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HAITI: NGO SECTOR STUDY

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PREFACE

As the initial effort under the World Bank/GOH Haiti Poverty Assessment, this study of the NGO sector was carried out from January 1996 through January 1997. The study was coordinated by Ms. Alice L. Morton (Consultant), under the initial Task Management of Ms. Ana-Maria Arriagada, in LA2CO. After a reorganization of the LAC Region in the World Bank, Ms. Judy Baker, LA3C2, became the Task Manager. Individual sector working papers were prepared by a number of national and international consultants. Shelagh O'Rourke prepared the working paper on health and population; Florence Jean-Louis that on education; Lisa Taber the overview of water supply and solid waste management; Wendeline De Zan prepared the working paper on women-specific NGO interventions and human rights NGOs; J. Ronald Toussaint did the working paper on NGO involvement in Natural Resources Management and Environmental Protection. Alistair Rodd, Franck Lanoix, and a number of Haitian interviewers designed and carried out the fieldwork for the survey of 100 CBOs, and were assisted in the analysis by ILSI, a Haitian consulting firm. Ms. Morton prepared an interim report on large international and national NGOs, and wrote this final synthesis report.

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
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| CAS | Country Assistance Strategy |
| CARE | Care International |
| CBO | Community-Based Organization |
| CG | Consultative Group |
| CIDA | Canadian International Development Agency |
| DGI | Tax General Directorate |
| EERP | Emergency Economic Recovery Program |
| EU | European Union |
| FAES | Economic and Social Fund |
| FY | Fiscal Year |
| GOH | Government of Haiti |
| HAVA | Haitian Association of Voluntary Agencies |
| IBRD | International Bank for Reconstruction and Development |
| IDA | International Development Association |
| IDB | Inter-American Development Bank |
| IFC | International Finance Corporation |
| IMF | International Monetary Fund |
| MCH | Maternal-Child Health |
| MDOD | Maître d'oeuvre Déliqué |
| MPCE | Ministry of Plan and External Cooperation |
| MSP | Ministry of Public Health and Population |
| NEAP | National Environmental Action Plan |
| NGO | Non-Governmental Organization |
| PFP | Policy Framework Paper |
| PSM | Public Sector Modernization |
| PVO | Private Voluntary Organization |
| TA | Technical Assistance |
| UCS | Unite Communale de Sante/Communal Health Unit |
| UCG/CIU | Unite Centrale de Gestion /Central Implementation Unit |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| USAID | U.S. Agency for International Development |

Currency Equivalents

(as of August 13, 1996)

| | |
|---------------|----------------|
| Currency Unit | Haitian Gourde |
| US\$1.00 | HTG15.1 |

Fiscal Year

October 1 to September 30

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

BACKGROUND TO THE NGO SECTOR STUDY

1. For most of the 1987-1994 period, major donors had turned to the already-vibrant NGO community to provide basic services and safety net programs, given the inability of a series of haitian regimes to do so. An estimated \$100 million of official development assistance was administered by NGOs from 1992-1994, following the coup d'Etat against President Aristide. In 1996, there was a peaceful democratic transition to the government of President Preval. Following agreements with international agencies, this government is attempting an ambitious program of economic and public sector reforms. In the context of these reforms, the future role of the NGO sector in Haiti's development has been a subject of considerable debate.

2. By early 1997, it was generally agreed that in certain sectors such as health and education, water supply and sanitation, as well as small-scale infrastructure construction and rehabilitation, NGOs will continue to play a major role in service design and delivery, especially in remote rural areas and among the urban poor, where the GOH has scarcely any autonomous delivery capacity. But as donor flows decrease, which is likely by the year 2000, who will fund service provision that has been devolved from the public to the NGO and private sectors? Will the NGOs in the interim have been able to alter their fund-raising approaches, and introduce cost recovery systems that will allow them to continue to provide quality services—with GOH support—to a population that is increasing at a rate of 2.8% per year despite out-migration?

3. In order to provide the background against which to pose and answer these questions, a study of the NGO sector was designed as part of the IDA/GOH Haiti Poverty Assessment. The study included intensive qualitative interviews and site visits with a sample of 75 international and national NGOs, working throughout the country, and a quantitative survey of 100 community based organizations (CBOs). This sample represents respectively between 1/3 and 1/2 of the NGOs and about 1/10 of the CBOs currently recognized in Haiti by donors, the government and other NGOs. The study began in early 1996, involved national and international consultants, and local interviewers, and was funded by the Netherlands Trust Fund to the World Bank. Bilateral and multilateral donor staff were interviewed, as well as GOH officials and project and program beneficiaries. Workshops were held with health and population, education, women-specific and human rights NGOs to check conclusions and recommendations of background reports, and then these were revised. The draft report was reviewed by members of the IDA Haiti country team and the Resident Representative, selected NGO and donor staff in Haiti, as well as by senior GOH officials.

4. The emerging consensus is that this on-going and positively sanctioned role for international and national NGOs will, however, be increasingly conditioned by their agreement to accept norm setting and quality control by the sectoral ministries which, themselves, are to be streamlined and reinforced at the technical and managerial levels. Most ministries would also like to ensure that funds ultimately destined for NGO implemented programs first flow through them. Most donors, on the other hand, are reluctant to meet this GOH goal, for fear of decreased implementation efficiency and effectiveness.

5. An additional variable defining the literal and political space available for NGOs is the constitutionally-mandated move toward deconcentration and decentralization of powers to departmental-level representations of line ministries, and to locally elected officials and assemblies. Since most

ministries have little or no presence outside the capital, alliances with NGOs will help ensure a more rapid decentralization process, especially as communal-level elected officials and their staffs begin to take on the myriad tasks assigned to them. In the short-term, NGOs are seeking ways to sign accords with these new communal bodies, while at the same time continuing national-level strategic planning, and negotiating for project approvals at the ministerial level.

6. If this is the short-term trend, it does not necessarily predict the parameters of the medium term. Donor flows to Haiti at the moment are extremely generous—some US\$ 2 billion for 1997-99—and GOH absorptive capacity is severely limited. In the best case, even if the GOH successfully undergoes significant reforms over the next three to five years, it will still not be in a position to do much more than coordinate delivery of services *provided* by others. The agreed privatization of key para-statal organizations is likely further to limit Government's engagement in most sectors, and to provide additional scope for NGOs and the for-profit private sector.

THE PAST AND PRESENT ROLE OF NGOs IN SOCIAL SECTOR SERVICE DELIVERY

7. International and national NGOs have been providing relief, charity, and social sector services since the 1950's, but increasingly since the 1970s. The oldest NGO-run hospital, Albert Schweitzer, just celebrated its 40th birthday. In periods of crisis, when the Government of Haiti (GOH) has been unable or unwilling to provide even a minimal range of social services—including primary and curative health care, basic education, basic community water and sanitation infrastructure—NGOs have promptly stepped in, with considerable donor and private philanthropic funding. Toward the end of the second Duvalier regime, interesting partnership arrangements were made between NGOs and the Ministry of Public Health and Population, sharing staff and infrastructure under the Health for All in 2000 program. The same was true in the education sector. A number of these partnerships have survived the subsequent changes in government, the coup d'Etat, and the latest decentralization reforms.

MAJOR STUDY FINDINGS

8. It is important to distinguish between periods when major multilateral and bilateral donors were operating relief and development programs in tandem with the GOH (most of the 1960s through late 1980s), and those when they were unable or unwilling to provide funds to the GOH—the latter part of the 1980s for bilaterals such as USAID, and the 1991-1994 (De Facto) period for bilaterals and multilaterals. By 1994, NGOs were providing food distribution for approximately 800,000 Haitians per day. Observers of development assistance to Haiti stress that this was an extreme case, and thus should not be used as a baseline when comparing other years. However, available data indicate that NGOs were effective from 1987 on, as measured by clear improvements in key social indicators such as total fertility rate (down 25%), tripling of the contraceptive prevalence rate, and doubled immunization coverage. In large part, these remarkable changes can be attributed to NGO-managed interventions, especially in rural areas where NGOs were the only service providers during the post-Duvalier period. During the 1992-1994 crisis period, NGOs were the only source of basic health services in many remote areas, and are estimated as having provided at least 60% of health services in the country as a whole. Today, they probably still provide about 50% of primary and curative health services

9. While coverage by NGOs and the MSPP for health and population have increased significantly, for water supply and sanitation, the picture is less reassuring. There is very little GOH capacity in these areas, which are critical to health and to the environment. Almost all interventions that are being made are

funded through large international NGOs, who on-grant to local NGOs or other local organizations to create employment and actually implement rehabilitation or construction projects.

10. For education, the proportion of services provided by the GOH has been even lower. Traditionally, the GOH has never attempted to meet the demand for universal primary or secondary education. Most members of the urban and rural elite and middle-class were educated at private, often religious schools, and most of the rural poor remained illiterate, with the exception of those who had access to mission schooling. Although nearly 200 schools have been renovated or built in the last 18 months with the help of NGOs and direct donor funding, in early 1997, the GOH announced that its goal for the year was that there would be one nationally built, funded and staffed school in each of the 133 communes. Approximately 80% of all primary and secondary schools are either run by NGOs including confessional organizations, or are private, for-profit institutions. In agriculture, the situation is somewhat more balanced, although during the crisis period, government funds for agricultural infrastructure or other production-enhancing interventions were extremely limited. The Ministry of the Environment can afford few direct interventions, while NGOs carry out a wide variety of programs in environmental protection and natural resources management. The situation for women's oriented programs is more radical in terms of the proportions of non-government to government funding, and the Women's Affairs ministry is likely to be closed for lack of budget funds. Human rights activities are virtually the sole province of NGOs.

NGOs, POVERTY, TARGETING AND BENEFIT DELIVERY

11. A significant study finding is that most NGOs operating in Haiti are multi-sectoral or multi-purpose, and target benefits geographically, or allow beneficiaries to self-select. Others, particularly those providing food aid, or health services use a variety of targeting systems designed to identify those most in need. A growing number of national NGOs target women specifically, although their programs sometime include men. Most NGOs have no clear definition of poverty, or poverty indicators, although their mission statements usually stress assisting the poor and the most vulnerable. The underlying assumption of NGO operations is that most Haitians are poor, and that almost all residents of certain areas of the country are among the poorest and the most vulnerable. This may be a largely accurate assumption. There is considerable leakage in food aid programs, but in other kinds of programs, benefit capture by elites may be less prominent than it was in the past. Yet, this lack of indicators means that it is difficult to assess performance in impact rather than in output terms. Most NGOs, including local-level organizations, are hierarchical in structure, even where they include beneficiaries in decision-making or in "self-help" implementation. All those above the CBO level are run by professional staff, and these staff are often highly qualified technicians. Mid-level managers are in shorter supply, and there is keen competition for them. NGOs have consistently offered an attractive alternative to the civil service for at least 15 years since they provide better salaries, better working conditions, political insulation. These factors appear to outweigh the fact that for Haitians at least, they have only recently begun to offer real career opportunities.

12. Another significant study finding is that the types of NGOs, and relative numbers of each type, are shifting. The study samples allow the following typology:

Type I - Base-level Organizations. Estimates for total numbers of such organizations vary between 2,000 and 12,000 for the country as a whole, depending on whether formal registration of some kind is a criterion for inclusion, and/or whether the organization must currently be engaging in some recognized activity. Many of these organizations are *gwoupman paysan* (peasant associations) or *gwoupman katye* (urban neighborhood groups) that have arisen with the anti-Duvalier movement and the *Ti l'Eglise* that became the Lavalas. Ruthlessly pursued and harassed during the De Facto period, many of

these organizations are now beginning to thrive, and carry out both developmental and political activities in urban neighborhoods and in rural areas. Some are networked through federations or more informal regional and national associations, and through political “cartels” or parties. They are both the providers of self-help and GOH-or party-funded activities to improve their communities’ economic situation, including that of the most vulnerable or poorest members, and recipients of grants from intermediate NGOs or directly from donors, or from GOH-run safety-net agencies such as FAES and the UCG. The same is true for non-political community-based organizations that emerge from church groups, or around the desire to improve the community, build a school, or respond to calls from donors or intermediate NGOs or the GOH to start a local health committee, repair a road, create a community council, and make an application for project funding of some sort. These kinds of organizations, although often run in a very top-down manner, are still more likely to represent their beneficiaries, and to empower at least some of them, than are exogenous organizations at a higher administrative level.

Type II - Intermediate NGOs. It is probably that there are closer to 400 than 200 organizations in this category, if all confessional organizations are counted. There are four sub-types of intermediate NGOs: 1) those that a) originated in Haiti, though they may have non-Haitian members; b) have a board of directors and officers and are registered with the Ministry of Plan and External Cooperation (MPCE); c) receive external funding of some kind, though they may also have a strong voluntary base, and d) serve as brokers or partners in the space between CBOs and the larger national and international NGOs that are more closely tied to donor projects and contracts. These are sometimes called “tutor” NGOs, since they often do training, grant-seeking and “animation”. Type 2 are run and staffed by expatriates but with an increasing shift toward Haitian staffing, and decentralization from the parent NGO in Europe or the US to the Haitian “representation”. These will be referred to as “transitional” NGOs. Type 3 are value-based advocacy and research NGOs that try to institute changes in the development agenda in Haiti and among donors, or seek alternative development models. They specialize in training and communicating their ideas through seminars and courses, as well as mass-media presentations. Type 4 may be Haitian or expatriate in origin, but act primarily as brokers or clearing-houses. Churches have twinning activities between North American and European congregations and Haitian ones. Some locally based organizations are also seeking twinning relationships with cities in Europe and the U.S. to help sponsor particular projects. Type 4 organizations, have fewer professional, full-time staff than do the other three types, and their emphasis on a spirit of volunteerism is much greater.

Intermediate NGOs are increasing in numbers as formerly expatriate NGOs that have worked in Haiti for many years begin to set up subsidiaries which are Haitian directed and Haitian staffed (ADRA, PROTOS/Haiti, WorldVision/Haiti, GRET/Haiti). They are also increasing as educated Haitians, among the Diaspora, in Port-au-Prince and in rural areas see that there is money available through the NGO channel for projects of all types. Many of these individuals are well-meaning and actively seek the betterment or development of their areas of origin. Those who have been trained by a parent NGO often do extremely competent technical work, which is often very well managed, sometimes despite donor-introduced constraints. Those that are just starting out may have more difficulty finding competent technical and managerial staff. In Haiti, as elsewhere, the NGO sector provides a subsidy to middle and higher level civil servants whose salaries are generally very low. There are allegations that many educated people set up “phony” NGOs so as to benefit from import duty and tax exonerations. This is not a new allegation, and it may well be true that a number of these newer intermediate “tutor” NGOs are merely parasitic, and that they never deliver either grants or services to the local populations who are their ostensible clients.

Type III - Large PVOs/NGOs. The larger national and international NGOs, of which there are about 20 operating in Haiti at present, have become almost a separate “industry” bidding on large-scale donor funded projects in food aid, labor intensive public works, environmental protection, infrastructure

construction and rehabilitation, health, justice and agricultural services. Some of these groups still maintain their earlier programs of assistance to sponsored children, small and medium credit, rural development based in a particular locality, MCH, literacy training and the like. Increasingly, their areas of program emphasis follow funding availability, and they are more frequently competing with for-profit companies and overseas para-statal for donor contracts, as their national "entitlements" diminish. Managers of most of these NGOs indicate that they are increasingly decentralizing planning and funds management to the "field" in Haiti, and that they are seeking closer relationships with intermediate Haitian NGOs and CBOs, in order to increase participation as they move into development activities and away from relief.

Type IV - Foundations. There are three types of foundations operating in the development sphere in Haiti: 1) older NGO foundations that are funded by European NGOs, and that on-grant to local organizations, either locality-based or sectorally-based, to carry out small-scale, partly self-help projects. Most of these started in community or rural development. Some are moving into credit; 2) new private foundations being set up by some of the "leading" merchant families of Haiti. So far, few of these are providing social services directly or by funding NGOs; 3) foundations being set up by the growing commercial banking sector. Some of these give grants for a variety of purposes, while some choose to emphasize one type of intervention—small and medium enterprise credit, for example,

Type V - Umbrella Associations. As the non-governmental sector has matured in Haiti, several umbrella NGOs have emerged, most with an initial injection of USAID funding. HAVA is the largest and most inclusive umbrella organization for NGOs, and is currently seeking to recover its place as a provider of reliable research and information on NGO and other development activities. For health sector NGOs, there is AOPS, the *Association des Oeuvres Privees de la Sante* that provides coordination and technical assistance. For education, FONHEP seeks to maintain quality standards, to train teachers, revise curricula, and provide other services to the thousands of NGO-funded and private sector schools which it represents. In environment and agriculture, there are several professional associations seeking to set policy together with the GOH, as is true in health and education, water and sanitation, human rights, and women—oriented activities, as well as human rights and justice-related interventions. The extent to which these umbrella organizations serve effectively as lobbies for their members, and provide an ethical framework for their activities, differs by sector, but in general, they are increasingly interested in self-monitoring and in working in partnership with other organizations and the GOH.

CHANGING MISSIONS AND CHANGING PARTNERS

13. Given this wealth of types and levels of NGOs operating in Haiti, it is not surprising that there is considerable overlap, among their activities, and an increasing amount of competition. Whereas in earlier days, various regions of the country were "assigned" to key bilateral donors, and NGOs they funded worked primarily in those regions, today as needs spread and as donors and projects have multiplied, these geographic divisions are less absolute. If the US and Canada were initially the most important sources of official and philanthropic support for NGOs in Haiti, there have always been European agencies, both confessional and secular, supporting social services and doing good in Haiti as well. While it is still true that most NGOs receive a majority of funding from their "home" agencies and citizens, today there is considerably more diversification in sources of funding, as well as in activities funded. CARE, for example, receives funding from three different countries, several additional agencies, and in turn acts as a donor to several Haitian NGOs. The transitional NGOs are beginning to reach out for more diverse funding as they become "weaned" from the metropolitan parent organizations. Smaller and base-level organizations are currently poised to receive funds from several intermediary NGOs at the same time, as well as from larger international and national ones.

14. What is most interesting about the NGO sector in Haiti today is that it is beginning to change. For those NGOs that traditionally received significant and constant funding from the U.S. Agency for International Development, particularly those working in health and population, funding is diminishing, and belts are being tightened. More efforts at fund raising, cost-recovery and other means to continue service provision are being undertaken, although there is likely to be a slump in delivery even if these shifts are successfully made. The high 1994 funding and delivery levels for the NGO sector are unlikely to be attained again. The larger international NGOs are increasingly moving from relief to development, both at the behest of their key donor agencies, and in line with changing times. Still, in Haiti, there are likely always to be natural disasters, if not always political ones; NGOs will continue to distribute food aid, although at lower levels and through more focused programs. In education, water and sanitation, environmental protection, human rights, women-oriented development, as well as in agriculture and other modes of production, it is likely that NGOs will continue to play an important role, although once again, sources and levels of funding are not likely to increase overall, even though the multilateral donor agencies are beginning to work through NGOs as the bilaterals are shifting some funds away from them.

15. Even those GOH ministers who have agreed to continue to work with and through NGOs, such as the Ministers of Agriculture, Health and Education, emphasize their prerogatives—setting sector policies, establishing norms, inspecting service delivery points, and evaluating performance. Under public sector reform programs already agreed, they should be able to develop the capacity to carry out these functions effectively. However, to do so, they will need more cooperation from the NGO community than they have had in the past, as well as from the donors themselves. Aid management is a significant burden to a government over 90% of whose investment budget is externally financed. Donors compete to dominate sectors and regions, and so do their NGO intermediaries. In the short term, there is enough money for all, but by the end of the 1990s, the kind of overlap and duplication that is generally true of donor-funded programs in Haiti—and thus of NGO programs—will no longer be affordable. It is then that we may expect to see a real shift in numbers and levels of NGOs remaining in operation. Until then, however, there is time for a considerable amount of capacity building and partnering to take place, and for the major actors themselves to strengthen the enabling environment for future collaboration. At present, there is a critical mass of competent national and international NGOs operating in Haiti through which the GOH and its international donor partners can get benefits to Haiti's urban and rural poor.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ALL PARTIES

- **Enhance Institutional Capacity.** Findings from all sector working papers and multisectoral organization interviews indicate that there is a wide range of institutional capacity represented in the NGO sector in Haiti. But most of the evidence seems to show that there is a critical mass of large, medium-sized and small organizations with better than average track records that can absorb more funds, and use them more efficiently and effectively if they receive a little more technical assistance and training. This should not, however, be of a general type, but rather specific to the sector and to the socioeconomic issues these organizations are dealing with. To the extent possible, generic training materials by sector and socio-economic issue can be developed on the basis of best-practice examples, and then customized for particular courses, or coaching sessions.

- **Improve Analysis for Management Effectiveness.** Coordination, personnel management, stakeholder analysis, gender analysis, cost-effectiveness assessment, fund-raising, and beneficiary assessment are all areas where many if not most NGOs studied can be strengthened. These are not merely buzz-words or current development fads, but rather the practices that yield better results in

terms of additional and higher quality benefit provision., as is shown by the best practice examples given in this report.

- **Enhance Technical Capacity.** Technology transfer is complex in Haiti, but as has been noted for health care, for example, the quality of some services is truly excellent, and those Haitian specialists and generalists—including public health practitioners at all levels—who have received quality training are able to do a good job, and to train others. Domestically-available TA, as through AOPS, or FONHEP is often sufficient, although the amount available is limited by funding rather than by the quality available on the local market. Particularly weak or new sectors, such as some in the areas of environmental and natural resources management, may require some external technical assistance inputs, where there are readily adaptable lessons learned from other-country environments. Present efforts by donors to attract Diaspora Haitians back to work in development-related fields, both inside and outside government, may be fruitful, although salary levels are frequently an issue.

- **Disseminate Information about On-going Activities.** Given the publicity received by recent events in Haiti, there is a wealth of new initiatives which are often well intentioned but based on too little knowledge of Haitian realities. This is an area where some classic NGO/PVO methods are being adapted to meet the new situation. An example is the recently created Florida International Volunteer program, which is bringing Diaspora Haitians and other technical specialists for brief periods to do particular, targeted interventions in Haiti. This is an approach which has been used successfully in the past by Project HOPE, and by other international institutions, such as the Lyons Clubs, Rotary, and other membership associations. Peace Corps volunteers are once again in Haiti, working on organizational development and agro-processing projects. Getting it right is particularly important in these kinds of “quick-fix”, targeted interventions, whether they involve service provision or short-term training. Here, the general lack of a readily accessible inventory of NGO activities already in place reduces the effectiveness of new initiatives.

- **Allow the Beneficiaries to Choose.** One of the characteristics of voluntary agencies is that they try to choose activities that fit their missions, and that will satisfy their benefactors. This means that if a particular organization wants to work in AIDS prevention, it is unlikely to be easily persuaded to work in environmental protection instead, for example. Also, in Haiti as elsewhere, many NGO programs are donor-driven. One possible mitigating factor may be creation of communal-level social service plans, to be monitored by social service committees. It is at least plausible that in the medium term, as decentralized entities become stronger, they will be able to encourage more discrimination in the communities’ acceptance of “free” goods and services. The central government counterpart to this would be a better information base available in Port-au-Prince and at Haitian consulates and embassies abroad about what is already being done, and broad distribution of an updated HAVA directory to these posts. Since the draft law on NGOs includes the possibility of registration at these diplomatic representations rather than at the MPCE, this idea may have some merit.

- **Enhance the Enabling Environment.** The sustainability of NGO programs after the donor has withdrawn, and once public/private partnership have been defined, merits further exploration by the donor-NGO-GOH community as a whole, together with anticipated and existing beneficiaries. Taking this approach to the partnership question should also focus attention on the GOH’s comparative advantage in getting out of the service delivery business—an idea which is already under discussion in a number of sectors. One forum for this discussion, with a poverty-alleviation emphasis, is the proposed national dialogue and strategy/action planning process that is intrinsic to the Poverty Assessment. Other fora are also available, and should be exploited as much as possible, including meetings of the Prime Minister’s Commission on Poverty Alleviation, non-NGO association meetings, television and radio talk shows, and

church group meetings. The important thing is to define the terms of the dialogue in a constructive way, and then to keep the ball in play.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE WORLD BANK/IDA AND OTHER DONOR AGENCIES

- **Reduce Duplication and Overlap.** IDA and other international donor agencies, both bilateral and multilateral, are already critically involved in funding humanitarian assistance and development interventions that include international and national NGOs. Despite considerable and persisting efforts to coordinate within and among sectors in providing aid to Haiti, there is still a great deal of overlap at the same time that there are critical gaps. One suggestion for mitigating this situation is to have NGOs as participants or observers at the next Consultative Group meeting, and at any subsequent IDA-sponsored Implementation Reviews. The World Bank is already a co-sponsor of a regional Latin American and Caribbean NGO conference each year, but it should be noted that in 1996, the Haitian umbrella organizations invited were unable to provide funding or representatives to attend.

- **Support Monitoring Systems that Track Results.** In addition to this kind of periodic joint review, IDA is interested in supporting the GOH in improving its ability to monitor the performance of all donor-funded projects, including those implemented by NGOs. This would be done in collaboration with the UNDP, which is already implementing a project to inventory donor assistance to Haiti with the MPCE. The current thinking is that such a performance tracking system would be decentralized, so that more beneficiary and elected assembly input could be obtained, and such feedback used to assist implementors to make mid-course corrections where necessary. This is not the same thing as the old UCAONG “control and regulation” model, but would more resemble the kind of monitoring that has been characteristic of the PL 480 management office over the years. Initial design and piloting could be supported by an International Development Fund Grant.

- **Determine Cost-Effectiveness and Cost-Efficiency Measures.** More in-depth analysis should be carried out of the relative cost-effectiveness of NGO, for-profit and public sector delivery systems by sector and sub-sector. In some instances, this analysis may already exist in the annexes of discrete project documents, but overall, there is no body of information readily available to all the actors on the basis of which standards could be set, and comparisons of performance made. Such analysis should include social costs and benefits as well as economic ones, and might be based on the coproduction model—all of the social services and goods discussed in this report are “co-produced”; that is, they require the active participation of the beneficiaries themselves in order to be achieved.

