

**YEAR 2003**

**Report on  
Organized Policy Issues Dialogue between  
Haitian Civil Society Organizations  
and National Public Institutions**

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DRAFT REPORT

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## ACRONYMS

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ACLAM	Action contre la misère
ASPRES	Action pour la sauvegarde et la protection de l'environnement
ASON	Association de solidarité nationale avec les personnes infectées par le VIH-Sida
ACSI	Association des commerçants du secteur informel
AEA	Association des entrepreneurs de l'Artibonite
AHE	Association des entrepreneurs de l'Artibonite
AEC	Association des entrepreneurs du Centre
ADIH	Association des industries d'Haïti
AJH	Association des journalistes haïtiens
ADISH	Association haïtienne de génie sanitaire et des sciences de l'environnement
AHE	Association haïtienne des économistes
AMH	Association Médicale Haïtienne
ANACAPH	Association nationale des caisses populaires haïtiennes
ANMH	Association nationale des directeurs de médias
ANFVC	Association nationale des femmes victimes des coopératives
ANAMAH	Association nationale des magistrats haïtiens
ANMH	Association nationale des médias haïtiens
ANADIPP	Association nationale des producteurs de produits pétroliers
APAAC	Association pour la prévention de l'alcoolisme et autres accoutumances chimiques
APROSIFA	Association pour la promotion de la santé familiale
APNASDA	Association pour la protection de la nature et des sites d'Haïti
APDESE	Association pour le développement du Sud-Est
APB	Association professionnelle des banques
ASCASH	Association socio-culturelle et artistique des semeurs d'Haïti
ATBPDE	Association Thony Biogaz pour la protection et le développement de l'environnement
ATH	Association touristique d'Haïti
ATSEH	Association touristique du Sud-Est d'Haïti
BHD	Banque haïtienne de développement

## Acronyms

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CECOSIDA	Centre de communication sur le Sida
CTH	Centrale de Travailleurs haïtiens
CEDAJ	Centre d'appui à la jeunesse
CRESFED	Centre de recherche et de formation économique et sociale pour le développement
CRI	Centre de réflexions et de recherches interdisciplinaires
CHP	Centre haïtien de presse
CEDH	Centre œcuménique des droits humains
CLED	Centre pour la libre Entreprise et la démocratie
CPDEP	Centre pour la promotion de la démocratie et de l'éducation participative
CCIH	Chambre de Commerce et d'industrie d'Haïti
CCIPSE	Chambre de commerce, de l'industrie et des professionnels du Sud Est
CSO	Civil Society Organization
NCHR	Coalition nationale pour les droits des Haïtiens
COED	Collectif Educa-Development
CARLI	Comité des avocats pour le respect des libertés individuelles
CLED	Centre pour la Libre entreprise et de la Démocratie
CTH	Confédération des travailleurs haïtiens
CNEH	Confédération nationale des éducateurs d'Haïti
CONASOVIC	Coordination nationale des sociétaires victimes du mouvement coopératif
FASCH	Etudiants de la Faculté des Sciences Humaines
FPH	Fédération de la presse haïtienne
FAN	Fédération des amis de la nature
FENAMAH	Fédération nationale de la magistrature haïtienne
FENAMERH	Fédération nationale des médecins résidents haïtiens
FOKAL	Fondation connaissance et liberté
FADOVAH	Fondation d'Aide humanitaire aux Dominicains vivant en Haïti
FHADIMAC	Fondation haïtienne de diabète et de maladies cardio-vasculaires
FONDHABISA	Fondation haïtienne pour l'habitat et l'intégration des sans-abri
FONDTAH	Fondation pour le développement du tourisme alternatif en Haïti
FAEV	Fonds d'aide aux enfants et aux Vieillards

## Acronyms

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FRON	Front de l'opposition du Nord
GRALIP	Groupe d'action pour la liberté de la presse
GARR	Groupe d'appui aux réfugiés rapatriés
GRADH	Groupe de recherche et d'appui à la démocratie en Haïti
GRESPO	Groupe de recherches en science politique
GREH	Groupe de réflexion sur Haïti
GRAAM	Groupe de réflexions et d'actions des avocats militants du Barreau de PAP
GHESKIO	Groupe haïtien d'études contre le syndrome de Kaposi et des infections opportunistes
HIV	Human Immuneodeficiency Virus
HSI	Haïti solidarité internationale
HAMCHAM	Haitian American Chamber of Commerce
IC	Initiative citoyenne Cap Haïtien
IFES	International Foundation for Electoral Studies
ISC	Initiative de la société civile
IERAH	Institut d'études et de recherches africaines d'Haïti
INAGHEI	Institut national de gestion et de hautes études internationales
INDEPCO	Institut national pour le développement et la promotion de la couture
ISPOS	Institut supérieur de formation politique et sociale
JCEH	Jeune chambre économique d'Haïti
LFHH	La Fondation Heritage pour Haïti
MOUFHED	Mouvement des femmes haïtiennes pour l'éducation et le développement
MOJPHA	Mouvement de la jeunesse progressiste d'Haïti
MSH	Mouvement syndical haïtien
OHDE	Observatoire Haïtien des droits électoraux
OCODE	Office de concertation pour le développement
OP	Organisation Populaire
OPL	Organisation du Peuple en Lutte
POHDH	Plateforme des organisations de droits humains
PAPDA	Plateforme haïtienne de plaidoyer pour un développement alternatif

