

PD-ABC-443
70211

IDENTIFICATION DATA

A. Reporting A.I.D. Unit: : B. Was Evaluation Scheduled in Current FY : C. Evaluation Timing
 : Annual Evaluation Plan?
 Mission or AID/W Office USAID/HAITI : Yes Slipped Ad Hoc : Interim Final
 (ES# 521-88-03) : Evaluation Plan Submission Date: FY 88 Q 4 : Ex Post Other

D. Project(s) or Program(s) Evaluated

Project No. :	Project/Program Title	First PROAG (FY)	Most Recent PACD(Mo/Yr)	Planned LOP Cost (000)	Amount Obligated to Date (000)
521-0182/7	Factory Workers' Center (FWC)	85	7/88	767	767

ACTIONS

E. Action Decisions Approved by Mission or AID/W Office Director : Name of Officer Responsible for Action : Date Action to be Completed

On the basis of continued encouraging performance by this project, the Mission has decided to invest an additional \$150,000 to finance 11 months of project operation. However, in conformance with our policy to drastically reduce the number of projects in our portfolio - as reflected in our recent FY 89-90 Action Plan - project management responsibility was transferred to HAVA (521-0188/2), the local PVO umbrella agency.

APPROVALS

F. Date of Mission or AID/W Office Review of Evaluation: (Month) (Day) (Year)
 This report was not reviewed by the Mission

G. Approvals of Evaluation Summary and Action Decisions:

Name (Typed)	Project/Program Officer	Borrower/Grantee	Evaluation Officer	Mission Director
	Patrick McDuffie	Clothilde Manuel	Arthur Schoepfer	Gerald Zarr
Signature/Date	11/22/88	11/22/88	11/3/88	25 Nov 1988

H. EVALUATION ABSTRACT

The purpose of this project is to establish a Factory Workers' Center (FWC) in Port-au-Prince, to implement programs and activities focused on improving the socio-economic conditions of participating workers, by upgrading their skills and productivity, and promoting the process of self-determination. In so doing, the project intends to demonstrate to factory management that improvement in the socio-economic conditions of workers can contribute to increased factory productivity. This final evaluation serves as a relatively brief update of the more comprehensive mid-term evaluation conducted in August 1987. The scope of this report parallels that of the mid-term evaluation and, thus, covers all of the FWC program offerings. As before, project records were reviewed by the contractor, and discussions were held with FWC staff, beneficiaries, OEF, USAID and factory personnel, between May 28-30, 1988.

Evaluation Highlights:

- *. The evaluation concluded that the project met or exceeded all essential targets by delivering services to at least 335 intended beneficiaries in 11 factories through intensive training and deep involvement in project activities. It is estimated, however, that the project has touched about 7,000 people indirectly, in one way or another, through various links with direct beneficiaries (family or otherwise), and being exposed to the FWC newsletter.
- *. The project is also credited for developing and cultivating a cadre of working women who have actively engaged themselves in the process of social change, as part of Haiti's embryonic women's movement, to contribute to that country's slow and painful grope toward democratic practice and economic development. Manifestations of this engagement include volunteering to transmit information to other women - e.g., literacy and health education - despite the fact that the women's time is limited because of job and household commitments.
- *. The project has contributed much toward yielding a clearer socio-economic profile of poor urban inhabitants, by virtue of the special relationship developed between project researchers and beneficiaries who form part of that urban population being studied. They work together, with each side training and assisting the other in efforts to achieve a shared, more accurate understanding of research objectives. The research targets not only answer researchers' questions, but go beyond that by instructing researchers how to ask questions.
- *. Finally, this project in its modest and low-key fashion, directly addresses LAC Objective #2: Strengthening the Private Sector. While eschewing working directly with labor unions - in order not to arouse the suspicious nature of factory owners and managers - the project has demonstrated that where labor-management relations are "relatively" good, as at GTE, a core course of the type offered by FWC can promote among workers a higher sense of self-worth and confidence, manifested in improved supervisor - worker communication, greater care in production, a lowered rate of tardiness and absenteeism, and a higher level and quality of output.

I. EVALUATION COSTS

1. Evaluation Team

Name	Affiliation	Contract Number OR TDY Person Days	Contract Cost OR TDY Cost (U.S.\$)	Source of Funds
Simon M. Fass	University of Texas, Dallas	10	\$3,800	Project Funded

2. Mission/Office Professional Staff
Person-Days (Estimate) 9

3. Borrower/Grantee Professional
Staff Person-Days (Estimate) 37 person Days

A.I.D. EVALUATION SUMMARY -- PART II

J. SUMMARY OF EVALUATION FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Mission or Office	:	Date This Summary Prepared	:	Title and Date of Full Evaluation Report:
	:		:	Factory Workers' Center (FWC) Evaluation, July 7, 1988
PPS/EVAL	:	October 1988	:	

1. Findings (pp. 1-19)

(a) The evaluator was satisfied that FWC addressed most of the concerns expressed in the mid-term evaluation. With respect to the core course, staff did establish linkage between course subjects and worker income. For example, they show how taking charge in preventive practices yields improved health which, in turn, saves money and travel costs for curative services, while lowering the frequency of absences from work. One way this was demonstrated was in the context of developing a monthly household budget. By painstakingly showing participants how to calculate their monthly household revenues and expenditures, course leaders were thus able to show that inordinate shares of income are spent on medicines and therefore convince participants of the importance of preventive health practices. The same process is carried through in discussions about the potential savings to be derived if workers were to adjust food expenditures in response to seasonal price variations, and in pooling resources in obtaining potable water. The evaluator is also pleased about progress made in documenting the FWC training experience, which has been done in a comprehensive way, by integrating into a single document a vast amount of material gleaned from worker evaluations of each course, staff evaluations, workers' knowledge acquisition, pre- and post- course attitudinal surveys, daily journals prepared by monitors after every session, and anecdotes reported by staff and workers.

(b) With respect to the health program, changes in the course since last year include the addition of several new sessions. Drawing on material from the core courses, there is now an expanded focus placed on the importance of women taking charge for their own health, as was seen in the previous paragraph. Another addition consists of discussing the whole human body, instead of just the reproductive systems. Staff have also incorporated the subject of traditional belief systems and practices, especially with reference to the efficiency of family planning methods and abortions, and the effects of remedies. In line with the mid-term evaluation recommendations, the course now includes comprehensive treatment of AIDS, and has identified worker priority health concerns and is developing a mini-course unit around those concerns.

(c) The literacy course remains a very popular course offering. Workers interviewed pointed out that the knowledge of reading, writing and counting helped them become less dependent on others having these skills, and thereby permit them to take greater charge over their lives. Less encouraging, however, has been the continued unwillingness of

SUMMARY (Continued)

factory management to pay for training of their workers. Some, like Apparel S.A., seem very serious in having training provided to all their workers. But the prospect of sustaining an important share of the costs remains anathema. Finally, there has not been considerable progress achieved in the vocational training program since the mid-term evaluation, primarily because FWC was not able to find and hire qualified course leaders.

2. Recommendations (pp. 30-31)

(a) Extend project for an additional 12 to 18 months to sustain project implementation momentum in refining and expanding ongoing programs, and consolidating progress toward greater levels of program cost-effectiveness.

(b) While the initial low profile was strategically correct, and instrumental in allowing FWC to establish itself on the scene without significant hindrance from the conservative factory management sector, the Center now needs to develop a more visible presence in order to attract substantive donor support. One way to support this objective is to promote itself as a quality research institution by producing and marketing socio-economic studies containing trustworthy information on working poor urban household income and expenditures, and housing. Another way to achieve a higher profile would be to play a leading role as a partner in the women's movement in Haiti, by organizing a two to three-day symposium on the situation of working women, by the end of 1988, to bring together in one place all those concerned, including past and present FWC participants. This effort would require major costs and USAID should be prepared to support it to the maximum extent possible.

K. ATTACHMENTS

1. Evaluation Report
2. Evaluation Scope of Work

L. COMMENTS BY MISSION, AID/W OFFICE AND BORROWER/GRANTEE ON FULL REPORT

SCOPE OF WORK

The purpose of this contract is to produce a written assessment on the extent to which FWC has met the goal and objectives set forth in the Cooperative Agreement between the Grantee, OEF International, & USAID. This Cooperative Agreement is ending on July 31st. 1988.

This assessment is mainly to be carried out primarily through the updating of the thorough and comprehensive mid-term evaluation of the project which was concluded in June of 1987. This final evaluation should additionally discuss the lessons learned and how this project fits in the Mission Sectoral and Program's goal.

Aside from a descriptive overview of the programs' achievements, the consultant will make an analytical assessment of project's accomplishments, in light of the conclusions and recommendations of the mid-term evaluation report. New recommendations will be made for the future evolution of the Center as a local Non Governmental Organization (NGO).

Main issues to be looked at are:

- the orientation and the content of the different training programs being implemented and their appropriateness to the target population needs;
- direct and indirect beneficiaries
- the training materials and modules newly developed and or revised;
- the meaning of new interventions such as the one in - the housing area, for the Center;
- the integration and participation of women workers into the Center's;
- the accomplishments in terms of research and evaluation
- the human resources allocation and staffing
- the general management (administrative, and financial) of the project;
- the efforts towards institutionalization;
- the efforts in the fund raising area;

METHODOLOGY

The consultant will work with the assistance of the Research Coordinator. She/He will also hold individual and group meetings with all staff members, Project's Director, a sample of project participants, newly elected board members, funding members, AID's persons, etc.