- **Update NGO Funding Policies and Mechanisms.** As the political and economic situation in Haiti continues to become more stable, donors should continue to update their policies on funding of NGOs, private-sector firms and direct funding to the GOH, focusing on comparative advantage, and cost-effectiveness. Where necessary, they should also offer training to all of these categories of implementing partners in accounting for funds, disbursement, and performance monitoring, as IDA has begun to do in the past year. While it is unrealistic to anticipate that even the major donor agencies will come up with a mutually-agreed “short-form” for reporting, they could give more attention to making reporting requirements clear. Another shared practice that would not require major resource commitments would be broad circulation of terms and conditions of grants and loans available through donor-funded intermediaries.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF HAITI

- **Develop Reasoned Policy toward NGO Implementors and Service Providers.** If the GOH—both at the center and at the periphery—continues a good-faith effort to implement its current policies in the areas of justice, rule of law, deconcentration and decentralization, as well as streamlining the public sector and “reinventing” the State, the mandates and activities of the NGO sector will of necessity be affected. However, these effects are likely to be salutary, and in the interests both of the NGOs themselves and of their existing and intended beneficiaries. Modalities may change, however, especially for those large, international NGOs that have in the past been able to enjoy a great deal of independence, but are now finding a new role as implementing arms of the GOH through the *MDOD* model.

- **Implement New Tax and Customs Exhonorations Policies Fairly.** In the past, according to both NGO and GOH representatives, the key issue of exhonorations and taxation has brought some of the larger NGOs to threaten to quit Haiti. More recently, however, as part of the dialogue process leading up to the drafting of the new NGO law, there has been a more constructive dialogue, which should be pursued. As with other policy reforms, this revenue-oriented reform will require serious monitoring in implementation, and a series of stakeholder meetings and reviews should be held at key points in the implementation process. These meetings should include lower-level Customs and DGI staff as well as senior managers, and the middle-management staff of key NGOs as well as Directors from Haiti and from overseas HQs.

- **Develop a Monitoring System and Implement It.** While it is realistic for the GOH to require that NGOs register their presence and mission, and report periodically on by-laws, officers, activities, and funding arrangements, such requirements should be streamlined. NGOs—whether international or national—should not be required to register with each sectoral ministry in whose sector they are active, as well as with the MPCE, and with the Ministry of Interior, the DGI, as well as the local territorial entities in the areas where they are actually carrying out projects and programs. There should be a once-for-all, relatively simple registration process that is possible to achieve within two months—rather like Congressional Notification in the US—if there is no question raised, then the NGO can consider itself registered. Annual financial or activity reporting should be part of an overall development assistance monitoring system rather than a separate *sui generis* system that is then open to manipulation.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE NGO COMMUNITY IN HAITI

- **Define the Terms of Inter-NGO Collaboration and Partnership.** One of the NGO leaders who has spent the longest time in Haiti suggested during an early interview that what needed to happen was that HAVA, or the World Bank—or both—take the senior managers of all the major NGOs away to the beach, and sit them down until they hammered out their differences (and similarities). Others when interviewed about their relations with donors, the government and other stakeholders, pointed out that they should work harder on joint development of a code of ethics, for international as well as national organizations, and then should develop a system for monitoring their respective performance under the code. Almost all those interviewed said that they should do more and better in terms of working with and strengthening the capacity of local organizations, whether formal or informal. Most agreed that they should learn how to manage better for scarcity, and learn more about financial management and financial planning, so as to become self-sustaining.

- **Strengthen Mechanisms for Information Sharing.** Information-sharing is not cost-free, but neither is duplication of projects, or competition for the same beneficiary populations. It is ultimately

to the advantage of NGOs working in the same region, and/or in the same sector, to be forthcoming to each other, and to donors, local authorities, and the GOH about what they know of the range of interventions already in place when they propose to continue existing activities, or to undertake new ones.

- **Develop Criteria of Project Success and Methods to Assure Sustainability.** To the extent possible, NGOs should use their strategic planning and targeting systems—in concert with beneficiaries—to decide what the reasonable life of an intervention is, rather than being caught in the donor project cycle or, conversely, assuming that what is needed now will be needed forever. Empowerment means, among other things, that beneficiaries can and should make decisions for themselves. Sustainable development means that over time, the majority of empowered beneficiaries should be able to become self-sufficient, and to provide safety-nets for the most vulnerable among them.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

STUDY OBJECTIVES AND ORGANIZING PRINCIPLES

1. The NGO¹ sector has been crucial for both humanitarian assistance and social service provision in Haiti for over 20 years, but especially between 1987, when Jean-Claude Duvalier fell, and 1990, when President Aristide was elected. The NGOs became very important for assistance and social services once again during and after the anti-Aristide coup d'état in 1991 and until his return to Haiti in October 1994. During these periods, major donor countries were unwilling or unable to finance activities through excessively corrupt and illegitimate governments. From 1992 to the end of 1994, as the De Facto government continued to provide a bare minimum of services, NGOs were virtually the only service providers in social sectors such as health, particularly in rural areas and among the urban poor. Official aid for NGO-administered safety-net programs averaged about US\$100 million per year during this period, and by the time of Aristide's return, NGOs were feeding 800,000 Haitians a day—roughly a tenth of the population. It is in part because the NGO sector seems to have been so effective as a channel for relief and development assistance during this extremely difficult period that this study was made a key part of the Haiti Poverty Assessment.

2. Understanding the NGO sector is a major requirement in assessing approaches to poverty alleviation in Haiti, in terms of human capital development and acknowledging the expressed needs, attitudes and aspirations of poor Haitians for themselves and their families, as well helping to design donor and government responses. However, like poverty itself, this sector has rarely been intensively or systematically examined. This study is an attempt to fill this analytical and descriptive gap from the vantage point of the donor community, but also from that of the organizational and individual beneficiaries themselves.

3. The overall study objective is to examine the present range of activities implemented by NGOs, and to assess their respective capacity to continue to provide social and other services to poor individuals and communities by sector and by unit of coverage (community, commune, municipality, department). Once this assessment is made, the report makes recommendations about ways in which key institutional elements within the NGO community, and relationships within that community and with the for-profit sector, the GOH and the donors, can be strengthened, on the assumption that significant aid flows will continue to be managed by NGOs. Even if such flows diminish as the GOH reorganizes and "reinvents" itself, it is crucial for the all major actors to better understand the nature, scope, capacity, efficiency and effectiveness of NGOs involved in the delivery of social services, relief, safety nets and development programs. Box 1 presents the seven key variables that were selected during study design to provide both a "snapshot" of current activities, and to assess the institutional and absorptive capacity of NGOs currently operating in Haiti.

Box 1: Key Variables for Examination

- Mission and targeting as related to poverty alleviation
- Interaction with key stakeholders
- Location of activities and sectors of activity or expertise
- Goods and services actually delivered to identifiable beneficiaries, disaggregated by sex
- Institutional characteristics including staffing, gender awareness, participatory approaches, monitoring and evaluation
- Sources and levels of funding and procedures governing resource management
- Institutional and absorptive capacity

4. The third study objective was to provide an analytical description based on qualitative field-based investigation. When this study was designed in late 1995, there was no coherent body of information on the variety and location of NGO activities in Haiti. For the purposes of this study, NGOs were divided into three groups: 1) large international PVOs or NGOs with significant donor funding; 2) intermediate international NGOs with representation in Haiti, and large or otherwise influential Haitian NGOs; and 3) smaller NGOs and other associations, such as foundations. A fourth group, CBOs, were included by means of a separate stratified random sample of 100 organizations throughout the country (Annex II). These initial categories were fairly useful for study implementation, but as the results of the fieldwork show, further refinement is necessary given the richness of the non-governmental sector in Haiti.

5. The fourth study objective was to explore current efforts to enhance the enabling environment for cooperation and partnership among the GOH, international and national NGOs, and other actors in those sectors most relevant to the quality of life and prospects of Haiti's urban and rural poor. All the potential partners are searching for better ways in which to collaborate, while at the same time maintaining or redefining a balance of power and division of labor.

6. This report is a synthesis of findings, conclusions and recommendations presented in a series of sector working papers prepared by national and international consultants and findings and analysis of a survey of 100 community based organizations (CBOs). These reports were based, in turn, on qualitative assessments of a set of "large and influential" and "smaller" (national or international) NGOs operating in the sector. It also reflects the work of the research coordinator, designed the interview guide, developed sector study TORs, identified and supervised consultants, and helped design the CBO survey. She also identified the universe, and interviewed the headquarters staff of, large international NGOs and of large and/or otherwise influential Haitian NGOs stressing linkages to donors, other NGOs and beneficiaries, as well as similarities and differences in their missions, programs and operational approaches. In all, seventy-five NGOs participated in the study.²

Box 2: Organizing Principles of the NGO Sector Study

- International and national NGOs are substantially different in size and scope
- The study will be participatory and qualitative, but rigorous
- Interviews will be based on an interview guide, not a formal questionnaire
- Donors will be consulted to determine which international PVO/NGOs and Haitian NGOs are operating in Haiti
- In Phase I, a sample of 20 large and/or influential NGOs will be interviewed at headquarters and in Haiti, with projects site visits
- Next, a similar sample of Haitian NGOs will be identified and interviewed in Haiti, and site visits to projects arranged and carried out
- Interviews and site visits in Haiti will be organized for seven sectors, using local and expatriate consultants and covering all nine Departments
- A separate, quantitative survey will be made of 100 local organizations throughout the country, using a stratified random sampling approach
- Sector workshops will be held to get feedback from participating NGOs on study conclusions and recommendations before final report preparation

7. The report is organized thematically, following the original study design. Sectoral similarities and differences are discussed under a series “issue” chapters, with an indication of relative coverage by NGOs and the public sector in each social service sector. Chapter II presents the universe of NGOs operating in Haiti, and the environment in which they work, including that created by donors, the GOH, and other types of organizations. Chapter III discusses the key issues of resource management—financial, physical and human—stressing questions of capacity. Chapter IV examines Government-NGO-private sector partnerships, and also addresses some questions of relative cost effectiveness of service delivery by sector. Chapter V presents conclusions and recommendations, both of the authors of individual sectoral reports, and of the participating NGOs who had a chance to comment on the former during a series of four workshops. Annex 1 gives the list of all NGOs interviewed; Annex II presents the interview guide and the CBO questionnaires; Annex III gives maps of sites visited, and Annex IV provides information on study methodology as well as acknowledgments.

CHAPTER 2

MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS OF NGOS OPERATING IN HAITI

TYPES OF NGOS

8. This study does not attempt to enumerate all active NGOs working in Haiti, but rather to establish a working sample of each of the main types and sizes involved in safety net and development activities.³ When the study was initiated in early 1996, best estimates of the total number of NGOs operating ranged between 200 and 500. The inventory of officially registered NGOs—including those “in process” provided by the MPCE, in April 1995 lists 165 organizations. The 1995 HAVA directory includes 190 NGOs, 29 foundations and 19 associations. Thus, while the study sample is not statistically representative, it includes between a third and a half of recognized NGOs. The CBO survey—which is representative— probably includes about one-tenth of all base-level organizations currently operating throughout the country.

9. The following analytical description of the NGO sector begins with the most local-level organizations, some of which receive donor funds directly or through larger NGO intermediaries, and some of which are self-financing and/or receive financing through charitable institutions or the GOH. Presenting the range of NGOs from the bottom up, rather than from the top down—which would follow the method used in the study itself—may seem counter-intuitive. Yet, a top-down approach, while more typical, seems less satisfactory since less is generally known about the more local-level and intermediate and large Haitian NGOs than about the large international ones included in the sample. Also, it would tend to minimize the variety and extent of interventions that do not involve the larger organizations.

Table 1. Origin/Board of Directors

| | International | Transitional | Haitian |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|--------------|---------|
| Type I: CBOs (see Annex I) | | | |
| Type II: Intermediate NGOs | | | |
| ADF | ✓ | | |
| AgroAction | | | |
| Allemande | ✓ | | |
| ARD | ✓ | | |
| CBP | | | ✓ |
| CCFC/HAVA | | | ✓ |
| CFPO | | | ✓ |
| CHASS | | | ✓ |
| CHF | ✓ | | |
| CHREPROF | | | ✓ |
| Church World Service | ✓ | | |
| Compassion Internationale | ✓ | | |
| CNEH | | ✓ | |
| Episcopal Bishop's Fund | ✓ | | |

| Table 1. Origin/Board of Directors (cont'd) | | | |
|---|---------------|--------------|---------|
| | International | Transitional | Haitian |
| Type II: Intermediate NGOs (cont'd) | | | |
| Fondwa Moun | | ✓ | |
| GERESE | | | ✓ |
| GHESTOP | | | ✓ |
| GLAS | | | ✓ |
| GRET | | ✓ | |
| HHF | | | |
| International Child Care | ✓ | | |
| Jilap Archipo | | | ✓ |
| Justice et Paix | | ✓ | ✓ |
| NCHR | | ✓ | |
| ODEPA | | | ✓ |
| OMES | | | ✓ |
| Planning Assistance | ✓ | | |
| PROFAMIL | | | ✓ |
| PROTOS | | ✓ | |
| SCMPFF | | | ✓ |
| SOE | | | ✓ |
| Type III: Large PVOs/NGOs | | | |
| ACF | ✓ | | |
| ADRA | | ✓ | |
| BND | | ✓ | |
| CARE | | ✓ | |
| CDS | | | ✓ |
| CRS | | ✓ | |
| Inter-Aide | | ✓ | |
| PADF | | ✓ | |
| PLAN | | ✓ | |
| SAVE | | ✓ | |
| Type IV: Foundations | | | |
| FIDES | | | ✓ |
| FONADES | | | ✓ |
| FONDEV | | | ✓ |
| Type V: Umbrella Associations | | | |
| ANDAH | | | ✓ |
| AOPS | | | ✓ |
| FONHEP | | | ✓ |
| HAVA | | ✓ | |
| InterAction | | ✓ | |
| PACT | | ✓ | |
| PAPDA | | | ✓ |
| POHDH | | | ✓ |

10. **Base-level Organizations.** Estimates for base-level organizations of all kinds—including formal community based organizations (CBOs) such as those included in the 100 CBO survey carried out during phase III of this study—range from 2,000 to 12,000, according to a variety of definitions, and several data bases (see Annex II). These kinds of organizations may be residentially (community) based, or grow out of the association of several individuals grouped around an economic activity, which may then evolve into a more complex organizational form, such as a pre-cooperative. Alternatively, and very frequently, they are organized within the congregations of evangelical churches and other sects, of which there are estimated to be over 3,000 operating in Haiti, or are based within the congregations of non-evangelical churches.

11. During the years preceding the election of Aristide as president, a network of *organizasyons populaires* and *gwoupmans* sprang up throughout the country, both in rural areas and in cities (*gwoupman katye*), which together militated for change. These organizations were both politically and developmentally oriented. The present status of these networked popular organizations is not easily determined. During the De facto period, they were mercilessly pursued, and their members systematically harassed and often murdered. One particular networked peasant organization, the Mouvman Peyisan Papaye (MPP), provides an example. This organization, which did political mobilization and development projects in the Central Plateau, was a particular target during the De facto regime, when many of its members were harassed and murdered, and its projects literally razed. (International PVOs such as SAVE and WorldVision had to deal with threats to their project beneficiaries in the same area, but according to those interviewed, were “able to negotiate their beneficiaries’ safety”.)

12. Since 1995, these networked popular organizations have again started to operate openly and, in some instances, to flourish. However, their relationship to other current refractions of the Lavalas movement is variable, and the ability of the present elected GOH to mobilize their strength is open to question, given their continued allegiance to former President Aristide as well as their vocal opposition to donor-sponsored economic reforms. (A group of these organizations organized an effective one-day general strike in January 1997.) Meanwhile, new kinds of base level and peasant associations and federations are developing, and are seeking to find or redefine their roles vis a vis the new decentralized elected territorial entities, the sections communales, communes, and municipalités, which in turn are beginning to form their own associations and federations (see Map 1).

13. **Intermediate NGOs.** There are at least five types of intermediate NGOs. Type I may be defined as those that 1) originated in Haiti, although not necessarily exclusively by Haitian nationals; 2) have a board of directors, and officers, and are registered with some GOH agency; 3) receive external funding of some sort, although they may have a strong voluntary base, and 4) serve as brokers or partners in the space between CBOs and the larger national and international NGOs which are more closely tied to donors and donor programs and contracts.

14. Type II are still expatriate- (international) run and staffed, but with an increasing shift toward Haitian staffing, and decentralization from the parent NGO in Europe or the US to the Haitian “representation”. These will be referred to as “transitional” NGOs. Type III, that would not fit the conventional Northern definition of NGOs as non-partisan, are Haitian based, such as CRESFED and PAPDA, have a clear ideological position, and undertake research and training in classically social sector domains, but in terms of their particular political orientation. The growing variety of Plateformes should also be included in this category, since they are primarily coordinating and advocacy bodies, representing the interests of certain social groups, such as victims of human rights abuses, or unempowered women.

These advocacy groups have representations in the U.S. and Europe, and may have originated there, but also have representations and programs in Haiti. There is some overlap and complementarity between this type of NGO and the umbrella associations and foundations discussed in paragraph 19 below.

15. Type IV intermediary NGOs may be Haitian or expatriate in origin, but act primarily as brokers or clearing-houses. Partners of the Americas, for example, seeks to find sponsoring states in the U.S. that will mobilize human and financial resources to work in partnership with countries in the hemisphere. In the case of Haiti, the partner state is New Jersey. With some grant funding, organizational and individual volunteers in New Jersey set up relationships with similar volunteers in Haiti, and help them to seek additional partners and funding options. Staff are very few in number, and the emphasis on volunteerism and instituting a spirit of volunteerism is critical to the organization's programs. Similar sorts of partnerships are also developed by the major denominations in North America and in Europe, a particular congregation choosing a congregation in Haiti as a partner or sponsored. The Episcopal Church, although it may give centrally available funds for specific projects, operates more on the basis of church-to-church partnerships. The same is true for certain Baptist congregations, as well as other denominations. Diaspora-based associations also operate in a similar way, raising funds for their respective areas of origin, and starting projects there of a variety of kinds, working with local notables or local elected officials, as is the case in the Vieux Bourg d'Aquin, in the South.

16. Type V NGOs act as intermediaries between base-level groups, and the population at large, or between base-level groups and larger Haitian or international NGOs. In a sense, this is a role that can be played by any of the other types of intermediary organizations, but that is particular to groups that do a good deal of training or animation. In current parlance, these are known as "tutor" organizations. This category consists primarily of outside groups, or groups of local consultants or coordinating bodies that provide training, organizational development advice, and project preparation services, and that are seen as able to broker access to funds. It also includes some of the smaller Haitian-European foundations.

17. Intermediate NGOs are increasing in numbers as formerly expatriate NGOs that have worked in Haiti for many years begin to set up subsidiaries which are Haitian directed and Haitian staffed (ADRA, PROTOS/Haiti, WorldVision/Haiti, GRET/Haiti). They are also increasing as educated Haitians, among the Diaspora, in Port-au-Prince and in rural areas see that there is money available through the NGO channel for projects of all types. Many of these individuals are well-meaning and actively seek the betterment or development of their areas of origin. Those who have been trained by a parent NGO often do extremely competent technical work, which is often very well managed, sometimes despite donor-introduced constraints. Those that are just starting out may have more difficulty finding competent technical and managerial staff, as will be seen in para 54 below. In Haiti, as elsewhere, the NGO sector provides a subsidy to middle and higher level civil servants whose salaries are not sufficient to support the lifestyles to which they would like to be accustomed. There are allegations that many of these "briefcase NGOs" are merely parasitic, and that they never deliver either grants or services to the local populations who are their ostensible clients.

18. *Large PVOs/NGOs.* The larger national and international NGOs⁴, of which there are about twenty operating in Haiti, depending on the criteria used to define them, have become almost a separate "industry". If one adds the largest "confessional" international and national NGOs, the number of distinctively large and influential ones should be doubled. These organizations—PADF, ACF, ADF, ADRA, CDS, CRS, CARE, CECI—are those most involved in food aid programs and/or as intermediary

implementing contractors for donor-funded employment generation programs. Although each had other bases of funding and other projects or programs, these are the organizations with the largest proportion of donor-funded program grants or contracts, for which they compete among each other, and/or with for-profit firms. There are many people in the Haitian and international NGO community who frown on this kind of activity under the name of NGOs. More will be said about this about this category and the donor-NGO relationship in the following section.

19. ***Umbrella Associations and Foundations.*** As the non-governmental sector has matured in Haiti, several umbrella NGOs have emerged, most with an initial injection of USAID funding. For health sector NGOs, there is AOPS, the Association des Oeuvres Privees de la Sante that provides coordination and technical assistance, as well as the Association of Public Health Physicians, and INHSAC, a training NGO for health practitioners. FONHEP is a foundation whose mission is to improve quality in Haitian education. For some private and NGO-run schools, which together constitute 80% of schools in Haiti, FONHEP plays a coordinating and structuring role. It organizes training sessions for different categories of educational staff—teachers, inspectors, school directors, and distributes pedagogical materials. FONHEP, in turn, provides institutional strengthening to three separate smaller umbrella organizations, one each for Protestant, Catholic and non-denominational NGO and for-profit schools. These umbrella organizations serve as clearing houses and lobbies for their respective members. They also undertake studies, and may sponsor joint projects, as well as working toward quality control. HAVA, which is an association including NGO members from all sectors, both international ones and national ones, serves as a forum for discussion about key issues, including the draft NGO law. Inter OPD, another association, has militated in the past to develop a code of ethics for the NGO community working in Haiti, and is currently being restructured. ANDAH, the Association of Agricultural Professionals of Haiti, is one of the professional associations that seeks to influence policy development, but does not engage in direct activities. There is also a new National Coalition for Human Development (CNDH—Coalition Nationale pour le Développement Humain). This is an inter-sectoral NGO created to lobby for rational population policies. There is a coalition of NGOs working in environment/NRM sector as well, although many other NGOs have environmentally-oriented projects (Toussaint, 1996).

20. There is a sub-category of private foundations, relatively recently established by the “leading” mercantilist families of Haiti, whose sphere of activities or level of funding is not particularly transparent. The growing Haitian commercial banking sector is also creating foundations, some single-purpose and some multi-purpose. These foundations may prove to be untapped sources of resources for service provision and might provide an opportunity to pilot cost-recovery and social insurance schemes, as well as other types of development activities proposed and/or managed by NGOs.

DONORS, INTERNATIONAL LINKAGES AMONG AND NATIONAL NGOs

21. ***Donor Categories.*** Donors supporting NGO operations in Haiti may be grouped into four broad categories: 1) multilateral donor agencies, including the World Bank/IDA, the Inter-American Development Bank, the European Union, ECHO, IICA, IOM, OAS, UNDP, UNFPA and UNICEF, WFP, World Health Organization; 2) large, bilateral donors with significant programs in Haiti, such as USAID, CIDA, and France; 3) smaller bilateral programs such as those of Switzerland, Belgium and the Netherlands, and 4) non-governmental donors—including churches that proselytize and those that only provide development assistance—private philanthropic organizations, and larger international NGOs, such as CARE/Canada, BND, Inter-Aide, Helvetas, ACF, Amnesty International, Oxfam/UK and Oxfam/America, among many others. (See Annex I).

22. Each category has distinct funding policies—and limitations—and most of them differ between and even within the categories. This is one of the many reasons that donor management is very difficult in Haiti, both for the GOH and for individual beneficiary organizations. It is also one of the reasons why donor collaboration in general, and by sector, is difficult—few countries benefit from as many donor agencies as does Haiti at the present time. For example, a recent synthesis effort by UNDP's Modernization of the State/Governance Project discovered that there were at least 23 projects active in Haiti that in some major way dealt with governance and modernization of the state/public sector reform issues as consensually defined (UNDP, 1995). An attempt to create donor/GOH led sectoral coordination committees to prepare a Consultative Group meeting on implementation issues in 1995 revealed that even with good will on all sides, creating and maintaining a simple data base on project objectives, status, and implementation issues had high transaction costs than perceived benefits on both sides (World Bank, 1995). A UNDP/UNOPS sponsored project is assisting the MPCE to develop a complete data base of all donor funded projects, which will be available to key GOH managers. This data base will not, however, include many of the projects or sub-projects currently implemented by NGOs, since they are difficult to capture in a questionnaire administered to the GOH and to official donor agencies.

23. *Bilateral Donor Sectoral Identification—Strengths and Weaknesses.* While the “Balkanization” approach employed by the GOH toward significant donors in the past may have had some advantages in terms of minimizing overlap and maximizing coverage, it also left a heritage of dissension, competition and lack of similarity among programs. Since particular donors also were associated with key sectors, there are now problems as other donors seek to increase coverage and/or change approaches in those sectors in which they were not prominent before. And those that were prominent—as well as the NGOs most closely associated with them—may suffer from that close identification. There is a downside to the fact that USAID, for example, has been closely associated with intermediary NGO funding for many years in Haiti, most especially during the “crisis” years. A result that may or may not be warranted is that in many areas of the country, and across most sectors, these intermediary NGOs are now “tainted” or “suspect”, since they are seen as having been part of a sort of “fifth column” working along-side the De facto government. They are also seen as having favored the old guard and the military as beneficiaries and as staff, which is to some extent true, based on interviews with NGO staff themselves. Because of the geopolitical role of the U.S. government as seen through Haitian eyes, USAID gets a particularly negative image from time to time, but rather like the relationship between Haiti and the US in general, this is a love/hate situation. The intermediary NGO's, however, may not benefit from the switch back to “love” despite the Intervention, and the return to greater political stability which it has helped to support. Thus, the irony is that some of the same NGOs that guaranteed that humanitarian aid continued to be forthcoming, that job creation efforts continued, and that health services for the poor remained available, are the very ones whose political intentions are brought into question by their intended beneficiaries.

24. Canada, although also working almost exclusively through NGOs in its humanitarian assistance and social sector programs, and for nearly as many years as the USG, does not appear to have as much problem with its “image”. Canadian NGOs have been active in Haiti from very early on, often in connection with the French Canadian Catholic clergy. Some of their projects have lasted for over a decade in a particular area, including technical assistance and training, only to fail in the end. Others have been more successful. CECI, one of the major Canadian NGOs now working in Haiti has, by learning from past mistakes, changed its staffing pattern and its type of activities in recent years, moving much more toward community based organizations and activities and away from Canadian TA, either from volunteers or from paid experts. In Haiti, sometimes one donor starts up the same type of projects—or the self-same activities—that another donor has already failed in. This has recently begun in the South. Despite a

growing literature about the history of projects and programs in Haiti, and an improving literature on local organizations and their history, this remains largely ignored by the donors, who are responding to some other imperative.

25. France has also sponsored projects and programs implemented by French NGOs, but the tie between the GOF and French private aid organizations is seen as less close than those, respectively, of the US and Canada. Local NGO requests for funding are reviewed and processed by French Cooperation officials at the Embassy in Port-au-Prince. Of greater significance is that the Commission Mixte Franco-Haitienne provides a forum for coordination and discussion between French and Haitian NGOs, as was the case in the summer of 1996. As the introduction to the report on the Commission's deliberations points out, while France suspended its official aid to Haiti after the coup d'Etat, "as much as possible French NGOs continued their assistance in Haiti out of solidarity and loyalty to their prior engagements". They continued under difficult circumstances, particularly during the embargo. The French Ministry of Cooperation was one of the sources of funding for this continuing effort. Today, French NGOs such as Inter-Aide, ACF, and GRET are very active in Haiti in the social sector and safety-net areas, often with funding from the EU. The same is the case for NGOs from other EU member countries, so that the donor-NGO relationship is direct, but not based on the nationality of the NGO entity.