## Acronyms

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PIDHDD	Plateforme interaméricaine des droits humains, démocratie et développement
PSPH	Programme Santé Plus en Haïti
PNUD	Projet d'accompagnement d'Haïti dans la société de l'Information
RAMAK	Rasanbleman medya pou aksyon kominote
REPAREN	Regroupement Patriotique pour le renouveau national
RANIP	Réseau associatif pour l'intégration des personnes handicapées
PSPH	Santé Plus—Haïti
SHAA	Société haïtienne d'aide aux aveugles
SHOG	Société haïtienne d'obstétrique et de gynécologie
SHONC	Société haïtienne d'oncologie
SHO	Société Haïtienne d'ophtalmologie
SID	Société internationale pour le développement
SO	Strategic Objective
SOFA	Solidarte ant ayisien
TAP	Travailleurs associés de la Presse
UCGO	Union citoyenne des Gonaives
UNASCAD	Union des amis socio-culturels d'action en développement
UNNOH	Union nationale des normaliens haitiens
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

## SUMMARY

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This year's review of the articles appearing in *Le Nouvelliste* offers more data and comparative analysis than in previous years concerning activities by civil society organizations (CSOs) in organized policy dialogue with national political institutions. Despite the limitations entailed in using just one newspaper to track CSO policy dialogue activities, a review of the articles appearing in *Le Nouvelliste* indicates that Haitian CSOs are quite active, with some of the more prominent ones stepping up their activities. One also sees greater CSO activity at the regional level in the provinces, especially among students who are protesting government policies and efforts to control educational institutions. Analysis of the articles also points to greater coalition building and joint action among CSOs in the same sector as seen in the activities of the *Groupe des 184* and *RAMAK*.

CSOs seem to be becoming less passive in the way they communicate, moving from using statements and press releases to holding more public conferences and seminars in an effort to engage public opinion. Demonstrations and strikes and growing activity among students and labor organizations have also increased. The recourse to direct action suggests that the government offers few formal mechanisms to channel grievances and to negotiate policy differences with different sectors of civil society. A review of the articles shows that the government rarely meets with CSOs to solicit their input or to negotiate policies directly affecting their sector.

Moreover, Lavalas popular organization attacks on civil society meetings and members of the press indicate that the government sees civil society critics of government policy as the enemy and in partnership with the political opposition that is seeking to bring down the Aristide regime. The violation of human rights and the failure of the police and judicial system to provide protection have been accompanied by a sharp increase in the number of articles referring to justice and human rights issues. These themes have also been picked up by other sectors not directly involved in these themes. Private sector organizations and the Church have expressed their concerns for human rights and justice issues.

On the other hand, civil society groups that promote housing, health, development, and environmental issues are concentrating their actions in these areas rather than in human rights and justice issues. These groups see themselves primarily as providers of services and speaking for their constituents in their specialized areas.

To conclude, Haitian CSOs, operating in a highly charged and polarized political climate, have very little opportunity to engage in formal dialogue with the government. They also have to walk a careful line to indicate that they are politically neutral. At the same time, they have a major role to play in advocating the need for human rights and justice, holding the government accountable, and providing important services needed by the population to improve the quality of life.

## BACKGROUND

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In 1999, USAID/Haiti formulated a strategy to enhance democracy in Haiti entitled “More Genuinely Inclusive Democratic Governance,” which became Strategic Objective 5 (SO5). As part of the plan for monitoring SO5 performance, USAID developed a set of indicators. Three indicators were developed to directly monitor progress associated with SO5 as a whole; additional indicators were selected to measure the performance for Intermediate Results (IR) under the SO.

This report presents FY 2003 data related to the second SO5 indicator: Number of Examples of Policy Issues on which CSOs and National Public Institutions Carry on an Organized Dialogue. A separate report prepared by ARD, Inc., *Year 2003 CSO Political Advocacy Indicator Data*, provides data to measure IR5.1—Targeted Haitian CSOs Progress in Developing Their Capacity to Advocate for Policy Change.