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If judged necessary, she/he will follow the methodological guides set for the mid-term evaluation of the project for the selection of samples of direct and indirect project beneficiaries to be included in the evaluation.

FWC's Research Coordinator will provide the consultant with a complete list of all documentation produced by the project and available for the purpose of the evaluation. She will assist the consultant in the selection of the sample of documents she will have to consult. All documentation pertinent to the very nature of the evaluation, such as: the project proposal; the Cooperative Agreement; the mid-term evaluation report; the project and OEF staff reactions to the mid-term evaluation report, as well as AID's ones, etc..

SCHEDULE OF ACTIVITIES

The consultancy will extend over a 10 working day period that will be allotted the following way:

- 3 days for the review of all pertinent documentation and for telephone conversations with OEF/ Washington people.
- 3 days for meetings with local staff; board members; program beneficiaries; AID's Project Manager and Officer, etc..
- 3 days for the preparation of the preliminary version of the report
- 1 day for review of all parties concerned feedback from the preliminary version of the report.
- 1 day for the finalization of the report.

REPORTING

A preliminary version of the evaluation report will be developed in english and is to be submitted in typed form to OEF/Washington, FWC/Haiti and USAID/ Haiti. Following comments regarding errors and omissions by all three parties, a final report will be presented to the above cited parties.

QUALIFICATIONS

The consultant will preferably be a specialist in urban development with good expertise in training and educational programs. She/he will also be required previous experience in project evaluation. She/he must be fluent in english and french and be able to at least understand haïtian creole. The consultant will be paid on daily basis. The daily rate to be paid will depend upon her/his salary history.

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EVALUATION FINALE "FACTORY WORKERS CENTER"

CALENDRIER DE TRAVAIL AVEC SIMON FASS

Vendredi 27 mai 1988:

4.30 - 6.00 P.M. Rencontre du staff avec Simon Fass

Samedi 28 mai 1988:

8.00 - 9.30 A.M. Rencontre avec Marie Pierre-Louis et Pat Mc Duffie de l'USAID

9.30 - 11.30 A.M. Section de Formation (Carole Roy, Coordonnatrice; Gladys Casimir, Françoise Cyrille, Monitrices; Marie-Leslie Auguste, Santé)

11.30 - 12.15 Rencontre avec quelques participantes aux programmes du CPFO

12.15 - 1.00 P.M. Lunch

1.00 - 2.00 P.M. Rencontre avec Odile Reiher et Marie-Laide Lormestoir (Consultantes pour le Programme de Vendeuses de Nourriture de Rue)

2.00 - 4.00 P.M. Réunion avec le staff du CPFO

4.00 - 6.00 P.M. Réunion avec Clotilde et Djénane

Dimanche 29 mai 1988

10.00 - 12.00 Section de Recherches - Réunion avec Myriam

12.00 - 1.00 P.M. Réunion avec Clotilde

Lundi 30 mai 1988

8.00 - 9.00 A.M

Rencontre avec Chantal H. Ewald, membre
du Conseil d'Administration du CPFO

9.30 -10.30

Rencontre avec José-Marie Duvivier de la
GTE, membre....

11.00-12.00

Rencontre avec Charles Clermont de la
BCI, membre

12.30 - 3.00 P.M

Lunch meeting

Factory Workers' Center (FWC) Project

Mid-Point Evaluation Update
(End of Project Evaluation)

Submitted to:

OEF International Inc.
1815 H Street, N.W., 11th Floor
Washington, DC 20006

by

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School of Social Sciences
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July 7, 1988

C O N T E N T S

	<u>Page</u>
Introduction	
I. Construction of an FWC Facility	1
II. FWC Programs	2
a. Core Course	2
b. Micro-Enterprise	4
c. Housing	5
d. Health	6
e. Literacy	8
f. Vocational Training	9
g. Training Materials	11
III. Participation	12
IV. Research and Evaluation	17
V. Implementation Plan	20
VI. Project Staffing	20
VII. Advisory Committee	20
VIII. Institutionalization	21
IX. General Project Management	23
X. Summary and Conclusions	25
XI. Recommendations	30
Annexes	
1. List of Individuals Interviewed	
2. Evaluation Scope of Work	

INTRODUCTION

As set forward in Cooperative Agreement No. 521-0182-A-00-5038-00 (Non-Governmental Support III, Input No. 7) between USAID and OEF International Inc., the purpose of the project is to establish a Factory Workers' Center (FWC) in Port-au-Prince, Haiti, that would undertake programs and activities focused on improving the socioeconomic circumstances of participating workers through upgrading of their skills and their productivity as workers, and through promotion of a process of self-determination. By these means the project also aims at demonstrating to participating factories that improvements in the socioeconomic circumstances of workers can contribute to increased factory productivity.

The Cooperative Agreement became effective on August 2, 1985, and is scheduled for completion by July 31, 1988. On August 5, 1987, I submitted a report containing the formative, mid-point evaluation of the FWC project called for on page 7, Attachment II, of the Agreement. The same attachment also calls for a final evaluation of the project. Because the mid-point evaluation was extensive, because OEF and USAID insisted that I follow it up with this present report, because the time available for a field visit and report preparation was severely constrained, and because as a matter of policy I do not do "final" evaluations, OEF, USAID and I agreed to make this report a relatively brief update of the mid-point evaluation. As a consequence of it being prepared towards the end of the project, the report would, in the eyes of OEF and USAID, also constitute the final evaluation required by the Cooperative Agreement.

Organization of the report parallels the organization of the mid-point evaluation. As before, I reviewed available project documentation, and conversed with FWC staff, beneficiaries, and OEF, USAID, and factory personnel. These reviews and conversations were as extensive as the brief period of time available for them, May 28-30, 1988, would permit. In general, I have focussed on the degree to which the project responded to the issues raised and recommendations made at mid-point, working my way toward an overall summary and conclusions at the end, followed by some suggestions on next steps and a request that USAID find the resources necessary to extend its support of the undertaking.

I. CONSTRUCTION OF AN FWC FACILITY

Accepting the principal recommendations I made on this subject at mid-point, the project has abandoned the idea of building its own facility in the short- or medium-term. Discussions with other NGOs about the possibility of developing a

shared facility, a second mid-point recommendation, has not brought forth a show of interest from those organizations. So the idea is dormant for the time being.

II. FWC PROGRAMS

In my introductory remarks to part II of the mid-point evaluation I reported that the evolutionary and interactive process of dialogue with workers, leading to identification and prioritization of different kinds of training programs, was underway and well in hand (page 4, third paragraph). Notwithstanding internal difficulties, such as the unanticipated departure of the health program coordinator, and continued external instability caused by political events and unpredictable factory employment and overtime practices, the process continued its steady course while at the same time responding to all the recommendations I put forward last year.

a. Core Course.

At mid-point the project had completed three Human Resources or Core courses with 60 registrants from three factories, and was in the process of providing another to 25 from a fourth factory (GTE). Since then, a fifth course covered 25 GTE workers, and a sixth covered 20 from the same firm. A seventh offering to 13 workers from Reliable Manufacturing, Control S.A., and Howtex was discontinued after four sessions because of factory overtime demands. Eleven of the workers were nevertheless integrated into an eighth course offered to 14 workers from COUSA. Therefore, by project's end and including a ninth offering scheduled to begin in July, the core course will have covered 175 workers in 9 factories.

Along the way, beyond continuing the process of learning from the experience of every session and making necessary adjustments, staff responded to all the issues raised during the mid-point evaluation. With respect to my first recommendation, that the course highlight the relationship between core course subjects and worker income, staff have incorporated the relationship into all sessions. For example, they show how taking charge in preventative practices yields improved health which in turn saves money and travel costs for curative services while it lowers the frequency of absences from work.

Another, very interesting example occurs in a new series of sessions that address monthly household revenues and expenditures. In these sessions staff first ask workers to prepare their monthly budgets, which most workers cannot do on a first try. Staff then collaborate with workers to

revise the initial account, and run through it line by line (two or three times if necessary) to derive precise figures. Upon completion, staff address budgetary problems that arise from the analysis, and highlight potential solutions. Thus, when confronted with the harsh reality that extraordinary shares of income are spent on medicines every month, the importance of preventive health practices acquires tangible and measurable meaning for the workers. Effects are similar in discussions about the potential savings to be derived by workers if they were to adjust their expenditures for food items in response to seasonal price variations, if they were to collaborate in obtaining drinking water, and so on.

Staff originally introduced this theme into the course for the limited purpose of correcting certain deficiencies in the data collected during the 1986 socioeconomic survey. But they discovered that it was impossible to obtain valid income and expenditure data without first training respondents in how to think about and calculate answers. The 3-day process of training struck a very responsive chord among workers, and thus what began as a search for information eventually became an integral and popular course component that very concretely addressed the issue of worker income.