NGO MISSION STATEMENTS AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION

26. One of the most startling findings of this study is that only a very small proportion of the NGOs and CBOs surveyed have a definition of poverty, or poverty indicators, although most of them express their respective missions in terms of helping those most in need, the vulnerable or the poor. Those who do are primarily the large national and international NGOs most heavily involved with food aid and with health services delivery. To the extent that the majority of NGOs operating in Haiti are working without a definition of poverty, or poverty indicators it is very hard for them—and for those who fund and observe them—to see how well or how badly they are doing, in terms of poverty alleviation. In the following discussion, types of mission statements will be presented as well as targeting systems, to give a better indication of what kinds of attempts are being made to measure impact of NGO activities on poverty itself or key symptoms or correlates of poverty, such as malnutrition. This is one sign the ways in which these organizations adapt to a changing environment, by redefining their program orientations within the terms of the same, broad mission statements, and by seeking new partners and new funding sources, moving into new niches in what is still a thriving NGO sector in Haiti.

27. The intermediary Haitian and international NGOs have relatively broad mission statements where they are not location-specific. For example, FONDEV has existed since 1978 to participate in the redressement du monde rurale, but with specific objectives at the project level. Its Haitian founder distinguishes among three groups of poor, placing the emphasis on the most vulnerable, whom he calls *les misérables*. FONHADES, another national foundation, seeks to contribute to the improved living conditions of *les catégories défavorisées* through socioeconomic development projects; to fight environmental degradation, and to work *à la reconstruction du tissu social haïtien à travers un soutien aux initiatives de coopération et d'autopromotion des groupes de base*. A third foundation, FIDES, defines its mission as helping to strengthen groups of CBOs whose members are considered a priori among the poorest. However, like many other organizations interviewed, they admit that they do not have any poverty indicators, and that while seeking to work with the poor, may not be able to work with the poorest, since they must select CBOS and CBO associations with some existing capacity in order to achieve development objectives. MPP and other Haitian organizations whose purpose is to improve the situation of

the poor, point out that the Creole word *pauv* has pejorative connotations and is an insult to the dignity of organizations such as itself. Thus, it prefers the expression, *peyzan malere* (paysan malheureux) that defines the situation of a landless peasant who sells his or her labor by the day, and whose children cannot go to school. The organization has a specific poverty alleviation focus, which is manifest in its slogan, “*Mare peyizan nan yon sel chenn pou kombatt la mize*” (*Tous les paysans ensemble pour le combat contre la pauvreté*).

28. The larger international and national NGOs have well-developed mission statements, often perfected through advertising campaigns designed by PR firms, but they remain usefully broad. For example, CARE’s mission statement is quite general—“helping the poor in a sustainable way”. The French NGO Action contre la Faim (ACF) states that its vocation is “to combat hunger [by] intervening in emergency situations to bring help to populations of victims”. But then, it backs up its emergency interventions with longer-term programs to allow these populations to recover their autonomy. CRS avows that it is staffed by men and women committed to the Catholic Church’s apostolate of helping those in need “The fundamental motivating force in all CRS activities is the Gospel of Jesus-Christ as it pertains to the alleviation of human suffering, the development of people and the fostering of charity and justice in the world. The policies and programs of the agency reflect and express the teachings of the Catholic Church. At the same time, Catholic Relief Services assists persons on the basis of need, not creed, race or nationality”⁵.

29. Of particular note are the mission statements of “sponsorship” NGOs, such as PLAN International, Save the Children, and WorldVision, whose initial mission is to target poor children who will then be sponsored through contributions of individuals overseas. Since sponsorship is initially a relationship created between a sponsor and a specific child and his or her family, targeting is essential to program logic. Traditionally, such sponsorship was solicited on the basis of crisis or relief situations, and the children were at that time described as desperately in need and/or destitute. Increasingly, however, these organizations are turning from relief to development, and are expanding their programs to include development of the communities in which the sponsored children live. As a result, the content of the solicitation and the program are both changing as—probably—is their definition of poverty. PLAN International (formerly Foster Parent’s Plan) says that “PLAN’s vision is a world in which all children realize their full potential in societies which respect people’s rights and dignity”.

30. Large international and national NGOs whose primary mission has been humanitarian relief in disaster situations (CARE, CRS,) have been encouraged by U.S.-based donors over the past twenty years to turn from relief to development. Virtually all of the organizations working in Haiti that started in relief are now trying to turn toward development and—according to their responses during interviews—toward partnership with indigenous NGOs and with the populations they are trying to serve. However, some of the bigger organizations, including “confessional” and evangelical ones, do not foresee ever leaving Haiti, or “putting themselves out of business”. Others left during De facto period, for reasons of principle and/or lack of funding, while some remained, precisely because they are non-governmental and non-partisan. Some, upon returning, had realized that their previous understanding of, and role in, Haitian socio-politics had been questionable at best, and changed both their mode of operation and their staff and partners.

Table 2. Targeting Areas Of Selected NGOs

2a. Natural Resources Management

| AREA/NGO | Commune | More than 1 Commune | Department | More than 1 Department | Nationwide |
|----------------------|---------|---------------------|------------|------------------------|------------|
| CARE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | - |
| PADF | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| SCF | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | - |
| MPP | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | - | - |
| GERESE | ✓ | ✓ | - | - | - |
| AgroAction Allemande | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | - | - |
| ANDAH | - | - | - | - | ✓ |

2b. Health/Family Planning

| NGO/ AREA | MET PAP | West | Center | ARTI-BON. | NW | North | NE | SE | South | Grand Anse |
|------------|---------|------|--------|-----------|----|-------|----|----|-------|------------|
| CDS* | ✓ | | | ✓ | | ✓ | ✓ | | | |
| PROFAMIL | ✓ | ✓ | | ✓ | ✓ | | | ✓ | ✓ | |
| ICC | ✓ | | | | ✓ | | ✓ | | ✓ | |
| AOPS | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| HHF | | | | | | | | | | ✓ |
| CBP | | | | | | ✓ | | | | |
| GHESKIO | ✓ | | | | | | | | | |
| ASSODLO | ✓ | ✓ | | | ✓ | | | ✓ | | |
| CARE | | | | | ✓ | | | | | ✓ |
| ACF | ✓ | | | ✓ | ✓ | | | ✓ | | |
| CITY-MED | ✓ | | ✓ | | | | | | ✓ | ✓ |
| SAVE | | ✓ | ✓ | | | | | | | |
| HAS | | | | ✓ | | | | | | |
| SOE | ✓ | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | | | | | ✓ |
| CFPO | ✓ | | | | | | | | | |
| PROTOS | ✓ | | ✓ | | ✓ | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| VDH** | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| CSM/G | | | | | | | | | | ✓ |
| CHP/CCH/MD | | | | ✓ | | | | | | |
| INTER-AIDE | ✓ | ✓ | | | | ✓ | | | ✓ | |
| CHA-SS | ✓ | | | | | | | | | |
| GLAS | ✓ | | | | | | | | | |
| CHILD-CARE | ✓ | | | | | | | | | |

*Large, influential NGOs

** Smaller NGOs

BENEFIT TARGETING AND DISTRIBUTION

31. *The Norm: Multisectoral NGOs and Geographic Targeting.* A key study finding is that very few of the organizations interviewed are sector-specific entities. Therefore, dividing the universe of NGOs operating in Haiti in terms of traditional sectors is helpful for some purposes, but also poses problems. For example, even hospitals (HAS - Albert Schweizer) run some outreach programs that are not concerned with health, for example, while human rights organizations may organize fishing cooperatives and rehabilitate orphanages (Enfants du Monde/Droits de l'Homme).

32. A related finding is that most organizations studied target geographically and by self-selection, rather than by means tests, or other types of objective measures. There are two exceptions—health care service delivery NGOs and those large international NGOs whose primary emphasis is or has been food aid. For program or project beneficiaries of CARE, ADRA, CRS, ACF, and CECI, some criteria of need must be established. For food aid, CARE, for example, targets the poorest percentile, or uses indicators of malnutrition. This is usually done in terms of objective indicators of under- or malnutrition. ADRA, for example, at the request of a community, comes in and does a baseline study of children 0-5, using Gomez indicators N2B, N3). Community leaders are asked to indicate those most in need. If there are sufficient children with evident malnutrition, then ADRA will provide a feeding program in association with MCH care. Records are kept on beneficiaries, with data collected at during MCH clinic visits, for example. However, many other food aid programs, whether free distribution, food for work, or cash for work, have been targeted geographically, on the basis that the majority of the population in a certain geographic area, such as the North-West, are poor, and that most children attending school there are under-nourished and will benefit from a school-feeding program (cf., *inter alia*, Ionnatti, 1996 and Gagnon, 1996).

33. Health and population NGOs have for some time been carrying out baseline surveys of populations around existing health centers or to be served by new health facilities. In many cases, these organizations are already at the stage of doing re-censuses, to keep up with demographic and epidemiological changes. This is also true for some smaller NGOs whose efforts in this area are not yet computerized. The Haitian Health Foundation (HHF) is one of the more recent leaders in this field, having set up a computerized data system for its beneficiaries in the Grande Anse (see Box). March/CityMed has developed an automated financial management system, as well as some capacity in epidemiological baseline data collection and analysis through its subsidiary NGO, CAPS. In education, despite the absence of a current population census, the school mapping data available are likely to improve when the latest National Education Plan has been completed and financed.

34. *Improving Targeting and Impact Measurement.* CARE, CRS and ADRA have just completed a Livelihood Security Survey, with funding from USAID through a contract with the University of Arizona, which developed the questionnaire with assistance from IICA and the NGOs themselves, organized the survey, and is analyzing the survey data. (IDA provided additional funding for data analysis to help create the rural poverty line for the Poverty Assessment.) These large food aid NGOs are setting up monitoring and evaluation units to design and implement better targeting systems that will be based on survey results, and that will be able then to monitor impact of their interventions in terms of mutually-agreed indicators. The newly-created GOH Office of Food Aid and Food Security will also maintain the national database, and will be responsible for updating it⁶. Data from the survey were to have been disseminated by USAID by the end of 1996. Meanwhile, many smaller NGOs are trying to set up their own baseline data collection systems (GRAMIR), so as to begin more effectively targeting their assistance, and so as to better understand their respective clientele. Many rural development and environmental NGOs already use relatively simply objective poverty indicators such as the beneficiary's access to land, to livestock raising as a form of capital accumulation, and "social indicators" such as thatched roofs.

35. *Employment Generation Projects and Self-Selection.* There is another set of large, international and national NGOs who use a different set of indicators to measure the success of their efforts to extend the GOH/donor safety net program. These NGOs—PADF, CDS, CECI, CHF—are all intermediary implementing agencies for the IDA-financed Employment Generation Project (EGP). This project is managed by a unique labor intensive public works agency set up in the Prime Minister's Office,

the Unite Centrale de Gestion (UCG). Like the USAID-funded JOBS project before it, EGP is designed to provide short-term employment to women and men who are available to work on local infrastructure rehabilitation subprojects. Here, the indicator is number of jobs created, or person-hours worked, and there is a target that 20% of all jobs created go to women. An underlying assumption is that jobs will be allocated in a participatory fashion at the local level, and that there local organizations that become the implementing agencies of record will be strengthened by participating in the program.

36. These projects, and the NGOs that are the delegated implementing agencies for the UCG (called *MDOD - Mettres d'Ouvrages Délégés*) are operating essentially on the basis of self-selection, in that there is a brokered process by which local populations, through local organizations, apply for works programs in their communities. However, they also use geographic selection to the extent that they and the UCG are careful to spread the benefits to the areas which are seen as most in need.

37. **Participation.** Multilateral and bilateral donors often believe that international and national NGOs have better access to local populations, and are better able to reflect and to serve their needs in a participatory manner than are other types of intermediaries. A significant proportion of the questions asked of each NGO interviewed related to beneficiary and staff participation in the identification, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of projects and plans. A subset of these questions related specifically to gender awareness and data disaggregation by sex, as well as programs targeted toward women (see Annex 2 and Chapter of Haiti Poverty Assessment). There was, as might be expected, a wide range of answers. Some of the larger international NGOs, including CARE and CRS, indicated that they would like to become more participatory, including by working more with local NGOs. In discussing the constraints to such participation, most of the international NGOs interviewed stressed the lack of absorptive capacity and institutional capacity at the national and community level. These large NGOs also stress the burden that massive food aid distribution programs place on them to "get the job done". It is difficult for them, in the face of targets of feeding 600,000 people a day, to ensure that they are also doing institutional strengthening, and defining programs and projectized activities in the most participatory way. As food aid levels decline, there will be more time available to implement the new strategic plans, which include more participatory and more developmental approaches.

38. Intermediate Haitian and international NGOs are seen by all those interviewed as tending to be more participatory, both in terms of identifying community level collaborators, and in terms of including individual beneficiaries in the project process, than are their larger counterparts. Most of those working in potable water, for example, start with community needs assessments, set up community or quartier committees to help design interventions, and then to manage them. Inter-Aide a French NGO, appears to be one of the most decentralized of the larger NGOs working in Haiti. In terms of local group participation, GRET/SOLAM is a best practice example, although there are others, including GTIH, which has been working on water and sanitation at the community and quartier level using similar techniques for far longer (see Box 3).

Box 3: Potable Water (GRET)

The Groupe de Recherche et d'Échanges Technologiques, or GRET, is a French NGO that first began working on agricultural development in Haiti more than twenty years ago. Under financing from the European Union's ECHO program, GRET began work in the Port-au-Prince bidonvilles water supply project in 1995 and since then has facilitated the construction of 32 water kiosks in the slums of Port-au-Prince, 26 of which are currently operational.

The objective of the ECHO program was to establish water delivery service in eight Port-au-Prince communities that had been classified as particularly marginalized. In the communities that had been selected for project works, GRET first identified the most visible and dynamic popular organizations and enlisted their help in assembling all of the more or less formal and/or visible political, social commercial and religious associations active therein. A series of informational and organizational meetings were then hosted at, which GRET proposed the project, emphasizing that residents would have to finance one-quarter of the physical investments, that water from the fountains would not be free, and that all of the neighborhoods; very diverse groupings would have to be integrally involved in project planning, implementation and long-term management.

Tension and distrust between the different groups that exist in many neighborhoods (including women's associations; youth, merchants', sports, and religious associations; and more overtly political groups), was very high in some cases. Building an inclusive community-based organization—one which residents were willing to trust first with their investment resources then with their regular payments per bucket of water for maintaining the service—took more than three months and involved a series of more than thirty meetings in some communities.

Each of the different groups that are recognized in these eight communities eventually selected a single representative to service on its neighborhood water committee. In addition to facilitating their organization, GRET has provided these water committees with technical advice in the planning, execution and maintenance of project works, and with training in accounting, budgeting and banking. The NGO has served as a liaison, moreover, between the committees, private sector engineering firms and the Port-au-Prince area public water utility, CAMEP.

The committees jointly negotiated a price for the distribution of water from CAMEP's reservoirs to neighborhood fountains and individually signed contracts with the utility based on these negotiations. The committees collect revenues from the sale of water at each of their kiosks and deposit it into a bank account from which they pay CAMEP and provide for fountain maintenance. Currently, 26 of the new fountains and kiosks are supplying about 30,000 residents with approximately 25% of their potable water needs, at one-third to one-fifth of the cost commonly paid to private by-the-bucket vendors in the area.

Though the long-term effectiveness and sustainability of these project works remains to be seen, the committees represent a potentially viable model of resource pooling for the provision of basic services in poor communities, nonetheless. Rather than simply providing financing and orchestrating the construction of works, GRET has helped beneficiaries to organize themselves around collective needs—recovering costs and building partnerships with both the public and private sectors.

39. In the education sector, many NGOs are invested in working with local community committees to identify schools to be rehabilitated or constructed from scratch, and some are interested in continuing that participation into the area of school management (Haitian Teacher's Union, IOM). In health care,

many Haitian and international NGOs stress participation in needs assessment, and in working toward community management of health centers. Here, the CBP Mothers Clubs are a best-practice example (Box 4).

Box 4: CBP Mothers Clubs and Empower Rural Women

The first thing a visitor familiar with rural Haiti notices about a group of women from the CBP Mothers Clubs is that they do not appear typical. They do not appear timid in the presence of strangers; they do not wait for a CBP employee's cue before welcoming a visitor; and, most importantly, they do not have to be cajoled to voice their opinions. Not once do any of the women avert their eyes when spoken to; giggle, or give "pa Konnin non" ("I don't know") as a response. What is happening here? The women claim to know-they say "We know our faces have changed"-and they are adamant as to why they have changed: According to them, they have changed because in the Mothers Clubs they have received 1) training in maternal/child health, 2) credit to engage in economic activities, 3) literacy training if needed, and 4) access to family planning.

CBP began the first of its current 88 Mother's Clubs in 1991. The organization's experience with these groups closely parallels those of CDS, HHF, HAS, RICHES/CARE, MARCH and STC with their longer established women's clubs. Upon recruitment by experienced group members, the new group of 20 women receives two weeks of maternal/child training in such topics as oral rehydration therapy and immunization, and training in the responsibilities and management of credit. Upon graduation, each member promises to train five other women in what she has learned about maternal/child health. She also receives a loan of approximately US\$31 which she must repay in 12 months with 10 percent interest. The present repayment rate is almost 100 percent.

The fifteen members ranging in age from 23 to 55 interviewed are highly vocal about the benefits each has derived from Mothers Club membership. "Empowerment" may not be a word in their vocabulary but the concept is certainly well understood. As one woman says, "We used to sit, never knowing before what to do for our children or for ourselves . . . with the Mothers Club, all that has changed." "We are doctors", says a second woman while the others nod in agreement, "We know now what we can do at home to treat our children for illnesses such as diarrhea . . . we don't have to run to the clinic all the time." To the accompaniment of laughter and loud exclamation of "Yes!", a third proclaims "Now we know we are strong and as smart as the men . . . And you know what? The men like us better like this."

The women also talk at length about the advantages they have derived from family planning. All fifteen are either presently using or have used family planning-a statistic one would be hard put to duplicate anywhere else in Haiti.

According to the women, one of the major benefits of family planning in their lives is economic. "When we aren't pregnant we are free to travel to do commerce", is a typical comment. The other major benefit they proffer is improved relationships with their spouses.

40. In agriculture and rural development, participation by the local community in the definition of needs, and project design, as well as fund-raising, is relatively common. For over 15 years, what is now the PADF PLUS project (formerly the Agroforestry Project) has worked with individual farmers and farmer groups to improve soil conservation through reforestation, and to improve agricultural production through improved on-farm tested technologies and extension advice. This was one of the first large-scale USAID-funded projects that worked through local NGOs (see Murray, 1979 *inter alia*).

41. Efforts at increasing community-level participation in development programs have existed since the first missionary groups began to work in Haiti, and especially since the Code Duvalier was promulgated in the 1960s, creating community councils. Yet, there has always been a problem of hierarchy, and of the capturing of benefits by local elites. While these elites, including local notables, religious, professional or gentry, and the military chef de section may have been acting “for the community” in attracting schools, health services, and other developmental activities, whatever the source, they always remained in charge both of the choices and of the distribution of the ultimate benefits. Today, “hijacking” development benefits is still taking place, and even CBOs are dominated by a small group of elected officers who represent, generally, the same restricted educated local elite (Annex III). However, the competition of the elite may have changed, at least in those regions of the country that were most highly politicized before and during the De Facto period. The rise of popular organizations may indeed ensure that benefit distribution is more appropriate and more equal, as may the appearance on the scene of elected communal and municipal bodies. Yet, donors and others should make a clear distinction between participation—in implementation, for example, under self-help components—and empowerment. International and intermediate NGOs attempt to become ever more participatory, but few of them are able to create empowerment among their anticipated beneficiaries. In the medium term, elected officials may be the only really accountable development agents in Haiti, since the accountability to which NGOs are subject is largely beyond the range of the beneficiaries themselves.

42. *Gender.* Gender questions were also stressed in the study, both in terms of access to project benefits and in terms of gender analysis in the development of strategies to address poverty and development problems. Most of the larger NGOs in the study indicated that their parent organizations either had or were developing gender strategies, as were some of the *MDODs*. However, most other NGOs, regardless of their funding source, indicated that they thought they should probably do better in terms of targeting women beneficiaries and/or in following up on the impact of their programs on women. Some of the smaller NGOs had no data gathering and analysis capacity, and therefore, could not answer the questions about numbers and proportions of women served as opposed to men. Others, however, indicated that women were key leaders of some of the popular or local organizations with which they worked, and from which they received proposals for funding. Women-specific NGOs are growing in numbers and are attempting to collaborate better in terms of targeting beneficiaries and coordinating services, but they do not yet have a common strategy or platform. They do, however, have an information and documentation clearing house, ENFOFANM, and there is now a women-based political action group called the League of Haitian Women.

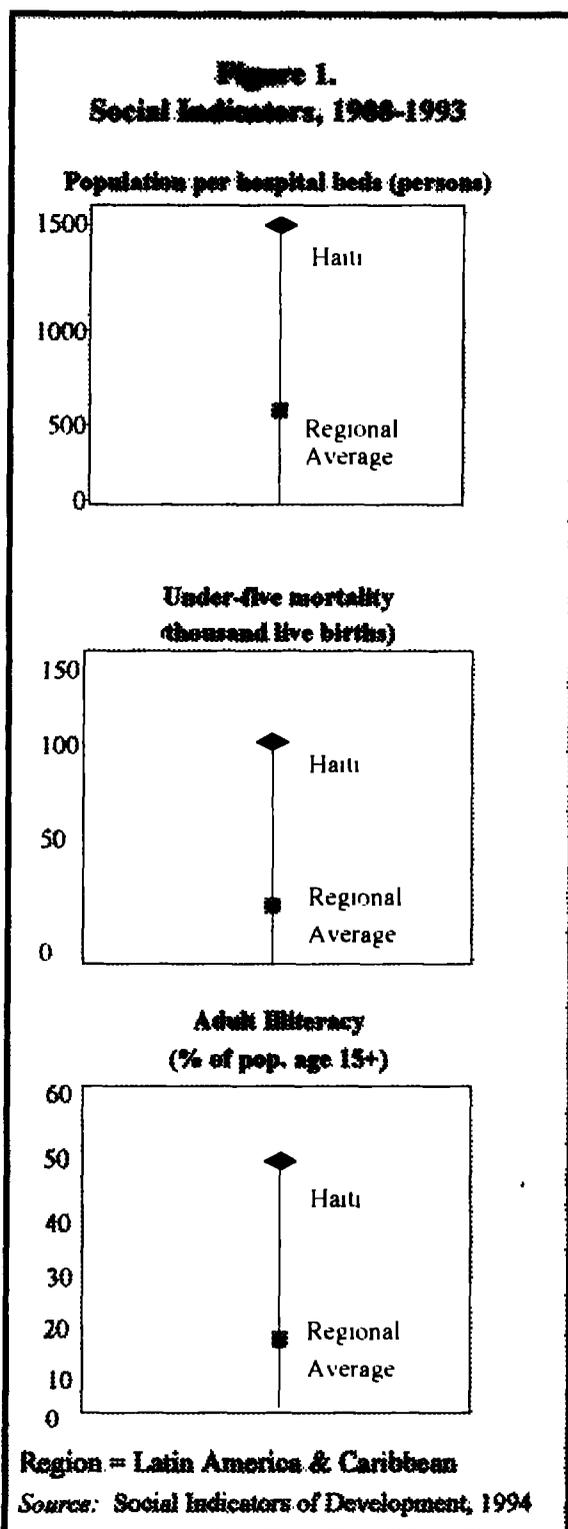
43. Most women-specific NGOs are multi-sectoral, following the norm for all NGOs in Haiti. Some, however, are more narrowly focused. One example is CPFO, which works with women factory workers, and was an innovator in family planning training and also in providing other training and services to factory workers. CPFO, like some other women-oriented organizations, also has programs that can involve men. At the request of members’ spouses, they began holding mixed sessions on AIDS. While women turn out to be under-represented as officers in those CBOs surveyed, they are over-represented as Treasurers. In general, while there were women’s groups as subsidiaries of a number of these CBOs, they tended to have to take their lead—and their portion of resources—from the male-dominated major organizational structure. However, some of the women’s groups that were constituted separately, although poor in resources, were sometimes rich in innovation and initiative. (see Rodd, et al, 1996)

44. **Human Rights.** A number of the NGOs in the study sample target human rights victims for special assistance programs (CECI, Amicale des Juristes, FUDHA). Various criteria are used, depending on the organization and on the donor, but beneficiaries are largely self-identified, and many potential beneficiaries are still too afraid or too remote from NGOs working in this area to come forward for assistance. One attempt at decentralizing services to prior and potential human rights victims is the legal assistance and information component of the USAID-funded Administration of Justice Project. This effort, which works through national NGOs at the regional level, targets poor detainees who would otherwise have no access to legal assistance or information. Some of the NGOs also have outreach programs, which use a variety of media to inform walk-in clients about legal rights and legal assistance services. This project has provided additional assistance to NGOs that were pioneers in the field, as well as helping other NGOs to add legal assistance and information components. The specifically human rights-oriented Fon Dwa Moun (Human Rights Fund II) provides assistance to victims of police brutality, through a variety of outreach modes.

SERVICE AND BENEFIT DELIVERY MODES AND MECHANISMS

45. A question of interest for donors as well as for NGOs and beneficiaries is what is the most effective means for delivering services and benefits? Here, there are already a number of models, including central grants mechanisms (USAID), privately funded interventions (individual or group philanthropic donations and infrastructure development (HAS); competitive donor-funded grants to individual large international or national NGOs which on-grant to smaller national NGOs (PLUS, PSFP); competitive contracting which is limited to NGO competitors (IDA employment generation project); twinning arrangements, and a variety of public/private sector and NGO partnerships.

