on average very poor, with a mean monthly per capita income of HTG 874. Fourteen percent had lost their fathers and as many as 66 percent of these carried on living with their mothers in households that were also generally poor, with a mean monthly per capita income of HTG 1,058. This section focuses on orphans who do not live with the remaining parent.

Four percent of households had at least one youth who had lost both parents, while seven percent had at least one paternally orphaned youth living away from his or her mother and six percent of households had at least one maternally orphaned youth living away from his or her father.

Overall it would appear that paternally orphaned youth require greater social incentives to make them leave their mother than maternal orphans do to leave their father. Looking at the location of households and the gender and educational level of the household head, a consistent pattern emerges. Orphans who have left their remaining parent are more likely to live in urban areas, especially in the case of paternally orphaned youth living away from their mother: in total, 63 percent of paternally orphaned children who have left their mother live in urban households, even though only 38 percent of all households are situated in cities. Forty-six percent of maternal orphans live in cities whereas, in the case of double orphans, the figure is 55 percent.

While there is a slight tendency for single-parent orphans to move towards female-headed households, this seems to be especially so with double-parent orphans. Whereas 42 percent of Haitian households are female-headed, 56 percent of double-orphaned youth live in households headed by a woman. While 55 percent of household heads have never been to school, in the case of paternally orphaned youth living with them, the figure is 71 percent, in the case of maternally orphaned youth, it is 63 percent and, in the case of double orphans, it is 58 percent.

Economic incentives seem to be even more important in cases where youth move away from the remaining parent. In particular, the motivation for paternally orphaned youth to leave their mothers would appear to be that the households they go to are better off financially. While the mean monthly household per capita income is just HTG 1,557, the few paternally orphaned youth who live away from their mothers reside in households with a relatively high mean monthly per capita income of HTG 2,074. Maternal orphans, on the other hand, tend to leave their fathers more often and go to households that are slightly less well off, with a mean per capita income of HTG 1,377. Double-parent orphans end up worst off, living in households with a mean monthly per capita income of HTG 1,179.

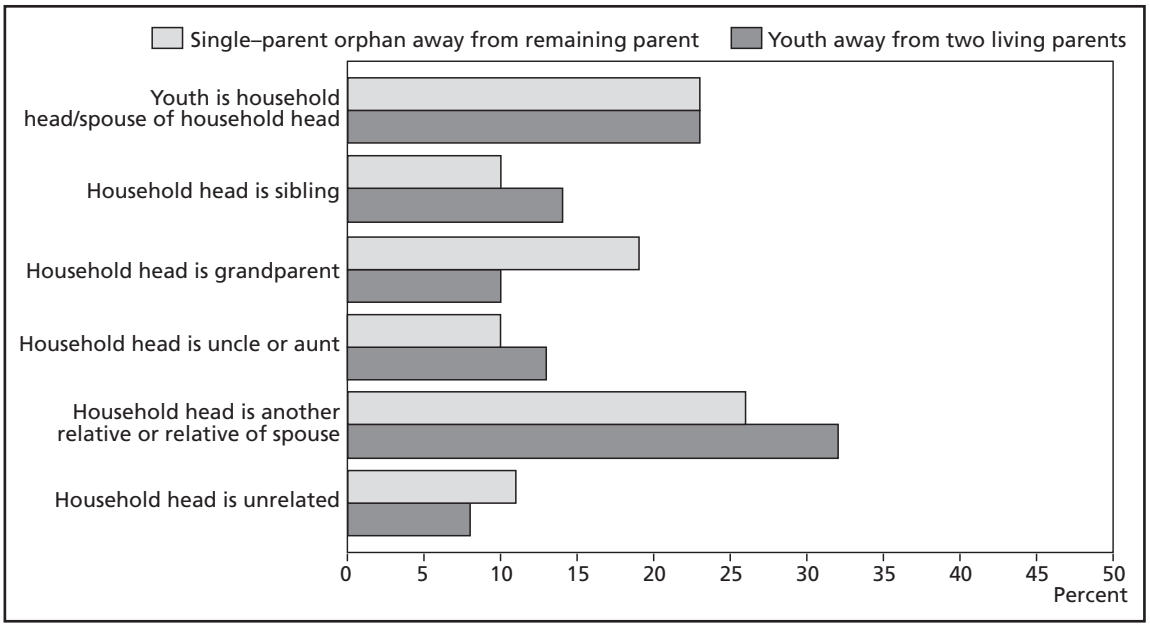
Youth leave their parents in search of better conditions

Of all the youth who are not living with either parent, a quarter are between 10 and 14 years of age, a third between 15 and 19 and 44 percent are between 20 and 24. Female youth are over-represented in all age groups.

Eighty-four percent of male youth living away from their parents have never been married. Around ten percent described themselves as living in a *plase* marriage and six percent as being in a *vivavèk* relationship, with hardly any saying they were in a *maryaj*. Among female youth, 22 percent said they were in *plase* marriages, 5 percent in *maryaj* and 5 percent in a *vivavèk* relationship. Sixty-eight percent were single.

Figure 2.16 shows the living arrangements of youth who live away from their parents, compared to those of single orphans who have left their one remaining parent. Twenty-three percent of youth in both categories have established their own households, in other words, they are themselves heading their new households or are married to the household head. While almost a fifth of youth who leave their parents go to live with their grandparents, this is less likely to be the case for youth with both parents alive who instead tend to go to live with uncles or aunts, siblings and other relatives. In around one in ten cases they live in the household of someone to whom they are not related.

Figure 2.16 Who youth live with: comparing single-parent orphans who have left their one parent (n=302) to youth who have left two parents (n=542)

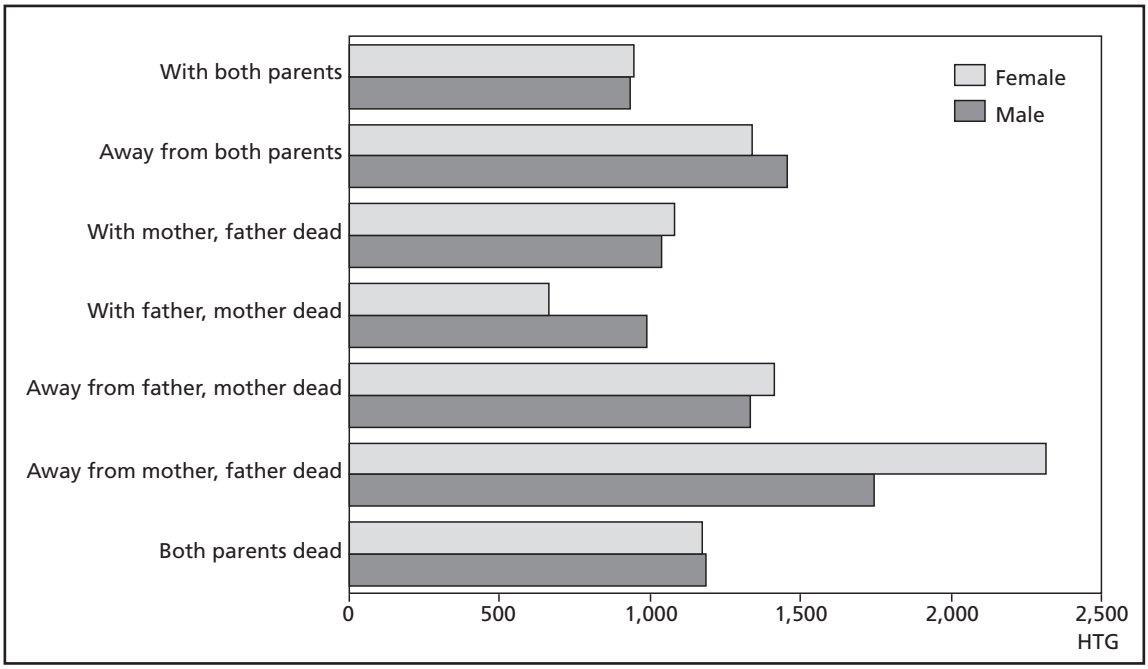


As noted earlier, youth live in households that are poorer than the Haitian average. Household wealth varies considerably according to the different living arrangements of the youth, and the realistic prospect of finding better living conditions seems to inspire them to leave. While the mean per capita monthly income of households in which youth live with both parents is approximately HTG 939, youth who have left both parents live in households with a mean per capita monthly income of HTG 1,385 (Figure 2.17).

Female youth go to households that are slightly better off than the ones male youth go to. As noted in the previous paragraph, relatively few stay with their father after their mother has died, and those who do tend to live in extremely poor conditions (with a mean per capita monthly income of HTG 874). The few girls who remain with their fathers live in the poorest of all the households. Girls seem to have the most to gain by moving away from their widowed father, with the income of the household they move to being more than double that of their father's household. More youth remain with their mothers following the death of their father.

However, the few that move away find considerably better living conditions, going from households with a mean per capita monthly income of HTG 1,058 to households that have double that income, namely HTG 2,074. Female youth gain the most by far, living in households with a mean per capita monthly income of HTG 2,314 after leaving their widowed mothers.

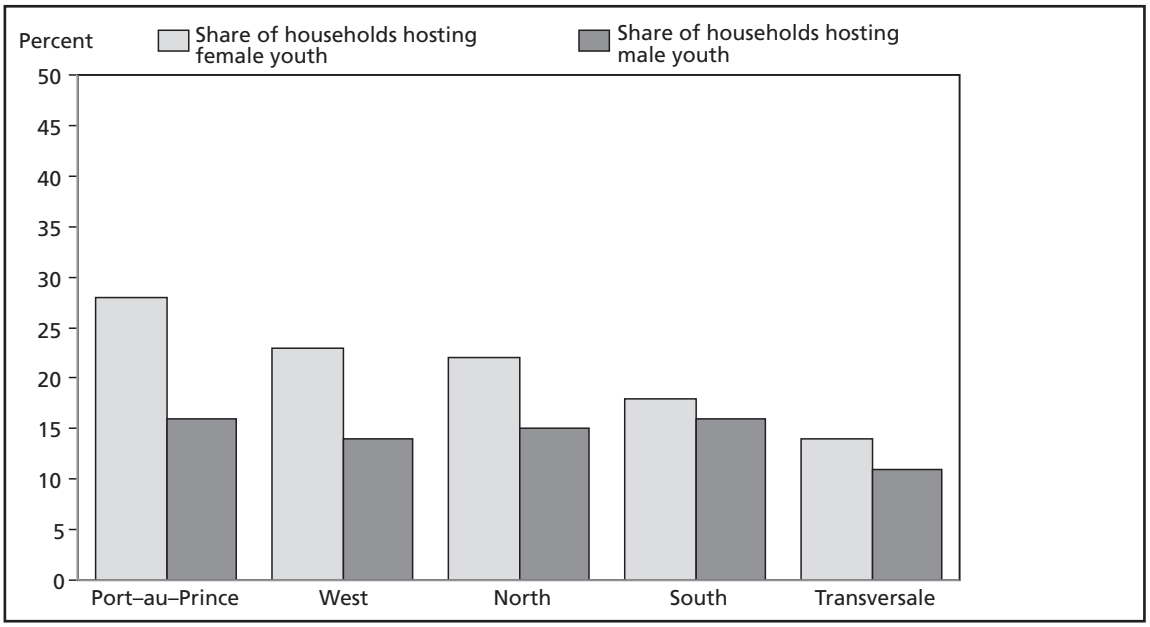
Figure 2.17 Mean monthly household income per capita (HTG) (n=844)



Female youth head for Port-au-Prince

Youth who are orphaned or have left the parental household for other reasons show a preference for the Port-au-Prince area. There, 37 percent of households host at least one youth living away from both parents, compared to around 30 percent in the western, northern and southern region. Only 21 percent of households in the Transversale region include a youth living away from his or her parents, indicating low rates of both fostering and settlement. There are also some noteworthy gender differences in the choices of destination made by male and female youth. Female youth predominantly head for Port-au-Prince and go far less often to the southern region or Transversale. These gendered migration patterns are further described in Chapter 5. In total, 28 percent of households in the Port-au-Prince region include at least one female youth living away from her parents, while in the Transversale region the figure is only 14 percent (Figure 2.18). The share of households including a male youth living away from his parents is much more even across the regions, with a peak of 16 percent recorded for the Port-au-Prince region and a low of 11 percent for the Transversale region.

Figure 2.18 Share of households hosting youth living away from both parents, by gender and area of residence (n=1,966)



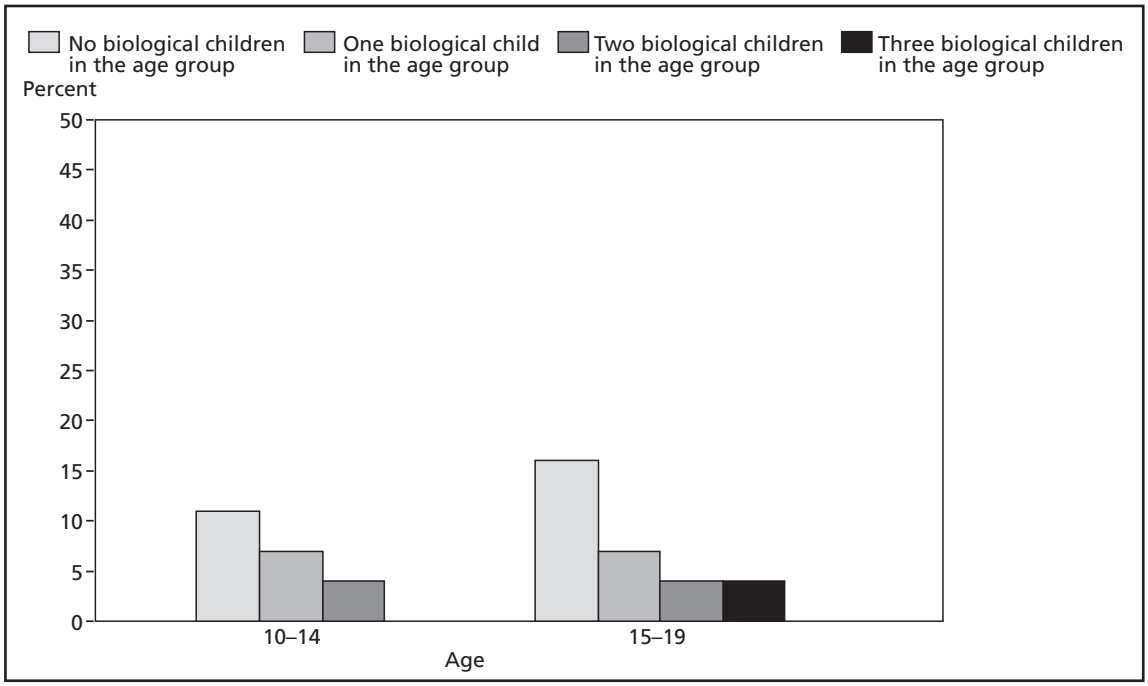
Placed youth make up for lack of own children

The child fostering literature points to how households tend to foster youth who complement the household's own age and gender composition in a way that ensures age- and gender-appropriate labour tasks are taken care of.[4] If the number of own children (children with one or both parents in the household) is correlated with the number of non-biological children (children who are living away from both parents) at the household level, a statistically significant negative correlation is found for all three age groups. This correlation is most noticeable in the case of the middle age group (15 to 19 year olds).

In Haiti, 11 percent of households with no biological children aged between 10 and 14 host a child in the same age group living away from both his/her parents (Figure 2.19). Only seven percent of households with one biological child in the age group and four percent of households with two children in the age group also include a non-biological child. The trend is similar for children aged between 15 and 19. Sixteen percent of households with no own children in the age group host non-biological youth of the same age, but this share falls to seven percent if the household has one own child in the age group and four percent if there are more biological children in that age group within the household already. The trends are similar in urban and rural areas, although the fostering rate for children aged between 10 and 14 is relatively comparable for urban households with one or no biological children.

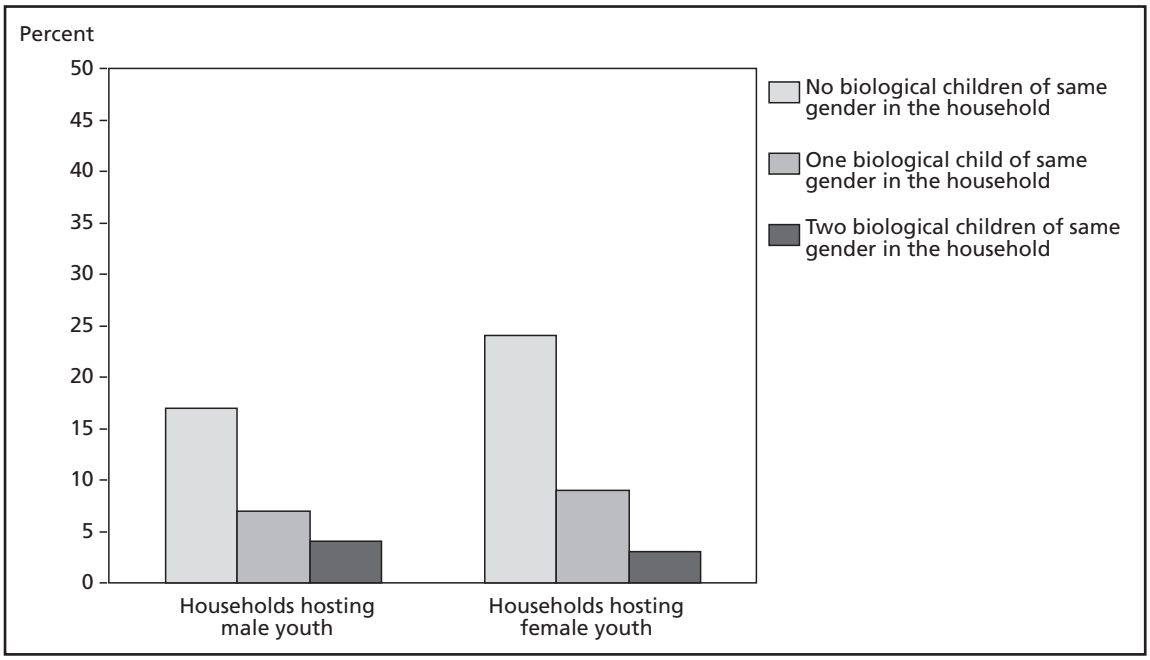
[4] See, for instance, Goody 1982, Ainsworth 1992.

Figure 2.19 Share of households hosting at least one youth living away from both parents, by age group and presence of own biological children in the same age group (n=1,966)



Households are also more likely to take in youth of a gender that is underrepresented in a particular age group. Figure 2.20 shows that while a quarter of households with no biological daughters in the household include at least one female youth aged between 10 and 19, the share of households falls to 9 percent when one biological daughter in the age group is present and to 3 percent where there are two. For boys, 17 percent of households with no biological sons aged between 10 and 19 host at least one male youth in that age group, while the share falls to 7 percent when there is one own son present and to 4 percent where there are two.

Figure 2.20 Share of households hosting at least one youth aged 10 to 19 living away from both parents, by gender and presence of own biological children aged 10 to 19 of same gender (n=1,966)



Household economy

This section contains two main types of data for describing the economic situation of Haitian households. The first part gives monetary data based on reported household income and expenditure on items such as housing, food and basic necessities while the second part gives subjective income measures based on households' satisfaction with own economic situation, their reported ability to provide for household members, and changes in their economic situation over the two years leading up to the survey.

A quarter of households had experienced severe economic collapse over the previous two years, presumably due to the combined effects of a devastating hurricane season and a steep increase in food prices during 2008. This section documents the prevalence of a number of different coping strategies households used when faced with a deterioration in their economic situation. This analysis of the strategies adopted by households to cope with external shocks should also prove useful for interpreting and predicting household behaviour in the current post-earthquake setting.

Extreme poverty pervasive but declining in all areas except Port-au-Prince

Household income is the total monthly income of all household members as reported by the household at the time of the survey. In cases where the respondent was unable to provide an estimated total household income (around 14 percent of households), an approximate income was assigned based on other household variables. The mean monthly household income was estimated at HTG 5,314 or approximately USD 136.[5] This gives a mean annual household income of HTG 63,768. Urban household incomes are considerably higher than rural incomes: HTG 86,136 annually compared to HTG 50,160. In addition to having a lower total household income, rural households also on average had slightly more members than urban households and higher dependency ratios (see Table 2.12).

Per capita income at national level is estimated by dividing household income by the number of household members. The mean annual income for the population as a whole was HTG 15,852 per capita. Adjusted for purchasing power parity (PPP)[6], the mean annual income was HTG 711 per capita, or USD 1.9 per day. The daily urban per capita income before the earthquake was HTG 63 (USD 1.6 = PPP USD 2.8), more than twice the daily per capita income in rural areas of HTG 30 (USD 0.8 = PPP USD 1.3).

Millennium Development Goal 1 is to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger. The first target is to reduce by half the proportion of people living on less than a dollar (PPP) a day.

The first recorded data on this target in Haiti was calculated using the HLCS 2001 data. Two poverty lines are used: less than USD 1 (PPP) per day is defined as extreme poverty and less than USD 2 (PPP) per day is defined as poverty. At the time of the HLCS 2001, 56 percent, a majority of the population, was living in extreme poverty and 77 percent was living in poverty (Sletten and Egset 2004).

[5] Outliers more than six standard deviations (SD) away from the mean have been removed. The median monthly household income was HTG 3,500 nationally, HTG 3,000 in rural areas and HTG 5,000 in urban areas.

[6] The basis for the calculation is the World Economic Outlook (WEO) Implied Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) conversion rate for Haiti, which in 2009 was 22.286.

Table 2.13 Share of population living in extreme poverty or poverty in 2001 and 2009, by area of residence and gender of household head

	Extremely poor		Poor		Non-poor	
	HYS 2009	HLCS 2001	HYS 2009	HLCS 2001	HYS 2009	HLCS 2001
Port-au-Prince	27	23	25	22	48	55
Other urban	37	57	31	19	32	24
Rural	56	67	27	11	17	12
Male household head	45	53	28	22	27	25
Female household head	49	58	27	21	24	21
All	47	56	27	21	26	23

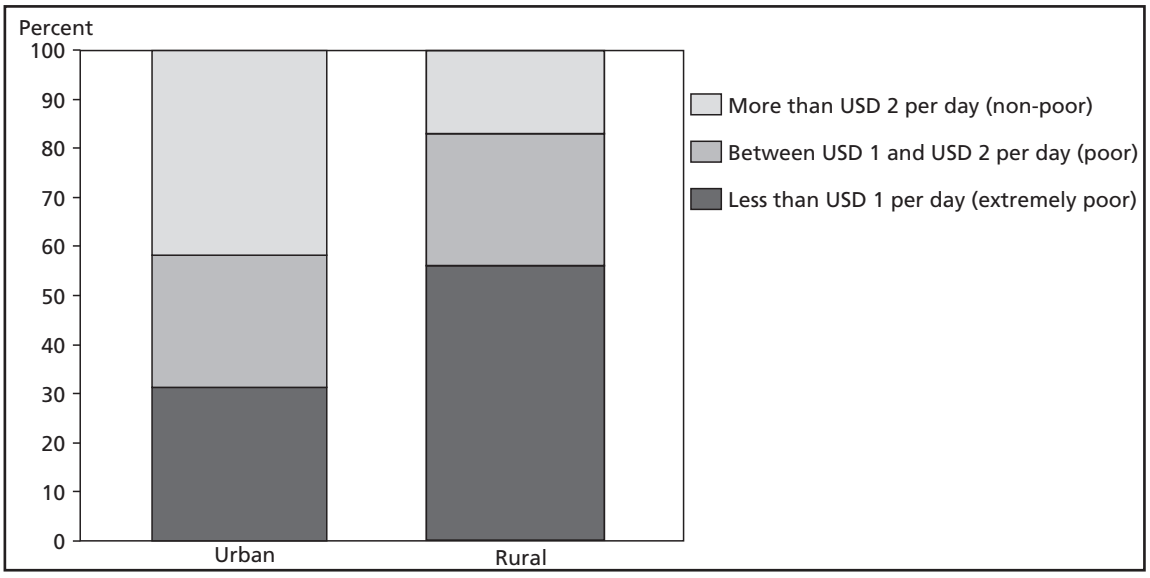
According to the data from the Haiti Youth Survey, 47 percent of the population was living in extreme poverty before the earthquake, nine percent less than eight years earlier (see Table 2.13). The level of poverty was considerably lower in Port-au-Prince than in the rest of the country. However, although all other areas had seen a sharp decline in poverty rates, poverty in Port-au-Prince had worsened slightly since the HLCS 2001.

Rural poverty reduced but remains acute

The biggest reduction in poverty had been in non-metropolitan urban areas, but in rural areas too, a large part of the population had been lifted out of extreme poverty. While two thirds (67 percent) of the rural population was living on less than a dollar a day in 2001, this had fallen to 56 percent by 2009.

The proportion of the population in Port-au-Prince living in extreme poverty, however, had risen slightly to 27 percent. More female-headed than male-headed households live in extreme poverty but the gender gap has not increased since the HLCS 2001 and households, whether headed by men or women, are just as likely to have seen an improvement in their financial situation.

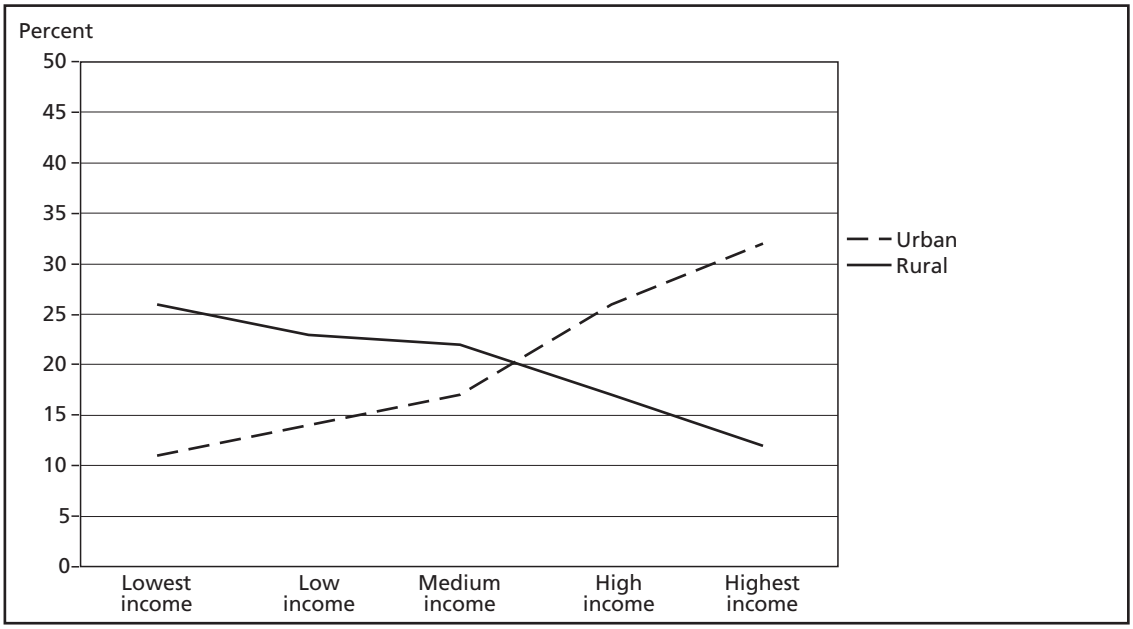
Figure 2.21 Poverty lines (PPP adjusted), by area of residence, all population (n=9,066)



Despite a reduction in rural poverty, rural areas were still seriously disadvantaged by comparison with urban areas (Figure 2.21). Only 17 percent of the rural population qualified as non-poor while, in the case of the urban population, the figure was 42 percent.

Around half of rural households had a per capita income placing them in the two lowest national income quintiles, compared to only a quarter of urban households. In urban areas, almost a third of households were classified as being in the highest income quintile, compared to only 12 percent of rural households. This is explained by there being both a higher than average household income and a somewhat smaller household size in urban areas compared to rural areas.

Figure 2.22 Household income per capita in quintiles, by area of residence (n=1,966)



Uneducated household heads in the poorest quintiles

Household income correlates with the household head's level of education. Households where the head has never attended school are heavily overrepresented in the poorest income quintile. A total of 28 percent of households with an uneducated head are in this quintile. In the case of households where the head had started school but dropped out before completing primary education, their share of the poorest income per capita quintile fell to 18 percent (Table 2.14). That the educational level of household heads so strongly correlates with household income indicates the existence of a capital return on investment in education, despite the fact that the labour market offers very few opportunities in the formal sector. However, people who from the outset find themselves in a more favourable position in terms of, for instance, family background, access to land and personal networks are also more likely to receive an education. The relationship between income and education thus operates in both directions, income being both a cause and a consequence of educational achievement.

Table 2.14 Share of households, by household income per capita quintiles and highest level of education completed by household head (n=1,966)

	Lowest income	Low income	Medium income	High income	Highest income	Total
No formal education	28	23	21	17	11	100
Incomplete primary	18	24	21	21	16	100
Primary	15	16	31	20	18	100
Lower secondary	16	16	16	28	23	100
Higher secondary	10	10	17	29	35	100
Philo/University	4	6	7	20	63	100

High food expenditure for rural households

Ownership of land and a dwelling is an important type of wealth. More than three in every four households own the dwelling in which they reside, and almost 70 percent also own the plot on which the dwelling is located. Twenty percent rent their dwelling while three percent have other arrangements, for example, they are squatting or borrowing a house without paying rent. The share of homeowners is considerably higher in rural than in urban areas. Only six percent of rural households live in a dwelling for which they pay rent, while this is the case for over 40 percent of urban households. The *median* annual cost of housing for households living in a rented dwelling is HTG 6,000. In the Port-au-Prince region, which has the highest number of tenants, the median annual cost of housing is HTG 7,500. The average annual cost of housing is considerably higher, HTG 14,000 nationally and HTG 17,800 in the Port-au-Prince region, because the sample of tenants was relatively small and included some households that were paying very high rents.

The surveyed households were asked to report how much was spent on food for household consumption during the seven days prior to the survey. The *median* national food expenditure during the reference period was HTG 1,150. Food expenditure was higher in urban (HTG 1,500) than in rural (HTG 1,000) areas. However, relative to household income, rural households spent a higher proportion of their total income on food than urban households. This is consistent with the findings from the HLCS 2001. Also, compared to other Latin American countries, Haitian households spend a disproportionately large share of their income on basic food items. The fact that Haiti has by far the lowest capital income in the region obviously contributes to this but food prices in Haiti are also generally high.

Environmental degradation, in particular deforestation and erosion, and extreme vulnerability to natural disasters, such as hurricanes and landslides, poses a challenge for agricultural production. The yield from farming is also low due to small plots, rudimentary tools and a lack of access to credit. Failed development strategies imposed by the international community in the 1970s and 80s, which encouraged a shift from subsistence production to agricultural production for export, have also undermined national food production and security, and increasingly made Haitian consumers dependent on imported food (Shamsie 2006). Dependency on imported food staples makes the majority of the population, living at subsistence level, very vulnerable to fluctuations in international food prices. When global food prices soared in 2008, Haiti was one of the countries most severely affected, with 'food riots' occurring in several regions of the country.

Subjective poverty measures

The total monthly household income reported by the main respondent in the household gives a good idea of the economic situation of the household. However, this method of reporting has some shortcomings. The main respondent may not have a full overview of the income of all household members. The monthly income may also vary substantially throughout the year, particularly in households in which agriculture is the main income-generating activity. A 14 percent refusal rate also indicates that many households may be reluctant to report their income. Revealing that they have a high household income may make them vulnerable to crime, while saying that their income is low may reduce their social standing in the community and their access to informal social security networks. Although confidentiality was stressed by the interviewers during the survey, this may not have been sufficient to ease the respondents' concerns.

To control for potential bias in estimated monetary income, a number of subjective poverty measures were applied during the survey. In the questions designed to measure subjective poverty, the respondents were asked how satisfied they were with their own financial situation and whether they were able to afford, for instance, to send all their children to school and to seek any necessary medical treatment.

Three quarters of Haitian households were dissatisfied with their current financial situation and 40 percent were very dissatisfied. Only three percent said that they were very satisfied with the economic state of their household. The rural population was somewhat more dissatisfied than the urban population but there were no major differences. While at the time of the survey 69 percent of urban households said that they were very or somewhat dissatisfied with their financial situation, the corresponding share of rural households was 76 percent.

Poverty keeps children out of school

Less than two-thirds of Haitian households could afford to send all their children to school (Table 2.15). Female-headed households (58 percent) were significantly less able to enroll children in school than male-headed households (69 percent). Urban households were somewhat more able to enroll children in school than rural households, with 67 percent and 63 percent respectively reporting that they were able to pay school costs for all children in the household. Children in Transversale were the most disadvantaged. Only 58 percent of households in that region were able to enroll their children in school.

Table 2.15 Subjective poverty assessment (percent), by area of residence and gender of household head (n=1,953)

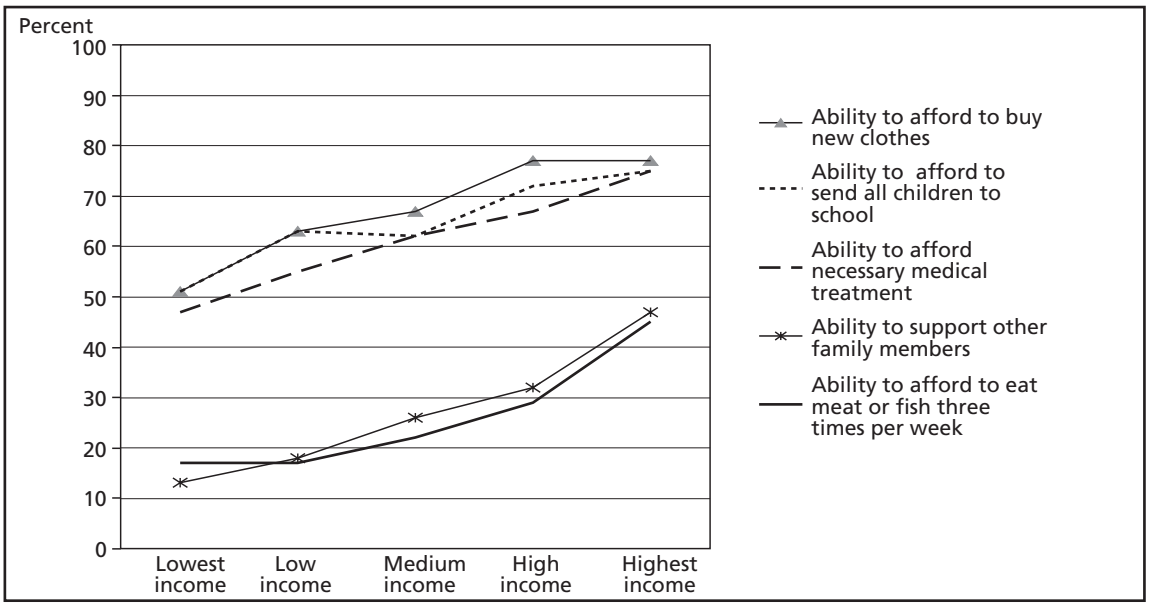
	Urban	Rural	Male-headed	Female headed	All
Seek necessary medical treatment	67	58	63	59	61
Send all children to school	67	63	69	58	64
Buy new clothes	70	65	69	65	67
Eat meat, chicken or fish three times per week	31	23	27	24	26
Support other family members in need of help	37	21	29	25	27

High levels of poverty detrimental to health and diet

Thirty-nine percent of households could not afford to seek medical treatment when necessary, 33 percent in urban areas and 42 percent in rural areas (Table 2.15). Just as in the case of their ability to enroll children in school, it was female-headed households and households in the Transversale region who were the least able to seek medical help.