The second recommendation was that staff assess the possibility of eliminating the self-standing core course, replacing it with a core introduction to all other courses. The project has elected to retain the course as an independent offering, but has systematized the process by making it compulsory for all beneficiaries. It has also integrated a two-week introduction of key segments of the core into all other courses. To the extent that the project has by these means laid out a clear relationship and schedule between the core and other subjects, the "system" in place seems quite good - a definite improvement over the somewhat disorganized approach of last year.

The third recommendation, hotly debated at the time and a point of considerable disagreement between staff and myself, suggested that workers be encouraged to organize a core course for staff. As then, staff still believe that the project requires better integration of workers into ongoing activities before initiating such an exercise. Given marked progress in worker participation in the project, discussed below in Section III, I do not sense that a failure to implement the recommendation has had untoward consequences. Indeed, I think that my suggestion was, if not completely unwarranted, then at least premature. In any event, staff recognized the importance of engaging explicit means of bringing themselves and workers closer together, and found

other, more low-keyed methods of doing so that were integrated into ongoing activities.

The last recommendation was that staff initiate an ongoing process of documenting experiences, lessons learned, and impacts of the core course. This has been done in a very comprehensive and systematic way, integrating into a single draft document (for the first four courses thus far) a vast amount of material gleaned from worker evaluations of each course, staff evaluations of workers' knowledge acquisition, pre- and post-course attitudinal surveys, daily journals prepared by monitors after every session, and other, less formal information like anecdotes reported by staff and workers. A final document covering all the courses is scheduled for completion in July.

All in all, though there is still scope for further improvement and refinement, three years of experimentation with the Core course has yielded a viable and useful training product suitable for widespread dissemination to what I believe would be a very interested audience of women, and a lot of men as well.

b. Micro-Enterprise

The micro-enterprise course, in progress with 18 workers during the mid-point evaluation, was completed as scheduled. Along the way staff made every effort to respond to the issues I raised and recommendations I put forward in the evaluation.

One recommendation was to recruit women already engaged in business as training consultants. Staff efforts in this regard, particularly an attempt to find such consultants through the good offices of a MEDA business credit program, bore no result. Clients of the program were reticent about sharing their private business affairs and acumen with others. As a way around this difficulty, workers with prior or with sideline businesses were added to the course as participants. Indeed, to the extent that this approach fully complements the "working together" component of the project's philosophy, it is superior to my earlier recommendation. In any event, the change allowed practical experience to find a place in the course.

A second recommendation was that staff intensify efforts to dispel the notion shared by many participants that course completion would facilitate access to external credit. As the course proceeded, staff further emphasized its role as a means through which workers with business ideas in mind could develop a better grasp of the challenges involved and thereafter decide if they had the capacity to pursue their

projects. Also, and this is a response to a third recommendation, staff incorporated modules concerning the organization and management of group savings schemes or "soldes." In this way the course presented the possibility of yielding tangible result (i.e., participation in a credit scheme) even if workers concluded that their original business ideas were not viable. Together with individuals who participated in a core course offering touching upon soldes, some of the workers have collaborated in the formation of three active credit groups that presently contain 24 women, and that staff support by keeping their books and accounts.

The last recommendation was that the project carefully assess the course before proceeding further. In the event, staff have prepared a careful evaluation of the strengths, weaknesses and implementation characteristics of the course, but did not introduce new offerings. Current thinking is that any future endeavor would emphasize the soldes more than the general topic of micro-enterprise, and that implementation of further courses would depend on the project's securing additional training funds for this purpose. If and when such funds become available for new offerings, progress to date suggests that the reservations I had about the course last year would no longer apply.

c. Housing

Although interest in undertaking some tangible action with respect to housing remains high, especially among workers, staff have abandoned the idea of pursuing this interest over the near term. Consistent with the mid-point evaluation's recommendation for this component, activities have restricted themselves to preparation of a draft working paper on the subject based on the 1986 worker survey, and to implementation this year of a \$4,500 housing research project on behalf of RHUDO (Jamaica), channelled through The Urban Institute.

With respect to the RHUDO work, note should be taken of the very important role played by workers in the process. Once informed of the scope and purposes of the work, some 20 workers actively volunteered not only to complete the questionnaire, but also, and more importantly, to assist staff in making crucial contacts with another 80 respondents scattered throughout the city. The making of personal contacts was essential to obtaining willing respondent cooperation and valid responses to questions. I'll say more about this later on.

As for the future, staff intend to collaborate with workers in group discussions leading towards a definition of what

the housing component should be. By virtue of not having experience of living in the same conditions as workers, staff do not have clear ideas on what kinds of actions might make a useful difference to the workers. Conversely, by not having the experience of working with public and private organizations active in the urban land and housing market, workers do not have clear senses of what is possible and practical. Staff-worker collaboration on the matter, with each side contributing their respective expertise, has a good likelihood of eventually yielding some novel and creative approaches to improving the characteristics of housing.

d. Health

Extending beyond the 66 workers from two factories that had completed or were in the process of completing three health courses at mid-point, the health program has since initiated four additional offerings. The first of these, with 23 workers from Athletic Equipment, had to be cancelled in April 1987 because of a sudden leave of absence of the staff member responsible for the health education program. The next, containing 16 workers from Control S.A., suffered a similar fate in October. However, with the arrival of a part-time consultant to take over the program in February 1988, the course was reconstituted with 11 Control S.A. workers. This was followed in March with a new course for 16 workers at Reliable Manufacturing, Howtex, GTE and Accusonic, and another in May for 22 in VANCO and Chancerelles. Current planning calls for one more offering in July to 20 workers from Chancerelles. Therefore, ignoring the ill-fated Athletic Equipment course, at project's end the health education component will have covered 135 workers in 9 factories. This excludes another 20 from Chancerelles and VANCO who are pursuing a more specialized course in pre-natal and post-partum care. Their inclusion would raise the total to 155 health program participants.

Changes in the course since last year include the addition of several new sessions. Drawing in material from the core courses, there is now an expanded focus on the importance to women of taking charge of their own health. Another addition is discussion of the whole of the human body, not just reproductive systems. And staff have also incorporated the subject of traditional belief systems and practices -- especially with reference to the efficiency of family planning methods and abortions, the effects of remedies, etc. In line with the first of six recommendations of the mid-point evaluation, the course now contains a comprehensive treatment of AIDS disease.

As regards the second recommendation, to conduct a consumer demand survey in order to identify priority health topics as perceived by workers, a small study by staff yielded a short list that, in order of priority, contained: hyperacidity, nutrition, family planning, uterine cancer, and venereal diseases (including AIDS). A session dealing with the first topic, the only one not already available for the course, is presently under development.

The third recommendation, flowing from expressed worker concerns, suggested that the project intensify its research efforts on the subject of industrial health in order to incorporate new sections into the health program. Including assistance from GTE, staff undertook the task and are in the process of developing course materials. They should be done in time for inclusion in the course within a few months.

As part of this effort, the project recruited a consultant to prepare a preliminary report on the subject. Staff are now adapting it for the purposes of securing research funding. An \$8,900 proposal has been submitted to Terra Nova, and another is being prepared for OXFAM. At this juncture it may be useful to note that the project has developed three other health-related research proposals that if funded may eventually provide information upon which to expand or otherwise modify the content of the health education program. One, to some extent pertinent to occupational health as well, is a \$70,000 proposal to the Rockefeller Foundation for a study of fertility among factory workers. The others, both destined for the Child Health Institute and each for \$8,000, are for a study of breast feeding and a study of child mortality.

With respect to the fourth recommendation, that the FWC request PROFAMIL (i.e., International Planned Parenthood) to shift an amount of \$10,000 earmarked to the project for family planning services towards health education, staff could not convince PROFAMIL to change its policy. The funds remain reserved for the FWC nevertheless, as part of a \$43,000 proposal submitted to PROFAMIL (accompanied by parallel proposals to CIDA, Prospect Hill, Bread for the World, and Enterprise Program) for funding of a health and family planning clinic.

The fifth recommendation, a response to what I saw at mid-point as an unorganized manner of scheduling over time, suggested that the project develop a strategy and timetable for different types of courses in the health program. This was done by staff and workers working together, even though the timetable has been subject to constant revision as a consequence of unforeseen events such as the departure of

the program coordinator, overtime requirements, urban turmoil, and so on.

As for other courses, the last recommendation was that staff fully document the health program in order to support funding proposals. This has also been done, and the draft materials are being used to effect within the various submissions noted above.

Although requiring constant additions, deletions, and other adjustments for its intended audience, the health education program was from the outset a viable and successful project component. Over the years it has simply become more refined and effective. As for the core course, it too has achieved the kind of sophistication, in terms of adaptation to the milieu, to justify diffusion to wider audiences.

e. Literacy

At mid-point the only activity in progress was the winding down of a basic literacy course that had started with 18 trainees from Athletic Equipment. My expectation then was that 10 of the 18 would at least achieve passable literacy by the end of the course. In the event, 8 managed to do so. The rate of effectiveness, with 44 percent of the original cohort achieving tangible skill, was nevertheless quite good -- especially given the pilot nature of the undertaking.

A post-literacy course being planned was eventually implemented with 13 registrants from GTE, Automatic Accusonic, Quality Products, and an FWC employee. In this instance there was only one dropout. Of the remaining 12, 10 made satisfactory progress while two were found to require return to a basic literacy course. Although comparing effectiveness of the basic and post-literacy courses is a bit of an "apples and oranges" exercise, with dropout rates in the former usually higher than in the latter, a 77 percent satisfactory completion rate is nevertheless very good.