46. **Health and Population.** The health sector seems to provide the best examples of this range of types of mechanisms. The majority of NGOs currently operating in health and population were established over the past 10-15 years in Haiti, in part due to the socio-economic situation under the two Duvalier regimes, and in part because of the return of trained Haitian health professionals from overseas. Also, during the same period, there was a related increase in private and public sector funding for health interventions through NGOs. As of 1995-96, NGOs provided at least 50 percent of Haiti's health services. A recent inventory of health facilities suggests that slightly over 60 percent are either private or "mixed", meaning that they receive inputs from both the Ministry of Public Health and Population (MSPP) and an NGO. The same study shows that nearly seven of 10 rural health facilities surveyed were either private or mixed. Partly in recognition of the comparative strength of NGOs in the sector, the recent GOH plan for decentralization of health and population services allowed for either an NGO or a government center to take the lead in each of the proposed decentralized health areas (UCS). Several NGOs visited in the field demonstrated considerable investments of effort in organizing themselves to assist in implementing the S policy. For example, at the request of the Departmental MSPP Director, a coalition of NGOs in the Grande Anse (CONGA) recently completed a needs assessment for the Western Grande Anse region where three UCS will reportedly be created. The coalition also organized meetings with the region's mayors, parliamentarians and other leading citizens groups to explain the UCS concept and the results of the needs assessment. NGOs in the lower Artibonite are also organizing to implement a UCS.



48. While statistics for Haiti are often conflicting and controversial, recent national surveys indicate that all these relatively recent NGO advances are having an impact. According to the 1994 Demographic and Health Survey (DHS), many important health status indicators have improved since 1987, despite the extremely adverse conditions that most of the population faced during this period. Data indicate that the infant mortality rate and the total fertility rate have fallen by 25 percent, while the contraceptive prevalence rate has tripled and immunization coverage has doubled since 1987. In large part, these remarkable changes can be attributed to NGO-managed interventions. At times, especially after the 1991 coup d'etat, the NGOs were the only health service providers in many areas (see Figure 1).

49. USAID has been the leader in funding health, population and AIDS/STD interventions through NGOs since the mid-1980s. For example, in 1993-94, the total USAID budget for health activities exceeded U.S. \$18 million. Of 25 NGOs included in this study's health and population sector study, 20 reported having received A.I.D. funding. Some received funding under the Private Sector Family Planning Project (PSFP), now closed, and others under the VACS project, also now closed. These projects also provided training in technical and managerial areas, accounting, organizational development, and other aspects of institutional strengthening. Social marketing has been an important development resulting from A.I.D. funded interventions in health and in family planning and AIDS prevention through NGOs and some through the private sector and the MSPP.

50. **Infrastructure Construction and Rehabilitation.** In the area of infrastructure rehabilitation or construction, usually for health and education, and sometimes for agriculture (drainage canals, dredging irrigation canals, etc.), the MDOD subcontracting model discussed in para above is becoming very common, both in donor-funded projects (employment generation, infrastructure rehabilitation

under FAES), and in GOH-funded activities such as the La Salines rehabilitation program, which is partly funded by the GOH and partly by donors. Here, private contractors as well as NGOs have been used to

carry out various activities, such as demolition of existing, illegally constructed structures, cleaning up drainage canals, relocation of displaced households, and garbage collection. These kinds of subcontracts are meant to be both efficient and to be based on unit costs, as well as to be more participatory and community based than would be the case if the central government or direct donor contractors carried out turn-key type operations. They are also intended to strengthen local organizations by example and through on the job training.

51. **Food Aid.** Food distribution of all kinds is done directly, and indirectly, through contracts and sub-contracts, and or grants and sub-grants to local organizations. Like the infrastructure example, with which it is often combined under food for work, participation in decision-making and in design and evaluation by local organizations and beneficiaries may be more illusory than real. Most frequently, as is clearly demonstrated by the CBO survey, individual beneficiaries, and beneficiary groups, participate almost exclusively in implementation through labor and/or materials contributions (see Annex V). They are rarely involved in design, management or evaluation, although efforts in this direction are made in health (O'Rourke, 1996). and sometimes in education (Jean-Louis, 1996) more than in other sectors. In environmental protection, participatory approaches through intermediary NGOs to individual farmers have been refined over almost two decades, with on-farm management now taking precedence over large-scale, government-managed conservation works. The consensus among NGOs in this sector is that it is good to help the poorest through an integrated development approach based on a watershed or some other geographically-defined zone, but that it is good to lead from strength as well. That is, projects and programs should focus on areas where there is some significant potential, while at the same time, smaller-scale NGO successes should be replicated more widely in the same and in other, similar environments (Toussaint, 1996).

52. **Education.** The education sector report focused on access, effectiveness and quality in basic education. While access has considerably improved in the last ten years for children of both sexes, there are no good data on enrollment rates for the past three years. If the number of children aged 6-12 years has grown by 34 percent per year, the number of available primary schools and classrooms has also increased, but not in large enough proportions. The number of schools has only increased by 6 percent during this three-year period, and the number of classrooms by only 2 percent. The majority of this response has come from the private sector (86.4%), dominated by the significant presence of NGOs given their activities in rural and disadvantaged peri-urban areas (Jean-Louis, 1996).

53. Once again, there is a variety of mechanisms. Here an example is that of IOM, which has had a project to help improve the quality of life at the community level since the Intervention, which has operated with two different styles, the second involving more formal organization at the community level than the first. IOM through on-granting funds to local communities throughout Haiti, has been able to construct new, or rehabilitate old, schools at a remarkably rapid rate, using a community management model. For the year 1994-95, for example, and only for the Departments of the South and the Grande Anse, IOM financed the construction of more than 100 new schools and anticipated building 161 more throughout the country for a budget of 28,180,746,402 Gourdes (with local participation). Meanwhile, in 1996, there were 359 IOM-grant funded school rehabilitation projects being implemented for a total of 33,746,402 Gourdes. The later model involves setting up a CAC, a community action committee that is to be instrumental in needs analysis, project selection, project implementation and maintenance of the project's infrastructural or other outputs. Site visits indicated that local communities were extremely interested in monitoring construction, and making sure that work was done properly and on time.

54. **Human Rights.** It became apparent early in the study that human rights NGOs were among the most organized, with a platform and good networks in Haiti and abroad. This is true despite the fact that most of Haiti's HR groups emerged only after the fall of Duvalier in 1986 although some international monitoring groups had been active in Haiti since before 1983. These national NGOs had little time to develop and gain field experience before the military coup in 1991 drove them underground. In the post-coup period, prominent HR NGOs and their leaders were silenced and/or assassinated. Only since Aristide's return have HR NGOs been able to function openly. The majority of those interviewed provide both advocacy and services, providing training, legal assistance, lobbying the government, holding and participating in seminars, publishing studies and reporting abuses. Additionally, NCHR—a well-known and respected international NGO—also lobbies the governments of countries where Haitians have taken refuge. In rural areas, loans are given, and legal assistance provided, while advocacy is mostly centralized in Port-au-Prince, where laws are drafted and ratified and where there is better access to international and national media coverage. Additionally, HR NGOs have branch offices throughout the country, some originally set up to report human rights violations. Human rights NGOs, like other national NGOs, have difficulty in raising funds locally. Since they represent the most oppressed, and the families of those “disappeared” or fatally wounded, their ability to pay is often extremely limited (de Zan, 1996). Even in the friendlier environment provided by the present government, problems of rule of law, justice, and the functioning of the penal and police systems are acute.

55. All of these mechanisms have advantages and disadvantages, and a great deal depends on the objectives of the project or program. If service delivery which is technically sound and readily accessible, such as health care and basic education is the objective, then NGO grants and sub-grants, as well as public/private partnerships of various kinds seem to work very well. They are also likely to be more participatory than other types of approaches. If employment generation with sound financial management of wages and works is the objective, then the MDOD model is a good one, although it should not be used as the primary source of institutional development or training for smaller, “implementing” agencies unless approaches are changed, and the MDOD itself improves its own capacity to provide training and TA in these areas. Where the objective is broader, multisectoral development tied to a particular geographic area, support to locally-based NGOs, such as CBP in Pignon, with locally recruited membership and leadership seems to be the most effective, although perhaps not the most cost-efficient. CBP, however, is one of the organizations which is working hardest to institute reasonable cost-recovery systems, and at the same time is trying to diversify its funding base away from major donors (see Section III below).

56. **Credit and Income Generation.** Haiti's NGO community is now moving into the small and medium enterprise area, especially for women, as it is increasingly able to turn from relief to development and income generation. Small-scale credit, especially for women, is a more traditional area for NGO activity, although it is not as prominent as in some other countries in the region. The credit sector is currently the subject of considerable debate, as the GOH is embarking on a relatively large subsidized rural credit program, while USAID and other donors are increasingly stressing the importance of real interest rates, which run at a level of about 60% per month. Table 3 gives some of the basic data on small-scale credit programs managed by NGOs in the study sample.

Table 3. Selected Credit Programs

| NGO | Agriculture | Small Animal Cultivation | Micro-Enterprise |
|----------|-------------|--------------------------|------------------|
| SCH | 3 | | 3 |
| CHREPROF | | | 2 |
| FHAF | | 2, 3 | 2, 3 |
| CRAD | 2, 3 | 2, 3 | 2, 3 |
| CISD | 1, 2, 3 | | 1, 2, 3 |
| GTHH | 1,2 | | 2, 3 |
| SAVE | 3 | | 3 |

1. individuals
 2. associations
 3. families/groups
- Credit amounts varied between H\$100-H\$5,000 (US\$33-333)
 - Annual interest rates ranged between 14-30%
 - Repayment fluctuated between 80% (integrated groups) to 100% (women only)

CHAPTER 3 RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

HUMAN RESOURCES

57. NGO staffing and human resources management was a composite indicator of institutional capacity selected for this study. Assessments of the NGO sector in other countries have often demonstrated that lack of management capacity is a key reason why many NGOs fail to sustain themselves when donor funding levels fall. Another frequent finding is that even professionally-staffed NGOs tend to lack well-trained technical staff equivalent to the need they are trying to meet or to generate for development-related services (World Bank, 1995). The interview guide and the CBO questionnaire both asked questions about types and levels of staff, whether they were men or women, what level of training they had achieved, what training and career development opportunities were provided them by the organization, and what their salary levels were. Surprisingly, the CBOs were able to answer these questions relatively easily, while some of the intermediate NGOs had a harder time. The larger, international NGOs did well and had ready answers, except in some cases to the gender-related questions.

58. Overall, most large and intermediate NGOs interviewed saw themselves as having more difficulty in recruiting and keeping competent mid-level management staff than in recruiting and keeping competent technical staff. The largest NGOs working in food aid and/or in employment creations admitted that they compete for middle managers, and three of them had just carried out salary surveys. Further, they point out that they hire away the best technicians from various ministries, since they can provide them with better pay, better working conditions, and an environment in which doing good work counts. This seems to be true even though the length of contracts is short and there are relatively few good technicians left to "raid" in the GOH.

Table 4. Staffing Data for Various Sectors

4a. NRM/Environmental Protection

| NGO/Association | Total Personnel | Hommes | Femmes | Nombre ayant atteint le niveau universitaire | Nombre ayant atteint le niveau post-universitaire | Nombre d'expatriés |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|--------|--------|--|---|--------------------|
| CARE | 400 | 320 | 80 | - | - | - |
| PADF | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| SCF | 85 | 25 | 55 | 10 | 3 | 4 |
| MPP | 78 | 47 | 31 | 10 | - | 2 |
| GERESE | 8 | 7 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| AgroAction Allemande (AAA) | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| ANDAH | 4 | 3 | 1 | 2 | - | - |
| Les Petits Frères de l'Incarnation | 12 | 9 | 3 | 1 | - | 2 |

Table 4b. Women-Specific and Human Rights NGOs

| NGO | Number of staff | Number of professionals | Number of women | Number of women professionals |
|----------|-----------------|-------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| ADF | 8 | 2 | 4 | 1 |
| AMICAL | 40 | 28 | | |
| CECI | | | | |
| CHECCHI | 20 | 11 | 7 | 3 |
| CHREPROF | 12 | 6 | 10 | 5 |
| CISD | 19 | 18* | 12 | 10 |
| CNJP | 6 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| CPFO | 19 | 13 | 4 | 2 |
| CRAD | 48 | 39* | 23 | 17 |
| CRESFED | 11 | 6 | 4 | 2 |
| EDM | 61 | 56 | | 4 |
| ENFOFANM | 8 | 4 | 6 | 4 |
| FHAF | 36 | 31* | 10 | 9 |
| LIDEFER | 8 | 4 | 6 | |
| NCHR | 17 | 14 | 5 | ? |
| POHDH | 9 | n/a | 9 | n/a |
| SAJEP | 5 | 4 | 22 | |
| SC | 50 | | 20 | |
| SCH | 74 | 22 | 25 | 7 |
| SOE | 175 | 160* | 70 | 18 |

* includes trainers

Table 4c. - Health and Population

| Sample of Large/Influential NGOs | | Sample of Small/Influential NGOs | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|
| NGO | Number of Employees | NGO | Number of Employees |
| ACF | 185 | CHASS | 26 |
| AOPS | 19 | CHILDCARE | 15 |
| ASSODLO | 165 | GEBEAU | 17 |
| CARE | 48 | GLAS | 14 |
| CBP | 302 | INTERAIDE | 50 |
| CDS | 402 | CHP/CHH/MD | 109 |
| MARCH/CM | 200 | RICHES/CARE | 33 |
| CPFO | 20 | VDH | 8 |
| GHESKIO | 42 | | |
| HAS | 529 | | |
| HHF | 44 | | |
| ICC | 280 | | |
| PROFAMIL | 50 | | |
| PROTOS | 21 | | |
| SOE | 175 | | |
| STC | 70 | | |

59. Most NGOs interviewed admitted that one problem in keeping good people was that they are unable to provide a career path, because their programs are intrinsically time-bound, being financed by donor projects. PADF, which has had its agroforestry project in operation in Haiti for over 15 years is an exception, although it has apparently had difficulty in recruiting and keeping women technical staff. Part of the PADF strategy is to work through intermediary NGOs, who then hire the extension agents and other local staff, who are not PADF employees, but rather the employees of the local NGO or association. CARE, which has been working consistently in Haiti for 36 years, and which has the largest staff of all the NGOs interviewed, with 500 Haitian full-time staff plus an additional 200 contract personnel, and 15 expatriates, and an active program to promote women professionals. ADRA has 158 full-time staff, of whom 1/5 are women, and another 38-50 temporary staff, which includes the teams who do their surveys, some of whom now have 12 years of experience. One-half of these employees are women. ADRA, first as Seventh Day Adventist Rural Services, has been working in Haiti since 1959. It has its own schools and university, and does vocational training, also hiring its graduates to work in its various enterprises, including a bakery, a moving and storage service, and a hospital. Here, the structure provides real possibilities for career paths and career enhancement.

60. Even the large NGOs that work as contractors for key donors, such as those above, have different structures, approaches, and staffing criteria. CECI, another that has recently moved to be included in this category, moving from a budget of \$2 million per year to nearly \$20 million, has chosen to maintain a small staff of about 50, divided into four key program areas, and with overlapping project responsibilities. Unlike PADF, which created a separate project office for JOBS and then the Employment Generation Project, CECI seeks to maintain its original structure, and integrate the Employment Generation Project within that structure. CECI competes for the same relatively small number of middle managers and well-trained technicians, but since most of its founding members are also professors of agriculture, that have an easier time recruiting agronomists and agricultural technicians through an intern program. At the same time, it is part of CECI's policy only to hire staff on two-year renewable contracts, including the Haitian Director. The idea is to make sure that people remain motivated to achieve. Yet, according to the Director, qualified Haitians may prefer to work for CECI on these terms than for other organizations that pay better or offer other more attractive terms because they like the organization's basic policies and development approach.

61. Intermediary NGOs in Haiti also have professional staff, and some of them compete for the same mid-to high-level graduates or post-graduates as do the larger ones. This is the case for such organizations as CityMed and HHF in health, FONHEP in education, CRESFED, CRAD, and CFPO in research and studies, training and other development activities, and MPP, SCF and others working in agriculture, rural development, and environmental protection. MPP, for example, although it is a grassroots movement, has 78 staff, of which 31 are women, and 10 have university degrees or higher. Here, the relationship between the donor and the NGO seems to be less important than the policy orientation and credibility of the NGO, as well as the sector in which it works. Health NGOs require trained health personnel, and then train others, at least to the auxiliary level. However, the majority of their staff are unskilled, and even semi-literate community-level workers (O'Rourke). Education NGOs train teachers, but here the absolute level of training and skills is less obvious given the Haitian context, expectations, and salary possibilities. Teachers are generally under-educated, have no training in educational skills, are underpaid, and have an extremely high turnover rate (Jean-Louis, 1996).

62. Given the chronic political instability in Haiti, the growing NGO sector has been a safe-haven for professionals who wanted to make a contribution, but who under one regime or another were unable or willing join or remain in the civil service. Some, as has already been indicated, remain in the NGO sector,

providing leadership and role models for younger educated Haitians, as well as a niche into which colleagues from the Diaspora can fit if they return. Others, while remaining in the civil service or the for-profit private sector, seek to do good and to avert risk by working part time for an NGO, especially for a confessional one. Religion is important to most Haitians, and the number and variety of largely volunteer-staffed sect-based NGOs is remarkable. Pentecostal, and indeed all Protestant denominations may be seen as part of a long-term reaction to the status quo ante in which the laity had no space or no voice in the Catholic church. A number of those senior NGO staff interviewed also worked hard developing organizations based in their parishes or country-wide through their church networks. Many of the larger denominational NGOs depend on local volunteers, but also have trained professional staff at Departmental headquarters, and named development officers in the dioceses, as is the case for the Episcopal Church, and the Catholic Church.

63. Interestingly, even the smallest, most local-level organizations surveyed had educated officers. Eighty percent of respondents in the survey had secondary degrees or beyond. This provides a base for additional specific and advanced training, and is likely to ensure that such training will be effective. But it may also explain the strong authoritarian aspect observed among CBOs, with decisions being taken by the educated on behalf of the community—the local elite assuming that the rest of the community members, absent formal education, are unable to take appropriate decisions (see Chapter IV below). Although overall management of CBOs surveyed was characterized as weak, this level of education attainment among officers means that they can carry out a number of activities—including grant seeking and administration—that would not otherwise be possible in the Haitian environment without seeking help outside the organization itself.

64. A subtext of all the interviews, and sometimes one that was directly open for discussion, is the problem of staff corruption or corruptibility. Just at the time the first interviews of large international NGOs were taking place in Port au Prince, there had been a number of incidence of theft on the part of staff of these NGOs and/or international donor staff, primarily in the food aid sector (see para. 70 below).. Thus, in some senses, the complaint that it is “hard to get qualified Haitian middle-managers” is a gloss for the difficulty international NGOs have found in recruiting and keeping national staff who are not open to bribes, skimming, or outright sale of project commodities. Since many of the food aid NGOs have departmental offices, there is even more of a supervision burden than there might be for those other NGOs that are based in only one area, or in Port au Prince. Still, when questioned, most of the NGO senior managers indicated that if the organization itself had high enough standards, and salaries were competitive, then corruption among staff was not a problem. Many Haitians, however, believe that if an NGO has only Haitian staff, it is almost surely more corrupt than if it is visibly run by, or at least includes, non-Haitians on its staff. Here, Diaspora Haitians count positively as “non-Haitians”. In part, this is a function of neo-colonization, but in part is also a function of the history of corruption throughout Haitian society, in the formal sector and in government, but also, including the non-governmental sector and philanthropy. This is not an issue that donors can address directly, but many “transitional” NGOs maintain one resident or visiting “blanc” to reassure their off-shore contributors, their Haitian collaborators, and their Haitian beneficiaries.

PUBLIC GOODS AND SUSTAINABILITY

65. There are so many projects, and so many donor programs, that—except in health— it is difficult to determine what the real coverage rates are, both for services and for physical infrastructure.

During the field trips for the CBO survey, and other site visits, it was easy to find locations where there were competing billboards for different donor and/or NGO projects, both in the North and in the South. Some of these projects are literally across the road from, or immediately next to, each other. However, the approaches of each project may differ significantly even if they are proximate in space. For example, in the South, FAES sponsored a community potable water project with the same community that is benefiting from an IDA-sponsored, CECI-implemented employment generation project to clear irrigation canals. In neither case is maintenance to cost-for-service part of the sub-project, although beneficiaries were willing to talk about various possibilities, and some tools will be left with them. But in the FAES sponsored case, the works rehabilitation is the major objective of the sub-project, with job creation a side benefit. Under the employment generation project, it is the number of person hours of employment that is the objective, not the durability of the works. Neither sub-project has an organizational strengthening component, although each works through a community organization.

66. Clearly, there are other areas where this is not the case, and where infrastructure as well as services are seriously lacking. The Futures Group recently did an inventory of 2,000 health interventions that are being mapped, and USAID is currently attempting to map agricultural production and food insecurity, on the basis most recent agricultural statistics and the IFSIS data, plus other statistics from the DHS survey (, 1996). FAES contracted with a local university to do a poverty map, but is seeking a better version, while the University of Montreal is mapping urban poverty. Since most donor-sponsored NGO health interventions now include a baseline census, and there have been two recent censuses of private and public schools (one is to be updated this year), there is some data to go on in terms of geographic and population coverage for at least two important social services. Still, school and clinic construction and rehabilitation as well as road repair are so prevalent that the costs of the construction trades have gone up sufficient to require project amendments, and it is not clear that any construction standards can be maintained.

67. ***Urban Water Supply, Sanitation and Solid Waste Management.*** This is an area in which a number of donors are interested, especially since it is related to public utilities, deconcentration, decentralization, cost recovery, tourism, and employment creation. Garbage, open drains, flash-flooding from eroding rainfall are all both dangerous and visible. Potable water is an area where great strides have been made by a number of NGOs, both international and national, and in combination, as may be seen from the GRET/SALEM example. The IDB and IDA are both working with CAMEP and SNEP (respectively the urban and rural national-level water authorities) to clarify their legal status, their financial management models and their cost recovery rates. In fact, for Port-au-Prince, the GRET/SALEM-sponsored committees are among CAMEP's best clients. Solid waste management is another area in which NGOs have been active, both under employment generation projects with the UCG as MDODs, and in helping to develop private sector solutions (CHF *inter alia*). Many people use the garbage collection situation in Port-au-Prince as an informal but relatively reliable indicator of public sector service delivery capacity, and the political environment pertaining at any given time. Less garbage means a better political environment as well as a safer physical environment. Garbage collection is potentially a high-return private sector business, and public/private sector linkages are being explored by IDA as well as the GOH. Most of the official and unofficial discharge sites in the country are extremely unsafe in terms of both health and environmental impact. Small NGOs like UCOMEC are trying to join garbage processing with compost production on a local level, to help mitigate the negative effects of solid waste dumping in Cap Haitien. They are working through a demonstration farm, and have some linkages with the PADF PLUS Project in the North, which is also extending information about composting. So far, however, they are unable to make their compost cheap enough to interest most farmers. Other composting models, however, are taking off, as is the case in Jeremie for the models using household wastes being promoted by HHF.

68. As elsewhere, latrine projects and drainage projects are popular with donors in Haiti, both NGOs and official donors. There is no public waste water sanitation system anywhere in Haiti, with latrines providing the only form of excrement disposal, except for a few private cess pools in Port-au-Prince. In a 1993 survey of the capital and five major secondary cities, UNICEF found that only 39 percent of households had latrines in their courtyard, 28 percent used a latrine outside their housing compound, and 33 percent reported they did not use any toilet facilities. Poor design, improper maintenance and over-use mean that many of the latrines in use are sanitation hazards, particularly during the rainy season. The Ministry of Public Works, Transport and Telecommunications (MTPTC) is technically responsible for the construction and maintenance of sanitation facilities through its sewerage and sanitation agency, the Service de Genie Sanitaire et de l'Assainissement (SGA), as well as for major drainage works, including the trunk canals that run through urban areas, through its Service d'Entretien des Equipements Urbains (SEEU). The former is virtually absent from urban areas, and the departmental TPTC offices have no investment budgets and very meager operating funds. Their equipment is often out of order, parts must be ordered from Port-au-Prince, and seldom arrive. NGOs working on latrine projects do not coordinate with the Public Health Ministry either; major latrine projects visited, including those implemented by IOM, involved new construction of traditional pit toilets or one-shot cleaning efforts, with no mechanisms established for facilities maintenance. On the other hand, a number of NGOs and donors are working on development of new, more effective toilets, including composting models (see Taber, 1996).

69. **Empowerment, Public Goods and Public Service.** As part of the emerging trend toward de facto decentralization, officials from several commune governments, rather than the MTPTC, have been involved in a number of recent NGO projects. PADF is working with the Municipality of Cap Haitien on a four month canal-clearing and solid waste removal project under IDA's EGP. The Mayor, who manages the project implementation unit from his office, is trying to get permission from the Ministry of Interior to collect local revenues to fund solid waste collection. This trend is making it possible for mayors and CASEC officials to lobby centrists in the Ministry of Interior and elsewhere in government to empower them to do the jobs for which they are responsible under the law and the Constitution.

70. But who has both legal and socio-political rights in physical resources remains an important and unanswered question in Haiti today. As these and other incipient moves toward GOH deconcentration and decentralization demonstrate, de jure ownership, management and maintenance of schools, clinics, roads, potable water works, sanitary works and other works will all devolve on municipalities, communes and communal sections that have no real budgets or skilled personnel to carry out these tasks. NGO funding will, in some instances, take up some of the slack. Those NGOs that have increasingly fostered local ownership and have developed partnerships with local organizations or with the GOH, have project beneficiaries and/or collaborators to whom to turn over infrastructure once it is built or rehabilitated, at least in theory. A recurrent theme over the years, however, has been that donors keep reiterating projects, such as canal cleaning or rehabilitation for irrigation or drainage, either so as to create employment or to increase agriculture production capacity, so owners do not need to budget for maintenance, or even for infrastructure inputs. There are also cases where a failure to understand or to consider the land tenure situation underpinning a particular intervention of this kind means that the real long-term beneficiary may be a large-scale absentee owner rather than the tenants who did the work. Those NGOs working with local-level agricultural producers, or with women doing agro-processing on a face-to-face basis have people to whom ownership can be given. The main NGO agroforestry interventions have almost always been based on individual or local group ownership, and continue to be so, with the Ministry of Environment

moving toward on-farm interventions rather than large-scale government works (Toussaint, 1996, White *et al.*, 1993).

71. **Corruption and Leakage.** One of the major issues over time, particularly in connection with food aid, has been periodic *dechouage*, leakage, and corruption. A reason adduced for this problem by some NGO directors is that the recipients and even the lower-level staff have a sense that the food "belongs to no one". They do not regard the NGOs or the warehouses and their contents as "theirs". Alternatively, they regard at least the contents as rightfully theirs, and want, in effect, to get rid of the middle-man. As one interviewee put it, "even the nuns take some of the food from the school feeding programs. This is not regarded as "theft or even as misappropriation, but rather as a normal and acceptable thing to do." Whichever is the correct interpretation, it is clear that even during the period of almost uncontrolled looting that followed the fall of Duvalier, crowds made very careful distinctions between and among the warehouses, offices, and houses they burned or looted, including those connected with NGOs. And today, they also make distinctions about which NGOs they think are "on their side" regardless of the quality of the services they may be providing. Here, the main example is the case of CDS, which was the sole provider of quality health services in Cite Soleil until they came under attack in 1995 for alleged political sabotage, and had to withdraw entirely in the face of local mobs. Obviously, there may have been political manipulation involved from one side or another, or both, but Haitians "vote with their feet", as do beneficiaries elsewhere. Fortunately, if ironically, in Haiti they often have options *because* of the multiplicity and duplication of NGO interventions.