USAID/Haiti has defined “organized policy dialogue” as meetings or encounters of various forms through which CSOs have attempted to engage the government. Examples include letter-writing campaigns, rallies, roundtable discussions, media campaigns, and petitions. “National public institutions” include agencies of ministries, representatives of these agencies at the local level, and executive or legislative commissions at the local level.

In 2000, USAID/Haiti decided to use *Le Nouvelliste*, Haiti’s leading daily newspaper, as the key information source for tracking indicator data on civil society and national public institution dialogues. As requested in the task order, the methodology used for the 2002 report has been replicated for the 2003 report. The Contractor thus identified and reviewed all articles related to organized dialogue in *Le Nouvelliste* from October 1, 2002, to September 30, 2003. The present report summarizes the methodology used and analyzes the findings. It also includes a detailed catalogue of the 415 articles reviewed and copies of all the reviewed articles.

## METHODOLOGY

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There are several limitations with using *Le Nouvelliste* as the sole source of information on organized dialogue between CSOs and national public institutions. First, the newspaper has a small staff of fewer than 10 full-time journalists. This limits the capacity of the newspaper to provide direct coverage of events in general and the activities of CSOs in particular, especially those outside of Port-au-Prince. Second, the tendency of newspapers to focus on dramatic events involving political violence or statements by major institutional actors leads to an underreporting of CSO dialogues and development activities. Finally, *Le Nouvelliste* depends highly on press releases to fill its pages and tends to publish whatever is sent to the newsroom. The result is that articles on the policy positions and activities of government and international organizations that ensure that *Le Nouvelliste* regularly receives their press releases tend to get more coverage than do CSOs that do not send press releases. Except for the larger CSOs, few CSOs send press releases and other statements to *Le Nouvelliste*.

The arbitrary coverage can result in misleading impressions. For example, as in past years, the press continues to have the most coverage of any single sector in civil society. Although the press is a very active actor, its weight is overrepresented because of its greater access to the media in general and to *Le Nouvelliste* in particular. Thus the press is not necessarily the most important group in civil society engaging in some form of policy dialogue.

Unbalanced reporting is also reflected by the greater coverage given by *Le Nouvelliste* to events taking place in Port-au-Prince—headquarters of the most powerful and influential groups in Haitian civil society—to actors based in Port-au-Prince, and to national-level events and organizations. This leads to underreporting of events taking place outside the capital.

Fortunately, *Le Nouvelliste* has a section called *Les remous de l'actualité* in which short notes are published on incidents that do not merit page-one headlines or major articles. The section provides coverage of many events taking place outside Port-au-Prince, and serves as a partial corrective to the limited coverage of events beyond the capital.

The 2003 data collection process continued the decision, made in 2001, to broaden the review of articles to include those that discussed both direct and indirect dialogues with national political institutions. An example of direct dialogue is a forum in which a CSO met with representatives of local government or a government agency. Examples of indirect dialogue might include spontaneous protests or organized demonstrations against a particular government policy. Examining articles for both direct and indirect dialogue provides a more inclusive framework for understanding Haiti's civil society, the main issues that define its action, and the political context in which actions take place. A relatively high and growing number of protests and demonstration activities, for example, may indicate that the government is less willing to engage critics in direct dialogue along more formal lines.

## STRUCTURE OF THE REVIEW

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While retaining the same categories established since 2001, this year's review has added a new category (*sector*) and slightly modified its terminology to facilitate tracking and cross-indexing. The 2003 review includes the name of the CSO involved, the sector in which it operates, the means in which the article communicated the information, the level or scope of the article, a synopsis of the article's content, the date of publication, and the assignment of the article to a predetermined set of themes. Another innovation was the numbering of each article to facilitate tracking. Each cataloging step is described below.

### ORGANIZATION

Where possible, the name of the organization mentioned in the article is noted. When two or more organizations are involved, they too are noted. However, in some instances, no specific organization may be mentioned. In these instances, the review uses NSO (*no specific organization*) to indicate this fact.

### SECTOR

This new category is used to identify where a particular organization fits in. Thus, the *Association des Journalistes Haitiens* (AJH) is listed as in the *press* sector. In a similar manner, the *Coalition nationale pour les droits des Haitiens* (NCHR) is listed as in the *human rights* sector. A trade union is listed as in the *labor* sector.

### MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

The means of communication denotes the nature of the action or dialogue discussed in the article and undertaken by the organization (e.g., march, demonstration, statement, press conference, press release, etc.). The 2003 review identified 41 different means of communication:

Agreement	Day of mourning	Magazine	Reference to go to court	Closing of radio station
Article	Demonstration	Medical visits	Reference to participation in CEP	Negotiations to save journalist
Book	Donation	Meeting	Reports + Studies	Ecotourist village
Campaign	Economic activity	Micro-credit program	Seminars + Training	Sensitization campaign
Conference	Elections	Open letter	Statement	Commemorative mass
Congress	Exile	Plan to prevent AIDS	Strike	Press conference and releases
Fair	Convention	Hotline for youth	Prize	Support to persecuted
Journalists	Court action	Inauguration of new officers	Production of biogas	Technological Fair
Creation of organization	Violent strike			

**LEVEL**

The *level* measures the scope of the problem, priority, and/or concern the article addressed—for example, national (N), Port-au-Prince (PAP), regional (R), local (L), and international (Intl). Although geographical location was often decisive in determining the level, this was not always the case. For example, an action originating in Port-au-Prince or from a much smaller town that tended to have a national impact was considered to be of national (N) scope. If the action addressed concerns related to the inhabitants of Port-au-Prince exclusively, it was noted as (PAP). Actions focusing on the concerns and priorities of localities outside of Port-au-Prince were designated as either (R) or (L). Actions addressing international concerns were labeled (Intl).

**ARTICLE SYNOPSIS**

The synopsis is intended to convey the core message delivered in the article. In most instances, the synopsis included the title of the article. However, if the title was not sufficiently descriptive, an attempt was made to include a brief narrative of the contents it contained.

**DATE OF PUBLICATION**

Each article chosen to be included in the report was accompanied by the date on which it was published in *Le Nouvelliste*. Although normally this would involve a single date, in some instances the newspaper published issues covering more than one day. In this case, the article was assigned the same dates as printed on the issue (e.g., *Le Nouvelliste*, October 4–6). To facilitate using the collection of articles, the selection of articles is broken down by each month. Numbering tells the reader how many actions took place during the month and how many total actions took place from the beginning of October through the month reviewed.