Of greater interest than the rate has been the increase in expressed interest of workers in literacy training. In conversations with some of them I learned of new benefits to be gleaned from acquisition of the skill. Several mentioned its importance in helping to work out the earlier-mentioned household income and expenditure accounts and budgets. Another noted how it could facilitate the opening of a bank account and how it allowed a worker to keep such accounts private by obviating the need (and the need to pay) for an intermediary to do the reading and counting on her behalf. How important such reasons might be in general is difficult to say, but there is a demand for literacy -- so much so

that the FWC has felt compelled by worker requests to initiate an unplanned third course for 25 participants in June. What is particularly nice about this latest wrinkle, beyond the obvious matter of a shift in project guidance from staff to workers, is the sense I get from the workers I met that knowledge of reading, writing and counting can help them become less dependent on others having these skills, and thereby permit them to take greater charge of certain matters of importance in their lives where literacy makes a difference.

These and other issues associated with the literacy course have been and continue to be adequately documented in evaluative reports. And this information coupled with other necessary materials is being used for preparation of documentation to support funding proposals. These proposals include a \$20,000 request to Citibank (which has already provided \$2,000), and others in progress to OXFAM, the Netherlands Consulate, and CEBEMO.

Less encouraging has been the response of factories to the idea of paying for training of their workers. Some, like Apparel S.A., seem very serious in having training provided to all their workers. But the prospect of sustaining an important share of the cost remains anathema. For the foreseeable future, further efforts at literacy will depend upon the availability of non-factory financial support.

In general, however, this FWC program component has proceeded well. Among other things, it has created a cadre of 8 or 9 workers who achieved high proficiency and who might eventually serve as literacy trainers for other workers should resources permit organization of additional courses. Some of these workers have already expressed this willingness to volunteer for the task.

f. Vocational Training

At mid-point the project had undertaken little activity with respect to vocational training, and has not made much in the way of concrete progress since then. Responding to the first of five recommendations I suggested last year, staff did seek to identify priority skills perceived by workers. Although traditional pursuits such as embroidery and dressmaking remained at the forefront of worker interest, there was also a very positive response to the idea of training in first aid techniques. On that basis, and following through on the second recommendation I made, staff searched about for local expertise to organize a training course on the subject. Unfortunately, they could not secure an individual with the requisite skills. Staff are nevertheless in the process of putting together a course on

first aid, in the hope that resources become available to implement it.

As for other skills for which workers express high interest, staff have thus far discussed in very general terms the possibility of organizing equipment and facilities within which, if they have a mind to, the workers could organize their own training programs -- using those with particular skills to train others without them. This seems a reasonable way to proceed, but actual implementation appears a long way off.

Because vocational training of the types generally conceived of (implicitly) in the Cooperative Agreement have not been put in place, the remaining three recommendations I made could not be pursued. This lack of progress seems of little consequence -- in part because vocational training has had relatively low priority since mid-point, and in part because the project is on the verge of initiating two new activities that do not fall within the usual definition of occupational training but which can be viewed as such for present purposes.

The first activity, building upon a preliminary six-month research and planning phase supported with a \$14,000 grant from the Canadian Embassy, envisages organization of a training program for food vendors operating in the industrial area. The program, to be supported with an additional infusion of \$26,000 from the Canadians if they are satisfied with results of the preliminary work, including the results of a trial training program offered to 15 vendors, envisages incorporation of elements of the core course and the micro-enterprise course that have been offered to factory workers. However, to the extent that it will include (and emphasize) management and technical skills of direct pertinence to the food preparation and vending occupation (e.g., accounting, use of credit, cooperative credit and bulk purchasing schemes, nutrition, food preparation hygiene practices, etc.), the program will also constitute a vocational (re-)training program for the vendors.

The original impetus for working with the vendors, or what I deduced to be the prime impetus last year, was a desire by staff to find a means to lower the price of meals to factory workers. While this remains part of the agenda, staff now regard the vendors as direct beneficiaries to be treated in the same manner as factory workers. I believe that this revised conception, given the project's intent to help women regardless of what they might be doing to earn a living, is more appropriate than the original one. It also makes more

tangible and practical use of the materials and experiences developed during the micro-enterprise course.

The second activity, in my opinion a more interesting one for the long term, is training of factory workers to serve as voluntary or modestly remunerated animators (i.e., extension agents) in diffusing important and useful knowledge from the FWC to their various workplaces, neighborhoods, churches and other locations. With recent approval of a \$103,000 grant application to the Ford Foundation (and possible approval of parallel applications to CIDA and other agencies), and building upon all that has been learned about training and training materials in the project, a first iteration will instruct some 40 factory workers in diffusion of information about AIDS disease. This training of animators, which staff believe can be readily extended to include literacy and pre-natal/post-partum education if resources were available, has considerable potential not only for attacking widespread ignorance about AIDS in a significant kind of way, but also for rendering any project activity that can productively use voluntary extension workers more effective in general and more cost-effective in particular.

One does not usually think in terms of extension agents spreading knowledge in urban areas. Nor does one think of them as pursuing a concrete "vocation." But in the circumstances of the city, of the means available to finance diffusion, it is a very important occupation. How well the process might actually work with reliance on volunteers remains to be seen, but I believe that the project has stumbled upon something very important in terms of the potential for maximizing the impact of a great many things that have been learned up to now.

g. Training Materials

As at the time of the last evaluation, I have no extensive comments to make concerning this matter. The process of trial and error with new materials has continued without abatement, and with participant feedback to staff about the strengths and weaknesses of each item.

The "resource file" approach, as originally intended, has become refined and has permitted staff considerable scope for adjusting the content of the courses, especially the core and health courses, in response to differing priorities among different participant groups. I believe that the file has reached the level of quality and variety to permit the project to offer training services to a broad spectrum of the city's population who may have interests in one or more of the available subject matters. In much the same fashion

as the project organized such a service for Foster Parents Plan personnel in 1987, it can offer to organize competent and effective training not only for staff of other organizations, but also, and more pertinently, to the beneficiaries of those organizations -- using staff, animators, or a combination of both. The materials required for these purposes are now fully in hand.

III. PARTICIPATION

The Cooperative Agreement indicated that about 300 workers would participate in various FWC programs. By the end of the project the FWC will have exceeded that target.

With respect to formal training, the five main course components will have enrolled almost 420 registrants, as follows: Core or Human Resources Course, 175; Health Education, 155; Micro-Enterprise, 18; Literacy/Post Literacy, 56; and Vocational Training (food vendors), 15. Excluded from this accounting are 20 workers who received training to work with staff in testing and completing the housing questionnaire for the RHUDO study, and 40 who will begin training for roles as AIDS disease prevention animators in the very near future.

The 420-480 range contains substantial double-counting because many workers participated in more than one course. For courses completed to date or already underway, staff have compiled a list of about 280 unduplicated participant names, including the food vendors. Imminent core, health, and literacy offerings will add 70 enrollees, of which half will not have previously participated in a substantive project activity. The number of individual program participants by the end of July will therefore be 315.

Beyond the courses, many workers participated in the FWC's special events. Four major ones during the past year were an International Women's Day gathering, Labor (May) Day festivities, a symposium on the FWC newsletter, and a workshop on the future (of workers, of the FWC, of the country). About 160 workers participated in these events. Among them were some 20 who did not enroll in any of the courses but who accompanied enrollees to two or three of the events and who visit the FWC office regularly. So perhaps one could estimate relatively substantive participation as high as 335 individuals. But whether or not they are included, the point remains that the project exceeded its original target number of direct beneficiaries.

More salient than quantities, however, is the quality of worker participation in the FWC. At mid-point I was very much concerned that progress in moving towards a fully participatory process within the project was slower than necessary. My first

two recommendations at the time, that workers (rather than factory management) be allowed to invite new participants to FWC programs and that staff intensify their efforts of integrating workers more closely into the project through various means that they had already identified, stemmed from this concern. With the benefit of hindsight, it is apparent that my concern was premature. Worker participation in the project is moving along very well.

The matter of who does the inviting, for example, was disposed of by the workers without prompting. Once the FWC has a foothold in a factory, established by means of a "first" course, participants in that course unilaterally invite their friends and colleagues to join future editions of that course or other offerings. Thus the graduates of the first literacy course were instrumental in organizing a group of other workers to request the upcoming literacy course from the FWC. The same has occurred in health courses. Beyond courses, it was the workers rather than staff who initiated, organized and implemented Labor Day festivities, and the workers again who organized themselves to create the three soldes I mentioned earlier.

Indeed, substantive evidence that participatory processes have at last caught hold reside largely in the informal ways by which participants are using the FWC and its staff. For example, there is a group of 16 workers who wander in regularly to meet with monitors or other staff in order to practice and test their literacy skills. In recent months some 6 to 10 individuals who were laid off from work come by at the end of the day to meet other workers and find out about any job openings. These other workers include a "core" of 20 or so who, among other things: look for aspirins, condoms, paper, pencils; seek references to reliable doctors and clinics; ask advice on family matters like an ill child or divorce; or pose unlimited questions on health issues.