FINANCIAL RESOURCES AND MANAGEMENT

72. **Levels of Funding.** As anticipated, financial data were the most difficult to obtain from all types and sizes of NGOs included in the study⁷ The tables interviewers asked NGO respondents to fill in were made as similar as possible to those which USG PVO grant recipients must fill out every year, even some of these same recipient organizations had difficulty providing the information, or did so quite unwillingly. Non-North American NGOs benefiting from grants from other donors, although they, too, must report on receipts and expenditures, were often unwilling to cite specific amounts. Local NGOs, that receive grants were particularly unwilling to give detailed accounts, either because they did not want to be invidiously compared to others in their category or sector, or because they didn't want competition for the same funds. Also, they probably didn't want to give the GOH more information than absolutely necessary. In an effort to elicit more information, but to do so honestly, we agreed with most of the NGOs that we would cite orders of magnitude, or particular budget amounts, but without naming the NGOs themselves. This seems to be a fair compromise, since the objective of this report is to track orders of magnitude, evolution of amount and type of funding, and thus to get an idea of absorptive capacity and financial management acumen. Table 5 provides information on levels and sources of funding for NGOs working primarily with women, and for HR NGOs. Here, as in Table 6 that follows, on health and population NGOs which provides similar information, names of NGOs are withheld, as agreed.

73. Table 5 summarizes the levels of funding for large, medium, and small NGOs by sector, according to whether or not they are international, national or "transitional". Originally, organizations were asked to provide data for three benchmark years--1990/91, when the first elected government came into power under Aristide; 1993/94, the height of the De facto NGO funding surge, and 1995/96, the post De facto and post-Intervention period. Unfortunately, very few were willing or able to provide more than current year figures (1995-1996). As may be seen, there is considerable variation between the smallest NGOs with the lowest levels of funding, and the medium-sized ones, and then another significant jump to

the more heavily funded ones. This seems to be true across the sectors, and essentially whether the NGO is international or national, although the national ones are less heavily funded than the international ones that are working in the same sector(s).

74. **Types and Diversity of Funding.** As donor interest in Haiti shifts, and as key bilateral donors return to funding the GOH directly, NGOs are increasingly competing for a share of a smaller pie. USAID's new health project provides the majority of funds to the MSPP, and its funding level decreases overall, many of the health and population NGOs are already decreasing the staffs, and their range or levels of coverage (O'Rourke, 1966). This was happening as this study was being carried out, and there was particular concern that AIDS/STDs and family planning interventions would be the first to suffer, as these have traditionally been funded most generously by A.I.D. In education, this trend is unlikely to occur, at least in the near term. The demand for basic and secondary education is so great that the numbers of private, for-profit and NGO-sponsored and run schools is still on the rise. What may be less clear is whether or not there will be enough donor funds or private funds to ensure that the quality of education delivered will keep up with growing demand and increasing access.

Table 5. Average NGO Funding Levels by Type and by Sector (US\$000,000's) -FY96

| NGO TYPE | Education | Environment /NRM | Health/Pop/ Water | Human Rights | Women-Specific | Multi-sectoral** |
|--------------------------|-----------|------------------|-------------------|--------------|----------------|------------------|
| Large Int'l. | | | 2.0 | | 3.85 | 13.6 |
| Large Nat'l. | | | 4.0 | | | 2.0 |
| Med. Int'l. | 3.5 | | 2.0 | | | |
| Med. Nat'l. | | | 1.3 | | | |
| Med Int'l./Nat'l. *** | .12 | | 2.0 | | | |
| Small Int'l. *** | | | .14 | | | |
| Small Nat'l. | - | | .94 | | | |
| Foundations Int'l Nat'l. | 8.9 | | | | | .04 |
| Associations | | | .77 | | | .12 |
| Other | .5 **** | | | | | |

- * US\$1.00=15Gourdes; N=75
- ** Includes Sponsorship, Food Aid, etc.
- *** Includes NGOs with local subsidiaries but international origin; does not include "mom and pop" missions.
- **** Teacher's Union

75. Table 6 gives an idea of the number of official bilateral, multilateral, private philanthropic and other NGO funding as reported by NGOs in the health/population and potable water sample. While this is perhaps not representative, since health and population NGOs have long benefited from USAID financial and institutional strengthening support, as well as support from UNFPA and other U.N. agencies, it gives some indication of current funding diversity, both for "large and influential" and for "small" NGOs in the sector. Table 7 gives similar data for NGOs working primarily with women, and from HR NGOs.

Table 6 - Health/FP - Annual Funding Levels and Major Funding Sources for Sample NGOs

| Annual Funding Level* | Past/Present Major Funding Sources** |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| \$2M (Health) | USAID, PAHO, UNICEF, MACY FOUND, KELLOGG |
| \$2M (Non-health) | FOUND, AMERICARES, PLAN INT'L. |
| \$1,683,888 | USAID, INT'L. PLANNED PARENTHOOD, FFD, UNFPA, PAHO |
| \$3M | CIDA, USAID, CHRISTIAN BLIND MISSION (GERMAN) CANADIAN PUBLIC HEALTH ASSOC., CANADIAN COUNCIL FOR INT'L. COOP. |
| \$ 767,841 | USAID, PAHO, UNFPA, PL480 FUNDING |
| \$ 290,000 | USAID, WHO, UNICEF, ROTARY, CAR/AIDS PROJ., NUMEROUS FOUNDATION & IND. DONORS |
| | USAID, PAHO, UNICEF, PAM, UNDP, CHRIST FOR HAITI, CHRISTIAN MISSION OF PIGNON, WORLD CHRISTIAN RELIEF FUNDS |
| \$ 269,363 | USAID, UNFPA |
| \$3.5M (Total) | CIDA, UNICEF |
| \$ 871,837 (Health only) | PAHO, USAID, CARE-USA, CARE-AUSTRIA, CARE-CANADA & CIDA, GOV. OF JAPAN, UNFPA, UNICEF |
| \$8.3M (Total) | EUROPEAN UNION COOPERATION, ACF-FRANCE |
| \$1,325,000 | USAID, UNICEF, VENTURES IN PEOPLE, MSF, PAHO, WHO, IAF, STC, ROTARY |
| \$1,061M | USAID, UNICEF, SAVE THE CHILDREN FOUND/USA |
| \$2M (Total) | HAS FOUND, GOV. OF SWITZERLAND/ENFANTS DU MONDE, KELLOGG FOUNDATION, USAID |
| \$1M | |
| \$ 133,333 | IPPF/USAID, PAIN POUR LE MONDE, CEBEMO, BROEDERLIJK DELEN, IAF, PAHO, KELLOGG FOUND, FORD FOUND |
| \$1,900,211 | ECHO, GOV. OF BELGIUM |
| \$ 725,000 (Water only) | |
| \$ 55,276 | AIDSCAP/USAID, UNICEF, PAHO, MEMBERSHIP CONTRIBUTION CONDOM SALES |
| | CHRISTIAN AID, METHODIST CHURCH/US, METHODIST CHURCH/SWITZERLAND |
| \$ 400,000 | USAID, PAHO, CARE-USA |
| \$ 29,456 | AOPS/USAID, COMPASSION CANADA, CARITAS |
| \$ 139,370 | COOPERATION FRANCAISE, AIDSCAP/USAID |
| \$ 66,288 | AIDSCAP/USAID |
| \$ 94,183 | TEXACO, AIDSCAP/USAID, HAITIAN COMMERCIAL SECTOR |
| \$ 62,380 | PAHO, CHRISTIAN AID, HAITIAN DIASPORA |

| Table 7. - Women-Specific and Human Rights -Annual Funding Levels and Numbers of Funding Sources for Sample NGOs⁸ | |
|---|------------------------|
| Annual Funding Levels (in US\$) | Funding Sources |
| | 3 |
| 1,500,000-2,000,000 | 1,3 |
| 1,500,000 | 1,2 |
| 16,000 | 1,2,3 |
| 125,000-150,000 | 1,2,3 |
| 450,000 | 1,2 |
| 3,000,000 (but got \$7,000,000 contract this spring) | 1,2 |
| ? | ? |
| 350,000 | 3 |
| 1,560,000 | 1,3 |
| 150,000-200,000 | 2,3 |
| 1,666 | 3 |
| 5,666-10,000 | 3 |
| 437,000 | 1 |
| 1,100,000 | 1,3 |
| 70,000 | 1,3 |
| 500,000 total; 150,000 for Haiti | 2,3 |
| ? | 1,3 |
| didn't want to disclose figure | 1 |
| still waiting for figure | 1,2,3,4 |

76. Unfortunately, these kinds of data were not available from other NGOs sampled, nor were specific amounts by type of donor. As may be seen, the contribution made by other NGOs is significant, whether these be European or North American. Bilateral donors seem to dominate, but the role of UN agencies, and the EU, including ECHO, is increasingly significant. It seems that it is the smaller NGOs that are patching together funds from multiple sources to attain an overall annual funding level of less than US\$500,000.

77. *Accounting and Financial Management.* This was a major area of interest during the study design phase. The assumption was that financial management capacity is key to absorptive capacity if NGOs are to continue to be channels for significant levels of donor funding. Indicators selected were internal book keeping and monitoring systems, internal audits, and external audits, as well as financial reporting to donors. Almost all NGOs, and most CBOs included in the study samples had book keeping or accounting systems; made their books and records available for periodic formal internal audits; the intermediate-level and larger ones usually had annual external audits, done either by the parent organization and/or an external auditing firm. CBOs have book keeping systems and those with outside funding—including through intermediary NGOs—provide periodic financial reports either to their funding sources or

their members, or both. However, as was the case with a number of organizations interviewed *in the field*, as well as those included in the CBO survey, when asked to produce the books, or when asked to explain operating costs, many of the organizations were unable to respond immediately, or accurately.⁹

78. One thing that became very clear as the study progressed was that there is a big difference between being able to keep books and being able to do cost accounting and/or financial management. Most NGOs, even small ones, can keep books accurately, and do simple financial reporting. However, there is a real question whether, and to what extent, intermediary NGOs are interested in helping them to learn to manage financially on their own. A complaint voiced during the CBO survey by those organizations that benefited from intermediary NGO interventions—and were ostensibly in charge of managing them—was that they did not receive any training, and were in fact not allowed to handle money. Interviews with the intermediaries in question largely substantiate the latter claim, if not the former. Meanwhile, the intermediaries themselves may not be very good at financial planning, although they are very well-versed at financial reporting to donors, and may be able to hire good professional fund-raisers. A number of the biggest NGOs interviewed were carrying out their first multi-year strategic and financial planning exercises at the Haiti level, and some admitted that they were finding it very hard to do.

79. There are four major international auditing firms with local affiliates or representatives in Haiti. These firms are currently experiencing a backlog of audit requests and cannot find enough competent accountants to increase their volume of services in response to the increasing demand. USAID started requiring external audits of key grant recipients in Haiti only in the 1980s¹⁰, but internal A.I.D. auditors were at work before that, and continue to monitor projects and local currency generations. No health/population or potable water NGO reported having audit problems. Since 10 of the 25 sampled were participants in A.I.D.-funded projects, it was possible to verify their self-reports. The A.I.D. project managers verified the NGO successes, and particularly stressed the accuracy and the timeliness of reports of two NGOs: CFPO and GLAS. Interestingly, GLAS is one of the smaller NGOs and its management systems are not computerized. ASSODLO has an innovative approach to encourage financial reporting on a timely basis: a proportion of salaries is withheld until each employee has complied with reporting responsibilities. Only when the employee's reports are submitted and accepted by his or her supervisor (or for the Director, by the Board) is the withheld portion paid—and this can be as much as 60 percent of his/her quarterly salary. In fact, the NGOs probably have more experience with internal and external audits than any other category of organization operating in Haiti at present. The idea of independent audits for private and public enterprises is only now becoming more broadly accepted in Haiti, although the extent to which this is indicative of a fundamental change in business practices is questionable at best.

80. ***Accountability and Transparency.*** One of the main tenets of the Lavalas movement was and remains increased transparency in government operations of all kinds, as well as in civil society. Even where there is political will, transparency is difficult to achieve if appropriate information and reporting systems are lacking, as is certainly still the case in Haiti. The same is true of accountability. But for NGOs, the accountability question may be even more significant than that of transparency, with which it is so often paired. As has been seen, NGOs can and do keep books, provide financial reports upward, channel funds downward on the basis of imprest accounts or tranche deposits to bank accounts of beneficiary organizations, and allow themselves to be audited. But some of them—particularly those that are privately funded—will not allow themselves to be audited or if they are audited, will not share the audit reports with, or open their books to, the GOH. So, if a donor that requires such transparency vis a vis the GOH seeks to provide funding through them, a conflict arises. This has been an issue in Haiti since at least the 1970s, and is unlikely ever to be fully resolved.

81. Even if an NGO is willing to be audited, to have the results publicly available in Creole, and to share them with the GOH, there is still a question of the nature of accountability. To whom does the NGO really consider itself accountable? To the donor, its "home" constituency and contributors, the GOH, the intermediary beneficiaries, the ultimate beneficiaries, or all or none of these? As is the case with beneficiary participation, even in CBOs, the tendency is to behave as though the beneficiaries must be acted for, and assisted, rather than worked with, and seen as collaborating stakeholders. There are communities in Haiti where NGOs have been active for more than two generations and the "beneficiaries" are unable to describe with any certainty who is providing what benefits to them, and on what basis. Yet, they will continue to attend meetings, provide labor and materials for "self-help" projects, come to church, and make donations. They will attend training, work for food, attend clinics, pay for medicines and medical services, clean canals, plant improved seeds, follow extension advice, all on the basis of a kind of polite speculation (see Barthelemy, 1993). As the Haitian director of one large intermediary NGO expressed it, Haitian peasants will do all of this on the assumption that eventually, something worthwhile will be forthcoming, if not soon, then later. As locally elected bodies begin to take on oversight roles, and as beneficiaries become more accustomed to the freedom to request information and require accountability, NGOs may have to become more accountable downward and outward to these beneficiary populations and their representatives.

82. Already, with increased politicization, and an accumulation of bad experiences, however, the tolerance of Haitians for unsolicited benign interventions over which they have no control is decreasing. This applies to expectations raised by the present GOH, as well as to other expectations and those who are supposed to be meeting them. Even in those parts of the country where the political *status quo ante* is still a reality just beneath the surface, the willingness to be exploited by extractionist politicians, civil servants, clerics, and other elites is on the wane. People in general—and popular organization members in particular—are increasingly vocal and frequently take action to inform government that they are not receiving the kind of services and benefits to which they are entitled. The return to legitimate and populist Lavalas government was supposed to reduce prices and improve the life chances of the poor. Everyone wants a better deal, and especially a better deal for their children, whether they themselves are employed, "virtually employed" and living on remittances, or unemployed.

83. *Cost-efficiency and Cost-effectiveness.* In this environment, the capacity of NGOs to manage financial resources effectively and efficiently is of increasing salience for donors and beneficiaries alike. Yet, there are few measures of efficiency aside from targeting, which has been discussed in Section II D. above. Cost-effectiveness is also difficult to measure, except in the case of goods or services for which there are consensually agreed unit costs, so that it is possible to get reasonable people to agree that one organization, or delivery mode, is more cost-effective than another. The study attempted to get some measures of cost efficiency and costs per beneficiary, but this proved extremely difficult. It was impossible to obtain reliable comparative data on service delivery costs per beneficiary either by sector or across sectors. Some health NGOs—as well as those in rural development—which appear to be more expensive also do more training and work more closely with community members which, while improving quality, also increases costs.

84. The GOH, meanwhile, with help from donor agencies and NGOs themselves, is trying to establish the norms of per capita expenditure it can afford to maintain, for example in health care. If the per capita guideline for basic health services is, say \$US3.00 per year, and an NGO can provide an agreed minimum package with high quality and broad access for \$5.00 per capita per year for a given number of beneficiaries, is this cost-effective as compared to poorer quality services, with elements of the minimum

package missing, provided either by the private, for-profit sector, or by the MSPP alone? These kinds of questions are being asked by all stakeholders at the decision-making level, but the beneficiaries are usually not consulted directly.

85. **Cost Recovery.** Beneficiaries do, however, show preferences through choice of service provider, and also through willingness to pay. All education in Haiti has a direct financial cost—for uniforms, paper and pens, and school books. There are also opportunity costs, which are fairly well known. Health care in Haiti is usually not completely free—while essential drugs may be subsidized, most medicines are not, and a patient often leaves the clinic with a prescription for at least two or three medicines. If the patient is in Port au Prince, at least the medicines are likely to be available if he or she has the money to pay—the number of pharmacies with basic stocks of drugs is high, but so is the number of *charlatans* selling everything from potions to expired antibiotics on the street. Farmers pay for inputs, often borrowing at rates of 250% per year on the informal market, and pay for marketing through traditional market women (*Madame Sara*) or commodity speculators. Everyone pays for the transport that gets them to and from the services, or takes them to sell their products or purchase their inputs. People buy trees to plant for soil conservation and for sale, and everyone in Haiti participates in the cash economy.

86. The concept of fees for service is distasteful for many NGOs, particularly those working in health, who have nonetheless been forced to charge fees in order to survive. Several NGOs, however, have gone beyond this mindset, and have developed creative fee strategies as means to provide quality services to the poor. In health, the idea of community-based HMOs, modeled on the A.I.D./IDA-funded project in Mali, is being suggested for piloting. Some of the larger privately-funded health NGOs such as HAS—which has just celebrated its 40th anniversary—are beginning to set up management information and cost-accounting systems. The community health and rural development organization in Pignon is moving toward fee for service and cost-reimbursement approaches for health and for potable water. Box 5 gives a successful example.

87. **Overhead versus Direct Costs.** Another question asked of all NGOs interviewed was what the proportion was of direct costs to indirect costs, and whether or not overhead rates were fixed, and according to what guidelines. The large international NGOs working as contractors to major donors indicated that they essentially included all in-country costs as direct costs, even where these were costs of the Haitian headquarters office and administrative staff. Overhead rates ranged from 6 percent to 27 percent as reported by those interviewed. As a point of comparison, some U.S. for-profit consulting firms with which these large NGOs are directly competing for A.I.D. monies, have overhead rates ranging from 38-250 percent on short-term contracts, with around an additional 8-10% fee. Some U.S. universities charge overhead rates as low as 17 percent on direct costs, for doing applied research in Haiti, for example. Haitian firms are less accustomed to establishing a consistent overhead rate, usually including overhead or indirect costs in the overall contract bid. Smaller Haitian NGOs are probably under-estimating their overhead rates rather than over-estimating them. One variable is whether or not the NGO pays salaries in US dollars, in which case the exchange rate fluctuations are included, or whether they pay in Haitian Gourdes. Since bringing an expatriate manager or technician to serve as resident TA in Haiti now costs about \$US300,000 a year—even at North American NGO salary scales—there are fewer and fewer expatriates on the staffs of international NGOs whether or not this is a purposive policy of “transition” to Haitian management and “ownership”.

Box 5: Local NGOs Create Successful Cost Recovery Programs

CityMed is a network of four full service urgent care centers and one diagnostic center located in metropolitan Port au Prince, the South, Central Plateau, and the Grande Anse created on the premise that an NGO can offer the poor better quality services by charging them fees. The strategy used to do this is essentially that of the "Doc in the Box" developed in first world countries and adapted for Haiti, which offers tightly managed and cost-controlled quality services at affordable prices to attract a high client volume. For instance, patient consultations are US\$1 in urban and US\$.20 in rural areas, and the charges are US\$30 and \$133 for a normal delivery or a cesarean, respectively. Prescription prices are also set to attract and benefit clients: cheaper, high demand drugs are sold at a slightly higher but nonetheless competitive cost in order to subsidize those which are more expensive. Moreover, the CityMed philosophy in which all employees are indoctrinated is "Patients first."

In the 3 short years since its inception, CityMed has achieved a degree of self-sufficiency almost unknown in the Haitian health sector. Excluding administrative costs, the two metropolitan Port au Prince and the Les Cayes centers are entirely self supporting. This includes 10 percent of non-recovered costs for indigent clients. CityMed managers report, however, that even indigent clients often return some months later with at least a small portion of their bill. The use of its urgent care centers by middle and upper class patients is another indicator of CityMed's success and reputation for quality services. Middle class women routinely use the centers for cesareans due to their convenience and greatly reduced costs, and the centers display a real cross of Haitian society late at night when the offices of private doctors are closed.

CDS is another leader in successful cost recovery efforts with impressive data on its center in La Saline, one of the most disadvantaged peri-urban areas in the country. As with CityMed, the CDS strategy here was one of cutting expenses to the minimum and maximizing revenues by offering high quality services which attract a high volume of clients. Before the inauguration of the new effort, for example, only scanty lab services were available at the La Saline center and the clinic's service hours perhaps better reflected the comfort of staff than the needs of clients. Presently, the laboratory offers the full gamut of basic tests at a price which is at least 40 percent less than that of private labs; the clinic opens earlier and closes later; the building and grounds are more inviting due to structural improvements and a general clean up; a new staff philosophy and discipline is in effect; intensive training has upgraded the skills of all levels of personnel; the pharmacy offers only medicines from the WHO list of essential drugs; and improved diagnostic and treatment tools have been adopted.

CDS also had to increase prices to support improved services: For example, the price for a pediatric consultation rose 25 percent from US\$.27 to US\$.33 and the price of a day's hospitalization rose 50 percent from US\$3.33 to US\$5. Despite the dire predictions of some, however, the number of monthly clients visits did not decline. The number of monthly visits, which had risen from less than 800 monthly to an average of 1,250 with the implementation of the new quality measures, simply tapered off at around 1,200 visits with the increased prices. Furthermore, for the first time ever in the clinic's history, expenses did greatly outweigh receipts. Presently, client fees cover all clinic operating expenses, including 10 percent of staff salaries.

CHAPTER 4

GOVERNMENT-NGO-PRIVATE SECTOR PARTNERSHIPS

BRIEF HISTORY AND PRESENT STATUS

88. *Regionalization vs Sectoral Programs.* Under the Duvaliers, major donors were "allocated" particular regions of the country in which to work. This "Balkanization" of Haiti was well-recognized by all players, and acceptable to most. Thus, the US worked in the North-West, the most arid and one of the poorest areas, which from the NGO point of view, became the domain of CARE. The South was the Canadian irrigation zone, and so on. The Grande Anse until recently, was not a focus of donor or NGO activity, although currently, it is becoming a key target for both international and national NGO interventions as poverty has increased, and as these organizations seek to diversify the location and sectors of their activities. There is also an influence on location and type of activities as sectoral ministers change and seek to make their own mark in the sector, often by canceling existing projects and changing partners to implement new ones.

89. Despite the regional approach, there have always been national or "vertical" programs as well, sponsored by one or multiple donors. For many years, USAID has been the leader in health interventions, along with WHO and PAHO. Education is seen as an area in which UNESCO, UNICEF and the French currently have the lead, although IDB and the World Bank will both now be funding projects in basic education, and the World Bank had implemented Education IV before the coup. Currently, IDB sees itself as the leader in agriculture, as well as in decentralization. The new agrarian reform program, recently formally inaugurated, has attracted the Taiwanese on the basis of their rural reconstruction and agrarian reform experience. IDA/World Bank are working in environmental protection, an area where U.S.A.I.D. has predominated in the past, as in the agricultural sector in general. Governance and public sector reform have been "divided" among the IDB, U.S.A.I.D. and the World Bank, with considerable support from the IMF. Economic reform and privatization, which are areas in which NGOs have traditionally not been involved, are financed through budget support from A.I.D., the World Bank, and the IMF.

90. *NGOs and the Ministry of Plan and External Cooperation.* As has been the case in many other developing countries, the relationship between NGOs and the GOH has evolved through several distinct phases. First, there was a period of laissez faire when missionaries and other private benevolent organizations were welcomed to carry out good works anywhere in Haiti. Among the earliest groups to become prominent and to operate on a broad scale were American Baptist missionaries. Mennonites, Methodists, Wesleyans, Presbyterians, and a number of evangelical churches were also early actors in the war against poverty, ignorance and illness in Haiti. Dr. Francois Duvalier's Haiti had very high mortality and morbidity rates, and yaws was very common among children. A UNESCO team was brought in the 1950s to design an all-out fight against these appalling conditions.

91. The first law granting customs exonerations to "*Organisations de Bienfaisance reconnus en Haiti*" was passed in 1947. There have essentially been no limits on what such an organization, once recognized, could bring into the country (or out of the country). One of the key issues over time has been the allegation that staff of the MPCE have been involved in selling NGO registrations which the buyers then use to go into the import business with little investment. NGO status is also a good cover for smuggling arms, drugs or other contraband. Large international NGOs have benefited from these

exemptions and exonerations for decades, and they are built into their respective budget projections, grant agreements, and strategic plans. This is a source of considerable resentment on the part of national NGOs, since their costs to deliver the same services may actually be higher.

92. The first law governing activities of NGOs was passed in 1982, and essentially continued the open door policy. However, it attempted to ensure that NGOs were registered with the Government since at that time, there may have been as many as 1,300 independent NGOs operating in Haiti in a completely unmanaged and often unknown manner. Attempts to get most of these organizations to open their financial records to the Government, however, almost uniformly failed. And this despite the fact that most of them were benefiting from tax exonerations across the board. Later, the Ministry of Plan (formerly a Commissariat), created in 1987, continued to try to get a grip on the NGO sector, and in 1989 a law was passed that modified the original law of 1982 governing the “implantation and functioning of Non-Governmental Organizations (ONG) of Development Aid”. A unit in the MOP (now MPCE) called UCAONG—the *Unite de Coordination des Activites des ONG* has been trying ever since to either monitor or control NGO activities in Haiti, depending on the administration in place at the time. In no period up to the present has its intervention been viewed as particularly successful either by the GOH or by the NGO community, although the cold war between the NGO community and the State has waxed and waned under different administrations.