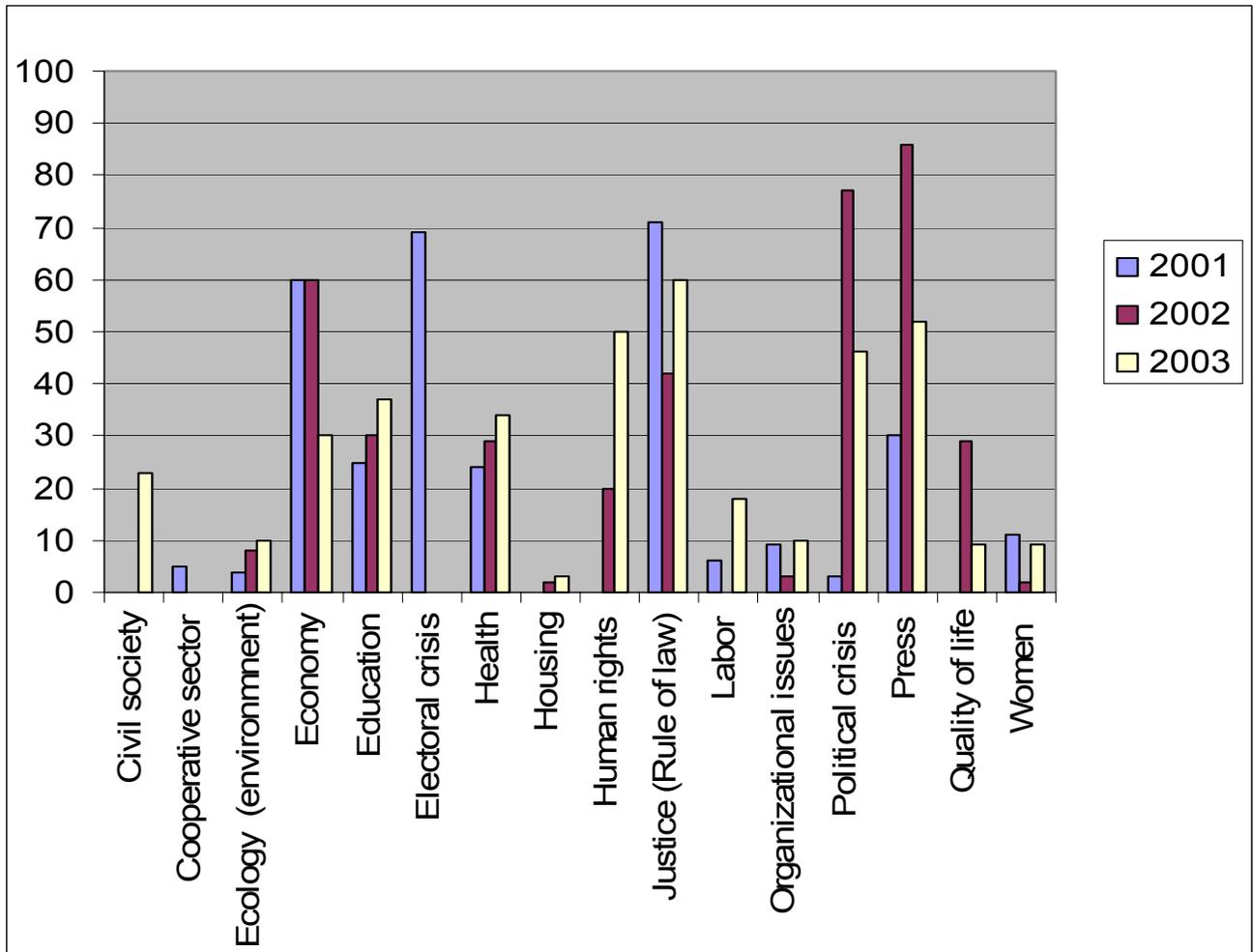
**THEME**

The selection of themes reflected the principal concerns of CSOs manifested during the period of the 2003 review as well as those of USAID/Haiti. The 2003 review contains 21 themes, compared with 17 themes appearing in the 2002 report and 14 themes in the 2001 report. The report tracks and compares the most important themes covered over a three-year period (See Graph 1).

Civil society	Economy	Health	Justice (rule of law)	Political Crisis	Women
Cooperative sector	Education	Housing	Labor	Press	
Ecology (environment)	Electoral crisis	Human Rights	Organizational issues	Quality of life	

The choice of themes for 2003 also reflected changes in CSO activities and the political climate. For example, last year *electoral crisis* merited a theme by itself because of the great attention focused on negotiations led by the Organization of American States on this issue and complaints by the opposition concerning the fairness of the 2001 legislative elections. This year the repressive actions of the government have led the opposition to refuse to discuss election issues with the government. As a result, the kinds of actions that had been classified last year under *electoral crisis* are in 2003 listed under *political crisis*. The political situation seems to have deteriorated, with greater polarization taking place between the government and the opposition. *Labor* has also reappeared as a significant theme.

Graph I. Most Important Themes in 2001, 2002 and 2003



To simplify reading of the data, theme limits were established. When appropriate, subcategories were attached to the themes (e.g., *justice* may have a subcategory of *justice/press* or *justice/economy*). The order may be reversed, depending on which aspect is most important.

All of the 415 articles reviewed in FY 2003 have been scanned and photocopied. These articles are physically attached to the hard copy of the final report. A CD of the articles reviewed has also been included to facilitate electronic distribution.

## 2003 REVIEW FINDINGS

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### ORGANIZATIONS

The number of organizations specifically mentioned in articles this year has declined—from 184 in 2002 to 152 in 2003. This number is still much higher than that of 2001 (58). (See Annex 1 for a complete list of the names of all the specific organizations mentioned.)

The lower number may be attributed to the fact that there seems to be an increasing number of joint actions on the part of CSOs (see Table 1). If we take this into consideration, the total number of organizations participating in actions may be actually higher. For example, several private sector statements are signed by 15 organizations, some of them having no entries in the *Le Nouvelliste*. The “Plateforme d’ONGs,” which issued a statement signed by 14 organizations, provides another example of this kind. Diverse women’s and human rights groups are also working together to participate in joint actions. Since articles often do not list all of the organizations participating in a joint action, it is difficult to identify all the individual CSOs involved. The creation of the *Groupe des 184* also reflects an important trend toward individual CSOs’ expressing themselves through their participation in a broader umbrella organization. During FY 2003, the *Groupe des 184* was one of the most active organizations in the country in undertaking 20 actions.

**Table 1. List of 15 Most Active Organizations**

	<b>Organization</b>	<b>No. of actions</b>
1	Coalition nationale pour les droits des Haïtiens (NCHR)	23
2	Organisations pro-Lavalas	20
3	Groupe des 184	20
4	Association des journalistes haïtiens (AJH)	16
5	Initiative citoyenne (IC) Cap Haïtien	11
6	Association nationale des magistrats haïtiens (ANAMAH)	10
7	Etudiants de la Faculté des Sciences Humaines (FASCH)	9
8	Conseil de l’Université d’Etat d’Haïti	9
9	Comité des avocats pour le respect des libertés individuelles (CARLI)	9
10	Rasanbleman medya pou aksyon kominote (RAMAK)	8
11	Union nationale des normaliens haïtiens (UNNOH)	6
12	Union citoyenne des Gonaïves (UCGO)	6
13	Centre œcuménique des droits humains (CEDH)	6
14	Centre de communication sur le Sida (CECOSIDA)	6
15	Centre pour la libre Entreprise et la démocratie (CLED)	5