These and the 24 women in the three soldes are regular visitors. Also of interest are the irregular visits. Such visits, usually coinciding with some kind of notable event, have included: a group from a factory, where a worker had died after opening a can of varnish, wanting to know whether the fumes were the cause of death; a group from another factory, where soldiers attacked workers, wanting to simply inform staff and to talk about what happened; on the eve of the November election, a group of 20 from several factories seeking guidance from staff on who to vote for and (when such guidance was not forthcoming) a place to argue among themselves about the pros and cons of various candidates; several smaller or larger groups trying to find out why others had been fired from their jobs or why certain firms shut down; and 100 or so new faces every month coming by to find out about future course offerings. In effect, and as originally

intended, workers have staked a claim to the FWC. It is "theirs," as an information center and as a meeting place.

Part of this process, and helping it along, is the FWC newsletter. The first of three issues (numbers 4 and 5 were combined into a single document) had 500 copies distributed by 230 women who had participated in all the courses. The second did the same with 250 participants and 1,000 copies. The last, also with 1,000 copies, were given to 200 workers in small lots of 2 to 10 for distribution in their neighborhoods, churches, etc. Small surveys conducted by staff suggested that over 6,000 non-participants had read the newsletters within a week of their respective distributions, and that the two most interesting portions perceived by readers were the articles written by workers themselves, and topical articles on health matters. Of salience for present purposes is the willingness of participants to write articles for and distribute the paper, to serve informally on its editorial board, and coming up soon, to write editorials. This may be the only instance in Haiti where ordinary people, rather than the local or foreign elite, have a large and direct role in the publication of a newspaper.

Beyond the inherent worth of this progress in democratizing the project, and through the project contributing a little bit to the process for the country as a whole, there is also a dimension of participation in research activities that is worthy of note here. Specifically, the trust and mutual respect built up between staff and workers has yielded an active interest and willingness on the part of participants to assist the research effort even though workers realize that they usually cannot extract direct benefits from such action. According to staff, the willingness derives from several sources, including a belief that all FWC activities are of benefit in general to women such as themselves, a desire to in some way to show appreciation for or to recompense the project for training and other benefits received, and a desire to share with staff information about the circumstances of their lives. To some extent, staff and participants are "friends," and friends are supposed to help each other.

The help in question has taken several forms. One example is the willingness of workers to review what staff have written (e.g., research working papers) and to register their opinions on assumptions made and conclusions derived. Another example, brought about when workers found themselves unable to explain the kind of work they did in a way that staff could understand, is the unilateral action by several to sit staff down and then demonstrate to them (train staff in?) the exact processes involved. A third example, this one of mutual interest to staff and participants, as noted earlier, is the desire of workers to learn how to prepare their household income and expenditure budgets accurately. A last example is the willingness of some 20

of them to make the necessary neighborhood introductions that permitted timely completion of the RHUDO housing survey at a time when staff (and I) thought field interviews impossible because of the tense political situation. Respondent cooperation in that survey was very high, and all because of worker intervention on the project's behalf.

I have yet to come across an undertaking, in Haiti or elsewhere, where the "milieu" under research scrutiny has had the opportunity to participate as a research partner in design and execution, where it has shown an active interest in the process, and where it has been accorded the level of respect implicit in allowing it to comment on research assumptions and conclusions. Limited as the scope of the inquiries have been, the quality of that which has been forthcoming recently, by virtue of giving the objects of research a voice in the process is of high quality. In my opinion, necessarily biased by occupational enthusiasm for respectful social inquiry, the democratization of research, never even conceived of as an issue in the Cooperative Agreement, has been extraordinary.

In the foregoing variation on a theme about participation it should be evident that the role of workers in guiding the project has grown enormously since mid-point. Some time must yet pass before staff and workers become truly equal partners in decision-making about key issues, but the degree of progress to date is notable. It is also sufficient to allow staff to think about ways of formalizing accomplishments with respect to worker involvement in decisions. The majority of staff still believe that it would be premature to incorporate workers who have demonstrated their leadership capabilities into the FWC's Advisory Board. They sense the need for at least another year of effort before attempting such action. In the interim, however, some staff have suggested expansion of the project's executive committee to include workers in the making of decisions that fall within the purview of that committee and that could use worker inputs to beneficial effect; such as deciding on the type of health clinic to seek funding for and methods of organizing such a clinic to render maximum responsiveness to worker needs. Gradually, the range of issues in which workers might have an active role would be expanded, and their level of involvement in Advisory Board deliberations as members of the executive committee would grow in parallel. This seems a promising way to proceed.

In the matter of efforts to train workers to serve as monitors, progress has remained slow. But the FWC is on the verge of important action. Already noted is the Ford Foundation grant to train 40 as extension agents or animators with respect to AIDS disease prevention. Also in planning is a strategy to use other workers as assistants to the project's monitors during initial phases of the literacy and health courses, and in

specialized offerings such as pre-natal and post-partum care. Staff have determined that the level of worker preparedness to serve as monitors in the core course and in the more technical aspects of the health course is still inadequate. They nevertheless believe that they have discovered a workable system for shifting considerable shares of training responsibilities to workers.

Unlike the system envisaged in the Cooperative Agreement wherein there was a two-tiered structure with salaried professional staff at one level and salaried monitors at the next, the evolving system has three tiers -- the last one being voluntary worker/animators (or perhaps receiving small remunerations for part-time work) and operating under guidance of both professional staff and the monitors. To the extent that the workers prove willing to sustain their animation efforts for (little or) no remuneration, the implications for cost (low) and impact (large in terms of numbers) are such as to suggest a greater degree of cost-effectiveness than would be possible from adherence to the original plan. And it gives many more women the opportunity to get actively involved. In principle, the three-tiered system strikes me as an idea well worth pursuing further.

Turning to the matter of factory participation, the project accepted my mid-point recommendation that it refrain from trying to maximize the number of factories involved. As a consequence (and as expected when I made the recommendation), the project will have covered workers from 11 rather than the 15 factories indicated in the Cooperative Agreement. These are: Athletic Equipment; Automatic Accusonic; Bright Ideas; Chancerelles; Control S.A.; COUSA; GTE; Howtex; Quality Products; Reliable Manufacturing; and VANCO. (The FWC did not pursue my last recommendation, not particularly important in the greater scheme of things, to explore the possibility of joint activities with the Management Productivity Center.)

Although factory managers are less suspicious of the intentions of the project than in 1986, although they continue to be pleased with results in terms of improved work habits, attitudes and worker-supervisor relations on the factory floor (not to mention the FWC's unintentional role in squelching what they perceive as deliberate acts of spreading disinformation within their workforces), and although most would like more of their workers to participate in project programs, none seem willing to provide more than token contributions to sustain the project. They view it as a "public service," in much the same fashion as they might regard other agencies that provide training services to the general population.

While it might have made sense to anticipate support from the sector when one of the principal explicit objectives of the project was to improve the productivity of workers, and while the

project seems to have actually done so in a great many instances, such improvements would come about no less indirectly than what might have flowed from other training programs that the sector also does not support financially. Factories have no particular reason or incentive to fund the FWC -- especially factories that have long distances to travel before beginning to understand the meaning of corporate social responsibility.

This is just as well. Staff have gone to great pains to assure the inherent neutrality of the project with respect to political interests that see advantages to be gained from alliances with the FWC. Offers of funding from political parties and from specific local unions have been turned down, as have offers from foreign organizations with decided political or ideological leanings. Had it been forthcoming, substantial support from factories ran the risk of having the FWC perceived by workers and by the community-at-large as an agent of the industrial sector, rather than as an independent worker's center pursuing its own course. With such a perception, progress in participatory practice might have suffered, as might the more recent interest shown by various donor organizations to consider funding for the project. Lack of factory support may have been a blessing in disguise. In any event, the future of the project depends no more on the sector's willingness to pay than it did these past three years.

IV. RESEARCH AND EVALUATION

Although I would have preferred more progress by this stage, the research component of the project has become unstuck and is moving ahead under the competent technical guidance of a new research coordinator (who was working with the FWC as a part-time research consultant at mid-point).

With respect to the first of eight recommendations I offered on this component last year, having to do with termination of the baseline study, almost all the outstanding matters have been completed. Still to be done is the correction of income and expenditure data. Although staff tried to carry out the correction with administration of questionnaires to core course participants, the process proved onerous. Repeated attempts still yielded many errors, leading to the conclusion, noted earlier, that workers required intensive training in order to answer questions correctly, and that the questions needed to be revised with help of the workers in order to become sensible. Most of the work on training and revision has been completed, and staff plan to try again in the household budget sessions of the core course presently underway and in an upcoming one. They expect to obtain data from about 40 workers by the end of July.

The second recommendation was that the project give consideration to a second baseline study, perhaps restricted to the population of past and present participants. Staff discussed the idea, but decided to postpone such an undertaking, in part because of the political situation and in part because the above-noted experience of trying to get accurate answers on income and expenditures from participants suggested that it might be better to wait until time and money resources became available to do the job properly. By properly staff implied an undertaking in which some 250-300 participants would first receive intensive training in how to answer questions, and then be administered the questionnaire. This is an uncommon approach to survey work, but given the paucity of good information about the socioeconomic characteristics of the urban population and the difficulties encountered in the 1986 survey and in the income-expenditure exercises, it appears sound.