Only a quarter of households were able to eat meat, chicken or fish three times a week or more. Even in the highest income quintiles, less than half of households could afford those foodstuffs (Figure 2.23). Rural households (23 percent) were less able than urban households (31 percent) to provide their members with a diet containing a sufficient level of protein (Table 2.15).

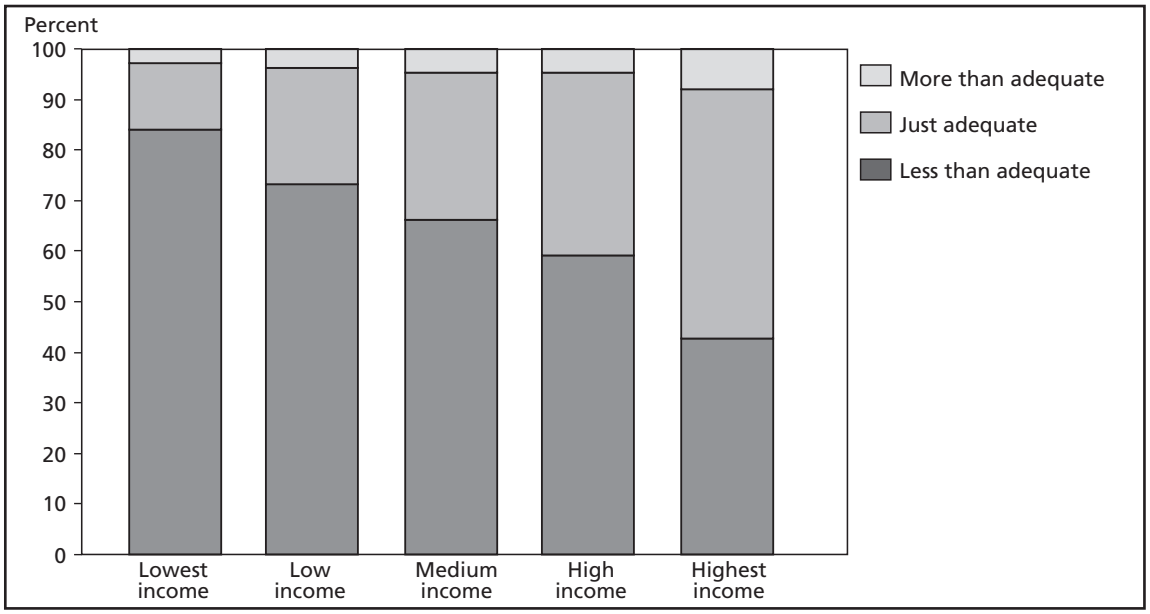
Figure 2.23 Subjective poverty assessment, by household income per capita quintiles (n=1,953)



Food consumption inadequate and a major cause for concern

The level of food security in Haiti was already critical and a cause for grave concern before the earthquake. Two-thirds of Haitian households reported that their current level of food consumption was less than adequate, while an additional 30 percent reported that their food consumption was just adequate. Food security was lowest in rural areas where 70 percent of households had insufficient food intake. However, in urban areas also, 57 percent of households said they were unable to provide enough food for their members. In the case of households in which the head had failed to complete primary education, over 70 percent had insufficient food intake at the time of the survey. However, even in the case of households headed by a person educated to primary or higher level, over half reported that their current food consumption was less than adequate.

Figure 2.24 Level of food consumption, by household income per capita quintiles (n=1,953)



As seen from Figure 2.24, food insecurity in Haiti is pervasive and seriously affects even households in the highest income quintile. Road access to dwellings does not seem to affect the level of food security, indicating that the causes of insufficient food for household consumption are more related to financial constraints than lack of access. While two-thirds of households reported that their current level of food consumption was inadequate, almost three-quarters reported that their current level of expenditure on basic necessities other than food was less than adequate. Over half of households belonging to the highest per capita income quintile reported that they were unable to afford non-food essentials.

As is to be expected from the gravity of the food situation at the time of the survey, almost all households were concerned about being able to provide their members with food and basic necessities over the following 12 months. Only seven percent of households said they were not concerned about this. In the severely disadvantaged Transversale region, three quarters of households were very concerned and an additional 20 percent a little concerned about providing household members with food and necessities.

Given the extreme vulnerability already experienced by the majority of the population even before the earthquake, it is evident that the devastating earthquake struck a country that was already trying to cope with an ongoing humanitarian crisis. In the recovery process following the earthquake, high priority must be given to strengthening and improving the agricultural sector. Development in rural areas is key both to improving rural livelihoods and to increasing national food production so that the country is less dependent on imported food.

Low access to credit in rural areas

Another subjective poverty measure used in the Haiti Youth Survey is the ability of households to raise money in case of an emergency. Over one-third (36 percent) of Haitian households were unable to raise HTG 2,000, or around USD 50, within a week in the case of an emergency (Table 2.16). An additional eight percent doubted whether they would be able to do so. A quarter of households reported that they would be able to draw this sum from their savings. Households headed by men had more savings than households headed by females. Almost 50

percent more male-headed households (31 percent) than female-headed households (21 percent) responded that they would be able to draw the requested amount from money put aside.

Table 2.16 Ability to raise HTG 2,000 within a week (percent), by area of residence and gender of household head (n=1,958)

	Yes, by using savings	Yes, by borrowing money	Yes, by help from others	Perhaps, but I doubt it	No, it would be impossible	Total
Urban	33	20	13	7	27	100
Rural	22	19	10	8	41	100
Male head	31	18	10	7	33	100
Female head	21	20	12	9	39	100
All	26	19	11	8	36	100

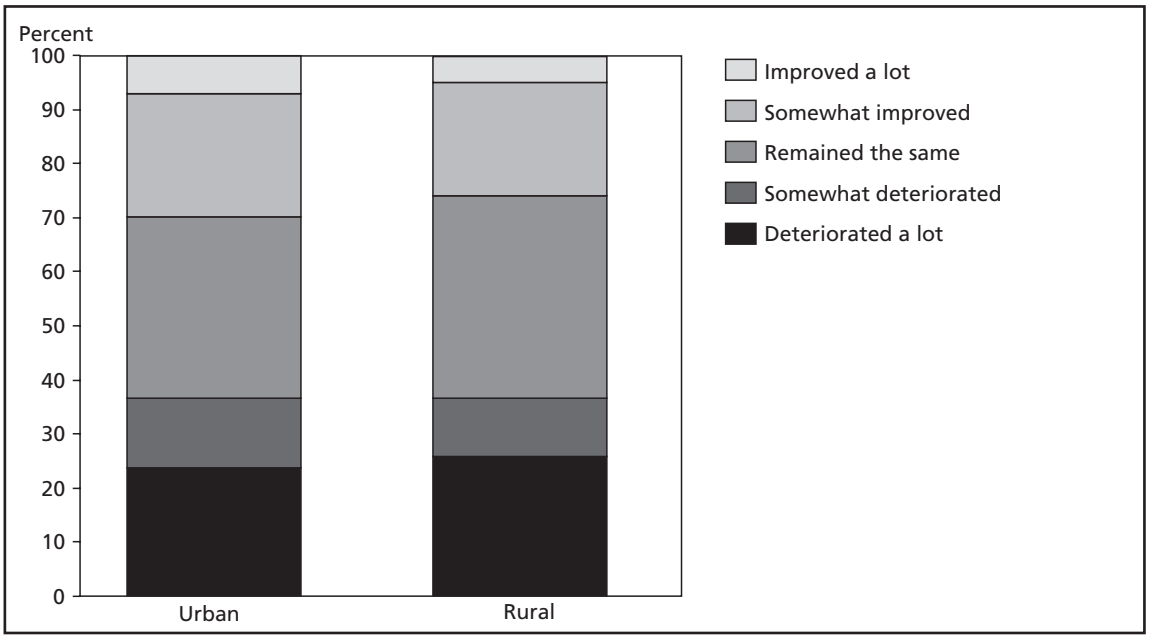
As seen from Table 2.15, the urban population, which is predominantly the population of Port-au-Prince, was much more able than the rural population to provide economic assistance in the case of an emergency. Having a family member in the capital has been an important mitigation strategy for rural households in the event of emergencies such as a failed harvest or an animal disease outbreak. The rural population, on the other hand, was much less able to help family members in need, something which is extremely important to remember in the current post-earthquake situation.

Household coping strategies

When the survey was conducted during spring 2009, the Haitian population was still struggling with the aftermath of the 2008 hurricane season which killed almost 800 people and destroyed or damaged more than 100,000 homes (OCHA 2010c). The steep increase in global food prices had also severely affected living conditions. Despite the scale of the current disaster, the strategies applied by households to cope with the situation at the time of the survey give some important indications of the probable socio-economic consequences for areas indirectly affected by the earthquake, such as, for instance, an increase in the dependency burden, the loss of safety networks and the loss of migrant incomes.

One-third of Haitian households had seen their economic situation deteriorate over the previous two years. In the case of a quarter of all households, their financial situation had deteriorated a lot (Figure 2.25). Female-headed households had been slightly more adversely affected. The economic situation had remained somewhat more stable in rural areas than in urban areas, but there were no significant regional differences as far as changes in the financial situation of households were concerned.

Figure 2.25 Financial situation of households at the time of survey compared to two years before, by area of residence (n=1,947)



Reduced food consumption the most common coping strategy

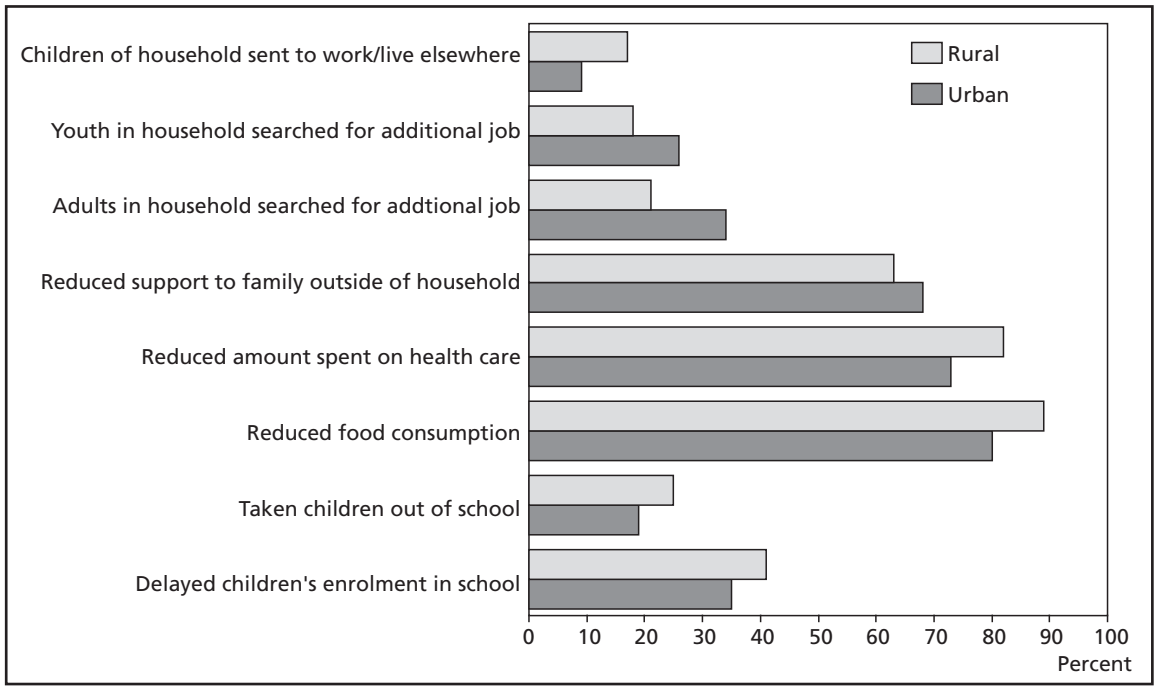
Among the 37 percent of Haitian households which had seen a deterioration in their financial situation over the previous two years, a number of coping strategies had been applied, the most frequent being to reduce the level of food consumption for household members. An overwhelming 86 percent of affected households had reduced the amount of food provided to household members as a direct result of the worsening economic situation; 81 percent in the case of affected urban households and 89 percent in the case of affected rural households (Figure 2.26).

Over three-quarters of all households had reduced their spending on health care for household members in order to cope with their financial situation. The fact that the vast majority of households found themselves forced to cut down on spending for food and health care shows that the capacity to handle household crises is very low.

Youth members important in households' social risk management

Youth members are severely affected if the financial situation of their household deteriorates. Thirty-nine percent of affected households had delayed enrolling children in school and 23 percent had removed children who were already enrolled from school. Fourteen percent of households reported that they had sent a child member to live or work elsewhere because of their economic situation. As discussed in Chapter 5, relocated children were primarily placed with urban households, preferably in Port-au-Prince. Relocating children as a strategy for coping with economic crisis appears to be far more prevalent among rural households and households in the lowest income quintile, although the relatively small sample size makes it necessary to treat these findings with caution.

Figure 2.26 Coping strategies applied by households with deteriorating financial situation over the previous two years, by area of residence (n=670)



The findings from the survey clearly show how extremely vulnerable the Haitian population was even before the earthquake. The high percentage of households that had found it necessary to resort to such measures as cutting spending on food and health care, taking children out of school and sending children to live elsewhere shows that their level of resilience to external shocks is very low. In the aftermath of the earthquake, it is vital that the population's capacity to deal with social risk is strengthened.

The most efficient way to boost the resilience of the at-risk population in the short term is through cash transfers to households. In the medium and long term, investment is needed in the agricultural sector to increase food security and secure rural livelihoods. Before the earthquake Port-au-Prince was housing more people than the city was able to absorb, the result being densely populated slum areas and widespread urban poverty. The high population density in the capital is one of the main reasons why the death toll may have rose to more than 300,000.

Of the hundreds of thousands of internally displaced people who have now left the devastated capital for the rural areas, a large portion are former migrants returning to their home areas. In the post-disaster reconstruction, attention should be given to improving and diversifying opportunities in rural areas, thereby making it possible for the returnees to settle in their home communities. To facilitate this, investment in social and physical infrastructure is needed. The physical infrastructure will be discussed further in the next section.

Access to physical infrastructure

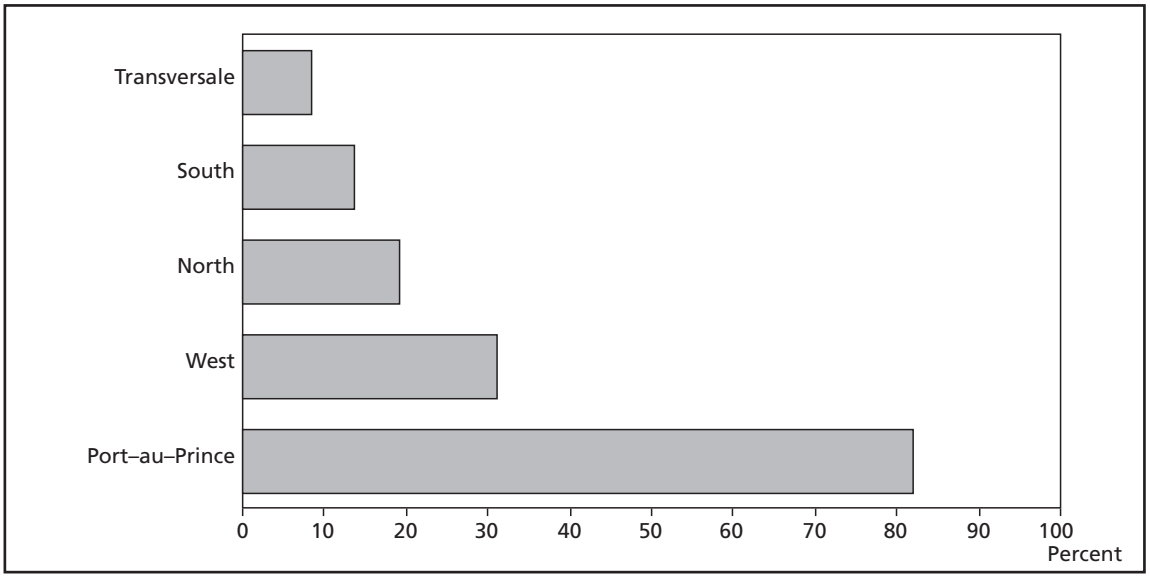
This section presents selected indicators on access to basic infrastructure in Haiti at a regional level. The indicators chosen are mainly those related to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) concerning access to water, electricity and telecommunications respectively. In addition, electricity coverage is included. The findings clearly show the inhabitants of the Transversale region, comprising the central department and the department of Artibonite, to be the most disadvantaged as far as access to satisfactory services is concerned. It is also evident from the results that Port-au-Prince, despite being the location for most national and foreign infrastructure investment, was far from able to provide water and sanitation of acceptable quality to its population. The high population growth in the capital had led to the creation of large, densely-populated slum areas in which sanitation services were highly unsatisfactory, thus negatively impacting on the regional average.

Large regional differences in access to electricity

Investment in infrastructure in Haiti was concentrated in the Port-au-Prince region. Ninety-five percent of households in Port-au-Prince were located in areas with electricity, compared to only 17 percent of households in the Transversale region. The western region, excluding the Port-au-Prince area, had the second best electricity coverage, but even so, only just over a quarter of households were in areas with a functioning electricity network. Of the households located in an area with access to electricity, three-quarters were actually connected to the network.

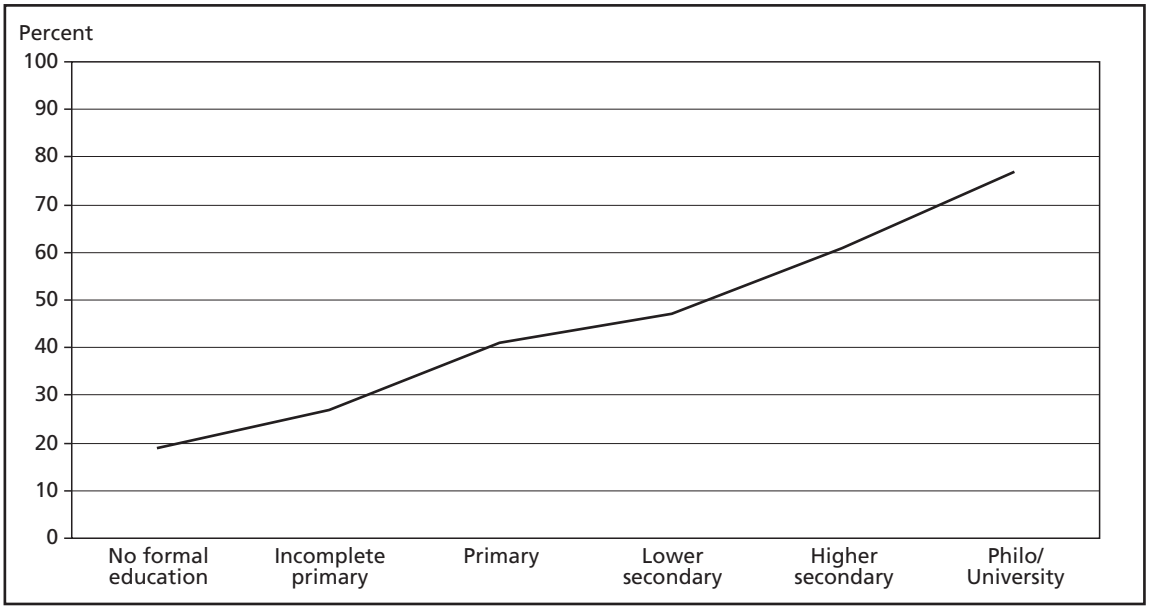
Figure 2.27 shows that over 80 percent of households in Port-au-Prince had electricity in their dwelling. In the case of the western region, almost one-third of households were connected to an electricity network. The Transversale region was seriously disadvantaged by comparison with other regions, with only eight percent of households having electricity in their living quarters.

Figure 2.27 Electricity in household, by geographical region (n=1,966)



The existence of electricity in dwellings strongly correlates with the educational level of the head of household (Figure 2.28). While only 19 percent of households headed by a person who had not attended school lived in a dwelling with electricity, over three-quarters of households in which the head of household had completed secondary education or higher had electricity. The higher concentration of people with higher education in urban areas reinforces this tendency.

Figure 2.28 Electricity in household, by educational level of household head (n=1,966)



Half the Haitian population used an improved water source

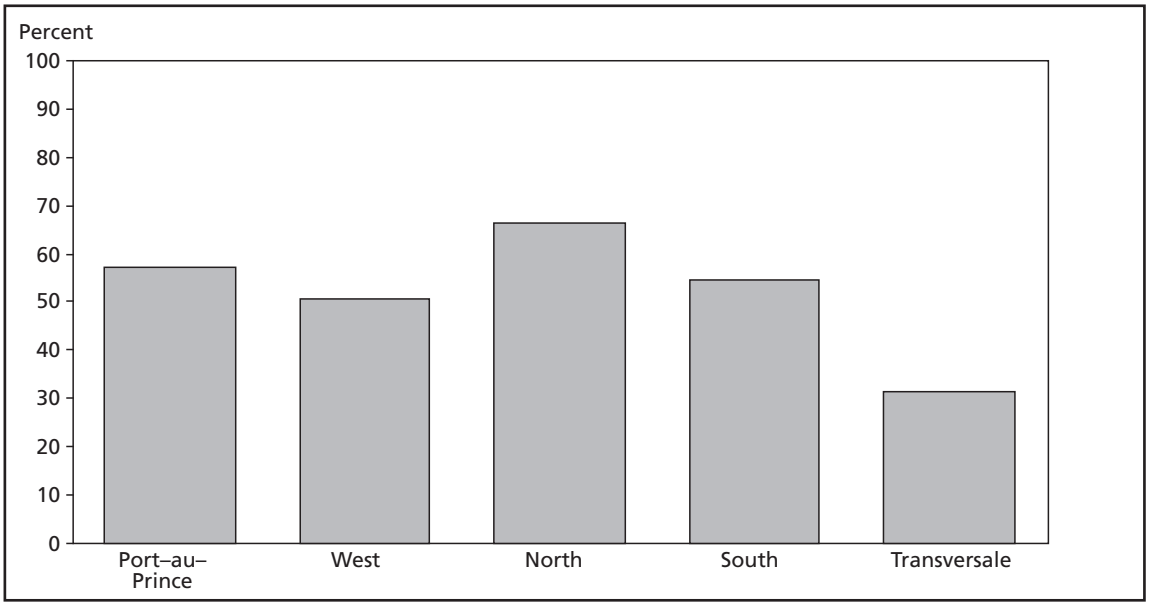
The Haiti Youth Survey reported on two core aspects of environmental sustainability related to the Millennium Development Goals. MDG 7, target 7c, seeks to reduce by half the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation, measured by the proportion of population using an improved drinking water source, and the proportion of population using an improved sanitation facility.

In the survey, an 'improved water source' was defined, following the MDG criteria, as piped water into dwelling or plot, piped water from a public tap, a covered well or borehole or rainwater collection. It did not include unprotected wells, water provided by tanker trucks, bottled water or surface water taken directly from rivers, ponds, streams, lakes, dams or irrigated channels. Notably, the respondents reported on the 'main water source to the household' and not on the specific source of drinking water. This should be taken into consideration when comparing the findings with other data on the quality of water sources.

According to the definition provided, half of Haitian households (49 percent) were using an improved water source as their main source of water. There were, however, significant regional variations across the country. Interestingly, the northern region, which is considerably poorer than Port-au-Prince and the western region, had the best access to an improved water source (Figure 2.29). Two-thirds of households in the northern region could access clean water, while that was the case for less than a third of households in the Transversale region.

In the west and the south, only slightly more than half the population had access to improved drinking water. Port-au-Prince had severe difficulties in providing safe water to its inhabitants even before the earthquake. Only 57 percent of households in the capital had satisfactory access to water. This is clearly a result of the urbanization and overpopulation of the Port-au-Prince area. Population growth had far exceeded the expansion of functioning infrastructure, resulting in highly unsatisfactory sanitary conditions in the large urban slum areas.

Figure 2.29 Households with access to an improved water source (MDG), by geographical region (n=1,961)



In the country as a whole, access to an improved water source was 63 percent in urban areas compared to 41 percent in rural areas. Female-headed households (52 percent) had somewhat better access to a satisfactory water source than male headed households (47 percent), undoubtedly reflecting the higher prevalence of female-headed households in urban areas. Access to an improved water source also varied systematically, as expected, according to household per capita income and the educational level of the household head. Only 43 percent of households in the lowest per capita income quintile, and a similar share of households where the head had no formal education, had access to improved drinking water. By comparison, 60 percent of households headed by someone with some upper secondary or higher education, and 63 percent of households in the highest per capita income quintile, had such access.

Less than a quarter of households used an improved sanitation facility

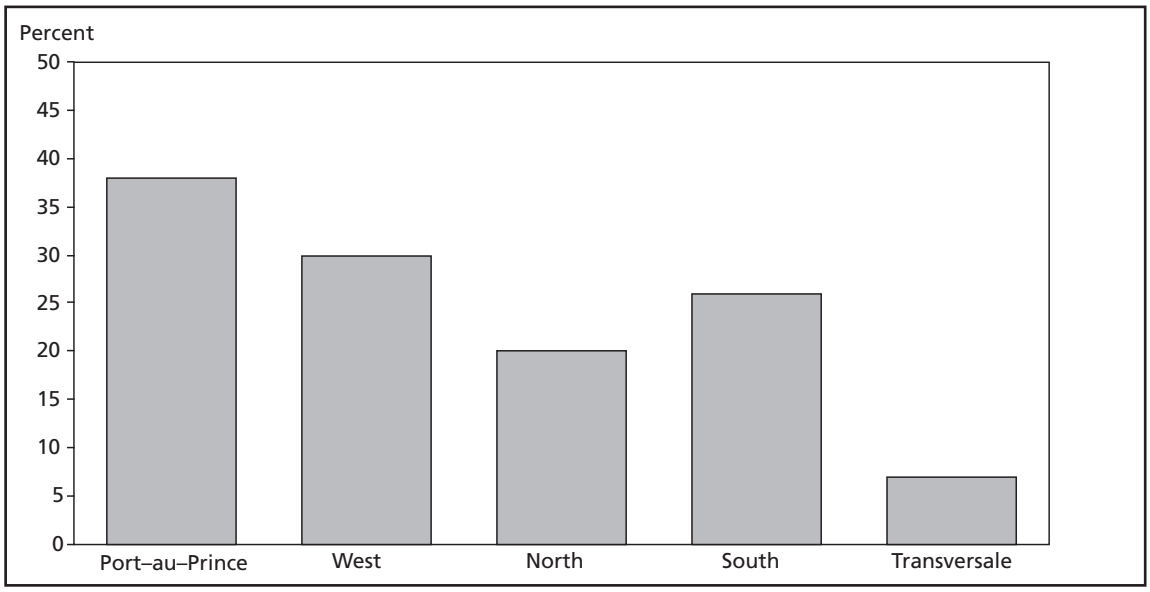
According to the relevant MDG indicator, an 'improved sanitation facility' refers to facilities which hygienically separate human excreta from human contact. In the Haiti Youth Survey, 'improved facilities' were defined as modern water closets or ventilated, enclosed latrines used only by household members. Unimproved facilities include public or shared facilities, outdoor pit latrines or holes in plots which directly discharge into water bodies or into the open, and the practice of openly defecating in bushes, fields or bodies of water.

Less than a quarter of Haitian households were using facilities that met the MDG criteria for an improved sanitation facility at the time of the survey. As was the case for access to an improved water source, there were significant regional differences, with the Transversale region

seriously lagging behind (Figure 2.30). Only seven percent of households in Transversale were using sanitation facilities of a satisfactory standard. The Port-au-Prince region had by far the best coverage but even there a meagre 38 percent of households had access to facilities that met the MDG criteria for hygienic disposal.

As in the case of access to an improved water source, access to improved sanitation strongly correlated with the per capita income of households and the educational level of the household head. Forty percent of households where the head had at least some secondary education used an improved sanitation facility, while that was the case for only 15 percent of households where the head had no formal education. In the case of households belonging to the two lowest income per capita quintiles, 85 percent used a facility of an unacceptable type or shared their facility with other households. In the highest quintile, this share fell to 43 percent.

Figure 2.30 Households with access to an improved sanitation facility (MDG), by geographical region (n=1,939)



Urban cell phone coverage twice as high as in rural areas

MDG 8 promotes the development of a global partnership for development. One of the targets is to cooperate with the private sector to make the benefits of new technologies more broadly available, especially information and communications. Progress with regard to this target is assessed by indicators such as *telephone lines per 100 population, cellular subscribers per 100 population* and *internet users per 100 population.*

The network for fixed telephone lines in Haiti is underdeveloped and unstable, and has been recently overtaken by increased access to and the decreasing price of cellular phones. Only one percent of households reported owning a fixed phone, working or not. On the other hand, over a quarter owned a cellular phone. In urban areas, 42 percent owned a cellular phone compared to 18 percent in rural areas. In the population aged 15 and over, 41 percent had a cellular phone. Cell phone ownership among adults is 60 percent in urban areas and 28 percent in rural areas. More men (44 percent) than women (38 percent) have a cell phone.

Internet access and use is very limited in rural areas as well as among households in the three lowest income quintiles. A third of households in urban areas said they had internet access, compared to only four percent in rural areas. In total, 14 percent of the Haitian population

reported having internet access at the time of the survey. Among the population aged 15 and over, 17 percent had internet access. There were no gender differences in terms of internet access.

Chapter 3 Education

Silje Sønsterudbråten

Introduction

The Haitian education sector was one of the sectors most severely affected by the earthquake of 12 January 2010, suffering great losses in terms of both infrastructure and manpower. According to official UN figures, some 5,000 schools were affected by the earthquake. This amounts to almost a quarter of existing Haitian schools at the time of the quake (OCHA 2010b: 6). Over 1,500 teachers and education personnel lost their lives and one million pupils and students were affected. The Ministry of Education (MENFP)[1] was one of several ministerial buildings that collapsed in the earthquake and a number of education sector authorities were among those who died. Lack of human resources was a major challenge to educational quality prior to the earthquake, and the tragic loss of so many educators is a major setback for an already struggling sector.

Prior to the earthquake, Haiti had one of the poorest education systems in the world. As will be discussed in this chapter, the education offered to Haitian children was inadequate in terms of quality, quantity and accessibility. Seventy-one percent of Haitian children aged 12 to 18 had not completed six years of primary school and only 28 percent of young people of secondary school age (12 to 18) were enrolled in secondary school. Yet the long-term perspective should be one of modest optimism. Education has been a key priority in the humanitarian efforts following the earthquake. The work has been organized by an education cluster that is coordinating all humanitarian efforts and which is co-led by UNICEF and Save the Children in cooperation with the MENFP. The focus in the initial phase was to quickly create a school alternative for the children, partly as a psychosocial initiative to bring back a sense of normality to their lives. Six months after the earthquake an estimated 80 percent of the affected schools had reopened (OCHA 2010a: 15).

The longer term goal in the wake of the earthquake is to use the disaster as an opportunity to improve the system and to 'build back better'. Despite its horrendous consequences, the earthquake has triggered an overhaul of the country's physical and social infrastructure, including the education sector, which hopefully will improve schooling prospects for Haitian children in the future. To aid this process it is important to know about the education system that existed prior to the earthquake – there is a need to look back in order to look forward. This chapter provides unique empirical data on the state of the education system in pre-earthquake Haiti and documents the gaps that need to be identified in order to avoid reinstating the dysfunctional system of the past. The chapter is organized as follows: first, there is a brief description of the structure of the Haitian school system, followed by an analysis of the quality and costs of schooling. The chapter then looks at the educational attainment of Haitian youth before going on to discuss school enrolment.

[1] Ministère de l'Education Nationale et de la Formation Professionnelle.

The Haitian school system

The Haitian state has a duty, by law, to provide children with access to education. The Haitian Constitution of 1987 established that all citizens have the right to free basic education; hence every child is entitled to nine years of basic education free of cost. It is, however, a responsibility that the weak state has proved unable, or unwilling, to take on. Despite having received millions of dollars of investment over the past decade, the Haitian education system was in disarray nine months prior to the earthquake. The government's inadequate involvement in the education sector opened up a huge market for private actors and the majority of Haitian schools received no public subsidies. Basic education was therefore an expensive privilege whereby a child's right to education depended largely on the socio-economic status of his or her respective household and, as we shall see later, place of residence.

In 1997, the Ministry of National Education, Youth and Sport (MENJS)[2] set out a national education and training plan (PNEF)[3] to reform the education system in Haiti. Although launched more than a decade ago, the implementation of the PNEF has been slow and incomplete. In large parts of the country, especially in rural areas, the traditional educational system still operates and is used as a frame of reference when discussing education. For this reason the traditional system was used as the frame of reference for collecting the Haiti Youth Survey (HYS) data as well as for reporting the findings here.

Figure 3.1 Structure of the traditional and reformed Haitian education system

Structure of the traditional Haitian education system				Structure of the reformed Haitian education system		
Secondary		Final Year – Philo	18 years	Final Year – Philo	Secondary	
	Bac 2 Higher secondary	1st Year – Rheto	17 years	1st Year – Rheto		
		2nd year	16 years	2nd year		
		3rd year	15 years	3rd year		
	Bac 1 Lower secondary	9th AF	14 years	9th AF	3rd Cycle	Primary
		8th AF	13 years	8th AF		
		7th AF	12 years	7th AF		
Primary		6th AF	11 years	6th AF	2nd Cycle	
		5th AF	10 years	5th AF		
		4th AF	9 years	4th AF	1st Cycle	
		3rd AF	8 years	3rd AF		
		2nd AF	7 years	2nd AF		
		1st AF	6 years	1st AF		
Pre-school		Upper	5 years	Upper	Pre-school	
		Middle	4 years	Middle		
		Lower	3 years	Lower		

In the traditional system, education comprises three core levels: (i) early childhood education or pre-school for 3–5 year olds, (ii) primary education for 6–11 year olds, and (iii) secondary education for 12–18 year olds. Early childhood education or pre-school is not compulsory.