Students have also been very active during this whole period, especially at the university level in Port-au-Prince and in high schools (Petit-Goave and Gonaïves mainly), and involved in demonstrations. Labor groups, particularly in the transportation sector, have also been active in leading strikes to protest their disagreement with government policies. A new development has been the growing involvement of an umbrella group of community radio stations (RAMAK) in policy dialogue activities. This year RAMAK was involved in eight actions.

Many of the CSO organizations that were highly vocal in 2002 are still very much present. But this year, although the *press* sector as a whole still had the highest number of entries (41), it was very closely followed by the *human rights* sector (40). However, whereas in 2002, the AJH had by far the largest number of entries with 37, this year it has been surpassed by the NCHR, which has 23 entries (compared with 16 by the AJH), and still remains the most active press organization in terms of number of actions.

It is interesting to note that the *Groupe des 184* and the Lavalas “popular organizations” have the same number of entries. Very often, the Lavalas groups intervene to counter “opposition” demonstrations. In some instances, they consider CSOs like the *Groupe des 184* as part of the opposition. The incident in *Cité Soleil* in July 2003 provides a dramatic example of this phenomenon. At that time, a caravan organized by the *Groupe des 184* was violently attacked by Lavalas popular organizations supporting the government while the police stood by and did nothing to stop the violence. The pro-government Lavalas groups regarded the attempt of the *Groupe des 184* to engage the people of *Cité Soleil* in dialogue there as a provocation, since that neighborhood was considered to be a bastion of popular support for Aristide.

The table of actions led by the key sectors (Table 2) includes the *legal* sector organizations this year. Activities by this sector show a very sharp increase—from only 2 actions in 2002 to 17 in 2003. With 10 actions, the *Association nationale des magistrats Haitiens* (ANAMAH), a newly created organization, has been the most active in the *legal* sector.

The number of organizations that appears in the news only once has decreased—from 139 in 2002 to 97 in 2003. The number of organizations mentioned between 2–5 times is roughly the same (40 in 2002, 48 in 2003). This might be due to the greater activism of the most important organizations (those having more than 5 appearances). Their number is four times more important this year (5 in 2002, 20 in 2003). Table 3 lists an organization’s importance as a measure of the number of entries.

Table 2. Actions Led by Key Sectors

	2002	2003
<b>Press organizations</b>	57	41
Association des journalistes haïtiens (AJH)	37	16
Fédération de la presse haïtienne (FPH)	9	3
Association nationale des médias haïtiens (ANMH)	4	8
Centre haïtien de presse (CHP)	2	2
Fondation Eko vwa Jean Dominique	3	—
Groupe de réflexion et d'action pour la liberté de la presse (GRALIP)	2	4
Rasanbleman medya pou aksyon kominote (RAMAK)	—	8
<b>Private sector organizations</b>	28	23
Chambre de commerce et d'industrie d'Haïti (CCIH)	8	4
Centre pour la libre entreprise et la démocratie (CLED)	7	5
Association des industries d'Haïti (ADIH)	3	6
Fondation des industries d'Haïti	2	—
Chambre de commerce Haïtiano-Américaine (HAMCHAM)	2	5
Chambre de commerce et d'industrie Franco-Haïtienne	—	1
Chambers of commerce outside of Port-au-Prince	4	2
Strikes by businessmen associations	2	—
<b>Human rights organizations</b>	20	40
Coalition nationale pour les droits des Haïtiens (NCHR)	12	22
Comité des avocats pour le respect des libertés individuelles (CARLI)	4	9
Plate-forme des organisations de droits humains (POHDH)	2	2
Centre œcuménique des droits humains (CEDH)	1	5
Haïti solidarité internationale	1	1
Mouvement des femmes haïtiennes pour l'éducation et le développement (MOUFHED)	—	1
<b>Health sector organizations</b>	9	9
Groupe haïtien d'études contre le syndrome de Kaposi et des infections opportunistes (GHESKIO)	4	3
Programme santé Plus Haïti	3	1
Association médicale haïtienne	2	2
Association pour la prévention de l'alcoolisme et autres accoutumances chimiques (APAAC)	1	3
<b>Legal sector organizations</b>	2	17
Association nationale des magistrats haïtiens (ANAMAH)	—	10
Fédération nationale de la magistrature haïtienne (FENAMAH)	1	2
La Fondation Heritage pour Haïti (LFHH)	—	2
Le Conseil de l'Ordre des avocats	—	2
Groupe de réflexions et d'actions des avocats militants du Bateau de PAP (GRAAM)	1	1
<b>Organizations with political leanings but not political parties</b>	28	20
OPs Lavalas	28	20