93. GOH attempts at information gathering, let alone monitoring and coordination, have usually been viewed by the NGO community—and perhaps especially by the international NGOs—as an infringement of organizational and even national sovereignty. Since many of the major NGOs were so closely related to their bilateral donors as to be virtually indistinguishable in terms of exonerations, and the like, their orientation was toward the parent nation, not toward the Haitian State. At best, as real, value-based NGOs, their orientation was to the Haitian people rather than to the State, usually regarded as predatory at best. Haitian NGOs have varied in their attitude toward UCAONG and other government attempts to regulate their activities. Under Aristide, a new association, Inter-OPD, was created to try to set up self-governance among the NGO community, by creating a consensually agreed code of ethics. The code was drafted but the project was dropped by the community as a whole. HAVA, which had been an active NGO itself, changed its status into that of an association of NGOs, but at present lacks sufficient support to undertake this kind of effort alone.

THE NEW ENVIRONMENT OF PARTNERSHIP

94. Since the election of President Preval, a remarkable period of detente has begun, during which NGOs and the GOH—including UCAONG and various sectoral ministries—have begun to work together to define their respective spheres of comparative advantage, and new rules of the game. Just after Mr. Preval’s election in February 1996, and before his inauguration, HAVA was able to organize a successful meeting with the President-elect on public-NGO-private sector partnerships.

95. Later in the year, a general assembly of civil society institutions was formed to work on development of framework laws on associations, NGOs, unions, and other specific types of bodies. This process has been fostered by the efforts of a small team implementing the UNDP/UNOPS *Renforcement de la capacite d’absorption des organismes de developpement en Haiti* project (HAI/95/008), which has given a training grant to PACT. Such an interactive process is really very new in Haiti, and has to some degree in itself laid the basis for better partnerships of all kinds, and across the sectors. The drafting

process has been sufficiently inclusive of both NGOs, and ministries, that a higher level of awareness has been generated than would usually have been the case. HAVA, and other umbrella organizations have been involved, as have unions and other types of associations. The draft framework law is to be presented to Parliament at its next regular session, along with the draft NGO law. This process looks much more like U.S. lobbying toward consensus before a bill is presented than anything seen before in Haiti, and thus is very unfamiliar, including to the Haitian NGOs, and to non-North American ones. The international NGOs have been involved in the overall process, but have been primarily concerned with the fundamental issues of tax exemptions and customs exonerations.

96. At the same time, the IMF and the other international agencies are seeking to help the GOH to increase revenues, including through improved taxation and customs administration. An IMF consultant has been exploring the implications of tax and customs exonerations, including to NGOs, for over two years, and the recommendation is that these should be sharply limited in future. At present, there is a compromise in place. NGOs will pay an overall flat percent customs administration fee, and will maintain the tax-free status they enjoy for their expatriate staff. However, free importation of food aid commodities is being reconsidered, since it is generally agreed that these are creating significant distortions in the Haitian commodities market (see Gagnon, 1996).

97. As will be seen in Chapter V, these bread and butter issues, which are perceived by NGOs at least as internal contradictions in donor and GOH policies, remain to be resolved. Some of them have been on the table for years, and successive Haitian administrations have treated them differently, or not at all. In the meantime, the ability of NGOs to demonstrate that they are able to deliver services and to manage funds competitively has improved considerably, as has their overall professionalism from a technical point of view. This, more than their sense of entitlement or their ability to lobby effectively at home and in Haiti, may ultimately ensure their acceptability as partners by GOH entities and other stakeholders.

CHAPTER 5

THE WAY AHEAD: OUTSTANDING ISSUES FOR NGOS AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION IN HAITI

SECTORAL ISSUES AND CONCERNS

98. In this section, we present the major conclusions and recommendations of working papers on six sectors, and on NGO linkages, as discussed and amended by participating NGOs and donors who attended a series of four workshops. As will be seen, there is a set of core conclusions and recommendations on the key variables, but a range of different ones that are more sector specific. Here, we will present only the highlights of the sectoral issues, since these can be reviewed in more detail in the sectoral working papers themselves.

99. *Education.* Many issues remain to be addressed, and some even require further definition. The Ministry of National Education (MEN), whose present Minister comes from the private for-profit school sector, but was also a University Dean, is working toward a new National Education Plan, which will include increased deconcentration, and proposes an as-yet-to-be-defined partnership role for NGOs and the for-profit sector. However, without a good education map (*carte scolaire*), it will be difficult for the Ministry as well as for its partners, to make more rational decisions about school and classroom construction and rehabilitation, as well as teacher selection and secondment to and from the public sector, as well as how to integrate communities into the management of all schools. (There has been no population census in Haiti since 1988, so all planning or allocation decisions that would usually be based on demographics are extremely difficult to carry out reliably.) Most of those representing the sector indicated that they were for additional planning rather than less planning, and better training for private, NGO and public sector actors in education. They also stressed the importance of a better understanding of the target population in sociological terms, including in terms of malnutrition and enrollment and continuation rates by sex; were concerned about the relatively isolated and anarchic interventions of NGOs in the sector, and with overall quality of instruction and teachers, teaching materials, curricula, language of instruction, and cost-effectiveness. There was considerable consensus about these concerns, which was interesting in that there were private sector, NGO, public sector and donor staff represented.¹¹

100. *Health and Population.* The NGOs working in this sector represented at the sectoral workshop were concerned with a number of outstanding issues, including the emergence of over-capacity given funding decreases, and the concomitant drop in coverage, especially for family planning service and commodity delivery, and for AIDS/STDs and TB. Many NGOs had already developed proposals to do more and better where they were already working, as well as to extend their services to new areas. As one of the most coordinated NGO sectors, it was notable how much consensus was demonstrated at the workshop as conclusions and recommendations of the report were presented (the same was true for the education workshop). It was noted that both international and national health NGOs tap resources that, for the most part, would otherwise be unavailable to Haiti. They also play a critical role as advocates for Haiti before the outside world. The presence of NGOs in the health sector thus expands the opportunities for the GOH to address poverty alleviation issues. Nearly a decade of public/private sector collaboration has developed successful, decentralized, integrated service systems which can serve as UCS models. But there is general agreement that the MSPP must be strengthened so as to be able to set norms and monitor observance, as well as regulating services, and to define national health priorities and plans.

101. ***Natural Resources Management and Environmental Protection.*** The working paper on this sector raises a number of issues, including the extent to which projects that emphasize improved on-farm soil management improve yields. Given that data on impact are generally very scarce, the author is, however, able to cite some NGO reports which are mutually contradictory on this point (see Toussaint, 1996). The author also points out, on the basis of a sample of large multisectoral and small environmental/multisectoral NGOs working in several Departments, that there is no consensus within the State on the role of NGOs in the process of national development or the real nature of the partnership that should be established, including for this crucial sector. Using the MDOD approach is one way for the State to coopt the NGO sector and to appear to be in charge through the UCG.

102. Given that NGOs have largely encouraged the adoption of practices and development strategies based on local initiative and community management, the poor can manage their environment to the extent that they are given the right information and training. Local NGOs have shown a great capacity for innovation and a great deal of flexibility in adjusting their technical repertory to the local socioeconomic constraints they encounter, and the interventions of international NGOs would benefit from closer associations with these local groups as a result. Nevertheless, despite an accumulation of best-practice examples and lessons learned, there is a lack of integration of available knowledge in a coherent sectoral policy, so as to place NGO interventions in a well-defined policy framework. Such a framework would include more attention to socioeconomic characteristics of anticipated beneficiaries, and especially the situation of women, since Haiti may be seen as typified by the feminization of poverty. Once again, there is a plea for institutional strengthening both for the Ministry of Environment (MDE), and for the much older Ministry of Agriculture, Rural Development and Agrarian Reform (MARNDR). The division of labor between these two ministries is an issue fraught with difficulties, while at the same time, the environment is also the province of every other ministry, at least in some regard. Thus, dealing with environmental problems means inter-sectoral coordination and policy development, implementation and monitoring.

103. ***Urban Water Supply, Sanitation and Solid Waste Service.*** Here again, NGOs are taking a major role in an environment that is virtually devoid of public sector services. However, there is no coordinating policy framework, or coordinating mechanism for the NGOs themselves, unless they become actively interested in working through the decentralized elected bodies on a coherent basis in time and in space. Once again, the problems of public sector finance, legal status, cost recovery, and embedded policy making and implemented entities are key, but there are also a number of best-practice examples.

104. ***Women-Specific Interventions.*** This is really a cross-sectoral, not a sectoral domain, but it has particular characteristics nonetheless. The NGOs that deliver services exclusively or primarily to women are among those moving into income generating activities for the first time. Through credit, management training, and civic education, these organizations are trying—with relatively little funding and insufficient information about what has worked well elsewhere—to address a wide range of problems, including those of violence against women, the felt need of women to limit family size, to know their legal rights and be able to enforce them, and to become literate. Haiti is a nation in which women are extremely active in the formal and informal productive sectors—in agriculture, agroprocessing, and handicraft production. They control most local marketing and also engage in international trade. They are becoming increasingly vocal in political fora, although they are significantly under-represented in local and national level offices. They are also subject to a great deal of political and domestic violence, a high rate of separation and divorce, and their dependency burden is high, as is the case elsewhere in the Caribbean. At the same time, women have migrated in large numbers to the DR, to other parts of the Caribbean, and in really significant numbers to the US and Canada. These women send remittances, and begin to have

different expectations than they had before. Many of them, like their male counterparts, come home every year or two, now that the political situation is stabilizing, bringing with them new values as well as money and material goods.

105. While NGO and donor representatives agreed that there is ample room for continued consciousness-raising activities, and gender-targeted interventions, it would also be extremely productive if donors, the GOH and other NGOs became more gender sensitive, but also learned how to do gender analysis for policy reform and for policy and program implementation. This is not easy to do even in an environment where there are best-practice examples, since gender analysis implies a serious look at power relations within society, and how they may need to be changed. Since Haiti has, in effect, undergone something approaching a revolution, it is interesting to see that the mass of women have not yet benefited from policy reforms or purposive social programs. In fact, to remain in the formal education system, and to maintain their own health and that of their families. The General Secretariat for the Status of Women (sometimes referred to as the Ministry of Women's Affairs), just celebrated its second birthday, and is trying to provide a variety of public events that will signal its achievements, as well as its ongoing and new concerns. The program is inventive and wide-ranging, but in its recent discussions of the proposed Budget for 1996-1997, the lower house of Parliament opted to provide no funds for this Ministry since it was clear that there were not sufficient funds to be allocated so that all ministries could function effectively.

106. *Human Rights.* In a report of this kind, It is very difficult to discuss the human rights situation in Haiti, either immediately past, or present and future, in any depth. The battle for human and civil rights in Haiti is far from won. This is true in terms of access to due process, and knowledge of the justice system, knowledge of civil law as well as criminal law, and in terms of the existing penal system, which even the President describes as impossibly overstretched. More subtly, and more dangerously perhaps, human and civil rights are in danger in Haiti from the right as well as from the left to the extent that civil strife is never far from the surface, and to the extent that drug runners and sellers, organized gangs of thieves and hitmen, and private armies are all present in Haiti and largely uncontrolled. Impunity is a very real and present danger, as is evidenced by the frequent exposure of corruption and violent crime among the new Haitian National Police. In a literal as well as metaphoric sense, NGOs as well as popular organizations are the best, and in some cases the only, source of protection for victims of human rights abuses, and of advocacy for the recognition and protection of human and civil rights.

OUTSTANDING ISSUES AND CROSS-SECTORAL CONCERNS

107. *Funding and Diversification.* When this study was first designed in November 1995, an underlying assumption was that there would be significant additional aid flows that could be channeled through NGOs if they proved to have the necessary institutional and financial absorptive capacity. While this assumption may remain valid for the next four years, it is quite likely that the next millennium will see a sharp decrease in development assistance to Haiti, and especially of humanitarian assistance. Thus, the question of institutional and financial management acuity and absorptive capacity must be put in a somewhat different way, giving equal emphasis to the ability to manage for scarcity of funds as well as to manage for plenitude.

108. All national NGOs interviewed were interested in learning more about fund-raising and financial planning. A number indicated that they would be willing to pay to participate in a well-thought program of seminars and training. This is a good indicator of interest, since in the past, most of these same

NGOs have benefited from free training through USAID projects in organizational development, how to set up a board of directors, and so forth. The NGOs that expressed interest in this kind of training were not the only the largest ones, but rather the medium and transitional ones, and some of the smaller ones, as well as sectoral associations such as AOPS. Some NGOs were also interested by the idea of setting up self-sustaining funds of one kind or another, such as endowments. There are few, if any, Haitian NGOs with endowments, and this is an area that could certainly be promoted, as it has been in other countries. One of the pre-requisites would probably be greater clarity financial and banking sectors, however.

109. **Duplication and Overlap.** While most NGOs interviewed admit that they tend to recreate the wheel in terms of management systems, training materials, project identification methods and implementation approaches, many remain unwilling or unable to coordinate well in these areas. Once again, health sector NGOs seem to be the exception to the rule, although even here, duplication, overlap, and failure to replicate best practice examples are becoming more common as fora for information exchange formerly funded by U.S.A.I.D. projects cannot be sustained. Meanwhile, generic training schemes, such as those offered through the PRET project for small and medium enterprises, or through the UNDP/UNOPS institutional strengthening project are often found wanting, either because they are not sufficiently sector or location specific, or because they are seen as imported or pre-packaged, or both. Here, donors are probably at least as much at fault as beneficiary NGOs, since they tend to assume that training is not available from other sources, or to be sure that it will only be good if they are sponsoring it. Once again, some of the health sector NGOs seem to have been able to overcome this problem, actively sharing their experiences and technologies, for example in family planning programs. Similar attempts are made in education, under the flag of FONHEP, but may be less successful in part because of existing competition among a variety of approaches embodied in those who worked under former regimes in the Ministry of Education, those working there now, and those who were always in the private or voluntary sector.

110. **Information Availability.** From the perspective of beneficiary groups in Haiti—let alone from that of individual beneficiaries—the range and scope of potential funding available through programs, projects, grants, subsidized and unsubsidized loans and other mechanisms is essentially unknowable. There is no information system in place to let even intermediary organizations know what is available, from whom, and on the basis of what criteria, and many of the donors themselves are surprised to learn that their projects significantly overlap with those of other donors with whom they have been trying to collaborate. This is one of the services that HAVA was able to perform in its earlier incarnation in the mid-1980s, at least on a sector-by-sector basis. From 1987 until 1996, HAVA had reoriented its activities, but it is now once again a producer and disseminator of development-related information. The CBO survey revealed that many CBOs do not have access to information about potential funding, so that it is often a key leader in the community who becomes the informal grant seeker. If that person is successful the early on, he or she will tend to become something of an expert, getting more and more projects for the community at large or for the CBO of which he or she is a member of the board (Rodd *et al*, 1996). Clearly, there are also individuals at the local level who have political connections at the center and overseas, and who may bring donors to the community. Additionally, there have been many donor-funded projects over the years that have sought out and even created local organizations in order to fund specific types of activities (see Smucker *et al*, 1980, *inter alia*).

111. **NGOs and Sectoral Ministries.** While the present GOH is more sympathetic to structured collaboration with NGOs than some past regimes have been, as a minimum, it still seeks to set the parameters of sectoral policy and ensure that it can maintain a normative and quality monitoring role. At a variety of GOH-donor meetings, each minister has informed donors that he or she is in charge of sectoral

priority-setting and policy, but most ministers are also willing—if perhaps not eager—to work with the NGOs active in their respective sectors to see what kind of division of labor can be achieved. Even a year ago, it was much more often the case than it is now that ministers were lobbying to have ODA grant funds of which NGOs would be the ultimate beneficiaries, transit through their respective ministries first. But this seems to be a less burning issue today than is the overall question of where the government is going in each sector, and how it is going to get there. And those NGOs and donors with the longest experience and an institutional memory know that public/private partnerships have existed and worked well since the late 1970s, at least in certain programs and sectors (see Smucker and Smucker, 1980).

112. ACF has a project that renovates MSPP facilities. Project HOPE works both through CRUDEM, a Haitian NGO, and through the MSPP. Deconcentrated offices and centers of the Ministry often receive training, technical assistance and materials and supplies from NGOs. These kinds of partnerships began before the departure of Duvalier, and some endured during the De facto period, while others have been created or re-created since the return of Aristide. It is worth observing that these relationships have been continued or recreated under two successive Ministers of Health and Population who are largely regarded as “anti-NGO”. At the time of writing, the MSPP had just signed grant agreements with international and national NGOs to continue to provide TB and AIDS/STD treatment programs throughout the country, with funding provided through the Ministry from the IDA —funded health project. It took 18 months of intensive effort on all sides to put the arrangement in place. Many NGOs claim that if this kind of model is replicated, it will mean significant leakage of funds along the way, as well as near-infinite implementation delays. Most donors have the same reservations.

113. *NGOs and Decentralization.* Deconcentration and decentralization are mandated by the 1987 Constitution, and are finally beginning to be implemented this year. However, their implementation is fraught with legal and fiscal problems, as well as problems of power-sharing and political will. The new Provisional Electoral Council was just being set up at the time of writing, and was going to coordinate elections for local-level assemblies as well as for outstanding senate seats at the same time. But already-elected local officials have been working since 1995 to try to take on those responsibilities that the Constitution, the law on Territorial Collectivities 1996, and older legislation not yet invalidated, have mandated them. There are many issues involved, even with the deconcentration of central ministries, but the problems implied by a real decentralization to elected officials at the local level are particularly complex. This is one reason why the Aristide and the Preval administrations have both failed to move forward quickly on these fronts. As one recent report eloquently summarizes the situation,

Localities are not being encouraged by their ministries of tutelle to start with the hard and pressing public service problems and to creatively mobilize real, full community participation to solve them....The knowledge that power-sharing multiples total power—the secret of democracy’s success as a political system—is yet to be revealed to and understood by most. (ARD, 1996)

114. Nevertheless, a number of NGOs are helping to ensure that the reality of decentralization emerges in key areas, by deciding to enroll and be registered at the commune level at which they are actually working, and trying to help strengthen the very weak elected structures that are already in place. In some instances, this is being done with donor funding—e.g., PADF training for CASECs under the IDA-funded EGP, or support to mayors’ associations through the A.I.D.-funded Democracy Enhancement Project, implemented by Associates in Rural Development (ARD), a U.S.-based non-profit. As discussed above, in health, a variety of NGOs are working together to help the MSPP implement its decentralization plan. Education will be another area for experiment. In the infrastructure rehabilitation and maintenance

areas, the roles of these local bodies—reinforced by NGO projects—will be crucial as well. Here, there are already some good experiences, as has been noted, through FAES funding, IOM funding and through the UCG, although some of these same institutions and the organizations they have funded are still characterized by centrism, paternalism, and an emergency approach to activities being funded. Nevertheless, these NGOs and NGO funders are in a sense reinforcing a trend toward subsidiarity in decentralization that the Government has not yet officially chosen or recognized.

115. During site visits undertaken for this study, there was considerable evidence that there is still a problem of local elites making too many development decisions, although they may have been broadened through the election process to include elected members of CASECs, and elected mayors. During the education sector fieldwork, for example, direct project beneficiaries (parents and even school staff), often mentioned that those who were members of weakly structured local implementation committees for works were “the same old people”. Evaluations of IOM, PADF and other projects indicate that under emergency situations especially, it is difficult if not impossible to preclude special interest groups and local elites from capturing benefits (see TURBO, 1995, MSI, 1996 *inter alia*). In today’s Haiti, it is not unusual to hear on the daily news that there has been an armed conflict in some secondary city or town or rural area between the old guard and the new, with the old guard often winning. This has to do not only with ideology, but with very concrete questions about who wins and who loses, both in terms of economics and of power. NGOs are not immune, but rather are often quite central to the answers to these questions.

116. *NGOs vs the For-Profit Private Sector.* According to some observers, the, larger NGOs operating in Haiti may better be thought of as “an implementation industry”—not motivated by profit necessarily, but not motivated by altruism either. This set of organizations, including those working as MDODs under the employment generation projects managed by the UCG, in some ways resemble an oligopoly, in which entities maintain market niches, court upstream relationships, and execute through down-stream dependent sub-agencies. This provides an alternative to the proliferation of private and parastatal ‘*bureaux d’etudes*’ that are common in other Francophone countries. In this model, there is a broader continuum of possible options for “outsourcing” implementation. The implication for the degree to which the public sector ministries are “reinvented” is clear. The presence of this external implementation capacity is a considerable advantage in focusing the role of ministries on policy, regulation, and monitoring and evaluation, rather than on in-house works. However, it also means that if this model is adopted, it is harder for members of the civil service in sectoral or central ministries to arrange for kick-backs, or non-competitive bidding.

117. Many NGOs, both international and national, regard the move of some of their “peers” to implement large-scale donor projects as inappropriate to the very spirit underlying the definition of non-governmental and associative activity. This is the position taken by some members of the board of HAVA, for example. Certainly, in terms of the “large and influential” and “small” NGO categorization used for this study’s fieldwork, the balance would be significantly different if the large and influential international NGOs working as MDODs had foregone this opportunity. CECI, for example, went from annual funding of about US\$ 2 million in 1994 to over US\$ 20 million in 1996 thanks to its employment generation implementation contracts. PADF, without the JOBS and IDA/EGP contracts, would only have been operating at a level of about \$6 million or less. It is noteworthy that in the IDB-funded PURE II project, recently approved by the Parliament after an initial negative vote, the MDODs are to be primarily private sector firms, to even the balance with the NGOs. A number of observers believe that this is a significant mistake, since it will vitiate the implementation capacity built up over a period of years by PADF, for example, since there will not be alternative sources of funding for PADF to maintain that capacity since it is an organization that is virtually solely funded by donor agencies.

118. From the donor point of view, the vestiges of beneficiary-orientation and altruism that first characterized these organizations—and that are still predominant in some of them—may make them more attractive partners than the strictly for profit firms. Similarly, and perhaps more importantly for some donors and for the GOH, they are able to attract additional funds that would not otherwise be available. A.I.D., for example, requires under its cooperative agreements with major U.S.-based PVOs that they make a contribution to project implementation costs, or that they match grants given for institutional strengthening from a central fund. Even were this not the case, they have developed and perfected their own fund-raising methods, and the kinds of management mechanisms and financial reporting systems that allow donors to transfer the “management burden” to them while, at the same time, claiming some degree of institutional strengthening of intermediary beneficiaries and other stakeholders.

119. Yet, aside from these additional external resources, is not entirely clear that this approach always allows the donors and the Haitian people to obtain more cost-efficient or cost-effective services, as was discussed in Chapter III above. A number of A.I.D. personnel interviewed indicate that the initial investment made in the health and education NGOs, including the umbrella associations, was extremely high. Thus, if these pre-investments are taken into account, at least for this group of NGOs, service delivery is probably more expensive per beneficiary than might be true for other kinds of delivery systems. (These are, however, sunk costs.) Other donor informants point out that given the prospective risks of leakage in the non-NGO sectors (both for-profit and public or para-public), going through NGOs is “cheap at the price”.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ALL PARTIES

- **Enhance Institutional Capacity.** Findings from all sector working papers and multisectoral organization interviews indicate that there is a wide range of institutional capacity represented in the NGO sector in Haiti. But most of the evidence seems to show that there is a critical mass of large, medium-sized and small organizations with better than average track records that can absorb more funds, and use them more efficiently and effectively if they receive a little more technical assistance and training. This should not, however, be of a general type, but rather specific to the sector and to the socioeconomic issues these organizations are dealing with. To the extent possible, generic training materials by sector and socio-economic issue can be developed on the basis of best-practice examples, and then customized for particular courses, or coaching sessions.

- **Improve Analysis for Management Effectiveness.** Coordination, personnel management, stakeholder analysis, gender analysis, cost-effectiveness assessment, fund-raising, and beneficiary assessment are all areas where many if not most NGOs studied can be strengthened. These are not merely buzz-words or current development fads, but rather the practices that yield better results in terms of additional and higher quality benefit provision., as is shown by the best practice examples given in this report.

- **Enhance Technical Capacity** Technology transfer is complex in Haiti, but as has been noted for health care, for example, the quality of some services is truly excellent, and those Haitian specialists and generalists—including public health practitioners at all levels—who have received quality training are able to do a good job, and to train others. Domestically-available TA, as through AOPS, or FONHEP is often sufficient, although the amount available is limited by funding rather than by the quality available on the local market. Particularly weak or new sectors, such as some in the areas of environmental and natural resources management, may require some external technical assistance inputs, where there are readily adaptable lessons learned from other-country environments. Present efforts by donors to attract

Diaspora Haitians back to work in development-related fields, both inside and outside government, may be fruitful, although salary levels are frequently an issue.

- **Disseminate Information about On-going Activities.** Given the publicity received by recent events in Haiti, there is a wealth of new initiatives which are often well intentioned but based on too little knowledge of Haitian realities. This is an area where some classic NGO/PVO methods are being adapted to meet the new situation. An example is the recently created Florida International Volunteer program, which is bringing Diaspora Haitians and other technical specialists for brief periods to do particular, targeted interventions in Haiti. This is an approach which has been used successfully in the past by Project HOPE, and by other international institutions, such as the Lyons Clubs, Rotary, and other membership associations. Peace Corps volunteers are once again in Haiti, working on organizational development and agro-processing projects. Getting it right is particularly important in these kinds of “quick-fix”, targeted interventions, whether they involve service provision or short-term training. Here, the general lack of a readily accessible inventory of NGO activities already in place reduces the effectiveness of new initiatives.

- **Allow the Beneficiaries to Choose** One of the characteristics of voluntary agencies is that they try to choose activities that fit their missions, and that will satisfy their benefactors. This means that if a particular organization wants to work in AIDS prevention, it is unlikely to be easily persuaded to work in environmental protection instead, for example. Also, in Haiti as elsewhere, many NGO programs are donor-driven. One possible mitigating factor may be creation of communal-level social service plans, to be monitored by social service committees. It is at least plausible that in the medium term, as decentralized entities become stronger, they will be able to encourage more discrimination in the communities’ acceptance of “free” goods and services. The central government counterpart to this would be a better information base available in Port-au-Prince and at Haitian consulates and embassies abroad about what is already being done, and broad distribution of an updated HAVA directory to these posts. Since the draft law on NGOs includes the possibility of registration at these diplomatic representations rather than at the Ministry of Plan and External Cooperation, this idea may have some merit.