[2] Ministère de l'Education Nationale de la Jeunesse et des Sports.

[3] Le Plan National d'Education et de Formation, (1998).

Nevertheless, completing pre-school does seem to play a role with regard to children's entry into the primary level in both private and public schools. It is not unusual for children to be required to know how to read and write before entering primary school and some schools require an evaluation from the pre-school before they are accepted (Lunde 2008, Salmi 2000).

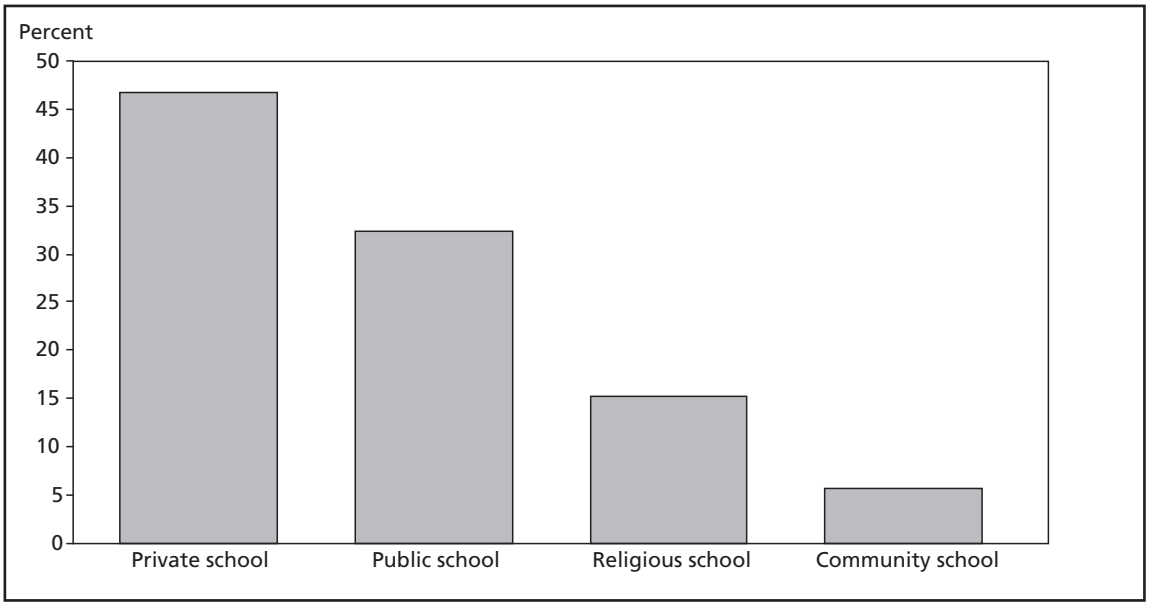
The legal age of admission to school in Haiti is six years and, in the traditional system, children who undergo normal progression complete primary at the age of 12. After completing six years of primary school, students can continue on to secondary. Secondary education is divided into two cycles, an initial cycle of three years and a second cycle of four years.

To go to university, students are required to have completed the final year of secondary school (Philo), while higher level vocational and technical training falls into three categories. The most advanced are the Technical Education Institutes, which require students to have completed secondary education, in other words 13 years of formal education. The second group consists of Vocational Education Schools. These are more practically oriented than the schools belonging to the first group and require students to have completed primary school. The last category of vocational training is the Skill Training Centres which often do not require any previous schooling. The Skill Training Centres are the largest group, the vast majority of them private, and thus operating outside the control of the government. Vocational training centres are heterogeneous and largely unregulated. They are often concentrated in urban areas and are therefore inaccessible to the majority of the population (Lunde 2008: 13).

Private schools predominate

The inability of the state to provide proper basic education has allowed the market to fill the gap, making private schools big business in Haiti. Almost half of Haitian students enrolled in school were attending commercial, private schools while an additional 21 percent were attending other non-public schools (Figure 3.2). A third of those enrolled were attending public schools.

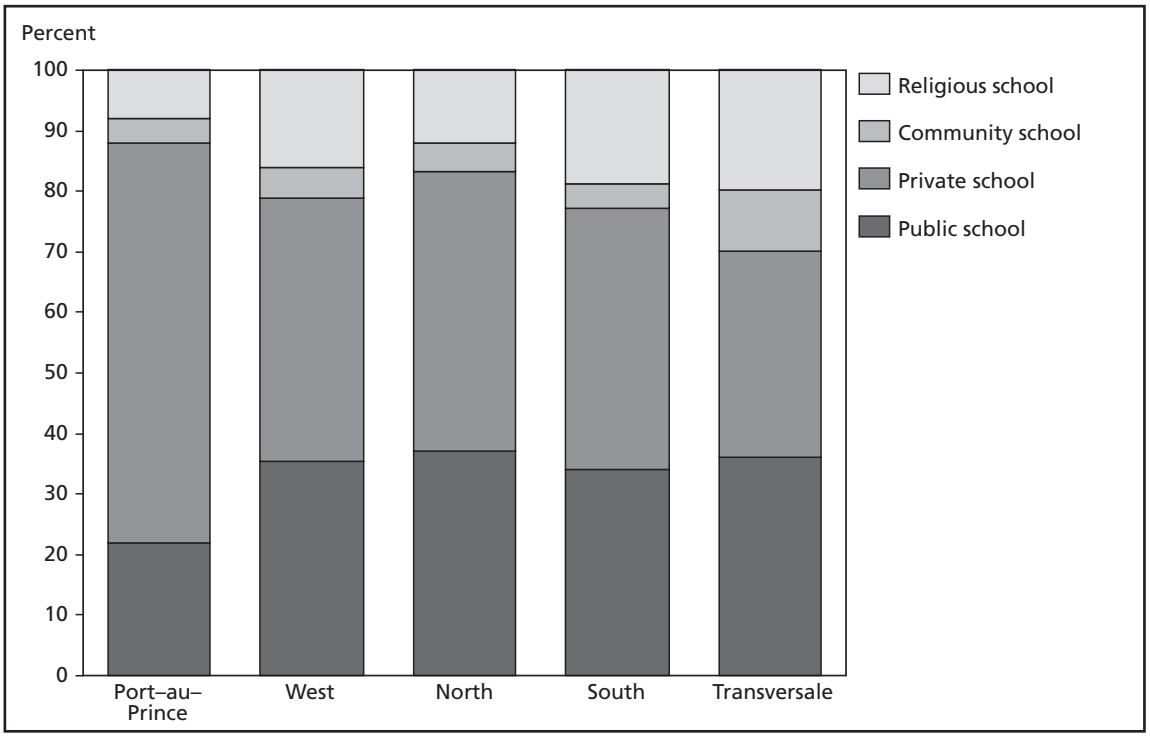
Figure 3.2 Distribution of enrolled youth (10–24), by type of school (n=2,149)



In the Haitian setting private schools make up a heterogeneous group. The very best schools in the country are private. These schools, often referred to as *Lekol Tèt Neg* or 'big-shot schools', are well-equipped, have competent teaching staff and are the obvious choice for privileged households. But private schools are also found at the very bottom of what the Haitian school sector has to offer. In Port-au-Prince before the earthquake, one could find a private school on almost every street corner. Because of their abundance, people condescendingly call them *Lekol Borlette*, literally 'lottery schools', after the small lottery stands that are also found on every corner (Lunde 2008).[4] These urban, private schools are usually short-lived and lack the necessary competence and resources to provide quality teaching. Most private schools do not have the official license they need to have by law to run a school (ibid.). This effectively makes it impossible to monitor and ensure quality in the education on offer to Haitian children.

Private schools require high levels of enrolment to make money and are largely situated in the densely populated areas around the capital. Port-au-Prince had the largest share of students enrolled in private schools (66 percent), with only 22 percent attending public schools (Figure 3.3). The western, southern and northern regions showed little difference in the prevalence of school types: around 45 percent of students were enrolled in private schools and around 35 percent in public schools.

Figure 3.3 Distribution of enrolled youth (10–24), by type of school and geographical region (n=2,149)



Transversale, a rural and sparsely populated region, had the lowest share of students enrolled in private schools. The public school coverage was, however, approximately the same as for other non-metropolitan regions. A substantial proportion of students in Transversale were enrolled in religious schools (20 percent) and community schools (10 percent). Religious schools, a sub-category of private schools, are established and run by religious communities. Community

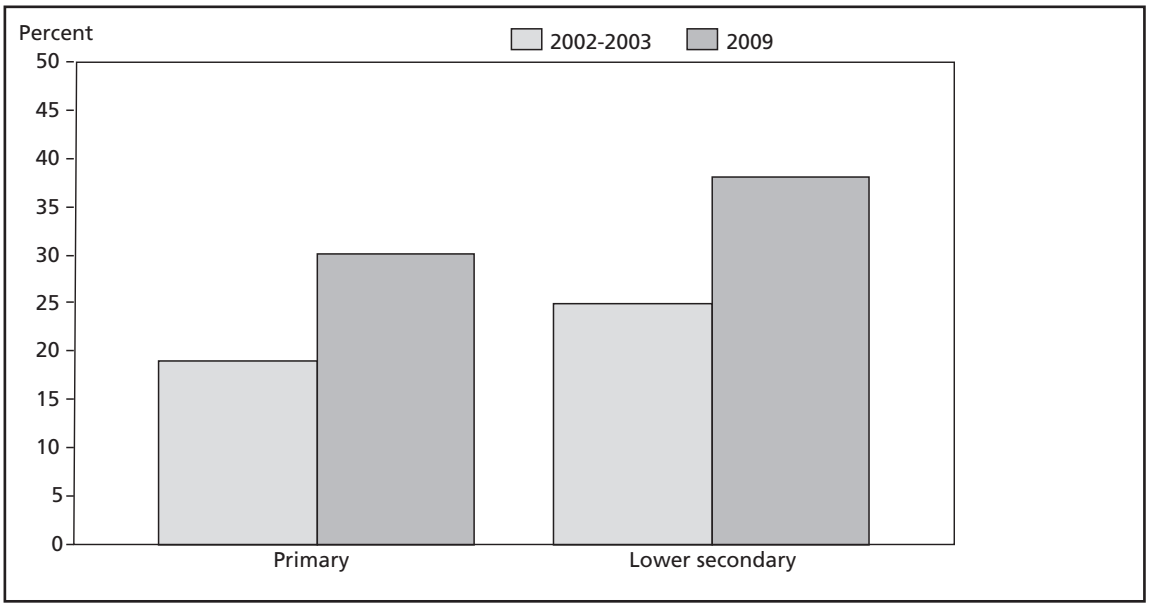
[4] Another explanation given for the name is that students in these schools are assumed to have the same probability of graduating as winning the lottery (Salmi 2000).

schools are often set up by local associations or non-governmental organizations, or simply by a local resident who has some basic schooling (Lunde 2008: 14). They are primarily located in rural areas. As we will see below, conditions in these schools are quite poor compared to other forms of schooling (private, public and religious). However, despite their humble standards they do make an important contribution in areas where access to public schooling is limited and where private options are either lacking or too expensive for the general public.

Compared to other countries, public school coverage in Haiti is very low. In the countries chosen by UNESCO for benchmarking progress in education, the so-called WEI (World Education Indicator) countries,[5] public schools enrol the vast majority of students at primary (81 percent), lower secondary (85 percent) and upper secondary (78 percent) levels. Among OECD countries, enrolment in public schools is even higher (UNESCO 2006: 117). In Haiti it is considerably lower. Of all young people (aged 10–24) enrolled in primary school, 30 percent are enrolled in public schools, 38 percent in lower secondary and 28 percent in upper secondary.

Despite these low figures, the share of students enrolled in public schools in Haiti has increased over the last decade. According to census data from the Ministry of Education, the share of students in public schooling increased by over 50 percent in the period from 2002–2003 to 2009 in both primary and lower secondary schools. In 2002–2003, 19 percent of students in primary school were enrolled in public schools and 25 percent in lower secondary schools. The comparable figures for 2009 were 30 percent for students in primary schools and 38 percent for students in lower secondary schools (Figure 3.4).

Figure 3.4 Share of students enrolled in public schools, by level of enrolment, in 2002–2003 (MENFP census) and 2009 (n=635)



Summing up, it is safe to say that prior to the earthquake the Haitian school system at all levels was characterized by low public school coverage and the predominance of the private sector. Internationally, Haiti was one of the countries with the lowest public school coverage. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the last decade saw a clear increase in the proportion of young people enrolled in public schools.

[5] Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Jamaica, Jordan, Malaysia, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, the Russian Federation, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Tunisia, Uruguay and Zimbabwe.

The quality of schools

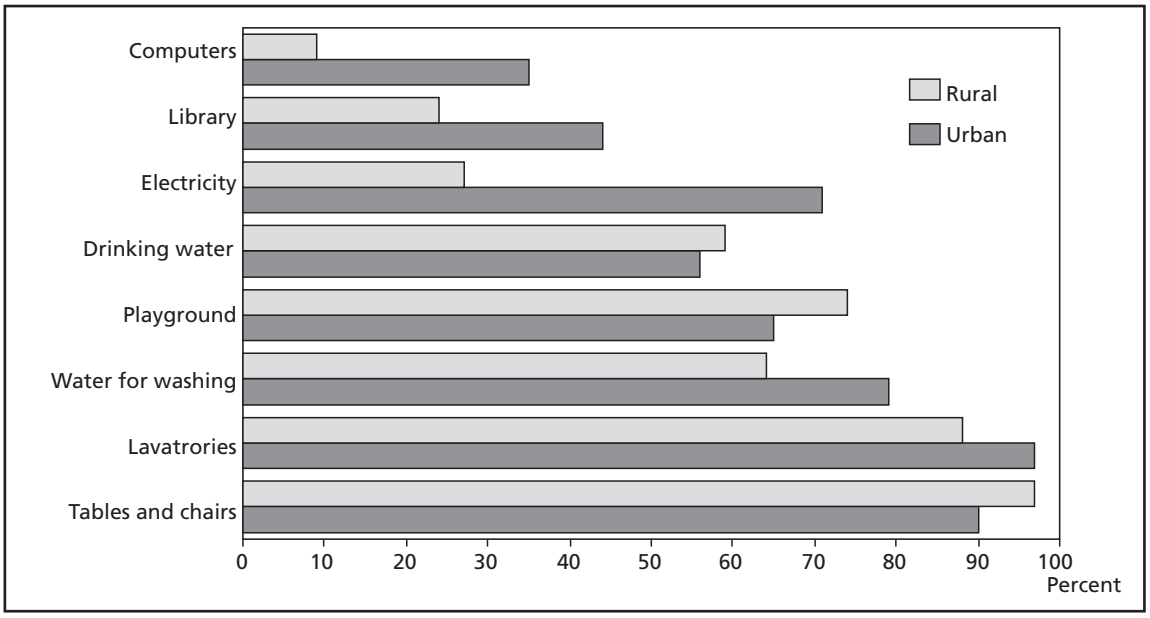
The survey found that the physical learning environment in most schools, both public and private, was inadequate. Students reported that their schools had poor basic sanitation, large classes, insufficient qualified teachers and high teacher absenteeism. Some private schools emerged well in the comparison but they were private elite alternatives accessible to only a small minority. Somewhat unexpectedly, considering the poor quality of their schools, the vast majority of students declared themselves to be satisfied or very satisfied with their schooling conditions. This may be because of the low overall levels of enrolment, and a perception that schooling is in itself a privilege.

Poor physical learning environment

Schools in Haiti generally provided students with a poor physical learning environment and few offered what in a Western context would be considered basic amenities in school buildings. The survey assessed the quality of the physical learning environment by measuring access to amenities such as tables and chairs, blackboards and chalk, lavatories, electricity, drinking water, water for washing, a library, playground and computers. Some of the basic indicators, such as chairs and tables, lavatories, water for washing and playgrounds, were accessible to the majority of enrolled students. However, none of the amenities had 100 percent coverage, meaning that some children lacked even the most basic amenities in their schools. To illustrate the poor conditions, 55 percent of enrolled students had no electricity in their schools. The low level of electricity coverage effectively limits access to modern technology; computers were inaccessible to 80 percent of enrolled children. The limited access to information is amply illustrated by the fact that 67 percent of enrolled students had no access to a library. Considering the widespread poverty and poor electricity coverage in Haiti in general, especially in rural areas, these findings were not very surprising. A more worrying finding is that a significant proportion of schools failed to satisfy basic sanitary needs: 8 percent of enrolled students had no access to lavatories, 43 percent had no access to drinking water at school, and as many as 30 percent had no access to water at all.

A practical way of assessing the physical learning environment is to use these different indicators of physical learning environment to construct an index. Such an index has a certain urban bias since some indicators are linked to facilities, such as electricity, that are unavailable in rural areas: 71 percent of students in urban areas attended schools that had electricity compared to only 27 percent in rural areas. Still, as far as some amenities were concerned, rural schools had an advantage, for example, 74 percent of students in rural schools had access to a playground compared to 64 percent in urban areas (see Figure 3.5).

Figure 3.5 Amenities available in schools, by area of residence, enrolled youth (10–24)[6]



The amenity index constructed is a simple additive one that ranges from 1 to 9 where higher values represent a better physical learning environment, i.e. more amenities are available to the students.[7] The mean national score for all schools was 5.8. Hence, on average approximately five out of the eight basic amenities were available in Haitian schools. At the lower end of the scale are the worst cases, namely schools that provide just one of the listed amenities. Both public and private schools fell into this category of minimally equipped schools. Still, a larger share among public schools was of poor standard than private schools. These poorly equipped schools were found in all regions of Haiti but predominantly in rural areas, especially in the Transversale and Western regions.

At the opposite end of the scale are the very best schools as far as the physical learning environment is concerned, namely schools that had all amenities available to their students, including computers and a library. Of these, private schools were overrepresented but a few public schools did also fall into this category. While these schools could also be found in all regions, they were primarily located in urban areas around Port-au-Prince. As this was the region most affected by the earthquake, it is probably right to assume that most of these schools were destroyed. The availability of the different amenities improves with educational level, with a mere 4 percent of students in primary schools reporting that they had access to all of the amenities in the index compared to 12 percent in lower secondary schools and 19 percent in higher secondary schools.

In summary, it is safe to say that the physical learning environment in Haiti prior to the earthquake was substandard for the majority of students enrolled in school. A substantial proportion had access to an absolute minimum of physical infrastructure and a significant proportion was enrolled in schools that failed to satisfy basic sanitary needs. Schools with a poor physical learning environment were found all over Haiti and included both private and public schools. Yet some schools were well-equipped, providing all the amenities listed in the

[6] Tables and chairs (n=924), lavatories (n=923), water for washing (n=923), playground (n=924), drinking Water (n=923), electricity (n=921), library (n=915), computers (n=912).

[7] A value of one indicates that none of the amenities were available to the students, a value of nine indicates that the school has all eight amenities.

survey. Sadly, the majority of these were expensive private schools available to only a minority of Haitian youth. They were also mainly located in the Port-au-Prince area and were highly likely to have been damaged in the earthquake. Generally speaking, the physical schooling environment for most Haitian students prior to the earthquake could be best summed up by poor sanitary conditions and a lack of electricity, effectively limiting access to modern technology.

Large class sizes in public schools

The relationship between class size and the quality of education has sparked considerable debate among policymakers and researchers. While research in this area is ambiguous and still contested, there is little doubt that class size and the number of students per teacher influence children's learning environment. The mean class size in Haiti is 41, which is one of the highest in the world. The typical school class size, according to the international benchmarking in education,[8] is 28 and in OECD countries the mean is 21 (UNESCO 2006: 120). However, there are substantial variations within these groups of countries and Haiti's average is close to that of Egypt (44), Jamaica (42) and the Philippines (39). There are also large variations in class size across types of school, both in Haiti and in other countries. In Haiti public schools had by far the largest class sizes, the mean being 53 students per class. Private schools had a mean of 38 students per class, while religious schools had 34 students on average per class and community schools 28.

Widespread teacher absenteeism

Lack of qualified teachers is one of the main problems in the Haitian education sector. According to Lunde (2008: 15-16), this is due to (i) the massive brain drain Haiti has witnessed over the past four decades which has led to unqualified personnel taking up teaching,[9] (ii) the low salaries paid to teachers, forcing many to take up a second job, often in agriculture, thus leading to their seasonal absence from school, and (iii) the late payment of teachers' salaries, often resulting in strikes and forcing them to take additional jobs. This has led to a situation where not only the quality of education but also the quantity is cause for grave concern. It is a serious concern if school children have too few lessons because it undermines their ability to pass exams and hence advance to the next grade. Such failure to progress through the system is another major challenge for the Haitian education sector and will be dealt with in more detail below.

Teacher absenteeism is clearly documented in the HYS 2009: as many as 32 percent of enrolled students (aged 10–24) reported that their teacher was sometimes away for more than a week at a time. There was no significant difference between public and private schools. However, those enrolled in public schools were less likely to get a substitute teacher for those periods: while 43 percent of all students in private schools always had a substitute teacher when their usual teacher was away, this was the case for only 29 percent of students in public

[8] Based on the WEI countries. See section entitled "Private schools predominate".

[9] According to the World Bank, eight out of ten Haitians with college degrees live outside Haiti (Ozden and Schiff 2005). A large part of Haiti's educated class fled persecution during the Duvalier years, establishing themselves mainly in the US or French-speaking Canada. Very few have returned. This has led to a serious deficit of educated professionals such as teachers and doctors, of which Haiti is still suffering the consequences.

schools. Half of the students in public schools never had a substitute teacher when needed. Teacher absenteeism was, however, more common in secondary schools, with 42 percent of students reporting that their teacher has been away for more than a week in the first cycle of secondary compared to 29 percent in primary schools.

The problem of teacher absenteeism was experienced by 3 out of 10 students at national level but in rural areas more students reported that they got a substitute teacher in the period when their usual teacher was away. In Port-au-Prince 36 percent reported that they always got a substitute teacher while in the rural region of Transversale that was the case for 51 percent of students.

Students not complaining

Despite the rather bleak picture drawn above, students enrolled in school almost unanimously reported that they were happy with their schools and teachers. The vast majority (82 percent) reported that they were "very satisfied" with the physical standard of the school buildings. They were also pleased with most other aspects of their education: 90 percent were "very satisfied" with the books used for instruction, 88 percent were "very satisfied" with their teachers' knowledge and skill, 83 percent were "very satisfied" with the way they were treated by their teachers, 86 percent were "very satisfied" with the attitudes and values taught and 91 percent were "very satisfied" with the knowledge and skills taught in school.

There was no variation in the level of satisfaction between students in private and public schools. However, those in rural areas were significantly more satisfied than those in urban settings. This may in part be linked to documented differences such as the failure to provide substitute teachers. However, a contributing factor could also be the low level of enrolment among rural children compared to urban children. Given that large numbers of children in rural areas do not go to school, those who do may feel more privileged and hence be less likely to complain about the quality of the education they receive.

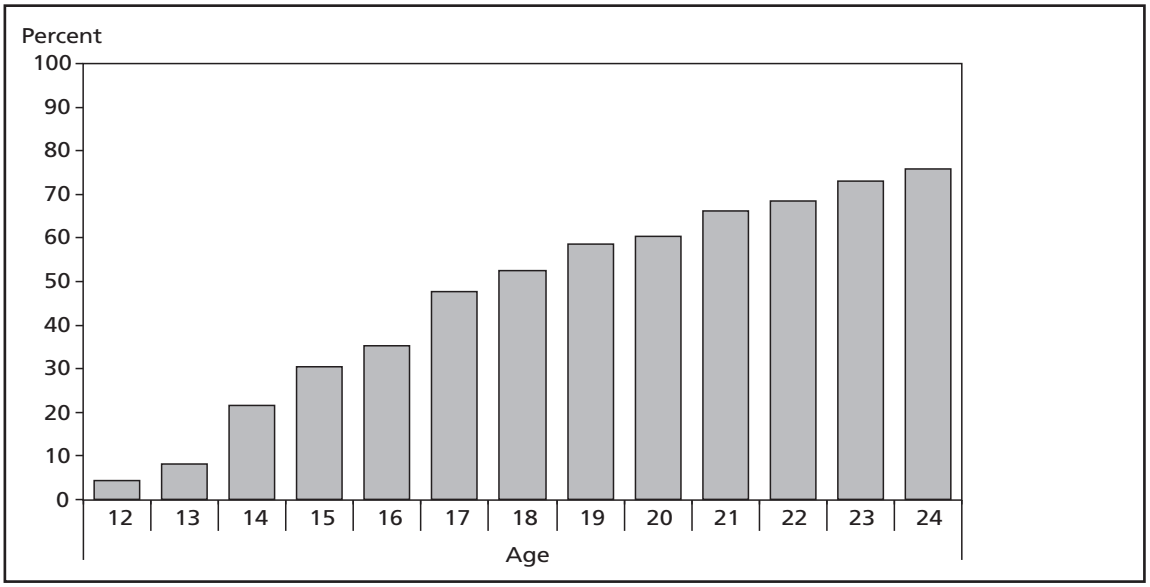
Educational attainment

Few global goals have received such unified support as the notion that every child should have a chance to complete at least primary education. The right to education is recognized as a human right by the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and it is also affirmed in the Millennium Development Goals (MDG). Despite this universal agreement on the importance of primary education, getting all children through basic schooling without undue interruption or them dropping out remains Haiti's main educational challenge. Very few children are able to progress normally and complete primary education on time. The level of enrolment in secondary school is one of the lowest in the world and very few students embark on higher education. Haiti therefore has one of the lowest educational attainment rates in the world, for both its adult and youth population.

Delays in completing primary school

The critical measure of successful basic education lies not so much in the enrolment level as in whether or not the children are actually able to complete a full course of primary schooling. The primary completion rate for Haitian youth is 29, in this context meaning that only 29 percent of 12–18 year olds have started and completed primary education. The primary completion rate for Haitian children is highly dependent upon the age cohort measured. Looking at the primary completion rate at the official graduation age, 12 years, we find that a mere 4 percent of 12 year olds have started grade one and gone on to successfully complete primary school. If we expand the definition of the youth population to include 12 to 24 year olds, the completion rate increases to 44 percent.

Figure 3.6 Completion of six years of primary school, by age, youth (12–24) (n=2,649)

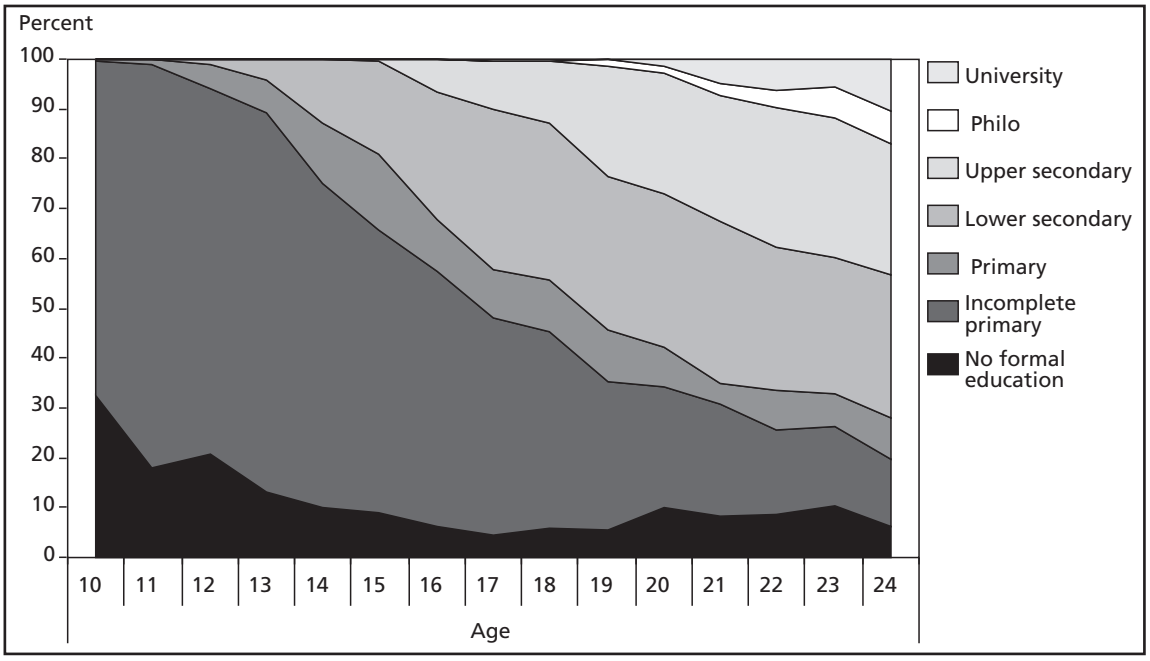


The low level of primary school completion can be linked to delays in primary school entry and a widespread tendency to deviate from the normal stages of progression in primary school, as will be examined in more detail below. It should, however, be noted that the majority of Haitian young people do eventually complete primary school (Figure 3.6). However, it is a matter of great concern that delayed primary school completion is such a widespread phenomenon since it directly affects enrolment into secondary and higher education.

Low educational attainment

The delays in primary education and low levels of enrolment in secondary school translate into low attainment of higher education and a poorly educated youth population. Two-thirds of 16 year olds had not started or failed to complete primary school while only around one-fourth had completed at least one grade of secondary education (Figure 3.7).

Figure 3.7 Highest completed education, by age (n=3,028)



Despite experiencing delays at primary school level, the majority of Haitians struggle their way through the system and by the age of 24 three-quarters have completed primary or higher. Very few students get through both lower and upper secondary school. Only a minority complete Philo, the last year of secondary education, and carry on to university: 15 percent of 24 year olds had successfully completed Philo and 9 percent had continued further and completed at least one year of university education.

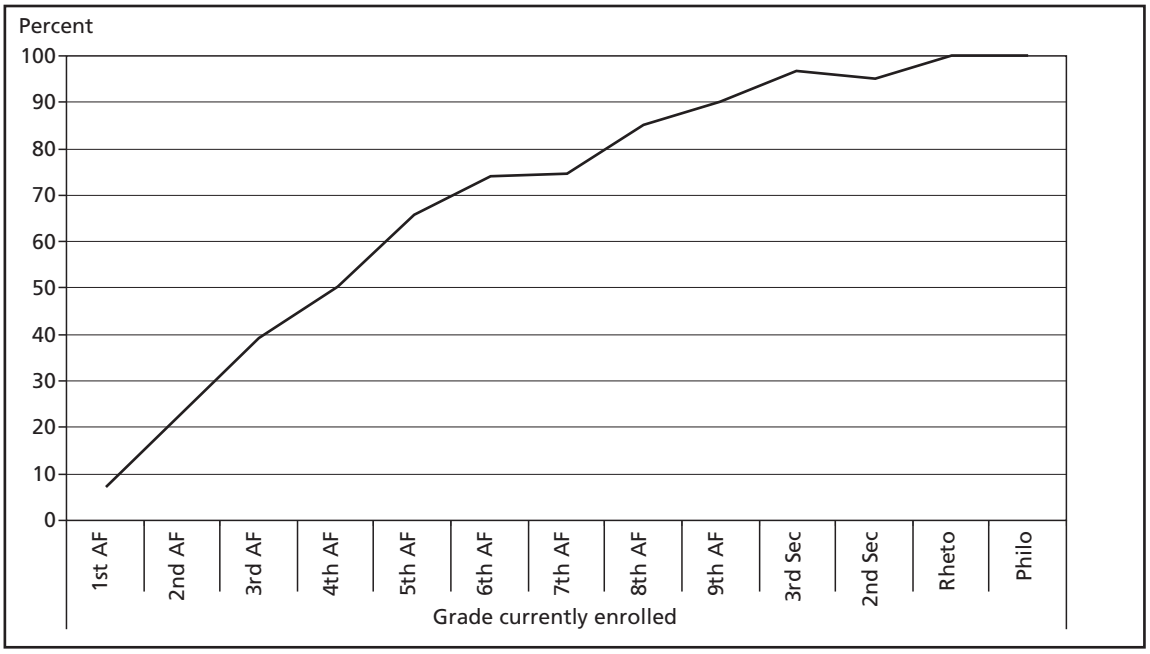
Low youth literacy and slow progress in literacy skills in schools

Another key measure of educational attainment set out in UN Millennium Goal 2 is to increase literacy rates among the youth population, namely 15-24 year olds. From the data reported by 15 to 24 year olds in Haiti, 63 percent could read and write easily and an additional 22 percent could read and write with difficulty, leaving 15 percent illiterate. These youth literacy rates are low when compared to other countries. In neighbouring Dominican Republic, youth literacy was almost universal in 2007, standing at 96 percent according to UNESCO estimates.[10]

Haitian children can spend many years in school without learning how to read and write. Figure 3.8 illustrates the slow progress in literacy made by Haitian students. This situation is further compounded by the fact that many students have to repeat classes before advancing in the system.

[10] Figure generated from UNESCO's online database. http://www.uis.unesco.org/ev.php?ID=2867_201&ID2=DO_TOPIC

Figure 3.8 Literacy (in either French or Creole), by grade, enrolled youth 10–24 (n=2,850)



After four years of schooling, only around half of students were able to read and write proficiently. The literacy rate reached 100 percent only for those who had finished Rheto and Philo, the two last years of secondary schooling (see Figure 3.8).These literacy rates are illustrative of the poor quality of education on offer in many Haitian schools.

Higher educational attainment in urban areas

Access to and completion of education in Haiti prior to the earthquake was highly dependent on where a child lived and grew up. In urban areas a greater proportion of young people completed primary school, got enrolled in secondary school and pursued higher education. This led to quite a substantial difference in educational profile for those living in urban areas and those in rural areas: while 13 percent of rural youth aged between 12 and 24 had no formal education, this was true for 7 percent in urban areas (Table 3.1).