**Table 3. Importance of Organizations by Number of Entries**

	2002	2003
Organizations mentioned more than 5 times	5	20
Organizations mentioned 2–5 times	40	48
Organizations mentioned only once	139	97
<b>Total</b>	<b>184</b>	<b>165</b>

**SECTOR**

*Sector* refers to the actors engaged in action within a particular category of actors that encompasses more than one organization. *Theme* refers to the subject of their action. The use of the new indicator in conjunction with organization and theme indicators provides some clarity in distinguishing between organizations/sectors and themes. Some cases are simple and clear-cut; others offer several alternatives. When the AJH, for example, issues a statement on repression of journalists by the police, should the entry be (1) *press/human rights/justice* or (2) *justice/human rights/press*, or (3) *human rights/justice/press*? Defining the sector previously simplifies the problem. In this example, it is clear that the action was originated by the press, so *press* goes under *Sector*. The remaining dilemma is to decide whether the problem is related primarily to human rights or to justice.

In Table 4, *civil society* is a residual sector consisting of a wide range of CSOs not covered by the other sectors. The fact that all the sectors listed in Table 4 could be considered as part of civil society may cause some confusion in creating a separate sector called *civil society*. Under *civil society*, one finds groups interested in research, history, leadership, etc. Table 4 shows that the *civil society* sector has the most actions. Scrutiny of the calendar and catalogue of CSO actions reviewed in FY 2003 provide a list of the organizations lumped together within this sector.

**Table 4. Sectors by Order of Importance in 2003**

	Sectors	2003
1	Civil Society	80
2	Press	58
3	Private sector	41
4	Education	35
5	Human rights	34
6	Health	33
7	Legal	31
8	“Popular” organizations	23
9	Labor	18
10	Development	17
11	Women	11
12	Church	6
13	Cooperative sector	6
14	Tourism	6
15	Ecology	4
16	Haitian-Dominican relationship	4
17	Housing	4
18	Youth	3
19	Non-specific sector	1
<b>Total</b>		<b>415</b>

After *civil society*, *press* comes second, followed by the *private sector*. It is interesting to note that the private sector is also sometimes involved in themes not directly related to business. Thus, less than half of the 41 recorded actions taken by private sector organizations in 2003 concerned the economy. Other themes included justice, human rights, and the political crisis.

Table 5 in Annex 2 provides a breakdown of the actions taken by sector organizations by theme. Some sectors (e.g., *health*, *education*, *tourism*, *ecology*, and *housing*) tended to stick primarily to themes directly related to the interests of their sector. Thus, *health* sector organizations were primarily concerned with themes related to health issues and showed relatively little interest in human rights, justice, or economic issues. Actions undertaken by the *human rights* and *legal* sectors underscored the interrelationships between justice and the violation of human rights. Thus, 18 of the 34 actions undertaken by the *human rights* sector concerned justice issues, whereas 6 of the 31 actions carried out by *legal* sector organizations could be classified as dealing with human rights issues.

The *Sector* indicator can also be read together with the thematic description of the actions reviewed to get a better understanding of what is happening in Haiti today. For example, the relatively high profile of “popular organizations,” mostly involved in violent demonstrations, helps to explain why the most important themes are those revolving around justice and human rights issues (see Table 5, below).

One *non-specific sector* (NSS) entry that describes the regrouping of three political parties behind a program merits some attention, even though the actions of political parties are generally not taken into account in the review of CSO dialogue entries. However, this example seemed worth recording because it sheds some light on the political context in which civil society is evolving. In the article, the *Union Patriotique* called for a third way as an alternative to the Aristide government and a polarized and uncompromising political opposition. In this sense, their position mirrored that of a large segment of civil society that is also seeking an alternative to political polarization as a means of breaking out of the current political crisis.

**Table 5. Most Important Themes in 2001, 2002, and 2003**

	2001	%	2002	%	2003	%
<b>First thematic group</b>						
1. Press	30	9.32	86	21.39	52	12.53
2. Political crisis	3	0.93	77	19.15	46	11.08
3. Economy	60	18.63	60	14.93	30	7.23
4. Justice (Rule of law)	71	22.05	42	10.45	60	14.46
<b>Total</b>	<b>164</b>	<b>50.93</b>	<b>265</b>	<b>65.92</b>	<b>188</b>	<b>45.30</b>
<b>Second thematic group</b>						
1. Education	25	7.76	30	7.46	37	8.92
2. Quality of life	--	--	29	7.21	9	2.17
3. Health	24	7.45	29	7.21	34	8.19
<b>Total</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>7.45</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>21.88</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>19.28</b>

**MEANS**

In 2003, the kind of means used has not changed significantly. Most of the actions registered in *Le Nouvelliste* are passive in nature (articles, press releases, conferences, seminars, and forums).