Implementing the third recommendation, essentially a series of actions designed to speed up the process of extracting and diffusing research findings through preparation of working papers, has yielded eight documents in various stages of development. Five of them have already been distributed in draft form to local experts and organizations interested in the various topics, including USAID, have been revised in the light of comments and suggestions received including comments from workers, and are presently in the hands of a consultant who is doing final editing work on them. The subjects covered are: A Profile of Factory Women; Fertility; Health and Nutrition; Education and Training; and Working Conditions. Another document, concerning Industrial Health, will be sent forward for editing in a near future. Upon completion of editing, the project plans to distribute 100 copies of each paper to interested organizations. Two other papers, one on housing and the other on income and expenditures, are in progress.

At mid-point I had hoped that the project would be further along in preparation and diffusion of papers than it is. What has slowed the process, according to the project director, was a desire to assure that the works be of very high quality before diffusion, both technically and editorially. It apparently took longer than expected for the papers to reach a satisfactory level of technical proficiency. Given the lack of appropriate technical skills among staff, as mentioned at mid-point, and thus the dependency on outside advice, my earlier hope may have been too optimistic. Still, this aspect of the component must be completed as soon as possible.

As regards my fourth recommendation, that the project market the raw (but corrected) data from the 1986 survey, little has been done. There have been two requests from researchers in Florida, however. My guess is that once the working papers obtain wide circulation, further requests may be forthcoming.

Recommendations five through eight focussed on the evaluation side of this component, making suggestions about shifts in staff responsibilities for supervising the evaluative process, about streamlining the number of documents being produced, about the method of conducting a survey of factory managers, and about procedures to be followed if the project were to attempt to assess its impact on job performance. Other than the last matter, which staff have decided not to pursue because of lack of requisite factory cooperation, all the other recommendations were or are in the process of being implemented. As a consequence, and as noted earlier, every type of course offering (and every major special event) has at its disposal some kind of evaluative document that is being used effectively as background material in support of funding proposals. Still in need of doing, but in process, is an evaluation of changes in worker attitudes relative to control groups that did not participate in project activities. This will be the only evaluative exercise that might be able to show in a rigorous or "scientific" manner whether the FWC had made any noticeable difference in certain aspects of the women's lives.

Beyond the limits of the research and evaluation work scheduled in the Cooperative Agreement, note ought to be taken of the expanding role of research work within the project. As part of the first phase of the Canada-sponsored food vendors study mentioned earlier, for example, the project is completing a socioeconomic and enterprise survey of the vendors. In collaboration with the Centro de Investigacion Para La Accion Femenina (CIPAF), based on Santo Domingo, it is about to prepare the Haitian side of a comparative study of working conditions in the industrial sector. Also noted earlier are the recent completion of a housing survey for The Urban Institute on behalf of RHUDO, and the several research proposals on child mortality, breast feeding, fertility, and industrial health. Submissions have been sent to or are in preparation for the ILO, OXFAM, and Bread for the World in regard to a study of the integration of workers into the trade union movement.

The research and evaluation component was not a central element of the project in the Cooperative Agreement. I nevertheless noted at mid-point that in the broader context of the country and city where so little was known about the circumstances of the milieu that donor organizations were trying to help, the component was very important. And as I mentioned earlier in Section III, the participatory nature of the effort has made of the FWC a unique kind of researching enterprise that, in my opinion, can do what no other organization is able to do at the present time. In that context, the manifest interest of the Canadians, CIPAF, and RHUDO to work with the FWC has an obvious cause. It is the only available vehicle through which to reach

the milieu in short order, and from which to extract useful understanding. This is a fine accomplishment.

V. IMPLEMENTATION PLAN

At mid-point the project did not have an up-to-date implementation plan. It then produced one for the period through July, 1988, and revised it periodically as the need arose (e.g., inclusion of the food vendors study).

VI. PROJECT STAFFING

See Section IX, below.

VII. ADVISORY COMMITTEE

The first meeting of the Advisory Committee took place while I was conducting the mid-point evaluation. Two others, scheduled for July and November 1987, were cancelled because of the political situation. The second meeting finally took place in March 1988, followed by the third in April.

At mid-point I recommended that all documentation produced for general diffusion be forwarded to Committee members for review and comment. The members received a synopsis of the mid-point evaluation and project activity reports. Staff plan to send syntheses of funding proposals to all members in a near future. Only a few of the members received copies of some draft working papers. This aspect of project performance is disappointing.

In retrospect, it is unfortunate that I did not make clear in the mid-point evaluation report my reasoning for this recommendation. The logic was straightforward. Sooner or later the FWC would establish itself as a free-standing non-governmental organization. Once established, the Advisory Committee would become its Board of Directors, and the Directors would necessarily take upon themselves full responsibility for FWC activities, including responsibility for the content of materials produced by staff. As such, it would be perfectly normal to think that prior to submission of funding proposals or to distribution of research reports, staff would seek the approval of the Board, or at least a Board officer. The purpose of my recommendation was to give staff and Committee members an opportunity to practice and to systematize the process, and through practice begin to operationalize the formal relationship that they would necessarily have to establish with each other at some future point. This failure is not serious, but it does

imply that the project should give the recommendation serious consideration in a very near future.

The other recommendation with respect to the Committee suggested that staff seek counsel from individual members on matters where the competence, interests, or connections of those members would prove particularly helpful. This has been done on an ongoing basis.

VIII. INSTITUTIONALIZATION

Mid-point progress with regard to institutionalization of the FWC as an independent non-governmental organization was not significant, either in terms of the processing of legal papers or in terms of obtaining other (i.e., non-USAID) sources of funding. I therefore recommended that the project immediately take all necessary legal steps to incorporate itself as an NGO, that it put highest priority on making contacts and developing materials for seeking additional resources and, related to this, that FWC and OEF staff develop a coordinated and concerted strategy for resources development in Haiti and in the United States.

On the first matter, staff prepared and submitted all necessary papers and received all but one essential response by September 1987. The exception was a response from the Ministry of Social Affairs, which did not answer until May 1988. While this lack of timely governmental response was a factor in delaying progress, a more salient one was the non-functioning status of the Commissariat du Plan, the agency charged with approving the establishment of NGOs. The FWC's legal counsel advised against moving ahead until Plan became operational once more. It did so in mid-May 1988, but at the same time the government began to revise its statutes concerning NGOs, with talk of shifting responsibility to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Until these uncertainties are resolved, the FWC may not be able to obtain approval of its request. But with all necessary documents in hand, the process will be able to regain momentum once the government clarifies the required procedures.

Regarding the development of materials and the making of contacts, and as implied in earlier mentions of various proposals, the FWC has made very great strides. At mid-point it had accumulated only \$28,000 in actual or promised support from PACT, Citibank, the Canadian Embassy, PROFAMIL, and the Hewlett Foundation. Since then FWC and OEF staff have made substantive contacts with over 20 organizations, as follows: Ford Foundation, CIDA, AIDSCOM, Prospect Hill, Bread for the World, Enterprise Program, Terra Nova, Oxfam, ILO, Rockefeller Foundation, COHAN, Pettus Grove Foundation, UNIFEM, Inter-American Foundation, Delta Research and Educational Foundation, CIPAF, RHUDO, Peace Corps, and Food for All.

Flowing out of these contacts, FWC and OEF staff prepared (or are in the process of preparing) 15 concrete proposals, including:

- \$40,000 to CIDA for the food vendors program;
- \$103,000 to the Ford Foundation for AIDS disease prevention;
- \$4,500 to The Urban Institute for a housing survey on behalf of RHUDO;
- \$2,000 (est.) to CIPAF for a comparative study of working conditions;
- \$43,000 to PROFAMIL for establishment of a health and family planning clinic;
- \$23,800 to CIDA for support of the FWC newsletter;
- \$8,900 to Terra Nova for a study of industrial health;
- \$60,000 to CIDA for support of a documentation center;
- \$43,000 to the ILO for a study of women and the trade union movement;
- \$70,000 to the Rockefeller Foundation for a fertility study;
- \$16,000 to the Child Health Institute for studies of breast feeding and child mortality;
- \$20,000 to Citibank for support of the literacy program;
- \$10,000 to Food for All for the food vendors program;
- \$5,000 (additional) to the Hewlett Foundation for health education; and
- an offer to train Peace Corps monitors in participatory education (for an unknown amount).

This effort at preparing proposals worth at least \$450,000, an amount which excludes several more at early stages of development destined for other organizations like Oxfam, has borne tangible fruit. Although the \$10,000 approved by Food for All was cancelled in 1987 because of the agency's concern about the political situation, and although the Peace Corps' commitment to have the FWC train its monitors became moot upon its departure from Haiti, the project has generated substantial support. Funds

received or committed since mid-point include: the \$103,000 Ford Foundation grant; \$14,000 from CIDA for the first phase of the food vendors program; \$4,500 from the Urban Institute/RHUDO; \$2,500 from Citibank as an initial allocation to the literacy program; \$5,000 in supplementary support for literacy from the Hewlett Foundation; and a small amount from CIPAF. Including the strong possibility of \$26,000 in CIDA follow-on funding for the vendors study, the project will have raised over \$155,000 in support since mid-point. This is a very gratifying outcome because, among other things (and albeit at a lower level of activity relative to the present), the FWC can sustain itself from now onwards without continued USAID support.