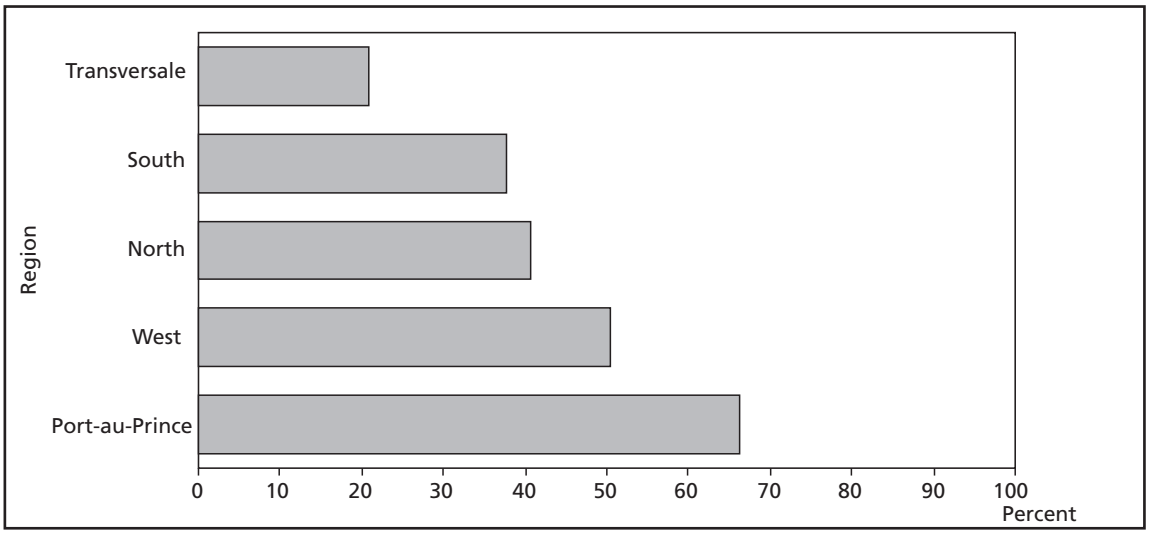
Table 3.1 Highest completed level of education, by area of residence, youth (12–24) (n=2,649)

		Urban	Rural
Highest completed level of education	No formal education	7	13
	Incomplete primary	31	55
	Primary	9	9
	Lower secondary*	28	17
	Upper secondary**	20	6
	Philo	3	0.4
	University	3	0.5
	Vocational training	0.5	0.2
Total		*100 (n=1281)*	*100 (n=1368)*

** Completed a grade between 7 and 9.*
*** Completed a grade between 10 and 12 (Rheto).*

In urban areas, six out of ten young people (62 percent) aged 12–24 had completed primary school or higher whereas this was true for only 32 percent of rural youth. This urban – rural discrepancy mirrors the pattern found with regard to secondary enrolment and the physical learning environment in schools as discussed above. However, the simple rural – urban divide conceals the privileged position of Port-au-Prince, as well as wide differences between the other regions (Figure 3.9).

Figure 3.9 Share of youth (12–24) who have completed primary school, by geographical region (n= 2,649)



The situation was the worst in the Transversale region where only a fifth of young people aged 12–24 had completed primary schooling, compared to 66 percent in the Port-au-Prince region.

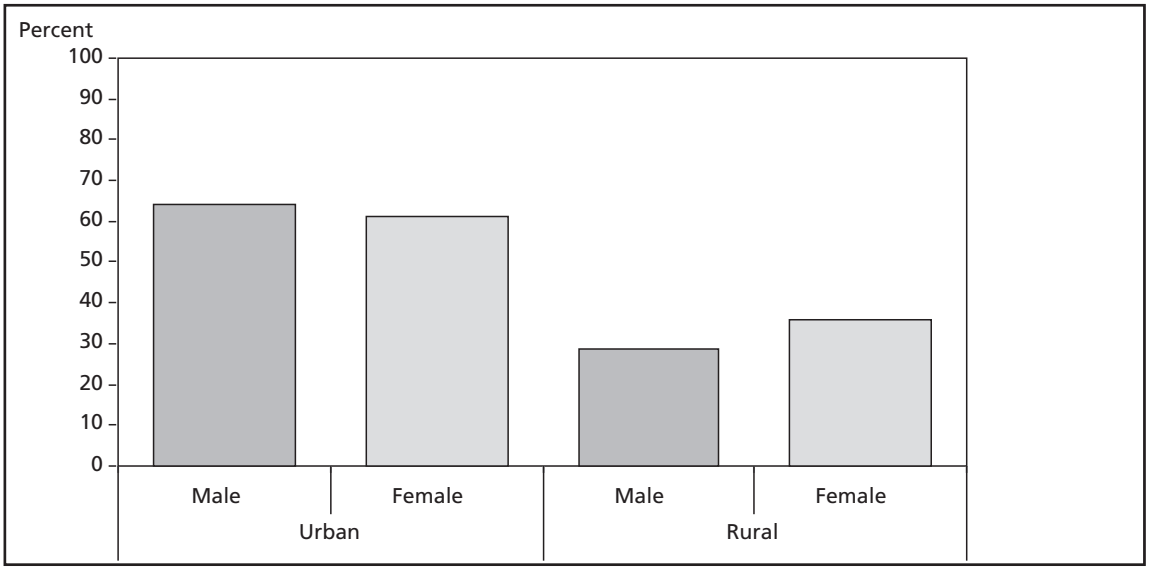
No educational gender disparity among the youth population

A great deal of the focus of rebuilding efforts following the earthquake has been on closing the gender gap, especially in the field of education.[11] This survey found that none of the key indicators of educational attainment and enrolment showed a significant gender gap prior to the earthquake. Some indicators even revealed that young women are ahead of young men in certain areas.

First of all, there was no gender disparity in primary school completion. The MDG targeting primary education explicitly seeks to reduce gender discrepancies in primary completion rates and this is an area in which Haiti has performed well. Girls have the same access to education and the same likelihood of completing primary school. Other background variables far exceed the gender differences. For example, variations in primary school completion between girls in rural areas and girls in urban areas are much greater than the differences between girls and boys in the respective locations (Figure 3.10).

[11] See, for example, Government of the Republic of Haiti 2010.

Figure 3.10 Share of youth (12–24) who have completed primary education, by area of residence and gender (n=2,644)



As Figure 3.10 shows, in rural Haiti more young women than young men had completed primary school. This may be explained by the gender difference in access to work in rural areas. While boys may migrate to the Dominican Republic to seek work, and thus drop out of school, this is not a viable option for girls in the countryside. In urban areas, on the other hand, the labour market may be more attractive to young women as there is quite a high demand for domestic workers. This is further discussed in Chapter 5.

The second main indicator for which there is no gender disparity is literacy. Slightly more males aged 15-24 (65 percent) than females (62 percent) reported that they could read and write easily, giving a literacy gender parity index of 0.95, but this difference is marginal and not statistically significant. When looking at literacy rates among the adult population, the difference is significant. Forty-five percent of men and only 33 percent of women older than 24 reported to read and write easily, giving a literacy gender parity index of 0.73. This clearly shows the improvement in girl's access to education over the last decades.[12]

A third indicator for which there is no significant gender disparity is the enrolment rate. An important indicator of gender equity is the ratio of access to primary and secondary education for young women compared to young men. It is also one of the indicators used to measure MDG 3, which seeks to "Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women". Since the Haiti Youth Survey focuses on youth aged 10 to 24, the data can be used to calculate the gender enrolment rate in secondary but not primary schools. The *gender enrolment ratio in secondary schools* is the number of female students enrolled at the secondary level of education relative to the number of male students enrolled at the same level. In Haiti prior to the earthquake the ratio of girls to boys in secondary education was 1.12, meaning that for every 100 boys enrolled in secondary, there were 112 girls enrolled. Compared to data from the Haiti Living Conditions Survey 2001 (HLCS), gross secondary enrolment rates among boys have remained stable at 45 (IHSI/Fafo 2001). Among girls, however, there has been an increase. From 37 in 2001, the gross enrolment rate for girls had increased to 52 in 2009. Not only had girls bridged the gender gap in secondary education, they had slightly outnumbered the boys. This trend is also seen in Haiti's neighbour, the Dominican Republic, which had a secondary

[12] See Chapter 2, Figure 2.5 for men and women's access to education by age.

enrolment ratio of 1.19 in 2008.[13] Compared to other countries, Haitian girls are doing well, as the average world ratio in 2007 was 0.96.

In summary, this survey found that none of the key indicators of educational attainment and enrolment displayed a significant gender gap prior to the earthquake. Gender gaps that had been identified in the past seemed to be closing and girls were performing slightly better than boys in some areas.

School enrolment

This section documents school enrolment prior to the earthquake. The data show that many Haitian young people faced great challenges in progressing through the different stages of the school system and completing them within the usual time period. The reasons for this included delayed entry into the school system as well as high rates of class repetition and drop out.

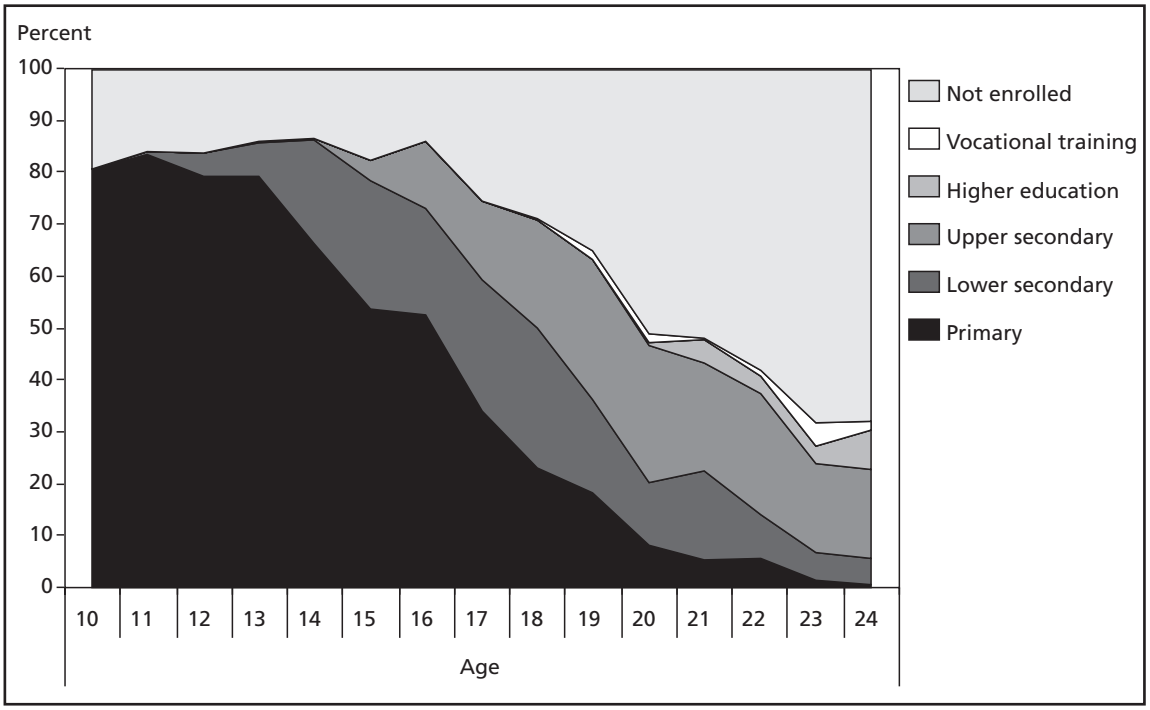
High levels of enrolment, slow progress

A majority of Haitian young people aged 10–24, 69 percent, were enrolled in some kind of school at the time of the survey. In the case of the youngest, in particular those of primary school age, school enrolment was relatively high: 81 percent of 10 year olds were enrolled in school. In the case of older youth, however, school enrolment was lower: approximately half of 20 year olds and a third of 24 year olds were enrolled (Figure 3.11). This reduction in school enrolment levels as children get older is linked to the fact that only a minority of Haitian youth go on to higher education.

Figure 3.11 points to a positive development in the Haitian education system, namely that access to primary education seems to be relatively high. The vast majority of Haitians between 10 and 16 are in fact enrolled in school but, on examining the level at which the different age groups are enrolled, the picture is less optimistic.

[13] Accessed from the World Bank's World Development Indicators database: http://databank.worldbank.org/ddp/home.do?Step=12&id=4&CNO=2

Figure 3.11 Level of enrolment, by age, youth (10–24) (n=3,037)



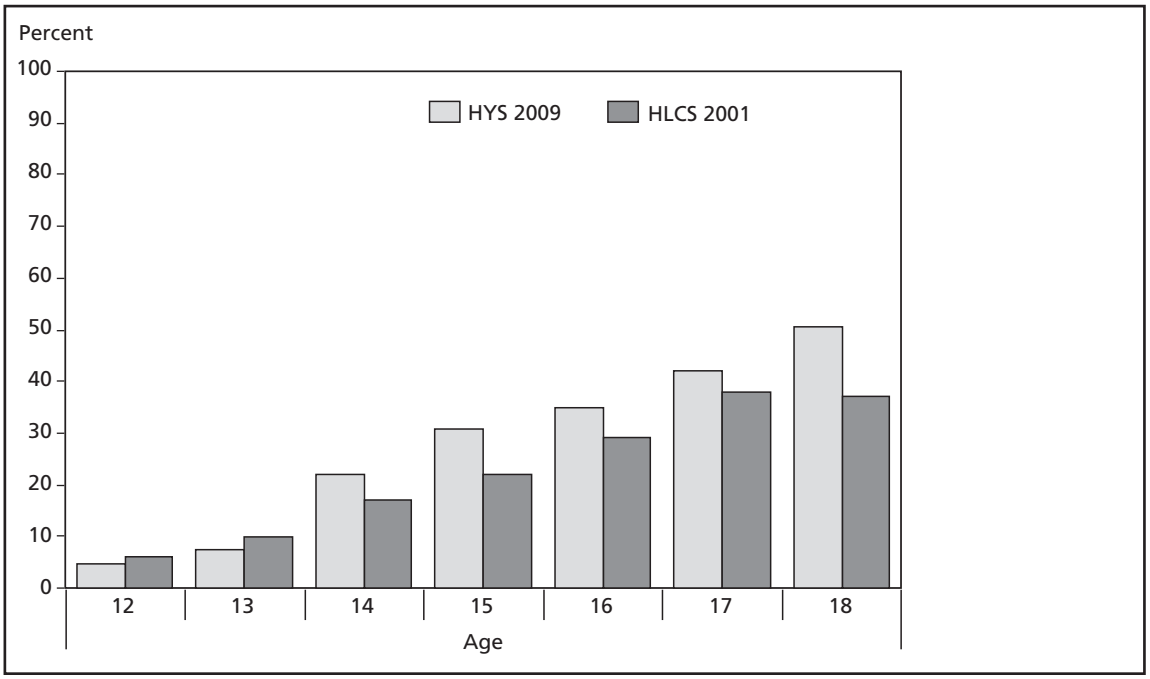
Haitian youth are enrolled in primary schools way beyond primary school age. With timely entry and normal progress, primary school is expected to be achieved at the age of 12, yet only four percent of 12 year olds had successfully done so (Figure 3.6). Of all enrolled 16 year olds, 53 percent were still enrolled in primary school (Figure 3.11). While enrolment figures among the youth population were relatively high, the Haitian education system was characterized by slow progress and delays in educational progression.

Low but rising levels of secondary enrolment

A key measure of secondary enrolment is the *net secondary enrolment ratio*, i.e. the ratio of the number of children of official school age who are enrolled in secondary school to the total population of children of official school age. According to the traditional education system the official school age for secondary education is 12 to 18. The net secondary enrolment ratio for this age group in Haiti is negative, meaning that the majority of school-age children do not attend secondary school: only 28 percent of Haitians aged 12–18 are enrolled in secondary school. This is intimately linked to the high rate of delay in primary completion and low secondary school attainment among the youngest which has a negative impact on the estimated ratio.

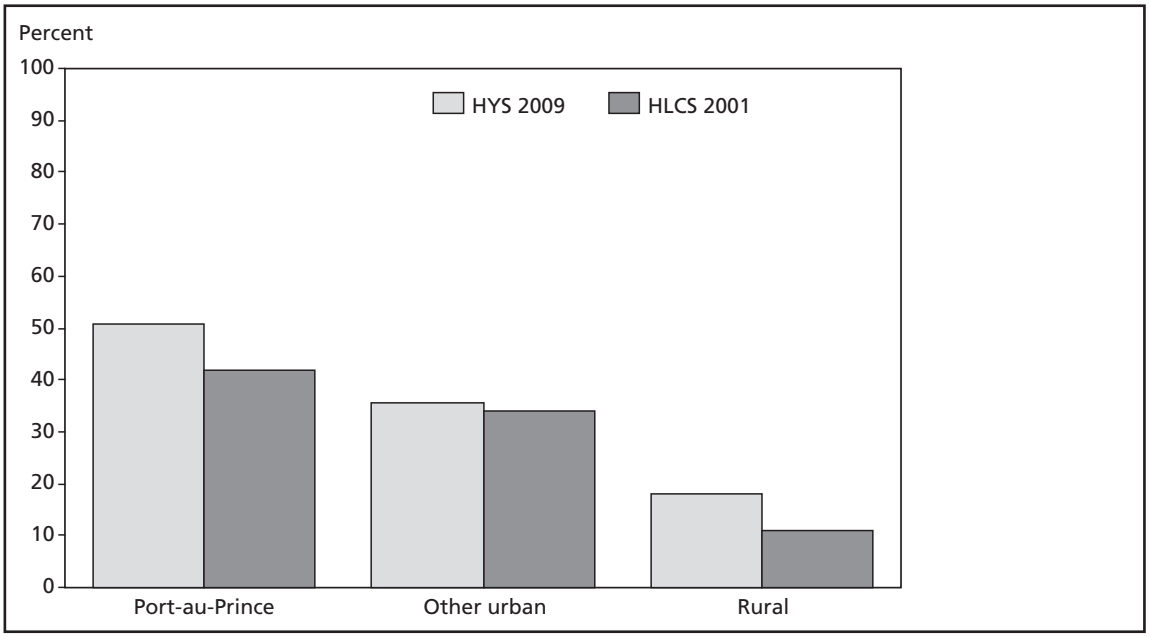
Since the HLCS was conducted in 2001, the share of 12–18 year olds enrolled in secondary has increased by six percentage points from 22 to 28 (Figure 3.12). This is due to an increase in enrolment among 14–18 year olds. Among the youngest (12–13 year olds), enrolment had slightly decreased. This may suggest that the problem of delays at primary school level has increased.

Figure 3.12 Secondary school enrolment, by age, youth (12–18) in 2009 (n=1,461) and 2001 (Haiti Living Conditions Survey, n=5,721)



Enrolment in secondary school is highly dependent on where in Haiti a child lives. Net secondary enrolment was significantly higher in urban than in rural areas. A comparison with the results of the HLCS 2001 shows that there has been an increase in net secondary enrolment rates in all regions over the past decade but that regional differences have persisted (Figure 3.13). One could even argue that the privileged position of Port-au-Prince prior to the earthquake had been enhanced, as the increase in net secondary enrolment in the Metropolitan area (of 9 percentage points) exceeded the increase in other urban areas as well as rural areas.

Figure 3.13 Net secondary school enrolment, by area of residence, in 2009 (n=1,431) and 2001 (Haiti Living Condition Survey, n= 5,721)

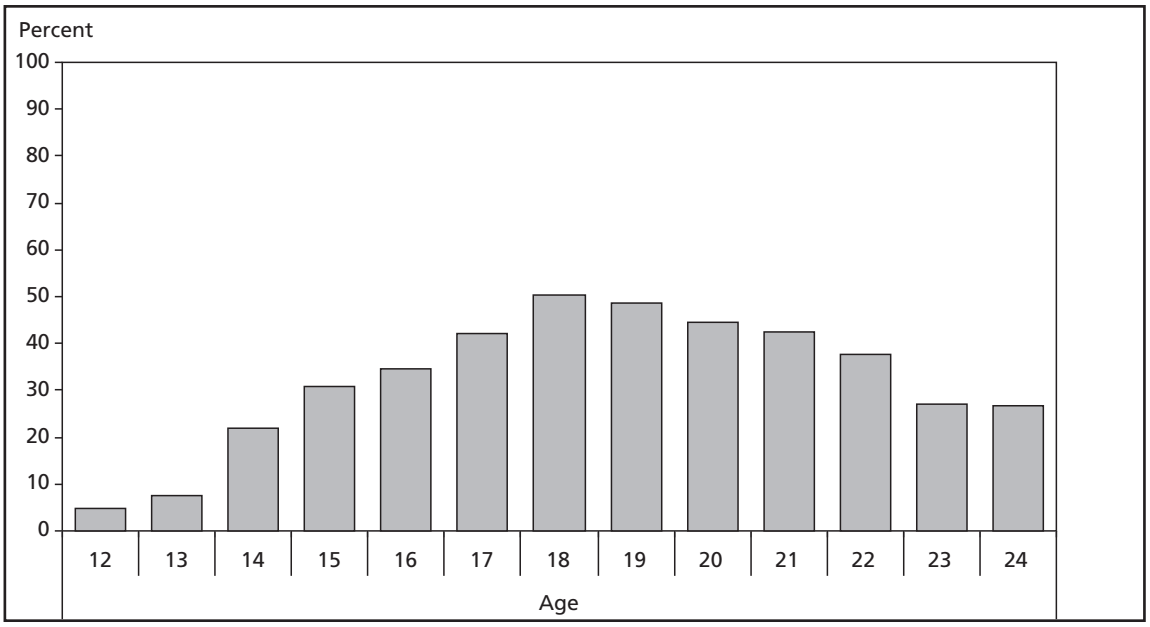


One explanation for these regional differences within Haiti could be the internal migration patterns (Lunde 2010). It is relatively common for rural youth to move to urban areas to pursue their education. Hence, it should be noted that some of the youth registered as urban in this data may well have grown up in rural areas and moved to urban areas at a later stage in life to take advantage of the better educational opportunities on offer there.

Low net enrolment linked to delays

One of the reasons for the low level of secondary school enrolment is the delay in completing primary school already referred to. A significant proportion of Haitian children fail to complete primary school through normal progression. This logically means that their age at secondary enrolment is higher than it would be through normal progression (see Figure 3.14).

Figure 3.14 Secondary school enrolment, by age, youth (12–24) (n=2,411)



The net secondary enrolment rate reported above does not include children who started earlier than prescribed or students over 18 who were still enrolled in secondary school. Considering that we know that many children start secondary school later and do not finish at 18, it is also of value to assess the *gross secondary enrolment ratio*. The gross secondary enrolment ratio is the ratio of the total number of pupils enrolled in secondary school, irrespective of age, to the total population of children of official school age. All developed countries have close to 100, which indicate full coverage; figures over 100 indicate high levels of under- or over-age enrolment. In Haiti prior to the earthquake the gross secondary enrolment ratio was 49. This is a fairly reasonable figure considering the high level of over-age enrolment, but it is still alarmingly low. In 2007 the gross secondary enrolment ratio for the Dominican Republic was 87 and countries that had similar figures to Haiti were Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea and Guinea.[14] It

[14]Equatorial Guinea 44 (2002), Eritrea 43 (2007), Guinea 47 (2007).
Available at: http://data.un.org/Data.aspx?q=EDUCATION&d=UNESCO&f=series%3AGER_2.

should nevertheless be noted that this is an improvement compared to the situation in 2001 when the HLCS found the ratio to be 41.

Repetition of classes due to strict promotion systems

Another major challenge for the Haitian education system is the frequency with which students have to repeat classes. Of currently enrolled youth (aged 10–24), only 30 percent reported that they had never repeated a class, while 24 percent had repeated one class and as many as 46 percent had repeated more than one class. In the case of those who had left/dropped out of school, the numbers who had repeated classes were even higher: only 26 percent had never repeated a class, 21 percent had repeated one class and the majority, 52 percent, had repeated classes more than once.

When asked why they had to repeat their classes, 90 percent of currently enrolled students reported that it was because they had failed their exams. According to the legally binding national education plan (PNEF), promotion within primary schools is supposed to be based on examinations in the 4th, 6th and 9th grade. These are mandatory national exams which the students need to pass to be allowed to go on to the next cycle (UNESCO/MENJS 2000: 9). Promotion within the other grades has no specific admission requirements and is supposed to happen automatically. Although that is the official system, our data show that it is not the case in practice. The vast majority (99 percent) of students enrolled in school reported that they had to pass a final exam at the end of each grade/year of primary school in order to be promoted to the next level/grade. This holds for both urban and rural locations and for public and private schools, and corresponds to earlier findings that schools all over the country to some extent design their own systems of promotion (Lunde 2008: 12). These promotion systems are generally tougher, with higher requirements and more frequent testing than even the national examinations. In practical terms this means that from the age of seven children are at risk of failing to qualify for promotion within the compulsory primary education system.

The cost of schooling

Although Haitian youth have a formal right to free education, attending school involves the payment of certain expenses: 99.7 percent of all enrolled youth reported that they were subject to some kind of school-related expense. In this survey we make a separation between official school fees and total school costs. The school fee is the amount the school requires for the student to be enrolled; this is most common in private schools and is paid monthly. Total school costs means the sum of all types of expenses associated with school enrolment. This includes official school fees and inscription fees as well as more informal but necessary expenses. The overall cost of schooling for a student is calculated by adding school fees and inscription fees together with the cost of school materials, exam fees, private tuition and other fees. Total school costs are reported as annual expenses. It is assumed that the school year has ten months and all fees and expenses that are reported on a monthly basis are therefore

multiplied by ten to get the annual cost. All fees are reported in HTG with the amount in USD given in brackets.[15]

As with school quality, school costs in Haiti vary greatly. Three factors are especially influential in determining the cost of schooling: area of residence, educational level and school type. The cheapest education is offered in public primary schools in rural Haiti where the mean total annual school cost amounts to HTG 1,830 (USD 47), while the most expensive option is private university education in the capital which has a mean annual school cost of HTG 22,603 (USD 5,656).

Public schools are cheaper but not free

There is a definite gulf between private and public schools, with private schools being significantly more expensive. While the mean annual total school costs associated with being enrolled in a public primary school in Port-au-Prince amounted to HTG 4,744 (USD 122), a private primary school in the same area charged on average HTG 10,198 (USD 261) (see Table 3.2). Part of the explanation for this discrepancy has to do with school fees. While most of those enrolled in private schools (76 percent) reported that they were subjected to monthly school fees, this was true for only 19 percent of those enrolled in public schools. However, as public schools are not supposed to charge monthly fees, this is still an unexpectedly high share.

Table 3.2 Regression of total annual school costs

			Hypothesis test	
	Estimate	Std. Error	t.	Sig.
Intercept	83,475	198,525	0,420	0,675
Area of Residence				
Port-au-Prince	4660,405	621,915	7,494	0,000
Other urban area	1570,520	408, 084	3,849	0,000
Rural area	*			
Educational level				
University	12404,987	1926,536	6,439	0,000
Philo	5604,542	1145,577	4,892	0,000
Upper secondary	5433,682	545,478	9,961	0,000
Lower secondary	2614,431	311,606	8,477	0,000
Primary	*			
Type of school				
Private school	5454,470	308,154	17,700	0,000
Religious school	3080,843	307,789	10,010	0,000
Community school	1828,855	342,092	5,346	0,000
Other type of school	1523,938	406,255	3,751	0,000
Public school	*			
	n= 2,017			
	* *Reference category*			

[15] The exchange rate used: 39 HTG = 1 USD.

Public and private schools represent the extremes with regard to school costs. In the regression public schools are used as the reference category and all other school types are significantly more expensive. As can be seen from Table 3.2, attending a private school costs on average HTG 5,454 (USD 140) more per student per year than attending a public school. Attending religious schools costs on average HTG 3,081 (USD 79) more than attending a public school and attending a community school costs HTG 1,829 (USD 47) more.

Public schools were clearly the least expensive form of schooling in Haiti prior to the earthquake while private schools were the most expensive. Yet this does not mean that public education was free. As many as 85 percent of those attending public schools reported that they had to pay an inscription fee and all students reported some other kind of expense related to their education, such as the cost of school materials and private tuition. These school costs were, as we will see, one of the reasons for the low level of school enrolment.

Variations in school costs were also influenced by regional differences and educational level. School enrolment in urban areas of Haiti is considerably more expensive than in rural areas and the Port-au-Prince region stood out as being the most expensive area of the country. The difference between school costs in the Port-au-Prince region and rural areas was on average HTG 4,660 (USD 119), when controlling for educational level and school type. The difference between other urban areas and rural areas was smaller but still significant, with an average difference in annual school costs of HTG 1,571 (USD 40).

School costs a significant expense

Another key determinant of the cost of schooling was educational level – the higher a student's educational level the higher the school costs. Compared to primary enrolment, all levels of secondary school enrolment were significantly more expensive. Enrolment in lower secondary was on average HTG 2,614 (USD 67) more expensive than in primary. The difference between upper secondary and primary enrolment was even greater, with an average increase in annual school costs of HTG 5,434 (USD 139). It was in higher education where the difference was greatest, with enrolment costing HTG 12,405 (USD 318) more than in primary. As will be elaborated on below, school costs were one of the main reasons for parents taking their children out of school. Given the gradual increase in school costs according to educational level, the economic situation of households would appear to be one of the overriding explanations for children's low educational attainment.

In Haiti poverty is widespread and school costs represent a substantial expense for a normal family. As referred to in Chapter 2, section "Household economy", the mean monthly per capita income in Haiti (all population) prior to the earthquake was HTG 1,321 (USD 34). The mean total monthly cost of being enrolled in a private primary school in Port-au-Prince was HTG 1,020 (USD 26), which is close to the mean per capita income. The mean monthly cost of being enrolled in a public primary school in Port-au-Prince was HTG 474 (USD 12), which is approximately one-third of the monthly per capita income and an affordable sum for most households. However, as children got older, the monthly cost of schooling grew significantly and sending a child to a public upper secondary school (grade 10 to Rheto) in the capital cost HTG 1,018 (USD 26) and the average cost of public higher education exceeded mean per capita income by HTG 394 (USD 10).

Summing up, it is clear that the cost of sending children to school can be a significant strain on the household economy. In the case of private schools, the cost of primary education exceeds the mean per capita income. Public schools are more affordable but less available. As we will explore further below, it is clear that in such a situation education becomes a question of household priorities.

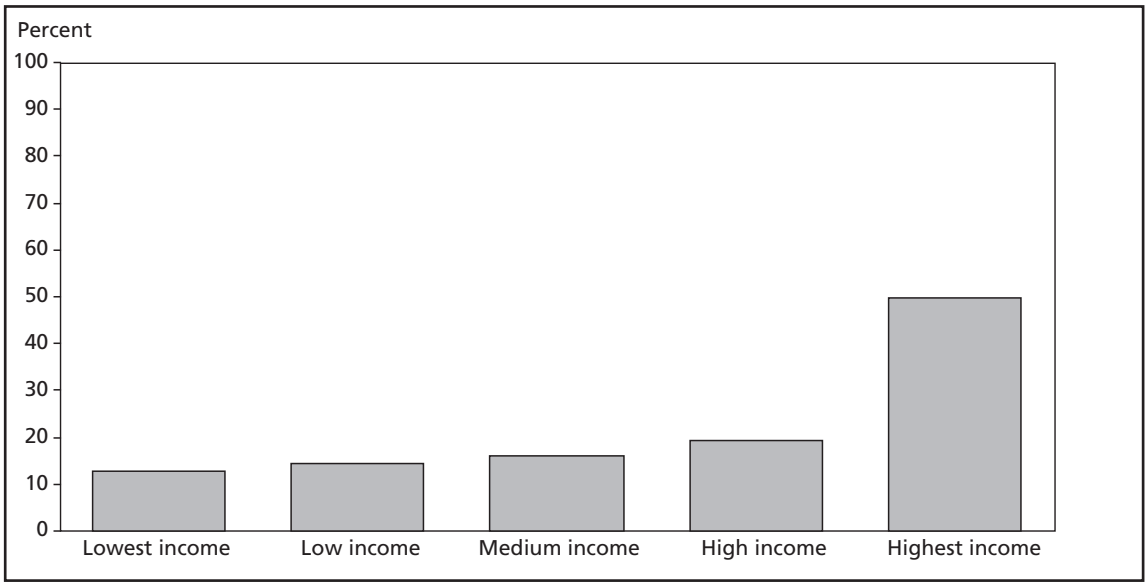
School entry in poorer households delayed

The official age for completing primary school in Haiti is 12 yet a mere four percent of 12 year olds had completed primary. Even though the official age for enrolment in primary school is 6, the actual mean age for children starting primary school was 7 years 10 months. This delay in enrolment helps explain the very low completion rate among 12 year olds presented above (Figure 3.6). There is no gender disparity in the age of enrolment but the age of initial enrolment is linked to the socio-economic status of the household. There is a negative association between household per capita income and the age of initial enrolment in primary school: wealthier households send their children to school earlier than poor households do. While the households in the richest quintile families sent their children to school at the age of 7 years 3 months, the poorer households (the four lowest quintiles) waited until the child was approximately one year older. This also helps explain the great discrepancy seen between the very richest households and the rest when it comes to primary completion rates. The data also reveal that rural children started primary school later than urban children and that there were vast regional differences in enrolment levels. The lowest average age of initial enrolment, 6 years 11 months, was found in Port-au-Prince while the Transversale region had the highest average at 8 years 10 months.

Children taken out of school as a household coping strategy

As in many other countries where access to education is limited, there is a clear relation between the economic standing of the household and children's access to education. Still, the relation is not completely linear. The percentage of children who completed primary school within four years of the normal cycle (12–16 year olds) was low across all socio-economic divides except for the wealthiest. When dividing the population into quintiles based on household per capita income, the richest 20 percent of the population stood out. The percentage of children who completed primary education gradually increased as income went up, yet the difference between the four lowest quintiles was negligible (Figure 3.15). There was no statistically significant difference between households belonging to the very poorest quintile and households that fell into the middle of the income ranking. The richest 20 percent, however, had a significantly higher share of children completing primary school compared to the rest of the population.