Table 6 compares the predominant means used this year with those of last year. It is interesting to note, however, that this year there are fewer articles (83 in 2002, 31 in 2003). The fact that meetings between CSOs and the government are rarely used to discuss public policy issues indicates a certain lack of responsiveness on the part of the Haitian government to CSO policy concerns. The sharp increase in the number of press conferences may reflect a greater effort on the part of CSOs to reach a broader public. The major increase in demonstrations and strikes (43 in 2002, 68 in 2003) suggests that many CSOs are taking more direct action to protest government policies, whereas others like the Lavalas popular organizations are mobilizing to defend the government. But even the Lavalas organizations have, on some occasions, demonstrated to show their dissatisfaction with government policies.

**Table 6. Means by Order of Importance**

	<b>Means used by the organizations</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2003</b>
1	Article	83	31
2	Conference	34	53
3	Creation of an organization	11	10
4	Demonstration	28	41
5	Meeting/Assembly	7	9
6	Press conference and releases	12	19
7	Statement	145	131
8	Strike	6	15
9	Violent demonstration	9	12

**LEVEL**

This year the increasing presence of provinces is reflected in the clippings. Cap-Haitian, Petit-Goave, and Gonaives have been particularly active. The main difference between this year and 2002 is illustrated by the sharp increase in the number of regional and national actions. Although the number of actions at the local and international levels has not changed much, the number of Port-au-Prince actions has declined significantly. However, this change might be somewhat overstated by the data in Table 7 if one considers that the boundaries between national-level and Port-au-Prince actions are often blurred.

**Table 7. Geographical Levels of Actions**

	<b>2002</b>	<b>2003</b>
Port-au-Prince	334	281
Local	59	61
Regional	0	22
National	2	41
International	7	10
<b>Total</b>	<b>402</b>	<b>415</b>

**ARTICLES**

The number of articles/actions recorded this year increases only slightly: only 13 more than the 402 actions in 2002. Given that fewer organizations have been recorded (152 this year vs. 184 last year), we may assume that the ones to make interventions have been more active. Yet, given the limitations of tracking activities through the *Le Nouvelliste*, the difference in the increase of activities might not be significant.

**THEMES**

Despite the low number of articles recorded in 2001 as compared with those of 2002 and 2003, it seemed worthwhile to compare the importance of themes in each of the years under study. In 2001, only 14 themes had been defined. The number of themes was expanded in 2002 to 17. In 2003, new categories were added (some already used in 2001), reaching a total of 21.

In 2002, it was possible to establish two main thematic groups.

- The first included the four principal thematic areas that were the subject of the majority of the articles: (1) the press, (2) political crisis, (3) the economy, and (4) justice. These comprised 65% of the total number of articles.
- The second concerns the personal well-being of citizens and included (1) education, (2) quality of life, and (3) health concerns. This thematic group comprised 22% of the total.

In 2003 the first thematic group was much less important. Only 45.3% of the articles fell under one of the four categories. This is mainly due to the fact that the number of articles on the economy dropped from 60 to 30, and the number of articles referring directly to the political crisis declined from 77 in 2002 to only 46 in 2003. However, in 2003 some of the kinds of articles that were previously placed under *political crisis* were classified as falling under the categories of *justice* and *human rights*. This change, to some extent, explains why the number of articles under *justice* and *human rights* has nearly doubled. Thus the number of articles related to *justice* jumped from 42 in 2002 to 60 in 2003, whereas the number of articles related to *human rights* more than doubled—from 20 in 2002 to 50 in 2003. As a result, the percentage of articles related to *human rights*, as a percentage of the total number of entries, increased from slightly less than 5% in 2002 to slightly more than 12% in 2003. Thus *human rights* was more important than *political crisis* and the *economy*, which constituted two of the four principal thematic themes in previous years.

As Table 5 (p. 11) indicates, the number of actions of the second principal thematic group as a percentage of the total number of actions declined slightly—from 21.88% of the total in 2002 to 19.28% in 2003.

See Annex 3 for the complete table of themes from 2001 to 2003. Annexes 4 and 5 display, respectively, the principal thematic areas of articles from 2001 to 2003 and the number of actions recorded by month for the same period.