It has come about, now relating to the third recommendation, not only as a consequence of giving resources development highest priority, but also as the result of close and mutually-reinforcing collaboration between FWC and OEF staff in implementing a concerted strategy of action. Although some contacts were initiated and brought to fruition by the FWC alone, as in the cases of the CIDA, RHUDO and CIPAF undertakings, the others were totally the product of concerted and coordinated action. Similar joint efforts guide current proposal development with Prospect Hill, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Inter-American Foundation and other organizations. In sum, fund-raising the objective in the Cooperative Agreement have been exceeded by a substantial margin.

IX. GENERAL PROJECT MANAGEMENT

Day to day financial management, record keeping, and other administrative matters appeared sound at mid-point, an impression subsequently corroborated through an audit performed by USAID mission personnel in June 1987. There are no indications that FWC performance in this regard has changed.

Issues worthy of mention at the time were that long-term staff salary commitments appeared too high in relation to ill-defined budgetary resources, that no provisions had been made for rendering the project more cost-effective (e.g., by decreasing the ratio of higher-salaried staff to lower-paid monitors), and that organizational dynamics within the office left something to be desired in terms of efficient use of staff skills and interpersonal interactions. I recommended that FWC and OEF staff immediately determine the exact status of the budget's commitments and take appropriate action to assure sufficient funds for key project activities. I also suggested that project staff organize another "retreat" for themselves to thrash out organizational difficulties, to develop a shared understanding of their individual and collective responsibilities, and to develop a strategy of action to guide themselves in the future.

The project responded to these suggestions in short order. With respect to the budget, FWC and OEF staff collaborated on bringing it up to date, on adjusting lines in light of actual and planned expenditures, and on integrating such cost-saving measures as circumstances would allow; such as adopting a more strategic approach to use of short-term consultants and replacing the health program coordinator's full staff line with a half-time consultant without fringe benefits. Change in the ratio of regular professional staff to monitors, from 6:2 to 5.5:2, was not significant. However, as noted earlier, movement towards a three-tiered structure relying on use of voluntary (or modestly remunerated) animators should render the project much more cost effective. A test of this hypothesis will appear during implementation of the Ford Foundation grant.

The "retreat," lasting two days, occurred in October 1987. Its stated purposes included: assessment of accomplishments since the previous retreat of January 1987; definition of project objectives to be achieved by July 1989; evaluation and redefinition of the scopes of work of different project sections; assessment and revision of individual tasks in light of staff performances, qualifications, and project needs; establishment of an operational framework to maximize coordination between individuals; identification of methods to improve programs; development of a timetable for project components; and elaboration of a strategy for increasing the level of activities on behalf of workers. Somewhere in this process staff had to decide whether they were OEF employees or the founding members of an independent organization. Deciding upon the second, the project director indicated that they came to an understanding that the future depended in large measure on their dedication to the creation of a new entity, and on the sacrifices they were willing to make on its behalf. Thus, there would be no more scope for complaints about salaries or about working overtime or on holidays and weekends without supplemental pay. There would also be more mutual respect. Criticism would be seen as positive by everyone. Individuals would recognize each other's limits and not seek to overburden them with demands (e.g., everyone types, not just the secretary). Particular strengths and talents of individuals in matters of importance would be used for such tasks no matter what their regular assignments (e.g., computer use, report writing, public relations, fund raising, etc.). Staff were a "team," and the objective of the team was to do whatever was required to assure the long-term survival of the FWC.

The difference in atmosphere in the office between mid-point and now is tremendous, or so it appears to me. The place still leaves an impression of chaos, but in this instance it is a productive chaos born of staff trying to do more than what to other eyes might seem reasonable given the number of people available and the number of hours available in a day. The project's accomplishments to date, carried out under very

difficult circumstances, serve as something of a monument to what a group of talented and dedicated people can do on behalf of Haiti. OEF and the FWC have done exceptionally well. Would that even one of the many other projects I've known in Haiti been blessed in this way. Would that more USAID mission staff worked as hard and with such energy.

X. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

USAID should take considerable satisfaction from this project. Implementation has fully respected all financial and administrative requirements. There have been no departures from correct practice. Insofar as the Cooperative Agreement is concerned, with certain allowances for redirections suggested at mid-point, the project has met or exceeded all of its essential targets. It has benefitted at least 335 workers in 11 factories through intensive training and deep involvement in project programs. Less intensive but no less direct in terms of what self-help, understanding of health matters, literacy or business acumen can do when brought to bear on THE daily operations of a household, and by virtue of an average of 5.5 persons per worker household, useful benefits will have spread at one and the same time to another 1,500 people in those households. And this calculation excludes the many colleagues of participants who learned things from them on the factory floor, and their friends and neighbors, and fellow congregants at churches, and others, including the 6,000 who read the FWC newsletters within a week of their initial dissemination.

It is extraordinarily difficult to gauge the scale of impact in a project such as this, or to decide on the point where benefits are no longer worth noting. Nonetheless, I can propose with a certain degree of confidence that the number of directly-benefitted individuals to date is of the order of 1,800 women, men and children, and that the number of those who might have obtained something tangible and who might also be able to trace an explicit link to the FWC via colleagues, friends or the newsletter, the indirect beneficiaries, is perhaps 7,000.

But whether such figures seem too high or too low, a focus on the number of beneficiaries to date risks misdirecting attention from a much more fundamental accomplishment of importance for the future. Specifically, that accomplishment is the cultivation of a cadre of working women, as many as 335 but likely far fewer, who are now more actively "engaged" in the process of social change as part of Haiti's embryonic women's movement, and through that movement, as part of Haiti's slow and painful grope towards democratic practice. Where does one hear of a dozen or so women unilaterally volunteering to serve as literacy instructors for other women? Where does one hear of another dozen wanting roles as health animators in general, or of

the 40-odd thinking knowledge of AIDS important enough to warrant their involvement to spread it further? What projects generate volunteerism at a rate of not less than 20 percent of participants? This, I think, is the important achievement and the one to be capitalized upon. For if voluntary action proves durable, a cadre of even 50 women willing to transmit usable information to another say, five, every month yields a coverage rate of 3,000 per year. And if similar volunteerism catches hold among less than 2 percent of the 3,000, another 50 women join the cadre. This is perhaps too speculative for present purposes. My point is that the project not only did what it was supposed to do, it has in the process constructed a solid foundation for the future.

The foundation is also apparent in the research component. Buried beneath the data and the reports and the other documents, which together form an assemblage of materials that more than meet the demands of the Cooperative Agreement, is a unique standing relationship between "researchers" and a "target" population of ordinary urban inhabitants who are the objects of research. They work together, with each side training or assisting the other in efforts to nurture the achievement of shared understanding of things. Where does one uncover a research enterprise where "they" not only answer "our" questions, but also instruct "us" on what questions to ask and what not to ask? And where, in general, is the "milieu" not only allowed to take an active part in the process, but also demands such participation?

If I had found myself alone in drawing such conclusions, I'd not be offering them up here. But I am not alone. I am joined already by most or all factory managers who may not fully grasp all that the project is doing but who see their self-interest served by having workers who are literate (and proud of it), who help and support each other inside and outside the factory, who take more active roles in administering to their own health (and therefore their productivity), and who take pains to seek out the facts behind the fictions of stories that circulate on the floor each day.

I am also joined by the many representatives of such varied organizations as PACT, Citibank, CIDA, the Canadian Embassy, Hewlett Foundation, Food for All, the Peace Corps, RHUDO, CIPAF, and the Ford Foundation who had heard or seen enough before or after mid-point to commit over \$180,000 to the project for training, services, or research. There aren't too many undertakings in Haiti able to cultivate such diverse interest. There aren't too many that can exceed a fund-raising target of \$50,000 by 360 percent unless they can demonstrate that they have something important and useful to offer to and on behalf of a broad audience.

Perhaps I wax more eloquently and more enthusiastically than I should, but there's sufficient proof in the "vote" of workers, factory managers, interested donors and dollars to make the case without my embellishment.

Although diligent execution of the terms of a Cooperative Agreement is important, USAID should draw its principal satisfaction from the FWC's contribution to achievement of five objectives set forward in the Mission's 1989/90 Action Plan to promote a wider sharing of the benefits of growth.

One, LAC Objective #2 to strengthen the private sector, emphasizes the importance of improving labor-management relations in industry, improving the investment climate, and encouraging such improvements by means, among other actions, of establishing a new labor code. By and large, activities turning on these matters involve participation by industrialists and their managers/supervisors, the government, and USAID consultants and personnel. To my knowledge, trade unions are not heavily involved. Labor, and most particularly the 70 percent of women that constitute the basic industrial workforce, have no active role to play in the process. This omission seems odd, but even so, the FWC has done several things to assist the process. It has shown that where labor-management relations are "relatively" good, as at GTE, a core course of the type offered by the FWC can yield among workers a higher level of self-confidence and sense of self-worth which manifests itself tangibly in the form of improved supervisor-worker communication, greater care in production, a lowered rate of lateness for and absenteeism from work, and a higher level and quality of output-- all according to factory managers. It has also shown that participants in private sector deliberations do not have a firm grasp of the meaning of working conditions or of the purchasing power of typical wages received. Workers see these things differently. They are offended and burdened by things that managers never think about. Their typical wage buys very little and is often the same or less than what they can earn as street vendors. If labor turnover is a problem, then some of its causes have been identified by the FWC. This is from the research. That research, if not the workers themselves, should contribute to the process of "strengthening" the private industrial sector if treated seriously.