Figure 3.15 Completed primary, by household per capita income quintile, youth (12–16) (n=1,092)



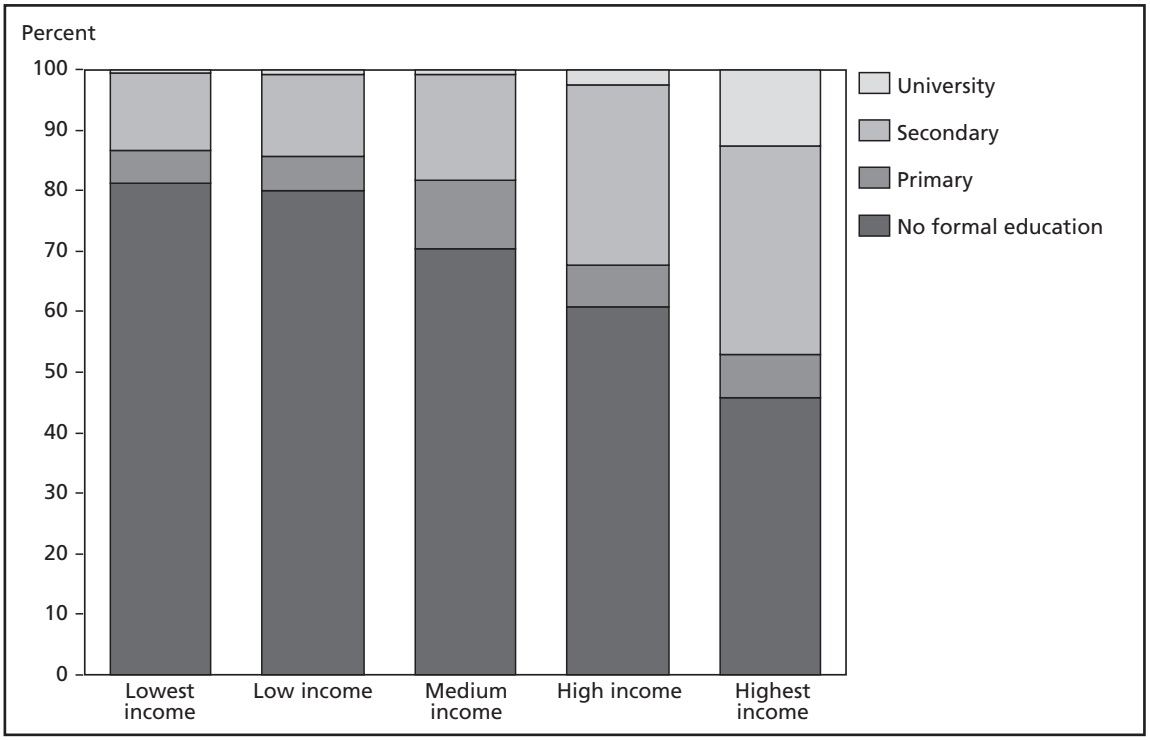
A partial explanation for this are the high costs associated with education in Haiti, costs that many of the poorest households are unable to meet. The high cost of school fees and other expenses forces many households to take their children out of school before they have completed their education. Of the students enrolled in school at the time, 10 percent confirmed that they had dropped out before going on to complete their education; of those as many as 59 percent said that they had done so because of lack of money for school fees. The other main reason they gave was because of their own illness or disability (22 percent). Since these students had gone back to school, they were asked why they had returned and 50 percent said that it was because their household's financial situation had improved. The explanations given by the young people themselves also mirrored those given by the household heads interviewed. In the case of households whose financial situation had deteriorated over the previous two years, 39 percent said that they had delayed children's enrolment in school and 23 percent had taken children who were already enrolled out of school (see Chapter 2, Figure 2.26). It is thus safe to say that, prior to the earthquake, taking children out of school for a period of time was a relatively widespread household coping strategy.

The data also reveal that short-term absenteeism happened for the same reason. Of those enrolled in school at the time, 12 percent reported that they had been absent from school the previous week, and of those 34 percent said that it was because there was no money to pay the school fees. When those who were not enrolled at the time of the survey, although they had been previously, were asked why they were not attending school, by far the most commonly reported reason was that the school fees were too high (41 percent). Other reasons given were pregnancy (11 percent), lack of interest in school (9 percent) and personal illness (6 percent). The last group interviewed were young people who had never been enrolled in school, and when asked why, they reiterated the explanations given by the other two groups: 43 percent said that the school fees were too high.

The data further revealed that children's access to education not only depended on the financial situation of the household but also on the degree to which education had been prioritized by their parents. Of those interviewed who had never been enrolled in school, 13 percent said that they had never gone to school because their parents were not committed to

providing them with an education. A further 30 percent gave a lack of commitment on the part of their parents as the second most important reason for not having received an education. This relates to a second structural difference between high-income households and other households, namely the level of education of the household head. The data show a definite convergence between the educational level of the household head and the per capita income of the household (Figure 3.16).

Figure 3.16 Education of household head, by household per capita income quintile (n= 1,910)



The educational level of the household head was higher among richer households. Of households in the poorest per capita income quintile, 81 percent had not completed any formal education while in the case of the highest income quintile, that was true for only 46 percent.

In summary, access to education prior to the earthquake was highly dependent on the economic standing of the children's respective households. The main reason for this difference was the high cost of being enrolled in school. In addition, wealthier households were more likely to have an educated household head who prioritized education and was more capable of motivating his or her children to go to school and of compensating for the lack of qualified teachers and high levels of teacher absenteeism.

Summary

The Haitian education sector was hard hit by the earthquake of January 2010. Data from the Haiti Youth Survey conducted nine months prior to the disaster confirm that the system that collapsed was already deficient. One of the main challenges for the sector in the period leading up to the earthquake was the existence of a significant lag in the educational system, with the majority of young people failing to complete their education on time. Very few

students progressed in accordance with the established system and graduated in the normal time allotted. This lag was caused by delayed entry into primary school, especially among the poorer segments of the population, together with widespread class repetition and high drop-out rates. The repetition and drop-out rates were partially linked to the widespread poverty in the country. School costs were high, especially in the dominant private sector and in higher grades. Many households reported this to be the main reason for not sending their children to school or for taking them out for shorter or longer periods. The economic standing of households was therefore a key determinant of access to education for children in pre-earthquake Haiti. Another crucial and related determinant of educational attainment for young people was where they lived. Rural areas were clearly disadvantaged as far as access to education was concerned and students from those areas performed worse on all indicators.

Still, there were some positive features that should be noted. There were no longer significant gender disparities with regard to education. Previously reported gender gaps had closed and in some areas girls performed slightly better than boys. One could also see an improvement over the previous decade in respect of public school coverage. While the educational sector could still best be described as dominated by private schools of differing educational quality, the proportion of young people attending public schools was gradually increasing.

In summary, it is safe to say that the sector was in need of reform and improvement. While the earthquake in many ways had tragic consequences for the education system in Haiti, the reconstruction efforts will hopefully improve the educational prospects of Haitian children and youth in the future.

Chapter 4 Labour force participation

Amsale Temesgen

Introduction

The Haitian economy is the poorest in the western hemisphere. At the time of the Haiti Youth Survey, nine months prior to the January 12 earthquake, half the population (47 percent) was living on less than one dollar a day, indicating extreme poverty.[1] The incidence of poverty is much higher in Haiti than in any other country in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) region. In 2009, Haiti was ranked 149 on the UN's Human Development Index (HDI). The second lowest ranked LAC country, Guatemala, was ranked 122 (UNDP 2009).

Already before the earthquake, the Haitian economy had the characteristics of a poor developing nation: low per capita gross domestic product (GDP), a high population growth rate and a majority of the population dependent on agriculture. Rural-urban migration was high. Yet the majority of the migrants had difficulty finding jobs and joined the large informal sector in urban areas (Verner 2008). Publicly-funded social protection systems were almost completely lacking, and most Haitians lacked pensions, savings and social security (World Bank 2006a).

Formal sector jobs in Haiti were limited and the vast majority of them were located in Port-au-Prince. Most formal employees worked within the small public sector, particularly in education, health and justice. Other formal jobs were found in telephone and electricity companies, the police force, or the tax and customs services. A small private sector offered some formal jobs in assembly factories, banking, commerce and transportation (Verner 2008). Only the highly educated, who make up a very small proportion of the Haitian population, secured jobs in public and private institutions, which guaranteed them a higher income level than the average Haitian (World Bank 2006a). Thus, the majority of the labour force had no option but to seek work in agriculture and the informal sector.

The earthquake in January 2010 devastated an already fragile economy. Most of the public and private institutions that offered jobs to Haitians with higher education were levelled to the ground. The damage done to the formal sector consisted of partial or total destruction of workplaces, stock damages, destruction of access routes to markets, and destruction of energy sources and supplies. The education, health, transport and tourism sectors sustained the worst damage, as a result of the destruction of infrastructure (Government of the Republic of Haiti 2010). By comparison, the informal sector, which provided livelihood for an estimated one million Haitians (World Bank 2006a), recovered quickly. This is because the sector requires less fixed infrastructure, such as buildings and electricity networks. Notably, economic activities in commerce and small-scale production were able to resume soon after the earthquake. However, the informal sector still felt the immense damage done to the economy and society

[1] Adjusted for Purchasing Power Parity (PPP), see Chapter 2, section "Household economy".

through the loss of markets and income, in addition to the damage done to people's homes, injuries to self and family, and loss of life.

This chapter outlines the various aspects and determinants of youth labour-force participation in pre-earthquake Haiti in order to better inform reconstruction work. The section is organised as follows: first, the various aspects of labour force participation will be discussed. The determinants of labour force participation will be analysed in a logistic regression and the results discussed. Thereafter, the characteristics of the employed youth will be assessed, followed by a similar analysis of the unemployed and 'discouraged workers'.

Labour force participation

According to the International Labour Organization's (ILO) definition of employment, the employed comprise all persons above a specified age (in the Haiti Youth Survey the age is 15) who, during a specified period (which for the survey was one week), were either in paid employment (including for profit or kind) or in self-employment. If the individuals worked, even if only for one hour, during the week prior to the interview, they would be defined as employed. Equally, a person who was temporarily absent from work during the reference period, for instance due to illness, holiday or temporary layoffs, is defined as employed. The definition is broad enough to also include employment in the informal sector.

The unemployed are individuals that were: without work during the reference period, available for work and seeking work. The employed and the unemployed together make up the labour force, also known as the 'economically active'.[2] Individuals who were without work and who have given up searching for jobs or are not available for work for various reasons – such as health problems, full-time studies or domestic responsibilities – are defined as 'outside the labour force' or 'economically inactive'(Hussmanns 2007). Within this ILO framework, employment takes precedence. Therefore, a student who worked, even if only for one hour, during the reference period would be defined as employed and a member of the labour force.

Majority of youth outside the labour force

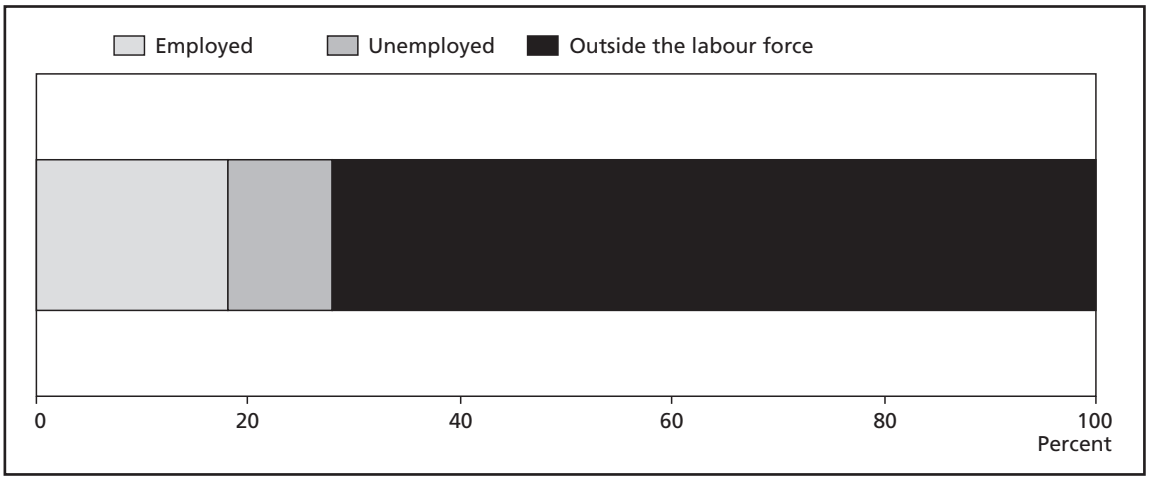
The majority of youth in pre-earthquake Haiti did not participate in the labour market. Seventy-two percent of Haitian youth aged 15-24 were outside the labour force. This is much higher than in Central America, where on average around half the youth population is economically inactive (ILO, Regional Office for Latin America and the Caribbean 2007). The situation in neighbouring Dominican Republic more closely resembles that of Central America, with 47 percent of youth outside the labour force.

Low labour force participation among young people is not a problem per se, but must be interpreted within context. It could, for instance, be the result of a large portion of the youth population completing higher education before entering the labour market, in which case it would normally not be a reason for concern. However, it could also indicate that there are obstacles preventing young people from entering the labour market or that youth are delayed

[2] According to the 13th International Conference of Labor Statistics (ICLS), there are two measures of the economically active population: the currently active population (labour force), measured in relation to a short reference period, and the usually active population, measured in relation to a long reference period, such as a year. Labour statistics discussed in this report refer to the currently active population.

in completing lower-grade education, in which case it is indicative of youth marginalisation and lack of opportunities. The characteristics of youth outside the labour force in Haiti will be discussed in the next section.

Figure 4.1 Labour force status of youth (15-24) according to ILO definition (n=1,773)



Of the 28 percent of Haitian youth that were economically active, around 18 percent were employed and ten percent unemployed (Figure 4.1). The overall poor performance of the Haitian economy meant that there was limited capacity for the creation of jobs for young people. Rapid population growth has further constrained the Haitian economy's capacity to absorb an increasing youth population (Collier 2009). Haiti's GDP before the earthquake was extremely low and had been declining since 1980. From 1990 to 2007, the GDP per capita had an average negative annual growth of 2.1 percent (UNDP 2009). In 2005, the revenues of the central government were only nine percent of GDP, compared to an average of 18 percent among other low-income countries (World Bank 2006a). Only 1.8 percent of revenues were derived from taxes on income, profits or capital. The main source of funding for government expenditures came from external assistance, which was highly volatile (fluctuating between 9 and 16 percent), due to the difficult relationship the Haitian state has had with donors who at times had either withdrawn or redirected development assistance (World Bank 2006a).

Another principal source of national income is remittances from Haitians living abroad, especially the USA, Canada, France and the Dominican Republic. In 2007, an estimated USD 1,222 million in remittances were sent to relatives in Haiti from the diaspora. This is slightly higher than the average for the LAC region (USD 127 vs. USD 114 annually per capita). The remittances from relatives abroad have ensured the survival of many marginal Haitian households, but have not fuelled large-scale job creation, except possibly in the construction sector.

Characteristics of the economically active and inactive

Significant gender gap in labour force participation

As seen in the previous section, only 28 percent of Haitians aged 15–24 were economically active before the earthquake (Figure 4.1). The economically active youth were on average older than the economically inactive youth. Whereas two-thirds of youth in the labour force were aged 20–24, only one-third of youth outside the labour force were in the same age group (Table 4.1). The data also revealed a significant gender gap in labour force participation. Out of the economically active youth, 57 percent were male while only 43 percent were female. This is partly explained by female youth having domestic responsibilities and caring for their own children, especially among the oldest youth (Table 4.3).

Table 4.1 Description of youth in the labour force (n=503) and outside the labour force (n=1,257)

Description		In the labour force	Outside the labour force
Age	15-19	33	64
	20–24	67	36
	Total	100	100
Gender	Male	57	44
	Female	43	56
	Total	100	100
Highest education completed	Primary and lower	58	53
	Secondary and higher	42	47
	Total	100	100
Location	Port-au-Prince	34	26
	Other urban	11	15
	Rural	55	59
	Total	100	100

The economically active youth had very low levels of education (Table 4.1). Half of them had not completed six years of primary education and 13 percent had never attended school. Around 40 percent of the youth in the labour force had continued with education beyond six years of primary, while approximately 20 percent had a grade from upper secondary (grade 9-12) or higher, and a minority had achieved a university education (three percent).[3] The youth in the labour force had somewhat lower levels of education than the youth outside (Table 4.1). However, it needs to be kept in mind that the economically inactive youth are on average younger and the majority have not completed their education and are still students.

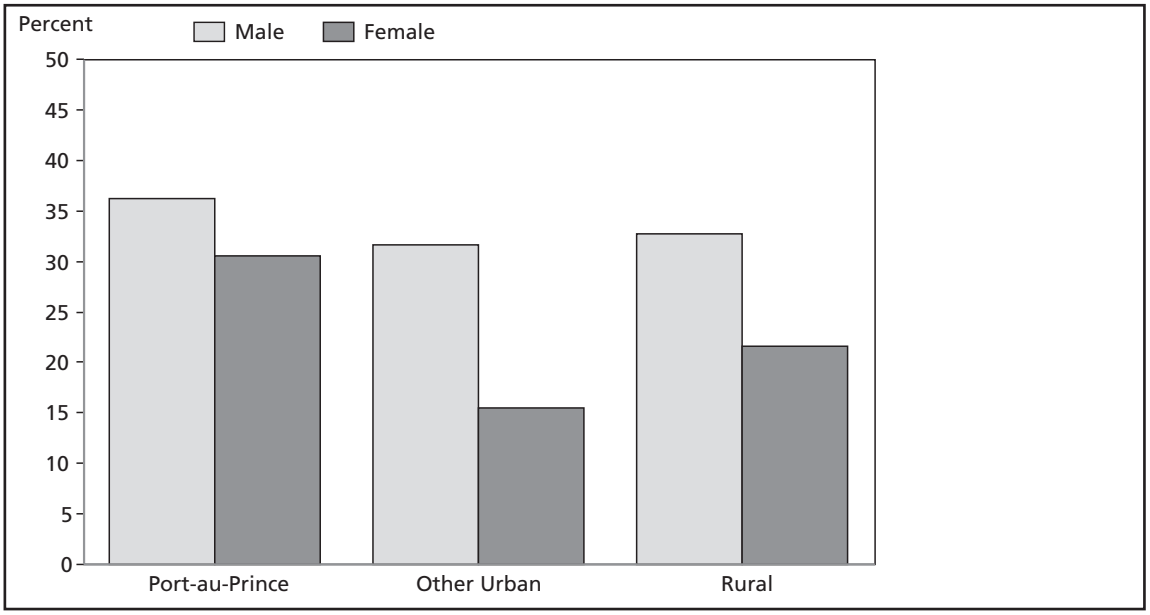
The majority (58 percent) of Haitian youth live in rural areas and the countryside accounts for more than half of both economically active and inactive youth. When analysing the labour force participation within urban and rural areas, one finds that the portion of economically active youth is quite similar: 27 percent in rural areas and 30 percent in urban. The highest

[3] The system referred to in this report is the traditional Haitian education system. For an overview of the traditional and reformed system, see Chapter 3, Figure 3.1.

labour force participation was found in the capital, Port-au-Prince, where 33 percent of youth were economically active.

Despite small differences in overall labour force participation in urban and rural areas, there were clear gender patterns. Whereas only 22 percent of female youth in rural areas were economically active, 31 percent of female youth were in Port-au-Prince (Figure 4.2). This indicates better work opportunities for girls in the capital, for instance in trade and domestic services. Male youth, on the other hand, were more likely to be absorbed into the agricultural sector in rural areas.

Figure 4.2 Share of economically active, by area of residence and gender, youth (15-24) (n=1,816)



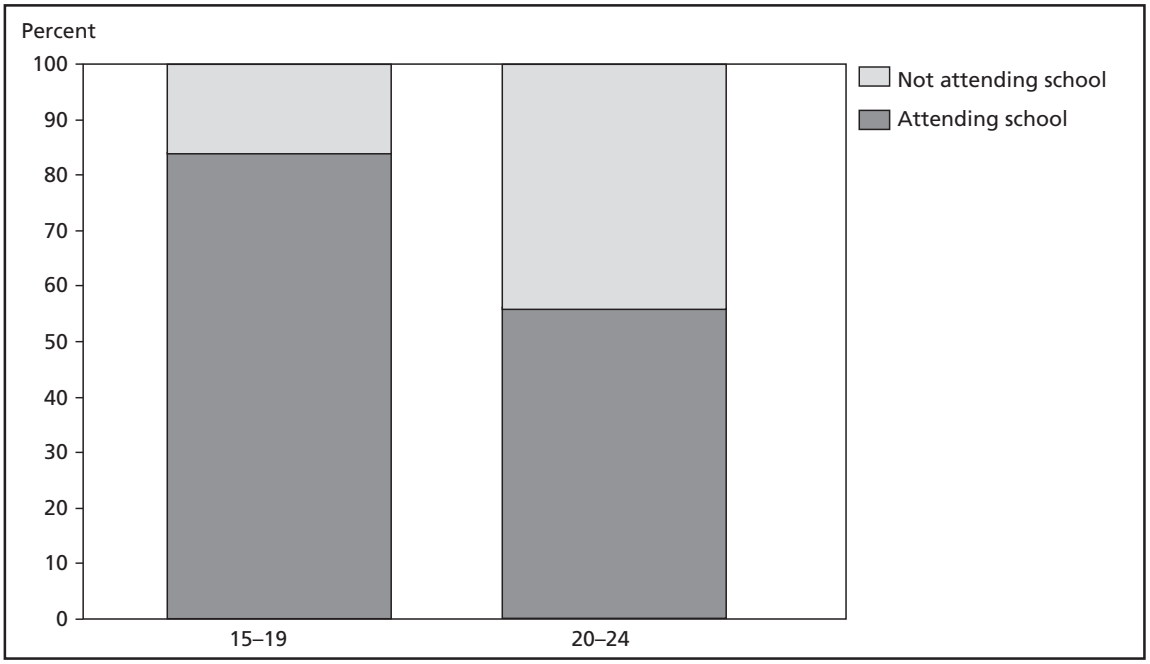
Another reason for the relatively high female labour force participation in Port-au-Prince is the gendered migration pattern described in Chapter 5. While young women were likely to migrate from rural areas to the capital in search of work, young men were more likely to cross the border to the Dominican Republic to find employment. The different opportunity costs for male and female youth when engaging in labour migration to Port-au-Prince and the Dominican Republic respectively is discussed in one of the qualitative pre-studies to the Haiti Youth Survey (see Lunde 2010). The migration data shows very low migration rates to urban areas other than Port-au-Prince. This may partly explain the low labour force participation rate among female youth in these areas.

Majority of economically inactive youth enrolled in school

Haiti has a very low youth labour participation rate compared to other countries in the region. Whether this is a problem or not depends on who the economically inactive youth are and why they are outside of the labour force. Two-thirds of youth outside the labour force are relatively young, aged 15–19. The vast majority of them (84 percent) are still enrolled in school (Figure 4.3). Even among the older youth, aged 20–24, as many as 56 percent of the economically inactive are students. At first glance, these numbers may give the impression that a large part of Haitian youth follow long educational paths and end up with high degrees. Unfortunately

this is not the case. As discussed in Chapter 3, a Haitian youth is typically enrolled in school much longer than their grade would indicate. Delayed entries, repetition and drop-outs are common features in a seriously challenged educational sector. High school fees and low-quality teaching are two of the main reasons why students drop out or fail their exams, and are forced to repeat the same classes. Parents get caught in an education investment trap, reaping very low benefit from the money they invest in their children's education (Lunde 2008).

Figure 4.3 School attendance, by age, economically inactive youth (15-24) (n=1,198)



Seventy-four percent of economically inactive youth were enrolled in school at the time of the survey. Twenty-eight percent were enrolled in primary school, in other words grade one to six (Table 4.2). The age of school entry in Haiti is six and, if following normal progress, none of the youth in our sample should be enrolled lower than grade nine.

Most of the youth who are students rather than members of the labour force are severely delayed in their education. Relatively few (21 percent) young Haitians combine work with school, whereas a significant share (36 percent) search for jobs and are able and willing to start working (i.e. unemployed) while still studying (Table 4.2). One in four youth of working age were neither economically active nor students. Twice as many female as male youth find themselves in this category.

Table 4.2 Level of enrolment, by labour force status, youth (15–24) (n= 1,759)

	Not currently enrolled	Primary	Lower secondary	Higher secondary	Philo	University	Vocational training	
Employed	79	6	5	6	0	2	2	100
Unemployed	64	7	9	12	3	5	1	100
Economically inactive	26	28	22	19	3	1	1	100
Total	40	22	17	16	3	2	1	100

Being a full-time student was the main reason why youth did not participate in the labour force. The second most important reason was discouragement (Table 4.3). Fifteen percent of those aged 15–19, and 30 percent of those aged 20–24, did not look for jobs because they had lost hope in finding any work. Faced with a constrained labour market with very few employment opportunities, the youth had ceased being active jobseekers and for that reason were not classified as unemployed, but instead as outside of the labour force. That does not mean, however, that they would not be able and willing to work if employment was available. Discouraged workers will be discussed more in-depth at the end of the chapter.

Table 4.3 Main reasons for being outside the labour force, by gender and age, economically inactive youth (15-24) (n=1,257)

Main reason for staying outside the labour force	Young women (15–19)	Young women (20–24)	Young men (15–19)	Young men (20024)	All youth (15–19)	All youth (20–24)
Full-time student	62	41	70	49	65	44
No jobs available – lost hope of finding a job	17	27	13	35	15	30
Caring for own children	3	19	1	1	2	12
Available work not compatible with skills or training	3	3	2	6	2	4
Too young	9	1	11	1	10	1
Full time domestic work	2	2	1	0	1	1
Other reasons	4	7	2	8	4	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Motherhood keeps young Haitian women outside of the labour force, but primarily after the age of 20. Only three percent of teenage girls aged 15–19 stated that they were not working because they were caring for their children, while this was the case for as many as one in five of those aged 20–24. Hardly any young men gave caring for their children as the main reason why they were not economically active.

Caring for their children keeps less young women outside the labour force in Port-au-Prince than in other parts of the country. Only ten percent of young women (aged 20–24) in the capital stated this as the main reason why they were economically inactive, versus 27 percent of young women in rural areas. Discouragement, school enrolment, and skills and training being incompatible with available work, were more prevalent reasons among young women in the capital than in rural areas.

Determinants of labour force participation

The previous section discussed the characteristics of youth both in and outside the labour force. In this section we assess various attributes of young people that affect their likelihood of labour participation. A logistic regression run on data for 1,764 youths will provide a more in-depth understanding of the characteristics that influence young people's probability of participating in the labour market and the relative importance of the various attributes.

Table 4.4 Logistic regression of labour force participation, all youth (15–24) (n=1,764)

Parameter	B	Std. Error	Sig.	Exp(B)
Intercept	-16.674	4.631	.000	.000
Female, compared to male	-.760	.166	.000	.468
Rural, compared to urban	-.414	.200	.041	.661
Primary and lower, compared to secondary and higher	.625	.211	.004	1.868
Not receiving money from, or living with, father and/or mother, compared to receiving	.834	.294	.005	2.302
Not currently enrolled in school, compared to enrolled	1.370	.222	.000	3.937
Age	1.417	.469	.003	4.127
Age squared	-.029	.012	.015	.971
Household size	-.157	.042	.000	.855
Household income per capita	.000	.000	.139	1.000
Dependency ratio	.412	.517	.427	1.510

Young women disadvantaged in entering the labour force

Young women experienced difficulties in entering the labour market. The logistic regression model predicts that 72 percent of the urban 20 year old girls with secondary or better education (meaning a minimum of one completed grade in secondary), without financial support from their parents and not currently attending school, participate in the labour force, compared to 84 percent of boys with the same characteristics. As mentioned above, caring for their children was one of the main reasons why young women were unable to participate in the labour force. Other domestic responsibilities of female youth may also be part of the explanation for their reduced likelihood of being economically active.

Higher education, lower labour force participation

Compared to youth with secondary or higher education, youth with only primary education or lower are almost twice as likely to participate in the labour market – when current school enrolment is controlled for. In the case of 20 year old urban girls with primary education or lower, who are not currently enrolled in school and not receiving economic support from parents, 88 percent of them will be members of the labour force. If we keep the other parameters the same but increase the level of education to higher than primary, only 80 percent will be members of the labour force. The negative correlation of education and labour force participation is a clear indication of the significant role the informal sector plays in providing economic sustenance for Haitian youth.

Current enrolment in school strongly reduces the probability of participation in the labour force. The participation odds of youth who are not currently enrolled in school are 3.9 times higher than those attending school at present.

Youth from large families had better odds of joining the labour force

The economic background of the youth's household proxied by household income per capita and dependency ratio (household members of non-working age on members of working-age, 15-64) does not have a significant effect on their participation in the labour market. Household size, however, shows a significant impact. The participation odds of a youth from a five-person household are 1.2 times higher than a youth from a four-person household.

The logistic regression model shows that if young people live with or receive money from their parents, their labour force participation decreases. The odds of participation of those who neither live with their parents nor receive money from them is 2.3 times higher than those who can get some financial support. Accordingly, 50 percent of 20 year old urban girls with secondary or better education participate in the labour force, if they do not receive money from their parents, while only 30 percent of these girls will do so, if they do receive financial support.

Urban areas more favourable for participating in the labour market

Youth in urban areas were in a favourable position when it came to participating in the labour market. The place of residence of young people aged 15–24 had a significant effect on their likelihood of being economically active. Of 20 year old girls with secondary education or higher, no parental support, not attending school and residing in a rural area, 72 percent will participate in the labour force. However, if residing in an urban area, participation will increase to 80 percent.

Urban areas, primarily Port-au-Prince, had a higher level of economic activity than the rest of the country, creating some, although limited, employment opportunities for youth. Prior to the earthquake, Port-au-Prince was the centre of activity for both national and international actors, and investments in basic infrastructure such as schools, hospitals and roads were concentrated in the metropolitan area. As a result, the likelihood of youth entering the labour market in urban areas was higher than in rural areas, where such investments were meagre.

Older youth had higher probability of being economically active

Age is still a significant factor for youth participation in the labour force when enrolment is controlled for. The older they are, the more likely they are to enter the labour market. The marginal effect of age keeps on increasing until they reach 17, and after 18 the marginal effect of age reduces gradually. Fifty-nine percent of 17 year old urban girls with secondary education or higher, no financial support from parents and not currently attending school, participate in the labour market, while 68 percent of 18 year old girls and 79 percent of 20 year old girls with the same characteristics do.

Employed youth

The previous sections discussed the factors that influence the probability of entering the labour force for youth (15–24). This section will take a closer look at employed youth. It will discuss their attributes, sectors of employment, the incidence of under-employment and working conditions.

Two-thirds of employed youth were aged 20–24

Eighteen percent of the total youth population and 65 percent of the economically active youth were employed at the time of the survey (Figure 4.1). Two-thirds of employed youth belonged to the oldest age group, 20–24, while one-third were aged 15–19 (Table 4.6). Although the majority of working youth were older than 20, they started working at an early age. The average age of first employment was 16, with age seven the youngest recorded in the sample. A few occurrences of current child labour were registered. In total, two percent of children aged 10–14 satisfied the ILO criteria for employment. These children were primarily working together with, and being supervised by, a household member. Employment rates were higher among male than female youth. Approximately six out of ten employed youth were men. The gender distribution was equal in urban and rural areas.

Most employed youth resided in rural areas

Sixty-two percent of all employed youth were residing in rural areas; the urban areas accounted for the remaining 38 percent and, out of these, 27 percent were in Port-au-Prince. This tells us that agriculture remains a major employment sector for Haitian youth. The countryside is therefore home to the majority of the employed youth population, but is also home to the majority of youth in general. The highest employment rates are found in the rural areas, where 20 percent of the total youth population is employed. In Port-au-Prince, 18 percent were employed at the time of the survey, while just 15 percent were employed in other urban areas (Table 4.5).

Table 4.5 Labour force status, by area of residence, all youth (15-24) (n=1,759)

	Employed	Unemployed	Economically inactive	
Port-au-Prince	18	16	66	100
Other urban areas	15	8	77	100
Rural areas	20	8	73	100
Total	19	10	71	100

Majority of employed youth had less than primary-level education

Fourteen percent of employed youth had never been enrolled in school, while an additional 42 percent had not completed primary education. In other words, the majority of young workers had not completed grade six. The educational level among employed youth was substantially lower than among the unemployed. Only 34 percent of employed youth were educated beyond primary, compared to 55 percent of those unemployed (Table 4.6). This indicates that the main economic activities that the youth were involved in do not require higher education, or any education at all, thus suggesting employment in the informal sector.

Table 4.6 Description of employed (n=382) and unemployed (n=202) youth (15–24)

Description		Employed	Unemployed
Age	15–19	33	34
	20–24	67	66
	Total	100	100
Gender	Male	59	51
	Female	41	49
	Total	100	100
Highest education completed	Primary and lower	66	45
	Secondary and higher	34	55
	Total	100	100
Area of residence	Port-au-Prince	27	45
	Other urban	11	11
	Rural	62	44
	Total	100	100

One in five working youth was also enrolled in school (Table 4.2). Combining work and studies was most common after primary level. More than two-thirds of working students were enrolled in secondary school or higher.

Less youth working in agriculture

Despite ongoing urbanisation (see Chapter 5, Box 5.1), the majority of the Haitian population still lives in rural areas. However, there has been a dramatic reduction in agriculture as the main occupation for young people. In 2001, agriculture provided a livelihood for 45 percent of the employed population (IHSI/Fafo 2001). Among working youth, agriculture was even more important, with 62 percent of the youngest age cohort (15–19) and 42 percent of the oldest (20–24) making a living from agriculture. In 2009, this share had decreased to 36 percent of working youth in the youngest cohort and 26 percent of youth in the oldest. However, agriculture remains a vital employment sector in rural areas, employing almost half of working youth (Table 4.7).

Trade and commerce has become an equally important sector of employment for young people. Commerce includes all types of trading activities and also incorporates a significant part of the informal economy. While commerce in 2001 only employed one in five working youth, it employed close to one-third by 2009. From employing less than three percent of working youth in 2001, construction had increased in importance, employing approximately eight percent in 2009. It is estimated that the emigration of a significant number of Haitians, and the resulting remittances sent back to their home country, led to an expansion in home building, thus benefiting youth employment in the construction sector (World Bank 2006a).

Table 4.7 Sectors of employment, by area of residence and gender, employed youth (15–24) (n=328)

Sector	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total
Trade and commerce	34	28	9	61	30
Agriculture	2	46	41	13	29
Construction	10	7	13	2	8
Utilities maintenance	10	4	8	3	6
Domestic service	6	3	0	10	4
Health and social service	6	1	3	3	3
Transport	3	3	5	0	3
Manufacturing	5	1	3	1	2
Other	23	8	19	6	14
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Clear gender divisions in employment

There were clear gender differences in the importance of different sectors. Trade and commerce was by far the most important industry for young Haitian women, employing more than 60 percent of employed female youth (Table 4.7). However, fewer than ten percent of young men listed commerce as their main employment sector. For young men, the most important sector was agriculture, which employed 41 percent of those working at the time of the survey. By contrast, only 13 percent of young women worked in the agricultural sector. These numbers show a clear gender division of labour in the rural areas, but they are also affected by the higher migration rate of young women from rural to urban areas (see Chapter 5).

The second largest sector of employment for young men was construction (13 percent), a sector demanding hard, physical labour and attracting few young women. A similar trend is also seen among Haitians working in the Dominican Republic, where agriculture and construction are the two most important sectors of employment (Lunde 2010). For young women, domestic service is an important sector of employment on both sides of the border.

Commerce an important employment sector for youth in both rural and urban areas

In urban areas, 34 percent of all employed youth worked in commerce, while ten percent worked in construction (Table 4.7). In rural areas, 46 percent of all employed youth were working in agriculture, while commerce accounted for 28 percent. About seven percent of employed youth in rural areas worked in construction.

The construction and commerce sectors provide employment opportunities outside the farm in rural areas. They require low skills and provide additional income for households otherwise dependent on agriculture. Non-farm employment plays an important role in the social risk management of poor rural households. Agriculture in Haiti is a risky and unstable livelihood. Deforestation causes increasing erosion and the amount of fertile land is steadily diminishing (Oxfam 2009). Haiti suffers from difficult weather conditions, with regular hurricanes and tropical storms at times destroying whole harvests and leaving farming households without food or a cash crop to sell at the market. The unpredictability of rural life pushes the farming population to increasingly diversify its risks, by searching for alternative sources of income in other sectors.