- **Enhance the Enabling Environment** The sustainability of NGO programs after the donor has withdrawn, and once public/private partnership have been defined, merits further exploration by the donor-NGO-GOH community as a whole, together with anticipated and existing beneficiaries. Taking this approach to the partnership question should also focus attention on the GOH’s comparative advantage in getting out of the service delivery business—an idea which is already under discussion in a number of sectors. One forum for this discussion, with a poverty-alleviation emphasis, is the proposed national dialogue and strategy/action planning process that is intrinsic to the Poverty Assessment. Other fora are also available, and should be exploited as much as possible, including meetings of the Prime Minister’s Commission on Poverty Alleviation, non-NGO association meetings, television and radio talk shows, and church group meetings. The important thing is to define the terms of the dialogue in a constructive way, and then to keep the ball in play.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE WORLD BANK/IDA AND OTHER DONOR AGENCIES

- **Reduce Duplication and Overlap.** IDA and other international donor agencies, both bilateral and multilateral, are already critically involved in funding humanitarian assistance and development interventions that include international and national NGOs. Despite considerable and persisting efforts to coordinate within and among sectors in providing aid to Haiti, there is still a great deal of overlap at the same time that there are critical gaps. One suggestion for mitigating this situation is to have NGOs as participants or observers at the next Consultative Group meeting, and at any subsequent

IDA-sponsored Implementation Reviews. The World Bank is already a co-sponsor of a regional LAC NGO conference each year, but it should be noted that in 1996, the Haitian umbrella organizations invited were unable to provide funding or representatives to attend.

- **Support Monitoring Systems that Track Results.** In addition to this kind of periodic joint review, IDA is interested in supporting the GOH in improving its ability to monitor the performance of all donor-funded projects, including those implemented by NGOs. This would be done in collaboration with the UNDP, which is already implementing a project to inventory donor assistance to Haiti with the MPCE. The current thinking is that such a performance tracking system would be decentralized, so that more beneficiary and elected assembly input could be obtained, and such feedback used to assist implementors to make mid-course corrections where necessary. This is not the same thing as the old UCAONG "control and regulation" model, but would more resemble the kind of monitoring that has been characteristic of the PL 480 management office over the years. Initial design and piloting could be supported by an International Development Fund Grant.

- **Determine Cost-Effectiveness and Cost-Efficiency Measures.** More in-depth analysis should be carried out of the relative cost-effectiveness of NGO, for-profit and public sector delivery systems by sector and sub-sector. In some instances, this analysis may already exist in the annexes of discrete project documents, but overall, there is no body of information readily available to all the actors on the basis of which standards could be set, and comparisons of performance made. Such analysis should include social costs and benefits as well as economic ones, and might be based on the coproduction model—all of the social services and goods discussed in this report are "co-produced"; that is, they require the active participation of the beneficiaries themselves in order to be achieved.

- **Update NGO Funding Policies and Mechanisms.** As the political and economic situation in Haiti continues to become more stable, donors should continue to update their policies on funding of NGOs, private-sector firms and direct funding to the GOH, focusing on comparative advantage, and cost-effectiveness. Where necessary, they should also offer training to all of these categories of implementing partners in accounting for funds, disbursement, and performance monitoring, as IDA has begun to do in the past year. While it is unrealistic to anticipate that even the major donor agencies will come up with a mutually-agreed "short-form" for reporting, they could give more attention to making reporting requirements clear. Another shared practice that would not require major resource commitments would be broad circulation of terms and conditions of grants and loans available through donor-funded intermediaries.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE GOH

- **Develop Reasoned Policy toward NGO Implementors and Service Providers.** If the GOH—both at the center and at the periphery—continues a good-faith effort to implement its current policies in the areas of justice, rule of law, deconcentration and decentralization, as well as streamlining the public sector and "reinventing" the State, the mandates and activities of the NGO sector will of necessity be affected. However, these effects are likely to be salutary, and in the interests both of the NGOs themselves and of their existing and intended beneficiaries. Modalities may change, however, especially for those large, international NGOs that have in the past been able to enjoy a great deal of independence, but are now finding a new role as implementing arms of the GOH through the *MDOD* model.

- **Implement New Tax and Customs Exhonorations Policies Fairly.** In the past, according to both NGO and GOH representatives, the key issue of exhonorations and taxation has brought some of the larger NGOs to threaten to quit Haiti. More recently, however, as part of the dialogue process

leading up to the drafting of the new NGO law, there has been a more constructive dialogue, which should be pursued. As with other policy reforms, this revenue-oriented reform will require serious monitoring in implementation, and a series of stakeholder meetings and reviews should be held at key points in the implementation process. These meetings should include lower-level Customs and DGI staff as well as senior managers, and the middle-management staff of key NGOs as well as Directors from Haiti and from overseas HQs.

- **Develop a Monitoring System and Implement It.** While it is realistic for the GOH to require that NGOs register their presence and mission, and report periodically on by-laws, officers, activities, and funding arrangements, such requirements should be streamlined. NGOs—whether international or national—should not be required to register with each sectoral ministry in whose sector they are active, as well as with the Ministry of Plan, and with the Ministry of Interior, the DGI, as well as the local territorial entities in the areas where they are actually carrying out projects and programs. There should be a once-for-all, relatively simple registration process that is possible to achieve within two months—rather like Congressional Notification in the US—if there is no question raised, then the NGO can consider itself registered. Annual financial or activity reporting should be part of an overall development assistance monitoring system rather than a separate *sui generis* system that is then open to manipulation.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE NGO COMMUNITY IN HAITI

- **Define the Terms of Inter-NGO Collaboration and Partnership.** One of the NGO leaders who has spent the longest time in Haiti suggested during an early interview that what needed to happen was that HAVA, or the World Bank—or both—take the senior managers of all the major NGOs away to the beach, and sit them down until they hammered out their differences (and similarities). Others when interviewed about their relations with donors, the government and other stakeholders, pointed out that they should work harder on joint development of a code of ethics, for international as well as national organizations, and then should develop a system for monitoring their respective performance under the code. Almost all those interviewed said that they should do more and better in terms of working with and strengthening the capacity of local organizations, whether formal or informal. Most agreed that they should learn how to manage better for scarcity, and learn more about financial management and financial planning, so as to become self-sustaining.

- **Strengthen Mechanisms for Information Sharing.** Information-sharing is not cost-free, but neither is duplication of projects, or competition for the same beneficiary populations. It is ultimately to the advantage of NGOs working in the same region, and/or in the same sector, to be forthcoming to each other, and to donors, local authorities, and the GOH about what they know of the range of interventions already in place when they propose to continue existing activities, or to undertake new ones.

- **Develop Criteria of Project Success and Methods to Assure Sustainability.** To the extent possible, NGOs should use their strategic planning and targeting systems—in concert with beneficiaries—to decide what the reasonable life of an intervention is, rather than being caught in the donor project cycle or, conversely, assuming that what is needed now will be needed forever. Empowerment means, among other things, that beneficiaries can and should make decisions for themselves. Sustainable development means that over time, the majority of empowered beneficiaries should be able to become self-sufficient, and to provide safety nets for the most vulnerable among them.

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ENDNOTES

- ¹ In this study, unless otherwise indicated, we use the World Bank definition of NGOs, while other more limited definitions are currently under discussion in Haiti. The Bank defines NGOs as "private organizations that pursue activities to relieve suffering, promote the interests of the poor, protect the environment, provide basic social services, or undertake community development". The Bank's guide, Working with NGOs, (March 1995), adds that "in wider usage, the term NGO can be applied to any non-profit organization which is independent from government. NGOs are typically value-based organizations, which depend, in whole or in part, on charitable donations and voluntary service. Although the NGO sector has become increasingly professionalized over the last two decades, principles of altruism and voluntarism remain key defining characteristics" (p. 13-14).
- ² Altogether, some 100 international and national NGOs, umbrella associations and donor agencies participated in the study, in addition to the 100 CBOs surveyed. A number of organizations were interviewed more than once, and provided logistical support for site visits (e.g., ACF, ADRA, CARE, CRS, GRET and PADF). HAVA and AOPS provided invaluable support in identifying organizations to be included in the study, as did InterAction and all the major bilateral and multilateral donor agencies working in Haiti. CityMed/CAPS helped to organize a series of dissemination workshops. Feedback from NGO, donor and GOH participants in those workshops is included in each of the sectoral reports. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) shared its database on CBOs to support sample selection for the CBO survey, and Caribbean Resources International (CRI), provided access to its documentation center, which proved extremely helpful in assessing available sources. Annex IV provides basic methodological information and further acknowledgments.
- ³ There is considerable interest on the part of donors in enumerating NGOs so as to be able to coordinate funding better in particular sectors as well, perhaps, as to get a clearer picture of who is legitimate and who is not. PAHO gave a contract to AOPS to do an inventory of NGOs working in health, so as to create a database. AOPS shared its questionnaire with the IDA study team, but as of the time of writing, the team has not seen the results. Consultants were many in 1995-97, assigned by a selection of donors to do some sort of inventory or study of NGOs in Haiti, usually by sector. As recently as summer 1996, some agencies were still attempting similar inventories or studies, apparently without knowing what had already been done.
- ⁴ These NGOs are large in terms of funding levels, and for the international ones at least, also in terms of staff. They are usually implementing programs nation-wide, although they may originally have been "assigned" particular departments or geographic regions. The major confessional NGOs also operate nation-wide, usually through diocesan development officers, lay readers, or other church members or officials, who have received some training in project development and/or management. For Haitian NGOs in this category, the matter of credibility and influence is as important as size of staff and volume of funds in terms of their inclusion in this category.
- ⁵ All of these citations come from publicly available brochures or annual reports. They were also reiterated in interviews with headquarters and/or field staff of these organizations. They are included here to show the

breadth of vision or mission statement which, it may be posited, in turn relate to the lack of a felt need on the part of these NGOs to more clearly define or measure poverty and poverty alleviation. The 100 CBOs surveyed each had a clear, written objective statement, which is noteworthy in itself. The majority indicated that they were established to improve the economic conditions of the community as a whole, or of the poorest members of the community. As discussed in the text, some of them are now moving toward more sophisticated targeting and monitoring thanks to the creation of baseline data sets and a monitoring and evaluation systems.

- ⁶ In theory, all organizations working in an area will benefit from the LSS database, since the system will be maintained by a new USAID contractor. However, how these arrangements will actually work out in practice remains to be seen, as that contract had just been awarded at the time of writing. IICA, which was highly involved in the design of the survey instruments and the survey itself, is seeking funds to maintain the database and disaggregate it by sex, to ensure that it remains accessible to all potential users in a form that will, for example, help to distinguish between the incomes and needs of women as well as of men within vulnerable population groups. A good deal of information was obtained by the survey on inter- and intra-household differences. However, most of these data remain to be analyzed.
- ⁷ Having anticipated that this would be a difficult issue and would require probing, interviewers left copies of the form with interviewees. However, in many instances, follow-up phone calls, faxes and even visits yielded nothing. At the time of report preparation, a last round of faxes was sent to 12 of the largest NGOs that had not yet responded, giving the form once again, the reasons the information was being requested, and asking urgently that the information be provided. There were only five responses.
- ⁸ Grouping of women-specific and human rights NGOs in the study, and in this Table, is likely to pose some problems for the HR NGOs, who do not like to be included with other categories. While they often receive increased funding as a result of advocacy efforts overseas, and through a U.S.A.I.D.-funded Administration of Justice Project, they receive little national funding, and so are more like women-specific NGOs than, say, like health and population ones. Further, many of the women-specific NGOs are operating civic education and human rights-oriented training activities, which means that some of the activity areas of these two categories are the same, or similar.
- ⁹ Actually, the survey results are somewhat contradictory. On the one hand, management skills are seen as lacking, while educational attainment is high, and financial management is particularly bad for other reasons than malfeasance. At the same time, however, 78 per cent of the 100 organizations interviewed reported a regular supervision program, and 33 percent indicated that they had ledgers, half claiming that they gave a monthly accounting.
- ¹⁰ An informal indicator selected for financial management capacity in study design was the ability of an NGO to pass an A.I.D. audit, since USG auditing standards are higher than those of multilateral agencies, including IDA. Since a majority of the NGOs sampled had had some A.I.D. funding—either directly or through an intermediary NGO—this turned out to be a useful indicator.
- ¹¹ The GOH is preparing a project with IDA to fund basic education. One option is to fund community-managed schools, including some built and managed through existing NGOs, or to provide grants for students attending non-public schools, and/or to assign MEN teachers to those schools.

HAITI: NGO SECTOR STUDY

ANNEXES



ANNEX 1 ACRONYMS

| | |
|---------------------------|---|
| ACF | Action Contre la Faim |
| ADF | Americas Development Foundation |
| ADRA | Adventist Development and Relief Agency |
| AgroAction Allemande | AgroAction Allemande |
| ANDAH | Association Nationale d'Agronomes Haitien |
| AOPS | Association des Oeuvres Privees de Sante |
| ARD | Associates for Rural Development |
| ASSODLO | Association Haitienne pour la Maitrise des sols et des Eaux |
| BND | Bureau de Nutrition et Developpement |
| BOSAMAP | Bon Samaritan Mission d'Aide Aux Pauvres |
| CARE | Care International |
| CBP | Comite Bienfaisance de Pignon |
| CCFC/HAVA | Christian Children's Fund / Canada |
| CDS | Centres Pour le Developpement et la Sante |
| CDRH | Centre de Développement des Ressources Humaines |
| CECI | Centre Canadien d'Etudes et de Cooperation Internationale |
| CPFO | <i>Centre de Promotion des Femmes Ouvrières</i> |
| CHASS | Centre Haitien de Service Social |
| CHF | Cooperative Housing Foundation |
| CHREPROF | Centre Haitien de Recherches Pour la Promotion de la Femme |
| Church World Service | Church World Service |
| CNEH | Confédération Internationale des Enseignants d'Haiti |
| Compassion Internationale | Compassion Internationale |
| CPFO | Centre de Promotion des Femmes Ouvrières |
| CRS | Catholic Relief Services |
| Espiscopal Bishop's Fund | Espiscopal Bishop's Fund |
| FHAF | Fonds Haitien d'Aide a la Femme |
| FIDES | |
| FonDwa Moun | |
| FONHADES | Fonds Haitien de Developpement Economique et Social |
| FONDEV | Fonds Pour le Developpement Rural |
| FONHEP | Fondation Gaitienne de L'Enseignement Privé |
| GERESE | |
| GHESLOP | |
| GLAS | Groupe de Lutte Anti-Sida |
| GRET | Groupe de Recherche et d'Echanges Technologiques |
| GTIH | Groupe Technologie Intermediaire d'Haiti |
| HAVA | Association Haitienne des Agences Benevoles |
| HH | Helvetas-Haiti |
| HHF | Haitian Health Foundation |
| ICC | International Child Care |
| INHSAC | Institut Haitien de Sante Communautaire |

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| InterAide | InterAide |
| InterAction | InterAction |
| KONELAK | Association Konbit Neg Lakay |
| Jilap Archipo | Jilap Archipo |
| Justice et Paix | Justice et Paix |
| NCHR | National Coalition for Haitian Refugees |
| ODEPA | Organisme de Développement Participative |
| OMES | Organisation de la Mission Evangelique Salem |
| PACT | Private Agencies Collaborating Together |
| PADF | Pan American Development Foundation |
| PAPDA | Plateforme pour un Strategie de Developpement Alternative |
| PLAN | Plan International |
| Planning Assistance | Planning Assistance |
| POHDH | Plateforme des Organismes Haitiens de Defense des Droits Humains |
| PROFAMIL | Association Pour la Promotion de la Famille Haitienne |
| PROTOS | Groupe de Projets Pour la Coop. Technique du Developpement |
| SAVE | Save the Children |
| SCMPPF | |
| SOE | Service Oecumenique D'Entraide |

ORIGIN/BOARD OF DIRECTORS

| | International | Transitional | Haitian |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|--------------|---------|
| Type I: CBOs | | | |
| Type II: Intermediate NGOs | | | |
| ADF | ✓ | | |
| AgroAction | | | |
| Allemande | ✓ | | |
| ARD | ✓ | | |
| CBP | | | ✓ |
| CCFC/HAVA | | | ✓ |
| CFPO | | | ✓ |
| CHASS | | | ✓ |
| CHF | ✓ | | |
| CHREPROF | | | ✓ |
| Church World Service | ✓ | | |
| Compassion Internationale | ✓ | | |
| CNEH | | ✓ | |
| Espiscopal Bishop's Fund | ✓ | | |
| Fo Dwa Moun | | ✓ | |
| GERESE | | | ✓ |
| GHESLOP | | | ✓ |
| GLAS | | | ✓ |
| GRET | | ✓ | |
| HHF | ✓ | | |
| International Child Care | ✓ | | |
| Jilap Archipo | | | ✓ |
| Justice et Paix | | | ✓ |
| NCHR | | ✓ | |
| ODEPA | | | ✓ |
| OMES | | | ✓ |
| Planning Assistance | ✓ | | |
| PROFAMIL | | | ✓ |
| PROTOS | | ✓ | |
| SCMPPF | | | ✓ |
| SOE | | | ✓ |
| Type III: Large PVOs/NGOs | | | |
| ACF | ✓ | | |
| ADRA | | ✓ | |
| BND | ✓ | | |
| CARE | ✓ | | |
| CDS | | | ✓ |
| CRS | ✓ | | |
| Inter-Aide | ✓ | | |
| PADF | ✓ | | |
| PLAN | | ✓ | |

ORIGIN/BOARD OF DIRECTORS

| | International | Transitional | Haitian |
|--------------------------------------|---------------|--------------|---------|
| SAVE | ✓ | | |
| Type IV: Foundations | | | |
| FIDES | | | ✓ |
| FONADES | | | ✓ |
| FONDEV | | | ✓ |
| Type V: Umbrella Associations | | | |
| ANDAH | | | ✓ |
| AOPS | | | ✓ |
| FONHEP | | | ✓ |
| HAVA | ✓ | | |
| InterAction | ✓ | | |
| PACT | ✓ | | |
| PAPDA | | | ✓ |
| POHDH | | | ✓ |

ANNEX 2
SUMMARY OF WORLD BANK INTERNATIONAL NGO INTERVIEW
GUIDE FOR POVERTY ASSESSMENT

- ⇒ NGO's Mission
- ⇒ Affiliations in Haiti - central government, local government, beneficiaries, non-beneficiaries;
- ⇒ Major program/project areas currently active;
- ⇒ Accountability and Financial Management Systems;
- ⇒ Estimate of beneficiaries reached by program/project and/or sector (disaggregate by sex), and targeting mechanisms used;
- ⇒ Types of transfers and proportion of each type;
- ⇒ Proportion of overhead to operational costs;
- ⇒ Proportion of Haitian staff to expatriate staff, including technical assistance (disaggregate by sex);
- ⇒ Monitoring, supervision, and evaluation: who, how, how often, and using what criteria/indicators?
- ⇒ Key contacts for follow-up in Haiti

Draft Interview Guide - Haiti NGO Sector Study - For Large International NGO:

| | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Org Name | Address | Phone | Contact Person |
| Interview Date | Place | Interviewer(s) | Others Present |

Major Activities: Direct Operations Advocacy Institutional Capacity Building Sponsorship

Duration of Presence/Activities in Haiti--continuous or interrupted?

Registered with GOH? Since when?

Has this varied by program category (material aid, etc.) Or by donor?

Affiliations in Haiti:

| | | |
|---|--|--|
| Donors Haitian Gov't | Other Int'l NGOs | Local Office of same NGO |
| Intermediary Haitian NGOs (Umbrella) | Membership Based Orgs- Associations, Unions, etc. | Community Based Organizations |

How do you choose your partners in Haiti? Have they changed over time? What criteria do you use under each donor-funded project to select local-level NGOs or other groups with which to collaborate? Do your institutional relationships with them differ by source of funding (project)? Do you have partners with whom the partnerships do not depend on funding from a particular donor project? If so, does this make a difference?

Mission of the NGO:

What is the primary mission of your organization?

Role of the NGO with other Key Stakeholders in Haiti

How do you see the role of your organization vis a vis the GOH, international donors, other actors in Haiti? How do you feel that the IntraAction/US NGO code of conduct has affected your activities in Haiti? Are there further steps that could or should be taken in terms of standards or codes of conduct for NGOs in Haiti? With what other organizations working in Haiti would you say your organization has the most in common in terms of sectoral or other goals? If more funds were available, how would that influence your program goals and your project portfolio, as well as your collaboration with other agencies? At present, what are your plans for expanding or diversifying your operations in Haiti, directly and/or with partner organizations?

Institutional—lack of awareness of the issues, lack of experience in dealing with gender-related issues, lack of staff incentives.

Sociocultural constraints (including women's own lack of time).

Legal constraints.

6. What measures is the institution taking to address gender-related constraints?

7. What problems are the most pervasive and intractable?

Intervention Approaches: (For Operational NGOs)

Highly participatory moderately participatory somewhat top down highly top down

Highly sectorally focused Highly geographically focused Both

High levels of volunteerism high levels of technicity and professionalism

Evaluation: What kind of evaluations do you carry out, and how often? Who is involved (external experts, donor representatives, HQ staff, local staff, beneficiaries, others). What do you do with the results, how do you build them into program/project level changes and redesigns?

Major Sectors of Intervention:

1. agriculture and 2. rural development; 3. natural resource management 4. environment
5. health (general) 6. reproductive health and family planning 6. AIDS 7. shelter
8. water and sanitation 9. small scale enterprise 10. credit 11. education 12.
vocational training 13. community development 14. Fishing 15. appropriate
technology 16. gender/WID 17. jobs creation 18. literacy 19. nutrition 20. training
21. institutional development/strengthening

Major Types of Transfers by Sector or type of Program:

Material Aid:

food

medicines

medical equipment

relief supplies (blankets, tents, water purification equipment)

Technicians:

nurses, doctors, logisticians, accountants, teachers, other

Etude du Secteur ONG en Haïti Tableau #1
Etat de compte pour le Programme des ONGs en Haïti

Nom de l'ONG: _____

| Recettes | Base - 1990 | 1993 | 1994 | 1995 | Proj. 1996 |
|---|-------------|------|------|------|------------|
| | | | | | |
| Contributions | | | | | |
| Subventions de Fondations | | | | | |
| Subventions, Contrats du Gouvernement des EUA | | | | | |
| Subventions/Contrats d'autres gouvernements, intergouvernementaux | | | | | |
| Autres recettes (multilatérales, bilatérales, autres) | | | | | |
| Contributions privées en nature | | | | | |
| RECETTES TOTALES | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| Dépenses | | | | | |
| Programme | | | | | |
| Admin/Gestion | | | | | |
| Collecte de fonds | | | | | |
| Contributions en nature | | | | | |
| Staff | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| Total des coûts indirects | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| DEPENSES TOTALES | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| Recettes - Dépenses | | | | | |
| Dépenses int'/Dom. | | | | | |
| Org. intermédiaires/ d'origine | | | | | |

PROJECT CHECKLIST

| |
|---|
| NGO Name: NGO Type: Contact person: Address/phone/fax: |
|---|

| |
|---|
| PROJECT NAME: _____ |
| Start date: Project Objectives: Project Activities: what does the project do and to whom? Location: where does the project operate? |

| PROJECT PROCESSES | |
|----------------------------|--|
| Identification | |
| Design | |
| Approval | |
| Implementation | |
| Monitoring/SPN | |
| Evaluation | |
| GOH role? who/what/when | |

PROJECT ELEMENTS:

| | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| Specific activities | |
| Beneficiaries/ targeting | |
| Staffing/training | |
| Sources of resources | |
| Rel. with other projects | |
| Effects | |

Goods and services delivered for:

| Direct operation: | Indirect Support: |
|---|-------------------|
| 2. types/unit total/year or project planned versus actual cost per unit delivered source of goods/services | |

| | SIGNEE | DATE |
|-------------|--------|------|
| INTERVIEWEE | | |
| CODED | | |
| ENTERED | | |
| CHECKED | | |

1. KI KOTE ORGANISASYON-YE

DEPATMEN

KOMUN

SEKSYON RURAL

ZON-AN

NOM OGANISASYON-AN

| |
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| |
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| |
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| |

2. INFOMASYON BAZ-LAN

ADRES ORGANISASYON-AN

| |
|--|
| |
| |
| |

NOM MOUN RESP.

| | |
|------|---------|
| NOM: | PRENOM: |
|------|---------|

TIT MOUN RESP.

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

POUKISA NOU FE OGANISASYON-AN

| |
|--|
| |
| |

3. SEKTE ACTIVITE-YO

ED SITUASYON
EKONOMIK
KOMINOTE-A

| |
|---|
| 1 |
| 3 |
| 5 |
| 7 |

ED SITUASYON LAMIZE

| |
|---|
| 2 |
| 4 |
| 6 |
| 8 |

ED TIMOUN

ED POU FEM-YO

SANTE

BATI INFRASTRUCTURE

EDIKASYON

PREN SWEN INFRASTRUCTURE

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

PRECISER DOMAINES D'INTERVENTION

| |
|--|
| |
| |
| |

4. KI JAN OGANISASYON-AN MACHE?

KILES KI WE NESESITE POU PWOJE-A FET?

MOUN KAP TRAVAY NAN ORG.
MOUN NAN KOMINOTE-A

| |
|---|
| 1 |
| 3 |

DIRIGANS-YO
ORG. NAT/INT'L

| |
|---|
| 2 |
| 4 |

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

LOT BAGAY _____

KILES KI DI KI PWOJE DWA POU FET AVAN?

MOUN KAP TRAVAY NAN ORG.
MOUN NAN KOMINOTE-A

| |
|---|
| 1 |
| 3 |

DIRIGANS-YO
ORG. NAT/INT'L

| |
|---|
| 2 |
| 4 |

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LOT BAGAY _____

KILES KI PWEPAPE PWOJE-A OSWA METE PWOJE-A SOU POPYE?

MOUN KAP TRAVAY NAN ORG.
MOUN NAN KOMINOTE-A

| |
|---|
| 1 |
| 3 |

DIRIGANS-YO
ORG. NAT/INT'L

| |
|---|
| 2 |
| 4 |

| |
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| |
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LOT BAGAY _____

KILES KI EXIKITE PWOJE-A?

MOUN KAP TRAVAY NAN ORG.
MOUN NAN KOMINOTE-A

| |
|---|
| 1 |
| 3 |

DIRIGANS-YO
ORG. NAT/INT'L

| |
|---|
| 2 |
| 4 |

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| |
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LOT BAGAY _____

KILES K'AP VOYE JE SOU JAN PWOJE-A AP MACHE?

MOUN KAP TRAVAY NAN ORG.
MOUN NAN KOMINOTE-A

| |
|---|
| 1 |
| 3 |

DIRIGANS-YO
ORG. NAT/INT'L

| |
|---|
| 2 |
| 4 |

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LOT BAGAY _____

KILES KI FE RAPPORT SOU JAN PWOJE-A MACHE?

MOUN KAP TRAVAY NAN ORG.
MOUN NAN KOMINOTE-A

| |
|---|
| 1 |
| 3 |

DIRIGANS-YO
ORG. NAT/INT'L

| |
|---|
| 2 |
| 4 |

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

LOT BAGAY _____

KI JAN KOMINOTE-A REPRESENTE ANA PWOJE-A?