Outside industry, the same objective includes USAID's goal of assisting in the creation of private voluntary organizations which can demonstrate sound management practices and, whenever possible, which can also achieve "sustainability." The FWC has demonstrated both. If circumstances demand, it can survive without USAID support. As such, USAID and other donor agencies have a competent and durable "partner" with which to collaborate on many kinds of urban undertakings. Still staying within the confines of LAC Objective #2, such undertakings include the

raising of "social consciousness" -- encouraging private sector associations and groups to promote involvement in public welfare. This target has to do with having the advantaged assist the disadvantaged more than they do at present, and in collaboration with associations and groups, the FWC can play a part in such an effort. However, the FWC has already done much with regard to raising the consciousness of advantaged women vis a vis their disadvantaged sisters, not only between the elite and the ordinary population, but also within the population of workers. Those with the advantages of literacy, health and other forms of usable knowledge are helping those lacking such advantages.

Another element of the objective is promotion of the Haitian Mortgage Bank, and of particular interest here is the Bank's struggle to develop a low-income housing component. Through the Bank's collaboration with RHUDO, it will soon have access to essential information on the characteristics of the low-income housing market that it needs in order to proceed. The FWC has been instrumental in providing that information to RHUDO.

Moving to another element of the Action Plan, LAC Objective #8 seeks to increase access to voluntary family planning and an increase in the share of couples using contraception. Beyond the FWC's accomplishments on this matter via its health education program, a program that other organizations would do well to emulate, it stands ready as a viable partner to implement services and studies for USAID's principal grantees and contractors in this sector, notably PROFAMIL (i.e., International Planned Parenthood), the Child Health Institute, and INHSAC. For such things as provision of family planning knowledge, supply of contraceptives, training in contraceptive technology, women's health services, experimentation with retail sales of condoms, social marketing efforts, and so forth, the FWC is a willing and competent actor -- not so much because of its accumulated experience in several of these matters, but rather because of its integration into the milieu of working women. Were that not the case, PROFAMIL and the Child Health Institute would not now be exploring means to work with the FWC.

A similar status attaches itself to LAC Objective #10, to drive down high infant and child mortality rates, and a new component being added in general relation to it -- "expanding urban health services." Through its health education program, which orients women to the utility of comparative shopping for services and medicines, to the cost-effectiveness of preventative health practices, and to the general philosophy of taking greater charge of their own health and that of their children, the FWC has done much. It has also had an influence through the more recent focus in the core course on household budgets -- working with women to stretch earnings as far as possible. And the planned first aid course will be helpful as well. In all these

instances the FWC has focussed on the demand side of health, a rarer occurrence than efforts on the supply side, and has drawn attention to the importance to health outcomes of cultivating among women the notion that they must and can help themselves and their children in more effective ways than they have. As for the new component, the FWC has been in the vanguard of efforts to communicate and disseminate understanding of AIDS disease and of what can be done to prevent it. It is expanding its role here with support of the Ford Foundation. It is already discussing with GLAS and other organizations the possibility of extending even further.

LAC Objective #12, improving educational opportunities, includes a focus on adult literacy. The FWC's role would appear insignificant relative to USAID's recent support of another organization in the provision of 300,000 books and compensation of 11,000 trainers. But as noted at mid-point, the focus of adult literacy efforts in Haiti is in rural areas, and the materials are not always suitable for use in cities. The FWC's fundamental accomplishments in this respect are the development of more appropriate materials, the formation of a small cadre of women willing to volunteer as trainers should resources become available to sustain an expanded effort, and the cultivation of a demand among women for instruction in this skill. Again, FWC presents itself as an experienced partner for others to join in moving ahead with a literacy effort.

And then there is LAC Objective #13, to increase the number and improve the effectiveness of participant training. The purpose here is to train economically and socially disadvantaged individuals in leadership positions, especially women, to enhance active participation in the development process, and through participation, to contribute to the transition to democratic government. The centerpiece of this effort is the Presidential Training Initiative for the Island Caribbean (PTIIC), which through fiscal year 1989 will have spent (by my reckoning) \$4.2 million to train 258 individuals, including 121 women, in five- to eight-week courses in the U.S. on leadership, small business, human rights and the media; and in sending 40 of them to college in the U.S. for two years. Assuming that half the cost is for the 40 in college, leaving \$2.1 million for the 218 other trainees, the unit charge of PTIIC is roughly \$9,600 per trainee. By comparison, assuming that 25 percent of the FWC's budget of \$767,000 was for research, the project expended \$575,000 to provide parallel kinds of training at \$1,800 per participant to 315 women who, even in comparison with PTIIC beneficiaries, can be considered very disadvantaged. Thus, during approximately the same period, the FWC's activities increased USAID's support of short-term participant training by 260 percent, from 121 to 436, at a unit cost 81 percent less. To the extent that the FWC also provided instruction in leadership, enterprise, legal and human rights and the media (e.g., the newsletter), it also contributed in some measure to the transition to democracy; and most

particularly with respect to the women's movement within that process.

Finally, extending beyond explicit objectives, the FWC has opened a permanent door upon the "milieu." Call it research. Call it communication. Call it anything. The point remains that the "objects" of development assistance now speak through an open channel that leads through the FWC to anyone who cares to listen, and that is available to anyone with an interest in engaging in dialogue with them. If there are any USAID staff who understand that the essence of democratic and effective development practice lies in having all parties to the process contribute their opinion, especially their opinions on policies, programs, and projects that will affect them directly, and if with that understanding such staff are led towards an interest in hearing those opinions, they now have a specific place in which to manifest that interest -- the FWC. It may not be the only place. But it is a good one.

XI. RECOMMENDATIONS

With certain of its operations assured for the next year, the FWC can survive without continued USAID support. However, such survival will be precarious. Without continued funding to maintain the FWC's current level of activity for another 12 to 18 months, certain important things will remain undone, and the project will lose much of the momentum it has gained in the last year -- particularly with regard to generating further funding sources.

As regards loose ends, the FWC requires up to three more months to wrap up essential research and evaluation tasks. Beyond the six polished research reports on the profile of factory women, fertility, health and nutrition, education and training, working conditions, and industrial health scheduled for wide dissemination before the end of July 1988, it must also finalize and distribute: a quality report on income and expenditures, incorporating data from a scheduled survey-training session with 40 core course participants; a short report on housing characteristics of workers; a statistical handbook containing simple but representative tables of all satisfactory data collected in 1986; integrated descriptive-evaluative reports for the core, health, micro-enterprise and literacy training programs; and an employment impact assessment based on yet-to-be-done face to face interviews with all involved factory managers and supervisors.

For the most part, the various pieces required to pull these various documents together are in hand. What is necessary is a concerted effort to wrap up the work. The work is necessary as part of the FWC's obligation to the Cooperative Agreement. More

important, diffusion of all the documents noted is crucial to the FWC in creating a much more visible presence for itself in the city -- as a research institution, as a training institution, as a service institution, as a worker's institution, and as a women's institution. Circulation of several hundred unique documents on FWC stationery will move the project from what is still a relatively low profile to the higher profile it requires in order to cultivate growth of external support. But the process of producing all the documents will take more time. It will also require development of a production timetable for them that staff must adhere to closely.

As part of the effort to increase visibility, and as part of its contribution to the women's movement of Haiti, the FWC should organize towards the end of 1988 a major, two- or three-day symposium on the situation of working women that brings together in one place all those with interests in the matter -- including as many of the FWC's past and present participants as feasible. This is a major event with a major cost attached to it -- one that USAID, given its interest in such things, should be willing to support.

Separate from these specific undertakings, the most compelling reason for continuance of USAID support for another 12 to 18 months is to sustain the momentum that staff have achieved in refining and expanded ongoing programs, in generating contacts and eliciting support from other donor agencies (including USAID's own grantees and contractors), and directly connected to the interest that many donors might have in providing grants, in moving towards the much greater level of program cost-effectiveness that is implied in the use of voluntary or modestly-remunerated animators.

The project is entering a new phase, from what has in effect largely been an experimentation phase towards what in the future may be called a fully operational phase. The intervening period, the next 12 to 18 months, constitute an institutionalization phase, with much trial and error still to be done in the arts and sciences of raising and administering resources oriented to different activities from multiple sources, and in the arts and sciences of encouraging and managing the actions of 50 to 100 professional staff, monitors, and animators engaged in those activities. With the bulk of those funds and the activities they support directly engaged in achieving goals that parallel those in USAID's Action Plan, further USAID support will only serve to enhance the process of achieving the Plan's principal objectives.

ANNEX I

Individuals Interviewed

FWC Staff

Francoise Blain
Gladys Casimir
Adine Jean-Francois
Marie Lormestoir
Clothilde Manuel
Marie-Lesly Marseille
Myriam Merlet
Djenan Montas
Adile Reiher
Carole Roy

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