Majority of youth self-employed

Youth with less education were much more likely to be self-employed than those with higher education (Table 4.8). Almost two-thirds of employed youth with six years of primary education or less were self-employed – in the Haitian context, this means that they are part of the informal sector. Only 37 percent of those who had completed education above primary level were self-employed. Youth with more than primary education were twice as likely to be employed by a private company. Employment in a family business was equally prevalent in both groups, slightly exceeding ten percent. Also, employment in private households showed little variation. Nine percent of all young people with primary education, and seven percent with secondary education and higher, worked in private households. However, only youth with primary education and lower reported working as domestic servants. Employment in formal sectors such as government offices, public administration and NGOs made up a marginal six percent, and was by and large available to youth with secondary education or higher.

Employment in micro- or small enterprises, domestic service and self-employment are characterised by a higher level of insecurity and are considered precarious (ILO, Regional Office for Latin America and the Caribbean 2007). Sectors that could offer more secure employment in the formal economy were to a large extent unavailable to the youth.

Table 4.8 Type of employer, by education level, employed youth (15-24) (n=326)

Employer	Primary and lower	Secondary and higher	Total
Self-employed	63	37	54
Private company	13	26	17
Family business	11	12	11
Private household	8	7	8
Government company/ public administration	2	8	4
NGO	0	5	2
Other	3	5	4
Total	100	100	100

Lack of security and few benefits

According to the ILO (1995), employment security means that workers have long-term contracts of employment, as well as protection against arbitrary and short-notice dismissal from employment. Under this definition, in Haiti youth employment is characterised by lack of security. More than 80 percent of employed youth (excluding self-employed) did not have a written contract, even though 63 percent said that they were in full-time employment. Employed youth also received few benefits from their employers: there was little access to healthcare, education, bonuses or similar benefits. The only benefit that was widely available was free food, which 60 percent of employed youth received at their work place. However, it is not clear to what extent this was included as a part of their salary.

Significant under-employment among working youth

A significant proportion of the employed youth were 'under-employed', meaning that they worked fewer hours than the nationally-specified cut-off point and were available and willing

to work additional hours (Hussmanns 2007). Employed youth worked an average of 23 hours per week (the median is 15 hours), while the 'normal' working week in Haiti in 2004 was 48 hours (ILO 2005). Half of the youth working less than full-time stated that they were able and willing to work more hours. Only six percent had a second job. Youth wages are also low in Haiti. Employed youth earned on average HTG 2,227 (USD 57, at the 2009 exchange rate) in the month prior to the interview.

Unemployed youth

The ILO states that youth is the 'the world's greatest assets' (ILO 2006: 2). However, today's youth face serious challenges in entering the workforce. Youth unemployment is a reason for concern on an individual and societal level. It turns problematic when it becomes long-term and when it leaves young people without the means to provide for their basic needs (United Nations 2003). Young people are often more educated than the general population, and they are strong and able. Youth unemployment and under-employment is an under-utilisation of a country's most valuable resource (ILO 2006).

Youth unemployment in Haiti, according to the ILO definition, was 35 percent at the time of the survey. This is more than twice the regional average in the LAC region of 16 percent (ILO 2010). Despite being exceptionally high, this represents a reduction of 12 percentage point from 2001 (IHSI/Fafo 2001). However, this change does not necessarily reflect a shift in youth employment, but rather that those who were previously recognised as unemployed youth are now categorised as outside of the labour force. While around 60 percent of youth (15–24) were economically inactive in 2001, this figure had risen to 72 percent by 2009 (Figure 4.1).

Lower labour force participation is a consequence of more youth remaining in school, particularly the oldest youth. While 29 percent of those aged 20–24 were enrolled in school in 2001, this share had increased to 41 percent by 2009. Among the younger group (15–19), there had been a more modest increase in current enrolment, from 68 to 76 percent. It is important to keep in mind that additional years in school do not necessarily translate into higher education, but is more often a consequence of retentions and repetition (see Chapter 3).

Table 4.9 ILO youth (15-24) unemployment rate in percent (n=1,759)

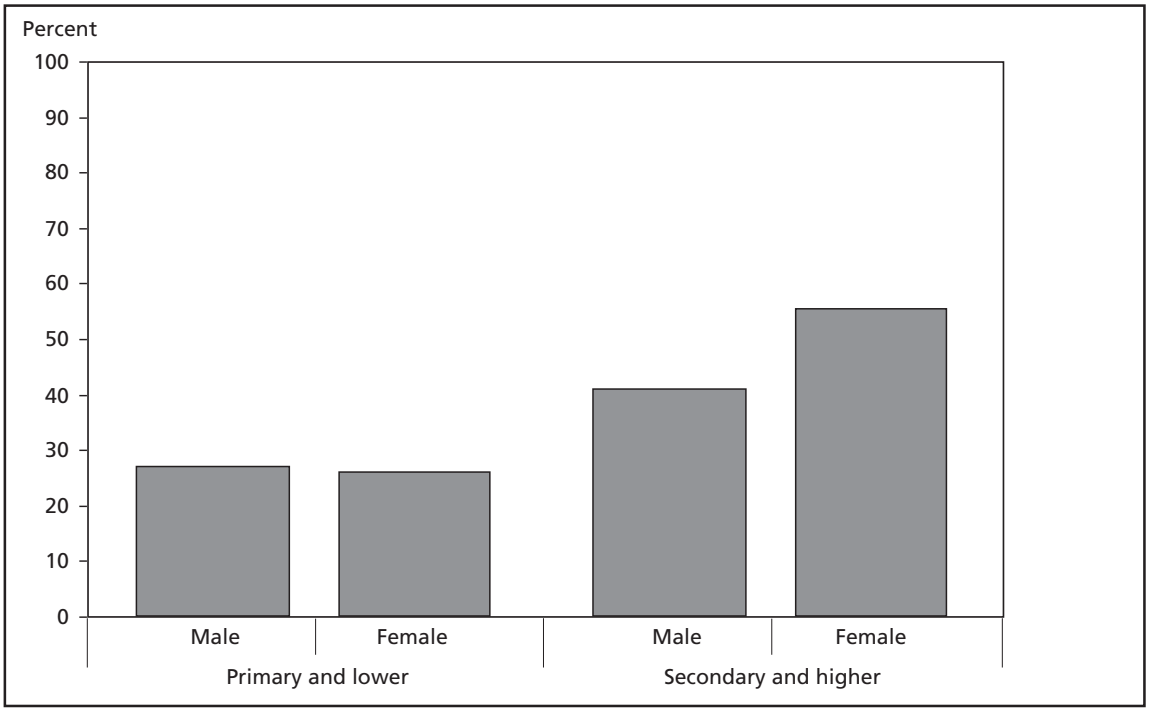
All		35
Area	Urban	44
	Rural	28
Gender	Male	32
	Female	38
Age	15-19	35
	20–24	35
Highest level completed	Primary or lower	27
	Some secondary or higher	47
Region	Port-au-Prince	47
	West	47
	North	28
	South	17
	Transversale	25

Educated female youth head the unemployment statistics

Youth with some secondary education or higher are clearly over-represented among the unemployed. The unemployment rate for youth who continued beyond primary education was a staggering 47 percent, compared to 27 percent among youth with primary or lower (Table 4.9). This suggests that the Haitian economy offered poor work opportunities for youth that went beyond primary education into secondary or higher. However, it may also partly be a result of youth with some education being less willing to accept sub-standard working conditions in the informal sector and spending more time searching for jobs. Furthermore, a marginal four percent had a university degree. Focus group interviews with university educated youth point to the absence of networks as a considerable challenge for entering the labour market (Lunde and Luzincourt 2010). When the demand for labour is as low as in Haiti, education in itself is not sufficient, as applicants also need the right connections to find jobs.

Female youth are considerably less likely than male youth to find work after completing higher education. Unemployment rates for young women with some secondary or higher education is as high as 55 percent, 14 percentage points higher than for young men with the same level of education (Figure 4.4). For youth with primary education or less, there is no gender effect on employment.

Figure 4.4 Unemployment rate, by level of education and gender, youth (15-24) (n=584)



Higher unemployment in urban areas

Unemployment rates were significantly higher in urban areas (44 percent) than in rural areas (28 percent) (Table 4.9). The lower unemployment rates in rural areas can be explained by the considerable absorption capacity of the agricultural sector. In Port-au-Prince and the western region, almost half of the economically active youth (47 percent) qualified as unemployed. The southern region had the lowest youth unemployment, at 17 percent. However, comparison of unemployment rates across regions should be approached with caution: lower youth unemployment in the south does not necessarily indicate better employment opportunities

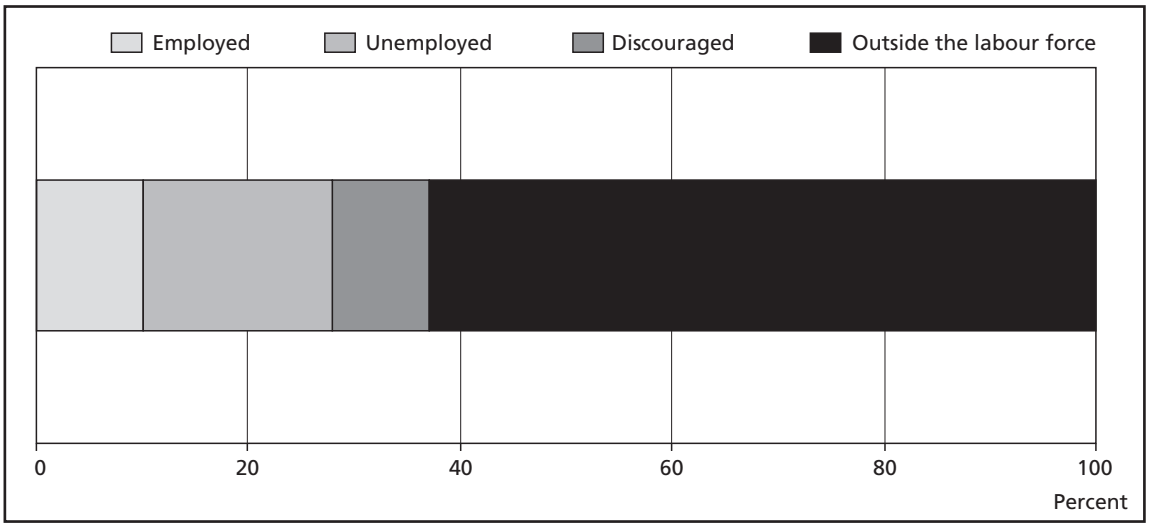
than elsewhere. Rather, it is more likely a result of migration. As discussed in Chapter 5, prior to the earthquake the southern departments were the main departure region for youth labour migration to Port-au-Prince and the west. Youth in the capital are hence more likely to actively look for work and therefore qualify as unemployed. The other regions, on the other hand, host a larger portion of 'discouraged workers', i.e. youth that are able and willing to work but have given up searching, and are therefore 'hidden' in ILO statistics. This group of youth will be examined in the next section.

Discouraged workers

In this section we look at the situation of 'discouraged workers'. As mentioned earlier, the unemployed are categorised as being without work, available for work and seeking work. In some instances, the labour market situation justifies the relaxation of the seeking work criterion. Unemployment would then be defined in terms of the remaining two criteria of the definition: being without work and currently available for work (Hussmanns 2007). Individuals who meet these two criteria but who have not been actively job-searching in the reference period are termed discouraged workers, and defined as unemployed in the relaxed definition.

Approximately nine percent of all working age youth in Haiti were discouraged. They did not have work, they were available for work but they were not seeking work. The main reasons they listed for not actively looking for work were that they had lost hope of finding anything, that pay and/or conditions of work were not acceptable, or that the available work was not compatible with their skills or training. As these youth are both willing and able to work, there is good reason for considering this group as unemployed.

Figure 4.5 Labour force status of youth (15-24) according to relaxed definition (n=1,773)



Incorporating discouraged workers into the economically active category reduces the economically inactive youth from 72 percent to 63 percent, while the youth labour force now consists of 37 percent of all youth. Including discouraged youth among the unemployed increases the youth unemployment rate to a staggering 51 percent.

Higher education among discouraged workers

Around one-third of discouraged workers had not completed primary education. However, their level of education was significantly higher than among employed youth. Almost half of them (47 percent) had gone beyond primary education into secondary, with some going on to higher education. Still, the educational level among the discouraged was generally lower than among the unemployed. This may indicate that the higher educated are less likely to give up searching, while those with little or low education are more likely to get absorbed into agriculture or informal sector work.

Summary

In pre-earthquake Haiti, almost three-fourths of youth (15-24) were not part of the labour force. The most important reason for the very low youth labour force participation was school enrolment, even among the older youth that would be expected to have left school.

More young women than young men were economically inactive. In addition to school enrolment, female youth were unable to participate because of domestic responsibilities and, more importantly, caring for their children. Many had also given up hope of finding employment and were no longer searching.

When young women entered the labour force, they were engaged mostly in commerce, agriculture and domestic service. The majority of young men were participating in agriculture and construction. Youth participation in jobs that required a higher level of education or training was very limited, even in the age range 20–24.

Employment for youth was characterised by a high level of insecurity, with no written contracts, no benefits, and short-term and seasonal work. A significant group with higher than average education had entirely given up hope of finding work that fitted their skills and did not actively seek work, therefore remaining outside the economically active youth population.

Youth unemployment rates in Haiti were among the highest in the world. Thirty-five percent of economically active youth were unemployed, increasing to 51 percent if including discouraged workers. Unemployment rates were substantially higher among those who had studied beyond primary education. The most disadvantaged in terms of employment were better educated female youth. More than half of young women who had completed a grade within secondary or higher education were unemployed prior to the earthquake.

Chapter 5 Youth migration and relocation

Henriette Lunde

Introduction

This chapter describes general migration patterns observed among Haitian youth prior to undertaking the Haiti Youth Survey in spring 2009. Since then, the earthquake has altered the demography in Haiti dramatically. An estimated 25 percent, or around half a million former Port-au-Prince inhabitants, left the destroyed capital and relocated to other regions after the disaster. Many of the displaced were migrants from the rural areas who had moved to the capital in search for a livelihood. They now find themselves forced to return to the most deprived areas of the country, where a humanitarian crisis has been looming long before the January 12 disaster in Port-au-Prince.

Prior to the earthquake, labour migration from the rural areas of Haiti flowed towards two main destinations; the capital Port-au-Prince and its surroundings, and the Dominican Republic. In the wake of the destruction of the Haitian capital, a reversed internal migration flow has taken place for the first time – from the capital to the rural countryside. The influx of hundreds of thousands of internally displaced will inevitably place a heavy dependency burden on the rural population. As detailed in Chapter 2, seventy percent of rural households reported that they were unable to provide their members with enough food prior to the earthquake. Only one in five reported to have the capacity to support and assist family members in the case of an emergency.

In Port-au-Prince, on the other hand, twice as many (40 percent) could help relatives living outside the household if necessary. Family members who had migrated to the capital were an important insurance for rural households in cases of a failed harvest, an animal disease or a death in the household. Remittances from family members in the capital were important for the survival of many rural households. Now, the traditionally most disadvantaged part of the population will have to assume much of the responsibility for assisting previous breadwinners, distant relatives and unrelated newcomers. The arrival of large numbers of earthquake victims will inevitably lead to increasing pressure on the already scarce resources available in the Haitian countryside, and disputes may occur related to land rights and property.

Through analyzing migration as a strategy both for individual coping and for household social risk management, this chapter seeks to shed light on the situation that is now taking place in Haiti. The first part of the analysis will present the general migration patterns characterizing Haiti's demography prior to the earthquake. The second part will analyze youth migration in more detail.

The chapter is based on two main empirical sources; statistical data from the Haiti Youth Survey and qualitative data collected during four weeks of fieldwork in Haiti and in the Dominican Republic prior to the survey.

The statistical data covers three different units of analysis within the selected households; 1) all household members, 2) randomly selected youth members, and 3) youth members who had left the surveyed households within three years prior to the survey and had been away for three months or more, or were planning to stay away for a period of more than three months.

The data collected for all household members are the main indicators used to explore the level of mobility in the general population. For randomly selected youth, detailed data were gathered about their migration history from birth to the time of the survey. Since the objective of this study is linked to youth migration, the data presented will primarily be the moves made by the respondents after the age of ten and until the time of the survey. Data on youth who had left the households were provided by the household respondent. This module was included to capture data on youth who had migrated across the border to the Dominican Republic, and for that reason was not a part of our sample.

Definitions

Migration is a broad concept potentially covering numerous forms of mobility. For the purpose of the Haiti Youth Survey, we have chosen to define *migration* as moves crossing at least one departmental border and lasting for a period of three months or more. The relatively short time span is chosen to include circular and seasonal migration which young Haitians frequently engage in, for instance to participate in the harvest on Dominican sugarcane plantations. Intra-departmental mobility and relocation within the local community lasting more than three months is not defined as migration but described as *moves*.

In the case of domestic migration and migration to the Dominican Republic, young people do not normally break with their kin and household of origin. Also for youth who migrate permanently, their demographic movement is to a large extent determined by their social network. Very few of the respondents reported moving to destinations where they did not already have friends or family. Youth migration in Haiti therefore fits Olwig's description of migration as a redefinition of relations within a network. *When examined within the context of networks, migration involves neither rupture nor continuity in social life. Rather it involves the extending, developing, negotiating, and redefining of relations* (Olwig 2007: 9). The physical mobility of youth occurs within their existing social network, which is again expanded and consolidated as a result of the migration process. These extended networks, which are often kin-based and bridge the urban-rural divide, are utilized by other aspiring youth searching for opportunities in the city or across the border. The kind of migration Haitian youth engage in is best described as chain migration. Chain migration can be defined as *that movement in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities, are provided with transportation, and have initial accommodation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationship with previous migrants* (MacDonald and MacDonald 1964).

In the Haiti Youth Survey, migration is analyzed from a micro-analytical perspective. This means that we seek to explain migration in terms of the behaviour of individuals and households rather than the characteristics of places and populations. Individual factors that

may influence the likelihood of a young person migrating include access to employment and education in their home area or, what in economic terms can be described as, the *opportunity costs* if she or he migrates. If access to means of social mobility (opportunities) is limited, the opportunity costs of the individual are low and the youth may be more inclined to migrate. When the opportunity costs are perceived to be low, the young person has more to gain and less to lose from migration than if the opportunity costs are high. Typically opportunity costs of youth are lower than for adults (World Bank 2006b). Young people are less likely to have established their own households and families. They have invested less in their work life and often have more problems gaining access to the labour market than do adults (Fares et.al. 2006). They also tend to be less integrated in their local communities.

Another factor impacting a person's likelihood and ability to migrate is the costs involved in moving, also called *relocation costs*. While opportunity costs are defined by what is left behind, relocation costs are defined by the investment necessary to move. Relocation costs can be interpreted as strictly economic costs, for instance related to travel and housing, or they may also include social costs such as reduced community affinity and increased vulnerability. In the Haiti Youth Survey, opportunity and relocation costs are defined as socio-economic costs in the broader sense. For instance with regard to illegal migration to the Dominican Republic, the risk of being caught at the border and detained is interpreted as a relocation cost, reducing the incentives for risk-aware youth to engage in this type of migration.

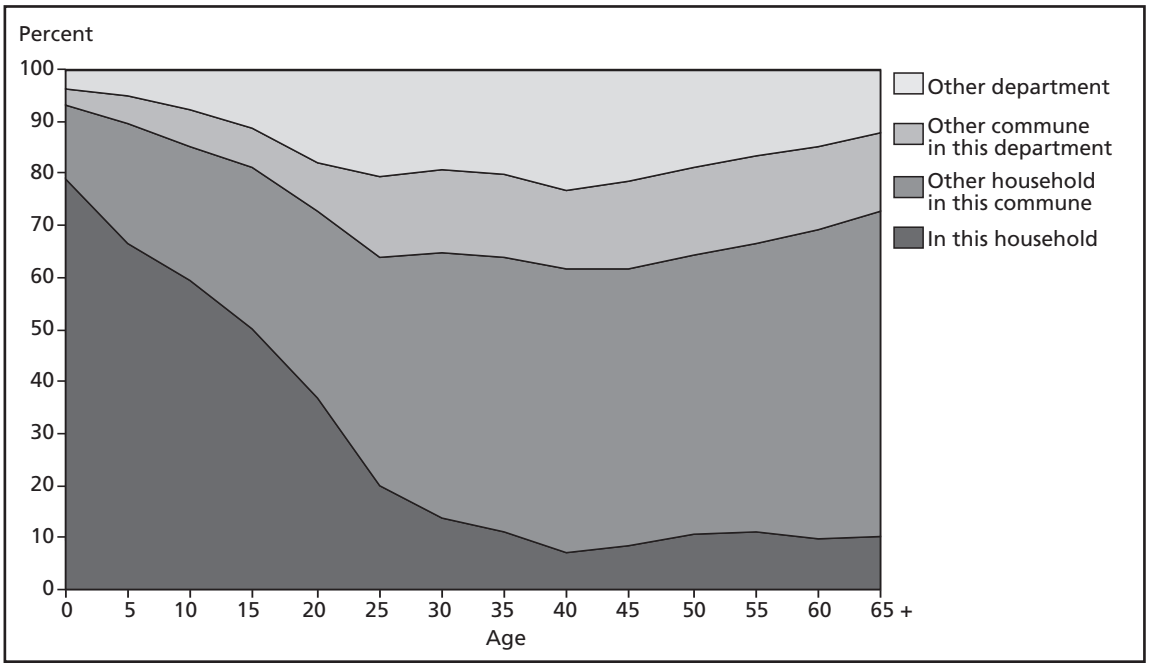
However, it is important to note that migration is not always the outcome of a decision made by the individual youth. Often the decision is influenced by the needs of the household and the agency of other household members, or what could be termed family or household factors (World Bank 2006b). Decision-making processes in a household are always complex, with many different factors playing in. Young people may feel a responsibility to contribute to the household economy and feel pressured without being forced. Others are left no choice but to leave their home because their parents cannot sustain them or are dependent upon them to send remittances.

General migration trends

Prior to the earthquake most moves took place within the local community

One of the main demographic patterns in Haiti prior to the earthquake was one of domestic immobility. At the time of the survey, only 13 percent of the total population was residing outside the department where they were born. When the Haiti Living Condition Survey (HLCS) was conducted in 2001, 15 percent of the population was living outside their department of origin, indicating a stable, low rate of interdepartmental migration (IHSI/Fafo 2003).

Figure 5.1 Place of birth, by age, all population (n=8,962, 34 individuals born abroad not included)



Haitian youth tend to leave their households of origin between the age of 15 and 24 (Figure 5.1). Only one in five within the age group 25 to 29 was still residing in their birth households, while half the population between 15 and 19 were living where they had been born. Most young people established their own households or moved into already established households within their home area. The ones who relocated to another commune or another department were most likely to do so between the ages of 15 and 24. This corresponds with the expansionist phase of life when young people seek to establish their own life independent of their parents and to find their place in society.

A total of 40 percent of the population were still living in their household of origin. There was, however, a significant difference between urban and rural areas. While almost half the rural population was living in their households of origin at the time of the survey, this was the case for less than one in four inhabitants in urban areas. This is partly explained by a high degree of rural-urban migration but also by the younger age composition in the rural areas.

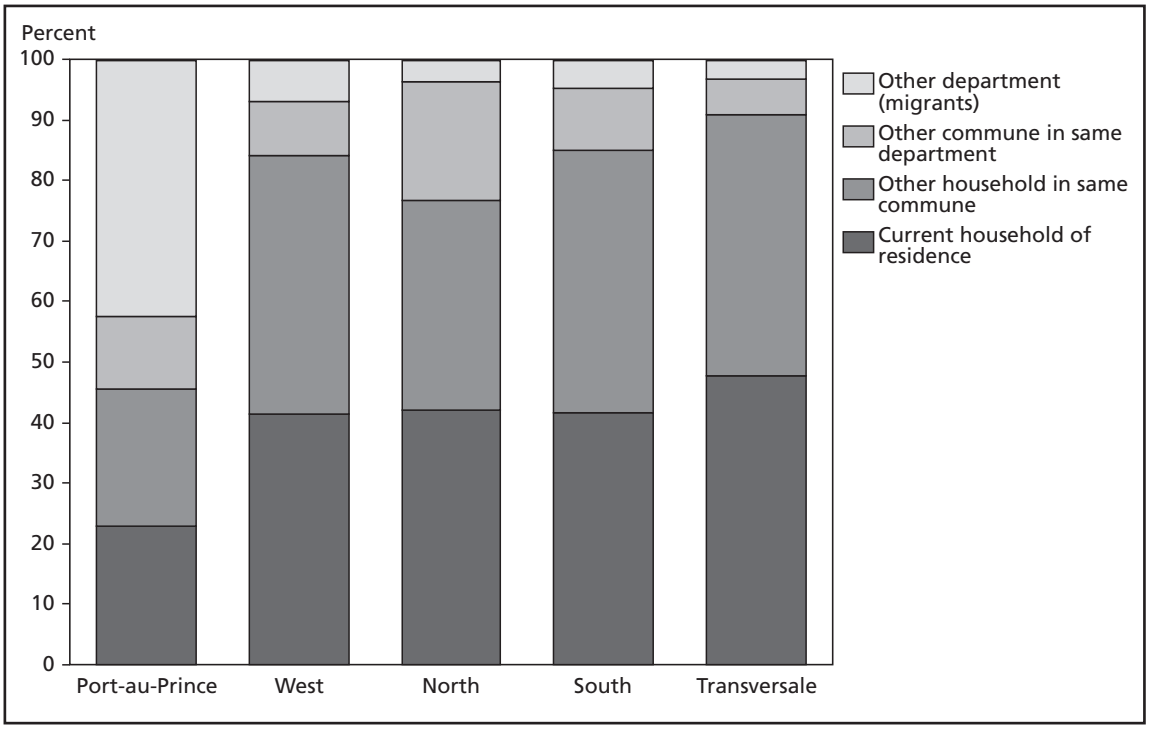
Among those who were still residing in their birth households, there were only small differences between men (42 percent) and women (37 percent). This indicates that both genders are as likely to leave their households of origin upon marriage. The tendency of female youth to leave the household earlier than male youth further diminishes the gender differences.

The majority of migrants were residing in Port-au-Prince

The survey revealed large regional differences in mobility. Ninety-one percent of the population in the Transversale region was still residing in their birth communes, around 85 percent in the west and south, and 76 percent in the north. The northern region differs from the other regions by having a relatively high inter-regional mobility. Of the 24 percent in the northern region who were living outside their commune of birth, 20 percent had moved from another commune in the same region. Only three percent were migrants from other departments (Figure 5.2).

Port-au-Prince showed a very different demographic composition than the other regions with a large part of its population being migrants from other departments.

Figure 5.2 Place of birth, by geographical region, all population (n=8,962, 34 individuals born abroad not included in the sample)



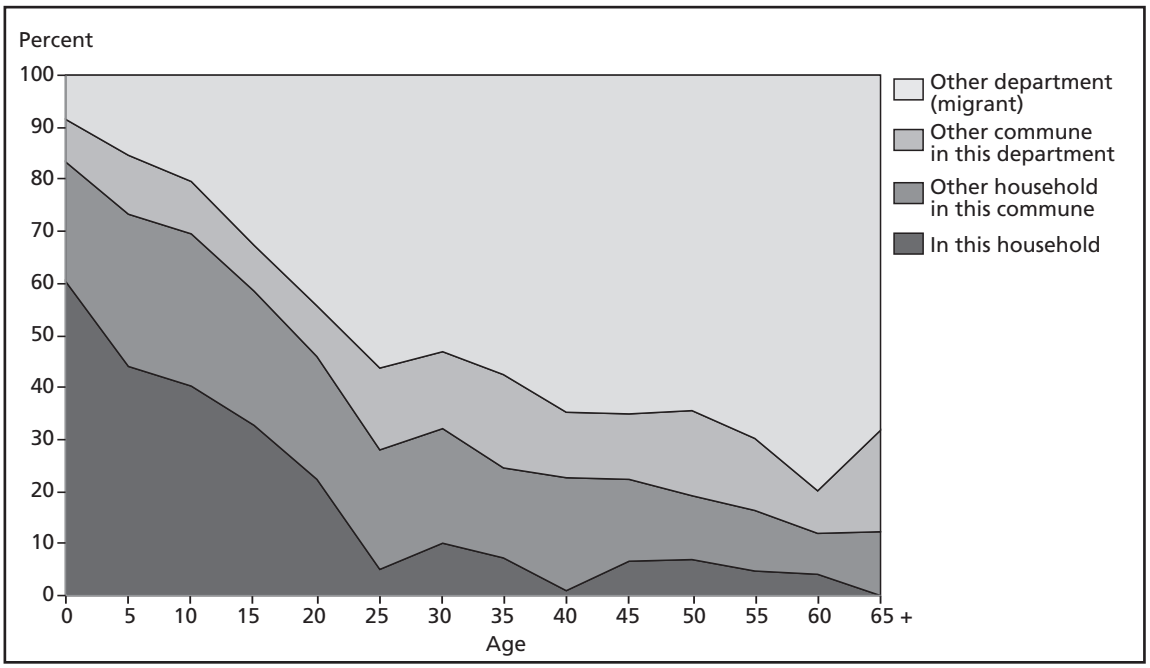
Of the 13 percent of the population residing outside their department of birth (Figure 5.1), an overwhelming majority had migrated to Port-au-Prince. At the time of the survey over 40 percent of the population in Port-au-Prince was migrants (Figure 5.2). By contrast, only five percent of the population was migrants in the rest of the country. The region with the second highest proportion of migrants was the western region, consisting of the western department – excluding Port-au-Prince, and the south-eastern department. Besides the proximity to Port-au-Prince, the western region also hosts some larger cities such as Jacmel and Miragoane. Even so, only seven percent of the population in this second-most popular destination were migrants, showing the clear preference of the capital as the destination for domestic migration.

Before the earthquake, other urban destinations in Haiti did not attract migrants. Port-au-Prince was the power-base of the government, and the centre for most of the activity of both national and international actors. National investments in basic infrastructure such as schools, hospitals and roads were concentrated in the metropolitan area around the capital, at the expense of other regions. People outside the capital often sarcastically referred to the capital as the "Republic of Port-au-Prince", clearly expressing how Port-au-Prince was a privileged entity, separate from the country in general.

When discussing lifetime migration (place of birth versus current residence), it is important to note that this is net migration, not capturing those who have migrated and then returned to their area of origin. This may lead to an underestimation of the actual level of mobility as people who, for example, have spent their work life elsewhere and then returned to their birthplace on retiring are not included as migrants. The fact that international migrants, for instance to the Dominican Republic, are exempted from the sample leads to further under-

reporting of mobility in the population. The trends in the data material from the Haiti Youth Survey are nevertheless so clear that it is unlikely that these general weaknesses regarding lifetime migration data have affected the results.

Figure 5.3 Place of birth, by age, population in Port-au-Prince (n=2,895, 11 individuals born abroad not included)



The residential background of the population of Port-au-Prince prior to the earthquake is presented in Figure 5.3. The proportion of migrants increases steeply within the age cohort 15 to 24 – the age when young people normally leave their parental household. The proportion of inhabitants who had migrated at some stage increased with age for the working-age population, but decreased after 60. This trend is probably explained by two factors: 1) a generational effect stemming from the fact that urbanisation in Haiti is a fairly recent phenomenon which gained importance in the 1970s and 1980s (see Box 5.1). and 2) an age factor, namely that some economic migrants who had lived in the capital during their working life have returned to their area of origin in their old age.

Box 5.1 Urbanisation in Haiti

Urbanisation in Haiti was encouraged from the late 1950s onwards by Francois "Papa Doc" Duvalier's policy of concentrating administration, revenue collection, industry and services in Port-au-Prince (Fass and Roy 1989). It accelerated in the 1970s and 1980s, during the regime of his son Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier, who sought to modernize Haiti through utilizing the access to cheap labour for export-oriented production (Dupuy 1997). Generous incentives to attract US industries led to the establishment of export processing zones, supported by funding from USAID (Shamsie 2006). At the same time, aggressive development strategies were employed encouraging a shift from subsistence agriculture to agricultural export production, including large-scale dumping of subsidized rice on the Haitian market. The imported rice out-priced locally-produced food, and made it impossible for many Haitian peasants to continue making a living from farming. The result was an undermining of rural livelihoods, and a flow of migrants from the countryside to the assembly industry in the capital. The industrial sector in Haiti was reduced after the fall of the Duvalier regime in 1986, and nearly brought to a halt in 1991 because of an international economic blockade following the military coup against President Aristide (Blanc 1998). The blockade was lifted three years later, when Aristide was reinstated with the help of the US military, on condition of the implementation of structural adjustments and further market liberalisation. The assembly industry never returned to its heights of the 1980s, but a continuing strategy of prioritising economic development in the capital over the rural areas, has lead to a steady flow of migrants to the city, despite the shortage of formal sector work. The high level of migration, which has not been matched by growth in employment opportunities, has resulted in urban under-employment and widespread urban poverty.

Limited livelihood opportunities in rural areas

Why is there so little intra-rural migration in Haiti? Employment opportunities in the rural areas tend to be limited to the agricultural sector which, when the Haiti Living Condition Survey was conducted, employed 63 percent of the active rural labour force (IHSI/Fafo 2003). An additional 23 percent were working in petty trade and commerce or as car mechanics, while formal sector employment was marginal. Only 2.5 percent of the active rural labour force worked in the education, health and social services.

Agricultural activity in Haiti is based on small-scale peasant farming. After Haiti's independence in 1804, the large-scale agricultural plantations that had made Haiti the most profitable colony in the French colonial empire, were subdivided and plots of land were made available to the emancipated slaves. Since then, Haiti's farmland has become increasingly fragmented as a result of the inheritance practice of giving all the children of the household the right to land when their parents died. Today most peasants have small landholdings consisting of several small plots. Agricultural work is mainly carried out using small hand tools such as hoes, machetes and digging sticks. Draft animals and ploughs are only rarely used, partly because the small plots do not invite to use of larger equipment, and partly because of lack of access to funds and credit.

The work is highly labour intensive and during the most intensive periods, peasants team up in *konbits*, or work groups, to help cultivate each others' plots. The institution of *konbit* is based on reciprocity and makes it possible for the peasants to accomplish tasks that would be too challenging for one person. This is illustrated in the common proverb *anpil men, chay pa lou* – with many hands, the burden is not heavy. Accompanying the work with music and a

competitive spirit between the groups participating in a *konbit* also turns the hard work into a social activity for those involved.