COMISSON
PAS GENYEN

| |
|---|
| 1 |
| 3 |

MEMBRES DE CONSEIL D'ADMIN.
AUTRES

| |
|---|
| 2 |
|---|

| |
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| |
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| |
| |
| |

5. PROJETS

BAY INFOMASYON SOU DENYE PWOJE-A

KI LE DENYE PWOJE TE FET?

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

KONBEN PWOJE OGANISASYON-AN FE DEJA?

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

ESKE KOMINOTE-A BAY PATISIPASYON-LI NAN PWOJE-A?

MENDEV
KOB

| |
|---|
| 1 |
| 3 |

MATERIEL
NON

| |
|---|
| 2 |
| 4 |

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

LOT BAGAY _____

ESKE SE YON PWOYE KI PAYE?

NON
MANJE

| |
|---|
| 1 |
| 3 |

KOB

| |
|---|
| 2 |
|---|

AUTRES _____

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

KONBEN MOUN YO PAYE NAN PWOJE-A?

OM
FANM
TIMOUN
VYE MOUNS

| |
|--|
| |
| |
| |
| |

SI LA, KI KALITE MOUN YO YE?

MEMBS OGANISASYON-AN
COMMUNE

| |
|---|
| 1 |
| 3 |

KOMINOTE KOTE PWOJE AP FET

| |
|---|
| 2 |
|---|

| |
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| |
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KI JAN YO CHWASI MOUN POU TRAVAY NAN PWOJE-A?

RELASYON PERSONEL

| |
|---|
| 1 |
|---|

KALITE GWROUP MOUN

| |
|---|
| 2 |
|---|

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

LOT BAGAY

KILES MOUN KI TE DECIDE FE KONSA?

MOUN KAP TRAVAY NAN ORG.
MOUN NAN KOMINOTE-A

| |
|---|
| 1 |
| 3 |

DIRIGANS-YO
ORG. NAT/INT'L

| |
|---|
| 2 |
| 4 |

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LOT BAGAY

KONBEN KOB OU-AP PAYE POU CHAK MOUN KI BENEFICYE PWOJE-A?

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

KONBEN MOUN GENYEN NAN KOMINOTE-A KI KOTE PWOJE-A FET?

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

6. SEVIS-YO

KI KALITE SEVIS OGANISASYON-AN BAY?

KALITE SEVIS AK PWODWI YO BAY?

MATERIEL

MANJE
ZOUTI

| |
|---|
| 1 |
| 3 |
| 5 |

REMED

BAGAY POU LEKOL

| |
|---|
| 2 |
| 4 |

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

PWODWI POU JADIN-AN

LOT BAGAY

ASISTANS TEKNIK

SANTE
EDIKASYON
AGRIKILT!

| |
|---|
| 1 |
| 3 |
| 5 |

FOMASYON FOMATE
KOMMEN BYEN GERE
KOMMEN VANN BAGAY

| |
|---|
| 2 |
| 4 |
| 5 |

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

LOT BAGAY

FONDS/CREDITS/SUBVENTIONS

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

KONBEN MOUN GENYEN SOUTIEN?

OM
FANM
TIMOUN
VYE MOUNS

| |
|--|
| |
| |
| |
| |

KI JAN YO CHWASI MOUN POU TRAVAY NAN PWOJE-A?

KOTE MOUN-YE
KALITE GWROUP MOUN

| |
|---|
| 1 |
| 3 |

RELASYON PERSONEL

| |
|---|
| 2 |
|---|

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

AUTRES

KILES MOUN KI TE DECIDE FE KONSA?

MOUN KAP TRAVAY NAN ORG.
MOUN NAN KOMINOTE-A

| |
|---|
| 1 |
| 3 |

DIRIGANS-YO
ORG. NAT/INT'L

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LOT BAGAY

COMBIEN ON DEPENSE POUR CHAQUE BENEFICIAIRE?

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7. MOUN NAN OGANISASYON

GEN PAPYE SEPARÉ

8. ADMINISTRASYON

GFNYEN

- BUT AK KOMMEN LI JWENN LI?
- PWOGAM CHAK AN?
- PWOGAM CHAK MWA?

OUI

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GENYEN

- KONSEY ADMINISTRASYON?
- KOMITE EXECUTIF

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KONBEN FWA YO RANKONTRE YO-MEM?

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KILES

- MET PLAN PWOJE-A NAN PAPYE?
- BAY DAKO AK PLAN PWOJE-A?
- BAY DAKO AK KOMMEN ITILIZE LAJAN-AN
- FE KONTROL LAJAN-AN

CONSEIL

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COMITE

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DIRECTEURS

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9. GESTION, CONTROLE ET EVALUATION

- ESKE GENYEN PWOGAM VOYE JE POU PWOJE-A?
- ESKE OGANISASYON RANMASE INFOMASYON SOU PWOJE-A?
- ESKE GEN YON RAPPO FE SOUVAN?

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KONBEN FWA?

ESKE OU VOYE JE SOU

- PWOJE-YO?
- MOUN KAP TRAVAY NAN OGANISASYON-AN?

ECRITE

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VERBALE

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ESKE OU EVALYE

- PWOJE-YO?
- MOUN KAP TRAVAY NAN OGANISASYON-AN?

ECRITE

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VERBALE

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10. GESTION FINANCIERE

GENYEN

- EXISTENCE DE LIVRES COMPTABLES?
- CAHIER DE CONTROLE?
- COMPTE BANCAIRE?
- RAPPORT FINANCIER MENSUEL?
- AUDIT INTERNE?
- AUDIT EXTERNE?

OUI

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11. FINANCEMENT

REVENUS (GDES) - EFFECTIFS

GOURDES ('000)

| | 1995 | 1996 (PROJ) |
|--------------------------|------|-------------|
| GOV'T CENTRAL | | |
| GOV'T LOCAL | | |
| ONG INTERNATIONALE | | |
| ONG NATIONALE | | |
| ORG. INTERNATIONALES | | |
| EGLISE | | |
| COTISATION DE MEMBRES | | |
| CONTRIB. PRIVEE | | |
| CONTRIBUTIONS EN NATURE* | | |
| AUTRES | | |
| * SPECIFIER | | |

DE MONTAN SA-A KONBEN OU DEPENSE POU

| | 1995 | 1996 (PROJ) |
|---------------------------------|------|-------------|
| DEPENSES DIRECTES (ACTIVITE-YO) | | |
| FRAIS DE FONCTIONNEMENT | | |
| SALAIRES | | |
| DIVIDENDES (COOPERATIF-YO) | | |
| AUTRES | | |

12. STATUT LEGAL

KI LE OGANISASYON TE FET?

KI KARACTERISTIC LI GENYEN?

| | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------|
| ONG | <input type="text" value="1"/> | ASSOCIATION | <input type="text" value="2"/> | |
| FONDATION | <input type="text" value="3"/> | COOPERATIVE | <input type="text" value="4"/> | <input type="text"/> |
| GROUPEMENT DES FEMMES | <input type="text" value="5"/> | GROUPEMENT COMMUNAUTAIRE/PAYSANNES | <input type="text" value="6"/> | |

AUTRES _____

ESKE LI REKONET?

| | | | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------|
| MIN DU PLAN | <input type="text" value="1"/> | LA MAIRIE | <input type="text" value="2"/> | <input type="text"/> |
| CASEC | <input type="text" value="3"/> | MIN D'INTERIEUR | <input type="text" value="4"/> | |
| MIN. DES AFFAIRES SOCIALES | <input type="text" value="5"/> | CONSEIL NATIONAL DES COOP. (CNC) | <input type="text" value="6"/> | |

AUTRES _____

ESKE OU TRAVAY MEN-A-MEN AL LOT OGANISASYON?

OUI

NON

KILES

NGO SECTOR STUDY
BENEFICIARY QUESTIONNAIRE

NOM OGANISAYON-AN?

SE NAN KI KOMUN LI YE?

ESKE OU KONNEN OGANISAYON SA-A?

| | |
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| WI | NON |
| <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> |

KI TRAVAY LI FET NAN ZON-AN?

ESKE 'W KONN BAY KOUT DE MEN NAN PWOJE-A OGANISASYON AP FE?

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| WI | NON |
| <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> |

KOMEN OU BAY KOUT DE MEN SA-A?

| | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| MENDEV | ZOUJI-YO | KOB |
| <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> |

ZOT BAGAY

ESKE 'W BENEFICYE DES AKTIVITE-YO OGANISASYON SA-A?

| | |
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| WI | NON |
| <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> |

ESKE 'W PAYE POU BENEFICYE'L?

| | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| WI | NON |
| <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> |

COMBEN OU PAYE?

ESKE GEN MOUN KAP VOYE JE SOU PWOJE-A?

| | |
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| WI | NON |
| <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> |

KILES?

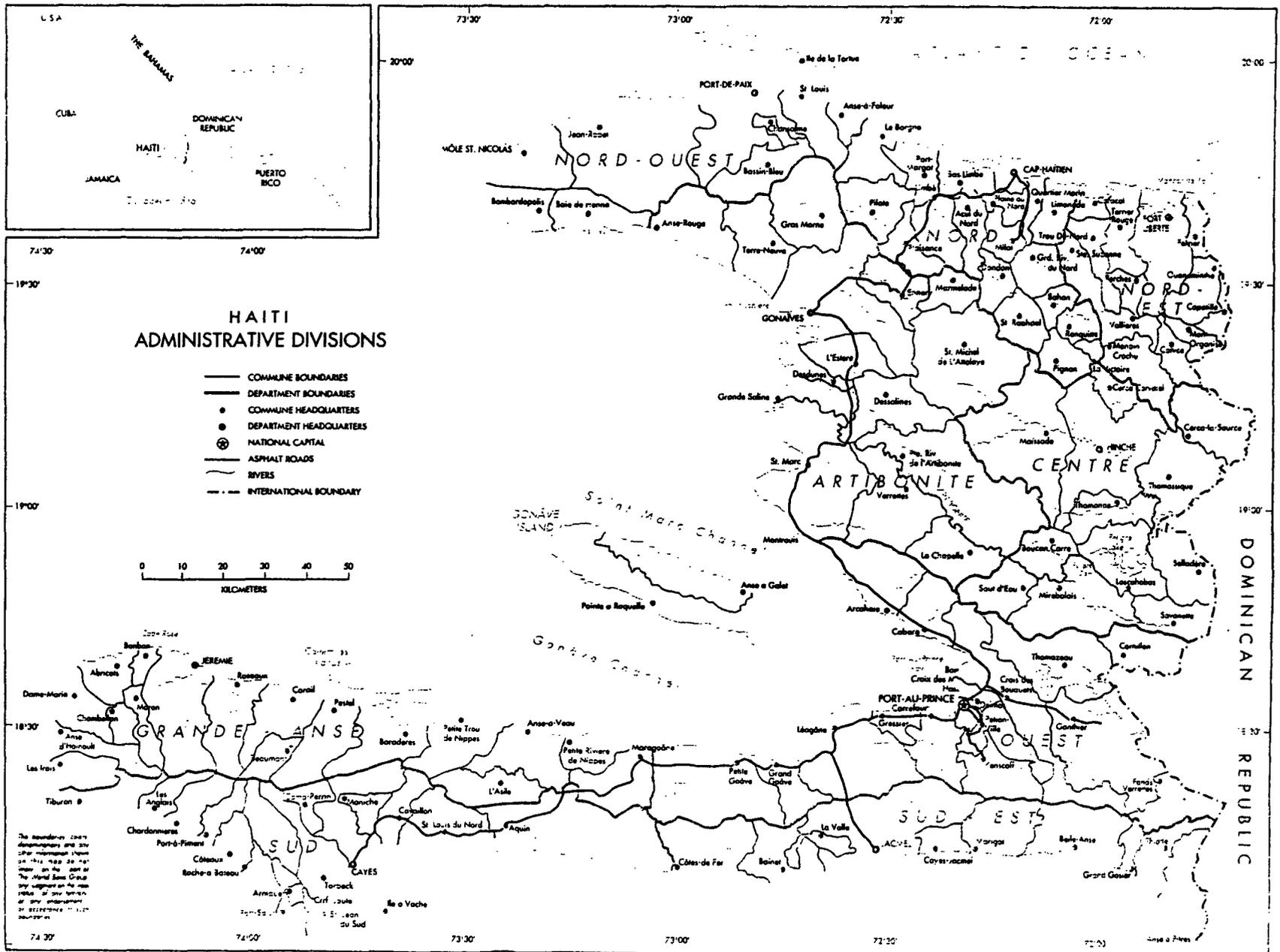
ESKE KOMINITE-A PATICIPE NAN CHWA PWOJE-A?

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| WI | NON |
| <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> |

SA -OU PENSE DE PROJE-A?

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| LI BON | LI MAUVE |
| <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> |





ANNEX 3
MAP OF HAITI

The boundaries shown on this map are those shown on the map of Haiti in the year 1970. The map is based on the map of Haiti in the year 1970. The map is based on the map of Haiti in the year 1970. The map is based on the map of Haiti in the year 1970.



ANNEX 4

BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY

BACKGROUND

1. The Issues Paper for the Haiti Poverty Assessment (November 1, 1995) notes that a rich tradition of NGO and community involvement in the delivery of basic services developed in Haiti over the years, in part due to the inability of a succession of governments to deliver such services effectively. It estimates that US\$100 million of ODA was channeled through NGOs during the 1992-1994 "De Facto" period, when most donors suspended aid to the Government of Haiti after the 1991 coup d'Etat.
2. Given this prominent role of NGOs—and of the for-profit private sector—in education, health, water and sanitation, an NGO Sector Study (NSS) was included as part of the Poverty Assessment, funded by the Dutch Trust Fund. The NSS is a two-phased study, designed to provide 1) a profile of large, international and national NGOs through whom considerable funds have been channeled by the donor community for social services, relief and safety net activities, and 2) a survey of smaller Haitian NGOs and other local organizations operating at the community level (CBOs), which have served as the base for larger and intermediary NGO activities as well as for bottom-up activities exclusive of outside funding. Both profiles are to include information on a) location of activities; b) sectors of activity or expertise; c) goods and services actually delivered to identifiable beneficiaries; d) sources and levels of funding and procedures governing resource management; e) staff levels, skills and wages, and f) monitoring and evaluation practices. Taken together, these data are to provide the basis for an institutional capability assessment.
3. Initially, the study was thought to require the services of only one consultant, supported by Haitian trainers and interviewers for the second-phase survey. However, preparation of a GOH/IDA basic education project, as well as the needs of Health Project I (MSPP/IDA), for a similar study in the health and water and sanitation sectors broadened and deepened the requirements for data and institutional coverage, respectively. Thus, consultants were contracted so the Task Manager agreed to hire two local consultants to enrich the study in these two sectors. The original consultant, Dr. Morton, continued with agricultural and rural development NGOs, foundations and umbrella organizations, and linkages between large, medium and smaller organizations, as well as identifying and supervising the other consultants. terms of reference (TORs) for all consultants included emphasis on innovative examples that could be replicated, negative examples that should be avoided in future, and questions of NGO-government collaboration.

METHODOLOGY

Defining the Universe and Identifying Domains for Specific Study

4. *Phase 1.* The Study Coordinator, Dr. Morton, began work at HQ in February 1996, meeting with donors and NGO umbrella organizations to identify and then interview headquarters personnel of a group of large, international NGOs thought to represent a channel for flows of significant amount of ODA going to Haiti, as well as a considerable institutional and financial management resource. Some interviews were conducted in person in North America and in France, while others were done over the telephone, first testing and then finalizing the qualitative interview guide and project check sheet (see Annex 2). She traveled to Haiti in March, to interview local representatives and partners of these same large NGOs, as

well as other Haitian NGOs who had different partners and/or sources of funding. Once it was decided to add consultants to the team, they were identified in early April, and after receiving clearance, the health consultant immediately began work. The education consultants received clearance somewhat later, and only began work at the end of April.

5. Consultants were added throughout the summer to cover Women-Specific, Human Rights, and NRM/Environmental Protection NGOs, as it became clear that these poverty alleviation-related sectors or domains of NGO intervention warranted more in-depth study. As sectors and consultants were added to the study, attempts were made to ensure that, though qualitative, the results of this first study phase would be relatively representative geographically. Each consultant was asked to include organizations whose field interventions were located in areas of Haiti that had not been covered by other consultants and/or were particularly representative for the sector, usually three Departments each. In fact, it was only for natural resources management and environmental protection that the particular agro-ecological zone was particularly salient, but in the end, all Departments were covered at least once, including more remote areas in which sample NGOs had interventions. This was also done to enable subsequent analysis to compare large and intermediate NGO activities with CBO interventions (surveyed in Phase II), to be compared or associated by Department.

6. These additional consultants worked through August. For this first Haiti field phase, each consultant was to identify a set of large, influential NGOs with broad coverage, including umbrella organizations, and a set of smaller NGOs which had a good reputation, and met other criteria established by each of the consultants in terms of the sector in question. Each consultant was to follow the interview guide, which was made available in both English and French, and clearly identify the sets of impact criteria tailored to the sector in question. At the request of the local consultants, the Coordinator prepared a report format in French. This was discussed when team planning meetings were held, and the need for standardization of data, especially on financial management and on institutional capacity, was stressed/ Methods for probing where delicate or difficult questions were being posed were discussed among consultants, and later recruits were given the draft reports of earlier ones as examples for content and format. Although it had become clear by the time the last consultants began fieldwork in July that the interview guide was too comprehensive, requiring in some cases a three-hour interview, it was decided to continue to try to cover all the content areas, abridging where previous experience had demonstrated that respondents were unwilling or unable to answer in detail. The last consultants encountered difficulties of access for the largest NGOs, especially CARE, since earlier consultants for other sectors had already interviewed other members of the staff on other sectors.

General Characteristics of the Large, International and National NGO Sample

7. Interviews were held with key donor agencies represented in Haiti, especially the United Nations agencies. Others were not interviewed in the field as they had already been interviewed from the US, although each was solicited for lists of NGOs they supported (CIDA, EU, Canada, France,), and at least two organizations were included for each bilateral that responded. The resulting sample for the initial profile of large, international and national NGOs thus included 29 organizations in Haiti, with interviews at their Port-au-Prince headquarters, or with headquarters' representatives at other locations (see Annex 1). As required by the study design, all but three of the organizations selected for the initial profile were visited, including field visits (these three were subsequently interviewed by the health and human rights consultants, respectively). In addition, meetings and extended interviews were held with local representatives of international NGOs that had not been interviewed at the headquarters level in Europe or North America (MEDA) as well as with eight Haitian intermediate or umbrella NGOs, and one Haitian

NGO (UCOMECE) with no foreign affiliation, but with some European grant support. The Haitian NGOs were selected according to the criteria of volume of funds, coverage in geographic or beneficiary terms, and/or influence. Some had been recommended by knowledgeable people outside Haiti as being particularly good in terms of local level participation, focus or style of work (FIDES, FONDEV, FONADES) and/or by knowledgeable people in the NGO community in Haiti (GRAMIR, AOPS, GRET and March/CityMed).

8. This initial sample was not intended to be sectorally representative. Since it was decided that health, water and sanitation, and education should be treated in more depth by additional consultants, this sample included only two specifically health NGOs (AOPS and March/CityMed), as well as one that focuses on water and sanitation (GRET), a key education umbrella organization (FONHEP), and the Episcopal vocational training school in Cap Haitien. It includes all the key food relief NGOs except ACF (interviewed by another consultant), each of which has sectoral programs in addition to, or joined with, its food relief efforts. Some of these, and some other Haitian NGOs included work in credit (MEDA) and a number of those included are working in, or would like to begin programs for small enterprise, especially for women, that would include a credit component. As may be seen in Annex 1, the final number of large, international and national NGOs including "transitional" ones substantially increased by the time this first phase was completed for all sectors or domains, and thus become more representative than was at first anticipated.

The Community Based Organizations (CBO) Survey

9. As the first phase of field work and an internal Bank review of the Phase 1 report indicated, the universe of NGOs working at the base level was larger than had at first been anticipated—between 10,000 and 20,000 depending on which definitions and estimates were used. The idea of trying to make the Phase 2 CBO survey statistically representative seemed less unrealistic at this point than when the study was first designed. The decision was made to attempt to draw a stratified random sample of CBOs from various available lists provided by key donors and/or larger NGOs. However, initial attempts at doing this proved that there was not enough agreement on the size of the universe. Therefore, a somewhat different approach was taken.

10. There are 133 communes in Haiti. Although they are not standardized in terms of population since there has been no national population census since 1998, there was an attempt to make them relatively representative of population when they were defined after 1987. It was decided to randomly select the smaller administrative units (*sections communales*), and interview a set number of CBOs in each, the particular organizations selected depending on a set of pre-established criteria but being drawn from lists provided by local officials, and the NGOs included in the Phase 1 sample. In order to make the survey physically and financially feasible, the itinerary included locations that were contiguous wherever possible.

11. The questionnaires designed by the Study Coordinator and Messrs. Alistair Rodd and Franck Lanoix, with support from a number of the other study consultants, were purposely kept short, and the content was designed to complement key areas of inquiry included in the study design as whole, replicating key questions posed to the sampled NGOs. Mr. Lanoix identified a Haitian firm, ILSI, that would be able to provide programming and database preparation and analysis services once the questionnaires had been administered. Interviewers were selected from a group already used in the Livelihood Security Survey carried out by the University of Arizona in collaboration with ADRA, CARE and CRS, and their assistance was sought in testing and finalizing the questionnaires. Two separate questionnaires were finalized—one for the CBO and one for beneficiaries to be selected at random in the CBO's area of

intervention. Methodology was discussed and finalized after a pre-test in areas within and proximate to Port-au-Prince.

12. The pre-test indicated that it would be very hard to identify CBOs during the same visit at which three organizations were to be interviewed per section. Therefore, a survey coordinator was identified and hired who, together with Mr. Rodd, would travel as the “advance team” to the sample sections, meet with officials and NGO representatives, explain the survey, and identify organizations for subsequent interview by the survey teams. The Study Coordinator accompanied the survey team on its first visit to the North, and logistical and methodological issues were debated and resolved before the team continued. The itinerary was organized so that the Northern communes were visited first, followed by the Central Plateau, with a return to Port-au-Prince. The South was then visited, with a return to Port-au-Prince, where sample sections were covered, and three additional organizations added to compensate for three in the original sample that were inaccessible when attempts to reach them were made.

13. After each of the three survey phases was completed, synthesis meetings were held, and questionnaires turned over to Mr. Lanoix, who forwarded them for entry and processing by ILSI. This led to revisions being made in estimates of time required for data entry and analysis, since the deadline for final survey results had been set for end August 1996. The final phase was completed in end July, and synthesis meetings held with all survey team participants. Interviewers discussed their qualitative notes, which had been kept scrupulously throughout the field phase of the survey. Final questionnaires were forwarded to ILSI for entry and treatment using ACCESS software. Messrs. Rodd and Lanoix identified tables that could be drawn from the database according to the key questions included in the survey.

14. Mr. Rodd prepared an initial draft report while data were still being processed, and tables developed. This was reviewed by the Study Coordinator, and when tables drawn from the ACCESS database became available, somewhat behind schedule, he revised the report, including annexes with the tables drawn from the quantitative analysis of survey results, and a qualitative annex.

Sectoral Workshops and Synthesis Report Preparation

15. As the working papers were coming in draft, the Study Coordinator designed and carried out a series of four workshops to “give back” (*restituer*) the study results to those donors and NGOs that had participated in several of the sectoral and cross-sectoral phases of the study. This was a realization of an earlier agreement with HAVA and other study participants to make the study as truly participatory and useful to the NGO community in Haiti as possible. HAVA had also stressed that whenever possible, GOH officials should be included, especially for workshops and seminars. Each workshop was attended by approximately 20 participants—donor, NGO and GOH representatives. In most cases, the GOH was represented unofficially by a sectoral ministry technician. Workshop preparation and facilitation was provided by March/CityMed under a contract with CAPS. The initial workshop, which included more donors than the others, and which was started by Ms. Carolle Carr, the World Bank Resident Representative for Haiti, included a presentation of World Bank Group structure, functions and country approaches, including social sector investment projects being carried out in Haiti. This was followed by a presentation of the complete NGO Sector Study design and methodology, with key hypothesis concerning linkages among stakeholders, and the donor-intermediary-local NGO chain. Discussion was lively, and indicated that IDA/Bank and IMF programs and purposes were very poorly understood, even by other donors active in Haiti. Particular appreciation was expressed for the fact that the Bank, by organizing these workshops, was behaving in a transparent and participatory manner.

16. Subsequent workshops, chaired by the Study Coordinator but facilitated by study sectoral consultants, dealt respectively with conclusions and recommendations of the Health/Population and Potable Water working paper, the Education working paper, and the Women-Specific and Human Rights working paper. Unfortunately, despite the generosity of the Netherlands Trust Fund, funds were not available to hold workshops on the NRM/Protection working paper or the CBO survey, although it is hoped that further participatory dialogue will take place in Haiti after the Poverty Assessment is completed and disseminated. At each sectoral workshop, conclusions and recommendations were distributed in French and discussed in detail and revised concentually. Subsequently, each sectoral consultant revised her working paper, taking these revisions into account in the final version. Results of workshops in the form of revised working paper conclusions and recommendations as well as typed flip-charts from workshop discussions were provided to all participants in April, 1997.

17. This final synthesis report was prepared by the Study Coordinator and read in draft by most of the study consultants, the Bank Haiti Country Team, several key GOH officials and the HAVA Board President on behalf of the Haitian NGO Community, and Dr. Robert McGuire of the InterAmerican Foundation on behalf of the US NGO community working in Haiti. It was also provided in draft to a the GOH Commission on Poverty Alleviation and the members of the GOH/IDA Public Expenditure Review Team. It is to be presented as one of the working papers for the Haiti Consultative Group Meeting scheduled for April 1997, together with the Task Manager's Poverty.

Acknowledgments

18. The author wishes to thank all the participating NGOs, CBOs, donors and Haitian and US experts and consultants who contributed to the Haiti NGO Sector Study. Individual letter of thanks from the Bank's Haiti Resident Representative have already been sent to all 100 participating CBOs, but these thanks are reiterated here. Thanks are due, as well, to the CBO survey interviewers and drivers who worked hard, diligently and fast under often trying circumstances. Particular thanks are offered to HAVA for organizing initial meetings with key NGOs and for advice throughout the study field and restitution process, as well as to AOPS, ADRA, CARE, GRET, HHF and PADF for facilitating consultant field visits, and to March/CityMed for support for the workshops. Thanks are also offered to the Director General of FAES, and the President's Advisor on Economics and State Modernization, and the Prime Minister's Advisors on Public Sector Modernization, as well as to other GOH officials who provided advice and support during the study period. Thanks are also offered to the World Bank Resident Representative for Haiti. Notwithstanding, this report reflects the opinions of the author alone.