The men participating in a konbit expect to get well fed while working and their contribution will be repaid when it is time to cultivate their own plot. However, there is no cash payment involved. The vast majority of peasants are entitled to land – either through formal ownership, renting of land or sharecropping. The small-scale peasant production does not encourage the use of hired labour and therefore labour migration within rural areas is rare. The lack of market for hired farmhands makes it difficult for rural youth to create a livelihood for themselves independent of their household. Agricultural production is mainly for subsistence and cash crops sold on the local market, and there are no upstream or downstream agricultural activities offering employment opportunities.

Rapid environmental degradation is also increasing the pressure on agricultural land which means that fewer youth inherit the livelihood of their parents. Most the land is barren and yields a low return. As late as in the 1950s, half the country was covered with tropical forest. Today only two percent of the forest remains. The lack of vegetation causes irreversible soil erosion, and every year 40 million tons of fertile topsoil is washed into the sea (MENFP 2007). The main reason for the rapid deforestation is the extensive use of charcoal for household purposes. More than 90 percent of Haitian households use charcoal or wood as their primary source of energy for cooking (IHSI/Fafo 2001). The production and sale of charcoal is also an important source of income for the poorest households.[1]

In addition to the steadily diminishing layer of fertile soil, deforestation causes deadly mudslides and periodic flooding when the island is hit by hurricanes and tropical storms, which occurs regularly. Over the last hundred years, hurricanes and tropical storms have increased both in strength and frequency (Oxfam 2009). Due to its geographical location, high level of poverty and lack of national disaster preparedness, Haiti is extremely vulnerable to climatic changes. The harsh weather conditions make agriculture a risky and unpredictable livelihood. At times whole harvests are lost, leaving the peasants without food or a cash crop to sell. The unpredictability of rural life makes the peasant population increasingly dependent upon establishing networks that reach out beyond the agricultural sector, preferably into the metropolitan area or abroad. The relocation of youth members of rural households serves a double purpose; it opens up a new set of opportunities for the individual youth and it expands the social network and social security of the household.

Youth migration in Haiti

A total of 1,345 randomly selected youth (10–24) were interviewed for the Haiti Youth Survey. Of these, 64 percent reported to have moved from their birth household, or had been away for a period of more than three months and returned. In this report we have chosen to focus on the moves conducted after the age of ten, meaning the moves conducted by those defined as youth at the time of relocation. Slightly more than six hundred respondents had moved after the age of ten. A slight majority (54 percent) had moved once, close to thirty percent

[1] Some sources claim that the trade embargo imposed on Haiti in the period 1991 to 1994 is to blame, as kerosene and petroleum were affected by the economic blockade (Roc 2008). However, the use of alternative sources of fuel was so marginal also prior to the embargo that there is little reason to believe that this had a substantial effect on the process of deforestation.

had moved twice, while the remaining had moved three times or more. The highest number of moves recorded was seven.

In total, 805 moves had been made by the randomly selected youth after the age of ten. Out of these, fifty-seven percent took place within the same department and are defined as intra-departmental moves. Thirty-eight percent of the reported moves crossed departmental boundaries and are defined as migration, and the remaining five percent were cross border migration to or from the Dominican Republic. This number should not be interpreted as indicative of the real scale of cross-border migration, as only returned migrants are included in the sample. Permanent migrants and current seasonal migrants are not part of the sample.[2] The scope of migration to the Dominican Republic is more accurately presented in the additional dataset including youth who had left the household within the last three years prior to the survey.

The randomly selected individuals are evenly distributed by age with approximately one-third of the sample in the age cohorts 10–14, 15–19 and 20–24, respectively. Since the data material consists of all the moves conducted by these youth after the age of ten, there is inevitably a bias towards moves made at a young age. While all the moves by respondents at the age of ten are included, moves by youth in the oldest age bracket are restricted to one-third of the sample. Forty-seven percent of the moves defined as migration were carried out while the youth respondents were between 10 and 14, 37 percent while they were between 15 and 19; and only 17 percent were aged 20 to 24 at the time of migration. For this reason this dataset is not useful for describing the youth population (10–24) as a whole, but needs to be broken down according to the relevant age cohorts.

To describe general trends for the whole youth population we will rely on information given by household respondent on youth who had left the household during the three years prior to the survey. Out of the 1,996 households included in the sample, around 15 percent (310 households) had youth members who had moved out during the reference period.[3] Only youth who have left their reference households are included. Youth who have moved as a part of household relocation are not included.

Where do they move to and from?

Girls migrate to the urban areas in the west, boys to the Dominican Republic

The data on youth who had left the surveyed households during the past three years shows quite an even distribution in youth emigration from Port-au-Prince (24 percent), Transversale (25 percent) and the southern region (23 percent), and a somewhat lower youth emigration rate from the western (15 percent) and northern (13 percent) regions.

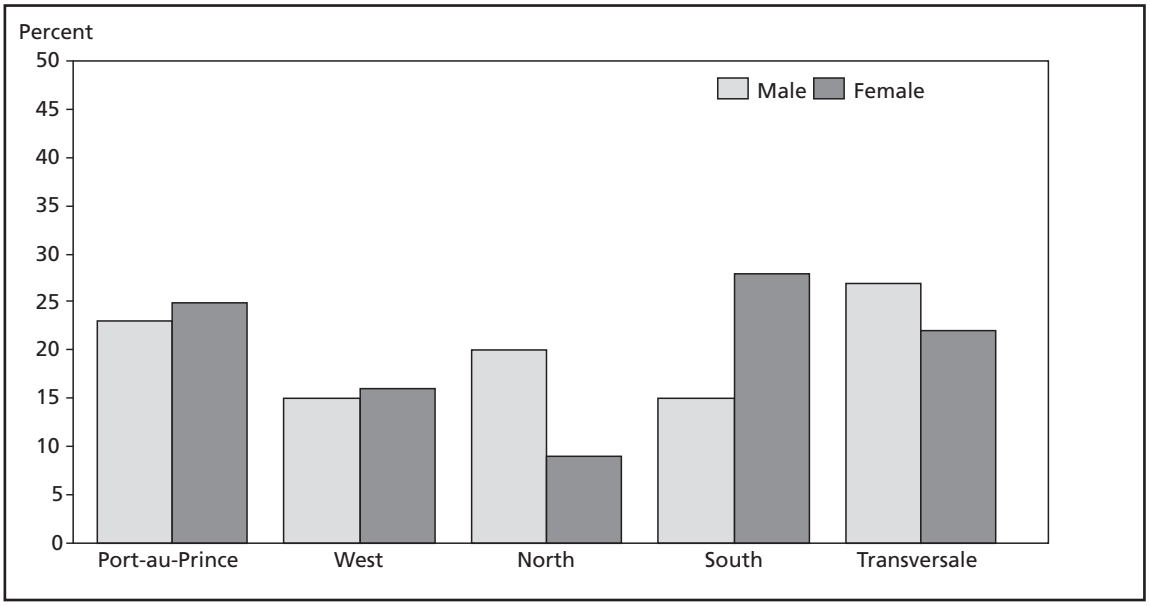
[2] The peak season for Haitian labour migration to the Dominican Republic is during the sugarcane harvest. The main harvest season in the northern and eastern parts of the country starts in November/December, depending on the rainfall. In the south, several of the large plantations use artificial irrigation. On these plantations the harvest season starts in March and April. The fieldwork for the Haiti Youth Survey was implemented during the months of March and April. It is reasonable to believe that the overlap between the survey period and the harvest season in the Dominican Republic has led to a reduced reporting of cross-border migration.

[3] By youth members we mean previous household members who were in the age range 10 to 24 at the time of departure.

When analyzing the departure regions of all youth migration, based on the randomly selected individuals and hence excluding migrants currently abroad, the southern region has a much higher emigration rate than the other regions as it is the point of departure for almost one-third of the total youth emigration. This corresponds to the results from the HLCS 2001 which reported a higher rate of out-migration from the south than from the other regions (IHSI/Fafo 2003). The main reason for this discrepancy is that these datasets do not include individuals who had migrated out of the country and not returned, most notably to the Dominican Republic. Since migration to the Dominican Republic is most prevalent in the north and Transversale, but less so from the south, this affects the regional distribution.

More interesting than the distribution between regions is the gender distribution within the regions. Almost 30 percent of female migrants recorded to have left their households departed from the southern region, while this was the case for only 15 percent of the male migrants (Figure 5.4). Conversely, twice as many male as female migrants departed from the northern region.

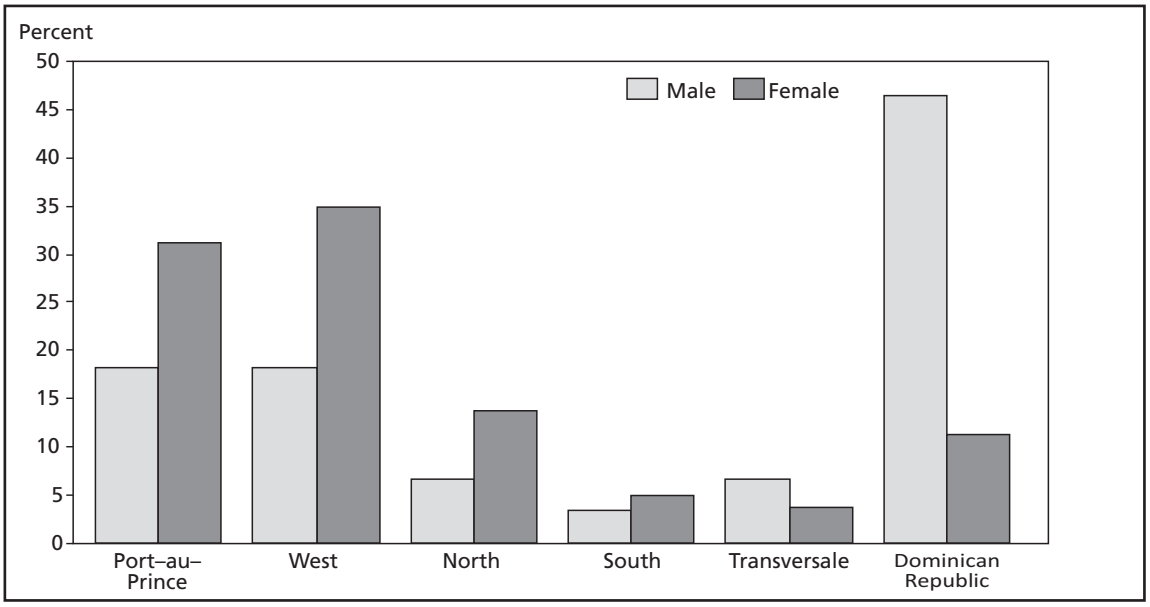
Figure 5.4 Region of departure, by gender, youth (10–24) who migrated over the previous three years (n=174)



To understand these gender patterns it is necessary to look at where female and male youth migrate to and why. Almost half the males who had left the surveyed households over the past three years and not returned, had migrated to the Dominican Republic, making the Dominican Republic by far the most popular destination for young Haitians males (Figure 5.5). Thirty percent of youth who migrated across the border went to Dominican cities, while the majority went to rural areas. The second most popular destinations for young males were Port-au-Prince and the surrounding western region, with 18 percent each. Only 11 percent of female youth had migrated across the border to the Dominican Republic. The most popular destinations for girls were Port-au-Prince and the western region, together accounting for

two-thirds of all female youth migrants. Out of all the youth who migrated to the two most urban regions in Haiti, 70 percent were female.

Figure 5.5 Region of destination, by gender, youth (10–24) who migrated over the previous three years (n=140)



The gendered tendencies in the youth migration patterns are clear: female youth tend to migrate towards the urban areas in the west, while male youth are more likely to cross the border into the Dominican Republic. The over-representation of girls emigrating from the south, and boys from the north and Transversale, suggests that the likelihood of migration is affected by the proximity to Port-au-Prince and the west, and the Dominican Republic.

Why are girls' and boys' migration patterns so dissimilar? The qualitative study on youth labour migration found that male and female migrants had different relocation costs when moving to the Dominican Republic and to Port-au-Prince.

High relocation costs for girls in the Dominican Republic

The young male migrants interviewed in different rural parts of Haiti were unanimous in their preference for Port-au-Prince as a destination rather than the Dominican Republic.[4] The sole reason the majority of them still chose to engage in illegal cross-border migration, was that their prospect of actually finding employment was perceived to be a lot better in the neighbouring country. Work in the capital was thought to be available only to those who had higher education and good, personal contacts who could help them to access the labour market, and assist with food and lodging. Work in the Dominican Republic, on the other hand, was

[4] There are also large Haitian diaspora populations in countries like the USA, Canada and France. Migration to one of these countries is a goal for many of the better off, educated youth in the cities. For marginalized youth in the rural areas, however, who do not already have family members in a western country, moving there remains a far-fetched dream.

perceived to be available to everyone who was able to make it across the border, although it entailed a considerable risk. This will be discussed in more detail at the end of the chapter.

The young migrants interviewed for the qualitative study expressed resentment towards a government and a country that, in the words of many, "offers nothing". One young man in Maissade, with repeated successful seasonal migrations to the Dominican Republic behind him, expressed it like this; *Look at me! I'm big! I can work! But here I have no opportunities, no chances. I would rather go to Port-au-Prince than to the Dominican Republic, but there are better chances of work in the Dominican Republic. The Dominican Republic is a country that is being developed! That is why I go there. Haiti offers nothing!* (Lunde 2010).

In contrast to Haiti, the Dominican Republic maintained their plantation economy after their independence; large-scale agricultural production of sugarcane, coffee and cotton continue to be the backbone of the Dominican economy. The production is highly labour intensive and has created a large demand for underpaid, manual labour. Historically, labour migration from Haiti to the Dominican Republic has been oriented towards the agricultural sector, in particular sugarcane production. Over the past decades the Dominican Republic has experienced economic growth, especially in its expanding tourist industry, which has again created a high demand for unskilled labour in the construction sector. This in turn has led to an increasing shift in the migration pattern for Haitian youth – from the plantations towards the urban areas. Lately there has also been a further change in that more urban, educated youth are seeking employment across the border in all sectors. Low pay and good language skills make them attractive in the tourist sector, for example.

However, Haitian workers are still most prevalent in the occupations demanding hard, physical labour such as agriculture and construction. The type of employment available has made cross-border migration a more relevant alternative for young men, than for young women. This does not mean that there are no employment opportunities for young Haitian girls and women across the border. Haitian girls are in demand as domestic workers in Dominican homes because they are paid low wages, and there are also opportunities within the commercial and service sectors. Despite this, migration to the Dominican Republic is predominantly a male phenomenon. The qualitative study found two main reasons for this.

Firstly, there is a high level of risk involved in crossing the border without legal papers, in addition to the vulnerability of being an illegal migrant. A visa to legally cross the border and work in the Dominican Republic is both expensive and hard to obtain and therefore beyond the reach of most Haitians, except the privileged middle-class youth. Illegal border crossing involves a number of risks, and the respondents reported that they had been harassed, detained, robbed and deported. Female migrants are in addition particularly vulnerable to sexual exploitation and abuse. Young girls and women may be less willing than their male counterparts to expose themselves to the risks of illegal border crossing, and may also be less encouraged, or even forbidden to do so, by other family members.

The qualitative fieldwork revealed a clear perception in the sending communities that female youth who cross illegally run a high risk of suffering sexual abuse from Dominican border guards and military. Female domestic workers are also vulnerable to abuse from members of the households where they work. During the study female migrants were not asked directly whether they had experienced first-hand sexual abuse. Nevertheless, several respondents brought up rapes and sexual abuse as a risk of migration. In a mixed focus group in the Maissade area, two teenage girls present had been migrating to Port-au-Prince and returned. None had been in the Dominican Republic. When asked why they went to Port-au-Prince instead of the Dominican Republic, one of the girls replied like this: *Because of pride. If some-*

thing happens to me in Haiti, I can retaliate. I'm in my own country. A male participant in his early twenties expanded on her comment: *The girls know they will get raped in the Dominican Republic. That is why they go to Port-au-Prince instead.* The female youth present did not comment upon his statement, but some confirmed by nodding (Lunde 2010).

Secondly, illegal cross-border migration is to some degree associated with prostitution, raising suspicion about the motives of the female youth engaging in this sort of migration. It was clear from the qualitative interviews that the girls seeking employment across the border could suffer social stigmatization within their local communities.

Some respondents believed that girls and young women who migrate to the Dominican Republic would end up as prostitutes regardless of their intentions on departure. Others claimed that the female migrants chose prostitution for lack of other options. One of the respondents, a woman in her early twenties, had migrated from the rural areas in Artibonite and was living in the Dominican border town Elias Pinas where she was trading petty goods at the market. The respondent wanted to move further into the Dominican Republic, where the employment opportunities are better and salaries higher, but despite having contacts that could help her and the money necessary to do so, she was not willing to enter illegally. *The girls who cross illegally,* she said, *do so to become prostitutes. I don't want that destiny for myself.* Instead she was saving up enough money to pay for a passport and a visa, which with her current income was likely to take her several years.

Organizations working with migration related topics both in Haiti and in the Dominican Republic assert that many Haitian girls are involved in prostitution in Dominican cities, but there are no reliable estimates as to how many there are. The number of girls involved in formal prostitution is, however, likely only to be a small share of the female youth who at some point have had to participate in transactional sex during the actual migration or to enter the job market. In a bargaining situation, women are vulnerable when dependent upon the 'favour' of a patron.

A previous study in the Haiti Youth Project brought attention to the fact that some women are pressured into providing sex in exchange for school access for their children, as well as access to higher education for themselves (Lunde 2008). Pressure for sexual favours is a considerable problem for Haitian women in many life situations. Female migrants are structurally vulnerable, outside of the traditional safety nets of family, friends and a local community. With a high level of dependency on other people, and weak bargaining power, female migrants are at high risk of experiencing sexual pressure and abuse.

The perception that female migration is linked to prostitution may have its source in anti-trafficking campaigning in the rural areas which stresses that migration is a route into the sex trade. For the Haitian girls who want to cross the border to find regular work, the social stigma and suspicion that follows increases their relocations costs and become a strong impediment to migrate.

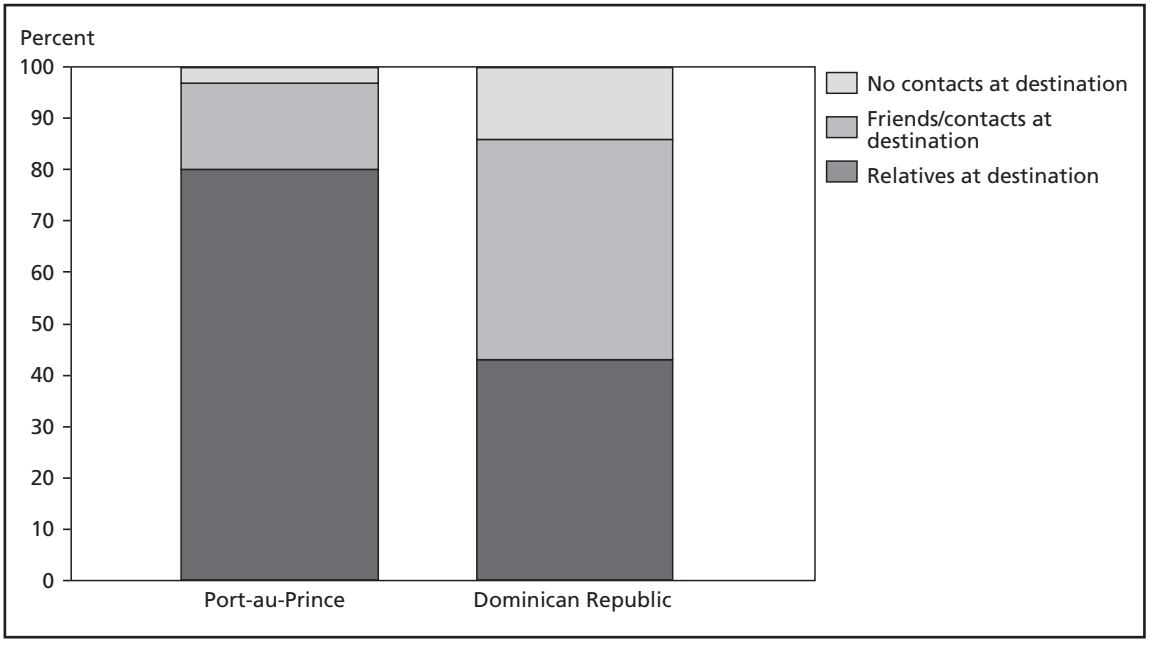
High relocation costs for boys in Port-au-Prince

Girls have higher relocation costs than boys when migrating to the Dominican Republic, making it a more relevant destination for young males. For migration to Port-au-Prince, on the other hand, the situation was different. Prior to the earthquake, work in the capital was more easily available to girls than to boys. Female labour was primarily in demand in private household, where girls were needed as domestic workers. Some were paid employees, others,

primarily the youngest, carried out domestic tasks in exchange for food, housing and, in some cases, education.

It was generally agreed upon that it was very hard for a rural youth to succeed as a migrant in Port-au-Prince. The stories of failure were many. The high cost of living was the biggest obstacle for rural youth who wanted to migrate to Port-au-Prince. Accommodation, food, transport and other necessities were much more expensive than in the rural areas making it hard for young people to establish themselves. The respondents only saw urban migration as an alternative if they had contacts who were willing to let the young migrants stay with them, at least for a period of time until they could settle themselves. The contacts were usually family members, or in some cases friends or friends of family from the same area, who had migrated before. Only rarely were rural youth said to migrate to the city without any pre-existing network, as the chances of success were estimated to be too small to make it worth the investment.

Figure 5.6 Contacts at destination, youth (10–24) who migrated over the previous three years n=161)



Of the youth who had migrated to Port-au-Prince over the previous three years, 80 percent had family members who were already staying there, while an additional 17 percent had friends or other acquaintances. Only three percent moved to Port-au-Prince without an existing social network (Figure 5.6). The majority of cross-border migrants also had contacts already present at the destination. Fourteen percent, however, did not, suggesting that social networks are less important for succeeding in the Dominican Republic than in Port-au-Prince. While youth who migrate to the capital follow family members, youth who migrate to the Dominican Republic were just as likely to follow in the footsteps of peers.

The dependency on family members for migrating to Port-au-Prince works as a disadvantage for male youth. As discussed in Chapter 2, households are more likely to take in girls than boys. A total of 28 percent of households in Port-au-Prince hosted at least one female youth living away from her parents, while only 16 percent of the households hosted male youth living away from his parents.[5] The substitution tendencies was also much stronger for girls; while

[5] See Chapter 2, Figure 2.18.

24 percent of Haitian households with no female children had a girl living with them, only 17 percent of households with no male children had a boy living with them.[6] The preference for girls is clearly related to the need for female labour to conduct traditional domestic tasks such as cooking, cleaning and caring for children.

Haiti has a long tradition of child fosterage, similar to what we find in most West-African countries. Child relocation in Haiti usually takes the form of a child from a poor household being placed in the custody of a relatively more prosperous household, preferably in the capital or another urban area. Most often the child or young person is placed in the household of a relative, or more rarely with other members of the household's social network or with complete strangers.

Child fosterage and child domestic work in Haiti is often discussed with reference to the practice of *restavek*. *Restavek*, from the French *reste avec*, literally means to stay with. Traditionally, the institution of *restavek* was based on a social contract between the parents of the child and a host family. The child, usually coming from a poor family unable to provide for it, was placed with the host family and expected to work in the household in exchange for food, board and education. Unfortunately this social contract is often not respected and the children, usually rural girls placed in urban households, end up as house slaves and are deprived their right to schooling. *Restavek*, as the term is used today, describes a second-class household member suffering exploitation and abuse, who is denied the privileges of other members of the household. The term has become so loaded with negative connotations that very few Haitian families would admit to have a *restavek* living with them. The change in rhetoric, however, has not been followed by a corresponding change in practice. Many of the children who have become orphaned or separated from their families as a result of the earthquake are at risk of being absorbed into this highly exploitative situation.[7]

It is important not to confuse the status of a domestic worker, foster child or adopted child with that of a *restavek*. Only a small minority of youth living and working in non-parental households would qualify as *restaveks* (Sommerfelt 2002). Domestic work is one of the key economic opportunities for female youth. Interventions aimed at reducing the phenomenon of *restaveks* must be designed carefully not to reduce the set of opportunities for young girls and hence increase their vulnerability.

More girls than boys migrate

The differences in girls and boys relocation and opportunity costs discussed in the previous section are reflected in the gender and age distribution of the young migrants. Analyzing the demographic profile of youth migrants reveal a strong over-representation of female migrants relative to male migrants. For moves conducted by randomly selected youth, two-thirds of the inter-departmental moves were by girls or young women. For moves within the same department, there were no significant differences between male and female youth. The gender discrepancy in migration for randomly selected youth could be influenced by the absence of male Haitian youth who are currently in the Dominican Republic.

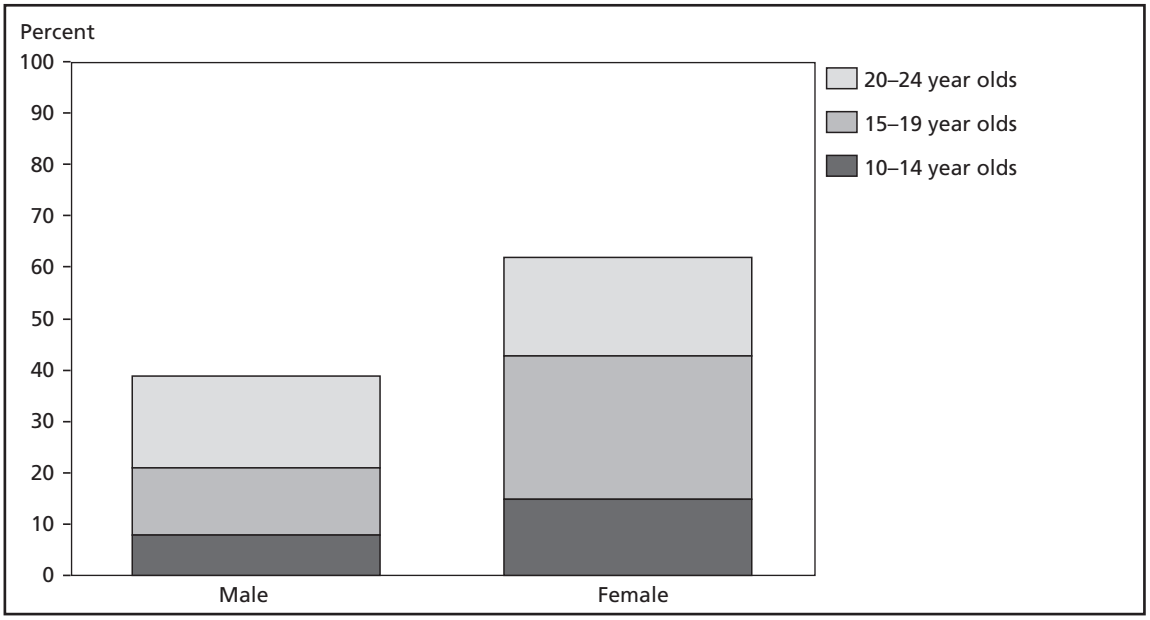
However, when analyzing the gender distribution for all youth who had left the households over the last three years, the tendency is the same; around 60 percent are girls (Figure 5.7). The

[6] See Chapter 2, Figure 2.20.

[7] For more information about *restaveks* and unpaid child domestic workers in Haiti, see Sommerfelt 2002, Cadet 1998, and Smucker and Murray 2004.

higher likelihood of young girls leaving the household is partly explained by the substitution phenomenon and the demand for female domestic labour discussed above. Another explanation may be that girls are experiencing lower opportunity costs in their areas of origin, for instance due to reduced access to farmland. Formally, Haitian women do not face any legal discrimination related to inheritance but according to tradition they are generally awarded smaller shares than men (OECD 2010). In a situation with diminishing access to fertile land, women are likely to become increasingly more disadvantaged with regard to access to farmland in the rural areas.

Figure 5.7 Distribution by gender and age, youth who had left the household, by gender and age groups (n=310)



Twenty-two percent of the youth had left their households between the ages of 10 and 14, the remaining were evenly distributed between the oldest age-cohorts. There was a clear tendency for girls to leave the household at an earlier age than boys. The likelihood of a boy moving out of the household steadily increased with age and most male youth moved out in their early twenties. Girls, on the other hand were most likely to move out in their late teens. A previous study showed that most Haitian child domestic workers were girls in the age span 10 to 14 (Sommerfelt 2002). Male youth who migrate to the Dominican Republic, on the other hand, are more likely to do so in their early twenties. As such, the difference in male and female youth opportunities affects the age when they leave their households. Another contributing factor to the difference in relocation age is a lower average marriage age for females than for males (see Chapter 2).[8] However, only eight percent of the female youth were recorded to have left the household for marriage.

Almost 60 percent of out-migrated youth were children of the head of household or the head's spouse. Ten percent were siblings of the household head or the head's spouse, and an additional ten percent were more distant relatives. Ten percent of the youth who had stayed

[8] Legal minimum age for marriage in Haiti is 15 for women and 18 for men.

with the household but left within the previous three years were not in any way related to the head of household and two individuals (one boy and one girl) were recorded as *restaveks*. The number of *restaveks* may nevertheless be higher as the term *restavek's* connotation to house slave makes Haitians very reluctant to report that they have *restaveks* in their households. Out-migrated youth from urban households were much more likely of being distant relatives or non-related than out-migrated youth from rural households. In the rural areas as many as three out of four were children of the household head or spouse, while this was the case for only one-third of the children leaving from urban households.

Twenty-five percent of the youth did not have parents in the household that they had left. This was the case for around half the youth who left from urban areas and 16 percent of youth who left from rural areas. For the youth who had moved out of households in the capital, as many as 58 percent had not been living with their parents.

Why do they move?

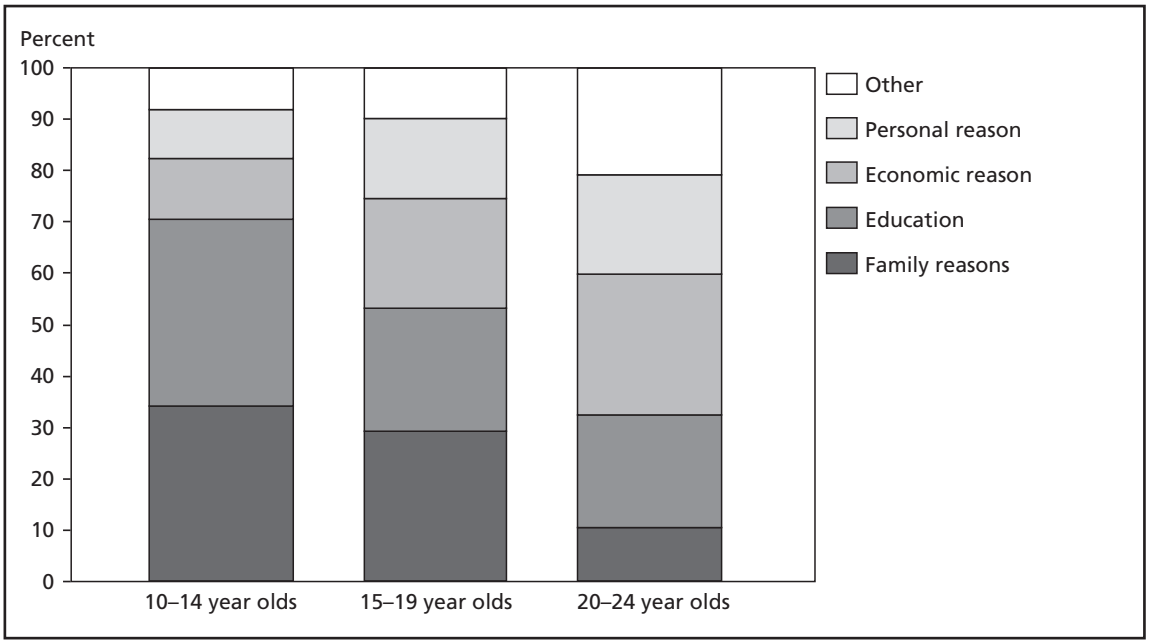
The youngest migrate to pursue secondary education

The reasons given for migration correlate with age. The likelihood of youth migrating for educational or family reasons decreases with age, while the likelihood of migrating for economic[9] and personal reasons increases (Figure 5.8). For youth who migrated after the age of 20, search for employment was the most important reason. More than one in four cited economic reasons, including lack of employment, low wages and the need to support their family as the main motivation for migrating.

For youth who had migrated while between the age of 10 and 14, the most frequent reason given was to pursue their education (36 percent) or to follow or reunite with family (34 percent). For youth in the mid-cohort, 15 to 19 years of age, family reasons (29 percent) and education (24 percent) are less frequent, but still important reasons for migration. However, economic reasons (21 percent) and personal reasons (16 percent) are becoming increasingly more important. Female youth are somewhat more likely to migrate because of education or personal reasons, while male youth more often migrate for economic reasons, but there were no large gender differences.

[9] The category 'economic reasons' is constructed from the response alternatives: lack of work; low wages or earnings; bad working conditions; lavichè (increased living expenses); lack of agricultural land; need to support family; business/commerce. 'Personal reasons' include: wanting to fulfil myself; personal reasons; adventure.

Figure 5.8 Main reason for migrating, by age, all migration by youth after the age of 10 (n=338)



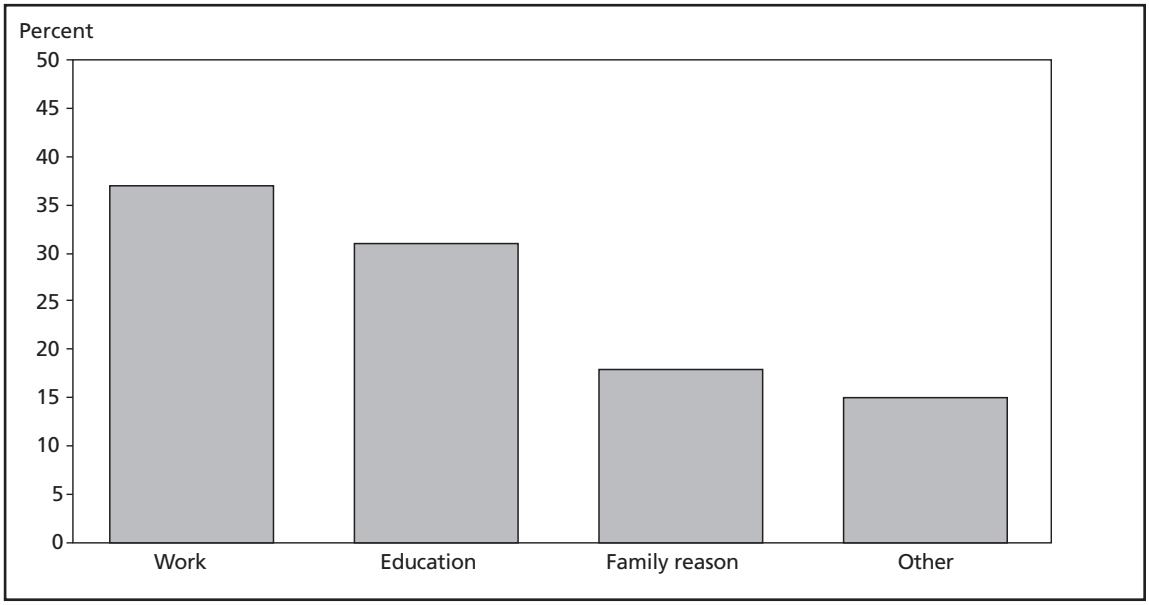
Education was more often cited as the main reason for migrating to the western region (37 percent) than to Port-au-Prince (29 percent). The majority of youth who migrated for educational purposes had completed primary education and moved to continue their secondary education or higher. Fifty-six percent had six years of primary as their highest completed level of education at the time of the move; 24 percent had completed a grade within lower secondary (grade 7 to 9); and 12 percent had completed a grade within higher secondary or university. Only eight percent had not completed primary education.

While most households have a primary school within geographical, although not necessarily economic reach, the schools teaching higher grades tend to be concentrated in the central areas. In order to continue beyond six years of primary, rural children often have to travel long distances daily, or stay with urban households in Port-au-Prince or other central areas. These boarding arrangements take many different shapes. Normally the host families are relatives or close friends of the family. More rarely boarding is arranged with strangers through intermediaries. In its strictest sense, parents pay for the child's school expenses, in addition to board and upkeep to the household in which the child is staying. In other cases the parents donate gifts and a share of the agricultural harvest to the host family, while the students may contribute to the household with domestic work. This should not be confused with *restavek*-arrangements.

Search for employment the most important reason to leave the household

For the youth who had left the surveyed households over the last three years and migrated to another department or country the most important reason was to search for employment, followed by continuing education (Figure 5.9).

Figure 5.9 Main reason for leaving household, youth (10–24) who migrated over the previous three years (n=158)



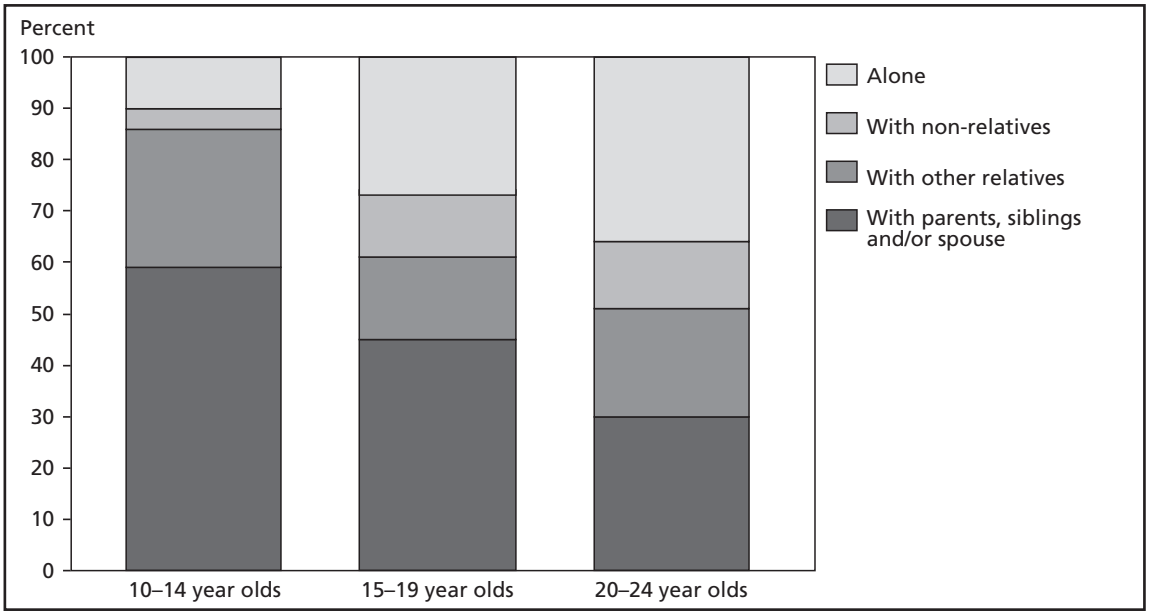
Almost 40 percent of the young migrants were motivated by economic reasons, while this was the case for very few of the youth who relocated within the same department. Internal moves were more often motivated by family reasons. The second most important reason for migration was to pursue education. Education was equally important for youth who moved within the department and for those who migrated out of the department. Around one-fourth of youth in both categories relocated to continue their schooling. For those who migrated for non-education purposes, around half had found work at their destination, most of them as domestic workers, in agriculture or in informal trade. Almost all the youth who had left for to pursue their education were, according to the reference household, enrolled in school at the time of the survey.

Who do they move with or to?

Youth migrants part of family chain migration

Half of the inter-departmental moves conducted by youth respondents were done together with close family members such as parents, spouse or siblings (Figure 5.10). An additional 24 percent migrated together with more distant relatives. Around one in five left the household alone, while a few migrated with non-related contacts or strangers. As to be expected, more youth belonging to the youngest cohort migrated as part of a family relocation, while the older youth were more inclined to migrate alone or with friends. Only three percent of the youth had migrated with strangers.

Figure 5.10 Who youth migrated with, by age, all migration by youth after the age of 10 (n=404)



Youth who migrated alone had existing networks at their destination prior to migration. Only five percent of the migrants lived alone or in living arrangements such as co-habiting or shared tenants with strangers. Most of them moved in with relatives already living at the destination, or less frequently with friends or friends of the family. Almost 70 percent of the youth reported that they had been invited to move by family members already staying at the destination, while another 20 percent had been invited by friends or other contacts. Only ten percent of youth reported having migrated without a prior invitation. This clearly illustrates a pattern of chain migration whereby the youth follow family members who have already migrated and settled in the city, and benefit from their experience and resources.

As previously discussed, youth migrating to Port-au-Prince were much more likely to have family members already present than youth who were migrating to the Dominican Republic (Figure 5.6). Pre-existing contacts were also more important for youth migrating to Port-au-Prince than for youth migrating to other destinations within Haiti. Only nine percent of youth who migrated to Port-au-Prince were not invited by relatives or friends already staying there. For youth migrating to other domestic locations, almost 30 percent did so without such an invitation. This supports the findings from the qualitative study pointing at high relocation costs creating an obstacle for moving to the capital.

Out migrating youth stay in close contact with their parental household

The data on youth who had migrated from the surveyed households during the previous three years showed the same pattern. Forty percent of the youth migrants had left the households alone, the rest had migrated with friends and family. Most of the youth were part of a chain migration. Three out of four migrated to a location where other family members were already living, and almost twenty percent had friends or friends of the family staying at the destination. Hardly any migrated to destinations where they had no established contacts. On arrival the youth migrants moved in with their relatives or friends, and only very few were living with an employer, strangers or by themselves.

That the youth members move out does not mean that they are breaking with the household. As many as 90 percent of the youth migrants remained in contact with the household they had left. Half of them on a weekly basis, one-fourth on a monthly basis and the remaining one-fourth had occasional contact with the household. The most popular means of staying in touch was through phone calls. Seventy-five percent of the youth who remained in contact with the household did so by telephone. Around half of the youth who had out-migrated occasionally visited the household, while one-fourth of the household reported that other members visited the youth. Twenty percent of the youth sent news and messages to the household through middlemen.

One-third of households reported that the out-migrated young person sent home remittances in the form of money and/or gifts such as agricultural produce, clothes, shoes and household items. Most of the youth sent home money and gifts occasionally, and only a few households reported receiving money from the migrant regularly. More households said they were sending money or gifts to the youth migrant, than those that were receiving. Slightly over half of the households stated they were sending money and gifts, of which one-third were sending money for school fees. The majority of households had also covered the young migrant's travel expenses. When asked if the youth was planning to return to the household, forty percent responded positively. Almost forty percent of households were also planning to send other members as migrants to the same place as the youth were staying.

Youth migration an important part of household social-risk management

Weak access to safety nets makes rural households vulnerable to local risks and shocks, in particular those that affect whole communities. Diversification of both the risk exposure of the household members and the household income sources is important in strengthening informal social protection schemes. Findings from the qualitative study on youth and education in Haiti suggest that parents are likely to prioritize the education of one or a few children, rather than ensuring some basic education for all children of the household (Lunde 2008). For rural households, diversifying children's education and skills helps spreading future income risks (Lilleør 2008).

Migration can thus be interpreted as a coping strategy responding to shocks or extreme poverty, or as a mitigation strategy whereby vulnerable households use youth labour migration to spread risk in preparation for potential new shocks such as bad harvests, natural disasters, unemployment or death in the family (Holzmann and Jørgensen 2000). Sending some children or young people to school, having some working at home and some in Port-au-Prince and the Dominican Republic may improve the social protection of a household. Sending a household member to search for employment in the Dominican Republic is beneficial to the household for two reasons; first, it is easier for a person with little or no education to find paid employment in the Dominican Republic than in Haiti. Second, in addition to employment being more easily accessible, having income from the Dominican Republic also make the household less susceptible to regionally covariate risks like harvest failures or risks linked to the unstable political situation in Haiti.

When a household member leaves to seek employment elsewhere, this sends a signal to the local community that the household has the necessary resources for relocation, and presumably

also a social network at the destination willing to help the migrant get established. A migrant youth then reflects the social capital of the household (Kielland 2009). Despite many stories of failure, there is also always the chance that the young migrant will be the one who succeeds and returns home with wealth and social status. The possibility of future household wealth can make assistance from others more easily accessible in times of crisis and thus improve the social security of the household.

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Technical appendix: Sample design

The Haiti Youth Survey (HYS) covered the whole population of Haiti and was conducted between February and April 2009. The main aim of the survey was to study the living conditions of Haitian youth, giving particular emphasis to education, employment and migration.

The main design features of the sample used in the study were as follows:

- The target population of the study was all Haitian households;
- The sample frame was the list of enumeration areas (primary sampling units - PSUs) used for the most recent Haitian census (2003).
- The population was grouped into five main reporting domains (regions): Port-au-Prince and the West, North, South and Transversale regions. Each of them contained administrative departments. The ten current administrative departments in Haiti were grouped as follows:
  - **Port-au-Prince**: Metropolitan communes in the Département de l'Ouest.
  - **West**: All communes in the Département du Sud-Est and Département de l'Ouest other than the metropolitan ones.
  - **North**: Département du Nord-Est and Département du Nord.
  - **South**: Département de la Grand'Anse, Département des Nippes and Département du Sud.
  - **Transversale**: Département de l'Artibonite, Département du Centre and Département du Nord-Ouest.
- Each domain was allocated 20 PSUs except for Port-au-Prince which was given 40 PSUs because of the large numbers of people living there.
- The PSUs were selected using probability proportionate to size (PPS).
- In each of the clusters, 17 households were randomly selected using linear systematic sampling.

Using this design, the survey covered 120 clusters and 2040 households. The sample thus provided two types of analytical unit: the household and an individual young person aged between 10 and 24.

Allocation

The following table describes the overall allocation of the samples across the five regions.

	Port-au-Prince	West	North	South	Transversale
Total number of PSUs	1,897	2,743	1,605	1,969	3,753
Population (households before listing)	410,231	226,205	267,671	534,629	380,927
Population (individuals before listing)	1,916,133	1,131,428	1,248,579	2,412,101	1,665,509
Selected PSUs	40	20	20	20	20
Sample take per PSU	17	17	17	17	17

Last stage sampling methods

In all regions the procedures for selecting households and individuals were the same. When a given cluster was selected from a region, a household listing exercise was conducted to list all the households living in the cluster. Once all households had been identified and listed, a linear systematic sample of 17 households was drawn from the updated list of households in each selected cluster.

Randomly selected youth

In addition to the household, one young person within the household from the 10–24 age bracket was selected for interview. The person was selected by using a set of Kish selection tables pre-printed on the front page of the household questionnaire. The household members were listed on the roster and the eligible young person with the pre-specified random number was selected.

Overall sampling design and inclusion probabilities

The sample design followed these steps:

- Stratification into 5 reporting domains
- Selection of a total of 120 enumeration areas (PSUs)
- Final stage selection of 17 households for every PSU drawn from lists of households

The following notation will be employed for the mathematical formulas used.

Symbol	Meaning
N	Population count
N'	Population count as listed
n	Sample count (as per the sample allocation)
p	Inclusion probability
s	Index of stratum
c	Index of PSU
h	Index of household
d	Index of individual within the household

Selection of clusters (PSUs)

PSUs were selected by PPS (probability proportionate to size). The estimated size used was the size of the PSU in households.

Equation 1

$$p_1 = \frac{N_{s,c}}{N_s} m_s$$

Selection of households from list

Households were selected from the list obtained as a result of the household listing exercise using linear systematic sampling. Equation 2 gives the inclusion probability of households.

Equation 2

$$p_2 = \frac{N_{s,c}}{N_{s,c}}, m_s$$

Selection of randomly selected youth (RSY)

The RSY was in all cases selected by means of a simple random sampling of eligible individuals (i.e. those in the 10–24 age bracket). Accordingly the inclusion probabilities are:

$$p_2 = \frac{1}{N_{s,c,h}^{10-24}}$$

Inclusion probabilities: all stages combined

The combined inclusion probabilities, taking into account the two stages for households, are:

Equation 3 $$p = p_1 p_2$$

and for the RSY:

Equation 4 $$p = p_1 p_2 p_3$$

Sampling weights

There are two types of sampling weights. Expansion weights create estimates equivalent to real numbers in the population, while relative weights retain the sample size and only adjust the relative contribution of each unit of analysis (household or individual). Expansion weights are calculated as the inverse of the sampling probability while relative weights are calculated as the expansion weight divided by the mean of all the expansion weights. Thus, the expansion sampling weight for household *i* is:

Equation 5 $$w_i^e = \frac{1}{p_i}$$

The relative sampling weight is therefore:

Equation 6 $$w_i^r = \frac{W_i}{\Sigma W_i^e / n}$$

Tabulation appendix

Chapter 2 Population and households of Haiti

Table for Figure 2.2 Urban/rural distribution of the population, by age (n=8,993)

	Urban	Rural	Total
0-14	30	70	100
15-29	43	57	100
30-44	42	58	100
45-59	35	65	100
60+	26	74	100

Table for Figure 2.3 Share of population with a birth certificate, by age (n=8,993)

	Birth certificate	No birth certificate	Total
0-4	84	16	100
5-9	95	5	100
10-14	97	3	100
15-19	99	1	100
20-24	98	2	100
25-29	98	2	100
30-34	97	3	100
35-39	94	4	100
40-44	94	6	100
45-49	91	9	100
50-54	91	9	100
55-59	91	9	100
60-64	91	9	100
65+	82	18	100
All	94	6	100

Table for Figure 2.5 Share of individuals without any formal education, by age and gender, population aged 25 and above (n=3,900)

	Men	Women	All
25-29	13	19	17
30-34	18	29	24
35-39	21	43	33
40-44	36	52	44
45-49	46	64	56
50-54	50	62	56
55-59	56	71	63
60-64	70	87	79
65+	72	88	81
All (25 +)	36	50	44

Table for Figure 2.6 Literacy (in either French or Creole) , by highest level and grade completed, population aged 15 and above (n=5,882)

		Literate	Partially literate	Illiterate	Total
Primary	1st AF	10	43	46	100
	2nd AF	22	48	30	100
	3rd AF	30	48	22	100
	4th AF	49	42	9	100
	5th AF	58	36	5	100
	6th AF	68	30	2	100
Lower secondary	7th AF	73	26	1	100
	8th AF	82	17	1	100
	9th AF	86	14	0	100
Higher secondary	3rd year	91	9	1	100
	2nd year	95	5	0	100
	1st year - Rheto	98	2	0	100
Philo/University		99	1	0	100

Table for Figure 2.7 Main activity, by age, population aged 15 and above (n=5,882)

	Agriculture	Trade/ commerce	Public service	Other	Student/ apprentice	Retired	Unemployed	Total
15-19	4	3		3	77	0	13	100
20-24	10	9	2	13	40	0	27	100
25-29	16	26	6	19	12	0	22	100
30-34	21	38	7	19	1	0	14	100
35-39	29	36	5	15	-	0	15	100
40-44	37	30	7	13	0	0	13	100
45-49	37	29	3	19	-	0	12	100
50-54	42	30	3	13	-	-	11	100
55-59	50	24	2	12	-	4	9	100
60-64	50	24	1	7	-	7	11	100
65+	35	11	1	3	0	33	16	100
All (15+)	23	21	3	12	22	3	16	100

Table for Figure 2.8 Level of completed education, by occupation, population aged 15 and above (n=5,746)

	No formal education	Incomplete primary	Primary	Lower secondary	Higher secondary	Philo/ University	Total
Agriculture	59	26	7	4	3	0	100
Trade/commerce	39	26	9	12	11	4	100
Formal sector	3	3	2	10	31	51	100

Table for Figure 2.9 Literacy (in either French or Creole) for male and female household heads, by area of residence (n=1,966)

		Literate	Partially literate	Illiterate	Total
Male	Urban	66	15	19	100
	Rural	27	20	53	100
	All	41	19	41	100
Female	Urban	40	22	39	100
	Rural	19	12	69	100
	All	28	16	56	100

Table for Figure 2.10 Literacy rates (in either French or Creole) of household heads, by age (n=1,966)

	Literate	Partially literate	Illiterate	Total
Under 35	55	21	24	100
35-59	34	19	47	100
60 and older	12	9	79	100

Table for Figure 2.11 Share of households with 1-3 members, 4-6 members and more than 7 members, by household income per capita quintile (n=1,966)

	Lowest income	Low income	Medium income	High income	Highest income
1-3 members	28	25	31	36	58
4-6 members	47	48	50	49	32
7+ members	25	27	19	15	10

Table for Figure 2.12 Dependency ratio and child dependency ratio in all households, by level of literacy and gender of household head (n=1,966)

		Dependency ratio	Child dependency ratio
Male	Literate	,31	,27
	Partially literate	,40	,36
	Illiterate	,40	,30
Female	Literate	,32	,29
	Partially literate	,36	,33
	Illiterate	,45	,31

Table for Figure 2.13 Share of households with at least one youth, by age of youth and area of residence (n=1,966)

	Urban	Rural
Share of households with youth 10-14	34	41
Share of households with youth 15-19	38	38
Share of households with youth 20-24	38	30
Share of households with youth (10-24)	69	69

Table for Figure 2.14 Mean monthly household income per capita (HTG), by number of youth household members (n=1,966)

Number of youth in household	Haitian gourdes (HTG)
No youth	2,156
1	1,614
2	1,143
3	1,023
4	1,098
5 and more	888

Table for Figure 2.16 Who youth live with: comparing single-parent orphans who have left their one parent (n=302) to youth who have left two parents (n=542)

	Single-parent orphans away from their one parent	Youth who have left two parents
Youth is household head/spouse of household head	23	23
Household head is sibling	14	10
Household head is grandparent	10	19
Household head is uncle or aunt	13	10
Household head is another relative or relative of spouse	32	26
Household head is unrelated	8	11

Table for Figure 2.17 Mean monthly household income per capita (HTG), by group of youth (n=844)

	Male	Female	All
Living with both parents	931	947	939
Living away from both parents	1454	1,340	1,384
Living with mother, father dead	1,038	1,081	1,058
Living with father, mother dead	986	662	874
Living away from father, mother dead	1,334	1,412	1,377
Living away from mother, father dead	1,744	2,313	2,074
Both parents dead	1,188	1,171	1,178

Table for Figure 2.18 Share of households hosting youth living away from both parents, by gender of youth and area of residence (n=1,966)

	Port-au-Prince	West	North	South	Transversale
Share of households hosting female youth	28	23	22	18	14
Share of households hosting male youth	16	14	15	16	11

Table for Figure 2.19 Share of households hosting at least one youth living away from both parents, by age group and presence of own biological children in the same age group (n=1,966)

	10-14 year olds	15-19 year olds
No biological children in the age group	11	16
One biological child in the age group	7	7
Two biological children in the age group	4	4
Three biological children in the age group	0	4

Table for Figure 2.20 Share of households hosting at least one youth aged 10 to 19 living away from both parents, by gender and presence of own biological children aged 10 to 19 of same gender (n=1,966)

	Male youth	Female youth
No biological children of same gender in the household	17	24
One biological child of same gender in the household	7	9
Two biological children of same gender in the household	4	3

Table for Figure 2.21 Share of population living on less than 1 and 2 USD per day (PPP adjusted), by area of residence (n=9,066)

	Less than USD 1 per day (extremely poor)	Between USD 1 and USD 2 per day (poor)	More than USD 2 per day (non-poor)	Total
Urban	31	27	42	100
Rural	56	27	17	100
All	47	27	26	100

Table for Figure 2.22 Household income per capita in quintiles, by area of residence (n=1,966)

	Lowest income	Low income	Medium income	High income	Highest income
Urban	11	14	17	26	32
Rural	26	23	22	17	12

Table for Figure 2.23 Subjective poverty assessment, by household income per capita quintiles (n=1,953)

	Lowest income	Low income	Medium income	High income	Highest income	All
Ability to afford necessary medical treatment	47	55	62	67	75	61
Ability to afford to send all children to school	51	63	62	72	75	64
Ability to afford to buy new clothes	51	63	67	77	77	67
Ability to afford to eat meat or fish three times per week	17	17	22	29	45	26
Ability to support other family members	13	18	26	32	47	27

Table for Figure 2.24 Level of food consumption, by household income per capita quintiles (n=1,953)

	Lowest income	Low income	Medium income	High income	Highest income	All
Less than adequate	84	73	66	59	43	65
Just adequate	13	23	29	36	49	30
More than adequate	3	4	5	5	8	5

Table for Figure 2.25 Financial situation of households at the time of survey compared to two years before, by area of residence (n=1,947)

	Urban	Rural	All
Deteriorated a lot	24	26	25
Somewhat deteriorated	13	11	12
Remained the same	34	38	36
Somewhat improved	23	21	22
Improved a lot	5	5	5

Table for Figure 2.26 Coping strategies applied by households with deteriorating financial situation over the previous two years, by area of residence (n=670)

	Urban	Rural	All
Delayed children's enrolment in school	35	41	39
Taken children out of school	19	25	23
Reduced food consumption	80	89	86
Reduced amount spent on health care	73	82	78
Reduced support to family outside of household	68	63	65
Adults in household searched for additional job	34	21	26
Youth in household searched for additional job	26	18	21
Children of household sent to work/live elsewhere	9	17	14

Table for Figure 2.27 Electricity in household, by geographical region (n=1,966)

	Electricity	No electricity	Total
Port-au-Prince	82	18	100
West	31	69	100
North	19	81	100
South	14	86	100
Transversale	8	92	100
All	33	67	100

Table for Figure 2.28 Electricity in household, by educational level of household head (n=1,966)

	Electricity	No electricity	Total
No formal education	19	81	100
Incomplete primary	27	73	100
Primary	41	59	100
Lower secondary	47	53	100
Higher secondary	61	39	100
Philo/university	77	23	100

Table for Figure 2.29 Households with access to an improved water source (MDG), by geographical region (n=1,961)

	Improved water source	Non-improved water source	Total
Port-au-Prince	57	43	100
West	51	49	100
North	66	34	100
South	55	45	100
Transversale	31	69	100
All	49	51	100

Table for Figure 2.30 Households with access to an improved sanitation facility (MDG), by geographical region (n=1,939)

	Improved sanitation	Non-improved sanitation	Total
Port-au-Prince	38	62	100
West	30	70	100
North	20	80	100
South	26	74	100
Transversale	7	93	100
All	24	76	100

Chapter 3 Education

Table for Figure 3.2 Distribution of enrolled youth (10-24), by type of school (n=2,149)

Privat school	Public school	Religious school	Community school	Total
47	32	15	6	100

Table for Figure 3.3 Distribution of enrolled youth (10-24), by type of school and geographical region (n=2,149)

	Public school	Private school	Community school	Religious school	Total
Port-au-Prince	22	66	4	8	100
West	35	43	5	16	100
North	37	46	5	12	100
South	34	43	4	19	100
Transversale	36	34	10	20	100

Table for Figure 3.4 Share of students enrolled in public schools, by level of enrolment, in 2002-2003 (MENFP census) and 2009 (n=635)

	MENFP 2002-2003	HYS 2009
Primary	19	30
Lower secondary	25	38

Table for Figure 3.5 Amenities available in schools, by area of residence, enrolled youth (10-24)

	Urban	Rural	All
Tables and chairs	0,90	0,97	0,94
Lavatrories	0,97	0,88	0,92
Water for washing	0,79	0,64	0,70
Playground	0,65	0,74	0,70
Drinking water	0,56	0,59	0,57
Electricity	0,71	0,27	0,45
Library	0,44	0,24	0,33
Computers	0,35	0,09	0,20

Table for Figure 3.6 Completion of six years of primary school in percent, by age, youth (12-24) (n=2,649)

	Completed primary	Not completed primary	Total
12	4	96	100
13	8	92	100
14	22	78	100
15	30	70	100
16	35	65	100
17	48	58	100
18	52	48	100
19	59	41	100
20	60	40	100
21	66	34	100
22	68	32	100
23	73	27	100
24	76	24	100

Table for Figure 3.7 Highest completed education, by age (n=3,028)

	No formal education	Incomplete primary	Primary	Lower secondary	Upper secondary	Philo	University	Vocational training	Total
10	38	62	0	-	-	-	-	0	100
11	18	81	1	-	-	-	-	-	100
12	23	73	4	0	-	-	-	-	100
13	14	78	5	3	-	-	-	0	100
14	12	67	13	9	-	-	-	-	100
15	11	58	16	15	1	-	-	-	100
16	6	59	10	21	4	-	-	-	100
17	4	48	9	30	8	-	1	-	100
18	6	41	9	33	10	-	0	-	100
19	8	33	10	28	19	1	-	1	100
20	13	27	8	29	20	2	1	1	100
21	9	25	6	32	24	1	3	1	100
22	11	20	8	27	26	3	4	0	100
23	10	18	7	27	27	6	4	1	100
24	9	16	9	29	22	6	9	1	100
All	13	49	8	18	10	1	1	0	100

Table for Figure 3.8 Literacy (in either French or Creole) in percent, by grade, enrolled youth 10-24 (n=2,850)

		Share of literacy
Primary	1st AF	7
	2nd AF	23
	3rd AF	39
	4th AF	50
	5th AF	66
	6th AF	74
Lower secondary	7th AF	75
	8th AF	85
	9th AF	90
Higher secondary	3rd Sec	97
	2nd Sec	95
	1st Sec - Rheto	100
	Philo	100

Table for Figure 3.9 Share of youth (12-24) who have completed primary school, by geographical region (n= 2,649)

	Completed primary	Not completed primary	Total
Port-au-Prince	66	34	100
West	50	50	100
North	59	59	100
South	38	62	100
Transversale	21	79	100

Table for Figure 3.10 Share of youth (12-24) who have completed primary education, by area of residence and gender (n=2,644)

		Completed	Not completed	Total
Urban	Male	64	36	100
	Female	61	39	100
Rural	Male	29	71	100
	Female	36	64	100

Table for Figure 3.11 Level of enrolment level, by age, youth (10-24) (n=3,037)

	Primary	Lower secondary	Upper secondary	Higher education	Vocational training	Not enrolled	Total
10	81	-	-	-	-	19	100
11	84	0	-	-	-	16	100
12	80	4	-	-	-	16	100
13	79	7	0	-	-	14	100
14	66	20	0	-	-	13	100
15	54	25	4	-	-	18	100
16	53	21	13	-	-	14	100
17	34	25	15	-	-	25	100
18	23	27	21	-	0	29	100
19	18	18	27	0	2	35	100
20	8	12	26	1	2	51	100
21	5	17	21	4	0	52	100
22	6	8	23	4	1	58	100
23	1	6	17	4	4	68	100
24	1	5	17	8	2	68	100
All	42	13	12	1	1	31	100

Table for Figure 3.12 Secondary school enrolment, by age, youth (12-18) in 2009 (n=1,461) and 2001 (Haiti Living Conditions Survey, n=5,721)

	HYS 2009	HLCS 2001
12	5	6
13	7	10
14	22	17
15	31	22
16	35	29
17	42	38
18	50	37

Table for Figure 3.13 Net secondary school enrolment, by area of residence, in 2009 (n=1,431) and 2001 (Haiti Living Conditions Survey, n=5,721)

	HYS 2009	HLCS 2001
Port-au-Prince	51	42
Other urban areas	36	34
Rural areas	18	11

Table for Figure 3.14 Secondary school enrolment, by age, youth (12-24) (n=2,411)

	Secondary school enrolment
12	5
13	7
14	22
15	31
16	35
17	42
18	50
19	49
20	45
21	43
22	38
23	27
24	27

Table for Figure 3.15 Completed primary, by household per capita income quintile, youth (12-16) (n=1,092)

	Completed	Not completed	Total
Lowest income	13	87	100
Low income	14	86	100
Medium income	16	84	100
High income	19	81	100
Highest income	50	50	100

Table for Figure 3.16 Education of household head, by household per capita income quintile (n= 1,910)

	No formal education	Primary	Secondary	University	Total
Lowest income	81	5	13	0	100
Low income	80	6	13	1	100
Medium income	70	11	18	1	100
High income	61	7	30	2	100
Highest income	46	7	35	12	100

Chapter 4 Labour force

Table for Figure 4.1 Labour force status of youth (15-24) according to ILO definition (n=1773)

Labour force status (ILO)	
Employed	18
Unemployed	10
Outside the labour force	72
Total	100

Table for Figure 4.2 Share of economically active, by area of residence and gender, youth (15-24) (n=1,816)

	Port-au-Prince	Other Urban	Rural	All
Male	36	32	33	34
Female	31	15	22	23
All	33	22	27	28

Table for Figure 4.3 School attendance, by age, economically inactive youth (15-24) (n=1198)

	Attending school	Not attending school	Total
15-19	84	16	100
20-24	56	44	100
All	74	26	100

Table for Figure 4.4 Unemployment rate, by level of education and gender, youth (15-24) (n=584)

		Unemployment rate
Primary and lower	Male	27
	Female	26
	All	27
Secondary and higher	Male	41
	Female	55
	All	47

Table for Figure 4.5 Labour force status of youth (15-24) according to relaxed definition (n=1,773)

Labour force status (relaxed)	
Employed	10
Unemployed	18
Discouraged workers	9
Outside the labour force	63
Total	100

Chapter 5 Migration

Table for Figure 5.1 Place of birth, by age, all population (n=8,692, 34 individuals born abroad not included)

	In this household	Other household in this commune	Other commune in this department	Other department	Total
0-4	79	14	3	3	100
5-9	67	23	5	5	100
10-14	59	26	7	7	100
15-19	50	31	7	11	100
20-24	37	36	9	18	100
25-29	20	44	16	20	100
30-34	14	51	16	19	100
35-39	11	53	16	20	100
40-44	7	55	15	23	100
45-49	9	53	17	21	100
50-54	11	54	17	19	100
55-59	11	56	17	17	100
60-64	10	60	16	15	100
65+	10	63	15	12	100
All	39	37	10	13	100

5.2 Place of birth, by geographical region, all population (n=8,962, 34 individuals born abroad not included in the sample)

	Current household of residence	Other household in same commune	Other commune in same department	Other department (migrants)	Total
Port-au-Prince	23	23	12	42	100
West	41	43	9	7	100
North	42	34	20	3	100
South	42	43	10	5	100
Transversale	48	43	6	3	100
All	39	37	10	13	100

Table for Figure 5.3 Place of birth by age, population in Port-au-Prince (n=2,895, 11 individuals born abroad not included)

	In this household	Other household in this commune	Other commune in this department	Other department	Total
0-4	60	23	8	9	100
5-9	44	29	11	15	100
10-14	40	29	10	20	100
15-19	33	26	9	33	100
20-24	22	24	10	44	100
25-29	5	23	16	56	100
30-34	10	22	15	53	100
35-39	7	17	18	57	100
40-44	1	22	13	65	100
45-49	7	16	12	65	100
50-54	7	12	16	64	100
55-59	5	12	14	70	100
60-64	4	8	8	80	100
65+	0	12	20	68	100
All	23	23	12	42	100

Table for Figure 5.4 Region of departure, by gender, youth (10-24) who migrated over the previous three years (n=174)

	Port-au-Prince	West	North	South	Transversale	Total
Male	23	15	20	15	27	100
Female	25	15	8	29	23	100
All	24	15	13	23	25	100

Table for Figure 5.5 Region of destination, by gender, youth (10-24) who migrated over the previous three years (n=140)

	Port-au-Prince	West	North	South	Transversale	Dominican Republic	Total
Male	18	18	7	3	7	47	100
Female	31	35	14	5	4	11	100
All	26	28	11	4	5	26	100

Table for Figure 5.6 Contacts at destination in percent, youth (10-24) who migrated over the previous three years

	Port-au-Prince	Dominican Republic
Relatives at destination	81	43
Friends/contacts at destination	17	43
No contacts at destination	3	14

Table for Figure 5.7 Youth who had left the household in percent, by gender and age (n=310)

	10-14	15-19	20-24	All
Male	8	13	18	39
Female	15	28	19	62
All	23	41	37	100

Table for Figure 5.8 Main reason for migrating, by age, all migration by youth after the age of 10 (n=338)

	Family reasons	Education	Economic reason	Personal reason	Other reasons	Total
10-14	34	36	12	9	8	100
15-19	29	24	21	16	10	100
20-24	10	22	27	19	21	100

Table for Figure 5.9 Main reason for leaving household, youth (10-24) who migrated over the previous three years (n=158)

Work	37
Education	31
Family reason	18
Other	15
Total	100

Table for Figure 5.10 Who youth migrated with, by age, all migration by youth after the age of 10 (n=404)

	10-14	15-19	20-24
With parents, siblings and/or spouse	59	45	30
With other relatives	27	16	21
With non-relatives	4	13	13
Alone	11	27	36
Total	100	100	100

Haiti Youth Survey 2009

This report analyses the data from the Haiti Youth Survey, conducted nine months prior to the January 12 earthquake. The data represent an extensive national pre-earthquake baseline covering the three key sectors that influence youth social mobility, namely education, labour force participation and migration. In addition, it includes demographic and socio-economic data on a population and household level. The report presents a unique picture of the situation of young Haitians and provides fact-based knowledge on which to base the long-term, sustainable reconstruction of the country.

The Haiti Youth Survey is a national survey of 2,000 households implemented by Fafo in collaboration with Institut Haïtien de l'Enfance. The survey is financed by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

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